

THE MORAL DEVELOPMENT OF ADOLESCENTS ORPHANED BY AIDS IN CHILD-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

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**THE MORAL DEVELOPMENT OF ADOLESCENTS
ORPHANED BY AIDS IN CHILD-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS**

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

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Prof. Dr Cycil G. Hartell

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DECLARATION

I, Momo Andrew Sekopane, declare that this thesis titled *The moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households* which I hereby submit for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor in Adult and Community Education and Training, is my own work and has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

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30 November 2012

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that I, the undersigned, have edited the doctoral thesis titled **The Moral Development of Adolescents Orphaned by Aids in Child-Headed Households** by Momo Andrew Sekopane for language and grammar errors.

The suggested changes have been indicated and communicated to the candidate. It is the candidate's responsibility to effect the changes electronically before printing the document to be handed in for assessment.



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ABSTRACT

The moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households

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This study investigates the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households. In South Africa HIV/ AIDS is a major cause of the increasing number of orphans, child-headed households and the disintegration of families and extended families. This has led to the increasing moral, social and educational vulnerability of orphaned children and children in child-headed households. The study was conducted according to qualitative research approach, guided by the interpretivist epistemology, with the primary source of information being the experiences of adolescents living in child-headed households. Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory and Kohlberg's theory of Moral Development were used to gather data and to guide the study. A case study research design was utilized with semi-structured interviews as the main data collection strategy, supplemented with observations and narratives. Six participants were purposively selected for this study.

The findings of this study reveal that adolescents in child-headed households experience abject poverty with no parents due to death caused by AIDS. These adolescents have to fend for themselves and make own decisions without the guidance of an adult or parents. The research has revealed that the moral reasoning of adolescents in child-headed households are mainly influenced by poverty, lack of support, the need to survive and the interaction with peers and the community. The emergent developmental levels from the literature and empirical data proofed that the support or lack thereof that the participants experienced has

a significant influence on their moral development. Their circumstances forced them in some instances to act wrongly, irresponsible and irrational.

Based on the findings and conclusions of this study, specific recommendations were drawn that could be useful to Education Department, Health and Social Development Department, Home Affairs Department and other government departments, schools, non-government organizations and researchers. Based on the findings the study provides measures to be taken to promote responsible moral behaviour and development of adolescents in child-headed households.

LIST OF KEY WORDS

- ⌘ Orphans
- ⌘ Child-headed households
- ⌘ Adolescents
- ⌘ HIV/AIDS
- ⌘ Morality
- ⌘ Values
- ⌘ Development
- ⌘ Stigma
- ⌘ Vulnerability
- ⌘ Poverty

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- AIDS Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
- CHH Child-headed households
- HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus
- ILST Institutional Level Support Team
- RCL Representative Council of Learners
- UNAIDS United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
- UNICEF The United Nations Children's Fund

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION

“Neither words nor statistics can adequately capture the human tragedy of adolescents grieving for dying or dead parents stigmatised by society through association with HIV/AIDS, plunged into economic crisis and insecurity by parents’ death and struggling without services or support systems in impoverished communities.”

(Uys & Cameron 2003:176)

1. AIM OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter aims to provide the background and orientation of a research project on the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households. The chapter introduces the theme and provides the rationale, assumptions, problem statement, conceptual framework and methodology adopted for this study.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In South Africa the increase in the numbers of orphans and child-headed households together with the disintegration of families and extended families that has been exacerbated by HIV/AIDS is a major cause for moral decadence (Omwami & Tavron 2008:75). The lack of social cohesion has led to the increased moral, social, educational and economical vulnerability of orphaned children and children in child-headed households. According to Foster, Makufa, Drew and Kralovec (1997:155), child-headed households represent a new coping mechanism in response to the impact of AIDS on communities. Some adolescents in child-headed households experience abject poverty without parents or parents who have little or no regard for the day-to-day running of the household, due to illness caused by AIDS (Foster *et al.* 1997:158). These adolescents have to fend for themselves and take their own decisions without the guidance of parents or other supportive adults. Children in child-headed households drop out of school or are constantly absent because they have to take care of sick parents. Many orphans, and more specifically adolescents, in South Africa

generally do not continue with school after the death of parents (Stillwagon 2006:12). A recent result of child-headed households is that defenceless young children are sexually exploited or even forced to marry or enter the labour force earlier than they should (Uys & Cameron 2003:176). All these challenges impact negatively on adolescents in child-headed households, especially in terms of their moral development. For the purpose of this study moral development refers to the manner in which children take decisions and choices pertaining to right and wrong in the adolescent phase of growth and development.

According to a UNAIDS (UNAIDS 2004:61-63) submission, South African adolescents orphaned by AIDS suffer anger, guilt and fear of the future. Such personal traits may lead to psychological problems and moral decadence in the form of drug and alcohol abuse as well as severe aggression or even suicide. Cluver and Gardner (2006:1) maintain that in South Africa, since such adolescents often experience challenges that include economic deprivation that is exacerbated by medical costs and a lack of sufficient food, shelter and schooling, they are at greater risk of abuse and economic exploitation. The study of Cluver and Gardner (2006:2) concurs with the UNAIDS (UNAIDS 2004:61-63) report in that these adolescents often experience anxiety, fear, stigmatisation, stress and low self-esteem. These difficulties and the fact that their basic needs are not met impact negatively on their self-actualisation and moral development. As a consequence the situation presents challenges to society in general and the education sector in particular.

The needs of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households are no different from those of others and are in line with Maslow's theory on the Hierarchy of Basic Needs (Kunc 1992:1). According to Maslow (Kunc 1992:1) the needs of human beings can be prioritised into five levels — physiological, safety, belonging-love, self-esteem and self-actualisation. An individual does not seek the satisfaction of a need at one level until the need at the preceding level has been met. According to Quinn (1990:201) self-actualisation is reached when an individual finds self-fulfilment and realises his/her maximum potential and abilities. Adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households remain at the base of the hierarchy of needs with limited access to fundamental physiological needs such as food, shelter and protection. Furthermore, in terms of Maslow's (Kunc 1992:2) assessment, individuals reach their maximum potential only when they are anchored in the community, in the family, at school, in friendships and in membership of associations. Adolescents in

child-headed households have no parents or sometimes extended families to take care of them. They are vulnerable in many ways and have to make choices without any parental guidance. In the light of the above problems this study aimed to investigate how adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households develop morally.

1.2 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

I am a principal at a school with many learners from child-headed households. The school is situated in the *informal settlement*¹ (Appendix E) area around the platinum mining area of Rustenburg and serves a community that is predominantly poor (North West Health Policy Document 1996). Platinum mines in this area draw people from all provinces of South Africans well as from the neighbouring countries of Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mozambique and Malawi that come to work in the platinum mines. Hence, informal settlements consisting of diverse migrant populations develop at an alarming rate around South African mining areas. The North West Health Policy Document (1996) maintains that the high incidence of HIV/AIDS in this area is influenced by socio-economic aspects such as poverty, unemployment, a high level of illiteracy and the lack of access to media such as radio and television. The level of education among the people in this particular area where the study was undertaken is very low. Many of the adult males, who choose to live in this area, do not have their families with them and are inclined to be unfaithful to their absent wives. Consequently, as new relationships and families develop the impact of HIV and AIDS is experienced by many households in this community. The children who witness the death of parents¹ are often left alone to fend for themselves and their siblings as they do not enjoy the communal benefits of an extended family. Their moral development during adolescence is often negatively affected by the fact that as orphans of AIDS they become socially, physically, emotionally, educationally and economically vulnerable (Chabilall 2004).

The high incidence of HIV infections in the Rustenburg area directly affects the children, adults, schools and the community. Preliminary investigations have found that in this area the social life and education of orphaned adolescents are adversely affected by the scourge of AIDS, especially if they are part of child-headed households. Their education is hampered

¹ Is an area made of shacks / tin houses and has no proper infrastructure such as access to roads, electricity and water.

by their irregular or non-attendance of school, poor performance in the classroom because of exhaustion or malnutrition, vulnerability to abuse and other social ills – hence more often than not they drop out of school. Such adolescents find it difficult to actualise their maximum potential and abilities due to poverty and a lack of support. Social sources of support do not feature in the area. It is therefore true that adolescents in this area find themselves in abject poverty, have to fend for themselves and take their own moral decisions in their interaction with the social world. These adversities make them especially vulnerable since they are at greater risk of malnutrition, illness, abuse, child-labour, sexual exploitation and involvement in immoral activities (Foster *et al.* 1997:159).

In order to understand the moral developmental challenges that orphaned adolescents in child-headed households face as a result of AIDS, research is necessary to inform authorities and policymakers who may be influential in terms of providing the necessary support. Recommendations such as this one have been made via various studies (Chabilall 2004; Coombe 2001; Henderson 2000; Jones 2001; Key & Lindgren 1999; Matsane 2004; Maqoko 2006; Nkomo 2006; Shisana & Simbayi 2000) as HIV/AIDS has been well researched in South Africa. However, most research has focused on the knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviour of adolescents. A review of literature (Coombe 2001; Henderson 2000; Key & Lindgren 1999; Phillips 2002; Shisana & Simbayi 2000) illustrates that limited or no research has been conducted on the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households in South Africa. As a result, literature on this specific field of the study is limited. This study therefore attempts to address the ‘gap’ in the literature by investigating the effect of HIV/AIDS on the moral development of adolescents in child-headed households.

Adolescents orphaned by AIDS are faced with a variety of adult tasks and decisions emanating from their new responsibilities as heads of households. The findings and conclusions drawn from the study may be used to make proposals to the Departments of Education, Health and Social Development as well as to other government departments, schools, non-government organisations and researchers. These recommendations will assist officials in understanding the vulnerable circumstances that the adolescents in child-headed households find themselves in and in providing support that may enhance the adolescents’ moral development and self-actualisation.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The emergence of households headed by children sometimes as young as 10 to 12 years old is one of the most distressing consequences of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa (Foster *et al.* 1997:155). Adolescents orphaned by AIDS and living in child-headed households experience a myriad of challenges which include, among others, the following:

⌘ **Poverty and underdevelopment**

The conditions of poverty (Stillwagon 2006:7) increase HIV susceptibility, not only to opportunistic diseases after HIV infection but also to HIV transmission itself. Poverty exposes orphaned children to an array of potentially harmful substances, experiences and conditions such as maltreatment and crime that could predispose them to immoral behaviour (Ammerman & Hersen 1997:20).

⌘ **Health problems**

There may be negative life-style implications for adolescent orphaned by AIDS who have to live in child-headed households in that they become victims of addictive substances and alcohol or dietary disorders and diseases (Ammerman & Hersen 1997:302).

⌘ **Economic challenges**

The epidemic is leading to a decreasing proportion of adults in the communities; thus leading to a reduced source of income in affected households (Ammerman & Hersen 1997:24). This desperate situation can make orphaned adolescents economically vulnerable.

⌘ **Care-giving challenges**

As a result of the impact of AIDS on communities, changes are taking place in care-giving arrangements for affected children (Foster *et al.* 1997:155). Thousands of children in South Africa are burdened beyond their capabilities, becoming breadwinners overnight after their parents have died (Buchel 2006:9). The number of children being orphaned is rapidly increasing in communities with high rates of HIV infection (Foster *et al.* 1997:155). A growing percentage of young orphans are now in the care of elder brothers and sisters who are sometimes not much older than themselves (Foster *et al.* 1997:155).

⌘ **School drop-outs**

Many children orphaned by AIDS, especially those in child-headed households, do not have the means to continue with schooling and have to find work to fend for themselves as well for younger siblings. United Nations Children's fund [UNICEF] (UNAIDS 2002:9) has found that learners between the ages of 5 to 14 years who have lost parents are less likely to go to school and more likely to work to survive. Urdan and Pajares (2004:9), in a study, have also found that adolescents may have to leave school and get jobs in order to support the rest of the family. Many working adolescents who are compelled to take on more adult roles in the work place sometimes find it difficult to distinguish between right and wrong. In the light of these problems, the following questions can be formulated:

1.3.1 PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTION

How do adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households develop morally?

1.3.2 SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What factors in the ecosystem influence the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households?
- How do adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households make judgements in a moral dilemma?
- How vulnerable are adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households and how does it affect their moral reasoning?
- Based on the findings of the study, what measures can be taken to promote positive moral behaviour and development of adolescents in child-headed households?

1.4 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The main aims of this study are the following:

- To investigate the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households.
- To investigate which ecosystemic factors influence the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households.

- To investigate how adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households make judgements in a moral dilemma.
- To investigate the vulnerability of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households and how this vulnerability affects their moral development.
- To provide measures from the findings of the study that could prevent negative moral behaviour of adolescents in child-headed households.

1.5 ASSUMPTIONS

Assumptions guide researchers in the way in which they approach the phenomenon under investigation (Du Plooy 2001:20). Based on the initial literature review in this study, I assume the following:

- Adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households are morally, socially, educationally, physically and emotionally vulnerable.
- Adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households are economically vulnerable and cannot afford education.
- Adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households are less likely to be in school and more likely to fall behind or drop out.
- Adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households lack support (e.g. moral, educational, economic, emotional and social).
- Adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households face a higher risk of malnutrition [UNICEF 2003:25, 27].
- The numbers of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households tend to be disproportionately greater in poorer households (Nyamukapa, Foster & Gregson 2003:14).

1.6 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

The next section explains some of the key concepts that are used in the study.

1.6.1 ORPHAN

According to Uys and Cameron (2003:174) an *orphan* is a child whose parent(s) are dead. UNAIDS / UNICEF (2002:8) describes *orphan* as follows:

- *Maternal orphans* are children whose mothers and perhaps fathers have died.
- *Paternal orphans* are children whose fathers and perhaps mothers have died.
- *Double orphans* are children whose mothers and fathers have died.

Henderson (2006:306) states that the term *orphan* varies in that orphans are defined as those who have lost either one or both of their parents. The differences between having lost one or both parents are not always made explicit in widely circulated accounts.

For the purpose of this study the term *orphan* refers to a child below the age of 18 whose parent(s) have died (Operario, Cluver, Rees, MacPael & Pettifer 2008:174).

1.6.2 HIV/AIDS

Lachman (1990:1) describes AIDS as a multiplicity of secondary diseases caused by primary infection with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus. According to Lachman (1990:1) the acronym AIDS stands for acquired immunodeficiency syndrome, which is a disease that causes the breakdown of the immune system. In terms of this study the term *HIV* refers to the human immunodeficiency virus, a virus that affects the human immune system. *AIDS* (Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome) refers to the disease that destroys the immune system. AIDS is precipitated by infections with the retrovirus HIV, which destroys white blood cells and is transmitted through blood or bodily secretions such as semen. Patients lose the ability to fight infections, often dying from secondary causes such as pneumonia.

Houle (2003:7-8) describes 'AIDS' as follows: *Acquired* means that it is a disease that a person gets from someone else. The disease is transmitted or spread from person to person and is contagious. *Immunodeficiency* means that there is a deficiency, a defect or a problem with the body system. *Syndrome* is a group of symptoms that occur together and that collectively indicate a certain problem.

The human immune-deficiency virus (HIV) belongs to a family of viruses called retroviruses. The virus causes infected cells to translate the viral genetic material, Ribonucleic Acid (RNA), into another form, Deoxyribonucleic Acid (DNA), which it uses to infect new cells. HIV attacks mainly white cells in the body called lymphocytes, a key part of the immune response.

1.6.3 ADOLESCENT

According to Foster *et al.* (1997:158) an adolescent is a person 13 to 24 years old. For the purpose of this study an *adolescent* refers to any young person from the age of 13 to 18 years.

1.6.4 CHILD-HEADED HOUSEHOLD

In this study the concept *child-headed household* refers to a household headed by a child or an adolescent after the terminal illness or death of a parent due to AIDS related disease(s) (Foster *et al.* 1997:160).

1.6.5 MORALITY

According to Pearsall and Hanks (2003:1140) the concept *morality* refers to the person's perceptions of right and wrong or good and bad behaviour. It is a code of behaviour that is considered right or acceptable in a particular society. For the purpose of this study the concept *moral* refers to adolescents' perceptions of right and wrong (Eysenck 2000:439).

1.6.6 MORAL DEVELOPMENT

Moral development is the gradual development of a person's concepts of right and wrong, conscience, ethical and religious values, social attitudes and behaviour (Corsini 2002:608). Holmes (1993:12) defines moral development as a point of view that contains criteria for determining right from wrong. For the purpose of this study moral development refers to the way in which adolescents learn to adapt their behaviour (right or wrong, good or bad) within their circumstances.

1.6.7 VALUES

Values are ideals or beliefs that guide or qualify our personal conduct and interaction with others. They help to distinguish right from wrong and inform on how to conduct our lives in a meaningful way (Louw 2009:14). For the purpose of this study *values* are defined as the core set of beliefs and principles deemed to be desirable by groups of individuals (Joyner &

Payne 2002:299). Values define what is important, worthwhile and worth living for. Values vary from society to society.

1.7 ADOLESCENCE AS A DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE

Adolescence is a period of growth with many distinctive features. These features involve changes in the individual's body, thinking abilities, psychological concerns and place in society (Anderson, Bananzizi, Berenson & Busch 2009:60). Anderson *et al.* (2009:61) explain the following levels of development:

⌘ **Physical development**

Puberty is a collective term for all the physical changes that occur in a growing adolescent as the individual passes from childhood to adulthood (Anderson *et al.* 2009:61). Many adolescents might not be able to understand the physical changes they experience and some are unable to protect themselves from abuse and exploitation. Internally, adolescents become capable of sexual reproduction. Externally boys and girls begin to look more like mature men and women (Lintner 1991:1). Chabilall (2004:79) states that when they cannot cope with the physical changes because they are too immature to be assertive, adolescents are prone to be exploited.

⌘ **Cognitive development**

Adolescents begin to think more like adults. Their thinking becomes more advanced, more efficient and generally effective. According to Anderson *et al.* (2009:61-62) the following developments become visible during this phase: thinking is less bound to concrete events than that of a child; adolescents are better able to think about abstract things, think about several things at the same time, and begin to see things as relative. Adolescents in child-headed households find themselves in positions with the responsibility to take care of their siblings.

⌘ **Emotional development**

Adolescents develop self identity and self esteem. According to Conger (2001:19) the fluidity of an adolescent's self-image, his/her changing aspirations, sex drive, unstable powers of repression and struggle to readapt his/her childhood standards of right and wrong to the needs of maturity bring into sharp focus every conflict, past and present, that he/she has

failed to solve. The adolescent can provide complex and abstract psychological descriptions and develops from the dependence of childhood to the independence of adulthood (Conger 2001:20). This is a storm and stress period, which is exacerbated in adolescents in child-headed households.

⌘ **Social development**

Adolescents develop relationships with their peers. They spend more time with their peers. Friends can have a profound effect on adolescents' current and future happiness (Dodge 1988:68). Some start to date and to engage in sexual activities. In the South African context the responsibilities of adolescents in child-headed households together with the stigma and discrimination associated with HIV/AIDS affect their social relationships.

1.7.1 VULNERABILITY OF ADOLESCENTS

Pretorius (1998:56) identifies the vulnerability of *adolescents* as follows:

⌘ **Adolescents are socially vulnerable**

Adolescents in child-headed households are socially vulnerable due to a lack of knowledge and skills to maintain themselves in the position as caregivers and in the role of parent or adult. Adolescence is a developmental phase where peers and society have an influence on adolescents' lives. Many adolescents do not know how to protect themselves against the abuse or exploitation by older people; they often lack the necessary confidence and skills to negotiate ways to protect themselves.

In general, adolescents possess poor decision and negotiation skills. Yet, during this phase, they face a series of important developmental decisions involving family and peer relationships, sexual expression, vocational and educational development as well as experimenting with drugs and alcohol (Maag & Irvin 2005). Research by Kelly (2000) indicates that it is necessary to teach adolescents social skills and attitudes related to developing relevant educational competencies, handling current problems and stresses, and anticipating and preventing future.

⌘ **Adolescents are emotionally vulnerable**

Adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households are vulnerable to stigma and discrimination. Stigma and the secrecy surrounding HIV/AIDS (Cluver & Gardner 2006:1) cause social isolation, bullying, shame and a lack of opportunity to discuss loss openly. According to the psychological difficulties hypothesis by Case and Ardington (in Operario *et al.* 2008:182), the experience of parental death can be a traumatic event leading to emotional difficulties or excessive anxiety among children, preventing them from focusing on school. Adolescents may from time to time experience depression, anxiety and phobias. They experience feelings of defeat that lead to depression, causing them sometimes to succumb to hopelessness and thoughts of suicide (Kovach 1983:322).

⌘ **Adolescents are physically vulnerable**

Vulnerable adolescents, who have been orphaned under tragic circumstances such as AIDS, are more likely to be abused, sexually, physically and emotionally. Girls' bodies appear physically mature and they become victims of sexual abuse. Abuse may involve some form of intimidation, domination, manipulation or exploitation by adults (Newman & Newman 1997:435).

⌘ **Adolescents are economically vulnerable**

When a parent is ill, children's school attendance drops because they need to work to pay medical expenses or because their families cannot afford to pay school fees (Foster & Williamson 2000:5). In countries such as South Africa, where school fees, uniforms and school equipment are often compulsory, poverty and economic shocks have been shown to lead to children's removal from school in order to reduce costs or to provide household income through child labour (Operario *et al.* 2008:174).

All these forms of vulnerability can have serious repercussions upon the manner in which adolescents in child-headed households develop morally. Research regarding the impact of HIV/AIDS on the vulnerability of adolescents can draw attention to the moral problems and needs they experience, resulting in recommendations about what measures can be taken to improve the moral behaviour and development of adolescents in child-headed households.

1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The function of theory in any scientific field is to provide a framework within which to explain relationships among the phenomena being studied and to provide insights leading to the discovery of new relationships (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karuik 2001:3).

1.8.1 BRONFENBRENNER'S ECOLOGICAL THEORY

This research project adopts Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory. According to Stokols (1995:287) a major strength of ecological theories is that they integrate strategies of behavioural change and environmental enhancement within a broad systems-theoretical framework. A key feature of ecological models is that they incorporate two or more analytical levels, e.g. personal, organisational and social, permitting researchers to examine both individual and aggregate manifestations of health problems and the impact of community interventions (Stokols 1995:287). According to Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory (Boemmel & Briscoe 2001:1) the ecological environment is conceived as a set of nested structures, each inside the other. These systems can be distinguished as the microsystems, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem.

⌘ Microsystem

This system consists of the interaction between the developing person and other individuals, such as parents. We may speak of the parent-child or teacher-child system. In this study the microsystem focuses on adolescents orphaned by AIDS as heads of the family and their immediate environment which includes family, school, peers, local neighbourhood or community institutions such as the school, religious institutions and peer groups as well as the specific culture within which the family identifies (Huitt 2009:4).

⌘ Mesosystem

This system is represented when two or more microsystems interact either indirectly, such as a parent-teacher conference in which parents and teachers interact together, or directly, such as when school children enter a new ecological setting like middle school. For the purpose of this study the mesosystem (which is a set of micro-systems associated with one

another) refers to the relationship between adolescents' school, workplace, churches and peers and includes social institutions involved in such activities (Huitt 2009:5).

⌘ **Exosystem**

The exosystem refers to the influences that are external to an individual adolescent, such as the effect of parental employment – but that which affects children's development either directly, such as through school-age children's need for out-of-school supervision, or indirectly such as through family income. For the purpose of this study, the exosystem puts emphasis on the context in which adolescents orphaned by AIDS live. The exosystem has an impact on the functioning of important members in the adolescent's life, such as school and community (Prado, Huang, Maldonado-Molina, Bandiera, Schwartz, De la Vega, Brown & Pantin 2010:99).

⌘ **Macrosystem**

The macrosystem includes broader cultural influences on development, such as ethnic or religious values. In this study a macrosystem embraces the social interactions and modifications involving adolescents orphaned by AIDS in relation to their thoughts, attitudes and behaviour in response to the actions and feelings of others. The broad social and philosophical ideals in which adolescents orphaned by AIDS live and that define a particular culture are considered.

1.8.2 KOHLBERG'S THEORY OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT

This theory asserts that individual cognitive development is a necessary prerequisite for moral reasoning. Kohlberg's model identifies six stages that can be distinguished in individual moral reasoning, based on the relationship to others and the society's moral rules (Logsdon & Yuthas 1997:1214).

Swartz (2009:6) maintains that Kohlberg made the connection between increased levels of cognitive and psychosocial development and the ability to reason at increasing levels of moral complexity. Kohlberg developed three levels of moral reasoning: moral reasoning based on the avoidance of punishment, consequences, self-interest and personal benefit, refers to the *pre-conventional level*. According to Shaffer (1996:580) the young, pre-

conventional adolescent reasons out moral issues from an egocentric point of view. At stage 1, a child thinks that certain acts are bad because they are punished. At stage 2, the adolescent shows limited awareness of the needs, thoughts, and intentions of others but still judges self-serving acts as right or appropriate. A person at stage 3 must recognise others as good or morally acceptable.

Reasoning at a *conventional level* is evident in the concern about interpersonal relationships, relational influences and social obligations (Swartz 2009:6). Finally people reasoning at the *post-conventional level* are characterised by principled and impartial judgements based on the universally applicable social contract. Post-conventional or principled morality seems to require much more than a decline in egocentrism and a capacity for mutual role taking. The person bases moral judgments on abstract principles rather than adhering to the rule of law or to concrete moral norms.

1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.9.1 PARADIGMATIC PERSPECTIVE

This study utilises a qualitative inquiry. Such an inquiry is appropriate for the process of investigating adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households as it allows for interpretations of the meanings and intentions that underlie everyday human action. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000:8), qualitative researchers seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning. Rensburg and Angelopulo (1996) maintain that meaning is not static; it is constantly created and recreated.

Qualitative researchers study objects/participants in their natural settings, as they attempt to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln 1998:3). Qualitative research, according to De Vos, (1998:241) is holistic in nature and aims at understanding social life and the meaning that people attach to everyday life. Mason (2001:5) maintains that qualitative research is systematic, rigorous, flexible and contextual and is strategically conducted. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:8) endorse the view that qualitative research implies an emphasis on the quality of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured.

1.9.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Mason (2001:5) defines a research design as “a blue print” or detailed plan for the way in which research is to be conducted. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:8) defines a design as a plan or blueprint according to which data is collected to investigate the research hypothesis or question in an economical manner. A research design is the presentation of the plan, the structure and the strategy of investigation, which seeks to obtain answers to various research questions. This research adopted a case study research design. According to Nieuwenhuis (2007:75) the case study research method is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. Creswell (2002:465) describes a case as an in-depth exploration of a bounded system based on extensive data collection. Bounded implies that the case is demarcated for research in terms of time, place or some physical boundaries (Creswell 2002:465).

1.9.3 INTERPRETIVIST PARADIGM

The epistemology of this study is based on the interpretive paradigm, which endeavours to understand the subjective world of human experience (Cohen, Manion & Morisson 2000). According to Nieuwenhuis (2007:47) a paradigm is a set of assumptions or beliefs about fundamental aspects of reality which gives rise to a particular world-view; it addresses fundamental assumptions such as the beliefs about the nature of reality (ontology), the relationship between knower and known (epistemology) and assumptions about methodologies. Interpretivism maintains that knowledge is always relative and therefore the best way to study behaviour is to portray it from the viewpoint of those involved.

The ultimate aim of this interpretivist research is to offer a perspective on the theme by analysing the research situation to establish the way in which a particular group of people make sense of their situation or phenomena they encounter (Nieuwenhuis 2007:105). The interpretivist paradigm guided me to gain the best information from the participants in their circumstances by not separating the phenomenon (moral development of adolescents) from the context (social environment).

1.9.4 SAMPLING

De Vos (1998:191) explains sampling as a subset of measurements drawn from a population in which the researcher is interested. Mouton and Marais (1991:50) regard a sample as a group that is investigated. Purposive sampling was used to select adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households from the area in which they reside where this study took place. Babbie (2004:183) maintains that purposive sampling is selected on the basis of the knowledge of a population, its elements and the purpose of the study. Patton (1990:169) states that the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases from which one can learn a great deal. The participants in this study were regarded as experts who hold the key to any understanding and insight into their own social life and insight into the challenges of living in child-headed households (Louw 2009:13). Data was collected from adolescents in their homes in the informal areas of Rustenburg. The study extended the researcher's experience of the phenomenon and the situation and the challenging situations in which adolescents in child-headed households find themselves.

1.9.5 PARTICIPANTS

I selected six participants from adolescents in child-headed households. They were within the age category of 13 to 18 years. Three males and three females were selected. I selected these adolescents regardless of whether they were at school or not. Participants were required to be living in the area of Rustenburg. The selection of these participants was based on cases reported to the Institutional Level Support Teams (ILSTs) in selected schools and to local social workers. The ILSTs were formed in schools of North West province with the purpose of identifying learners with serious socio-educational challenges that hamper their performance at school. ILST educators receive training from a specialised division of the Department of Education on how to handle cases and learners with special needs in schools. Selecting only six adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households made it easier for the researcher to conduct an in-depth qualitative study effectively (Maykut & Morehouse 1994:174).

1.9.6 ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

The researcher adopted the role of interviewer, observer and interpreter by establishing a research role (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:435). The researcher's role dictates the progress of the study to a large extent and its success depends on the level of trust and acceptance *by the participants* that the researcher will achieve (Chabilall 2004:21). The services of a local social worker from Tapologo were utilised during the research programme. The social worker was familiar with the situation in the community and participants felt more comfortable and relaxed in her presence. HIV/AIDS is a sensitive issue that needs to be handled with care. The social worker assisted when counselling was needed.

1.10 DATA COLLECTION STRATEGIES

The following multiple data gathering techniques were utilised:

1.10.1 INTERVIEWS

I selected interviews because the process is most appropriate in my estimation as it involves the art of asking questions and listening to obtain answers (Denzin & Lincoln 2000:633). Interviews were conducted with six adolescents in different child-headed households. I conducted semi-structured interviews during the actual research process. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000:649) during semi-structured interviews the interviewer asks all respondents the same series of pre-established questions. De Vos (1998:299) endorses the fact that pre-formulated questions are carefully arranged and put to all the interviewees in a fairly similar sequence. An audio tape recorder was used during the interview process to record discussions while notes were taken. I requested permission from the participants beforehand to use a tape recorder and to take notes.

1.10.2 OBSERVATIONS

Observations (Cohen & Manion 1996:110) enabled me to study ongoing behaviour as these occurred and to be able to make appropriate notes about salient features. I have to make a deliberate attempt to put myself in the shoes of the participants observing and studying and

trying to understand their actions, decisions, behaviour, practices and rituals from their perspectives (Babbie & Mouton 1998:271).

1.10.3 NARRATIVES

Narrative research involves getting a story from an individual who is identified as having some knowledge or experience of the topic of the study (Gilbert 2001:67). It was selected for this study to allow participants an opportunity to tell their stories in a chronological fashion for the purpose of understanding, conveying and creating meaning of experience.

1.11 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

De Vos (1998:271) maintains that data collection and analysis are tightly interwoven processes that must occur alternately because analysis directs the sampling of data. Coding was used to select the most relevant information. Open coding was adopted to analyse the interviews and observations paragraph by paragraph. During coding (Mertens 1997:352) data was broken down into discrete parts, closely examined and compared for similarities and differences.

The process of data analysis involved categorisation, sorting, recording and interpretation. McLeod (1998:328) suggests that qualitative data provide for a description and interpretation of what things mean to people. Analysing interviews (Louw 2009:18) inevitably implies content analysis to evaluate key words, meanings, symbols, themes or messages communicated during the interviews.

In the event of interacting with the participants (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:116-118) phenomenological interpretation – the interpretation of the situation in which the investigator finds himself/herself – helps the researcher to construct knowledge regarding adolescents in child-headed households. During the data analysis phase the researcher had to guard against subjectivity in the interpretation of data.

1.12 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This research project was conducted in the informal settlement of Rustenburg. The study focuses on adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households. An interview

questionnaire was administered to six participants from the community. The process of identification of the participants relied mostly on information received from ILST educators of local schools and local social workers about adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households. Target participants were adolescents aged between 13 and 18 years of age. Participants either still attended school or had left school.

1.13 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Validity refers to the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration (Babbie & Mouton 1998:122). Validity also refers to the extent to which an instrument measures what it intends to measure (Louw 2009:87). Reliability is the question whether a particular technique, applied repeatedly to the same object, would yield the same result each time (Babbie 1992:129). The instrument was administered to all six participants in the same way and this has given the instrument some credibility regarding reliability and validity. The attitudes and perceptions of participants were not easy to measure since the responses solely depended on the individual's complete honesty and avoidance of the tendency to provide socially acceptable answers (Cohen & Holliday 1982:253). The researcher increased the reliability and dependability of the research by ensuring that the recorded data was what in fact occurred during the actual study (Chabilall 2004:30).

1.14 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to Capuzzi and Gross (1997:94) ethics is a philosophical study of moral value of human conduct and the rules and principles that ought to govern it, or a code of behaviour considered correct, especially that of a particular group, profession or individual.

During this research project I exhibited what Belsey and Chadwick (1992:11) call "specific professional virtues" that include fairness, truthfulness, trustworthiness and non-malevolence. In this way I tried to avoid many ways in which a researcher can offend others such as the following as stated by Besley and Chadwick (1992:8): inaccuracy, lies, distortions, bias, favouritism, personal attacks and character assassination. Confidentiality is of the utmost importance when dealing with participants in an interview situation. To maintain confidentiality I maintained what Bouman and Elliston (1988:1) regard as the "possibility of

administrative ethics” which emphasises individual administrative ethics, moral judgement, values and social priorities. I allocated numbers and pseudonyms to participants (adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households) to identify them. According to Belsey and Chadwick (1992:10) ethics has more to do with principles that have some reasoned theoretical basis and which apply objectively and impartially. Three basic qualitative research principles were applied, (Chabilall 2004:33) namely respect, non-coercion and non-manipulation as well as support for democratic values. HIV/AIDS is a sensitive issue that requires that the researcher investigate and interview with the necessary empathy (Chabilall 2004:33).

Participants were notified verbally of the purpose of the study and of how the information they contributed was going to be used. They were also assured that they would be informed of the results of the study, should they want to know. Participants were informed that anonymity and confidentiality of individual contributions would be upheld. Chabilall (2004:34) maintains that people have the right to anonymity and should the data collection process compromise this right, information will be withheld even if it were to benefit the public at large. The researcher applied for ethical clearance that was necessary according to the requirements of the University of Pretoria. This process enabled the researcher to observe all the ethical codes of conduct and procedures as stipulated. Mertens (1997:23) maintains that ethical guidelines are needed to guard against the obvious and less obvious atrocities of research.

1.15 PLAN OF STUDY

CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION AND BACKGROUND

The first chapter of this project provides the orientation and background of the proposed research: the problem statement, aim of the study, the methodology, ethical considerations and plan of study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE STUDY: MORALS, VALUES AND SOCIETAL FACTORS INFLUENCING MORALITY

In this chapter I discuss aspects of moral development in detail and give a general overview of morals, morality and values. Contextual factors that influence morality, moral degeneration and moral regeneration are also discussed.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE STUDY: ADOLESCENCE AS A DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE, THEORIES OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter I provide the theoretical framework for my study and outline the literature review on adolescence as a developmental phase, theories of moral development and the theoretical framework of this study.

CHAPTER 4: DESIGNING AND CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN THE FIELD

In this chapter the layout and implementation of the proposed qualitative research methodology, selected research design, research participants and data collection as well as the ethical considerations that were followed during the empirical research of this study are presented.

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS, EMERGING THEMES AND DISCUSSIONS

Chapter 5 consists of the presentation and discussion of the acquired data and information obtained from interviews and observations. The interpretation and discussion of the results that emerged from data analysis are also provided.

CHAPTER 6: OVERVIEW, FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

In this chapter an overview of the study is provided and relevant information and conclusions are drawn to answer the research questions. The chapter concludes with recommendations for further research that will supplement the finds of this research project.

1.16 CONCLUSION

From the literature it is evident that adolescents are vulnerable and lack knowledge and skills to protect themselves from abuse. Adolescents find themselves in an environment where they interact with peers, family, schools and churches. For this reason the ecological theory of Bronfenbrenner is suitable to guide the study. Kohlberg's theory on moral development also provides a useful background to the youth's moral reasoning. A case study qualitative approach within an interpretive paradigm helped me to gather and analyse the data.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: MORALS, VALUES AND SOCIETAL FACTORS INFLUENCING MORALITY

“We want character but without conviction, we want strong morality but without the emotional burden of guilt and shame; we want virtue but without particular moral justifications that invariably offend; we want good without having to name evil; we want decency without the authority to insist on it; we want a moral community without any limitations on personal freedom.”

(Purpel & McLaurin 2004:76)

2. AIM OF THE CHAPTER

The aim of this chapter is to provide a detailed literature study on morale (adj.), morality and values. The chapter explores contextual factors that affect morality, interventions to enhance moral development, moral degeneration, moral regeneration and the relation between morals, sexual behaviour and HIV/AIDS.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Moral, *values* and *morality* are viewed in terms of how individuals conceptualise right and wrong and take decisions about how to behave within a social context. People have the capacity to make choices and to act in accordance with the choices they make. These choices are based on personal and socially constructed values, assumptions and beliefs. The theory according to Potgieter (2011:395) is that a personal set of values, assumptions and beliefs informs understanding of what is morally right or wrong and of the type of conduct that would be just, fair, ethical and equitable in a specific society and environment. In the next paragraph I discuss the concepts *moral* and *morality* in detail.

2.2 THE CONCEPTS MORALS AND MORALITY

In order to justify my particular use of the terms *moral* and *morality* in this thesis, I provide a thorough clarification of other researchers' accounts thereof.

The concept *moral* in Berns's (2007:521) deliberation encompasses an individual's evaluation of what is right and wrong and involves acceptance of rules that govern one's behaviour toward others. Holmes (1993:12) concurs with Berns's definition by defining *moral* as relating to points of view that contain criteria to determine right from wrong. Young, Van Niekerk and Mogotlane (2007:65), and Bigger and Brown (1999:7) describe *moral* as the 'must' and 'ought to' of life relating to norms for socially acceptable behaviour. Purpel and McLaurin (2004:76) mention that *moral* focuses on principles, rules and ideas that are related to human relationships as to how people deal with one another and the world. A similar approach is proposed by Olen and Barry (1992:4) who are of an opinion that *moral* can be used prescriptively as well as descriptively and in both cases the emphasis is upon a person's attitudes, values and behaviour in response to others. This notion is elaborated upon further by Zdenek and Schochor (2007:516) who state that "Descriptively, moral(s) refer to a code of conduct put forward by society or some other group such as religion, or accepted by an individual for his/her own behaviour." For the explanations provided in this thesis it is acceptable to note that normatively, *moral* qualifies the quality of a code of conduct that, given specified conditions, would be put forward by all rational persons.

Accordingly, Potgieter (2011:395) posits that morals are standards of behaviour concerned with how we live our lives. These standards refer to habits or conduct *vis-à-vis* what may constitute appropriate human behaviour. Moral life is not a distinct and autonomous realm of human endeavour but arises out of the ongoing practices of any group of people (Tronto 1994:62). Schneewind (2010:16) states that morals must convey people's convictions but also provide them with adequate guidelines to be able to make future decisions. Adolescence is a developmental phase in which young people find themselves in vulnerable situations that could influence their personal morals. Since morals appear to evolve, they have to be re-discovered, re-invented and re-defined by each generation as people search for a way to make living together more just, fair, ethical, and equitable (Potgieter 2011:395). Shaffer (1996:568) concludes that the concept moral is the behavioural component of morality. As a result Shaffer (1996:568) and Holmes (1993:12) define morality as a set of ideals that help the individual to distinguish right from wrong, to act on this and to feel pride in virtuous conduct and guilt or shame for conduct that violates social standards. Berns

(2007:521) accepts this perception, extending the reasoning by maintaining that morality involves feelings, which include empathy and guilt.

Morality is described by Ferns and Thom (2001:38) as a collection of beliefs and choices based on principles of fairness or impartiality and is a concept that could be relative to a specific culture. The relationship between culture and morality is that the latter embraces acceptable values, norms, attitudes and patterns of behaviour that are laid down by a given society. Morality encompasses beliefs and actions that are based on responsiveness to others and is therefore tailored to circumstances and individual relationships as much as possible with the focus being responsibility for and connections with others (Ferns and Thom 2001:38).

It seems that the argument by Berns (2007:521) is more relevant to the study of adolescents in child-headed households because he maintains that morality involves self-regulation of impulses and is concerned with how people conform to standards of behaviour and character based on such principles as Potgieter (2011:395) does. Berns (2007:521) claims that morality also involves one's conscience or personal rules for interacting with others such as being kind, cooperative and helpful. Children develop the ability to recognise and respond to impulses from familial and cultural socialisation, for example, being rewarded for obedience and being chastised for wrongdoing. Furthermore Nucci (1997:6) maintains that morality deals with justice and human issues that engage children in reflection upon such concerns. Yet adolescents construct moral concepts according to their cognitive and emotional development from social interactions that provide experience in collaboration and conflict. This means that morality involves obeying society's values and norms through self-regulation and conforming to acceptable standards of behaviour and character.

Sometimes one's moral code is guided by external rules, such as parental approval, convention, or the law while at other times one's code is guided by internal rules, such as self approval or self-condemnation (Berns 2007:521). However, Shaffer (1996:568) cites that morality may be viewed in the following three categories:

- An affective or emotional component that consists of the feelings that surround right or wrong actions and that motivate moral thoughts and actions, such as guilt.

- A cognitive component that centres on the way a person conceptualises right and wrong and makes decisions about how to behave.
- A behavioural component that reflects how a person actually behaves when he/she experiences the temptation to lie, cheat or violate other moral rules.

Research by Maheu (2008:3) reveals that adolescents judge bad behaviour by the extent of the damage caused by such behaviour. The inference here is that whether an action is right or wrong depends on the moral norms of the society or moral commitments of the individual. In a study by Chabilall (2004:51) there is evidence that moral options adolescents may consider appropriate may not always be in harmony with the tried and tested moral norms established by their parents.

After completing an in-depth study of the concepts *moral* and *morality* by considering dictionary meanings and those provided by different authors (Berns 2007:521; Bigger & Brown 1999:7; Olen & Barry 1992:71; Purpel & McLaurin 2004:76; Seifert 1999:461; Tronto 1994:27; Young *et al.* 2007:65) I realised that there is a thin line of distinction in the meaning of the two concepts. As a result *moral* and *morality* are used interchangeably throughout this study. The next paragraph will present in-depth discussions of the term *values*.

2.3 VALUES AND MORALS

Values are the qualities that people believe to be intrinsically desirable and that they strive to achieve in themselves (Click & Parker 2009:13). Posner (2012:1) defines a *value* as a belief, a mission or a philosophy that is meaningful. It is my understanding from Posner's (2012:3) clarification of the term that values enable one to take the next step in life by pointing one in a positive direction. As a consequence, it is possible that individual circumstances may ultimately improve economic, social and cultural conditions of a nation as a whole or move society forward in its never-ending ascending path of progress (Posner 2012:3). Morals and values are a part of the behavioural aspect of a person. Navran (2010:2) states that there is not much difference between morals and values, as morals are formed from inborn values while values are personal beliefs that come from within. Morals therefore act as a source of motivation or a key for leading a good life in the right direction

whereas a *value* is embedded within a person. Hence, a *value* can be good or bad depending on the person's choice or it can be called an intuition or a call of the heart.

Morals do not necessarily determine values but are formed because of values. Navran's (2010:3) argument is that morals contribute to the system of beliefs and are the values which we acquire from society representing standards to judge right or wrong, good or bad, just or unjust. They are the fundamental principles that give guidance to a person to evaluate the merits and demerits of a thing or situation. Values include courage, respect, patriotism, honesty, honour, compassion, etc. Morals are like commandments set by the elders, religious teachers or leaders that are to be followed by the descendants to lead them from immoral thoughts (Navran 2010:3). It is important to understand that it does not mean that values will always guide individuals to do what is morally right. Since values are personal and change according to different situations with time and needs, whatever is valuable for one person may not be the same for another.

Navran (2010:1) maintains that values are our fundamental beliefs. They are the principles that are used to define that which is right, good and just. Values are our standards providing guidance to determine the right versus the wrong or the good versus bad. A personal or cultural value is often considered to be an absolute or relative ethical value, the assumption of which can be the basis for ethical action. A *value system* is a set of consistent values and measures. Those values that are not physiologically determined and normally considered objective, such as desire to avoid physical pain or seek pleasure, are considered subjective and vary across individuals and cultures because these are in many ways aligned to belief and belief systems. Further discussion of morals and values requires clarification of the contextual factors that influence morality as provided in the next section.

2.4 CONTEXTUAL FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE MORALITY

Contextual factors are the external forces that may affect and hamper the development of adolescents as discussed in this study (Tashakkori & Teddlie 2010:627). People help shape an individual's expectations, values, norms, behavioural roles and dreams (Potgieter 2011:396). Every individual is born without guilt, biases or prejudice, but all are socialised and influenced by parents, friends, teachers and other people whom are loved and trusted. A

study by Chabilall (2010:42) has found that although social networks are not always “a natural given”, adolescents, like their adult role models, are social creatures who form relationships within the networks such as families and communities that depend upon specific cultures as frames of reference. In the following paragraphs I discuss how contextual factors like poverty, the school, family, community, peers and culture influence morality. I make use of these factors that seem to be the most prominent factors that influence adolescents in the South African context.

2.4.1 POVERTY

Poverty is both an economic and a psychological condition within a social setting. In keeping with the educational background of this research I conclude that the level of poverty in a family is a significant predictor of academic drop-outs who are adolescents (Urdan & Pajares 2004:9). In addition, to respond to the research questions of this study, it is significant to note that poverty plays an important role in the large-scale transmission of HIV/AIDS. Poor health feeds into poverty because of diminished household savings and increased debt, lowered learning ability and a disadvantaged quality of life (Tshoose 2010:420).

Children living in poverty are deprived of nutrition, water and sanitation facilities, access to basic health care services, shelter, education, protection and participation in the social sphere. In addition, while a severe lack of goods and services hurts every human being, it is most threatening and harmful to children, leaving them unable to enjoy their rights, to reach their full potential or to participate as full members of society (UNICEF 2007). Furthermore it can be stated that poverty increases the risks that children face, including risks associated with malnourishment, poor quality health care, living in hazardous physical environments or dangerous neighbourhoods or receiving poor-quality or inadequate child care (UNICEF 2007).

UNAIDS (2010:31) reports that since detrimental risk taking behaviour tends to be concentrated in the poorer segments of the population, HIV/AIDS is intertwined with poverty and can, in turn, exacerbate poverty as a result of high treatment costs that need to be sustained over long periods. The conditions of poverty (Stillwagon 2006:7) increase HIV susceptibility, not only in terms of opportunistic diseases after HIV infection but also to HIV

transmission itself. Such conditions can lead to a sense of hopelessness and often to socially destructive behaviour among adolescents as well (UNAIDS 2000:1). Poverty and underdevelopment impose constraints on the choices made by adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households as well as their ability to avoid risky behaviour (Stillwagon 2006:81). As Ammerman and Hersen (1997:20) point out, poverty exposes children to an array of potentially harmful substances, experiences and conditions such as maltreatment and crime. They are exposed to the impact of poverty by their lack of access to money, material goods and services that money can buy (Ammerman & Hersen 1997:23). Adejuwon and Oki (2011:4) claim that orphans who fall deeper into the cycle of poverty engage in high-risk behaviour, which perpetuates the cycle of HIV transmission, pregnancy, exploitation and crime.

The convincing line of reasoning presented by Minujin & Nandy (2012:3) is that the dimensions of children's poverty include children's living conditions, their access to basic services, their ability to participate in normal society as full citizens, the right to be free of any kind of discrimination and exclusion and their rights to protection from exploitation and abuse. In South Africa most adolescent orphans of AIDS in child-headed households live in poverty and experience persistent financial hardship throughout their childhood. These adolescents might also be more at risk to poor academic performance by virtue of their limited exposure to environmental stimuli, such as books, culture, and scientific activities (Urdan & Pajares 2004:9). They (Urdan & Pajares 2004:9) conclude that the level of poverty in a family is a significant predictor of academic failure of children.

2.4.2 THE SCHOOL

Of all the formal institutions that children encounter in their lives away from home, few have as much opportunity to influence their development as the schools they attend (Shaffer 1996:651). Schools contribute to positive development when they enable children to feel safe and supported. The aim of education is growth and development, both intellectual and moral (Kohlberg 1975:4). Cobb (2010:423) maintains that teachers offer emotional as well as informational support. Teachers who are both supportive and demanding are most effective, particularly with learners from low-income families. Learners, on the other hand, are expected to obey rules, cooperate with their classmates, respect authority and become good

citizens. Ethical and psychological principles can aid the school in the building of powerful character. In view of this fact effective schools can exert a positive influence on student behaviour and achievement despite conditions in the home, socioeconomic status or other risk factors (Urdu & Pajares 2004:16). The school is a socialisation agent that is likely to affect adolescents' social, emotional and moral development as well as the imparting of knowledge that helps to prepare students for jobs and economic self-sufficiency (Shaffer 1996:651).

The climate and culture of the school helps to shape the interaction between students, teachers, administrators, parents and the community (Urdu & Pajares 2004:16). School culture consists of the attitudes, beliefs, values, and norms that underlie the instructional practices, level of academic achievements and the operation of the school (Chabilall 2010:42). According to Chabilall (2010:42) school culture plays an undeniable role in facilitating the child's ability to take informed decisions about personal well-being. School culture forms part of an influential social paradigm that inculcates in children a "sense of self" and "perceptions of reality". Schools provide information and moral guidance in an attempt to combat almost every social problem affecting children, including immoral behaviour like teenage sex and substance abuse (Shaffer 1996:651). Louw (2009:46) states that it is necessary to teach adolescents social skills and attitudes that they need to develop relevant educational competencies to be able to handle current problems and stresses as well as to anticipate and prevent future problems and advance their mental health, social functioning and economic welfare. However, it can be a problem in child-headed households as many adolescents drop out of schools and sometimes no one is available to guide them in their moral development. Schooling has a significant impact on children's development but for many children, especially those in child-headed households, it becomes unaffordable and they consequently drop out.

Adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households are often forced to drop out of school mainly because of financial reasons. Those who go to school are often so traumatised by the effect of HIV/AIDS in their environment that they are incapable of using the opportunity to learn optimally (Buchel 2006:2). Many children orphaned by AIDS, especially those in child-headed households, do not have the means to continue schooling, having instead to find work and fend for themselves and, often, to support younger siblings as well.

2.4.3 FAMILY

From a westernised and somewhat dated viewpoint De Witt and Booysen (1995:19) define a family as the unit resulting from a socially acceptable and approved relationship between two persons of the opposite sex who conceive or adopt children and share a home and economic responsibilities. In contrast the South African concept of a family may include child-headed households as a new form of a family. In these families parents may be too ill due to HIV- or AIDS-related diseases to attend to their responsibilities, or have passed on so that children become heads of the families. De Witt and Booysen (1995:19)) state that in some cases family members migrate in search of work opportunities, leaving children on their own. Frydenberg (2008:108) regards the family as “the mediating” structure for the surrounding culture providing values for the development of young people. The family is the setting where collaborative learning can take place and where there is “scaffolding” or support to help the adolescent to the next stage of competence.

The family is a setting where modelling and social learning take place, as well as a setting for competition, conflict and the provision of resources. The interaction within family relationships allows adolescents to learn to negotiate with others and adapt to others’ individual differences and developmental needs. Meiring (2003:1226) agree with this assertion that families are an important developmental context for continuity, socialisation and change. Adolescents in child-headed households in South Africa become disadvantaged as their family environment does not offer basic necessities, such as parental support, proper shelter and security. Most disadvantaged adolescents find themselves living in abject poverty and have to fend for themselves, unlike their peers in supportive home environments.

Cobb (2010:417), utilising a representative sample in a study of adolescents found that adolescents who have warm and emotionally satisfying relationships with their parents and who experience fewer family disruptions are more likely to have a greater sense of well-being. These adolescents avoid serious risk taking behaviour, dropping out of school, smoking, drug abuse or delinquent behaviour (Cobb 2010:417). Cobb’s (2010:417) study of adolescents explains that warmth and family closeness are associated with fewer

behavioural problems in girls, such as the dropping out of school or becoming sexually active at an early age.

The family is the major tool for nurturing sound ethics in respect of behavioural and social values in the community. Families can teach standards of personal conduct that cannot be enforced by law, but that are indispensable traits for a democratic civil society (Meiring 2003:1226). The home environment according to (Berkman & Kawachi 2000:7) influences behaviour by the following:

- Shaping norms.
- Enforcing patterns of social control, which may be health-promoting or health damaging.
- Providing or not providing environmental opportunities to engage in certain behaviours.
- Reducing or producing stress for which certain behaviours may be an effective coping strategy.

According to Shaffer (1996:601) families have three basic goals for their children:

- The survival goal: to promote the physical survival and health of the child, ensuring that he/she will survive long enough.
- The economic goal: to foster the skills and behavioural capabilities that the child needs for economic self-maintenance as an adult.
- The self-actualisation goal: to foster behavioural capabilities for maximising other cultural values such as morality, religion, achievement, wealth, prestige and sense of personal satisfaction.

2.4.4 COMMUNITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

In South Africa adolescents in child-headed households reside in neighbourhoods where opportunities for social, economic and educational development can be severely limited (Wolchick & Sandler 1997:492). This means that there may be an inadequate number of schools, poorer quality housing, insufficient youth programmes or adolescents may be exposed to unusually high levels of stress (Wolchick & Sandler 1997:492). Community standards that form the basis of self-regulated behaviour determine which behaviours are

acceptable and rewarded and which ones are not (Cobb 2010:358). According to Huitt (2009:6) “it takes the whole community to raise a child”. This is an important principle of a complex adaptive systems approach in that there are competing factors, both within the individual and the context within which the individual exists together with the interaction between the individual and the context that influences learning and development.

There is an interrelationship between the individual, the environment and behaviour among adolescents. Behaviour, the environment and cognition, according to Grusec (1992:782), as well as other personal factors operate as interacting determinants that have a bi-directional influence on one another. Bandura (1977:11) states that there is continuous reciprocal interaction of personal and environmental determinants. Environmental events in the form of modelling, instruction and social persuasion affect the adolescent, and the adolescent in turn evokes different reactions from the environment depending on his or her personality and physical features. Behaviour determines aspects of the environment to which an individual is exposed and behaviour is in turn modified by that environment (Grusec 1992:783). Human development and the health of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households are influenced not only by environmental circumstances, but also by a variety of personal attributes, including psychological dispositions and behavioural patterns (Stokols 1995:285). The impact of HIV/AIDS on children and families (UNAIDS 2009) is compounded by the fact that many families live in communities that are already disadvantaged by poverty, inferior infrastructure and limited access to basic services.

2.4.5 PEERS

Adolescents select peers by the interests they share rather than by mere convenience, and peers seem to play an important role in the development of adolescents’ self-esteem (Carlo, Fabes, Laible & Kupanoff 1999:136). The influences that are present in the peer network are an important part of adolescent development, as peer reinforcement has been shown to be associated with self-esteem and moral development. According to Carlo *et al.* (1999:137) when pro-social behaviours are displayed toward peers, they are likely to respond in a pro-social manner and might engage in cycles of pro-social exchanges.

Adolescents increase their interaction with peers and friends in the same neighbourhood. Carlo *et al.* (1999:137) found that parents also tend to supervise adolescents more closely if

they judge their neighbourhood to be of a poor quality, thus limiting the adolescent's opportunity to develop social skills with peers. Adolescents seem to increase their familiarity with community organisations, youth organisations, hobbies and arts programmes that help them to resist delinquent behaviour (Zembar & Blume 2009:32). As the social contexts of adolescents expand they develop a sense of belonging to the wider community rather than to their immediate neighbourhoods, hence the development of social integration.

In a longitudinal study conducted by Carlo *et al.* (1999:137) in an attempt to explain negative and positive peer influences on adolescents, it was revealed that adolescents who value friends that care about school perform better at school. In contrast, adolescents who value friends that are considered delinquent are more likely to be truant. Adolescents develop relationships with peers and adults outside the family that have a positive or negative influence on their development, regardless of the neighbourhood or cultures they belong to.

2.4.6 CULTURE

The simplest way of understanding culture is to think of it as a "way of life" (Van den Berg 2004:80). Culture is determined by history, religion, organisations and family of which an adolescent is part. Education is influenced and shaped by culture. Every human being possesses a form of culture, irrespective of social status, educational background or where the individual resides (Louw 2007:85). The religious, racial, and ethnic diversity of a population brings with it an array of sub-cultural beliefs, attitudes and norms regarding reproduction, pregnancy and childbirth (Newman & Newman 1997:218). They (Newman & Newman 1997:122) classify culture into the following:

- Physical Culture that encompasses the objects, technologies, structures, tools and other artefacts of culture.
- Social Culture that encompasses norms, roles, beliefs, values, rites and customs.

Shaffer (1996:582) maintains that living in a complex, diverse and democratic society can stimulate moral development. According to Young *et al.* (2007:122) there exist in African society many laws, customs, set forms of behaviour, regulations, rules, observances and taboos that constitute the moral code and ethic of a given community.

Just as people learn the-give-and-take of mutual perspectives by discussing issues with friends, they learn in a diverse democracy that the opinions of many groups must be weighed and that laws reflect a consensus of the citizens. An individual's moral development is influenced by culture, social experiences —including interactions with parents —but even more so by opportunities to be exposed to diverse perspectives through discussions with peers, exposure to higher education or participation in democracy. In keeping with the idea of working towards common goals within the culture, Chabilall (2010:43) is of the view that learners learn lessons from the beliefs, values and behaviours that emanate from role models within their school and family culture. With reference to my study, adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households have no one to claim as reference in their lives to learn positive values and good behaviour from.

2.5 MORAL DEGENERATION

Moral degeneration according to Pearsall and Trumble (2006:374) refers to the deterioration of morals and the loss of qualities that are considered normal and desirable. Thompson (2010:151) states that the high incidence of moral debauchery across the globe stems from the fact that human development is a very complex, interrelated set of systems manipulated by the circumstances in which the individual is situated. An increasing number of people across the ideological spectrum believe that society is in moral decay. The breakdown of families, the deterioration of civility in everyday life, rampant greed at a time when one in five children is poor, an omnipresent sexual culture that fills the television screen with sleaze, beckoning the youth toward sexual activity at earlier ages and enormous betrayal of children through sexual abuse are a concern (Thompson 2010:151). In addition, increased violence, juvenile crime, teenage pregnancy and suicide have caused a moral crisis in many nations of the world (Thompson 2010:152). Louw (2007:42) states that a lack of a proper value system leads to selfishness, cruelty, dishonesty, greed, heartlessness, disrespectfulness and loss of integrity. People who display these traits easily turn violent, lapse into criminal activities, abuse their bodies and become corrupt.

According to Richardson (2003:5) the following are some of the manifestations of moral decay: high levels of murder, robbery and theft, rape, women and child abuse, abuse of people with disabilities, abuse of the elderly, domestic violence, widespread alcohol and

drug abuse, drug trafficking and use of public office for personal gain. Moral decadence in South Africa includes the devaluation of people, racism, sexism and gender oppression as practised by many people in their daily lives. It also includes societal institutions and the socialisation of children, undermining and the abuse of the Bill of Rights, the breakdown of the family as a key social institution, and huge gaps between the “haves” and the “have nots”. Poor work ethic, culture enrichment, individualism and selfishness, and a lack of integrity and honesty among people in positions of influence are forms of moral decadence. The following discourse discusses examples of moral degeneration and refers to substance abuse, secularisation, crime and deterioration of the value system.

2.5.1 FACTORS INFLUENCING MORAL DEGENERATION

The following examples of moral degeneration; substance abuse, secularisation, crime and deterioration of the value system are discussed in detail.

2.5.1.1 Substance abuse

Alcohol remains the most widely used drug among adolescents, and it appears to be the gateway leading to other drug use (Lecca & Watts 1993:4). Alcohol and drug use is a common occurrence in today’s society, with such use associated with a variety of medical, psychological and social problems (Connors, Donovan & Diclemente 2001:1). Alcohol misuse increases risky sexual behaviour that in turn increases the risk of HIV transmission. Adolescents begin to use drugs for a number of reasons: out of curiosity, for fun and sensual pleasure, because of social pressure to be like friends, to relieve tension, anxiety and pressures, to escape from problems and to try to gain increased awareness, insight and creativity. Research conducted by Lecca and Watts (1993:34), focusing on antecedent personality traits, skills and type of drug among adolescents, found that most adolescents experiment with alcohol or cigarettes first and drugs later. Some adolescents use drugs only a few times and quit. Others may use them more regularly but mature as they reach adulthood. Alienation and poor social and assertiveness skills are often significant predictors of pathological drug use in adolescents. Adolescents may be encouraged to start smoking cigarettes by their adult role models who smoke; contributing factors are peer group pressure or because of their own need for status. A study conducted by Rice (1992) among

high school students aged 12 to 17 found that some adolescents smoke as an expression of rebellion and autonomy and a desire to be grown up (Rice 1992:343).

2.5.1.2 Secularisation

Secularisation refers to the historical process whereby religion loses social and cultural significance. Louw (2009:42) concurs with Lechner in that secularisation can be interpreted as a decline in religious beliefs. Secular sentiments originate within a sense of a discrepancy between moral professions and practices, between formal institutional promotions of virtue and the implementation of ideals in concrete and quotidian situations, between people's articulation of benevolence and their evident reluctance to make sacrifices required by the implementation of their express commitments (Kissack & Titlestad 2006:25). In secularised societies faith lacks cultural authority, religious organisations have little social power and public life proceeds without reference to the supernatural (Lechner 1998:1). According to secularisation theory, religion is a traditional phenomenon, which will eventually be marginalised by the modernisation process, including industrialisation, urbanisation and mass education (Kuru 2009:1). No church can determine society's standards of knowledge, beauty and morality (Lechner 1998:2). This is due to the emergence of a global secular elite, who share a worldwide secular way of life, removed from local traditions. The other argument is the normative argument that religion should not play a substantial public role in a modern democratic order.

Several consequences arise as stated by Tschannen (1991:398):

- Religion loses its power of control over the other spheres of life, which start to function autonomously.
- A plurality of competing world views arises.

The very competition among these incompatible views causes the religious interpretation of the world to lose plausibility and to collapse (Tschannen 1991:398).

2.5.1.3 Violence and crime

According to Louw (2009:47) crime and violence have psychological, social and emotional implications for the victims, their families and for others in society who are affected; it causes stress, suspicion and fear in people, sometimes leading to the disintegration of family life. Delinquent adolescents are often involved in violent and aggressive behaviour which includes crimes such as vandalism and shoplifting (Smith, Cowie & Blades 2003:162-163). Children who experience irritable and ineffective discipline, poor parental monitoring and lack of parental warmth, are likely to become aggressive and participate in violence and criminal activities. Louw (2009:448) states that violence and crime terrifies everyone and shatters the sense of order, routine and predictability that make people feel safe. A study by Wikstrom and Svensson (2010:397) on the interaction between morality and self-control among adolescents found that adolescents with strong morality do not engage in crime, regardless of their ability to exercise self-control. Acts of crime are an outcome of the interaction between an individual's morality and ability to exercise self control and the moral context in which an individual takes part.

2.5.1.4 Deterioration of value system

The deterioration of the value system in South Africa societies leads to risk and protective processes that have been identified as correlates of adolescent behaviour; these include poor bonding to family, academic failure, lack of commitment to school, substance abuse, early sexual activity, disrespect of authorities and peer rejection (Prado *et al.* 2010:98). The ushering in of democracy in the early 1990s in South Africa produced unprecedented changes in lifestyle and the deterioration of core values. It is quite likely that those shifts in attitude were at the very least permissive and might have contributed to the ever growing rates of violence, crime and unemployment (Setshedi & De la Monte 2011:89). Louw (2009:42) states that a lack of a proper value system leads to selfishness, cruelty, dishonesty, greed, heartlessness, disrespectfulness and a loss of integrity. The failure of people to live up to basic values leads to unproductive guilt or to constructive self-dissatisfaction. Unused values are worthless and lead to humans becoming capable of selfish, inconsiderate or hostile acts. Many people cheat, torture and kill others. Immoral behaviour comes from societies with a lack of respect for values (Setshedi & De la Monte 2011:92).

2.6 THE MORAL REGENERATION INITIATIVE

Moral regeneration can be defined as a process to re-grow and restore morals in society. Moral regeneration was introduced by the South African government to revive the moral decadence of society. According to Rauch (2005:9) the origins of moral regeneration date back to June 1997 when Nelson Mandela (Former state president of South Africa) spoke at a meeting with various representatives of government and religious affiliations on religious affairs. Mandela spoke of the kind of community spirit that is required to build the nation of South Africa; he pointed out that there should be a mutually symbiotic relationship between people and communities, which translates into civic duty and a call to all South Africans to firm up the moral fibre of our nation. Rauch (2005:9) adds that at the meeting Mandela spoke about the role of religion in nation-building and social transformation, and the need for religious institutions to work with the State. The aim of the meeting was to work towards the establishment of proactive measures to ensure that South Africa does not degenerate into moral slum (Richardson 2003:3). The meeting clearly pointed to the fact that there is an unacceptable level of immorality in South Africa — sufficient to be worrying to those concerned with and responsible for the economy, tourism and the international image of the country as well as with the general morale of the people.

Zuma² (then deputy president of South Africa) was assigned the responsibility of leading the moral regeneration initiative by the South African national parliament. Budhoo (2007) states that Zuma invited all South Africans to participate in the process of drafting the Moral Charter to include commonly agreed core values and principles that would serve as broad guidelines for ethical behaviour. The ultimate objective of the moral regeneration movement is to assist in the development of a just, tolerant and moral society for the common good of all. The actualisation and realisation of the value and ideals enshrined in the South African constitution use all available resources and harnesses all initiatives in government, business and civil society.

The development of the moral regeneration initiative in South Africa has seen the concept defined in terms of both crime prevention and nation building (Rauch 2005:7). The initiative was introduced because of the moral crisis in South Africa. Politicians, religious leaders and

²Jacob Zuma is the current state president of the Republic of South Africa

social commentators have all spoken about the breakdown in morality. The moral regeneration initiative was a response by the South African government to the crisis and contains explicit appeals to morals, values or ethics (Rauch 2005:9). The moral assault on the majority of South Africans has left clearly visible manifestations of a society urgently in need of targeted and concrete efforts to extend the scope of the transformation process beyond the redefinition of our political institutions. Richardson (2003:5) is of the view that the battle for the creation and sustenance of shared values for South African society is a long-term challenge that must be dealt with.

In some illustrations, the moral regeneration initiative has distinctly spiritual and religious tones; in others, a strong flavour of African nationalist ideology. The aim of moral regeneration is to promote spirituality and morality as part of social transformation and the transition to responsible living. The moral regeneration initiative emphasises that South African society needs to infuse itself with a measure of discipline, a work ethic and responsibility for actions taken; related to this is the reconstruction of the “soul of the nation, the RDP³ of the soul” (Rauch 2005:17). According to Broodryk (2010:95) the moral regeneration initiative aims to ensure that the respected ancient and positive value guidelines of African (Ubuntu) worldview remain part of societal life. The main moral regeneration values and commitments are the following (Broodryk 2010:95):

- Respect human dignity and equality.
- Promote freedom, the rule of law and democracy.
- Improve material well-being and economic justice.
- Enhance family and community values.
- Uphold loyalty, honesty and integrity.
- Ensure harmony in culture, belief and conscience.
- Show respect and concern for all people and cultures.
- Strive for justice, fairness and peaceful co-existence.

³ Stands for Reconstruction and Development Programme which was adopted by new South African government in 1994 to improve the quality of life, by providing basic services such as housing, sanitation and proper infrastructure to the previously marginalised population.

2.7 CHILDREN ORPHANED BY AIDS

The number of children being orphaned is rapidly increasing in communities with high rates of HIV infection. HIV/AIDS is a global pandemic impacting on individuals, families and communities worldwide (Ferreira 2006:37). The pandemic in Southern African countries such as South Africa, Zambia, Botswana and Swaziland is generating orphans so quickly that family structures such as the extended family can no longer cope (Coombe 2000:1). Those who are being infected and dying are in their most productive years of life and leave behind a trail of orphans (Nyamukapa *et al.* 2003:3). The total number of children orphaned by the AIDS pandemic since it began is said to have been almost 25 million by 2010 (Wood & Goba 2011:276; Uys & Cameron 2003:174). UNICEF (2006) estimates declared that 12.5 percent of children would be orphaned by 2010. Of these children, 36.8 percent were estimated to be most likely orphaned by AIDS (UNAIDS 2004). In this regard the countries of Southern Africa have been particularly hard hit (Omwami & Tavron 2008:7).

In South Africa and other countries severely affected by the pandemic, the traditional mechanism for the care of vulnerable children —the extended family —has started to break down under the twin pressures of poverty and disease. Colvin (2011:38) states that the number of children who require alternative care in the form of foster care and residential care has grown tremendously due to the increase in the number of orphans in South Africa as a result of HIV/AIDS. Of the 1 059 254 maternal orphans created in South Africa between 2003 and 2010, a quarter (25%, 269 150) was from the province of KwaZulu-Natal while the Eastern Cape and Gauteng indicated the second and third largest distributions with 168 957 and 168 542 respectively (Colvin 2011:38). The two provinces with the lowest number of maternal orphans created between 2003 and 2010 were the Northern Cape and the Western Cape at 29 342 (3%) and 44 565 (4%) respectively (Colvin 2011:38).

The emergence of households headed by children sometimes as young as 10 to 12 years old is one of the most distressing consequences of HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS 2009:7). Child-headed households are rife in areas with a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS infections, converting adolescents into heads of households. Mokgatle-Nthabu, Van der Westhuizen and Fritz (2011:66) state that in South Africa a significant proportion of approximately two million orphans live in child-headed households where older children act as parents. Child-headed

households, once a rarity, are now increasingly common, but formal and traditional inherent land ownership, and health and education policies have not kept pace with their needs (Fleshman 2001:11). A number of children who have become the heads of households have to look for work in order to care for siblings. Having been forced to take on adult responsibilities they have to take care of themselves and others, drop out of school and may even become vulnerable to many forms of abuse.

2.8 THE RELATION BETWEEN MORALS, SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR AND HIV/AIDS

High-risk sexual behaviour is defined as any behaviour that increases the probability of negative consequences associated with sexual contact, including AIDS or other sexually transmitted disease and unplanned pregnancy (Cooper 2002:101-102). A study conducted by Hartell (2005:177) found that a third of adolescents in South Africa are sexually active and that they commence sexual activity at an early age. The average age of the onset of sexual activity with several partners is 15 years. Studies of sexual behaviour in adolescents by Breakwell and Fife-Shaw (1992:304) show high risk-taking behaviour in unprotected sexual intercourse. These behaviours are considered in two broad categories; indiscriminate behaviour, including having multiple partners, having risky, casual or unknown partners; failure to discuss risk topics prior to intercourse and failure to take protective actions, such as use of condoms and birth control. Hartell's (2005:173) study on sexual behaviour among adolescents found that while knowledge of HIV/AIDS among adolescents is generally good, many engage in high-risk sexual behaviour and do not practise safe sex in general. The reasons are related to pressure to engage in early and unprotected intercourse, coercion, pressure to have a child, lack of access to user-friendly reproductive health services, negative perceptions about condoms, low perceptions about personal risk and low perceived self-efficacy in preventive behaviour (Hartell 2005:176). Young people become sexually active despite strong cultural values against premarital sex. The promiscuous behaviour of adolescents increases the HIV infection rate among the youth.

Research conducted by Louw (2009:127) on the high HIV prevalence among adolescents found that many adolescents engage in sexual activity, especially with casual partners, when they are under the influence of alcohol and drugs and they have multiple unprotected sexual partners and a lack of adherence to infection-control guidelines. Louw (2009:52) concurs

that many adolescents opt to have unprotected sex, though they are aware of the dangers involved. The possibility of contracting venereal disease is a deterrent to more permissive or promiscuous sexual behaviour. Most of the sexually active adolescents are becoming promiscuous and licentious and have never used condoms regularly during sexual intercourse; hence the misconceptions about condoms resulting in rejection of their use (Hartell 2005:174).

2.9 VULNERABILITY OF ADOLESCENTS

Because of their hazardous social circumstances, adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households are economically, socially, emotionally and educationally vulnerable. They find it difficult to cope due to the traumatic problems and responsibilities at home (Foster & Williamson 2000:1). Orphans' vulnerability is linked in many instances to a lack of income, poverty, unemployment, access to basic necessities of life and social assistance (Tshoose 2010:409). In some high-prevalence countries, "AIDS also increases vulnerability to food insecurity" (UNAIDS 2010:13). UNICEF (2007:9) reports that the AIDS pandemic has affected millions of children and adolescents and is placing increasing numbers at risk. AIDS weakens such traditional protective mechanisms as parental care and support, intensifies vulnerability and income poverty and provokes stigma and discrimination. These increase the child's risk of exposure to abuse, exploitation and neglect.

Andrews, Skinner and Zuma (2006:269-270) identified three core areas of dependence for orphaned children:

- Material problems, including access to money, food, clothing, shelter, health care and education.
- Emotional problems, including experience of caring, love, support, space to grieve and containment of emotions.
- Social problems, including lack of supportive peer group, of role models to follow, or of guidance in difficult situations, and risks in the immediate environment.

2.9.1 SOCIAL VULNERABILITY

The increasing number of emotionally disrupted, underprivileged adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households could lead to social instability (UNAIDS 2000:7). Cluver and

Gardner (2006:1) state that stigma and secrecy surrounding AIDS causes social isolation, bullying, shame and lack of opportunity to openly discuss their loss. According to Adejuwon and Oki (2011:3) some adolescents lose their friends because their parents have AIDS and because it is assumed that proximity can spread the virus. Orphans who live in rural areas are more vulnerable because of urban-rural disparities and lack of resources (Mokgatle-Nthabu *et al.* 2011:66). This results in poor quality public services in the form of health education, social development, justice services and safety and security (Mokgatle-Nthabu *et al.* 2011:66).

Adolescent girls are particularly vulnerable to adverse outcomes such as sexual abuse that is associated with orphanhood (UNICEF 2006). According to Van den Berg (2004:68) the girls are socially vulnerable. Inadequate social adaptation and the need for emotional support during adolescence may contribute to their relentless search for emotional gratification within obscure social sub-cultures like prostitution, which in turn increases their vulnerability to HIV infection. Adolescents are much more likely to be involved in drinking alcohol, smoking, playing truant and generally breaking social norms due to peer pressure and their association with older people (Smith *et al.* 2003:290). Adolescents' peer groups may reinforce risk-taking behaviour, such as substance abuse and delinquencies such as shoplifting. Mokgatle-Nthabu *et al.* (2011:67) state that orphans from child-headed households can be exposed either positively or negatively to peer influences just like all children but because there is no adult guidance they are at more risk to be exposed to negative peer influences.

2.9.2 EMOTIONAL VULNERABILITY

Children and adolescents affected by AIDS may face stigma due to HIV in the family, their own HIV status, HIV-related poverty, or the loss of their parents and being labelled orphans (UNICEF 2007:16). Adejuwon and Oki (2011:3) point out that adolescents may begin to be stigmatised early as their parents fall ill with AIDS-related diseases. Some children may be teased because their parents have AIDS.

According to Operario *et al.* (2008:182), experience of parental death can be a traumatic event leading to emotional difficulties or excessive worries among children that prevent

them from focusing on school. A report by UNICEF (2007:16) maintains that stigma can prevent children and families from seeking help or prevent others from offering them assistance; it can also prevent equal access to financial opportunities and block their development, increasing children's risk of experiencing exploitation and abuse. Consequences at the individual and family levels include loss of family income together with poor health and emotional difficulties among adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households (Operario *et al.* 2008:174).

Adolescents may, from time to time, experience depression because, according to Adejuwon and Oki, (2011:3) anxiety, fear and depression are found among children orphaned by AIDS. They experience feelings of defeat that lead to depression that may succumb to hopelessness. In a study by Cluver and Gardner (2006:2) adolescents showed a higher incidence of psychological difficulties than a non-orphaned control group from the same community. Interpersonal pressures and sentiments exist in these adolescents. In these interpersonal situations the sway of coercive threat, allurements, desire for social acceptance, social pressures, situational constraints, fear of rejection and personal embarrassment can override the influence of judgment (Bandura 1994:2).

2.9.3 PHYSICAL VULNERABILITY

A disproportionate number of teenage pregnancies occur among those in lower socioeconomic levels (Atwater 1983:186). Adolescents are more likely to be abused sexually, physically and emotionally. Child abuse may involve some form of intimidation, domination, manipulation and exploitation by adults (Newman & Newman 1997:435). The physical development and appearance of girls makes them vulnerable to sexual exploitation by male adults. Boys become physically stronger and may be victims of child labour. Around the world young people are becoming sexually active, despite strong cultural values against pre-marital sex in most cultures. According to Papalia (1993:504) adolescents are more susceptible to STDs caused by infections, leading to serious, even dangerous complications.

2.9.4 ECONOMICAL VULNERABILITY

HIV usually affects children long before parents die. Household incomes plummet when adults fall ill from HIV, so the illness of parents often reduces their capacity to provide care

for their children, increasing the children's vulnerability (Andrews *et al.* 2006:272). When a parent is ill due to AIDS related diseases, children's school attendance drops because families cannot afford to pay school fees (Foster & Williamson 2000:5). At the household level, the effects of HIV infection lead to the increase in medical care and related costs.

The epidemic is leading to a decreasing proportion of adults in the population and reduced incomes of affected households. In countries such as South Africa, where school fees, uniforms and school equipment are often compulsory, poverty and economic shocks have been shown to lead to children's removal from school in order to reduce costs or to provide household income through child labour (Operario *et al.* 2008:174). Adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households are exposed to risks imposed by economic hardships (Ammerman & Hersen 1997:24). According to Mokgatlhe-Nthabu *et al.* (2011:67) the well-being of adolescents in child-headed households is influenced by economic hardships, having to leave school, fear and isolation, loss of inheritance, and increased abuse and the risk of HIV.

2.9.5 EDUCATIONAL VULNERABILITY

Adejuwon and Oki (2011:4) established in their study that children of HIV positive parents are significantly less likely to attend school than other children. Even before the death of a parent, adolescents may miss out on educational opportunities as many expenses such as school fees and uniforms may not be affordable. Dropouts are much more likely to engage in delinquency and tend to come from homes characterised by poor parent-adolescent communications and weak or absent parents. A report by UNICEF (2007:15) states that care arrangements, both during and after a parent's illness, affect children's well-being. Girls often take on significant responsibilities in running the household when their parents become ill, increasing their likelihood of missing out on an education. In some instances boys are taken out of school in order to work. Orphans generally do not continue school after the death of parents; they leave school earlier so investment in human capital for the country as a whole shrinks (Stillwagon 2006:12; Uys & Cameron 2003:176).

2.10 INTERVENTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA TO ENHANCE MORAL DEVELOPMENT

Colvin (2011:51) claims that mass media, information, education and behaviour change programmes were introduced in South Africa in an attempt to serve as interventions to minimise moral decadence and the scourge of HIV. Interventions to deal with challenges facing adolescents in child-headed households are focused on psychological, emotional, economical and physical reactions and are concerned with impacts on the functioning of siblings, peers, neighbourhood, society and government departments such as education, health and social development. Figure 2.1 below outlines interventions carried out in South Africa in an attempt to address challenges of moral decadence.



Figure 2.1: Interventions for moral development

2.10.1 INTERVENTIONS BY NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS

In South Africa a number of Non-Government Organisations intervened with campaigns to enhance morality. These national mass media campaigns are LoveLife, Khomanani, and Soul City. Other media initiatives include local productions such as Siyanqoba Beat It and 46664 (by the Nelson Mandela Foundation). The purpose of these interventions is to change attitudes and behaviour of young children by promoting good moral behaviour. Properly

nurtured adolescents should live according to proper moral values. The contribution of each of the above mentioned Non-Government Organisations is discussed next.

⌘ **LoveLife**

LoveLife is a sustained high powered multi-media campaign combined with nationwide community-level outreach and support programmes for youth. LoveLife promotes healthy, positive, HIV-free living among South African teenagers. LoveLife's programmes are implemented by a national youth volunteer service corps known as ground breakers in partnership with more than 230 community-based non-government organisations, 5 000 schools and 500 government clinics across South Africa (Hammond & Saylor 2009:4).

⌘ **Khomanani**

The Khomanani Campaign which simply means "Caring Together" was expected to play a critical role in the implementation of the national strategic plan for HIV/AIDS for 2007 to 2011, which served as South Africa's response to HIV/AIDS. The campaign encouraged people to maintain good health through healthy lifestyle choices such as safer sex, good nutrition and regular physical activities. It focused on accelerating HIV/AIDS prevention, care, treatment and support; nutrition and HIV/AIDs and health promotion ((UNICEF (2007:15). The primary aim of Khomanani was to reduce the rate of new HIV infections and provide an appropriate package of treatment, care and support services to at least 80% of people living with HIV/AIDs and their families by 2011. The programme discouraged risky behaviour such as tobacco use, irresponsible alcohol use and substance abuse.

⌘ **Soul City Institute**

Soul City Institute is the business of education-via-entertainment (edutainment); the tools of their trade are mass media like TV, social mobilisation in the form of clubs, and advocacy via different interventions such as Soul City, Soul Buddyz, Kwanda. The Soul City Institute is intended to improve lives of young people and strives to change their social situations for the better. It intends to encourage healthy lifestyles in communities by means of mass communication. Soul City Institute is known for the following:

- Being a social change communication organisation in South Africa.
- Having one sexual partner at a time.

- The Phuza Wize campaign as part of Soul City is aimed at creating safe drinking spaces and alcohol free zones and reducing the violence related to alcohol.

⌘ **46664 (by Nelson Mandela Foundation⁴)**

46664 (four, double six, six four) is a series of AIDS charity concerts presented in honour of Nelson Mandela (Former state president of South Africa) by South African and international musicians. It is the campaign against AIDS in Africa. Nelson Mandela is the driving force behind a world music-led campaign to raise global awareness of HIV/AIDS and funds to fight the pandemic in Southern Africa. Pulling in major international celebrities and corporations, the 46664 campaign kicked off in October 2003 with a ground-breaking music launch on the Internet and phone networks around the world, followed by an all-star concert in South Africa in November 2003.

2.10.2 INTERVENTIONS BY THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

In South Africa the Department of Basic Education has introduced Life Skills and Life Orientation programmes in the school curriculum (Colvin 2011:51). The Life Skills subject is concerned with the social, personal, intellectual, emotional and physical growth of learners. It is aimed at guiding and preparing learners for life and its possibilities, including equipping learners for meaningful and successful living in a rapidly changing and transforming society (Department of Education, National Curriculum Statement 2011:8). Mosia (2011:7) maintains that the Life Orientation curriculum is structured to guide and prepare learners for life and its many possibilities where learners must be able to respond positively to social demands and personal, psychological and neuro-cognitive tasks.

Through Life Skills learners are exposed to a range of knowledge, skills and values that strengthen the following (Department of Education, National Curriculum Statement 2011:8):

- Physical, social, personal, emotional and cognitive development.
- Knowledge of personal health and safety.
- Understanding of the relationship between people and the environment.
- Awareness of social relationships.

⁴A campaign to support Nelson Mandela's (former state president of South Africa) initiative of reducing the scourge of AIDS in South Africa.

2.10.3 UBUNTU AS AN INTERVENTION STRATEGY

The notion of Ubuntu was applied by the drafters of the South African constitution by asserting that the South African state is founded, before anything else, upon the value of “human dignity” (James 2001:4). Ubuntu has a particularly important place in our value system for it derives specifically from African mores: “I am human because you are human”. From the values of Ubuntu and human dignity flow the practices of compassion, kindness, altruism and respect, which are at the very core of making schools places where the culture of teaching and learning thrive, making them dynamic hubs of industry and achievement.

The word Ubuntu, according to Kamwangamalu (1999:2) and Broodryk (2010:46), means humanness, the ideal of being human. It is the humanistic experience of treating people with respect and granting them their human dignity. It encompasses values like universal brotherhood, sharing and respect for other people as human beings. Shutte (2001:30) cites that our deepest moral obligation is to become more fully human, which means entering more and more deeply into the community with others, especially to care for the disadvantaged, namely the sick, the bereaved and the poor. Broodryk (2010:51) indicates that under Ubuntu (unhu), children are never orphans, since the roles of mothers and fathers are not vested in single individuals with respect to a single child. Rather, a man or woman with Ubuntu, does not allow any child around to be an orphan. Mnyaka and Motlhabi (2005:215) state that everyone belongs and there is no one who does not belong. One belongs or finds community through being a neighbour, a friend, a relative, a clansman, a member of a tribe or of a nation. This African sense of community extends beyond the family, the clan or the tribe.

According to Mnyaka and Motlhabi (2005:222) individuals are made to consider themselves as integral parts of the whole community. This feeling of belonging does not only make one complete but it gives one a sense of identity and security. People are a family. They are expected to be in solidarity with one another, especially during the hour of need. A person in need should be able to count on the support of those around him or her. Ubuntu embodies the concept of mutual understanding and active appreciation of the value of human difference (James 2001:4).

2.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlines moral development and presents a general overview of the concepts *moral*, *morality* and *values*. It provides an in-depth discussion of contextual factors and intervention strategies that affect moral development. In the next chapter I provide an overview of a literature study on the developmental levels of adolescents and how these impact on moral development. I also provide an overview of moral development theories. The chapter concludes with the analysis of the theoretical framework adopted for this study.

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CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW: ADOLESCENCE AS A DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE, THEORIES OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

*“Humans ponder pain and pleasure, sickness and health, loneliness and love,
birth and death, frailty and fullness, dying and life.”*

Young *et al.* (2007:106)

3. AIM OF THE CHAPTER

The main aim of this chapter is to provide a literature review on the development of adolescents by discussing adolescence as a developmental phase, theories of moral development and the theoretical framework for the investigation.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

For many adolescents the loss of parents brings destitution, an end to schooling and stigmatisation by family and neighbours (Cluver & Gardner 2006:3). The people who fall ill and die include parents and even leaders from all sectors of society, which means that a generation of children may grow up without care and suitable role models they would otherwise have. Moral and character development, which is integral to the development of the self, then becomes the responsibility of the early caregivers (adolescents) in child-headed households (Purpel & McLaurin 2004:27). These children have no-one to assist them in their development, with everyday challenges and to clarify and maintain their own values. In the following discussion I explore the development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households. The in-depth literature review is conducted to determine whether HIV/AIDS affects the development of adolescents in child-headed households.

3.2 ADOLESCENCE AS A DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE

This study explores adolescence as a developmental phase and investigates how adolescents in particular develop morally during each of the developmental levels described in this

section. Adolescence is a period of growth with many distinctive features (Anderson *et al.* 2009:60). These features involve changes in an individual's body, thinking abilities, psychological concerns and place in society (Anderson *et al.* 2009:1). According to Frydenberg (2008:1) adolescence is that period between childhood and adulthood that in itself can be divided into developmental levels. Adolescents are set to face changes of both a physiological and psychological nature, often with movement towards independence and exploration of identity. The period of adolescence is marked by a number of changes, including rapid cognitive, social, emotional and physical changes leading to maturation. According to Frydenberg (2008:1) the following are some of the characteristics of the developments that are found among adolescents:

3.2.1 EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Adolescence seems to be a critical point when individuals either start thinking in new ways or they get substantially better at and more motivated to perform complex intellectual operations. According to Pretorius (1998:33-34) the youth of today is bombarded by a multitude of emotional fluctuations from exuberance of a great social life to loneliness and inferiority. Chabilall (2004:48) asserts that many adolescents may be ill-equipped emotionally or mentally to handle the confusing situations that they are required to deal with. The degree of emotional instability and trauma differs according to each youth and according to the stimuli that give rise to these. Adolescents in child-headed households who have been orphaned by AIDS face risky situations emanating from the lack of parental or adult supervision. Chabilall (2004:49) states that it is difficult to imagine that adolescents orphaned by AIDS often without prior warning, must deal with the issues of growing up while they cope with unusual adult responsibilities in child-headed households, the fear of abandonment, rejection and death.

3.2.2 COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

Adolescents begin to think more like adults in many ways. Their thinking becomes more advanced, more efficient and generally effective. According to Anderson *et al.* (2009:61-62) the following developments become visible during this phase:

- Thinking is less bound to the concrete events associated with childhood.

- Adolescents are better able to think about abstract things. They have interests in relationships, politics, religion and morality.
- They are able to think about several things at the same time.
- The adolescents are able to see things as relative and are more likely to question situations than merely accept these.

The major components of cognition include perception, attention, memory and information processing. The development of advanced reasoning is related to other processes occurring within the adolescent as an individual, e.g. physical maturation and brain growth as well as social systems of the adolescent's world, such the family, school and community (Garbarino 1985:142). The study by Chabilall (2004:44) acknowledges that by the time children reach adolescence, they have developed full formal patterns of thinking and are proficient in the capacity to accomplish rational, conceptual processes. Adolescents' ability to think faster and more efficiently than younger children (Gumbiner 2003:27) enables them to reason competently and benefit from effective social relationships and success at school (Garbarino 1985:142). In order for the adolescents to deal with the social and scientific world, they should have the ability to reason clearly and effectively. Cognitive development is prompted by events and circumstances in the child's home and family environment, the school and community, as well as the macrosystem that generally sets standards and values for the adolescent.

3.2.3 PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Lerner and Steinberg (2004:19) define adolescence as the state of physical development during which persons are first capable of begetting or bearing children. Puberty is a collective term for all the physical changes that occur in a growing adolescent as the individual passes from childhood to adulthood. Puberty begins with subtle changes in brain-neuroendocrine processes, hormone concentrations and physical morphological characteristics and culminates in reproductive maturity (Lerner & Steinberg 2004:15). Gumbiner (2003:27) maintains that since puberty affects each adolescent differently, it is found that sometimes depression, violence and teen pregnancy may be blamed on hormones in certain individuals. The physical changes are triggered by hormones that act on specific organs and tissues (Anderson *et al.* 2009:61).

Garbarino (1985:91) identifies a five part scheme of adolescent development:

1. The acceleration and the deceleration of skeletal growth mean that early or late maturation are important influences upon adulthood.
2. An alteration in body composition results from skeletal and muscular growth and change in the distribution and amount of body fat. The shape of the adolescent's body does much to influence the quality of his social life, resulting in body size and shape problems being a major issue for adolescents.
3. The development of the circulatory and respiratory systems, which results in increased strength and endurance. The ability to participate in sports is a prized attribute for adolescents and a major reason that early maturing boys have a social advantage.
4. The development of the gonads, the reproductive organs, and secondary sex characteristics means that adolescents begin to look like adults. Thus people around them begin to revise their expectations that include sexuality.
5. Changes in the nervous and endocrine systems are generally coordinated and bring about the other changes. The adolescent's brain changes in ways that may make it possible to reason in more mature ways, with many psychological and social implications (Garbarino 1985:91).

There are also social dimensions to puberty (Garbarino 1985:92), including the adolescent's nutrition, health care and living conditions that influence the timing, duration and outcomes of puberty. This reveals that the ecology of puberty, as micro-, exo- and microsystems of the youth's environment influences the physical experience of puberty. In addition, the prevailing culture affects what young people experiencing puberty think and feel about their own development. Those around the adolescents — peers, parents and society at large — inform the adolescent about what these events mean. It is the interaction between the biological, the psychological and the social that really defines puberty as a human phenomenon and gives it ecological significance (Garbarino 1985:92).

The development of a sense of sexuality, during puberty, although specifically important to this thesis continues throughout life in interaction with biological, psychological, social and cultural influences. Adolescence is best thought of as a time of sexual unfolding when sexual development and sexuality are fundamental in the process of adolescent identity formation.

Chabilall (2004:47) maintains that together with the perplexity the adolescent has to deal with baffling sexual awareness and figure out how to handle this. It is found that the process of unfolding entails the complex agenda of growing up: an evolving sense of the body; the recognition of what is erotically pleasing as well as the ability to overcome or moderate guilt and inhibitions associated with sexual thoughts and behaviour. The adolescent has to develop the ability to assume sexual responsibility for oneself, one's partner and society in addition to awareness of being a sexual person. In conjunction with these characteristics the adolescent has to determine the place of sex in one's life and the ability to experience eroticism as one aspect of intimacy with another person (Garbarino 1985:95). Chabilall (2004:46) maintains that the typical failure of adolescents to accept their bodies as they develop is one of the reasons for a negative self-concept and lack of self-esteem, which may have an impact on the moral decisions they make and the way they participate as social beings.

3.2.4 SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Childhood experiences and biological characteristics are transformed into interests, competencies and self-belief and begin to play an increasingly important role as the adolescent starts to make his own way toward adulthood (Lerner & Steinberg 2004:85). This development is channelled by a variety of opportunities and constraints in the adolescent's social and institutional environment. As children approach adolescence, other influences, including non-parental adults, peers, schools and the mass media increasingly contribute to socialisation.

Adolescents develop relationships with their peers and begin to spend more time with them. According to Conger (2001:31) young people value the following: having friends and being close to at least one friend; living in a comfortable home where there is adequate food and money to fulfil personal needs; enjoying a stable family life and support from parents; feeling independent and being able to speak up for oneself and having a sense of humour. As they build friendships they discover that friends have a profound effect on their current and future happiness (Dodge 1988:68). They start to date and to engage in sexual activities that may strain family relationships because of conflicts with parents. Tensions arise primarily as a result of the adolescents' egocentric nature (Gumbiner 2003:31); they believe

that the whole world revolves around them. They have a heightened sense of self-consciousness and assume that everyone else is as focused on them as they are on themselves.

Lerner and Steinberg (2004:85) point out that adolescents face two broad challenges during the transition from childhood to adult life. According to Conger (2001:33) adolescents orphaned by AIDS move from the dependence of childhood to the independence of adulthood too early in their lives. When they enter into the reproductive domain, adolescents who are orphaned by AIDS and living in child-headed households may indulge in a pattern of sequential commitments from simple romantic relationships, more serious intimate relations, beginning a family and taking care of siblings. These challenges influence the adolescent's social life, creating a basis for an individual from his childhood family, as well as for his entrance into adult life with a new identity.

3.2.5 CONNOTATIVE DEVELOPMENT

Brophy (1987:40) maintains that connotative capacity is “the enduring disposition to strive”, which involves the qualities of enterprise, energy, determination, decisiveness, persistence, patience and organisation together with the skills of self-discipline, decision-making, goal setting, planning, reflection and evaluation. The taxonomy of the connotative domain's five cyclical stages (Clarcken 2009:6) applied to morality could include recognising problems, setting goals, deciding what is right, taking action and persevering. Though one may have knowledge and feelings to act morally, one must ultimately put these capacities into action using connotative capacities (Clarcken 2009:7). Justice is a motivating and guiding principle in developing and using volition to actualise needs.

Maslow (Quinn 1990:201) believes that all people have some inner talents or abilities that they want to use or actualise. If all lower level needs are met, people can grow and develop by using these abilities. This growth is a continuous process that allows individuals to find self-fulfilment and realise their full potential (self-actualisation). Parental or familial support enables adolescents to pursue the fulfilment of inner talents (self-actualisation). According to Shaffer (1996:601) self-actualisation fosters behavioural capabilities that maximise other cultural values such as morality, religion, achievement, wealth, prestige and a sense of

personal fulfilment. Parents and other caregivers are concerned about exploiting the child's chances of survival and all higher-order goals are placed on the back burner until it is clear that the child is healthy and is likely to survive. When physical health and security can be taken for granted, parents begin to address those characteristics that are necessary for economic self-sufficiency (Shaffer 1996:601).

Chabilall (2004:58) maintains that the aspirations of adolescents in child-headed households may be curbed by the fact that they do not have any parents and often live in dire poverty – hence their opportunities to achieve higher order goals are thwarted by the lack of adult support. Like any other aspiring individual, adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households are striving to become self fulfilled adults with all the basic needs such as family, support networks, social support systems and moral guidance to reach self-actualisation.

3.3 DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

According to Manning (2002:75) a developmental task is a task that arises at or about a certain time in the life of an individual. Successful achievement of this task leads to happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by society and difficulty with later tasks. Cobb (2010:8) defines developmental tasks as age-related norms that reflect social expectations for normal development. Biological maturation in adolescents contributes more heavily to some tasks, such as adjusting to an adult body, whereas cultural norms contribute more to others, such as developing social skills. Christie and Viner (2005:1) maintain that adolescents develop a degree of emotional, personal and financial independence from their parents. The developmental tasks of adolescence make a great demand on the adolescents as they are trying to move away from juvenile behaviour and the child-like way of thinking (Chabilall 2004:66). Cobb (2010:8) maintains that each of the tasks that adolescents face can be thought of as a facet of one central task –achieving a stable sense of self as adolescents step into adulthood.

3.3.1 ADOLESCENTS NEED TO BUILD WHOLESOME ATTITUDES ABOUT THEMSELVES AND TOWARDS THEIR CULTURAL IDENTITY

Opinions of oneself and one's culture play significant roles in academic achievement, social development, school behaviour and one's overall outlook on life. Opinions of self and culture, whether positive or negative, are formed during early adolescence and may last a lifetime. Adolescents need to develop positive self-esteem, cultural and gender identities and attitudes toward sexual orientation (Manning 2002:75).

3.3.2 ADOLESCENTS NEED TO LEARN TO GET ALONG WITH PEERS OF ALL CULTURES AND BOTH SEXES

Adolescents learn the tasks of social development at school. They constantly interact and socialise with peers at varying degrees. Manning (2002:75) maintains that culture and gender are the primary determinants of peers with whom one will socialise. Adolescents are able to socialise positively with peers of other cultures and both genders. Making friends should not be based on gender or sexual orientation. Cobb (2010:19) maintains that whether adolescents keep pace of peers in physical development or fall behind can influence the social circles they move in. Approval from their friends and from peers in general becomes especially important as adolescents experiment with new forms of social interactions.

3.3.3 ADOLESCENTS NEED TO DEVELOP POSITIVE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS TOWARDS SOCIAL GROUPS

Adolescents develop personal attitudes and perspectives towards various religious organisations, groups with differing sexual orientations and people from differing socioeconomic classes. They need to recognise diversities as strengths rather than deficits. Adolescents need to examine their own mindsets towards different groups and form opinions about concepts such as justice, equality and acceptance (Manning 2002:75). Most adolescents can act against the ill treatment of others, while some might continue to engage in unfair behaviour or fail to take a stand when others do. Adolescents accept differing perspectives that they bring to cooperative and collaborative learning experiences and accept responsibility in addressing prejudice and discrimination.

3.3.4 ADOLESCENTS NEED TO ACHIEVE SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE AND ACCEPTABLE BEHAVIOUR

According to Manning (2002:75) adolescents have the task of developing the desire and ability to behave in a civil, courteous and socially acceptable manner. Those who achieve this developmental task treat others in a positive manner regardless of culture, gender, social class and sexual orientation. Socially responsible behaviour includes acting in a civil manner and demonstrating mutual respect.

3.3.5 ACHIEVING EMOTIONAL INDEPENDENCE FROM PARENTS AND OTHER ADULTS

During adolescence the goal of shedding the emotional dependencies provided by a member of the family must be attained. The disengagement from parents allows the adolescent to find attachments outside the family of origin and to create his or her “own family” (Fanos 1997:26-27). In order to expedite this process, a parent must be able to separate his/her needs and wishes from those of adolescents (Fanos 1997:26). According to Cobb (2010:19) as adolescents become responsible for more areas of their lives, they experience new personal strengths, redefine areas of responsibility and redefine their relationships with parents, leading to greater emotional independence. Adolescents learn to adapt to their environment and as a result of their cognitive adaptation they become better able to understand their world. Adaptation is something that all living organisms have evolved to do and as adolescents adapt they gradually construct more advanced understandings of the world (Slatter & Bremner 2011:51).

3.3.6 PREPARING FOR MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

Cobb (2010:19) states that most individuals are not able to achieve a fusing of genuine intimacy with sexual feelings until late adolescence or early adulthood. Pretorius, as quoted by Chabilall (2004:74) points out the following:

- All adolescents ought to attempt to cultivate their personal, sensible and proper attitudes in order to appreciate what marriage and family life really is.
- They ought to acquire fulfilling I-You relations by going out with and becoming involved with members of the opposite sex, which is known as a heterosexual relationship.

In this regard Cobb (2010:19) is of the opinion that marriage today is more of an option than it has been in the past.

3.3.7 ESTABLISHING PERSONAL IDENTITY

Adolescence is a time of establishing one's own personal identity; it is a time of great vulnerability and desire for peer approval (Fanos 1997:26). Much of the development of an individual's identity takes place unconsciously – during the period of adolescence it is more consciously examined as self-awareness and critical self-awareness increase. Adolescents have a much more sophisticated view of what is involved in a sense of self than younger children have (Conger 1991:59). Cobb (2010:19) concurs and maintains that adolescents are aware that they are not the adults they see around them. However, certain tasks, behaviours and changes are more typical or dominant during one stage of development than another, and each stage has its peculiar challenges and problems (Gerdes, Ochse, Stander, Van Eden & Meyer 1981:263). Furthermore, if the cultural environment is undergoing major changes, with the result that values and norms are fluid, the individual may find it very difficult to judge himself. Failure during adolescence may be tolerated and need not have serious emotional, economic or social consequences (Gerdes *et al.* 1981:263). The developmental tasks of adolescence need to be viewed within the socio-cultural context of the time.

Christie and Viner (2005:3) maintain that adolescents gradually begin to develop abstract thinking, the ability to use images to represent reality. There is considerable scope for conflict as the individual may experience a lack of congruence between himself, his values and life-style and other social orders. Gerdes *et al.* (1981:268) state that the major developmental task of adolescence is that of individuation versus alienation, which states that the individual is able to develop a sense of himself as a whole person, distinct from society, while at the same time being able to adjust to the social reality.

3.3.8 HANDLING SEXUAL ENERGIES AND INTERPERSONAL INTIMACY

According to Fanos (1997:26) developmental and physiological maturation ushers the adolescent into new sexual capabilities and interest in physical and emotional intimacy with others. Feelings about the self and patterns of relating to others are consolidated during this

period. Adolescents are concerned with their sexual activity and reproductive decision-making. Teenage sexual activity could represent a sense of emotional support from outside the family (Fanos 1997:26). According to Christie and Viner (2005:1) adolescents develop a sexually dimorphic body shape and new cognitive skills, including abstract thinking capabilities, and acquire a clearer sense of personal and sexual identity.

3.3.9 REMODELLING FORMER IDEALISATIONS OF OTHERS AND THE SELF

Although adolescents know themselves primarily through their relationships within the family, their place within the community also contributes to the sense of self (Cobb 2010:19). Adolescents who gradually and repeatedly become disillusioned with their parents relinquish idealisation and in this way remodel the self (Fanos 1997:27). Christie and Viner (2005:1) point out that as adolescents start to redefine themselves in relation to others they begin to move to a position where they define other people in relation to themselves. Chabilall (2004:66) claims that sexual maturation is achieved through adolescence and it requires that boys and girls begin to see themselves as courteous women and men. This way of thinking about oneself means that it may be possible to understand the impact of behaviour on others or to feel concern for how others might be affected by behaviour. It involves changes in the extent and nature of social contact desired by the individual and the type of person and groups with which he interacts. As the adolescent in a child-headed household ventures into the new territories of work and 'parenting' he often experiences considerable tension because of his uncertainty of how to act in certain situations (Gerdes *et al.* 1981:274). Adolescents are able to accept people as they find them and are less defensive and anxious in their interpersonal relationships. They are prepared to share ideas with others.

3.3.10 ACHIEVING A MASCULINE OR FEMININE SOCIAL ROLE

Christie and Viner (2005:1) state that during adolescence biological (puberty and sexual development) as well as psychological and social elements gradually transform the bodies of early adolescents into those of adults. The physical changes that signal the commencement of adolescence occur alongside psychological and social changes that mark this period as a critical stage in becoming an adult. The phase also provides the biological basis as it transforms the bodies of adolescents into those of adults. Rapid physical change occurs,

including puberty, the pubertal growth spurt and accompanying maturational changes in other organ systems. Both boys and girls pass through identifiable stages of development of secondary sex characteristics. Sex roles reflect a culture's view of characteristic male and female behaviour. The ease with which adolescents come to terms with their bodies will in part reflect the degree to which they match their images (Cobb 2010:19). Cobb (2010:19) states that cultural expectations are equally important in determining which behaviours are regarded as masculine and feminine.

Chabilall (2004:68) maintains that both male and female roles have recently changed drastically. The introduction of women into the labour force has led to enhanced status and often uninhibited sexual behaviour for these women. Hogan, Johnson and Briggs (1997:304) state that boys and girls change in personality as they relinquish their previous tasks and assume the responsibilities of parenting or those further on in adulthood. According to Santrock (1997:265) adolescent behaviour as males and females is due to an interaction of biological and environmental factors. Slatter and Bremner (2011:72) maintain that social influences and the adolescents' cognitive awareness influence their gender-related behaviour. It means that adolescents shape their environments, including their interpersonal environment as males and females, and actively construct their own versions of masculine and feminine behaviour patterns (Santrock 1997:265).

Van den Berg (2004:62) holds the view that the girl in a child-headed family may withdraw from the oppression of her upbringing and rebel against all rules and regulations finding little purpose and direction in her own life. In her study, Chabilall (2004:68) found that in some child-headed households the orphans are compelled to replace the authority figure with the eldest female child should there be no one else to assume the role. If there are no females in the family, the eldest boys are required to adopt these adult roles, dropping out of school and seeking employment to keep their families going.

3.3.11 ACHIEVING A SCALE OF VALUES AND AN ETHICAL SYSTEM TO LIVE BY

Many decisions are made during the period of adolescence and it is important to consider the various factors that affect the individual's decisions in relation to careers, marriage and life-style, which includes values. In their search for values and a morality of their own young

people are often guided by their peer group. As a young person strives to become independent of his parents, he leans more heavily on his contemporaries for support and acceptance, and may slavishly conform to their norms (Gerdes *et al.* 1981:265). If these norms differ greatly from those held by his parents then considerable turbulence is likely to be experienced as the young person may feel very ambivalent as he tries to cope with a lifestyle advocated by his peers but possibly rejected by his parents. The changes during adolescence enable adolescents to consider abstract principles and hypothetical situations that are beyond the grasp of children as they evaluate their beliefs and values (Cobb 2010:19).

3.4 THEORIES OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT

Theories of moral development focus on different components of morality. Louw (2009:32) maintains that moral development theorists emphasise the affective component or powerful moral affects. Moral affects are the emotional component of morality, including feelings such as guilt, shame and pride in ethical conduct. Bee and Boyd (2002:47) maintain that some moral development theorists do not think of theories on the basis of distinguishing right from wrong but instead compare theories on the basis of their assumptions and how useful they are in promoting understanding of development. Behaviour associated with self-control in the context of temptations is heavily influenced by negative emotional states usually characterised as anxiety, fear, guilt and shame. Louw (2009:32) believes that adolescents are motivated to act in accordance with their ethical principles in order to experience positive effects such as pride to avoid such negative moral emotions as guilt and shame. It is also noted by Bee and Boyd (2002:250) that adolescents experience shame when they fail to live up to their own standards of behaviour as well as when their wrongdoing is exposed to others.

Some cognitive-developmental theorists (Shaffer 1996:568) have concentrated on the cognitive aspects of morality or moral reasoning. Moral reasoning according to Shaffer (1996:568) refers to the cognitive component of morality, the thinking that people display when deciding whether various acts are right or wrong. Louw (2009:32) is of the opinion that children cannot make moral judgments until they have achieved a certain level of cognitive maturity and can shed egocentric thinking. These theorists maintain that the way children

think about right and wrong may change dramatically as they mature. Social information-processing theorists have helped us to understand how some adolescents learn to resist temptation and to practise moral behaviour. Shaffer (1996:568) states that moral behaviour refers to the behavioural component of morality in that actions are consistent with one's moral standards. However, in situations where one is tempted to lie, steal or cheat then moral norms are violated. The term *morality* (Mariaye 2006:64) can also be used descriptively to refer to a code of conduct put forward by society or an individual and normatively to refer to a code of conduct that would be put forward by all rationally thinking persons.

Louw (2009:33) maintains that there is no theory that is universally accepted by all developmentalists or researchers that explain all facets of moral development. Different theorists have different perspectives when looking at the way people develop and behave morally. Among the key theories are the following: Piaget's theory, Vygotsky's theory, Freud's theory, Kohlberg's theory, Bandura's theory, Gillian's theory, Harter's theory and Erikson's theory (Eysenck 2001 409-453).

Table 3.1: Child development theories

Name of theory, founder and year	Main description of the theory	Key elements of the theory
1. Theory of cognitive development by Jean Piaget (1952; 1972).	Describes children's cognitive development in four stages, of which adolescence is relevant.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sensory motor stage • Pre-operational stage • Concrete operational stage • Formal operational stage
2. Psycho-analytical Theory of Sigmund Freud (1917)	Freud suggested that there are three main personality structures: the ego, the id and the superego.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oral stage • Anal stage • Phallic stage • Latency and genital stages
3. The Socio-cultural Theory of Vygotsky (1930-1935; 1978)	Human cognition is affected by the beliefs, values, problem-solving strategies and tools of intellectual adaptation passed to individuals by their culture (Shaffer 1996:276).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpersonal level of development • Intrapersonal level of development • Internalisation
4. Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development (1969 and 1985)	Describes three levels of moral reasoning, each of which has two stages.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-conventional stage • Conventional stage • Post-conventional stage

Name of theory, founder and year	Main description of the theory	Key elements of the theory
5. Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory (1979)	Describes the interrelationship between adolescents and context in their development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Microsystem • Mesosystem • Macrosystem • Exosystem • Chronosystem
6. Social Cognitive Theory of Bandura (1986)	Emphasises reciprocal influences of behaviour, environment and personal/cognitive factors.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reciprocal determinism • Observational learning • Locus of control • Self-efficacy
7. Maslow's Hierarchy of Basic Needs (1954; 1971)	Our basic needs must be satisfied before our higher needs can be. The highest and most elusive of Maslow's needs is self-actualisation which is the motivation to develop one's full potential as a human being.	Individual's needs are satisfied in the following sequence: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physiological • Safety • Love and belongingness • Esteem • Self-actualisation
8. Erickson's Psycho-social Theory (1968)	This theory states that people go through eight psycho-social stages of development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basic trust versus mistrust • Autonomy versus shame and doubt • Initiative versus guilt • Industry versus inferiority • Identity versus identity diffusion • Intimacy versus isolation • Generativity versus stagnation • Ego integrity versus despair • (Keenan & Evans 2009:26-27)
9. Psychological Theory of Carol Gilligan (1982)	Poses that a morality of care can serve in the place of the morality of justice and rights. Morality of caring and responsibility is premised in non-violence.	Morality provides two distinct injunctions. The injunction not to treat others unfairly (justice) and the injunction not to turn away from someone in need (care).

Each of the theories summarised in Table 3.1 makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the development of adolescents. A short description of each theory is provided below.

3.4.1 PIAGET'S THEORY OF COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT (1952; 1972)

Jean Piaget focused mainly on the moral lives of children, studying the way they play games in order to learn more about their beliefs about right and wrong. Slatter and Bremmer (2011:166) maintain that according to Piaget all development emerges from action; individuals construct and reconstruct their knowledge of the world as a result of interactions with the environment. Piaget determined that morality can be considered a developmental process as moral development is the result of interpersonal interactions through which individuals work out resolutions which all deem fair. The child's cognition is qualitatively different from one stage to the next (Slatter & Bremmer 2011:291-294):

1. Sensorimotor Stage (birth to 2 years): In this stage all that the infant knows is derived from the information that comes through the senses and motor actions. The infant constructs an understanding of the world by coordinating sensory experience with physical actions. An infant progresses from reflexive, instinctual action at birth to the beginning of symbolic thought towards the end of the stage.
2. Pre-operational Stage (2 to 7 years): The child begins to represent the world with words and images. These words and images reflect increased symbolic thinking and go beyond the connection of sensory information and physical action.
3. Concrete Operational Stage (7 to 11 years): The child can now reason logically about concrete events and classify objects into different sets.
4. Formal Operational Stage (from 11 years): The adolescent reasons in more abstract, idealistic and logical ways.

3.4.2 PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL THEORY OF SIGMUND FREUD (1917)

According to Keenan and Evans (2009:24) development is the result of a balance being struck between unconscious drives and a conscious need to adapt one's self to the reality people find themselves in. Freud believed that a person's personality is made up of three structures, the id, the ego and the superego. Freud postulated five stages of development, namely the oral, anal, phallic, latency and genital stages. In the oral, anal and the phallic stages the child experiences frustration and anxiety at the development of sexual impulses, resulting in psychological defences and repression of these impulses during a latency period to puberty (Smith *et al.* 2003:291). During the genital stage sexual desires reawaken and the adolescent looks for appropriate peers to direct his or her sexual drives at.

3.4.3 THE SOCIO-CULTURAL THEORY OF LEV VYGOTSKY (1930-1935; 1978)

Slatter and Bremmer (2011:311) state that Vygotsky views the child as an active seeker of knowledge. Vygotsky maintains that as human beings are cultural beings, their thinking comes from the social world people live in. The people we live among and the culture we are embedded in bring together a great deal of knowledge. Keenan and Evans (2009:44) maintain that children actively explore their environment and are influential in shaping their own knowledge. Individuals then take over this knowledge and use it as the basis of their own thought and develop new ways of understanding. Consequently, Slatter and Bremmer (2011:312) express the view that children internalise behaviours used in social interactions. The adolescent learns through interacting with others. Therefore language is learnt in order to communicate with others to get the things needed or wanted.

3.4.4 PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY OF CAROL GILLIGAN (1982)

Gilligan emphasises the gender differences are thought to be associated with the two injunctions. The morality of care emphasises interconnectedness and presumably emerges to a greater degree in girls, owing to their early connection with their mothers in identity formation. The morality of justice on the other hand, is said to emerge within the context of coordinating the interactions of autonomous individuals. Gilligan's work has contributed to an increased awareness of care being an integral component of moral reasoning. According to Keenan and Evans (2009:303) women have a different sense of morality than men in that they are more likely to focus on the ethic of care.

3.4.5 PSYCHO-SOCIAL THEORY OF ERIK ERIKSON (1968)

In this theory Erikson encourages us to look at adolescents, not just as hormone-driven beings, but as individuals finding out who they are and searching for their niche in the world (Santrock 2003:153). Erikson's theory states that people go through eight psychological stages of development. In seeking an identity, adolescents face the challenge of finding out who they are, what they are all about, and where they are going in life. Slatter and Bremmer (2011:69) claim that according to Erikson a child goes from the stage of basic trust in early infancy to the final stage of maturity in adult life with a sense of integrity and self-worth.

3.4.6 SOCIAL COGNITIVE THEORY OF BANDURA (1986)

According to Bandura (2004:4) the social cognitive theory explains human functioning in terms of triadic reciprocal causation, which includes personal determinants in the form of cognitive, affective and biological factors as well as behavioural and environmental influences. The social cognitive theory suggests that while knowledge of health risks and benefits is a prerequisite to change, additional self-influences are necessary for change to occur (Munro, Lewin, Swart & Volmink 2007:3). Beliefs regarding personal efficacy are among some of these influences, and these play a central role in change. According to Bandura (2004:143) belief in one's efficacy to exercise control is a common pathway through which psycho-social influences affect health functioning. People's beliefs about their capabilities affect what they choose to do, how much effort they mobilise, how long they will persevere in the face of difficulties, whether they engage in self-debilitating or self-encouraging thought patterns and the amount of stress and depression they experience in difficult situations (Bandura 1994:2).

An effective programme of widespread change in detrimental health practices includes four major components aimed at altering each of the three classes of interacting determinants. The four components (Bandura 1994:5) are information the development of the social and self-regulative skills, skill enhancement and the creation of social support for desired personal changes. All these determinants are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

3.4.7 MASLOW'S HIERARCHY OF BASIC NEEDS (1954; 1971)

According to Young *et al.* (2007:94) the basic human needs are the same for every individual; although each of us may have additional, special needs our fundamental needs remain the same, as they constitute our requirements for living. Abraham Maslow developed a theory of needs in a hierarchy based on their relative importance for physical survival. In order to progress upward to the top of the pyramid, one needs to satisfy each need along the way (Slatter & Bremmer 2011:69).

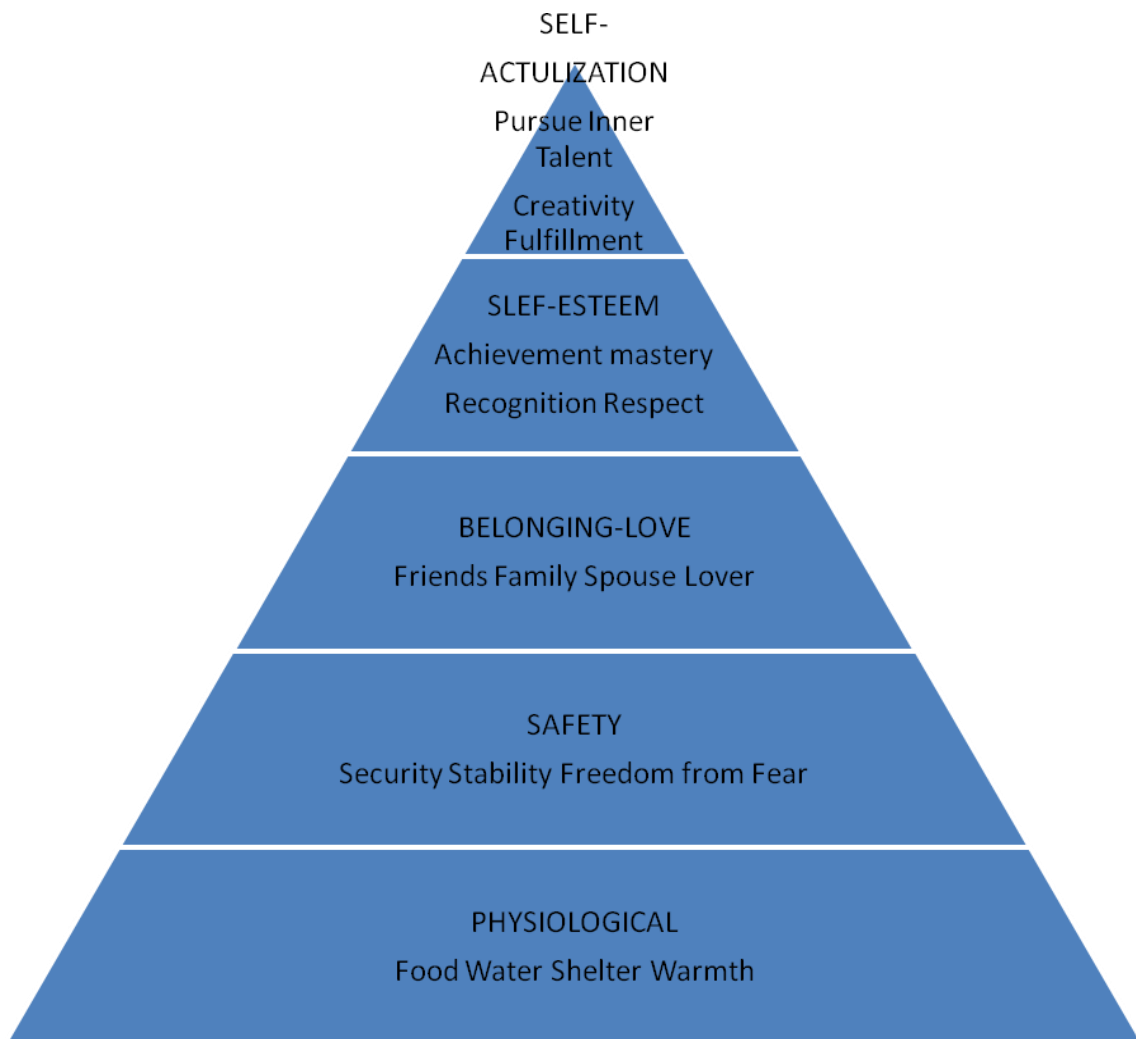


Figure 3.1: Maslow's Hierarchy of Basic Needs (1954; 1971)

At the base of the pyramid Maslow places everyday physiological needs required for survival, needs for food, drink, rest, elimination, etc. On the next level, Maslow puts need for stimulation and escape from boredom. The need to explore and satisfy curiosity would be included on this second level. Safety and security needs, which Slatter and Bremmer (2011:70) regard as a place where you feel safe and secure, follow. As one continues up the pyramid, one develops a need for love and a sense of belonging. At this fourth level friendships become important. As one moves up to the upper levels of the hierarchy, one needs to feel respected by others. The final level is reached by very few people. It involves attaining one's total potential (Slatter & Bremmer 2011:70). Maslow labels the top step of this hierarchy self-actualisation.

Common characteristics of self-actualisers are the following (Quinn 1990:201):

- Honesty: they have the ability to be objective and do not show selfish interests.

- Creativity: they are spontaneous and natural and enjoy trying new approaches.
- Acceptance: They show total acceptance of themselves and are willing to accept others for what they are.
- Appreciation: They possess the ability to become fully absorbed, enjoying even simple and basic experiences.
- Sense of humour: They can recognise cleverness and vision and will laugh easily.
- Sensitivity: they experience a deep feeling of sympathy for other people.

3.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For the purpose of this study Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory and Kohlberg's theory of moral development are used.

3.5.1 BRONFENBRENNER'S ECOLOGICAL THEORY (1979)

Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory describes the complexity of human development as well as the idea that the developing person is a biological system, interacting with other systems that are external to the individual. Within the context of ecological theory the focus is on the content of biology-person-environment transactions. Moreover, the physical environment serves as a backdrop to the psychosocial, personal and physiological areas of input and functioning within the ecological system. Bronfenbrenner's theory looks at a person's development within the context of the system of relationships that forms his environment. The theory defines complex layers or systems of environment, each having an effect on one's development. Hence the interaction between factors in one's maturing biology (emotions, intellect and behaviour) and one's immediate family/community environment. Bronfenbrenner (1979:7) maintains that the ecological environment is conceived as extending far beyond the immediate situation directly affecting the developing person. Changes or conflict in any one layer or system will ripple throughout other layers. To study human development and behaviour we must look not only at people and their immediate environment, but also at the interaction with the larger environment as well. This theory allowed me to investigate how adolescents in child-headed households develop and behave within such interaction in the social environment.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979:7) ecological theory is important because it demonstrates the systemic interaction between the individual and the environment, or ecology, at four different levels: the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem and the macrosystem.

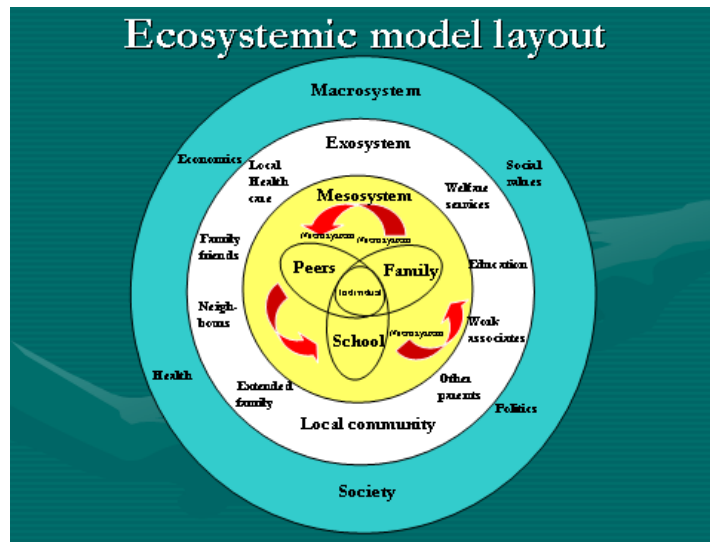


Figure 3.2: Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Theory (1979)

⌘ **Microsystem**

A microsystem is a pattern of activities, social roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical, social and symbolic features that invite, permit or inhibit engagement in sustained, progressively more complex interaction with an activity in the immediate environment, such as a family, school, peer group, and other educational environments (Bronfenbrenner 1994:39). The microsystem is the layer closest to the individual and contains the structures with which he has direct contact. It is an environment (Jasnoski & Schwartz 1985:473) in which the developing person spends a good deal of time engaging in activities and interactions. The microsystem can be extended to families in terms of how the family interacts with and is affected by both what goes on among its members as well as how the members of the family interact with one another, and the broader aspects of the world in which they live (Fannin 1987:3).

The family provides resources and feedback to the individual, who then interprets their experiences in a unique way (Frydenberg 2008:108). Bronfenbrenner (1979:7) calls these bi-directional influences, and he shows how they occur at all levels of the environment.

Bronfenbrenner notes that as long as contact with increased numbers in the person's micro-system means more enduring mutual relationships, increasing the size of the system will enhance human development. At the beginning the microsystem is the home, involving interactions with only one or two people in the family. Fannin (1987:5) states that how family see their and others' roles and responsibilities is just as important as what these roles and responsibilities actually are. Adolescents orphaned by Aids in child-headed households struggle a great deal due to lack of a proper family network. Their roles in the family have turned into those of being breadwinners at a tender age. This study specifically explores adolescents' responsibility, roles and behaviour, (physically, emotionally, connotatively and cognitively) within their complex environment.

- *Emotions as part of the microsystem*

Shaffer (1996:425) states that the ability to regulate emotions is only the first skill that children must acquire in order to comply with culture's emotional display rules. These prescriptions often dictate that we not only suppress whatever unacceptable emotions we are actually experiencing, but also replace them with whatever feelings the display rule calls for in that situation. Emotion is very important in the education process, because it drives attention, which drives learning and memory (Nucci & Narvaez 2008:441). Parents often call attention to the uneasiness children experience after causing another person distress or breaking a rule. Adolescents orphaned by AIDS fall victim to a lack of parental guidance as they have to fend for themselves in challenging situations. Shaffer (1996:423) maintains that primary emotions seem to be biologically programmed for they emerge in all normal adolescents and are displayed and interpreted differently in all cultures.

- *Cognition as part of the microsystem*

According to Nucci and Narvaez (2008:441) brain-based learning recognises the central importance of emotional learning. The biology of the brain is certainly one of the most important systems in a developing human being. The health of the child's brain has a great impact on the rate and quality of development in all areas. Since all senses and motor functions are central here, virtually any activity must begin with the brain. Damage due to disease or injury can impair activity and cause a variety of developmental difficulties. One of the strongest elicitors of surprise and joy among adolescents is their discovery that they can exert some control over objects and events (Shaffer 1996:423).

There are numerous causes for brain injury and they can strike at any time in the developmental process up to and including adulthood. In addition to trauma, disease is a major contributor to brain injuries. Bronfenbrenner (1979:9) states that the emphasis is not on the traditional psychological process of perception, motivation, thinking and learning but on what is desired, perceived, feared, thought about or acquired as knowledge, and how the nature of this psychological material changes as a function of a person's exposure to an interaction with the environment.

- *Behaviour as part of the microsystem*

Behaviour forms the basis of human interaction with the society around one. Chabilall (2004:70) maintains that the adolescent is in better control of his actions and is able to reach more acceptable standards with reference to desirable behaviour. Much of a child's behaviour is learned in the microsystem, though as the child ages the other, more distant, system will have increasing influence. Internal systems also have an effect on behaviour.

⌘ **Mesosystem**

The mesosystem comprises the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings containing the developing person, such as the relations between home and school, school and workplace, etc. At this level peer-group, educational/work and family systems interact with one another. Bronfenbrenner (1979:209) states that the most basic form of interconnection between two settings is multi-setting participation. It occurs when the same person engages in activities in more than one setting, e.g. when a child spends time at home. People's own perceptions of their contexts are central to understanding how they engage with them. The environment does not simply influence the individual. Human beings are active participants in their own development; for example, if a person perceives his world as basically threatening he will be less likely to explore it and to engage in interactions that might promote his development. The opposite would be true of a person who feels secure and confident in his ability to engage in new situations.

- *The family as part of the mesosystem*

A family is a dynamic system. According to Shaffer (1996:604) every family member is a developing individual and relationships between parent and child will change in ways that can influence the development of each family member. In child-headed households the

adolescent is expected to provide the support to siblings. The adolescents who go to school are largely a product of the family they are part of. Teachers need to be able to deal with a great variety of family systems in understanding their learners. In today's society the family is less frequently the archetypical combination of stay-at-home mother, working father and sibling children (Bronfenbrenner 1979:239).

All families are embedded within larger cultural and sub-cultural contexts and within the ecological niche that a family occupies, for example, the family's religion, its socioeconomic status and the values that prevail within a subculture, a community or even neighbourhood (Shaffer 1996:604). Economically distressed parents who have close ties with a community, a church group, a volunteer organisation, or a circle of close friends experience far less stress and less disruption of parenting routines. Most child-headed families are heavily dependent on the support of the community.

- *Schools as part of the mesosystem*

Characteristics of learners and of the school environment often interact to affect learners' academic outcomes. Shaffer (1996:656) maintains that young adolescents from any social background may begin to lose interest in academics if they experience a mismatch between their school environment and their changing developmental needs.

⌘ **Exosystem**

According to Fannin (1987:6) family is the first layer of the environment in which particular family members may not have any significant direct experience. The exosystem comprises the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not contain the developing person, but in which events occur that indirectly influence processes within the immediate setting in which the developing person lives, such as the relationship between the home and the parents' workplace (Bronfenbrenner 1994:40).

- *The community and society as part of the exosystem*

Bronfenbrenner (1979:237) says that an exosystem consists of one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant but in which events occur that affect or are affected by operation of the exosystem; as a context influencing development, it is necessary to establish a causal sequence involving at least two steps. The first is

connecting events in the external setting to processes occurring in the developing person's microsystem and the second is linking the microsystem processes to developmental changes in a person within that setting. In most situations it refers to the type of involvement of the NGOs in the immediate family life of the adolescent and how this involvement and support affect his development. The child's evolving construction of reality cannot be observed directly; it can only be inferred from patterns of activity as these are expressed in both verbal and non-verbal behaviour, particularly in the activities, roles and relations in which the person engages (Bronfenbrenner 1979:11).

⌘ **Macrosystem**

The macrosystem refers to the consistency observed within a given culture or sub-culture in the form and content of its constituent micro-, meso- and exosystems as well as any belief system or ideology underlying such consistencies (Bronfenbrenner 1979:258). This layer may be considered the outermost layer in the person's environment.

The macrosystem consists of the overarching pattern with particular reference to the belief systems, bodies of knowledge, material resources, customs, life-styles, opportunity structures, hazards and life course options that are embedded in each of these broader systems (Bronfenbrenner 1994:40). The macrosystem provides the broad ideological and organisational patterns within which the meso- and exosystems reflect the ecology of human development. Macrosystems are not static but might change through evolution and revolution; for example, economic recession, war and technological changes may produce changes. In the case of this study the macrosystem has been changed by the impact of AIDS on families (orphans). This has brought dramatic changes with relation to the vulnerability of orphans. They suddenly become economically, socially, physically and emotionally vulnerable.

- *Cultural beliefs as part of the macrosystem*

Bronfenbrenner (in Fannin 1987:7) refers to the macrosystem as a cultural blueprint. These broader cultural elements, while remote from the physical setting of the family, help shape the way families use time and the activities they participate in. People are affected by their culture through the communication of beliefs and customs their parents received from other structures in the mesosystem and exosystem when they were still growing up. Our culture

dictates beliefs concerning religion, school, family and community life. Generations pass on cultural values via these structures and the developing person receives them in turn. Because of this value people believe a necessary component of success in our society is individuality or separateness. This belief is responsible for fostering a competitive model in our educational and economic systems rather than a cooperative one.

⌘ **The Chronosystem**

At the very core of an ecological orientation and distinguishing it most sharply from prevailing approaches to the study of human development is the concern with the progressive accommodation between a growing human organism and its immediate environment, and the way in which this relation is mediated by forces emanating from more remote regions in the larger physical and social milieu (Bronfenbrenner 1979:13).

Bronfenbrenner uses the term *bi-directional* to describe the influential interactions that take place between mother and child, child and father, understanding that the influences go both directions (Boemmel & Briscoe 2001:1). In a child's life there are events such as the death of a family member that can change the child's development. According to Bronfenbrenner (1993) the two environmental conditions that are necessary for human development are loving a child unconditionally and spending time with the child. If these two things do not happen, our ecology breaks down, causing us to attack and destroy our children (Boemmel & Briscoe 2001:2). The utility of ecological interventions may hold promise for preventing other behavioural health problems. Health, disease and wellness (Jansnoski & Schwartz 1986:12) are viewed as multi-factorial states of being. A new idea is needed to represent the system of person and situation transactions in the manifestation of HIV/AIDS. Family-based strategies are absent in child-headed households, even though promoting effective communication, positive involvement and support within the family are essential to the development of adolescents in child-headed households. Bronfenbrenner (in Boeree 2009:2) maintains that in many modern cultures conformity to one's peers is a powerful force and in others the welfare of the collective group is considered far more important than that of the individual.

3.5.2 KOHLBERG'S THEORY OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT

According to Mafunisa (2008:82) moral development theories rest on the notion that human beings develop morally in the same way as they develop cognitively, linguistically and physically. Kohlberg's theory of moral development postulates that moral reasoning proceeds through an invariant sequence of stages toward an increasingly adequate understanding of what is just or fair (Nucci & Narvaez 2008:57). It is essential for the individual to understand how external authority interprets the difference between right and wrong before he or she learns to evaluate rules independently. Moral development corresponds to the cognitive development of the individual in response to communication. Kohlberg's theory of moral reasoning is central to an understanding of an individual's inclination to behave ethically. This theory is cauterised into three different levels, namely the pre-conventional level, conventional level and post-conventional level. Bernacki and Jaeger (2008:5) state that Kohlberg's outlook is that moral judgment is a developmental phenomenon fostered by individual experiences.

I. Pre-conventional level

In this stage youth is responsive to cultural rules and labels of good and bad, right or wrong, but interprets the labels in terms of either physical or hedonistic consequences of action (punishment, reward, exchange of favours) or physical power of those who enunciate the rules and labels. Logsdon and Yuthas (1997:1215) propose that this is the level at which behavioural norms are viewed as external to an individual. Mafunisa (2008:82) contends that the youth responds to cultural rules that evaluate behaviour. Bernacki and Jaeger (2008:6) believe that the order and succession of the stages of moral development are constant and unchangeable in different cultures, although they might accelerate or decelerate due to individual and cultural differences. Also, different people differ in terms of the rate at which they reach the highest level of moral development (Alavi & Rahimipoor 2010:427). Environmental factors have a very important role in developing an individual's aptitudes. The concepts are evaluated in terms of the pleasure or pain resulting from action (i.e. reward or punishment respectively). The pre-conventional stage is divided into two stages, namely the following:

⌘ **Stage 1: The punishment and obedience orientation**

The physical consequences of actions determine their positive or negative connotations regardless of the human meaning or value of these consequences. Logsdon and Yuthas (1997:1214) maintain that during this stage the self-centred individual defers power and obeys rules only to avoid punishment. Mafunisa (2008:82) states that the understanding is that avoidance of any form of punishment and unconditional respect for power are considered moral.

⌘ **Stage 2: The instrumental relativist orientation**

Right action consists of what instrumentally satisfies one's own needs and occasionally the needs of others. According to Kohlberg (1991) elements of fairness, reciprocity and equal sharing are present, but they are always interpreted in a physical pragmatic way. It is Mafunisa's (2008:82) estimation that the correct action is considered to be instrumental in satisfying individual needs and sometimes the needs of others. The primary aim of stage 2 is to use or support other people to satisfy needs.

II. Conventional level

In this stage an individual accepts with little critical reflection the standards of his group, and the autonomous level of behaviour in which conduct is guided by individual thinking (Kohlberg 1975:4). It is further envisaged that he judges for himself whether a purpose is good and accepts the standard of his group without reflection (Kohlberg 1975:4). Living up to the expectations of the individual's family, group or nation is regarded as valuable, regardless of the consequences of the behaviour. At this level the individual perceives that maintaining the expectations of his family, group, or nation are valuable in its own right regardless of immediate and obvious consequences. The conventional level consists of two stages:

⌘ **Stage 3: The interpersonal concordance or "good boy-nice girl" orientation**

This stage, according to Kohlberg (1971), illustrates that behaviour is frequently judged by intention. The individual seeks to meet the expectations of others and thereby to please and receive approval from them (Logsdon & Yuthas 1997:1215). Some adolescents in child-headed households find themselves automatically in this stage.

⌘ **Stage 4: The “law and order” orientation**

The individual is oriented towards authority, fixed rules and the maintenance of the social order. According to Kohlberg (as cited in Alavi & Rahimipoor 2010:429) moral development is cognition of and paying attention to intercultural essential values. In other words, moral development understands society’s values and making one’s behaviour conform to these values.

III. Post-Conventional, Autonomous or Principled Level

The individual makes a clear effort to define moral values and principles that have validity and application apart from the authority of the groups or persons holding them and apart from individual’s own identification with the group. Logsdon and Yuthas (1997:1215) maintain that an individual recognises that peer and legally enforceable norms at a particular point in time may not fully embody ethical behaviour. An individual needs the ability to form cognitive abstractions and to see issues in shades of grey, not just black and white (Mafunisa 2008:82). What is accepted as normal values and principles is defined by the individual and not by authorities, groups or other individuals. The absence of parental or adult guidance in child-headed households may force orphans to define their own values and principles.

⌘ **Stage 5: The social-contract legalistic orientation**

Kohlberg (1971) deems that right action tends to be defined in terms of general individual rights and standards that have been critically examined and agreed upon by the whole society. This stage demonstrates that there is an emphasis on the legalistic view, along with an awareness that the law may be changed in accordance with national considerations of social utility (Mafunisa 2008:82-83).

⌘ **Stage 6: The universal ethical-principle orientation**

The final stage, which is the highest level of moral development, involves an orientation towards decisions of continence and self-elected principles and is a highly abstract and ethical phase. The universal principles of human rights and justice are reflected in this stage (Mafunisa 2008:82). Right is defined by the decision of conscience in accordance with self-chosen ethical principles that appeal to logical comprehensiveness, universality and consistency. According to Logsdon and Yuthas (1997:1214) right behaviour is behaviour that

is consistent with enduring moral principles, such as justice, human rights and the dignity of human beings.

Moral development is based on the premise that at birth all humans are void of morals, ethics, and honesty (Becker 1996:1). Kohlberg's theory identifies the family as the first source of values and moral development for an individual. He believes that as one's intelligence and ability to interact with others develops, so does one's patterns of moral behaviour (Becker *et al.* 1996:1). According to Kohlberg (Becker *et al.* 1996:1) the cognitive approach to moral development, and the development pattern in moral reasoning and judgment is cross-culturally universal (Ferns & Thom 2001:38).

Kohlberg's theory is largely of a structural nature, since emphasis is laid on the use of formal, rather than the content characteristics of moral reasoning to determine the person's level of moral reasoning. Each stage is seen as an internal, consistent system with its own unique logic that forms the constituent element of the stage concerned (Ferns & Thom 2001:40). Kohlberg holds the view that the stages of moral development are found in a hierarchical order in all cultures. His theory is based on the cognitive characteristics of the individual, since morality is judged on the basis of arguments and behaviour or in the light of environment and social factors. Competencies, self-efficacy beliefs and self-regulatory capacities are acquired through the experiences of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households, but which in turn determine the individual's experience in such a way that they are maintained (Grusec 1992:783).

3.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I focused my discussion within the framework of related existing literature in relation to the developmental levels of adolescence, the vulnerability of adolescents and theoretical frameworks. In the next chapter I describe the empirical methods and methodological choices of my study.

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CHAPTER 4

DESIGNING AND CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN THE FIELD

“In an age when fixed social life-worlds and lifestyles are disintegrating and social life is being restructured out of new modes and forms of living, research strategies are required that can deliver, in the first instance, precise and substantial descriptions.”

(Flick *et al.* 2005:5)

4. AIM OF THE CHAPTER

The main aim of this chapter is to present a comprehensive methodological discussion of the process I followed during the empirical research in order to respond to the main research problem, which is, *how do adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households develop morally?*

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter the literature in relation to adolescence as a developmental phase, theories of moral development and the theoretical framework were discussed. In this chapter I provide a narrative account of my research design into how the design unfolded. My choice of the case study method and purposive sampling is substantiated. The main focus of this chapter includes the discussion of the interpretive research paradigm, the qualitative research method, research design, data collection strategies and the sampling procedures used in the selection of the participants. I conclude the chapter by reflecting on the ethical considerations and decisions taken in conducting the research and selecting methodology adopted in analysing the data.

A schematic presentation of the research approach and design is outlined in Figure 4.1 below.

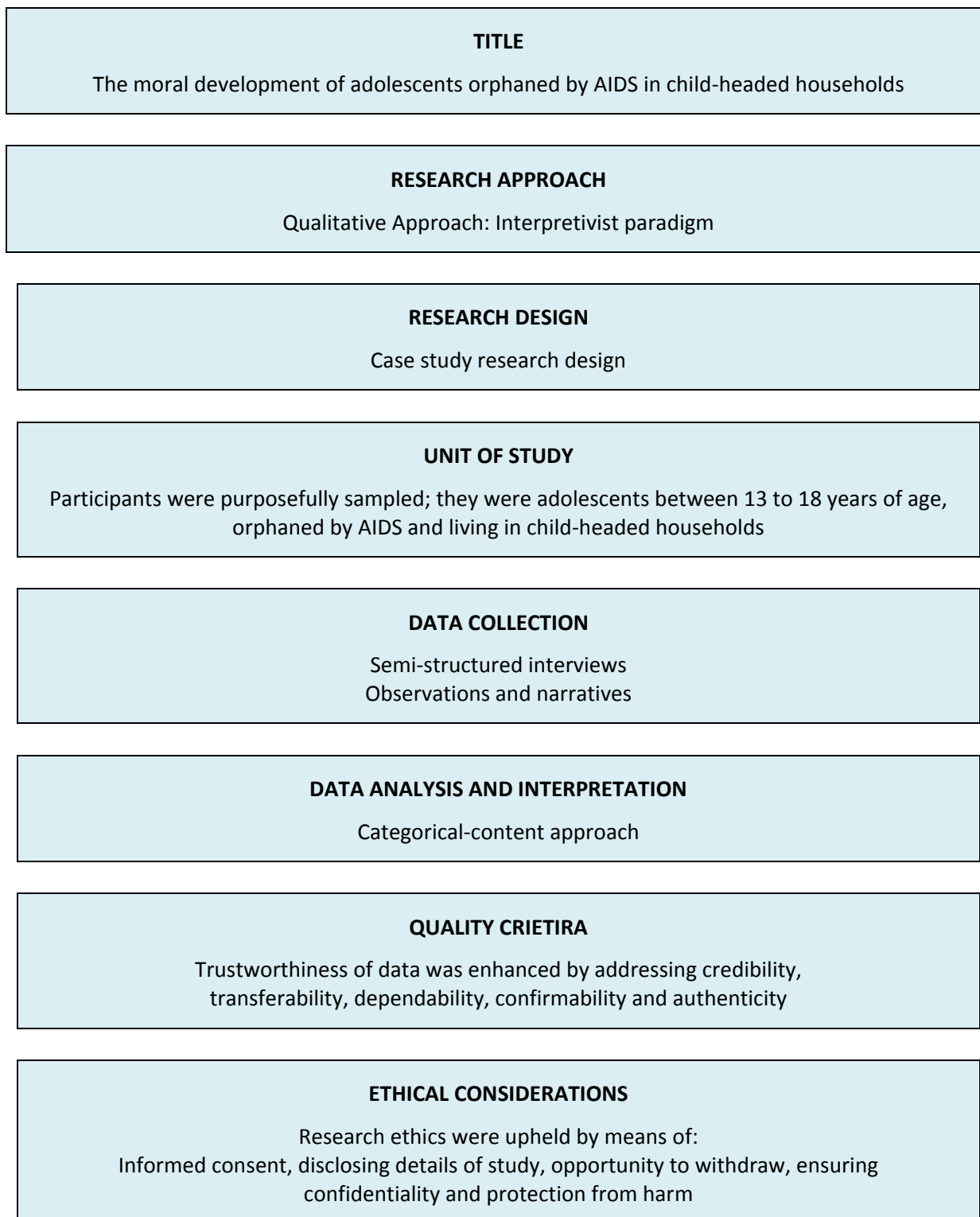


Figure 4.1: A schematic presentation of the research approach and design

4.2 PARADIGMATIC APPROACH

I worked from an interpretive paradigm, ensuring a qualitative research approach (methodological paradigm) in order to best address the purpose of my study.

4.2.1 INTERPRETIVIST PARADIGM

In this study I adopted a qualitative interpretivist paradigm. According to Nieuwenhuis (2007:105) interpretivism has its roots in hermeneutics, the study of the theory and practice of interpretation. De Vos (2002:7) asserts that an interpretive paradigm emphasises a detailed reading or examination of a text or information, which could refer to a conversation, written words or pictures. In keeping with the interpretive approach described by Nieuwenhuis (2010:105) this research examines adolescents in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or to interpret the meanings adolescents attribute to phenomena. For the purposes of this research observations, interviews and the narratives of adolescents orphaned by AIDS have been investigated and interpreted in their own homes.

As an interpretive researcher described by Nieuwenhuis (2007:105) I started out on the assumption that access to reality is gained only through social constructions such as language, consciousness and shared meanings. Interpretive studies usually attempt to understand phenomena through the meanings that people assign to them and focus on the complexity of human sense-making as the situation emerges. Phatlane (2007:67) points out that interpretative theory is more accepting of free will and sees the human aspect as being the outcome of the environment. I regard this stance as being responsible for the different opinions in relation to the interaction and practices of individuals with the social world. Such opinions are influential upon this study particularly in respect of the way in which the environment adolescents live in shapes their lives. While investigating the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS, I always kept in mind what is stated by Hein (1991:1) that there is no such thing as knowledge “out there” independent of the knower, but only knowledge we construct for ourselves as we learn; hence the primary source of knowledge and information in this study are the participants.

According to Nieuwenhuis (2010:59) the interpretivist perspective is based on the following assumptions:

⌘ **Human life can only be understood from within**

Interpretivism focuses on researchers’ subjective experiences, on how people ‘construct’ the social world of sharing meanings, and how they interact with or relate to one another. I

studied the phenomenon that helped me understand how adolescents interpret and interact within their social environment (Nieuwenhuis 2010:58). Interpretivism enabled me to explore the environment in which adolescents live and to develop a distinct understanding of their lives and how such an environment has a bearing upon their everyday lives within the context of their moral development.

⌘ **Social life is a distinctively human product**

Interpretivists assume that reality is not objectively determined but socially constructed. This research has provided an opportunity to unearth the views and opinions of the participants in relation to aspects of their social contexts and how these might have had some effect upon the structure of their moral development.

⌘ **The human mind is the purposive source or origin of meaning**

Nieuwenhuis (2010:59) mentions that through uncovering how meanings are constructed we can gain insight into the meanings imparted and thereby improve our comprehensive whole. I carefully tried to interpret how the participants attribute meanings to their situations and to comprehend how their actions and interactions with others and the environment influence their moral development.

⌘ **Human behaviour is affected by knowledge of the social world**

Interpretivism proposes that there are multiple and no single realities of phenomena, and that these realities can differ across time and place (Nieuwenhuis 2010:59). As my knowledge and understanding of the social world and the realities of my participants increased, I realised that each participant constructs meaning differently according to the context and social world; the participant's behaviour is affected differently by his or her social world.

4.2.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH

Selecting a qualitative research approach implies that I collected data in a real-world setting. Grounding my study in this approach I focused on the perceptions, meanings and understandings of the participants regarding the topic under study. I endeavoured to obtain insight into and provide in-depth descriptions of naturally occurring phenomena (moral

development of adolescents in child-headed households) and the participants' experiences in natural situations. I further aimed at making sense of and interpret that which I was studying in terms of the meaning that was ascribed to it by the participants and not as predetermined or controlled by myself. My decision to do this study qualitatively was guided primarily by the nature of the study in terms of its research questions and aims. The choice of qualitative approach was strategic as the interpretive nature of the methodology placed emphasis on enhanced comprehension of adolescents' moral behaviour and experiences.

Leedy (1993:139) states that all research methodologies rest upon a bedrock axiom: the nature of the data and the problem for the research dictate the research methodology. Qualitative research according to Flick *et al.* (2005:3) claims to describe life worlds "from the inside out" and from the point of view of the people who participate. By explaining how the participants interact morally with the social world I sought to contribute to a better understanding of social realities and their influence on the moral development of the participants. Therefore, by approaching my study within a qualitative framework I was able to consider the influence of relevant factors on social relationships and consequently this afforded me access to an understanding of the way in which contextual factors such as poverty and stigma influence the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS.

By implementing qualitative research I aimed at developing an understanding of the manner in which reality is constructed morally by the participants in their specific social settings. My decisions conformed to Denzin and Lincoln's (1998:8) assertion that qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. The qualitative research approach enabled me to seek answers to questions that stress how the social experiences of the adolescent participants are created and given meaning according to their moral development. I considered the fact that the participants are developing in a challenging environment without adult or parental support and guidance that could nurture their moral behaviour. Within a research experience similar to that of Chabilall (2010:73) qualitative research provided me with an opportunity to sensitively gain insight into the multiple realities, experiences and interactions of each individual in the study. As an interpretivist researcher I was more interested in describing and interpreting the words of my participants from what I had been told during interviews and what I had observed in

their homes. The intention of my investigation was to obtain richer insights into their experiences. The research approach enabled me to use a variety of data collection strategies to analyse and communicate my ideas and findings (Denzin & Lincoln 1998:8).

Denzin and Lincoln (1998:6) assert that qualitative research, with its precise and “thick” descriptions, does not simply depict reality, nor does it practise exoticism for its own sake. According to Phatlane (2007:73) reality is assumed to exist, but it is “imperfectly” grasped because no one scientist can claim to capture reality objectively. According to Chabilall (2010:73) qualitative research necessitates the collection of a variety of empirical studies, which include reports of personal experiences and interviews relating to customary and challenging times together with implications in individuals’ lives.

In the light of the epistemological issues discussed above I considered the qualitative research approach suitable to be able to address the main aim of this study. This study was termed by University of Pretoria Ethics Committee as sensitive and one that needs to be explored with special care. Chabilall (2010:73) state that sensitive studies have potential consequences or implications, either for the participants in the research directly or for the class of individuals represented by the research. My study investigates adolescents who have been orphaned by AIDS and whose homes are in an informal settlement community. In this study I recognise that the experiences of the participants are inseparable from their social and cultural contexts. The methodology I chose took into account the sensitive and complex social and cultural contexts that shaped the participants’ experiences and behaviour. I documented the sessions on interactions with the participants by means of a field journal and audio-recordings.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A research design is a plan or strategy that moves from the underlying philosophical assumptions to specifying the selection of participants, the data gathering techniques to be used and the data analysis to be done (Nieuwenhuis 2010:70). My study adopted a qualitative case study research design. This design is significant because it leads to the gaining of new insights into a specific phenomenon. My case study researches the phenomenon of the moral development of orphans of AIDS in child-headed households.

Merriam (1998) states that case studies are employed to gain an in-depth understanding of a situation where thick descriptions refer to the complete, literal description of the entity being investigated. Case studies take multiple perspectives into account and attempt to understand the influences of social systems on subjects' perspectives and behaviour (Babbie & Mouton 2001:281). My preliminary readings have revealed that no research has been conducted on the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS and compelled to live in child-headed households. In order to gain new insights into how adolescents in child-headed households develop morally I had to be willing to examine new ideas from their experiences and interactions with the social world and to be open to new stimuli (Mouton & Marais 1991).

4.3.1 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

Babbie and Mouton (2001:281) maintain that the concept *population* encompasses the total collection of members, cases or elements about which the researcher wishes to draw conclusions. The population that my sample was extracted from is in the informal settlement of greater Boitekong Area of Rustenburg. According to Maree (2007) sampling theory has been developed to suggest ways of drawing “scientific” samples that are random and representative of the population and whose findings can tell us more about the population in general. Hence my sample consists of adolescents who are living in child-headed households in the informal settlement and who have been orphaned by AIDS. The sample size of my research is small and therefore cannot be regarded as representative of all adolescents in child-headed households. The adolescent participants were selected irrespective of whether they attend school or not.

The process of sampling made it possible to draw valid findings on the basis of careful interviews and the observation and analysis of variables of a small proportion of the population. I was cautious in terms of the practical considerations of factors such a time and cost, which were also taken into account as I was aware that limitations with respect to these could lead to decisions that might have limited the study (Maree, 2007. I therefore took cognizance of Babbie and Mouton (2001:281)) argument that with a specific sample time, money and effort can be concentrated to produce better-quality research, better instruments, more in-depth information and more proficient interviewers.

4.3.2 PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

According to Maree and Pieterse (2010:178) purposive sampling is used in special situations where the sampling is done with a specific purpose in mind. I selected my participants because of certain defining characteristics that made them the holders of data needed for this study. The criteria used in choosing participants and sites were based on whether they were “information rich” as endorsed by Phatlane (2007:75) in that purposive sampling is a way of sampling where participants are selected on the grounds of existing knowledge of the research population by the researcher.

4.3.3 SAMPLE SIZE AND SELECTION

Six adolescents in child-headed households were chosen for this study. They were within the age category of 13 to 18 years old. Three males and three females were purposively selected. I selected these adolescents regardless of whether they are at school or not because they are equally affected. The adolescent participants are living in the informal area of Rustenburg. The selection of these respondents was based on cases reported to the Institutional Level Support Teams (ILST)⁵ in selected schools and to local social workers. The ILSTs are formed in schools of the North West province (Rustenburg) with the purpose of identifying learners with socio-educational challenges, including those produced by orphanhood and vulnerability that hamper their performance at school. ILST educators receive training from a specialised division of the Department of Education on how to handle school-based cases and learners with particular needs within such realms as poverty, orphans as well as HIV and AIDS. Selecting only six adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households made it possible for me to conduct an in-depth qualitative inquiry effectively and thoroughly (Maykut & Morehouse 1994:174).

The participants were not familiar with me. A social worker from Tapologo Hospice was identified to assist in the identification of the participants. The social worker was familiar with the participants as she interacted regularly with them. She also accompanied me during the process of interviewing. The presence of the social worker was useful when participants became emotional and required counselling. The social worker calmed them, put them at ease and made them comfortable before and during the interview process.

⁵ Educators’ teams at school that support vulnerable children as explained in chapter 1.

Table 4.1: Summary of the participants in the sample

CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION	TOTAL NUMBER	SAMPLING STRATEGY	CRITERIA FOR SELECTION
Participants	Adolescents	6 (3 males and 3 females)	Purposive	Adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households

4.3.4 SITE SELECTION

This research project was conducted with six participants from the informal settlement of Greater Boitekong in Rustenburg (North West Province). Rustenburg is regarded as the main producer of platinum in South Africa. The community selected for this research project originated as a result of the jobs that were created by the platinum mines. The mines around Rustenburg draw many people from different areas of South Africa and other Southern African countries of Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Swaziland. Those from foreign countries who are unemployed reside in informal settlements around mine shafts while they look for employment. Some are families (women and children) of men who are employed in the mines. Many men from foreign countries (outside South Africa) live alone in the informal settlements. In these types of settlement diseases are rife and high rates of HIV and AIDS are prevalent. Adult deaths due mainly to AIDS leave adolescents taking charge as heads of their families. Children in these families are left alone to fend for themselves and are prone to moral decadence. The cosmopolitan environment with its high levels of poverty, numbers of adolescents in child-headed households and HIV and AIDS prevalence provide tangible reasons for an inquiry into the moral behaviour of the participants.

4.3.5 RESEARCHER'S ROLE

According to Nieuwenhuis (2010:79) qualitative studies accept the researcher as the "research instrument" in the data gathering process. I adopted the role of interviewer, observer and interpreter (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:435). Since the nature of the study is sensitive I adopted Chabilall (2010:81) affirmation that the researcher must be respectful and responsive to the perspectives and needs of the participants. I explained to the participants that my role was that of an observer and interviewer. I assumed the position

that Chabilall (2010:81) refers to as keeping with the characteristics of the interpretivist paradigm where there was a close interaction between myself and the participants. I networked with the social worker from Tapologo Hospice and educators who serve in the Institutional Level Support Team [ILST] of the participating schools. With the assistance of the local social worker I obtained permission and negotiated entry into the homes of participants. The social worker's presence made the participants comfortable, relaxed and ready to share information freely as I was accepted by them. During the research process I treated the participants with respect and trust, which they reciprocated. I also made them feel more comfortable by serving them cold drinks and biscuits. This made them feel at ease – hence they accepted me.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION STRATEGIES

According to Nieuwenhuis (2010:78) data collection is conducted via social interaction with participants, field studies, participant observation and semi-structured interviews. In this study the methodological implications in the interpretive paradigm called for the use of observations, narratives and interviews with purposive-sampled adolescents (Phatlane 2007:73). De Vos (1998:100) identifies data collection as a detailed description of the data gathering procedures for planned investigation. Description covers the specific techniques to be employed, the specific measuring instruments to be utilised and the exclusive series of activities to be conducted in collecting data. The data collection strategies I followed were informed by Mouton's (1996:111) recommendations that there are a number of methodological criteria that include the suspension of personal prejudices and biases; systemic and accurate recording of observations (writing and audio recording); establishment of trust and rapport with interviewees, and the creation of optimal conditions in terms of the location or setting for the collection of data.

4.4.1 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Interviews with participants were conducted in the presence of the social worker. I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews in order to allow for flowing discussions, and to obtain detailed information with regard to the participants' experiences and interaction within the social world. Thus it was important to include probing as part of my strategy to make follow-ups with the participants. Many of my questions depended on the responses

from the participants. The interview guide I used ensured that I had asked the right leading questions (Kakembo 2010:66). A semi-structured tool was developed by me in consultation with my study supervisor. All the questions were carefully studied and approved by the University of Pretoria's Faculty of Education's Ethics Committee. The semi-structured interviews were approached from the perspective that it was a two-way communication interaction, during which I endeavoured to create meaning of what was expressed by the participants, verbally and non-verbally (Van den Berg 2008:117). The interviews provided interaction in which I had a general plan of inquiry, general direction for the conversation during which I pursued specific topics raised by the participants (Babbie & Mouton 1998:289). In this regard De Vos (1998:299) defines interviews as face-to-face interactions between an interviewer and interviewee, where the purpose is to understand the interviewee's life experiences or situations as expressed in his words.

I managed to conduct my interviews without any interruptions of school programmes as they were all conducted in the homes of the participants. Some interviews were conducted over the weekends and some in the afternoons, the latter controlled mainly by the work schedules and availability of the social worker. Each interview session lasted about 45 minutes. After each interview had been transcribed I showed a copy of the transcript to the participants and the social worker to verify its correctness.

I adhered to the following protocols during the interview process (Creswell 2007):

⌘ **Use audio tape recorder**

An audio tape recorder was used to record information during the process of interviews with my participants. Audio recordings helped to overcome the drawback of slowing down the pace of the interview.

⌘ **Brief notes during interview**

I took notes during the process of interviews to ensure that all data was captured in case the tape recorder malfunctioned. However, notes taken during interviews might have been incomplete because of the difficulty of asking questions and writing answers at the same time. At the end of the interviews I listened to the tapes and made additional notes.

Immediately after each session of interviews I checked the tape recordings to ensure proper operations. All interviews were properly recorded and transcribed afterwards.

⌘ **Locate a quiet, suitable place for conducting interviews**

Some homes did not have sufficient space for seating, audio-taping and writing. In most cases there were compromises made as some homes did not even have tables. There were also interruptions caused by noise from the neighbours.

⌘ **Obtain consent from the interviewee to participate in the study**

I made sure that all interviewees completed a consent form on my arrival. Before the interview began I conveyed to the participant the purpose of the study; the duration of the interview; the subsequent plans to use the results from the interview as well as the availability of the transcriptions and the summary of the study once the research was completed (Creswell 2002). I adhered to the time stipulated for the interview and noted that the key to the good interview is “listening”.

⌘ **Use probes to obtain additional information**

Creswell (2002) regards probes as sub-questions under each question that the researcher asks to elicit more information. I used probes to have the participants expand on ideas pertaining to their moral development.

⌘ **Be courteous and professional**

At the end of the interview session the participants were thanked for their participation and confidentiality was guaranteed. However, it was not possible for me to guarantee that the subject matter would not be discussed by anyone else in the room. The participants were promised that transcripts would be offered to them for verification of the content.

De Vos (1998:309) states that because the interview is essentially a communication process between an interviewer and interviewee, the principles thereof rest on the principles of everyday communication. I conducted interviews through the medium of English. Some participants mixed English with Setswana. Only two participants preferred to use Setswana. I did not need an interpreter because Setswana is my home language. During interviewing I ensured that I made participants feel at ease to cooperate throughout the process of

interviews. The quality of communication depended on my proficiency and ability to persuade participants to oblige (De Vos 1998:309).

4.4.2 OBSERVATIONS

I played the role of an observer and clarified my role to the participants during the research process. Observations occurred concurrently with the interview process. During interviews my observations served as a validation measure of what the participants were saying and helped me to authenticate what I heard from them, in what Van den Berg (2004:119) and De Vos (1998:308) refer to as confirmation and verification of observation of non-verbal signals and verbal conversations. Phatlane (2007:80) maintains that observation is not looking at things, but looking through things. I had to guard against observation bias and aimed not to overly or incorrectly interpret non-verbal communication.

I relied on casual, unobtrusive observation to gain insight into the context and setting of the research field with regard to aspects such as the environment, community, families, living conditions and relationship with siblings. I observed external physical aspects such as resources, consumables and services such as clothing and living conditions of family members as well as the availability of basic living requirements such as running water and electricity.

In keeping with suggestions made by De Vos (1998:308) I tried to maintain good eye contact with the participants, a relaxed natural posture, encouraged communication by leaning slightly forward, nodded in agreement and used minimal utterances such as “umm” or “yes”. This type of behaviour demonstrates respect for interviewees as well as the interviewer’s honesty, sincerity, empathy and understanding, enhancing the important sense of equality between the participants and me.

4.4.3 NARRATIVES

A narrative is a way of characterising the phenomena of human experience and is appropriate to many social science fields. According to De Vos (2002:357) narratives are assumed to be interpretative devices that can be used to produce stories about the social world. This method of data collection is useful because narratives focus on human

experience and have a holistic quality. Patton (2002:115) that narratives lay emphasis on understanding lived experiences and perceptions of individuals. The use of narratives as a data collection strategy was decided upon after the interview process. I felt that some information that participants were not able to disclose during the interview process could be obtained from the narratives. Patton (2002:115) argues that human beings are story telling organisms that individually and socially lead storied lives. Lessem and Schieffer (2010) regard story telling as “fusion of horizon” in pursuit of meaning. Compilation of narratives became possible because all my participants were able to read and write. It appeared to be easy for them to put their own thoughts on paper confirming what De Vos (2002:357) states about narrative writing style within qualitative research that increases the length and quality of the report, as it is personal, familiar and friendly. Consequently, I was able to make concise interpretations and analyses of stories written by the adolescents.

In terms of examining the constructed knowledge in relation to lived experiences, the narrative research methodology appeared well suited for producing insights into the experiences and personal constructions of my participants. Since my participants are living in the reality of orphanhood and child-headed households it follows that their experiences, both past and present are reflected in the narrative language they used in telling their stories. Denzin and Lincoln (2008:65) concur that narratives express emotions, thoughts and interpretation. The collected narratives of the six participants are important sources of my study and their experiences and stories were reconstructed, analysed and interpreted. According to what Williams and Vogt (2011:104) state, the narratives enabled me to access explanations of how some of the interactions manifested themselves at both micro and macro levels and helped me to understand trajectories of change more generally.

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Qualitative data analysis is usually based on interpretative philosophy that is aimed at examining meaningful and symbolic content of qualitative data (Maree 2010:99). According to De Vos (2002:341) qualitative study involves an inseparable relationship between data collection and data analysis. I analysed and interpreted the raw data collected from the interview sessions, observations, narratives and field journal. Patton (2002:442) states that qualitative data analysis involves creativity, intellectual discipline, analytic rigour and a great

deal of hard work. During the data collection process I began with data analysis by making short notes as part of the continuous process of searching for similarities, differences, categories, themes, concepts and ideas. Data analysis frequently necessitates revisions in data collection procedures and strategies. Creswell (2003:260) states that the transcription technique for data analysis is very necessary whereby transcription is a process of converting audio tape recordings or field notes into text data. I analysed data obtained by labelling, sorting, synthesising and interpret the themes and eventual codes presented within the framework of the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS.

Coding was necessary in this study. I ascribed pseudonyms to participants to maintain anonymity and yet to identify them later. In addition I maintained the pattern advocated by Nieuwenhuis (2010:105) whereby segments of data are marked with symbols, descriptive words or unique identifying names. The process implies that meaningful segments of text in a transcript are assigned codes or labels to demarcate them and is done manually. Dane (1990:155) maintains that coding involves interpreting what has been recorded and it is very often accomplished at the same time as recording. The coding process enabled me to quickly retrieve and collect together all the text and other data that were associated with certain thematic ideas so that the sorted bits could be examined together and different cases compared in those respects (Nieuwenhuis 2007). I used open coding by highlighting and labelling selected sections of text that were meaningful and assigning codes to those sections as well as recording my reflections to the assigned codes. Open coding assisted me in identifying relevant codes and establishing the meaning of the words, phrases or utterances. Miles and Huberman (1994:56) state that it is not the words or phrases that matter but the meaning attached to them. I then grouped all the emerging categories together, presenting the related themes, patterns, similarities and differences constructed from the data codes. I repeatedly read sections of raw data until I was satisfied that all the raw data had been tabled, sorted, coded and grouped into appropriate categories.

4.6 QUALITY CRITERIA

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that interpretivist inquiry require criteria such as credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity), dependability (reliability) and conformability (objectivity).

4.6.1 TRUSTWORTHINESS

It was imperative for me to account for the trustworthiness of my research work; thus I exercised critical self-reflection and awareness and did not regard myself as an expert of my study. I therefore tried to avoid taking control and teaching my participants, as Denzin and Lincoln (1998:60) caution that a researcher may become the spokesperson of the participants and impose the world of academia and preconceptions upon them; instead I listened and learned during all the steps of my study.

4.6.2 CREDIBILITY

Credibility implies professional integrity, intellectual rigour and methodological capability (Lincoln & Guba 1985). Credibility also implies that I feel confident that my observations, data interpretation and conclusions are supported by raw data, thereby corresponding with perceptions of the participants. Furthermore, the credibility of my research was enhanced by the use of narrative notes and audio recordings. Establishing credibility (internal validity) in my research was accomplished through summarising what had been said at the end of each interview and checking the correctness of my understanding with the participants. It was also very necessary for me to reflect in relation to my interaction with the participants during the research process as these had a bearing on the credibility of my work. These reflections refer to methodological triangulation adopted for my study, such as tools used during data collection and analysis, interviews and observations. Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006:70) point out that the methodology and data analysis applied should be rigorous, justifiable and feasible and leads to valid answers to the research question(s). The oversights and miscodes in each method used during the data collection process were compensated for by what Kakembo (2010:80) calls counter-balancing strengths such as the fact that the interviews might have generated some data that could have been missed if only narratives and observations were used. I took the transcripts back to the participants to validate them. According to Merriam (2009:213) credibility deals with the question of how research findings match reality and how congruent the findings were with reality.

4.6.3 TRANSFERABILITY

Transferability refers to the dependability of the findings of the study, whether or not the findings can be transferred to other contexts. To make my study more user friendly to other researchers I provided rich and detailed descriptions of the research context, background, place, culture, time and process with the aid of descriptions. De Vos (2002:352) maintains that designing a study in which multiple cases, multiple informants or more than one data gathering method are used can greatly strengthen the study's usefulness for other settings.

Transferability refers to the extent to which a measure actually measures what it is supposed to measure (Dane 1990:257). According to De Vos (1998:84) transferability refers broadly to the degree to which an instrument is doing what it is intended to do and an instrument may have several purposes which vary in number, kind and scope. As I had a small group that was studied, it is not representative of the large population of adolescents in child-headed households. This study uses methods that enabled me to determine merely how the sample of adolescents developed morally under their particular circumstances. Lessons can be learned about adolescents in similar circumstances although these may not be the same.

4.6.4 DEPENDABILITY

Dependability considers whether or not the same findings would emerge if a study were to be repeated, whether or not the findings could be replicated (Lincoln & Guba 1985). The research approach followed during the research process was outlined to enable me to measure how dependable my research work is. Reliability can be estimated through a variety of different techniques. De Vos (1998:86) avers that dependability refers to the extent to which independent administration of the same instrument consistently yields the same results under comparable conditions. Dependability is primarily concerned not with what is being measured but how well it is being measured – the more reliable our instrument and observation, the more consistent and dependable our results (De Vos 1998:86). I ensured that my instruments (interviews, narratives and observations) were reliable, dependable, stable, consistent, predictable, accurate, reproducible and repeatable.

4.6.5 CONFIRMABILITY

Babbie and Mouton (2001:278) state that confirmability pertains to the degree to which the findings are the product of the focus of inquiry and not the biases of the researcher. The research participants in my study were relatively young and were required to respond to me as an adult. My preconceived ideas about them were an area of concern. However, it was intended that my research assistant would assist me not to be biased to the ideas and views of the young participants. I was sometimes biased as I realised that what was morally sound to me was not necessarily sound to them. I tried to channel my age and marital status into professional conduct without affecting the research process itself.

4.6.6 AUTHENTICITY

I had to consider engaging my participants in the fairest possible manner. Lincoln and Guba (1985) maintain that fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity and tactical authenticity are very important. I was very much aware that it was necessary to make sure that participants had access to the data they submitted in order for them to check if it corresponded with what they had mentioned during interviews and in their narratives.

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics has to do with the application of a system of moral research principles to prevent researchers from harming others, to promote the good and be respectful and fair during the research process. The ethical concern (Chabilall 2004:23) is of particular importance in this case as a general attitude towards orphanhood and moral development is a sensitive issue. There was thus a need for the establishment of rapport in order for the participants to display honesty and trust in their relationship with the researcher as well as in their responses. This study was conducted in the homes of the participants with the aim of having the capacity to observe the environment in which they live, how they conduct themselves as well as how they relate to others and their environment. As a result my research entered into the private lives of the participants. According to De Vos (2002:67) privacy means “that which normally is not intended for others to observe or analyze”. I considered the right to

privacy as the individual's right to decide when, where, to whom and to what extent his or her attitudes, beliefs and behaviour will be revealed (De Vos 2002:67).

My participants were prone to emotional outbursts as my topic was sensitive in that it dealt with AIDS orphans who live without any adult or parental guidance and support. The presence of a social worker became useful especially when participants displayed signs of emotional outbursts. Counselling was provided to those participants who needed it. I considered De Vos' (2002:69) assertion important in that under no circumstances whatsoever is the use of concealed media such as cameras, microphones condoned without the knowledge and consent of the research participants. All possible means of protecting the privacy of participants were applied. According to De Vos (2002:75) the utilisation of an ethics committee that considers research proposals is increasingly becoming accepted practice. Babbie and Mouton (2006:528) concur that assessing whether there are ethical issues involved in studying human beings has become institutionalised through research ethics committees⁶ at most universities. Hence I was granted permission to conduct the research by the ethical committee of the University of Pretoria. At the University of Pretoria the Ethics Committee studies all proposals thoroughly; accepts or rejects them or proposes certain modifications. My study met all ethical requirements, as this was my responsibility as the researcher.

4.7.1 INFORMED CONSENT

I obtained informed consent which implies that all possible or adequate information on the goal of the investigation, the procedures that were followed during the investigation, the possible advantages, disadvantages and dangers to which participants were exposed, as well as the credibility of the researcher were rendered to potential subjects or their legal representatives (De Vos 2002:65). It is for this reason that Patton (2002:407) emphasises that the statement of purpose should be simple, straightforward and understandable. I ensured that all the individuals understood the reason for the research and relinquished their rights to privacy when they agreed to participate in the research study (De Vos (2002:65). By participating in this process of research, participants were not compelled in any way that made them feel morally obliged to furnish even extremely personal

⁶ SA health Act (Act 61 of 2003, chap.9, section 7) stipulates that an independent accredited research ethics committee must approve all research with human participants (Terre Blanche et al. 2006:61)

information because they wanted to retain my goodwill (De Vos 2002:65). I provided participants with clear, detailed and factual information about the study, its methods, its risks and benefits (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2006:72). This information was communicated to the participants at the beginning of the interviews. I was considerate of what Dane (1990:49) maintain – that care should be taken before the interview situation to ensure that the interviewees have a clear understanding of the later use and possible publication of their interviews. Failure for me to adhere to these principles could have confirmed what Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:72) claim is that we live in a time that has seen a sustained increase in public concern over coercion and victimisation of the powerless by the powerful.

4.7.2 DISCLOSING DETAILS OF THE STUDY

I made sure that debriefing took place continually during the process of this research study. Dane (1990:49) maintains that the debriefing of participants is a procedure whereby any relevant information about the project that has been withheld or misrepresented is made known to the participants. According to De Vos (2002:65) debriefing is the process of providing subjects with all the pertinent facts about the nature and purpose of the research. One purpose of debriefing during my study was to provide participants with as much information about the project as possible. Moral development is a relative perspective which may be interpreted differently by different individuals at a particular instance. I ensured that debriefing became an ongoing activity during this research process, as this was a learning experience for the participants and me alike. Dane (1990:49) maintains that debriefing sessions are the ideal time to complete the learning experience that began with agreement to participate.

4.7.3 OPPORTUNITY TO WITHDRAW

I informed participants that they might withdraw at any stage of the research if they felt unfairly treated or if they were not willing to continue. As emphasised by De Vos (2002:65) the participants were required to be legally and psychologically competent to give consent and they had to be aware that they were at liberty to withdraw from the investigation at any time. Dane (1990:48) regards this as the right to re-evaluate the decision in the light of new information. According to Dane (1990:48) a researcher should inform participants of the right to refuse to participate or withdraw from the investigation whenever and for whatever

they wished. Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:72) concur that participants have the voluntary option of participation and the freedom to refuse or withdraw without penalties.

4.7.4 ENSURING CONFIDENTIALITY

I assured all participants that data gathered would be handled with care and confidentially. According to Dane (1990:51) researchers have the responsibility to ensure the confidentiality of data and the privacy of participants at all stages of the research process. Participants were given pseudonyms to identify them within the research in terms of Dane's (1990:51) endorsement that participant codes are frequently used to ensure anonymity. Chabilall (2010:93) maintains that it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that privacy and anonymity of the participants are preserved. Some participants were known to the researcher and as stated by De Vos (2002:67) it is necessary that participants be identified, for instance when follow-up interviews have to be conducted with just certain participants. Dane (1990:51) emphasises that even if the participants need to be known to the researcher alone, records of their names should be destroyed at the end of the project as one way of maintaining confidentiality.

4.7.5 PROTECTION FROM HARM

According to Dane (1990:44) the researcher is ethically bound to protect participants from any physical and psychological harm that may be expected to result from the research project. Silverman (2001:156) also states that participants' interests should not be damaged as a result of their participation in research. The responsibility to protect participants from physical harm was weighed against the responsibility to obtain new knowledge about human behaviour in my study. According to Chabilall (2010:93) the researcher needs to be fair and honest so as to prevent any recognition or any harm even when the study is over. Dane (1990:44) cautions that the researcher must protect the participants from psychological harm such as worry, embarrassment and loss of self-esteem or failure.

4.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I outlined the research methodology that I followed during the research. I presented a detailed process based on the problem statement and aims of this research. The

basis of my research is structured upon the interpretive paradigm of research. Data analysis and interpretation, quality criteria and ethical considerations have also been discussed. Within a qualitative context the case study design was suitable for this study because it enabled me to obtain access to and gain the confidence of the participants during the empirical research process. Narratives and questionnaires ensured effective data collection. The study deals with a sensitive issue and the help of the social worker was necessary to obtain the best purposive sample. Ethical considerations were followed. In Chapter 5 I analyse data and discuss emerging themes.

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CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS, EMERGING THEMES AND DISCUSSION

"I can't spend a single day without thinking about my mother. I become more stressful when I think about her. I miss those days she used to do everything for me. Since she passed on, life has never been the same again."

Joko

5. AIM OF THE CHAPTER

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the data collected during the empirical research in terms of the research questions and theoretical framework. Data analysis is rated as an important facet of research by Mouton and Marais (1991) who acknowledge that the process means the resolution of the complex whole into parts.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter data collected during the fieldwork is examined and interpreted. As mentioned in Chapter 4 I chose to use a qualitative research design for this study, as it assisted me in investigating the central question that guided this study: *How do adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households develop morally?*

The central focus of this chapter is on the data collection strategies, namely the semi-structured interviews, observations and narratives of adolescents. Twelve households were visited during the initial stages of my fieldwork. Eventually only six participants who were relevant to this study were included. All research participants are heads of households and are grouped as follows:

- Two participants are school-going heads of a household.
- Two participants had dropped out of school before completing Grade 9.
- Two participants had completed Grade 12.

The data is presented in the form of case studies. To uphold anonymity, participants were given pseudonyms as recommended by Mouton and Marais (1991) who maintains that pseudonyms permit the researcher to ensure the confidentiality of the discussions with participants.

Table 5.1: Gender composition of the participants

Male	Female	Total
3	3	6

The gender composition of participants is reflected in Table 5.1. The sample comprised 50% males and 50% females. For the purposes of this study the choice of participants was not restricted in terms of gender and the figures indicate that the challenges facing adolescents appear to have no gender lines.

Table 5.2 Age category of participants

Age category	Number
17 years	1
18 years	5
Total	6

The age category of the participants is reflected in Table 5.2. All participants fall within the age category in respect of the boundaries of this study as reflected in Chapter 1. Five participants were 18 years of age while only one participant was 17 years old.

Codes of participants:

Table 5.3: Coding criteria

Participant	Code
Joko	Joko: 41

For example, Joko is the name of the participant; 41 refers to the code line.

5.2 CASE STUDIES

5.2.1 CASE STUDY 1: JOKO

Joko is an 18-year old male who was born in a small village north of Rustenburg and who is presently living in Greater Boitekong. Before the family moved into the Reconstruction and Development Programme [RDP⁷] house, they lived in the ‘informal settlement⁸.’ which is made up predominantly of shacks⁹. In this area there are no access roads, no electricity, no ablution facilities and no proper yards.

He is Tsonga by birth and is able to speak all official languages of South Africa except Venda. This is because he had a short stay in Ekurhuleni Township, East of Johannesburg, where he was exposed to different nationalities and he was also exposed to different nationalities in Greater Boitekong area. He had passed Grade 12 in 2010 and is presently employed at a local resort as a chef.

He lives with his two younger sisters, aged 10 and 14 in a three-roomed RDP house which they inherited from their mother. His mother died in 2007 after a long illness. He is the one who took care of his mother when she was ill. His father is alive but does not live with them and takes no responsibility in terms of assisting any of the children. Joko’s father is a stepfather to the other siblings and Joko has no idea who the father of his siblings is. The research participant is presently living in a village which is closer to his place of work. He has taken his sisters to a boarding school about 50 km south of Rustenburg. This is their first year at the boarding school. His siblings are in Grade 6 and 8. There is no one from the extended family to assist Joko and his siblings. They have lost contact with all other members of their extended family.

This family has no stable income and relies on the rentals collected from tenants who live in the 3 shacks in the yard of the house they own. Joko values his peers as sources of support and strength and feels that they support him when he needs help which includes food and

⁷ Reconstruction and Development Programme is a programme in South Africa that is meant to help poor people with basic resources. Part of the programme entails the building of houses for the poor.

⁸ Refers to a group of people living in an area which is characterised by high levels of unemployment, poverty and HIV infection, as well as lack of sufficient infrastructure and basic services (Ferreira 2006:17).

⁹ A house made up of corrugated irons. In some areas it is known as a tin house or zozo, but in this area it is known as ‘mokhukhu’.

money. He goes to church regularly and believes in the power of the Holy God (Spirit) as the source of his survival. He is a member of a Christian church and regards the church as a place where he gets comfort and fulfilment. His attitude makes it difficult for his friends to interact freely with him as he regards himself as very quiet. He emphasises that he is stubborn and has low self-esteem which emanates from his family background.

5.2.2 CASE STUDY 2: TLEBEBE

Tlebebe is an 18-year old girl who was born in a township in Gauteng Province. She migrated with her mother to Freedom Park in 2001 when her mother was looking for employment in the urban areas. The family speaks Sesotho and she is able to communicate in Setswana and English. She lives with her twin brother, a younger brother who is nine years old and her child who is two years old. Her son's father died soon after the child was born after a short illness. Her younger brother is in Grade 4 at the local primary school. She has a sister who is married and lives in Bloemfontein. The sister does not support this family at all as she is focusing on the welfare of her own family.

Tlebebe dropped out of school in Grade 9. She had been attending a Secondary School which is five km. away from her home. She used to travel by means of a "skof"¹⁰ and she struggled to pay for transport to school regularly. At times Tlebebe would walk to school and often arrive very late. Her family lives in an RDP house that was left to them by their mother as a family home. The house has no fence. This family has no stable source of income and the children rely on the tenants who have rented accommodation in two shacks in the backyard. They also depend on the State grant for her child and on the boyfriend who gives her money. She also plays cards as an income generating activity (gambling).

She lost her mother in 2005 after a long illness. Her mother was very ill and needed support from the family. The participant took care of the mother during her illness and was assisted by a staff member from Tapologo orphanage. After the death of her mother nobody took charge of the family and she had to take over. She was told that her father – whom she did not know – had passed away when she was still very young. Life became very difficult for her

¹⁰ is commonly known as a taxi organised by parents to transport their children to school in the morning and collecting them again from school in the afternoon

as there was no one to assist her in needy times because she had her own child and brothers to take care of.

Tlebebe has a strong relationship with her neighbours whom she feels accept her regardless of her circumstances. She considers herself fortunate that she is also able to get different forms of help from them. Although there are some people in the area who reject her, she feels accepted by most members of her community. Tlebebe used to take alcohol with her friends and would go on alcohol drinking sprees in taverns and other drinking areas. She used to roam around drunk very late at night with her friends. The participant aspires to become a musician. This is the career she likes most even if she does not have any educational knowledge to study music.

5.2.3 CASE STUDY 3: ANGELO

Angelo is an 18 year old girl who lives in an RDP house in Freedom Park. She has been living in this area since the end of 2004 when her parents came to this place looking for employment. She is originally from a village which is 200 km from her new place of residence and she is presently in Grade 10 at the local secondary school. She speaks Setswana and is also able to communicate in English. Her home language is Setswana, which is a dominant language in the North West Province. Angelo lives with her elder brother who can be in his mid twenties, her father (who has just returned to the family) and her child who is one year and four months. She has a younger sister who lives in the neighbouring town with her aunt.

Her mother passed away in 2010 after a long illness. During her illness Angelo was the one taking care of her, assisted by her uncle. Her father was nowhere to be found during the period of illness of the mother and it was very difficult for a girl of her age to perform adult duties of this magnitude. She was spending sleepless nights taking care of her ailing mother who needed support and comfort; this is a task normally carried by adults. After the death of her mother her brother became very abusive toward her. He smoked Marijuana¹¹ and abused alcohol. Every time he was under the influence of drugs or alcohol he would chase Angelo away, telling her that she was not his father's child.

¹¹ Another word for Marijuana is dagga commonly used in South Africa as a way of disguising. It is an illegal drug in South Africa.

Her father came to live with the family a few days before the death of his wife. Angelo further indicates that her father is actually her stepfather. Her mother informed her moments before her death about her paternity. Her father used to be very abusive to her mother. He used to beat her until they separated. She has no interaction with her neighbours and members of her community. She becomes very angry when she expresses her feelings regarding her interaction and relations with her neighbours. The neighbours are older than Angelo but they do not speak to one another.

The family had been relying on the income generated by the mother during the absence of the father as the mother was employed in the National School Nutrition Programme [NSNP]¹² at the local primary school. The other source of income is money paid by Angelo's father as the maintenance fee for his children. The family has three shacks in the yard that are also generating income from tenants. The younger sister receives a State social grant¹³, which is used to support the family. The father of her child is also a minor, who cannot support his own child.

*As Angelo had to attend to her ailing mother her school attendance was adversely affected. She had to see to her mother's every need as she was helpless hence Angelo spent much time taking care of her helpless mother during the night. She feels that some of her teachers treat her very badly even though they are aware of her family background. They make very harsh comments about her and she feels marginalised by comments such as, **You are thin but you managed to have a baby, no wonder your brother is chasing you away.** Angelo does not have any faith in her friends as they gossip a lot about her. She therefore prefers to stay at home with her child and not wander around the streets. Angelo would like to become a doctor in future and wants to assist those who need medical help just as her mother needed it.*

5.2.4 CASE STUDY 4: KUMKANI

Kumkani is a 17-year old girl who lives in Freedom Park with her two brothers and her one-year old child. Her elder brother who is unemployed and spends most of his time away from

¹² A feeding scheme in schools, has been operational in all primary schools (Grade R – 7). The programme has been rolled out to secondary schools which are no-fee schools. Stipend paid to workers is R640 per month.

¹³ Between 1998 and 2002 social grants were provided for children from birth to six years of age. In 2005 the grant was extended to children of 11, 12 and 13 years of age (Motha 2010:106).

home visits them rarely after long breaks. Her younger brother is in Grade 1 in the local primary school and her child is still a toddler. She is an orphan who stays with her family in a RDP house. The family originally lived in a village which is approximately 90 km from her new place of residence. They came to live in Freedom Park in 2006 when her mother came to look for a job and decided to apply for her own RDP house. She speaks Setswana and a little bit of English as she dropped out of school in Grade 9 to take care of her ailing mother and the rest of her family. She maintains that she left school due to the lack of support and absence of her parents who would have encouraged her to go to school.

She has a brother to take care of. The boy tends to be absent from school far too often as he has many challenges such as going to school without pocket money, the proper school uniform and some other basic school needs. Kumkani's mother passed away in 2007 after a long illness. When the mother was ill, Kumkani took care of her basic needs such as administering medication, bathing and feeding her, taking her to toilet as well as doing her laundry and assisting her to sleep. She has never-ending thoughts and memories of her mother and states that her father had passed away such a long time ago that she cannot even remember the year. She has a very good way of interacting with her neighbours and members of her community and she often receives help from them.

The family does not have any source of income. To survive Kumkani does laundry for local families who pay her, but most of the time no work is available. She still has a mammoth task of ensuring that there is food on the table for her child and her younger brother. The younger brother cannot receive a State grant¹⁴ as there is no adult to apply for the grant.

Kumkani relies mainly on the company of friends to survive. She gets help and support from her friends who have also dropped-out of school. She states that she is a liquor slave who needs help to quit drinking as she is an addict who drinks throughout the night in taverns¹⁵ with her friends. She maintains that the reason she drinks liquor is to relieve stress. She also smokes cigarettes but has never tried drugs before. Kumkani has no problem sleeping away from home for more than a week. She has parted ways with the father of her child and has

¹⁴ Money paid to orphans and vulnerable children.

¹⁵ It is a place in the community where liquor is sold. They are regulated by the State via a licensing process. In most cases they operate illegally. They are supposed to operate during fixed periods, but they often operate until the early hours of the morning. Alcohol is not supposed to be sold to people under the age of 18, but in most cases taverns sell liquor to children.

since abandoned further intimate relationships with men. She had thought that her child was going to change her life for the better. She would like to become an actress, even though she has no support to make her dream come true.

5.2.5 CASE STUDY 5: MILIES

Milies is an 18-year old male who was born in Mozambique. His mother migrated with him to South Africa in 1998 and began living in Freedom Park. He is the only child at home. He lives alone in a shack which was left by his mother in an informal area. He is now in Grade 11 in the local secondary school and he speaks Tsonga, Swati, Isixhosa, Setswana, English and little bit of Portuguese. His shack is made of corrugated iron and is sparsely furnished; the only visible furniture is a bed and paraffin stove. Access to this house is very difficult as there are no proper access roads, no infrastructure nor any water or electricity. There is no fencing around the shack, which is a high security risk. Candles are used as the source of light and a paraffin primus stove is used to cook. The shack has no windows and the door must be opened for some light to enter, otherwise he has to keep the candles lit even during the day. He has no family members in the area and the only surviving family member that he knows is his grandmother who is living in Mozambique.

His mother passed away in 2007 after a very long illness. During her debilitating illness he played an important role in taking care of his mother, assisted by neighbours. A few days before his mother passed away his grandmother came from Mozambique to take care of his mother. His grandmother went back to Mozambique immediately after the funeral of his mother and since then he has been on his own. Milies does not know who his father is.

This participant has no source of income and does not even qualify for a State grant because he is not a South African citizen. He receives clothes and food from his friends. At times he performs gardening work for people in the village who in turn give him money to buy food. He creates another source of income by stealing from the local businesses in order to buy food and other domestic items that he needs such as soap and water¹⁶. Some teachers at the local primary and secondary schools are also helpful as they help with his uniform and some school requirements. At school he feels welcomed by his classmates. Milies spends most of

¹⁶ Water in this squatter area is bought from the people who drive around in tractors selling water at R10 per 25 litres. NB you must bring your own container.

his time with his friends, some even sleep with him in his shack from time-to-time. His friends motivate him never to give up in life and they sometimes help with food and money. He spends most of his time loitering around with his friends in the hope of getting something to eat because he survives by relying on charity in the streets to obtain food. It is also a serious challenge living in such a home as it does not have many of the basic needs. He wishes to become a film director and he feels that film directors make more money without working long and tiring hours.

5.2.6 CASE STUDY 6: CHINEKE

Chineke who is 18-years old was born in the Eastern Cape and came to live in Freedom Park in 1999. The family migrated to this area in 1999 when Chineke's parents came to look for greener pastures in the local mines —unfortunately they were never employed by the mines. His home language is Sesotho but he speaks Setswana and English fluently. He lives with his younger sister in an RDP house which was left to them by their parents. He completed Grade 12¹⁷ in 2010 and is now studying at a local Orbit Further Education and Training (FET) College¹⁸, where he is studying Electrical Engineering. His younger sister is in Grade 11 in the local secondary school. He is the fourth born in the family and his parents have both passed away, therefore he is now the breadwinner of the family. The main source of income for Chineke and his sister is money received from the tenants who live in the three shacks in the yard.

This family has disintegrated due to the death of his parents and his elder sister, together with the disappearance of other family members. Chineke witnessed the illness and death of both his parents within the same period. His mother was ill for a long period, almost two years. During the illness of his mother the participant and his sibling took care of her. Their mother passed away in 2006 and their father passed away six months after the death of the mother, also in 2006.

¹⁷ It is the final grade in school system. South African schooling starts from Grade R to Grade 12. After completing Grade 12 a child can further studies at tertiary institutions such as universities and colleges.

¹⁸ Technical college offering variety of skill-related courses.

Chineke worked very hard at school to achieve good grades in grade 12 and he occupied a very high position at the school as a leader of the Representative Council of Learners (RCL)¹⁹. The participant enjoys very good relations with his neighbours and members of the entire community. He feels that what he does with the youth of this community motivates his neighbours to support him. He is changing the lives of the youth by encouraging them to lead constructive lives. His neighbours are also very helpful as they support one another even to eradicate criminal activities in the area in which they live.

He has many friends who are important in his daily life because most of his friends look to him as a source of inspiration. They admire him as they know that he has gone through tough times in life. He performs many roles in the community that they live in as well as in the church that they attend. He does not only see himself as a friend of others but also as a motivator of the youth of this community. The participant plays musical instruments, especially the piano to encourage youngsters; he is a youth leader at the church and in the community.

Chineke is very religious and thinks that he draws his strength from the Bible. He appreciates everything that comes his way and believes that it is due to the grace of God that he is still surviving despite so many difficult challenges. He has already started to pave his career as he is studying to become an engineer.

5.3 EMERGING THEMES

The following themes and sub-themes have emerged from the collected data:

Table 5.4: Emerging themes

THEMES	SUB-THEMES
5.3.1 Theme 1: Emotional bonds and caring of ill parents	5.3.1.1 Caring for ill mother 5.3.1.2 Emotional attachment to the mother 5.3.1.3 Caring for ill father
5.3.2 Theme 2: Social relationships	5.3.2.1 Relationship with siblings 5.3.2.2 Relationship with relatives and extended family 5.3.2.3 Relationship with peers

¹⁹ RCL to be eligible to be a member a learner should be in Grade 8 to 12. Primary schools do not have RCL.

	<p>5.3.2.4 Relationship with neighbourhood</p> <p>5.3.2.5 Relationship with religious institutions</p> <p>5.3.2.6 Romantic relationships</p> <p>5.3.2.7 Relationship with Non-Government Organisations</p> <p>5.3.2.8 Relationship with academic Institutions</p>
5.3.3 Theme 3: Economic challenges	<p>5.3.3.1 School fees and uniform</p> <p>5.3.3.2 Poverty</p> <p>5.3.3.3 Theft</p>
5.3.4 Theme 4: Future aspirations	<p>5.3.4.1 Schooling</p> <p>5.3.4.2 Studies at Tertiary Institutions</p> <p>5.3.4.3 Employment and Job Opportunities</p> <p>5.3.4.4 Sub-theme: Marriage</p> <p>5.3.4.5 Personal Aspirations</p>
5.3.5 Theme 5: Emotional well-being	<p>5.3.5.1 Bullying and aggression</p> <p>5.3.5.2 Trauma</p> <p>5.3.5.3 Sharing and cooperation</p> <p>5.3.5.4 Substance abuse</p> <p>5.3.5.5 Stigma and discrimination</p>
5.3.6 Theme 6: Vulnerability	<p>5.3.6.1 Sexual exploitation</p> <p>5.3.6.2 Physical vulnerability</p> <p>5.3.6.3 Economic vulnerability</p> <p>5.3.6.4 Emotional vulnerability</p> <p>5.3.6.5 Social vulnerability</p> <p>5.3.6.6 Educational vulnerability</p>

The data collected from the six participants is presented collectively accompanied by verbatim quotations from the participants.

5.3.1 THEME 1: EMOTIONAL BONDS AND CARING FOR ILL PARENTS

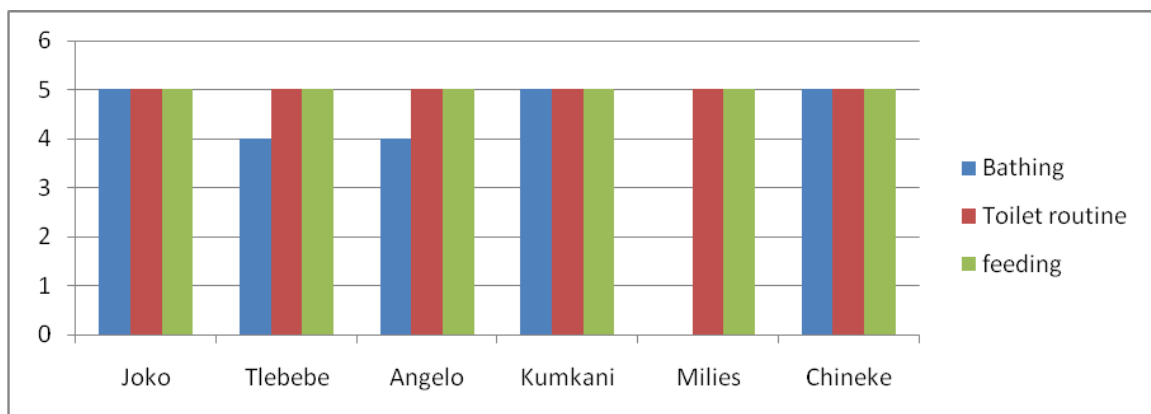
In this theme the emotional bonds and caring for ill mothers and fathers by adolescents are discussed in detail. The theme outlines the family in relation to mother, father, siblings and relatives / extended family members. McDevitt and Ormrod (2010:64) assert that family members are key figures in the socialisation of children. They encourage certain behaviours and beliefs and help children act and think in ways their society deems appropriate and responsible. Families generally teach and model proper ways of behaving in various

situations, reward particular behaviours, punish others and arrange for children to gain certain kinds of experience.

5.3.1.1 Sub-theme: Caring for ill mother

In this sub-theme I discuss the statements of adolescents regarding the suffering of their mothers and the roles they played during the periods of illness their mothers experienced. As Cluver and Gardner (2006:1) assert, I too found that adolescents may have cared for and witnessed the death of their parent/s after suffering from debilitating illnesses, loss of bodily functions and sometimes AIDS-related illness.

Table 5.5: Role played during sickness of mother



All participants in this study had lost their mothers. They had all witnessed the way in which the sicknesses ravaged their mothers and were fully aware of the pain suffered by their mothers when they were ill. The findings of this study are similar to the descriptions provided by Young *et al.* (2007:106) who state that patients need someone to care for them in a spiritual sense, to help them focus on the challenges inherent in the situation in order to cope with pain, suffering and possible death. Chineke’s mother was so ill that that she could not do anything for herself, let alone perform any domestic chores.

“My mom was so ill that she couldn’t do anything for herself including going to toilet. I was there for her. Most of the time she would wake up at night suffering from pains. I will wake up and assist her. She was helpless. She couldn’t do anything.”[Chineke: 6]

A study by Chabilall (2004:248) concluded that some adolescents are forced to drop-out of school to be at home to take care of their ailing parents and perform adult household tasks. Adolescents in this study had to play caring roles to see to their mothers' basic needs by helping them with tasks such as bathing, feeding and toilet routines. My study has also established as Nkomo's (2006:15) did that adolescents take on additional responsibilities in the household when a parent is gravely ill. These responsibilities include household chores such as cooking, washing and cleaning. In addition, the adolescents help ailing family members with feeding, bathing, toileting, administering medication and accompany them for their treatments. Two male participants in this study, Chineke and Joko had to assist their mothers with toilet routine and bathing. Contrary to the culture of the black society, the boy child had to take on the task of caring for his sick mother — a role often associated with female adults, especially grandmothers.

"I usually cleaned cooked and did laundry for her" [Joko: 5]

"I was doing laundry for her bathed her and fed her" [Tlebebe: 3]

"I was taking charge of her needs such as bathing, feeding, taking her to toilet, assisting her to sleep and laundry" [Kumkani: 1]

5.3.1.2 Sub-theme: Emotional attachment to the mother

This sub-theme explores the emotional attachment of the participants to their mothers and includes aspects such as the stigma associated with HIV/AIDS, memories, legacy along with the longing for the mother. Joko and Kumkani have never-ending memories of their mothers. A study by Ogina (2010) produced similar findings to this study regarding some of the emotions associated with the absence of parents, such as feelings of alienation, anger, frustration, helplessness and emotional pain. In this regard Joko and Kumkani responded as follows:

"I can't spend a single day without thinking about my mother. I become more stressful when I think about her. I miss those days she used to do everything for me. Since she passed away, life has never been the same again." [Joko: 6]

“My problem is that I can’t forget my mother because I don’t have any support from my family when we don’t have food I start to remember my mother.”
 [Kumkani: 1]

5.3.1.3 Sub-theme: Caring for ill father

This section discusses the relationship between adolescents and their fathers.

Table 5.6: Caring for ill father

CARING FOR ILL FATHER					
Participants	Father alive	Does not know father	Father passed away	Cared for ill father	Father living elsewhere and not supportive
Joko					✓
Tlebebe		✓			
Angelo	✓				
Kumkani		✓			
Milies		✓			
Chineke			✓	✓	

All but one participant never lived with a father and they therefore never had the moral guidance and support of a caring father. Tlebebe and Milies do not know who their fathers are. Tlebebe was told by her mother that her father passed away when she was still very young. Milies hears from people in his home town that his father is alive, but he has never seen him or heard anything from his mother about his father. As a result of their absent fathers these participants have never experienced a father figure in their lives.

“I do not know my father; I am told that he died when my twin brother and I were still toddlers.” [Tlebebe: 4]

“To be honest, I hear that he is alive, but I have never seen him. It is as though he is dead, I do not know him and he does not know me either.” [Millies: 2]

Chineke is the only one in this study who has lived with his father until the latter became ill and passed away six months after the death of his mother. He took care of his father and

mother at the same time. They both needed to be assisted with toilet routines, laundry, bathing and medication.

“They were both sick at the same time. We were taking care of them at the same time. He was also helpless. We would bath him, help with toilet and so on especially the last weeks.” [Chineke: 11]

Angelo said that her stepfather had abandoned the family a long time before and returned when the mother was very ill. However, he again deserted them after she died.

“A week before the death of my mother my father who was not living with us came to live with us.” [Angelo: 4]

Joko knows that his biological father is alive but he has no contact with or support from him. His biological father is the stepfather of his two sisters; however, he does not know the father of his sisters.

5.3.2 THEME: SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Regarding this theme, I discuss relationships with peers, people of the neighbourhood, siblings, relatives, extended family and role models. I also include romantic relationships, contacts with religious institutions, academic interactions and dealings with adults from the NGOs.

Table 5.7: Social relationships

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS						
	Siblings	Extended family	Peers	Neighbourhood	Role models	Religious Institutions
Joko	✓	nil	nil	Nil	✓	✓
Tlebebe	✓	nil	✓	✓	✓	✓
Angelo	✓	✓	nil	Nil	✓	nil
Kumkani	✓	nil	✓	✓	Nil	nil
Milies	Nil	nil	✓	Nil	✓	nil
Chineke	✓	nil	✓	✓	✓	✓

5.3.2.1 Sub-theme: Care for and relationship with siblings

In this sub-theme I discuss the siblings in child-headed households and how they relate to others and care for one another. In agreement with Steinberg and Morris's (2001:100) results regarding the fact that adolescents learn much about social relationships from sibling interactions, this study confirms that they acquire experiences from siblings and friendships outside the family.

Milies is the only one in this study who is living alone without siblings and relatives. His family hails from Mozambique and he has no one in South Africa to regard as a relative. Other adolescents (Tlebebe, Angelo and Kumkani) live with their brothers or their own children.

"I am a parent in this house I have to take care of my brothers and my child."

[Tlebebe: 11]

"Every time I ask myself what is my brother going to eat today? What am I going to give him tomorrow when he goes to school?" [Kumkani: 7]

Male participants in this study (Joko and Chineke) described the hardship of raising female teenagers without the guidance of the adults. They try to be role models to their sisters in order for them to be able to emulate good practices and to live according to the moral values taught by their parents. These characteristics correlate with those of the adolescents in a study by Motha (2010:121) where it was found that adolescents' experiences are grounded in the morals and values that govern their lives. Adolescents said the following:

"I am the breadwinner now at home, I took my mom's position and I also walk in her footsteps. She taught me (charity) so that today I can teach my siblings (loyalty). Their performance is good. I motivate them by checking their books daily and their homework. I always sit down with them, tell them how to behave and show them the situation at home. They listen very well. Here we are today, still surviving without our Mom though we miss her a lot." [Joko: 9]

“I can take care of my younger sister, but she is growing up. As a man I might not be in the position to understand what she is going through. I can see that she lacks a mother figure. She is ashamed of telling me some things. She needs mother support and guidance.” [Chineke: 83]

5.3.2.2 Sub-theme: Relationship with relatives and extended family

This sub-theme outlines the relationships with the relatives and members of the extended families. It became evident during the interviews that adolescents in this study are living all by themselves without the support of the extended family members. I also noticed that the distance from their original homes inhibits their networking with their relatives. It is interesting for me to note that a study by Francis-Chizororo (2010:243) reveals that most of the support to orphans is offered by neighbours, peers, community members and extended family members who live in the same village as they do. Millies came from Mozambique and has no one to regard as a family member in this area. Kumkani, Chineke and Joko expressed the notion that their relatives rejected them and they were not supportive at all.

Some members of Chineke’s extended family were present during the funeral services of his parents but they have never lived up to their promises to take care of these children.

“No one from my relatives assists us; they just promised during the funeral service that they will take care of the family. So, I took a decision that I was going to be the breadwinner of this family, without the help of my uncle and my aunt.” [Chineke: 13-14]

Although Tlebebe has a sister who is married and living with her family in the Free State Province she is not interested in helping these children; not even with their basic needs.

“I have one sister who is married and living in Bloemfontein.” [Tlebebe: 1]

The research has revealed that most extended families of the adolescents are providing limited support to child-headed households. Data suggests that not all participants in this study have been marginalised by their relatives and extended families; Angelo’s younger

sister lives with relatives in another town. The aunt took the child immediately after the death of the mother in order to reduce the burden on Angelo and her brother.

“My younger sister stays with my aunt.” [Angelo:3]

5.3.2.3 Sub-theme: Relationship with peers

The word *peers* in this sub-theme refers to people who associate with the participant as friends and accomplices in the given society. I take cognisance of Bronfenbrenner (in Watts, Cockcroft & Duncan 2009:553) who suggest that when the role of parents in the socialisation of adolescents is diminished, the peer group becomes increasingly central in guiding the further development of the adolescent. The adolescents have different views about their interactions and relationship with their peers.

Angelo, Milies and Joko feel that most of their friends gossip about them and are not supportive; hence they are always at loggerheads with them for different reasons.

“I do not have friends because I always keep quiet, they always talk too much, and I get bored so that is why I don't like having friends around because they gossip about me.” [Angelo: 24]

“I hate it; sometimes friends gossip a lot about me.” [Milies: 13]

Joko expressed dissatisfaction with peers who are always pompous and who look down on other people only because of material wealth.

“I hate their pride; sometimes I can see they will be having some more fancy things than me, they will be shining and up on me, pompous.” [Joko: 43]

Joko and Angelo indicated that they found more solace in remaining at home than being in the company of friends. They argue that friends would lead one into temptation, so staying away from them means keeping one away from unnecessary problems.

“I usually ignore them and remain stable and stay home with my siblings.” [Joko: 44]

There are some participants (Chineke & Milies) who state that they feel comfortable and safe in the company of their friends. This is the same opinion that Louw and Edwards (1998:518) formulated in stating that adolescent social behaviour is characterised by increasing interest in and involvement with the peer group. Peers provide support in different ways, such as in the form of food, clothes or emotional encouragement. Furthermore Motha (2010:125), in a similar study, agrees that the emotional and academic support that orphan children receive from their peers helps them to cope well at school. I discovered that peers in this study encouraged participants not to drop out of school.

“They used to support me in 2004; now they are still supporting me. They motivate me; usually assist me when I need something to eat.” [Tlebebe: 41]

Milies stated that he felt it was always better to be in the company of his peers than being at home where there was no food or furniture. He expressed this clearly during his interview when he declared that loitering around the streets with his peers makes it possible for him to be able to get something to eat. It is his view that being in the company of some of his friends is just to while away time, as there is nothing else to do. Among his friends there is one who makes him feel comfortable and happy.

“When I am with my other friend, I feel accepted and happy and better; some of my friends, are just to while away time.” [Milies: 13]

I was moved by the narration of Chineke about his influence on the youth of his community. He has many friends who are very important in his daily life. Most of the friends actually look up to him as their source of inspiration. To them he has gone through tough times in life, but is still soldiering on in an amazing way, seeing that he is living as an orphan and yet taking care of himself. This is what he had to say:

“They are actually the guys that I motivate, because the way my life went, they are impressed about my achievements. So they came following my steps. I met them when I was running the youth stuff, because we share a lot with the youths. We meet on Fridays to talk about several things as a group of youth.” [Chineke: 30-33]

In contrast to these findings Bee and Boyd (2002:304) are of the opinion that adolescents who quit school are likely to have friends who have dropped out or who are contemplating leaving school. In my study Kumkani and Tlebebe maintain that some peers influence their conduct negatively, since those friendships have led them to indulge in unacceptable practices, such as drinking liquor and substance abuse. The following statements revealed this point of view:

“I was staying away from home. I was living there with my friends, drinking liquor. We were sleeping there. We owned a house there with the boys. We were very free and would do anything on our own time. If we needed to smoke, we did so without any fear. We smoked cigarettes. When we wanted to wake up at night to go to the tavern, we were able to do it without any problems.” [Kumkani:16]

“I used to drink liquor a lot with my friends. I used to go all over the place.” [Tlebebe: 17]

5.3.2.4 Sub-theme: Relationship with the neighbourhood

Joko, Tlebebe, Milies and Angelo do not have good relations with their neighbours. They expressed feelings of rejection and a don't-care attitude towards them. They feel that their neighbours do not accept them and their families. Adolescents in this study accept the fact that people do not always love and accept you.

“Otherwise people cannot always love you all. Sometimes they back name me to some people who eventually inform me. It is part of life. It happens to everybody”.
[Tlebebe: 5]

Angelo has no interaction with her neighbours and members of her community. She was angry when she had to talk about certain events depicting her interaction with her neighbours. She said that even if she tries to greet them, they never respond to her greetings at all. She is not on speaking terms with her neighbours, even if some are elders. It is very unusual in Setswana²⁰ culture for a young adolescent not to communicate with adults – and especially wrong not to greet them. Her facial expression during the interviews indicated that she was not happy when she said she had a poor relationship with her neighbours.

“My neighbours are the ones that don’t like me. If they accepted me they wouldn’t say bad things about me to other people. They say that I killed my mother, some bad words. Sometimes I greet them and they do not respond. So I don’t greet them anymore.” [Angelo: 5]

Millies maintains that people in this community do not care about other people in the community. They do not know one another, which is unusual in black culture, because black culture has a saying that *“matlo go shwa mabapi,”* which, directly translated, means *“neighbours bond together”*.

“It is just normal; this is how they live, I do not even blame them. It is the same all over. A person is independent here. Everyone minds his own business.” [Millies: 4]

Joko holds the view that his neighbours are very jealous of him because of his inheritance of the house.

“There is a lot of discrimination, they are jealous. Maybe it is because how could I own an RDP house at my age. Now this house is mine because I inherited it from my mother.” [Joko: 18]

²⁰ One of the 11 official ethnic groups of South Africa. Batswanas are found predominantly in the North West province. Some are scattered in Northern Cape, Free State and Gauteng provinces.

His thoughts on claiming the house as his might be prompted by the inheritance patterns in most Tswana cultural communities where the last born male inherits the house.²¹

Chineke, Kumkani and Tlebebe have congenial relationships with their neighbours in that they feel accepted and also receive help in different forms from them. They claimed that they are accepted by members of their community. I considered it important to recognise the value of the findings of a study by Francis-Chizororo (2010:246) who concludes that neighbours play a major role in supporting child-headed households by providing food and non-food items such as emotional support.

“My neighbour helps me with my brother. When I do not have lunchbox for him, she assists with the lunch box. In the morning when she wakes up, she calls my brother to come for tea.” [Kumkani: 3-4]

Chineke felt that what he does with the youth of this community motivates his neighbours to support him. He is changing the lives of their children, encouraging them to lead very good lives as they are the future of this country. His neighbours are also very helpful to him. Furthermore, they support one another, even to eradicate criminal activities around their homes.

“I also help them. The thieves wanted to steal fridges TV and mattress, we chased them until we got the things from them. They are there for me because I am also there for them.” [Chineke:29]

His neighbours are protective towards him. When other elderly people ill-treat him, the first people to help are his neighbours. His house is not fenced, so during the weekend when most people come back from taverns they walk through the yard, even during the day. It is a very difficult task to control them because it requires adult support.

5.3.2.5 Sub-theme: Relationship with religious institutions

This sub-theme explores relationships within religious institutions. Chineke and Joko are staunch believers and church goers. They are Christians and regard the church as a place

²¹ In most Tswana communities a boy who is the last born in the family of boys (or the only boy among females) inherits the house. Females inherit items such as pots and dishes.

where they obtain comfort and fulfilment. They pray regularly and they say that after prayer they feel renewed and saved by the Holy Spirit.

“Whenever I feel down I pray. I think it is a must to pray to God who is taking care of us.” [Joko: 55]

Joko and Chineke receive much help from the church, especially moral support. Joko regards his pastor as a father figure in his life.

“My pastor is like a father to me.” [Joko: 54]

I found Angelo’s interview to be very interesting; in sharp contrast, she has very little regard for the church and believes that the church has contributed to the death of her mother.

“My mum went there and she came back sick, so I don’t like it.” [Angelo: 34]

Although she values prayer, she does not see any value in going to church but she prays almost every day and night at home. I was surprised to note that she does not value the church and yet prayer is important to her. Kumkani’s main reason for going to church is that the church is important when someone has passed away. It helps with prayer and with running the funeral service and other proceedings.

“In order for me to be buried by the church when I am dead. In order for the pastor to pray and bless my corpse and for me to go in peace.” [Kumkani: 29]

Tlebebe is of the opinion that she is able to recognise the results of prayer and she stated the following:

“I pray to ask God to help me to reach my goals and also to help in order for me to build this family with my brother. I am unemployed but I can see that always we have something to eat, by the grace of the Lord.” [Tlebebe: 24]

Chineke has a strong belief that church has transformed his life to be the best. It was evident that he feels valued in and supported by the church since he said the following :

“Church changed my life. It actually made me to be who I am today. I didn’t know what to do after the loss of my parents, but the church came. The pastors came and they supported me to make sure that I regain my confidence. That is where I find people who love me, appreciate me and respect me. I play piano at the church.”

[Chineke: 53]

Milies has a different opinion about the routines and practices of the church, such as the wearing of uniforms and the drumming. He said that he feels marginalised because he does not have a church uniform, which discourages him from attending church regularly.

“I am an apostolic church member, and I am expected to wear a uniform; I do not have it and I am expected to have it. So I do not look like other people when I am at the church. I once visited my friend’s church and I was not happy because I do not like drums.” [Milies: 25]

5.3.2.6 Sub-theme: Romantic relationships

This sub-theme reflects on the information provided by the views of the adolescents in relation to romantic relationships.

Table 5.8: Romantic relationships

ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS			
Participant	One partner	No partner	Multiple partners
Joko		✓	
Tlebebe			✓
Angelo	✓		
Kumkani			✓
Milies	✓		
Chineke		✓	

I have opted to accept the results of the study by Louw and Edwards (1998:519) that reveals that dating and steady relationships are a healthy means of finding companionship and learning about intimacy. This assumption resembles the healthy romantic relationships of Angelo, Milies and Tlebebe who have good partners who make them feel supported and loved.

“My boyfriend supports me in everything that I am going through, and cares and love me and he cares for the baby. It is good to have someone supporting you.”

[Angelo: 40]

Likewise a study by Steinberg and Morris (2001:95) found that by middle adolescence most adolescents have had a boyfriend or girlfriend. The boyfriends and girlfriends appear to play vital roles in the adolescents’ personal development. This is what Tlebebe said:

“He assisted me to abandon a number of things such as drinking liquor. He is the one who discouraged me from drinking. Even playing cards, I just play but he does not want me to play them, even my child is taken care of by him, even if it is not his child.” [Tlebebe: 26]

Tlebebe and Angelo are grateful for the roles that their boyfriends play in transforming their lives for the better. Tlebebe has accumulated many material assets for her home with the financial support of her boyfriend.

“I get assistance from my boyfriend, he buys food and clothes for us.” [Tlebebe: 20]

During the interviews with Milies he indicated that he is sceptical about entering into relationships with anyone in the area in which he lives. He does not have any faith in the girls who live there due to their promiscuity because he is of the opinion that they sleep around without even taking protection against diseases. He is not prepared to be hurt by women in his community. He sees his friends being affected by their relationships; as a result he does not want to experience the same ordeal.

To ensure his safety he is in love with a girl who lives about 400 km away from his area. He is certain that wherever his girlfriend is, she is safe.

“I trust my girlfriend.” [Millies: 54]

He prefers a distant relationship simply because it enables him to carry on with his life and not become obsessed with what his partner is doing.

“She lives very far away. Around here I do not need a girlfriend. The girls here have many relationships. You will find her in love with people who smoke dagga²². It is not safe. I meet my girlfriend only during holidays. Our means of communication is through the telephone, I am moody, and I do not see her behaviour. Other than seeing what she does I rather communicate by phone without seeing her.” [Millies: 34]

Despite the distance, Millies gets a lot of emotional support and comfort from his partner.

“You find that I sleep for about 4 hours. When I woke up I phone her and she consoles me and I feel better after talking to her.” [Millies: 39]

Joko, and Chineke have had no intimate relationships with members of the opposite sex. They believe that time is not yet ripe for them to date²³ anyone.

“I am not interested in them. I never had a girlfriend, I am still young and I never got the right one for myself.” [Joko: 58]

I did notice that even if Joko has no interest in romantic relationships, he has a wish list about his future wife. The following is what he said in this regard:

²² Is another name for Marijuana [Derived from Afrikaans language]

²³ Refers to a formal arrangement in which a boy and a girl go out together to a social activity, such as a movie or a dance or a meal. This provides an opportunity for them to get to know each other and see if they would like to develop a steady relationship (Louw & Edwards 1998:519).

“Sometimes I wish I could have my own wife. Someone who could help me to raise my siblings, someone who is harmonious and serious to my siblings.” [Joko:63-65]

Kumkani decided that she no longer wanted to have romantic relationships. She had thought that by giving birth to the child her life would change for the better. She relied more on her partner with the hope of getting support and eventually getting married.

“The reason I have a baby is that I wanted to change my life, but life is still the same because my child’s father does not want to support the child. He says that when he gives me his money I am going to support my family.” [Kumkani: 31]

Chineke maintains that his popularity during his school years as Representative Council of Learners [RCL] president made him attractive to many women. He resisted until he was tempted, something that he still regrets. This is what he had to say:

“I had some challenges, because I was the head of the RCL at school I was a popular guy, I was doing dances, holding events at school and also doing well academically, so the girls would come after me telling me so many things. That girl approached me and proposed me. Actually I realised later that she was wasting my time with what she was doing and that I was also wasting my own time. So I decided to quit. Though it was not easy because I thought I was going to marry this person. Now I don’t think so.” [Chineke: 68]

The findings of a study conducted by Ferreira (2006:245) concur with my conclusions that adolescents become involved in risky sexual activities to combat poverty and as a defence mechanism. They also seem to react in this way because of anger and fear in an attempt to address their emotional needs. Joko, Angelo and Kumkani are very cautious about the risks associated with romantic relationships. They believe that a person should have only one partner to avoid contracting different diseases such as HIV/AIDS. They said the following in this regard:

“You can’t have many partners. Nowadays there are many diseases and the consequences will be death, infected by several diseases such as HIV/AIDS.” [Joko: 66-67]

“Having many partners means that you are putting your life in danger, just killing yourself, you can have HIV. Trust each other; Use a condom and abstain.” [Angelo: 42]

“If you have many boyfriends, when you are sick, being HIV positive you won’t know who infected you.” [Kumkani: 37]

Milies, Angelo and Tlebebe live principled lives by having only one partner to avoid a myriad of problems that one may invite into his or her life in the form of diseases and stress. They believe that everyone has to take responsibility and be accountable for all the actions they take. They view multiple relationships as risky in the lives of those involved in and practising it. Angelo maintains that even if there is a single boyfriend precautionary measures must be considered.

“Trust each other, Use a condom and abstain.” [Angelo: 43]

Chineke is of the opinion that there is a difference between love and lust and he believes that a person cannot divide love. He mentioned the following:

“You can’t divide your love that is impossible. When you love someone you are prepared to give to that person, when you have lust you want to take away from that person. You will have sexually transmitted diseases.” [Chineke: 74-76]

5.3.2.7 Sub-theme: Relationship with Non-Government Organisations [NGOs]

The intention in the following sub-theme is to identify the relationship between the adolescents in child-headed households and the NGOs. Only two participants were supported by NGOs.

Tapologo²⁴ orphanage assisted Tlebebe with transport to school and caring for her sick mother. Joko received school uniforms as a donation from Tapologo.

“There was someone from Tapologo who helped me to care for my sick mother.”

[Tlebebe: 2]

“Last year I got a donation from Tapologo they provided me with uniform.” [Joko:

33]

5.3.2.8 Sub-theme: Relationship with academic institutions

This sub-theme identifies the relationship with the academic institutions. Adolescents orphaned by AIDS are struggling when it comes to schooling during the illness of their parents. Angelo was absent more often and arrived very late for school when she did go because her parents were ill.

“When my mom was sick I couldn’t go to school for about a week.” [Angelo: 14]

Joko and Chineke managed to pass Grade 12 with very good marks and they have never repeated a class in their academic career. Their performance was encompassed by a myriad of challenges which included, among others, caring for their ailing mothers and managing with the families and their school work at the same time.

“I think it is the greatest thing to have completed grade 12, without any help and without parents. I learned everything from school because life begins at school.”

[Joko: 27]

Kumkani and Tlebebe dropped out of school before completing Grade 9. They both cite the lack of parental guidance and the challenges of taking charge of the family as some of the reasons for leaving school.

“I did not have money to pay “skof”²⁵ and the owner of the car refused to allow me to travel in his car.” [Tlebebe: 12]

²⁴ Tapologo. See Chapter 1.

Tapologo Orphanage used to pay for Tlebebe's school transport and suddenly terminated the assistance without stating the reasons.

"Money from Tapologo was not paid to the transport owner, so I decided to drop-out of school." [Tlebebe: 13]

Eventually due to the lack of money for transport to school and other related challenges Tlebebe abandoned school. She further felt that she could not continue with schooling because she had no parents and no one to encourage her to go to school.

Their teachers at school have a positive influence on the performance of participants in this study. They treat them like all other learners, irrespective of their family background. Joko and Chineke were given the responsibility of *time keeper [bell ringer]*²⁶ and Representative Council of Learners (RCL)²⁷ president, respectively. These positions had an influence on their leadership skills, attendance and punctuality. These responsibilities made them feel accepted by their teachers and the school principal.

"I became RCL president, because you could become whatever you wanted to become, no matter your background." [Chineke: 25]

"I was a time keeper at school and I used to be on time." [Joko: 35]

The classmates also treated the participants very well; thus they were not discriminated against due to their family background. Most of their classmates were aware of their family backgrounds and gave them the necessary support. Joko said the following:

"My classmates treated me as normal as others and I like it because my problems should not be my obstacles in life." Joko: 3]

²⁵ Means of transport taking learners to school; it is usually a mini-bus taxi. Payments are made once per month in advance.

²⁶ School periods are controlled by means of a siren / bell which is controlled by a student.

²⁷ RCL to be eligible to be a member a learner should be in Grade 8 to 12. Primary schools do not have RCL.

5.3.3 THEME: ECONOMIC SUPPORT

It is my intention in discussing the data under this theme to establish the sources of income in child-headed households and how these influence the daily lives of adolescents.

Table 5.9: Economic support

ECONOMIC SUPPORT								
Participants	Tenants	Boyfriend/ Girlfriend	Theft	Employment (piece t jobs)	None	Gambling	Father	Church
Joko	✓			✓				
Tlebebe	✓	✓				✓		
Angelo	✓	✓					✓	
Kumkani				✓	✓			
Milies				✓	✓			
Chineke	✓							✓

All these households have no stable income. Four of the households, except those of Milies and Kumkani, rely on payment from the tenants who live in the shacks in their backyards. The money paid by the tenants is not enough but it is a matter of half a loaf is better than no bread at all. To them it makes a lot of a difference as it is the only source of income they know.

“We get the income from the tenants every month and this money is too little to take care of us because we need to eat, wear, bath and go to school.” [Joko: 22]

“Tenants expect to get electricity.” [Chineke: 24]

Chineke has opened a bank account in which the money is deposited. He applies good financial management strategies to control the money. I appreciate the fact that money is managed properly on a monthly basis in this household.

“I do have two accounts, Standard Bank and Nedbank. When they pay I take some money and put R50.00 aside for emergency purposes. I write down basic needs, how much food to buy.” [Chineke: 22]

Tlebebe depends on the tenants, State grant received for her child, her boyfriend and on gambling by playing cards as an income-generating activity.

“We get help from the tenants and from the government grant paid to my child. I also play cards to generate money. I have a boyfriend who helps me with food. The furniture in my house is bought by my boyfriend, such as TV, fridge and groceries cabinet. He volunteers to assist me without force.” [Tlebebe: 7]

Kumkani performs manual work in the community to generate income by doing laundry, cleaning houses and performing related chores. Her younger brother could not obtain a State grant as there is no adult to apply for the grant.

“I devise some means. I wash or do washing for people, and they pay me. I am able to buy some mealie meal and some cooking oil. Otherwise I borrow money from my neighbour, which I return after getting someone to do his / her washing.” [Kumkani: 5]

Angelo’s mother used to work at the local primary school in the NSNP; her younger sister receives a State social grant and her father pays a *maintenance fee*²⁸ for his children.

“My mother was working, so she used to support us. My younger sister also received a grant, they were the ones who used to support us. My mother got my dad arrested for maintenance.” [Angelo: 10-12]

Milies performs manual work in the community gardens to generate income, and by stealing in the local mines to survive. When he is hungry he visits the former boyfriend of his mother for help.

²⁸ Money paid by a parent who is not supportive to his/her children. The money is usually paid as a court order.

“Former boyfriend of my mother sometimes helps with food. When I am hungry I go there to ask for food. I get some piece jobs in the village, there is a lady here in the village whom I clean her yard and she gives me about R100.00. The other source of income is the stealing from the local mines.” [Milies: 6-9]

5.3.3.1 Sub-theme: School fees and uniforms

In this sub-theme I identify how material resources required and offered by the school in the form of uniforms, books and school fees affect the financial status of these households.

Joko, Chineke, Milies and Angelo have been given a *school fees exemption*²⁹ through the help of local social workers. Social workers have provided them with copies of affidavits to prove that they are orphans who qualify for full exemption from paying school fees.

“I applied for exemption and I did not pay school fund, my siblings did not pay school fund either.” [Joko: 32]

School uniforms present a serious challenge for most of these adolescents. Chineke, Milies and Angelo have obtained school uniforms as hand-outs from friends and through the help of educators.

“I get some help from other teachers at the primary school and at the secondary school. They help with uniform..” [Milies: 10]

Chineke used to receive negative remarks about his uniform from his peers.

“They used to make negative comments about my uniform and my clothes. I made them aware that it did not matter most.” [Chineke: 26]

²⁹ Children who are from poor family backgrounds with no source of income do not pay school fees They first apply and attach a motivation from social workers.

5.3.3.2 Sub-theme: Poverty

I observed during my home visits that all participants were exposed to abject poverty. Milies lives in a shack without a window. The shack has no basic requirements that represent a home, such as partitioning walls or doors. Infrastructural needs such as running water, electricity and sewage system are non-existent and there is no access road to the house. I left my car quite some distance away at the main road and walked with him towards the house which was in the middle of many similar shacks.

Chineke's home has no basic furniture such as chairs and tables. Plastic crates generally used to store cool drink bottles are utilised as chairs. Kumkani's house has broken windows and plastic material has been used to serve as window panes. Tlebebe, Angelo, Joko and Kumkani live in RDP houses that do not have basic needs such as furniture and sanitation. These families have no stable income; they depend on rentals from shacks in their backyard and perform manual labour in the community such as cleaning gardens and doing laundry.

5.3.3.3 Sub-theme: Theft

Milies engages in acts of theft at the local mines. He agreed that it is done because he needs to buy household items and other essentials such as food, *paraffin*³⁰ and candles. In another study Ogina (2008:161) also concludes that orphan adolescents engage in risky theft to fulfil their needs for food and clothing. Milies found that the risk is worth taking because he was starving and struggling a lot to lead a better life.

"I once stole at the mine in order for me to buy food." [Milies: 17]

Tlebebe and Chineke have never indulged in any form of pilfering. Chineke stated that he was taught by his mother never to steal because stealing is evil. He still upholds the moral lessons he learnt from his mother after so many years.

"I think it is the motive that I grew up with, what my mother has taught me. You don't take someone else's belonging without asking." [Chineke: 45]

³⁰ Liquid form of fuel used for cooking in a primus stove at home.

Tlebebe fears that stealing might land a person in jail and she does not want to go to jail. She argues that she is mature enough to take charge of her life in a more responsible way and does not feel that she would ever participate in any criminal activity.

5.3.4 THEME: FUTURE ASPIRATIONS

This theme places into context the way in which participants aspire to realise their future careers. Adolescents have a variety of aspirations and career ambitions. Eysenck (2001:469) is of the opinion that adolescence is a time during which decisions need to be made about the future. Similarly I found that most of the career choices of adolescents in my study are centred on entertainment such as being a musician, actress or film director, TV personality or journalist.

Joko would like to become a journalist because he wants to write the story of his life. He has grown up as a photographer in the community and this has inspired him to want to continue as a journalist. He also wishes to become a chef in order to gain access to food because he cannot afford to buy food and yet he is fond of eating.

“I grew up taking pictures in the community. As Journalist I want to write the story of my life, chef I want to spend most of my time cooking in the kitchen because I like food.” [Joko: 71]

Milies wishes to become a film director and believes that film directors make more money without working long and tiring hours.

“Film director, because I become pleased on how they work. They do not work for a long time like the whole year.” [Milies: 46]

Angelo wants to become a medical doctor to help those who need help like her parents did when they were ill.

“I want to become a doctor, because I would like to help people who are involved in accidents, the ones who are giving birth and those who are sick, just like my mum. When she was sick it was very bad, I don’t even know how to describe it.”

[Angelo: 44]

5.3.4.1 Sub-theme: Schooling

This sub-theme describes the schooling or absence from school of these adolescents. Kumkani would like to become an actress and a television personality. She has no support to make her dream come true because she dropped-out of school in Grade nine. It is even more difficult for her to reach her goal of becoming an actress as she is unable to attend school. She has always wanted to go back to school to further her studies. Her main challenge is who would take care of her child if she goes back to school. The family responsibilities are obstacles in her life that prevent her from fulfilling her ambitions.

“I wish one day to be like other people, being on TV as an actress, and watched by many people. They live better life. They do whatever they need, at own time. They do not give other people problems. They also don’t have any reason to steal other people’s properties. They work for themselves.”[Kumkani: 13]

I have discovered from the interviews that Tlebebe aspires to become a musician. This is the career she likes most even if she does not have any knowledge to study music further. She dropped-out of school in Grade 9 and the possibility of going back to school is no longer available to her. She is of the opinion that the responsibilities surrounding her could no longer allow her to go back to school. Given her age, it is evident that she has passed the *mark of full time study*³¹ in a school system. The only possible option for her might be to pursue adult education.

“I lost my plans, because when I grew up I wanted to become a singer to assist my family.”[Tlebebe: 29]

³¹ A child should have completed studies within the South African school system (Grade 12) by the age of 18, otherwise adult basic education is offered after hours to older people in different centres of communities.

5.3.4.2 Sub-theme: Studies at tertiary institutions

Only one participant enrolled for tertiary education. Chineke has already started studying toward his future career of becoming an engineer. He is studying toward a diploma in engineering at a *Further Education and Training [FET]*³² college. He has obtained financial support from his church and also uses the money generated through the rentals to pay for his school fees.

“I want to become qualified engineer, qualified music teacher and a qualified presenter. To become a decent man, man of integrity, understand other people’s lives, a man who will be able to advice other people. Not self centred but very helpful.” [Chineke: 77-79]

5.3.4.3 Sub-theme: Employment and Job opportunities

Another sub-theme of relevance to this study is one relating to employment opportunities available to the adolescents. Joko completed Grade 12 in 2010 and was already employed at a local holiday resort as a chef. He is still not certain what he wants as his full time job. He still intends to work hard until he reaches his goal of becoming a journalist.

Now I got work at the holiday resort. Life is still worse because I haven’t reached where I want to reach.” [Joko: 24]

Tlebebe and Kumkani are of the opinion that their future is doomed because they cannot obtain any decent employment other than to do domestic and manual work for the people in the community. They have both dropped out of school at an early age and they no longer stand any chance of furthering their education.

“I wash or do washing for people, and they pay me.” [Kumkani: 5]

³² Post matric (Grade 12) tertiary institution offering different courses qualifications in technical skills up to diploma level.

5.3.4.4 Sub-theme: Marriage

Joko and Chineke have dreams of becoming responsible husbands in the future. This became evident during their interviews when they said the following:

“In the Bible they use to say a man should not be alone. So we can’t change what God said. Everybody must have a partner, but the right partner. Not somebody who can hurt you.” [Joko: 60]

However Angelo and Tlebebe have lost interest and faith in relationships and do not see themselves as being worthy of getting married. Milies and Kumkani are still at school and have steady relationships. They hoped to be married in future.

5.3.4.5 Sub-theme: Personal aspirations

In this sub-theme I categorise the relationship of participants with their *role models*.³³ Adolescents in this study believe that upright role models are very important as they motivate people to be like them.

“Role models show other peoples something to copy from them, to live a good life that can be copied by many people.” [Joko: 40]

They judge different categories of people in terms of being their role models, ranging from gospel singers to film directors, politicians and their educators. They value significant role models in their lives and dream that they can achieve certain goals in life that need courage and hard work. Milies is inclined towards the film industry, as evident in the following excerpts:

“My role model has directed good films, such as Caribbean and many others.”
[Milies:11]

“I write my own short films, I check if they are right and I would like to act like how other people acts.” [Milies: 12]

³³ Are people in the society who inspire adolescents to have quest for success (Bee & Boyd 2002:318).

Tlebebe aspires to become a musician and she participates in singing in the church choir and at social gatherings. Even though she argues that it does not yield positive results, she hopes that one day things will be fine and she will be a musician.

Angelo is inspired by her educator. She describes her educator with enthusiasm and I could sense the passion and respect she has for her educator. Her mood changed immediately when she started to describe her educator.

“My educator has respect for other people. She treats people with respect, and teaches people to behave. She is a good person I like everything about her. She is like a mother figure to me.”[Angelo: 21]

5.3.5 THEME: EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING

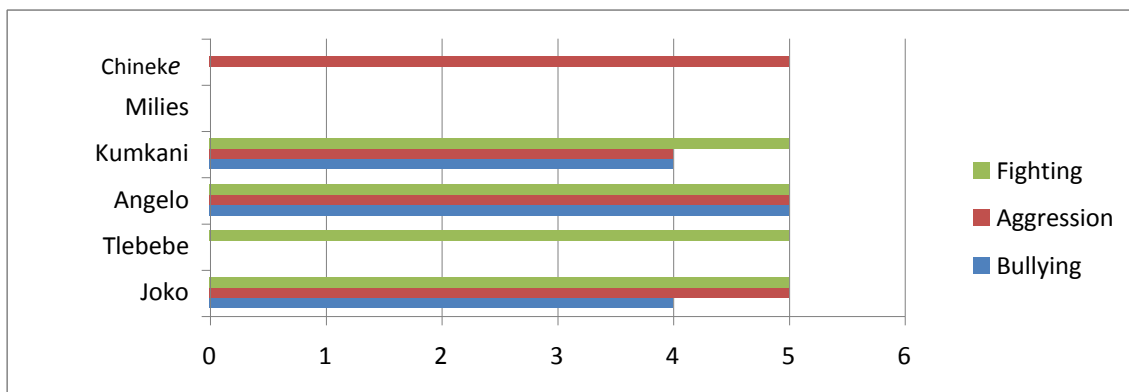
This theme identifies the various emotional challenges experienced by the adolescents in child-headed households. I deliberate on this theme in terms of McDevitt and Ormrod’s (2010: 419) statement that emotions are the feelings, both physiological and psychological, that people have in response to events that are personally relevant to their needs and goals.

5.3.5.1 Sub-theme: Bullying and aggression

This theme is in keeping with McDevitt and Ormrod’s (2010:535) assertion that aggression is an action intentionally taken to hurt another person either physically (hitting, shoving or fighting) or psychologically (embarrassing, insulting or ostracising). I maintain that bullying is the repeated abuse of power in a relationship against weaker individuals to gain status or power.

In order to describe the bullying and aggression experienced by the participants I compiled the following table:

Table 5.10: Bullying and aggression



During the interviews Joko confessed that he is aggressive. This attitude makes it difficult for his friends to interact freely with him because he is very reserved and quiet in such a way that it is difficult for them to approach and interact with him. It was apparent to me that this behaviour conforms to McDevitt and Ormrod’s (2010:535) assertion that aggression can adversely affect friendships and other interpersonal relationships.

“It is because I am stubborn, when I request something from you and you take time before you respond, I get further-up.” [Joko: 51]

I concede that Shariff (2009:2) is correct in terms of my findings in stating that in human society there have always been perpetrators of bullying. This is apparent in Kumkani’s behaviour as she fights and quarrels often with the other girls in an attempt to protect her relationship with her boyfriend.

“I was fighting for my boyfriend, father of my child. I went home, and when I came back I found him with another girl.” [Kumkani: 26]

Tlebebe and her partner often quarrel in their relationship. Pears (2010:68) points out that domestic violence does take place between young people in intimate relationships. Angelo emphasised that she is always fighting and at loggerheads with other children at school and on the street; as a result she has assaulted many of her peers for different reasons. She maintains that she is provoked and cannot afford not to protect herself.

“We were talking and they continue to say I am sick, I am thin. They hurt me a lot.” [Angelo:28]

Joko has assaulted many people emotionally via his use of cellular phone text messages, MXIT³⁴ (cyber bullying) and vulgar words to stress his points of view. This is an example of Shariff (2009) refer to as cyber bullying where an adolescent is tormented, threatened, harassed, humiliated, embarrassed or otherwise targeted by another adolescent using Internet, a mobile phone or other interactive digital device.

“I was chatting on my mxit and somebody did not reply as I expected and I replied with vulgar words.” [Joko: 52]

Angelo said that she has repented and is ashamed of her aggressive conduct simply because she is afraid of having scars on her face.

“I don’t want to have scars in my face because every time people fight, they use dangerous things, bottles, so they are going to give me scars.” [Angelo: 26]

Milies and Chineke have never engaged in aggressive physical behaviour towards anybody as they regard fighting as immoral. They argue that they have never taken arguments to the next level of physical assault or fighting. They said:

“I am not a person who likes fighting. When they want to fight me I just run away.” [Milies:15]

“I have never fought anyone instead I shouted. After the death of my parents I lacked anger management, I will be angry quickly.” [Chineke: 43]

³⁴ It is a programme on a cellular phone or Internet used to communicate through text messages. The usual word used for this form of communication is ‘chatting’. Cyber bullying and cyber misconduct happen due to rapid advancement of cellular phones and Internet technologies which young people use with fluid boundaries that are difficult to monitor or supervise (Shariff 2009:3). At 2 cents a message it is the cheapest way of communicating by cellular phone (Louw 2009:56).

Even if Chineke maintained that he hates fighting he displays attitudes of aggression, I was able to perceive this tendency in his responses when he discussed the way in which he reacts harshly towards people who disrespect him:

“When someone shifts responsibility to me makes me shout I get so much angry I hate to blame or be blamed for something I haven’t done.” [Chineke: 47]

Tlebebe is of the opinion that she uses vulgar words mainly when she is drunk.

5.3.5.2 Sub-theme: Sharing and co-operation

This sub-theme discusses the interaction of adolescents in terms of sharing and co-operating with other people.

Table 5.11: Sharing and co-operation

SHARING AND CO-OPERATION				
Participants	With peers	With siblings	With neighbours	With friends
Joko	✓	✓	no	no
Tlebebe	✓	✓	✓	✓
Angelo	No	✓	no	no
Kumkani	✓	✓	✓	✓
Milies	✓	none	no	✓
Chineke	✓	✓	✓	✓

Tlebebe maintained that she does not want to share with other people. She feels that other people need the same things as she. She struggles before she manages to accumulate items that she needs and as a result she is not prepared to share these with others. All other adolescents in this study, except Tlebebe, feel that even if they do not have many of the basic needs at home such as food and money, they are more than willing to share with other people, especially with their neighbours and friends who are always on their side. Some of these examples are illustrated in a study by Motha (2010:122) where adolescents experience the need for care and support while they also feel socially conscious of the needs of others.

Milies and Joko – in my study – have exchanged food and money with their friends many times.

“My friend, when he doesn’t have money, I help him to buy some mealie meal. I help because he has nothing.” [Milies: 23]

“I assisted a number of people with different things. Offering food and money, I help because I know how it is, I grew up being helped.” [Joko: 53]

Chineke is willing to share material things and knowledge with other people and he has helped many people with advice and mentoring. He holds the view that the token of help does not have to be in the form of money only but that one could be assisted in many ways, such as by providing emotional support and advice.

“I have helped too many people, not with money, but with advices. There are so many young people who believe in me. Most of them were going through drugs, alcohol and stuff like that. I talk to them what I went through and they continue to listen and respect me for that. I have done impact in many people’s lives.” [Chineke: 49-52]

Angelo assisted one of her school mates, simply because she was also as needy as herself in that she was also an orphan who depended on social grants. Angelo said:

“His brother takes her orphanage money.” [Angelo:32]

5.3.5.3 Sub-theme: Substance abuse

In this section drugs, tobacco and liquor abuse is discussed. It is necessary for me to acknowledge McDevitt and Ormrod’s (2010:177) statement that after hearing about alcohol and drugs from peers, adults and the media, adolescents may simply want to experience the effects first hand as a basis for this discussion.

Table 5.12: Alcohol and substance abuse

ALCOHOL AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE			
Participants	Alcohol consumption	Smoking	Drugs use
Joko	No	No	No
Tlebebe	✓	✓	No
Angelo	No	No	No
Kumkani	✓	✓	No
Milies	✓	✓	No
Chineke	No	No	No

Not one of the participants in this study has ever indulged in any form of drug use. They maintain that their health is more important to them and they fear drugs because they believe that they destroy good health. Joko, Angelo and Chineke do not smoke and have never attempted to smoke ever before because they are adamant that smoking is unhealthy. Although they witness most of their peers drinking alcohol and smoking, they are not interested.

“Alcohol and smoking are bad things. They will kill me. Smoking kills, especially small kids. It will destroy your lungs.” [Angelo: 38]

I concluded that Heine (2008:164) is correct in maintaining that adolescents are at risk of substance abuse since Tlebebe, Milies and Kumkani, from my study, used to abuse alcohol with their friends. They would go on drinking sprees at taverns³⁵ and then wander around the streets in a drunken stupor with their friends till very late at night.

“The consequences are not good. Sometimes you go to tavern, they rape you because you come back late at night.” [Tlebebe: 18]

Kumkani is a liquor slave who needs help to quit drinking. By her own admission she drinks at these taverns throughout the night with her friends. She maintains that the reason for her to drink is to relieve stress. She has no problem sleeping away from home for more than a week at a time.

³⁵ It is a place that sells liquor. Loud music is always played here and it is usually open until very late or early in the morning. Liquor is not sold to children under 18 years but most taverns do.

Chineke maintains that after the death of his parents he started living an unacceptable lifestyle of abusing alcohol that he thought was the answer to his family challenges. Smoking was discouraged steadfastly by his mother as she allowed his father to drink liquor but had never allowed him to smoke.

“I tried it immediately after my parents passed away; I thought the best way was to be an alcoholic, in order for me to forget what happened.” [Chineke: 57]

5.3.6 THEME: VULNERABILITY

In this discussion I describe the data in respect of the theme of the vulnerability of the adolescents. Keenan and Evans (2009:335) assert that vulnerability factors are fairly enduring characteristics of an individual’s external worlds that are likely to lead to maladaptive and negative functioning.

5.3.6.1 Sexual exploitation

In this regard my assumptions from prior reading of the literature are based on a study by Francis-Chizororo (2010:98) who found that sexual abuse in children is a growing concern, especially among orphaned and vulnerable children. Tlebebe and Kumkani are in abusive relationships with their boyfriends. Tlebebe maintained that she cannot quit the relationship because the boyfriend provides material things for her survival.

“I tolerate abusive relationship because whenever he is drunk, is the day when he beats me. There is nothing I could do. I will tolerate him until God answers my prayers because I do not want to find myself selling my body to survive.” [Tlebebe: 20]

“Relationship is only good for him when you meet and sleep together.” [Kumkani: 35]

5.3.6.2 Physical vulnerability

Kumkani was physically abused by her brother. She said:

“My brother has a tendency that every time when he came late at night, having smoked dagga he will fight with us.” [Kumkani: 24]

This example is in line with Natarajan’s (2010:145) assertion that those who use drugs are more likely to engage in assault. Joko was assaulted by a guardian who was misusing family foster grant money simply because he is young and lacks protection and adult support. He lamented as follows:

“She assaulted me with the help of her kids. I just kept quiet because she was a grown up.” [Joko: 52]

Kumkani was assaulted by the police in an attempt to correct her unruly behaviour.

“Police assaulted me, but I did not fight them. They were beating me because I was naughty; I refused to go back to school. They used plastic and a belt on my buttocks.” [Kumkani: 20]

The lack of fencing in these communities presents a security threat to the participants. When people return from taverns at night they walk right through Chineke’s yard.

5.3.6.3 Economic vulnerability

In order to be somewhat economically stable, Milies and Kumkani perform manual labour in the community to generate income. Tlebebe plays cards as a form of gambling to generate funds for the family. Milies steals scrap metal at the local mines to buy basic domestic items. I agree with Francis-Chizororo (2008:84) that worsening poverty often forces vulnerable groups such as orphans to engage in risky survival activities. I have found that Angelo survived through the favours of her neighbour who needs her to do their laundry in return for money.

“I wash or do washing for people, and they pay me.” [Angelo: 26]

“I used to steal from the local mines.” [Milies:29]

5.3.6.4 Emotional vulnerability

Participants in this study face ongoing economic hardships and are at heightened risk of emotional and behavioural problems. The outcomes of these factors are the same as in McDevitt and Ormrod's (2010:424) study because they too explain that children who have persistently low incomes are more prone to anxiety, depression and behavioural problems. Participants in my study displayed sadness, fear and anger. Their circumstances are full of doubt, anxiety and extremes in that while they do not know where their next meal is coming from, they are certain about encountering violence and drug addiction in their neighbourhoods. Adolescents in this study have expressed feelings of exasperation, anger, grief, bitterness and frustration. Joko was very angry due to treatment received from a care giver who abused family funds. Angelo was very frustrated by the challenges imposed on her by her younger brother who refused to go to school without a lunch box.

"She used to cheat on that money. Every month she gives us groceries and when I asked about the rest of the money, she assaulted me with the help of her kids."

[Joko: 11]

"Every time I ask myself, what is my younger brother going to eat today? What am I going to give him tomorrow when he goes to school." [Angelo: 22]

All adolescents continue to grieve about the death of their parents as Angelo did when she declared that if her mother were still alive she would not be suffering. Chineke is distressed by the challenges of raising a female teenager because he is unable to provide for the physiological needs of his sister.

"The money assists when my younger sister goes through menstruation cycle, to buy pads and everything." [Chineke: 29]

5.3.6.5 Social vulnerability

Milies has maintained his relationships with his peers just to while away his time. I noted that this concurs with what Ferreira (2006:49) discovered in that adolescents, in an attempt to protect themselves from discrimination by their peers, may over-compensate in their behaviour. Joko does not like the attitudes and conduct of his friends but he just keeps company with them in order to get something to eat. Joko and Angelo maintain that their neighbours hated them and they hold the view that they are being marginalised by society.

“There is a lot of discrimination in my neighbourhood, people are being jealous. May be it is because how could I own an RDP house at my age. Now this house is my house because I have inherited it from my mother.” [Joko: 17]

5.3.6.6 Educational vulnerability

Tlebebe and Angelo dropped out of school before completing Grade 9. The burden of caring for their sick parents, the lack of financial and material support – for example, they did not have transport to school or uniforms – have contributed towards their quitting school. In the process they have fallen pregnant and are supposed to raise their own children while caring for their sick parents.

“I had to take care of my sick mother, bath her, feed her, toilet, do laundry for her and assist her sleep. I could not cope at school.” [Angelo: 23]

“We suffered with food and school money. I am a parent in this house I have to take care of my sick mother and my brothers. Then I decided to leave school.” [Tlebebe:13]

After the passing on of their parents, adolescents have to fend for themselves and make discussions without any adult guidance.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In Chapter 5 I analyse data from empirical research processes in relation to the moral development of adolescents in child-headed households. The adolescents revealed different opinions and views in relation to their interaction with the environment. Their relationships with siblings, peers, people from the neighbourhood, religious institutions and academic institutions are explained. I can conclude that the behaviour of adolescents is strongly influenced by the interactions with the environment in which they live. The chapter concludes that poor children are more likely to suffer from emotional or behavioural problems, child abuse or neglect, to practise violent crime and to drop out of school. In Chapter 6, I discuss the emerging core themes of this study with reference to related literature.

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CHAPTER 6

OVERVIEW, FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

“The loss of a parent is a difficult thing for a child to go through, but in terms of the long-term risk to the child’s survival, development, education and adjustment, what is important is where the child finds him/herself before and after the parent’s death. That is, who takes care of him/her and in what circumstances?”

(Richter & Desmond 2007:1027)

6. AIM OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter serves to summarise all the information gathered during the literature review and empirical investigation in relation to the qualitative research approach and interpretivist paradigm. An exhaustive literature study was conducted prior to the fieldwork and has been discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 while the collected data is deliberated upon in Chapter 5.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 5 I provide an analysis of the study. The interview schedules and narratives of each participant are discussed. In this chapter I interpret the emerging core themes in terms of relevant literature and empirical data and reflect on the research question and sub-question in order to articulate the knowledge contribution by the research. Summaries and discussions are used to present information from the discussions and narrative portraits are used to present, describe and finalise the findings. The analytical strategy is a case study discussion to determine and discuss the moral development of adolescents according to the developmental levels in this phase. New insights that have emerged from the study are carefully analysed and presented according to findings. I present a short overview of all the chapters and a discussion of the findings of the study. The research study substantiates concluding remarks in the field of the moral development of adolescents in child-headed households. Conclusions are presented in relation to sub-questions as stated in Chapter 1. I

also provided recommendations emanating from the findings of this study. At the end of the research I outline its limitations and recommend areas for further study.

6.2 OVERVIEW OF PRECEDING CHAPTERS

A brief overview of this study is provided in the summary below. The overview serves as the basis for the discussion of the synthesis of the findings and recommendations.

CHAPTER 1

In this chapter I introduce the area of study and explain the rationale for pursuing this study. The main focus of my study is the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households. I have formulated the aims, the assumptions and the problem statement of this study and briefly introduced the literature review and the theoretical framework. Key concepts are clarified and the paradigmatic aspects with which I approached the study are identified. An overview of the research design, research methods, ethical considerations and quality criteria for this study and provided and the thesis is demarcated in terms of six chapters.

CHAPTER 2

In this chapter existing literature which is relevant to my study is reviewed. I explore the existing literature on morals, morality and values. Contextual factors and intervention strategies to enhance morality in society are also discussed.

CHAPTER 3

In this chapter the discussion focuses on adolescence as a developmental phase in relation to physical, emotional, connotative, social, economic and educational development. Literature on the vulnerability of adolescents in child-headed households is explored in detail in this chapter. Literature studies that are relevant include Clarken (2009), Learner and Steinberg (2004), Frydenberg (2008) and Berk (1999) who indicate that adolescents develop personal standards for behaviour and a sense of self-efficacy, beliefs about their abilities and characteristics that guide their responses in specific situations. Various theories of moral development are briefly discussed in this chapter. Literature based on the theoretical framework of this study is explored in relation to Bronfenbrenner's Ecological theory (1979)

that looks at one's development within the context of the system of relationships that form one's environment and Kohlberg's theory of moral development, (1975) which states that moral reasoning is key to the understanding of an individual's inclination to behave ethically.

CHAPTER 4

In this chapter I describe in detail the epistemological and methodological approach to the study. A qualitative case study research approach was used and has led to the formulation of themes and sub-themes to discuss the moral development of the participants. The study has been conducted and analysed within an interpretivist paradigm. I describe in detail the data collection procedures, which include semi-structured interviews, observations, narratives and a field journal. The chapter is concluded with detailed discussions of the ethical guidelines I followed during field work and the manner in which I maintained the ethical considerations of the research.

CHAPTER 5

Chapter 5 outlines the empirical findings of this study in terms of data analysis, emerging themes and sub-themes. The six main themes that emerged from the study relate to the interaction of adolescent orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households, the entire environment in which they live and how relationships in their environment impact on their moral development. In presenting my results I include verbatim quotations and reflections from the adolescents in this study.

6.3 SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS IN TERMS OF RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS

Although different theories of moral development are acknowledged and discussed briefly in Chapter 3, paragraph 3.4, only two theories identified in Chapter 1, paragraph 1.8 for this study are integrated in the critical analysis in this chapter. These are:

- Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory
- Kohlberg's theory of moral development

I chose an ecological theory in order to be able to assimilate strategies of behavioural change and environmental enhancement within a broad systems-theory approach. Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (Bergh & Theron 2008:86) views development as a

dynamic process in which the individual and the environment mutually and reciprocally influence development [Chapter 3, paragraph 3.5.1]. Kohlberg’s theory of moral development makes the connection between increased levels of cognitive and psychosocial development and the ability to reason at increasing levels of moral complexity. Kohlberg (Heine 2008:281) asserts that moral reasoning relates to cognitive capacity whereby the ability to carry out certain functions progresses as individuals develop, mature and are educated. According to Slatter and Bremmer (2011:291-292) Piaget determined that morality can be considered a developmental process as moral development is the result of interpersonal interactions through which individuals work out resolutions which all deem fair (Chapter 3, paragraph 3.4.1). The findings of this research are summarised in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: Findings according to the theories of Bronfenbrenner and Kohlberg

Bronfenbrenner	Factors	Themes	Levels/Stages	Kohlberg	
Microsystem	Personal [Emotions, stress, struggle]	Sub 1	Obedience, cultural rules, fairness, reward and punishment, right and wrong behaviour	Pre-conventional	Moral reasoning
Mesosystem	School and peers	Emotional			
Exosystem	Economic and environmental factors	Connotative	Peers, group, friends	Conventional	
Macrosystem	Cultural beliefs, social and educational values	Economic			
Chronosystem	Historical	Physical	Human rights, liberty and standards of living	Post-conventional	

Table 6.1 highlights the relationship of the main findings of this study together with the themes and categories that have emerged from the data analysis according to Bronfenbrenner’s ecological and Kohlberg’s theory of moral development. The microsystem

focuses on the individual adolescent in a child-headed household and consists of a social network of interpersonal relationships that affects adolescents emotionally as the responsibility of taking care of the family at a tender age are too much for them. This state of affairs results in emergent stresses and struggles in the process of taking care of the daily running of the household and the family. The mesosystem include quality, frequency and influence of such interactions as family responsibilities are related to school adjustment, family characteristics and interaction with peers, church attendants and relationships with the opposite sex. Such relationships and interactions inadvertently affect the moral development of the orphaned adolescent. Some adolescents drop out of school to take care of their ailing parents and families, often having to make adult decisions that require moral reasoning that generally comes with maturity. The exosystem in this study encompasses social settings (environment) as well as institutions that take decisions regarding the well-being of the adolescents – such as the local government in terms of social grants and the school in terms of meals, school fees and school attendance. The macrosystem includes a core of general cultural, social, religious, economic and educational values that have a direct impact upon the orphaned adolescents’ development and decision-making. The chronosystem, on the other hand, entails the historical background of the causes and emergence of child-headed households in poor and impoverished societies in which the scourge of AIDS is high and its impact on adolescents debilitating.

The pre-conventional level of Kohlberg’s theory asserts that an individual obeys rules to avoid punishment. Unconditional respect for adults and authorities in the community such as neighbours and teachers is considered to be an important part of an adolescent’s moral development. Adolescents in child-headed households are deprived of the adult guidance necessary to help them develop into morally upright individuals often commit acts of crime as they are influenced by external forces such as hunger and poverty imposed by the circumstances. The conventional level of Kohlberg’s theory of moral development asserts that environmental factors have a very important role in developing an individual’s aptitudes, such as choice of peers and interaction with the neighbourhood. At the post-conventional level an adolescent seeks to meet the expectations of peers which could result into smoking, abusing alcohol and committing crimes, thereby receiving approval from the group.

6.4 ANSWERING OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the following section the research findings and conclusions are discussed in accordance with questions formulated in Chapter 1 of this study. The research questions are the following:

Primary research question: *How do adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households develop morally?*

The following sub-questions were answered in order to provide support in answering the primary research question:

- What factors in the ecosystem influence the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households?
- How do adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households make judgements in a moral dilemma?
- How vulnerable are adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households and how does it affect their moral development?
- Based on the findings of the study, what measures can be taken to promote responsible moral behaviour and development of adolescents in child-headed households?

Each finding and its implications are discussed in the following sub-sections.

6.4.1 SUB-QUESTION 1: WHAT FACTORS IN THE ECOSYSTEM INFLUENCE THE MORAL DEVELOPMENT OF ADOLESCENTS ORPHANED BY AIDS IN CHILD-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS?

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model contributes to an understanding of the socio-cultural environment by identifying five major structural systems and describing the nature of their interactions. Bronfenbrenner's study found that the nature of the microsystem [see paragraph 3.5.1] generally changes across development where family and home may be the most important in infancy and the school, community and peer group become the source of an additional influence during adolescence. For the purpose of this study this sub-question is answered in relation to personal, schooling, societal, economic and environmental factors in moral development.

6.4.1.1 Influence of personal factors on moral development

The microsystem focuses on the individual, describing the environment in which adolescents in child-headed households spend most of their time (Bronfenbrenner 1994:39). It is an environment (Jansnoski & Schwartz 1985:473) in which the developing person spends a good deal of time engaging in activities and interactions. Findings from my study reveal that the participants' decision-making about what is good or bad and right or wrong as well as their desperate strategies to survive are affected in the main by their levels of poverty. The participants learn that they have to fend for themselves and their siblings by choosing to act in positive (good) or negative (bad) ways to survive. Their personal circumstances together with their interaction with peers and the community influence the participants' moral reasoning.

The deprivation and hardship that the participants experience make them vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. The female participants' moral reasoning to become pregnant (Kumkani, Angelo and Tlebebe) for survival purposes can be described as irrational and irresponsible. One participant in the study, Kumkani, decided to have a child in the hope that her boyfriend's support would change her life for the better. However, the consequences affected her badly since the father of the child was no longer part of her life at the time the research took place. It became apparent that this decision did not benefit her, seeing that the responsibility of raising a child alone created greater financial constraints. She felt sad because her boyfriend had abandoned her – as a result she lost faith in men and was adamant that she did not need a boyfriend. Kumkani's moral decisions were influenced by her impoverished living conditions that led to decisions with negative consequences – such as becoming pregnant. Subsequently Kumkani decided to drop out of school to take care of her baby and her brother.

The research participants did whatever they could to survive and to take care of their siblings even if they had to take part in illegal activities. Millies, a male participant, was always in the company of friends who provided him with food, safety and security in exchange for favours. The relationship with his friends helped him to cope with the hardship associated with poverty. However, he was also negatively influenced by his peers to steal at

the mines. However, he was not the only participant involved in illegal activities because Tlebebe gambled as a way of taking care of her siblings (child and brother).

Participants who successfully completed school are in the fortunate position to make better choices to take care of themselves and their siblings. Joko was in the fortunate position to be employed at the local holiday resort, which helped him to care for his siblings. He learned that he was responsible for the welfare of the family. Joko displayed ethical traits in his moral judgment since the income that he generated was shared with his siblings (two sisters); he had no relationship with anyone of the opposite sex, opting instead to wait for the right partner and he chose to adopt the adult role of caregiver. Another participant, Chineke, was also a morally upright adolescent who decided to participate in church activities and engage the youth in community projects.

6.4.1.2 Influence of the school (schooling) on moral development

According to Prinsloo (1998) issues that give rise to barriers in the provision of quality education for all the adolescents in South Africa include the following: “The culture of poverty with its resultant underdevelopment; environmental deprivation; unplanned urbanization; unemployment and negative expectations of the future; the disintegration of family life; the effects of the decline of moral and value system; climate of violence; and adolescent abuse in contemporary South Africa and its effect on the learning climate as well as language and cultural differences.”

Bronfenbrenner (1979:22) points out that the mesosystem is influenced by elements such as the school and neighbourhood. Support or lack thereof within these social contexts has serious consequences for adolescents’ development [see paragraph 3.5.1]. Orphaned adolescents who are supported by relatives or community are more likely to complete schooling (Chabilall 2004:189). With more support they may even further their studies at tertiary level. Chineke is an example of an orphan who was supported by the congregation of the church to further his studies at tertiary level. In turn he used his education to enhance the social development of the youth in the community. The other participant who completed school is Joko, whose education helped him to get a job at a local holiday resort,

enabling him to support his family. Both these participants used their education purposefully and constructively to cope with the challenges in their living environment.

Millies and Angelo were the only participants still at school, albeit under very difficult circumstances. They attended school without the benefit of basic needs such as sufficient food, school uniforms or school funds. From the findings it seems that schools do not provide support to orphaned children. Although Millies attended school he had to steal from the mines to ensure some form of income to remain at school. Angelo, who also attended school, experienced great hardship to survive; consequently it appeared as if she might drop out of school to take care of her baby and younger brother.

It is my assumption that the school does not provide adequate or suitable education with the aim of preventing pregnancies among young girls. Tlebebe and Kumkani dropped out of school due to pregnancy, poverty, lack of social and financial support and the responsibility of having to take care of their siblings. Their low qualifications did not allow them to obtain good jobs, resulting in Tlebebe resorting to forms of gambling and Kumkani to accepting domestic work at a very low salary. The adverse circumstances resulted in each of the participants developing a negative academic self-concept, lack of resilience, scholastic backlog, an unmet need for expression and a social awkwardness due to the stigma attached to HIV/AIDS.

6.4.1.3 Influence of social factors on moral development

Social development pertains to the development of the adolescent's social skills and need for human contact (De Witt & Booysen 1995:2). According to the theory of Bronfenbrenner (1979:7) the macrosystem includes living in more than one set of social relationships: the adolescent orphans in child-headed households interact within nested sets of contexts such as the family, extended family, peers and community. According to Pretorius (1998) and Chabilall (2004) friendship and conformity to the peer group play an important role in the social life of the adolescent. This research found that the participants' adult responsibilities, deprived social and educational circumstances, poverty and stigma and discrimination attached to HIV/AIDS seem to affect the socialisation and self-actualisation of the participants.

Joko was grateful for the guidance and encouragement regarding socialisation provided by his parents when they were alive. Hence he made ethical decisions based on what his parents would have expected him to do. He ignored friends and neighbours because he chose not to be hurt by their gossip relating to the stigma attached to HIV/AIDS in the community. He had learned to protect himself from their ignorant remarks by simply ignoring them. Similarly, Angelo had developed a self protective attitude towards her peers and neighbours who did not respect her due to the stigma of AIDS in the community. Chineke interacted actively in the community and was studying at the college for further education and training. He had learned to utilize the support he obtained from the church congregation constructively to help him to survive and applied his education to educate the youth in his community.

The research has revealed that social factors such as peers can impact negatively on the moral development of the participants who lack guidance and support. The influence of peers upon Tlebebe, Millies and Kumkani's affected their moral reasoning so that they displayed socially unacceptable behaviour. Tlebebe indulged in gambling with friends and justified it as being the best way to support her siblings. Millies joined his friends who stole from the mines while Kumkani abused alcohol with her friends at the taverns until late at night.

6.4.1.4 Influence of economic factors on moral development

According to Bronfenbrenner (1994:40) economy is part of the exosystem in which there are relationships between the home and the workplace. All the participants (Kumkani, Tlebebe, Angelo, Millies and Chineke) except one (Joko) did not have a stable income to sustain their families. Only Joko appeared to be financially secure as he had an income from a job at the local holiday resort as well as from rental fees that he collected from the tenants on his property. Joko used this money in a responsible way to take care of his siblings. Chineke was not working for a salary but was nevertheless supported by the church congregation due to his involvement in church and the youth programmes he managed.

The participants who lacked financial support found themselves living in extreme poverty and were forced into adult roles, making choices that they hoped would help them to

survive economically. The hardship of their circumstances forced them at times to make choices to generate income in immoral or illegal ways. This was evident in the fact that Tlebebe gambled to generate funds for the family; Kumkani got pregnant in the hope that she would receive support from her boyfriend; Millies stole from the mines, worked in domestic gardens and established relationships with friends who could provide him with food and safety in exchange for conformity (stealing) with the peers.

6.4.1.5 The influence of environmental factors on moral development

According to Bronfenbrenner the environment is part of the exosystem. Bronfenbrenner (1993) states that the exosystem is the larger community setting in which the adolescent lives. I observed that except for men working in the mines, the area did not provide other economic and employment opportunities. Social infrastructure such as community-based organisations, community centres, soccer and rugby grounds were non-existent. No churches had been built in the area; a few churches had been established by religious mine workers in their homes. Poverty and insufficient community infrastructure and support could have contributed to the secularisation, low adherence to values, moral disintegration, sexual licentiousness, high HIV infections and the high crime rate in the community (Matlala 2011:95). Many houses are used as taverns that sell liquor (alcohol) to any person, no matter what their age. These are places that are easily accessible to anybody and where the participants Kumkani, Tlebebe, Millies, together with their friends, take alcohol.

As mentioned earlier [see paragraph 1.2] there is a low level of education among the members in this community and there seems to be inadequate support for children orphaned by AIDS due to the stigma attached to AIDS. The deprived environment, lack of communal assistance and the absence of community-based support organisations influence the participants to make choices to their detriment, like dropping out of school, gambling, stealing and establishing random of sexual relationships.

6.4.2 SUB-QUESTION 2: HOW DO ADOLESCENTS ORPHANED BY AIDS IN CHILD-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS MAKE JUDGMENTS IN A MORAL DILEMMA?

Moral judgement is a developmental phenomenon fostered by individual experiences [see paragraph 3.5.2]. A moral dilemma is a situation in which a difficult principled decision has to

be made. It refers to a situation where a difficult choice has to be made between two or more alternatives to resolve a problem. The participants in this research lacked support and guidance and found themselves in difficult situations that required them to take on adult roles or roles as caregivers in poverty stricken circumstances. As a result they were forced to make choices that might have sometimes been detrimental, illegal or immoral and which they regarded as necessary to cope with the hardship of poverty and their difficult living conditions. Two of the participants chose to drop out of school to take care of their siblings. Two participants are still at school but the lack of support and the hardship of poverty they experience are likely to force them to drop out of school.

In order to cope some participants indulged in immoral activities such as stealing from the mines (Millies) and gambling and becoming pregnant in the hope that the boyfriends would support them (Kumkani and Tlebebe). Their reasoning was based on survival as determined by their economic needs but displayed a lack of responsibility and immature, irrational thinking. However, those adolescents who did receive support were able to make decisions based on good values. Chineke, who was supported by her church congregation, was furthering his studies at tertiary level and he engaged in social and religious projects with the youth in the community. His decision to further his studies shows maturity and responsibility for his own actions.

Kohlberg (1997) in describing the moral reasoning of youth refers to pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional levels. Each of these levels describes how the youth make decisions between alternatives. In the pre-conventional level, Kohlberg refers to choices about doing one's duty, respecting authority and maintaining social order. Joko and Chineke's respect for adults in their environment and sense of responsibility towards their siblings, whom they took care of in the absence of their late parents, signified that notwithstanding their circumstances, they still chose to act in a responsible manner. The conventional level of Kohlberg's theory [see paragraph 3.5.2] asserts that youths identify with a particular group and social order, and they show loyalty towards this group. The social order of the group is actively maintained, supported and justified by individuals' efforts to live up to the group's standards [see paragraph 3.5.2]. In this regard Kumkani and Millies were negatively influenced in their moral development by their peers. Millies joined his

friends in the illegal act of stealing from the mines while Kumkani left her siblings at home so that she could go to night clubs and taverns where she abused alcohol with friends.

Avoidance of any form of punishment and unconditional respect for power are considered moral [see paragraph 3.5.2]. According to Kohlberg [see paragraph 3.5.2] adolescents try to behave in a way that provides the best overall return by avoiding punishment and showing respect to power that they value in their own right. To avoid being emotionally affected by the gossip and discrimination of their friends, Millies and Joko chose to avoid friends and neighbours by spending a great deal of time at home. Angelo and Joko have remained in their homes and do not socialise in order to avoid aggression and insults from their peers and members of the community. In order for Joko to improve his living conditions he makes every effort to teach his siblings loyalty and to be charitable as a legacy to his mother.

According to Kohlberg (1991) post-convention morality indicates that participants with problems focus on their rights and liberty, and on what they desire despite thinking of responsibility and the consequences of their moral choices. In this regard Kumkani and Tlebebe learned the hard way that their pregnancies, rather than helping them, had detrimental consequences.

6.4.3 SUB-QUESTION 3: HOW VULNERABLE ARE ADOLESCENTS ORPHANED BY AIDS IN CHILD-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS AND HOW DOES THIS AFFECT THEIR MORAL DEVELOPMENT?

Potgieter (2011:395) asserts that adolescence is a developmental phase in which young people find themselves in vulnerable situations that could influence their moral reasoning [paragraph 2.2]. Both the literature [paragraph 2.9] and data collected from the participants revealed that adolescents are emotionally, socially, economically and physically vulnerable. The vulnerability of participants is discussed as researched and reported in the literature and in empirical data in the paragraphs below.

6.4.3.1 Adolescent orphans are emotionally vulnerable

The study I undertook has revealed that the participants were emotionally vulnerable in different ways. They experienced emotional abuse, loss of self-esteem and often felt isolated and disengaged from others (Salkind & Rasmussen 2008:145). Findings established in terms

of the interviews are in line with Donald and Clacherty's research (2009:27), [paragraph 2.9.2] who state that emotional vulnerability such as traumatic emotions (e.g. the death of parents), lack of long-term goals, poor self-worth and poor internal locus of control have important implications in the moral decision-making for both the short-term and long-term development of adolescents in child-headed households.

The low levels of education and the misconceptions about HIV and AIDS in Black communities in South Africa are the main reasons for the stigma, discrimination and disrespect attached to HIV and AIDS (Chabilall 2004:57). During the interviews Joko disclosed that he was aggressive towards his neighbours because of their disrespect of him. I assumed that the neighbours' disrespect could be attributed to the fact that his parents had died of AIDS-related diseases. Joko felt humiliated and disrespected; consequently he developed aggressive attitudes towards his friends and confessed that he was moody because of the way in which friends and neighbours treated him. Four of the participants [Tlebebe, Kumkani, Angelo and Millies] felt that no-one cared about them and they experienced a sense of hopelessness and helplessness for being forced to learn to survive on their own. In a study Salkind and Rasmussen (2008:145) found that the community in rural areas does not support children from child-headed households. I concur with these researchers (Salkind & Rasmussen 2008:145) because the participants in my study had learned to rely on no-one but themselves which led to desperate decisions such as working in gardens for low salaries (Millies), becoming involved in gambling (Tlebebe) and exploiting relationships that left them pregnant and alone.

6.4.3.2 Adolescent orphans are educationally vulnerable

The death of parents, lack of support and the abject poverty in which the participants found themselves forced them to drop-out of school to take care of siblings (e.g. Tlebebe and Kumkani). Tlebebe's desire to become a musician in the future was also not a possible option anymore, as there was no one available to help her to attain this goal. She believed that her future was bleak as there was no one to take care of her child so that she could achieve her goal. Kumkani, who regarded the wellbeing of her brother and child as a priority, had dropped out of school to work to support them, thereby ensuring that her child and her younger brother had food and school requirements at all times.

The absence of parental support, guidance and discipline and the freedom to make own choices make the participants vulnerable in terms of peer influences and belligerent behaviour that consequently affect their education (Chabilall 2004:52). Millies was suspended from school as a form of punishment because he and his friends had gone to school under the influence of alcohol. Angelo was still at school but in difficult circumstances with no money to pay school fees and uniforms; and with her responsibility to take care of her child and brother, she might also drop out of school soon.

Notwithstanding the vulnerable circumstances such as the lack of parental support and poor household conditions, Joko and Chineke had achieved major success in being able to complete school by passing Grade 12. Chineke was less vulnerable within the context of his being an orphan of AIDS, as he received help from the church and the community. It seems that adolescents orphaned by AIDS can be less vulnerable and even successful if they do have the support of peers, family or the community (Stillwagon 2006:12).

6.4.3.3 Adolescent orphans are socially vulnerable

The findings of Naicker and Tshenase (2004) are similar to those in this study, namely that adolescents from child-headed households in South Africa are socially vulnerable due to the lack of adult guidance as well as the stigma, discrimination and poverty they experience. Bronfenbrenner's (1994:40) model suggests that if one grows up in a high risk and low socio-economic environment, one's development is strongly influenced in a negative way by that environment, causing one to lead a potentially unhealthy and unfulfilling life. Bronfenbrenner's model (1994:41) suggests that one's surroundings, including one's home, school, work, church and government have an influence on the way one develops. These influences can be positive or negative.

The absence of parents makes adolescents feel unsafe and vulnerable in their poorly constructed homes made of corrugated iron, especially at night. Millies lived at the mercy of his peers as he relied on his friends for food and survival. There had been many occasions when Millies spent the night at his shack with friends because he was afraid of sleeping alone. This was compensation for favours he had done for them. As a result he had become vulnerable because he was required to perform immoral activities in order to conform to the

expectations of the group. He admitted that he had resorted to illegal practices such as theft at the mines with friends to survive. The female participants feared for their safety. Tlebebe, Kumkani and Angelo feared that burglars in the informal area might attack them at night. They admitted that they did not sleep well because there were many men from the mines walking past the homes at night.

The death of parents due to AIDS makes adolescents from child-headed households vulnerable to stigma and discrimination (Chabilall 2004:5). Angelo exemplifies this notion as she disengaged herself from the broader community because she had lost faith in her friends. Her opinion was that friends and community members were hypocrites as they gossiped about her mother's AIDS-related death. Consequently she had lost faith and confidence in the entire community and decided that it was better to isolate and protect her from gossip and stigmatisation. Similarly, Joko was angry with his neighbours because of their lack of respect. He focused on his job and the wellbeing of his siblings rather than on having friends who discriminated against him.

Girls became vulnerable when they entered into relationships with members of the opposite sex. Tlebebe and Kumkani had children but their boyfriends eventually left them. Kumkani expressed the view that she had thought that by being pregnant with her boyfriend's child he would support her financially. She admitted that she learned that it was an irresponsible decision that aggravated her impoverished conditions.

6.4.3.4 Adolescent orphans are economically vulnerable

Chabilall (2004) in her research discovered that adolescents in child-headed households do not have a source of income. Most adolescents – such as Kumkani and Millies in this study – are vulnerable to exploitation, child labour and even to becoming involved in illegal activities such as gambling and theft. Kumkani and Millies were cleaning the homes and gardens of other people for a very low income. Since Kumkani borrowed money from neighbours it was a burden to her as to how she would be able to repay them; this made her vulnerable to some people who demanded favours as a form of compensation. Such practices imposed awkward, immoral situations upon her at times, affecting her personally and placing her at risk of abuse. The poverty and hardship that Kumkani, Angelo and Tlebebe experienced led

them to make the decision to become pregnant, which caused even deeper hardship when their boyfriends left them without supporting them.

In her desperation to generate funds for the family, Tlebebe participated in gambling activities such as playing cards daily. Although she was fully aware that gambling is illegal and that there are numerous risks associated with the process such as aggression, violent and the danger of mismanaging family money for gambling purposes, she still indulged in the activity. It was evident that she was inclined to neglect her child at times because she spent almost the whole of some days gambling.

6.4.4 DISCUSSION OF THE PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTION

In the light of the literature review, empirical data and sub-questions, the following developmental levels emerged: emotional, social, economic, connotative and physical development of the participants in answering the primary research question, “How do adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households develop morally?”

6.4.4.1 Emotional development

The loss of their parents, lack of support from the school and community as well as the community’s negative attitude towards children orphaned by AIDS made the participants realise that they had to fend for themselves. The participants are examples of adolescents described by Chabilall (2004:249) who have to face psycho-social and financial stresses as a result of the lack of parental support, together with the despair and emotional perplexity resulting from being orphans in AIDS affected households. Joko displayed sadness and anger towards his neighbours whom he claimed were stigmatising him and were jealous of him because he owned an RDP house. He had developed into an introvert due to his frustrations and helplessness to absorb the pressures of life emanating from his roles as parent and caregiver to his younger sisters. Another participant named Angelo experienced humiliation and embarrassment as a result of the gossip of peers.

Adolescents are emotionally vulnerable to stigma and discrimination. Angelo and Joko learned to protect themselves from being hurt emotionally by avoiding the gossip of friends and neighbours. Kumkani and Tlebebe were exploited emotionally in the relationship with

their boyfriends. They experienced feelings of remorse and helplessness and were emotionally traumatised and embarrassed by their boyfriends' leaving them. They learnt not to rely on others and to be careful about the kind of relationships they embarked upon. Just as Chabilall (2004:250) found in her research, the participants in this study appeared to be under social pressure and were inexperienced in handling the confusing situations they had to confront. They displayed ineffective coping strategies that resulted in damaging social, educational and emotional upheavals. Chineke is the only participant who displayed an emotionally stable attitude and who was desperate to alleviate himself and the youth in his community from their impoverished situations.

6.4.4.2 Social development

As a consequence of the abject poverty and already overburdened South African extended family system affected by the AIDS pandemic, many cannot accommodate and support children from child-headed households (Chabilall 2004:77). Adolescents in this study lacked relationships, social networks or groups that they could normally go to for support, comfort and relief. They learned to adapt developing strategies for self survival. Tlebebe felt abandoned by her only sister who was living in the Free State province³⁶ without any thought for the siblings (child and brother). Angelo and Joko admitted that they were not friendly with the adults and peers around their home because of the negative attitude and discrimination against them. They isolated themselves from the community because they perceived people around them as being prejudiced and selfish.

Chineke linked his behaviour to the moral lessons he had learned from his families as well as religious beliefs and moral values such as love, respect and helping others and supporting their siblings. Chineke's good relationship with the church congregation and youth assisted him to support his siblings. For three participants (Kumkani, Millies and Tlebebe) it seems that there was a clear lack of regard for the consequences when they behaved in socially unacceptable ways. Kumkani often left her siblings at home and spent time at taverns for long hours until late at night where she indulged in drinking. Millies stole items at the mines while Tlebebe gambled as an excuse for survival. All three female participants (Angelo, Tlebebe and Kumkani) realised that it was socially unacceptable to have a baby before

³⁶One of the nine provinces of South Africa.

marriage as the negative consequences contributed to the hardship they were already experiencing.

Prinsloo and Du Plessis (1998:42) and Chabilall (2004:253) regard the peer group to be an acceptable part of the adolescent's life since it makes it possible for camaraderie, collaboration and reciprocal tolerance to exist. Millies' relationship is testimony to this since he relied on these relationships to obtain food and protection from friends when they slept at his house. In exchange for the latter he provided accommodation and joined them in committing theft.

6.4.4.3 Economic development

Pretorius (1998:42) refers to research that maintains that within the age group 15 to 20 years there is a general pre-occupation with career planning and preparation. Pretorius' (2001) study reveals that the lack of parental involvement and support plays an important role in adolescents' moral reasoning for economic survival. Participants in my study did not have any form of stable income; they were not supported by the school and the community and none of them qualified for state social grants because they did not have birth certificates or anyone to help them to obtain state social grants. The dire poverty accompanied by their lack of education and social skills among the participants led to irrational and impulsive financial decision-making. The economic hardship had driven the participants (Millies, Kumkani and Tlebebe) to implement strategies for survival that were illegal and against societal norms and values.

Two participants had developed resilience in their desperate desire to survive. Joko and Chineke who had both passed Grade 12 demonstrated responsible economic strategies to overcome the hardships they experienced. Joko worked at the local holiday resort and had learned to use his income sparingly to support himself and his two sisters. Chineke performed community work and received support from his church congregation.

6.4.4.4 Connotative development

Adolescents with low academic achievement have lower aspirations in comparison to those with high academic achievements (Chabilall 2004:149). Positive academic achievement

appears to influence positive moral behaviour as is evident in the responses of Chineke and Joko who had both passed Grade 12. According to Santrock (2002:304) achievement can improve adolescents' self-esteem. This was evident in Chineke's situation as he had developed high self-esteem because he knew what tasks were important to achieve his goals. He wanted to be successful at tertiary level and believed that he produced constructive outcomes with his youth projects in the community. According to Santrock (2002:304) academic achievement is a social passport that provides recipients with economic access, career choices and societal acceptance. Chineke proved that he was motivated to engage in meaningful societal tasks. He displayed determination to uplift himself from his impoverished surroundings and was confident in his standing as a tertiary student, optimistic about the future and focused on his desire to become an engineer.

Adolescents who lacked support (Tlebebe and Kumkani) had dropped out of school and practised immoral or illegal behaviour to survive and support their siblings. They had no future vision and set themselves no specific goals and challenges. The lack of support and hardship gave rise to a poor self-concept and a lack of self confidence in each of the participants. Joko and Angelo lacked the courage to deal with the stigma and discrimination in society and decided to remain at home, while Kumkani, Tlebebe and Millies were comfortable in the company of gamblers and alcohol abusers.

Kumkani, Tlebebe, Angelo and Millies yearned for prosperity and stability in adulthood but their aspirations were restrained by the fact that they did not have any support and lived in extreme poverty. Their educational development was hindered by a lack of funds and they became secluded due to the shame relating to HIV/AIDS as Chabilall (2004:254) realised. Millies and Angelo were still at school and desired to finish school to have good jobs. Unfortunately their desire to prosper and to self-actualise might have been curbed by the fact that they had no support and were growing up in the most impoverished environment.

6.4.4.5 Physical development

The physical development of adolescents is accompanied by sexual awakening, novel physical changes and a general sense of restlessness accompanied by heightened self-consciousness (Pretorius 1998:42). It is important for adolescents to accept their physical

changes and appearances. Researchers (Chabilall 2004:247; Thom, Louw, Van Ede & Ferns 2001:397) reveal that typical failure of adolescents to accept their bodies as they develop is one of the reasons for a negative self-concept and negative self-esteem. According to Hurlock (1973:231) adolescents display a sense of “social competency” that allows them to behave appropriately under various circumstances and to gain a new self-confidence. Within the context of child-headed households where parents are either dead or incapable of providing supervision and guidance regarding the physical changes occurring at the time, this is a traumatic and confusing period of adaptation for the already disorientated adolescent (Chabilall 2004:47).

Impoverished social conditions and the lack of parental guidance seemed to make the physical development of especially the females in this study a traumatic and confusing period of adaptation. The absence of the parents as well as the low levels of education and lack of social skills seemed to be contributory factors to the three girls (Kumkani, Millies and Angelo) becoming pregnant. The fact that they had children at an early age implied that the adolescents took irresponsible decisions that might have been avoided if there had been adult supervision.

The physical development exhibited by Chineke supports the theory of Louw, Edwards and Orr (2001:19) who point out that the adolescent’s physical transformation and growth has a direct bearing on their social development. The strength of character that Chineke exhibited stemmed from his acknowledgement of his own physical maturity and positive self-concept. The church congregation and the youth looked up to him as a leader and a person of good moral standing. Chineke displayed a sense of “social competency”, allowing him to behave appropriately under various circumstances and to gain a new self-confidence conforming to the views of both Hurlock (1973:231) and Louw, Edwards and Orr (2001:19). The age, physical maturity and impoverished social conditions of Tlebebe, Kumkani, Angelo and Millies resulted in their being forced to drop out of school when they were compelled to be at home to take care of their ailing parents and perform adult household tasks.

6.4.5 SUB-QUESTION 4: BASED ON THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY, WHAT MEASURES CAN BE TAKEN TO PROMOTE RESPONSIBLE MORAL BEHAVIOUR AND DEVELOPMENT OF ADOLESCENTS IN CHILD-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS?

The following preventative measures to improve the practice of moral behaviour of adolescents in child-headed households should be taken:

- Schools should be more supportive of orphaned adolescents in child-headed households. These adolescents may be exempted from paying school fees, the buying of books and where possible sponsorship for uniforms and food ought to be arranged.
- Schools should incorporate education programmes in the Life Orientation curriculum specifically with the emphasis on morals and values. In this way adolescents orphaned by AIDS will be equipped with knowledge and good decision-making skills.
- Schools should introduce programmes for peer education. Adolescents learn better when they are with their peers. Well structured and trained peer support groups could influence good moral behaviour.
- Churches should reach out to adolescents in child-headed households to support and encourage good moral behaviour. Churches can help adolescents to behave in morally acceptable ways.
- Communities should establish support structures for adolescents orphaned by AIDS and education programmes regarding HIV infection. This will avoid the stigmatisation and discrimination of children orphaned by AIDS.
- Government departments need to support child-headed households collaboratively. Firstly the Department of Social Development ought to ensure that there are procedures in place to allow orphaned children access to social grants. In addition it is important that social workers be equipped with the necessary skills to provide counselling to such vulnerable adolescents, especially during the pre- and post-death periods of their parents. The Department of Home Affairs needs to have a proper system to provide birth certificates and identity documents to children in

child-headed households. These children do not have adults to apply for identity documents on their behalf or may not have received the necessary supporting documents from their parents to apply for grants or they may be children whose parent/s come from foreign countries and who cannot go back to their parents' countries.

- Child-headed households need to be adopted by the Department of Health and Department of Social Development to allow health specialists and social workers to frequently visit these households. The appointment of full-time social workers in informal settlements (communities) is imperative to ensure the wellbeing of the adolescents.
- As a direct response to the growing number of orphaned children, the concept of “cluster foster care” should be introduced in informal settlements. This is a form of care by a group of caregivers who are linked together to provide mutual support, to care for a number of children and who receive some form of external support that is monitored.
- Family life has to be strengthened in order to play its role effectively. The tracking of extended family members should be intensified in order to reduce the escalating number of child-headed households. Members of extended families need to be visible in order to serve as parental figures in the development of these adolescents.

6.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It is important to note that this study of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households is subject to limitations as with any other research study. This study includes only six adolescent participants and can hardly be considered a countrywide representation of the South African child-headed household situation. To maximise generalisability, the sample needs to represent diverse sectors of the population. The results of this study stem from the six adolescents' reports only. The participants in this study are from the Greater Boitekong area of Rustenburg, the only province sampled for this study, which is the North West Province of South Africa.

The stigma associated with the HIV/AIDS pandemic in South Africa does not allow for easy identification of research subjects. The social worker who helped me was also very careful when selecting the participants. I was sometimes emotionally disturbed by the conditions and situations in which my participants live. At times it was very challenging to conduct research while there was a deafening noise from the surrounding neighbourhood. Access to the homes of the participants was very difficult due to the lack of proper infrastructure such as roads. The shacks were so congested that it was difficult to drive my car through at times. Hence it often became necessary to leave my car very far away and walk to the participants' homes.

6.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

While the findings of this study are important I believe that further research is necessary to better understand the moral development of adolescents in child-headed households. In order to supplement the findings of this study further research may investigate the following:

- Further research should be conducted to determine how community-based support structures can educate and support adolescents in child-headed households.
- A quantitative study can establish the degree to which adolescents need to find solutions to moral dilemmas.
- Further research should be conducted to explore the moral behaviour and vulnerability of adolescents, especially girls, in child headed-households.
- Further study can be conducted to look for strategies for moral regeneration of the youth.

6.7 CONCLUSION

This study has made a scientific contribution by exploring the behaviour and moral development of adolescents in child-headed households. Important input has helped to explore the relationships between these adolescents and the broader communities in which they live where they interact with peers, neighbours, Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), churches, schools and government departments. The research has revealed that the moral reasoning of adolescents in child-headed households is mainly influenced by poverty,

lack of support, the need to survive and the interaction with peers and the community. The emergent developmental levels from the literature and empirical data have proved that the support or lack thereof that the participants experienced had a significant influence on their moral development. Their circumstances forced them in some instances to act wrongly, irresponsibly and irrationally. The fact that extended families are absent, poor and in many cases already overburdened with orphan children of relatives puts an extra burden on schools, churches, government departments and non-government organisations to play a supportive role with regard to children from child-headed households. Failure to intervene and play a supportive role could lead to the moral degeneration of the future society of South Africa.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Letter from Ethical Clearance Committee

Appendix B

Letters of consent

Appendix C

Interview guides

Appendix D

Participants' narrations

Appendix E

Pictures



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

CLEARANCE NUMBER :

EC 10/11/02

DEGREE AND PROJECT

PhD

The moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Momo Andrew Sekopane

DEPARTMENT

Early Childhood Education

DATE CONSIDERED

3 December 2012

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

APPROVED

Please note:

For Masters applications, ethical clearance is valid for 2 years

For PhD applications, ethical clearance is valid for 3 years.

**ACTING CHAIRPERSON OF ETHICS
COMMITTEE**

Dr. Suzanne Bester

DATE

3 December 2012

CC

Jeannie Beukes

C.G. Hartell

This ethical clearance certificate is issued subject to the following conditions:

1. A signed personal declaration of responsibility
2. If the research question changes significantly so as to alter the nature of the study, a new application for ethical clearance must be submitted
3. It remains the students' responsibility to ensure that all the necessary forms for informed consent are kept for future queries.

Please quote the clearance number in all enquiries.



education

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Onderwys Departement
Department of Education
NORTH WEST PROVINCE

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CHIEF DIRECTORATE: QUALITY ASSURANCE

ENQUIRIES : Seipai Kgositau
TEL : 018-397 3011

TO : MR M A SEKOPANE
PHD STUDENT
PRETORIA UNIVERSITY

FROM : DR I S MOLALE
QUALITY ASSURANCE CHIEF DIRECTORATE
NORTH-WEST DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

DATE : 03 NOVEMBER 2010

SUBJECT : PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Dear Ms Sekopane

Your request dated 26th October 2010 has reference. In connection with the above, this brief memo serves to grant you permission to conduct research in the area identified i.e. Bojanala District.

In carrying out the said research project, it is advisable to adhere to all the ethics of research. Most importantly all efforts should be made not to disrupt learning and teaching in the sampled schools.

Finally, the Department of Education would appreciate a copy of the research project as a token.

Thanking you

Yours sincerely

DR I S MOLALE

EXECUTIVE QUALITY ASSURANCE MANAGER





FACULTY OF EDUCATION

**Early Childhood Education
Department**

17 March 2011

Ms Georgina Kotsokwane

I am a student of the University of Pretoria enrolled for PhD, and I am about to start the process of conducting research. My area of interest is to investigate the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households.

I would therefore like to invite you to participate in this research study as my research assistant. This research will be conducted in the informal settlements of [Greater Boitekong] Rustenburg area.

Roles and duties

Your roles and duties will be:

To accompany me as I visit my participants in their homes during the process of research.

To help with directions to the homes of the participants.

To assist when participants become emotional and require counselling.

To give moral support

The value of your participation

Your familiarity with the participants and the situation in the area under study.

Your experience as a professional social worker.

Participants will feel more comfortable in your presence.

The following ethical conduct will be adhered to;

To ensure confidentiality of data collected and to maintain anonymity of participants.

Should you declare yourself willing to participate in this study, your name will be used as a co-researcher.



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**Early Childhood Education
Department**

Should you agree please sign the letter of consent.

Yours truly

Sekopane MA [Researcher]

Prof C.G. Hartell [Supervisor]

Head of Department
ECE Department

PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH

I, _____, hereby declare my willingness to participate in the research project as a co-researcher with Mr Sekopane MA. I also understand ethical implications associated with the study and promise to abide by them.

Signature _____



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FACULTY OF EDUCATION
Early Childhood Education
Department

22 March 2011

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE SCHOOL

The Principal

_____ Secondary School

Rustenburg

0318

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: PERMISSION FOR CONDUCTING RESEARCH AT YOUR SCHOOL

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria and I am currently conducting a research project on the moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households. For this purpose, I have selected your school as a participant in this study. The study will take place during the period March 2011 to May 2011.

For the purpose of the study, I kindly request your permission to conduct interviews and discussions with selected learners of your school. Institutional Level Support Team members [ILST] of your school will be asked to assist in the identification of the participants. The information provided will benefit the research study and will be treated confidentially and anonymously. Any participant will also be free to withdraw from the



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**Early Childhood Education
Department**

research project at any stage that she/he wishes to do so. The North West Department of Education has granted permission to have the interviews conducted at the selected schools.

If you are willing to assist me, please complete the form below.

Kind Regards

Sekopane MA [Researcher]

Prof. CG Hartell [Supervisor]



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**Early Childhood Education
Department**

Dear Mr Sekopane

Having read your above letter, I hereby grant / do not grant you permission to do research at _____ Secondary School, by conducting interviews and facilitating discussions with selected members at my school.

Name and Surname : _____

Signature : _____

Date : _____



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**Early Childhood Education
Department**

24 March 2011

Dear Participant [Adolescents]

I am a student of the University of Pretoria, and I am concerned with the moral development of adolescents in child-headed households. My main focus is more on adolescents in child-headed households who live alone due to lack of parents or with parents who are sick. It is evident that the situation is rife in informal settlements around Rustenburg area.

You are invited to take part in the process of this research as a research participants. Should you declare yourself willing to participate in this study, your name will not be used, so you can be assured of anonymity and confidentiality. Should you wish to withdraw at any stage, you won't be penalised in any way.

Should you agree please sign the letter of consent.

Yours truly

Mr Sekopane MA

Prof Cyclic G.Hartell [Supervisor]

PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH

I, _____, hereby declare my willingness to participate in an interview. I understand that I can withdraw at any stage. I also understand that my identity will not be disclosed. Signature _____



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**Early Childhood Education
Department**

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS: ADOLESCENTS

RESEARCH TOPIC:

The moral development of adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households.

RESEARCH QUESTION:

How do adolescents orphaned by AIDS in child-headed households develop morally?

SECTION 1: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1.1. What is your date of birth?

Year: _____

Month: _____

Day: _____

Don't know: _____

No response: _____

1.2. Sex:

Male: _____

Female: _____

1.3. In which village / town were you born? _____

1.4. Where do you live now? _____

1.5. When did you start living here? _____

1.6. Who do you live with, in your home? _____

1.7. How many people live with you? _____

1.8. Do you have siblings? _____

1.9. How many sisters and brothers do you have?

Brothers _____

Sisters _____

1.10. What is your position in the family?

First born _____

Second born _____

Other _____

Don't know _____

1.11. What language do you speak at home? _____

1.12. Which other languages do you speak? _____

1.13. Are you at school? _____

1.14. If no, why?

Lack of admission _____

Lack of financial support _____

Not interested in school _____

Don't like school _____

Illness _____

Other _____

1.15. What is your highest grade passed? _____

1.16. In which year did you leave school? _____

1.17. Mention reasons that made you to drop-out of school

Boredom _____

Expelled from school _____

Not interested in school _____

Illness _____

Taking care of my sick parent _____

Other _____

1.18. If yes, what is the name of your school? _____

1.19. What grade are you in? _____

SECTION 2 : EMOTIONAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Tell me a little about your parents, how they raise you, what they taught you about life.

2.2. Tell me about your personal ambitions and aspirations regarding your life.

2.3. If you look at the other children living with their mothers and fathers, what do you think they have that you do not have? _____

2.4. Who buys food and clothes for your family? _____

2.5. What is your ideal family? _____

2.6. How is the health status of your family? _____

2.7. What are your experiences about sick members of the family? _____

2.8. Have you ever taken care of a sick person in your family? _____

2.9. What were your experiences? _____

2.10. Are your parents alive? _____

2.11. If not, who takes care of the family? _____

2.12. Are members of your extended family or relatives supportive to you? _____

2.13. If not why? _____

SECTION 3 : SOCIAL INTERACTION AND PEER GROUP INVOLVEMENT

3.1. Do you have friends? _____

3.2. If yes, what do you like most about your friends? _____

3.3. What do you benefit most from your friends? _____

- 3.4. What else can you tell me about your friends? _____
- 3.5. Do you ever get support from your friends? _____
- 3.6. If yes, what kind of support? _____
- 3.7. How do you feel when you are in company of your friends? _____
- 3.8. Explain how you feel about the morals and behaviour of your friends? _____
- 3.9. Have you ever stolen something? _____
- 3.10. If yes, what did you steal and why? _____
- 3.11. Other than your family members, have you ever helped someone? _____
- 3.12. If yes, why did you help that person? _____
- 3.13. Do you like your lifestyle? _____
- 3.14. If given a chance, what would you change about your behaviour? _____
- 3.15. Are there people you wish to live like them in your community and why? _____
- 3.16. What do you regard as a good friend? _____
- 3.17. What are the merits and demerits of friendship? _____

SECTION 4 : SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT

- 4.1. How does religion influence your behaviour and social life? _____
- 4.2. Can a church play a valuable role in the moral development of the youth? _____
- 4.3. Have you ever received something valuable from the church? _____
- 4.4. If yes, which church and why? _____
- 4.5. What role can a youth play in church? _____
- 4.6. Which community structures influence your behaviour and the youth in general?

SECTION 5 : FORMS OF ABUSE

- 5.1. What do you understand by abuse? _____

5.2. Have you ever been assaulted by someone? _____

5.3. If yes, what was the cause of assault? _____

5.4. Which forms immoral or unacceptable behaviour take place in your community? _____

5.5. What is your opinion about intolerance in your society? _____

5.6. Given a chance what would you change about your relationship with elderly people in your community? _____

SECTION 6 : SOCIAL LIFE

6.1. Do you ever get support from your neighbours? _____

6.2. If yes, what kind of support? _____

6.3. Do you feel accepted by your neighbours? _____

6.4. Do you feel accepted by your community and society? _____

6.5. If not, why? _____

6.6. What other support do you get? _____

6.7. How is your family supported and sustained? _____

6.8. Tell me about your social life? _____

6.9. What is your opinion about alcohol consumed by the youth? _____

6.10. Do you smoke? _____

6.11. If so why? _____

6.12. Do you have a boyfriend / girlfriend? _____

6.13. Why do you think is necessary for a person to have an intimate relationship? _____

6.14. What do you benefit from your partner? _____

6.15. How many partners should a person have and why? _____

SECTION 7 : LEARNING ENVIRONMENT AND CONNATITATIVE DEVELOPMENT

7.1. Are your teachers aware of your family background? _____

7.2. Are they treating you differently from other learners and why? _____

7.3. What forms of support do your teachers give to you? _____

7.4. How would you like them to treat you? _____

7.5. Are other learners aware of your family situation? _____

7.6. How do your class mates treat you? _____

7.7. How would you like other students to treat you? _____

7.8. If they provoke you, can you fight them? _____

7.9. When last did you use vulgar words to the other person and why? _____

7.10. Who pays for your school funds? _____

7.11. Who buys your school uniform? _____

7.12. Have you ever been absent from school? _____

7.13. How often do you absent yourself from school?

Once per week	
Twice per week	
Other	

7.14. Why do you absent yourself from school? _____

7.15. How often do you become late for school?

Once per week	
Thrice per week	
Daily	
Other	

7.16. Why do you arrive late for school? _____

7.17. What could be done to assist you? _____

7.18. What would you like to become in future and why? _____

7.19. Do you have any educational support to pursue your endeavours in education? _____

7.20. Would you please inform me about your experiences at school? _____

7.21. Tell me what you do from waking up in the morning until you go to sleep at night?

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JOKO

I Grew up in Rustenburg but I also spent my childhood in Daveyton in Gauteng Province I stayed in Freedom Park back in 1999 at the Skwatha Camp. Then we moved in to the RDP Houses in 2002 around August.

We stayed couple of years with our mom then she passed away in 2007. She got sick for couple of months before she left. The cause of death is, she was involved in an abusive relationship her boyfriend used to beat her a lot so her chest got infected with (Pneumonia) not (HIV/AIDS).

Since she passed on life has never be the same again, especially financial. We struggling to put bread on the table. We get the income from the tenants every month & this money is too little/small to take care of us because we need to eat, wear, bath & go to school.

I'm the breadwinner now at home, I took my mom's position & I also walk on her foot steps. She taught me (charity) so that today I can teach my siblings (loyalty). Here we are today ^{still} surviving without our mom though we miss her a lot.

Ke ne ka tsena sekolo kwa Mkuzenzele P.S.
Jatweneng game kene ka ea gotsena kwa bathabangeng
Gatowa gaka bathabangeng ebelele bo sekola ka Tranopu
ka Ntsha ya gore ke ne ke sekola me ke sena ma
Goka duela kqotsa gona go Patela Sekofa ka Ntsha
ya gore kelle ke sena batsadi go nkema nokeng
e ne ere fa kgwedi e fela re ntshille mo sekofe
zanga koto. a re balelela gore ene gabisi a amogele
Madi gotswa kwa go topolog ke ne ke sena le e o
ja go ya kwa sekolong ka nako eo ka bana gale batl
thabangeng sekolo. Batsadi bame bathabangeng ka ba
bedi. Papa gahemotlo ke gale ke beletwa gore o se
thabangala ree masea. Mama o thabangatsa ka nqw
o 2004. Dus: waka onetla qantusa go monka me
beletwa madimo o matlabele matlholong yame k
e ka gumana gale batlha gore ke tatane me ka belet
ie bore nqwana. kene ke thabangalele bana be se
enewe le senewe emlana gaseetsa kene ka tswa
natsadi ke le nqwana bogelelong nna le letau lame
entse rebeletse ka gathabangala letapa Palapa nqw
neya o thabangala nqwana ke a sambu a le manye o
le a kanna le kgwedi kabimolla ka sekola kqadisa
nqwana le baba gae. ke ne ka simolla ya
thabangala ditlholo ka kganna e neelle ere fa k
tswa kao reppre go ja kgona yanana ke ntse ke n
e ntsho ya kentseng ke ratana le ena lefa keitshoke
se gore onthabala dija le diapara empa a Mithella a
dube antkoba ka magoko ja a direkile dija tse kqotsa
one diapara tse ja a tla a nwele bojalwa ke tsatsi
e o alla mpetsang ka lara empa gaga sepe seonka
seetsang kankha ya gore o gona ka Mthekela
Papa keje le banthake. kella itshaka gofilla modiri
o araba thabangatsa ka Ntsha ya gore gahemotlo
go bona ke rekisa mmole Strategy.

I normally dont get out of the house and I dont have many friends as a girl should have, but dont mind not having friends. The only friend I was very close to is my mom now shes gone and I dont like friends much. Sometimes one would say that shes your friend while she knows shes not a friend. but for now I only have one friend that I walk with, eat lunch with her at (at-school)

We sometimes call each other and chat only. And I know that some people dont understand me I like being alone I dont like being around people much and I dont even like my own sister sometimes because she talks too much and I dont like talking especially when it comes to our relatives.

I am 17

years old. I live in Freedom Park in my mother's house R.D.P. phase 1. I stay with my brother and my younger brother, we don't have a parent. I have a one child. My brother is working but he don't earned enough money to support us. My younger brother is in grade 1 in Vukuzenzele primary school. I have a family but they don't care about us. My mother passed away on 2007. We were living without our mother. My problem is I can't forgive my mother because I don't have any support from my family for example when we don't have food I start to remember my mother. And my other problem I have to make show my younger brother he has a school uniform, clothes, food. I quit at school because of lack of financial aid at my mother place I am a breadwinner

I'm 18 years old, I live here in freedom park informal settlement. I live with my friend, I support from my stepfather presently since my so-called uncle gone to his work place in Thekwane, Now things has completely change since my so-called uncle moved around freedom park, I get so nervous everyday when I think what I'm going to do after school or what I'm going to eat.

My mom as passed away (4) four years ago, My father since I finish to see him, when I was 4 years old And now I don't know where he is, is alive or not.

age is years old and live in Freedom Park with my younger sister of the age of 16 years old. We live in a three room RDP house. We lost both our parents during 2006 September after being ill for a very long time.

Since then, until now, we still live on by ourself. Before my parents passed on, they had already build three shacks that we are depending on even today, although we know that the tenants would ^{leave} ~~go~~ any time they ~~see~~ like. At some stage I had to stand and go to apply for my younger sister foster care grant, of which is some of the income that we receive at the end of the month.

I'm studying at Electrical Infrastructure and Construction at Orbit PET College, of which I'm spending R600.00 per month on the transport fees. At some point my sisters and I have to go on extra mile or more the sacrifice and give the money spend on the money on the transport per to school, hoping everyday that someday I will finish my course and get the very decent job.

Irrespective of whatever the dilemma my family is stucked in, but the so called friends, community and educators are there for us and supporting us at all time of which is something that keeps me going and giving the reason to believe that I can make it.

APPENDIX E

An example of a shack



An example of an Informal settlement



RDP houses with shacks for rental

