

CHAPTER 2

SILENT VOICES OF ORPHANS AND VULNERABLE CHILDREN

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I describe the stories and experiences of the OVC whom I interviewed. In the first instance, I focus on describing the action and action field. Thereafter, I describe my interaction with the action.

The story of urban Zambia and the context in which the research was conducted is described. In addition, I describe our sessions and explain how I planned and executed them.

In the first chapter I introduced Maria and her story and also my epistemological positioning as a practical theologian and a narrative researcher. I also explained my use of the five stages of the ABDCE formula of fiction writing metaphor as described by Müller et al (2001:1-10). Consequently the previous chapter has opened the way for the co-researchers' individual stories that form a major and integral part of this research project. The focus of the first chapter was on the second phase: "background"; whereby the socio-political and economical setting of the story is described. In this chapter the focus is on the first stage of the ABDCE model: action as the "now" of the story (Müller et al 2001:3). Here the specific context and the action field are described thereby contextualizing the research process. In addition I refer to the data collection and the analysis methods used in the process of gathering the co-researchers stories.

2.2 THE STORY OF URBAN ZAMBIA

The large urban population in Zambia stems from continuous urban migration from rural areas to urban centres (cf Lungwangwa & Macwan'gi 2004:5; National AIDS council 2010:4). People travel to cities and towns from all corners of Zambia hoping for a better life, only to find a worse situation with no jobs, housing, food and other human basic needs. Rather than trek back to the rural areas, they settle in the outskirts of the urban centres in illegal unplanned settlements and structures. Lusaka like the rest of the Zambian urban centres, is surrounded by many such settlements.

These settlements are commonly known as shanty compounds or slums. The compounds accommodate large populations of vulnerable people and children. One such example is Lusaka's Ng'ombe compound of about 6 square kilometers with a population of close to 90000. 87% of the people here are classified as very poor, 10% as poor and only 3% are middle class (Ng'ombe RDC office: 2004).

2.1.1 Needs in urban areas

The needs in these areas are numerous. They range from basic human needs of food, water, shelter to absent or deplorable infrastructures of roads, sanitation and drainage systems (cf Ngulube 1989:116-119; Joint USAID/UNICEF/SIDA project 1999). Over the last ten years, I have learned firsthand of the high levels of poverty, unemployment, disease, illiteracy and other needs, during my pastoral work in Ng'ombe compound.

The majority of the children participating in this research and their families live in these compounds, where they were born and brought up. Furthermore, the majority of the care giving NGOs, both FBOs and CBOs are located in urban areas of Zambia. The reason for this is that most of the OVC live there. Two of the three NGOs involved in this research are also based in two of these urban compounds. The third is based in one of the high density residential areas of Lusaka urban. In the process of identifying and describing these NGOs, I examine how they were established and grew to be able to help many marginalized children.

2.2 IDENTIFYING CARE GIVING NGOs

In the mid-1980s various NGOs were established to provide care for the growing population of the OVC as a consequence of the HIV and AIDS epidemic (National AIDS council 2010:20). The majority of the care giving NGOs, which include the 3 involved in this study, were established in response to the epidemic crisis.

The process of identifying suitable care giving NGOs and children participants for this research was a lengthy one. It started in February 2009 and ended in September, 2010.

I identified two of the NGOs with the help of the Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development. This is the government ministry involved with planning and policy matters concerning all children in Zambia. I made three visits to this ministry in February, 2009 with three objectives:

- To get official government literature pertaining to the OVC living in Zambia.

- To get guidance concerning research with children affected and/or infected with HIV and AIDS, vis-à-vis ethical issues and child protection policies. In Zambia, matters concerning children are sensitive due to existing instances of child abuse, exploitation and child trafficking.
- To be directed to the existing care giving NGOs within Lusaka urban that I could work with in my research.

In seeking the Ministry's guidance, I wanted to be certain that I wasn't infringing on any laws in embarking on this type of research which involves children affected and/or infected by HIV and AIDS.

The ministry directed me to a number of FBOs and CBOs involved in the care of the OVC within Lusaka urban. From the organizations that I visited and interacted with, I choose three. The two faith based organizations are: Cheshire Homes Society of Zambia: Divine Providence Home for the Aged, Homeless & Orphans and St. Lawrence Home of Hope. The third, which is community based, is Kondwa Day Centre for Orphans (Seko House). The founder / director of this organization was introduced to me by a friend from my church.

2.3.1 Criteria for selecting participating NGOs

I selected the above mentioned organizations to participate in this research based on the following criteria:

- Faith and community based model of care for the OVC which was assessed as the most ideal by the Joint USAID/UNICEF/SIDA project (1999:41).

- Availability of children within the age range of 12 to 18 years.
- Willingness by the care givers and guardians to cooperate with me in this research project, and allow children under their care to voluntarily participate in the research.
- Located within different compounds where the majority of orphans and vulnerable children live.
- Locations within easy access for the researcher to interact and conduct several interviews with all prospective co-researchers.

In selecting three different care giving organizations, I expected (a) to learn about the various modes of care giving; and (b) determine any existing differences in the basic care provided by these institutions.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the care giving NGOs and the work they are involved in, I describe each NGO separately. Although they share some aims and objectives, they are not identical. Each one is different and has its unique care giving perspective which justified its selection for participation in this research. In describing these institutions, I explain how they started and developed to provide holistic care for the needy children living in urban Zambia.

2.3.2 Cheshire Homes Society of Zambia: Divine Providence Home for the Aged, Homeless & Orphans.

This is a faith based organization. It is based in Chawama compound which is one of the largest compounds within Lusaka urban. It was established in 1988 by a Roman Catholic priest in response to an abandoned widow who needed shelter. It now shelters 20 old people and 25 orphans (Cheshire Homes Society of Zambia brochure, 2010).

In 1992 in response to the HIV and AIDS epidemic it started caring for the OVC. In addition to the 25 children in residence, there are 25 vulnerable children and 36 orphans from the surrounding community who receive food and other requirements on a daily basis (Cheshire Homes Society brochure, 2010). The neighbouring communities live in compounds of Jack, John Laing, John Howard, Misisi and Kuku.

The Home is run by Roman Catholic nuns of the Holy Family Sisters. Sister Judith Bozek is the head of the Home. She is assisted by Sister Angela Milonska. During our various meetings and conversations, the two Sisters provided information about the Home. Firstly, about how children and people under their care get to the Home, and secondly, about their operations: care and services which they provide as follows:

- The people and children under their care find their way to the home through various ways: 1) Some take themselves, 2) community members take them, 3) Sisters pick some from the streets, and 4) through referral by the Department of Community Development.
- The Home depends on donations and fundraising activities for their operations. They also receive small annual grants from the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services.

The services they provide include:

- Basic human needs of food, shelter, clothing, health care, education, psychosocial counselling and spiritual guidance.
- Feeding (one and/or two meals daily) to non-resident marginalized and elderly people and children.

- Education provided include: nursery, primary and secondary levels at their community school.
- Educational and training sponsorships for: nursery, primary, secondary, university and college.
- At any one time 70+ children receive complete support (free food, shelter, education, health care, etc.)
- Rented accommodation in Chawama for the most needy children who can't be accommodated at the Home.

Bozek & Milonska (Interviews: 2009-03-02; 2010-02-11; 2010-05-27; 2010-06-12). Conversations and interviews were held at the Cheshire Homes Society's office. These were recorded in hand written notes.

2.3.2.1 Research participants living in Divine Providence Home

There are eight children living in this Home who volunteered to participate in the research. Their ages range between 14 and 18 years. Three girls namely: Brenader Sasha, Love and Maria. The five boys are: Albert, Horace, Oliver, Paul Chanda, and Villa.

2.3.3 St. Lawrence Home of Hope

St. Lawrence Home was established by the Roman Catholic Women's League based in Lusaka in 1998. This was the women's response to the street children crisis as a result of the HIV and AIDS epidemic. The Home is faith based and is located in the high density residential area of Kamwala South, Lusaka. The Home is managed by the Catholic women through an executive committee headed by a chairperson. Ms S. Grillo, the chairperson who is also a founder member provided the background information and the objectives of the institution (Grillo interview, 2010-05-27).

I took notes of the interview. Ms Grillo also provided a DVD which marked St. Lawrence's 10th anniversary and which I listened to (2010-05-28).

Isaac Rakowski, who is a Roman Catholic Brother of the Missionaries of Africa, coordinates the Youth Development and the Outreach and Reintegration programmes (Rakowski Interviews 2009-02-27; 2009-04-02). I took notes of our conversations. On three occasions, I accompanied Br. Isaac to Soweto market to meet and interact with the street children as prospective co-researchers. The interactive meetings took place on: (2009-08-24; 2010-02-19; 2010-05-10). The visits started at 0600 hours when the children are fresh, and lasted an hour.

The main objective of the project is to restore hope to the OVC found on the Lusaka streets. The ultimate aim is to restore, rehabilitate and reintegrate the street children with their families as far as possible. This task is undertaken through the Outreach programme to the homeless youth and children living on the Lusaka urban streets.

Through this programme, street boys and girls, aged between 10 and 18 years, are identified, sensitized and encouraged to leave the streets and be reintegrated with their families. Those willing to leave the streets go through a rehabilitation programme at St. Lawrence Home prior to reintegration. The girls are referred or taken to the relevant care giving institutions for girls. The children without traceable families remain at the Home until they complete their secondary education and/or life skills training to empower them to stand on their own when they leave the Home. The Home caters for boys only and has the residential capacity of 25. Sometimes this limit is exceeded due to the great demand for shelter, for instance during the last interview there were 32 boys in residence (Rakowski interviews 2009-08-24; 2010-05-18)

St. Lawrence Home provides the following services: (i) food, shelter, clothing, health care and education, (ii) psychosocial counselling, (iii) Christian teaching, and (iv) skills training. The children still on the streets are: (a) encouraged to leave the streets through daily interaction, (b) treatment for minor ailments, (c) transport for the seriously sick to the clinic/hospital, (d) care for those admitted until they recover, and (e) funeral arrangements for those who die. In order to achieve their ultimate goal to reintegrate street children with their families, the street outreach workers travel long distances throughout Zambia, in an effort to trace any living relatives.

2.3.3.1 Research participants living on the streets

There are many street children living on the streets, but 5 who are in daily contact with St. Lawrence outreach workers volunteered to participate in the research. These are two boys: Jacaranda and Jatropa, and three girls: Lily, Mandalena and Peris within the age range 16 and 18.

2.3.4 Kondwa Day Centre for Orphans (Seko House)

Seko House is a residential home under the auspices of Kondwa Centre. Mrs Malik, who is a Christian in the Roman Catholic faith, is the Founder / Director of Kondwa Centre which is community based. She also founded Seko House. Mrs. Malik is in charge of both places and is assisted by an executive committee in running them. Seko House was established in 2009 to accommodate and care for the vulnerable and most at risk school going girls in Ng'ombe compound. The House has two house mothers who are in residence caring and providing mother's love to the children. These girls are infected and/or affected by the HIV and AIDS epidemic.

The marginalized children are usually taken to Kondwa Centre by extended family members (grandparents, aunts, uncles). In other instances, they are referred by heads of various community schools, neighbours or friends within Ng'ombe and other neighbouring compounds.

The main objectives of Seko House are: (i) to provide a safe home for school going girls aged between 7 to 15 years, (ii) provide safe space to live and study, and (iii) provide a stable home environment where there is love, compassion and unity. Seko House caters for girls only and currently (September 2010) has accommodation capacity for 10 girls only.

The girls who live in Seko House receive basic needs of: shelter, food, medical care and education; Christian spiritual guidance; psychosocial support; and recreational activities such as sports and swimming (Malik Interviews: 2009-04-02; 2010-02-10; 2010-05-21) and Kondwa Centre information document, 2009).

2.3.4.1 Research participants living in Seko House

As has already been stated, Seko House is exclusively for girls. All the 10 girls living there are aged between 9 and 16 years. They all volunteered to participate in this research. These are: Babra, Blessing, Dayana, Justine Bibie, Kathy Perry, Martha, Memory, Natasha, Preta and Valantina.

2.3.5 Similarities and differences among the NGOs

There are a number of similarities and differences existing among the three NGOs in the manner they conduct their activities.

Some of the similarities are as follows:

- They share common objectives to bring hope to the children infected and/or affected by the HIV and AIDS epidemic by providing holistic care. They are motivated by their Christian faith and beliefs, and their practices are based on Christian principles of love and care for the poor. They also evangelize the children and give them Christian spiritual guidance and teaching.
- Cheshire Homes Society and St. Lawrence Home of Hope are both faith based under the Roman Catholic Church.
- Their operations are mainly donor supported and also through fundraising activities.
- Cheshire Homes and Kondwa Centre (Seko House) share some methods of getting children into their care.
- All the 3 NGOs were initiated by Christians and are run by Christian women.

The differences include:

- Kondwa Centre is community based although it was established and is run by a Christian woman of the Roman Catholic faith.
- St. Lawrence Home accommodates street boys only through their Outreach street ministry.
- Seko House is exclusively for girls.
- Cheshire Homes caters for all kinds of marginalised people both female and male: the aged, disabled, orphans and vulnerable children in residence and outside in the community. They also provide much more diversified care and services, which include educational sponsorships at all levels of learning (tertiary education and skills training) plus paid accommodation outside the Home.

Although these NGOs are doing a lot of commendable work to assist the OVC, a lot more still remains to be done. Their efforts pose a challenge to the whole Church of Jesus Christ to get involved and combine efforts in assisting the many thousands of OVC suffering in society. The challenging words of James that “Religion that God our Father accepts as pure and faultless is this: to look after orphans and widows in their distress...” (Ja 1:27), should surely move every confessing Christian to action.

2.4 PROCESS OF IDENTIFYING CO-RESEARCHERS

The ultimate aim of my exploratory meetings with the directors of the various care giving NGOs, was to identify children research participants with their help. In order to meet the prospective co-researchers prior to the commencement of data collection, I arranged to hold separate introductory meetings at each institution’s premises. The care givers, the children and their guardians were all invited to attend these sessions. One of the key issues for the meetings was to explain the nature of the research I was undertaking. The research participants “...must know the nature of the study and be willing participants in it (this is *informed consent*)” Leedy & Ormrod 2005:144). The objectives of the meetings were:

- Introduction of the researcher to the children as prospective co-researchers.
- Explanation of the study and the key role the children would play if they freely volunteered to participate as co-researchers by sharing their stories and experiences concerning care and/or lack of it. In addition, to explain their freedom to withdraw participation at any time without any explanation or repercussions.

- To read and explain the information and the implications thereof as contained in the 'Informed consent' form to be signed by guardians.
- To explain the contents of the 'Explanation form for co-researchers' for each co-researcher to sign upon volunteering to participate and prior to the commencement of individual interview.
- To explain the importance of confidentiality with regards to the use of pseudonym by participating children, and their choice to choose their own pseudonym.
- To allow time for questions, explanations and clarifications of any issues concerning the research.

2.4.1 Criteria of selecting research participants

All eligible children from the 3 NGOs were invited to volunteer to participate in the research project provided they met the set criteria as follows:

- Child aged between 12 and 18 years
- Child orphaned by AIDS
- Vulnerable child
- Willingness to participate in the research
- Have the ability to tell own story

2.4.2 Introductory sessions

A total of three introductory sessions were held at a familiar and friendly environment. This was at the care giving institutions' premises where the children were comfortable and free to listen and ask questions.

2.4.2.1 Session 1: Street children at Soweto market

The first introductory meeting took place at the Soweto Market, at a spot where the street children congregate early in the morning (0600 hours) on 18 May, 2010. In attendance were eight children (5 boys and 3 girls). There were no chairs to sit on so we just stood around the fire as it was during the cold season. Brother Isaac, the children's guardian and head of the Outreach team, introduced me to the children. The children introduced themselves. This group of children preferred to speak a mixture of Nyanja, Bemba and English (the 3 common languages spoken in Zambia) in our conversations. Brother Isaac helped me to explain my research. He also explained other issues outlined in the objectives of the meeting. The ethical issues pertaining to the voluntary nature of the children's participation were explained and emphasized.

This was a difficult meeting. The children were rather unruly, noisy and not fully attentive. Some were eager to listen while others were apathetic, and kept on moving around. The meeting lasted for 45 minutes. A period of seven days was agreed upon for the children to think over and decide whether to participate in the research or not.

2.4.2.2 Session 2: Divine Providence Home

I held the second meeting at Divine Providence Home on 7 July, 2010, for 45 minutes. The venue was the institution's multi-purpose hall where the children conduct various activities such as school home work and social issues. The chairs and tables were rectangularly arranged in one long roll. It was free sitting and we sat facing each other. I sat half way down the roll where all the children could easily see and hear me. Ten children (four girls

and six boys) were in attendance. Sisters Angela and Felister hosted the meeting. Sister Felister, who was directly in charge of the OVC, introduced me to the children; the children introduced themselves.

Before proceeding with the meeting I wanted to be sure that all the children spoke and understood English well. I got the assurance from the children and their care givers. I then explained the nature of my research and all the ethical issues pertaining to this type of research as guided by the objectives of the meeting. Some children asked questions which I answered.

The children seemed interested and excited at the prospect of participating in the research. One child enthusiastically asked "...so when shall we go to the place where we are to do research?" At the close of the meeting, a period of five days was agreed upon for the children to reflect and decide whether to participate or not.

2.4.2.3 Session 3: Seko House

The third meeting was held at Seko House on 5 September, 2010 for one hour. It was held in the House's multi-purpose hall where the girls spend time while not at school, including eating their meals. We sat round the table. The director, Mrs. Malik introduced me to the children and also the purpose of the meeting. The children then introduced themselves. All the children present speak and understand English. There were altogether ten girls. I then explained the nature of my research and all the relevant ethical issues as guided by the objectives of the meeting. I stressed the vital role the children would play should they volunteer to participate. The children's freedom to decline participation or discontinue their participation at any time without explanation of repercussions was stressed. A number of questions were asked and answered.

This was a happy group of ten girls. They were interested to hear about the research as demonstrated by their attention and the questions they asked. At the close of the session, a period of one week to reflect and decide whether to participate or not was agreed.

2.4.4 Reflection on the three sessions

On the whole all the three introductory sessions achieved their objectives. The disorderliness at the first session with the street children could perhaps be attributed to their status as scum of society. And also their disordered life styles on the rough urban streets without any authoritative adults' supervision.

According to Brother Isaac, some of the children have lived on the streets for a long time. Others were once living in shelters, for example, at St. Lawrence Home and run away. In addition, most, if not all of them, inhale intoxicating glue and other solvents (Rakowski interview 2009-08-24), hence our approach to them very early in the morning. In other studies, some street children "admitted using drugs like dagga" (Lungwangwa & Macwan'gi 2004:xiv) may be to keep them high and numb to their predicament.

A total of 28 children attended the three introductory sessions held at the different NGO's premises. Observing their enthusiasm, and in consultation with the care givers, I decided to give an opportunity to every child who attended these first sessions to volunteer. This included five girls aged: 9, 11, 19, 20 and 21, who were outside the set limit. A total of 5 children: a girl and a boy from group 1, and 3 boys from group two declined participation.

Finally 23 children (16 girls, 7 boys) volunteered to participate. The children's guardians signed the 'Informed consent' form for each participating child. The participating children signed their own individual 'Explanation form to co-researchers' prior to the start of each individual interview.

The main reason for not excluding any child from participating on account of either being a few years below or above the set age limit was due to their status as OVC. Being already marginalised, I felt excluding them might make them feel even more marginalised and discriminated against.

2.5 SELECTION OF STORIES: DESIGN, SAMPLING AND DATA COLLECTION

As I have explained in chapter one, section 1.9, this narrative research is situated within individual interviews' context within the qualitative paradigm. Leedy & Ormrod (2005:95) state that "The qualitative research process is more holistic and "emergent," with the specific focus, design, measurement instruments (e.g. interviews)...qualitative researchers work is often exploratory in nature." This research is both exploratory and descriptive in nature. De Vos et al (2005:106) argue that "Exploratory and descriptive research have some similarities...Although they might blend in practice, descriptive research presents a picture of the specific details of a situation...In qualitative studies...description...'leads' to thicker description". In the research process I explored the prevailing situation of the participating OVC which facilitated a thicker description of the research story.

2.5.1 Sampling

Boeije (2010:35) states that “A sample consists of the cases (units or elements) that will be examined and are selected from a defined research population. In qualitative research the sample is intentionally selected according to the needs of the study.” This type of sample is referred to as purposive sampling.

In their discussion on this type of sampling, Strydom & Deport (2005:327) point out that “In purposive sampling the researcher must first think critically about the parameters of the population and then choose the sample.” Before arriving at the final sample I critically examined the accessible population of the OVC who were living within reach.

In addition, Babbie (2007:184) describes purposive (judgmental) sampling as “a type of nonprobability sampling in which the units to be observed are selected on the basis of the researcher’s judgment about which ones will be the most useful or representative.” In an effort to address my research question, I used my judgment to choose a purposive sample of the OVC living within the HIV and AIDS environment Lusaka urban.

2.5.2 Data collection strategies

This research used multiple methods for data collection. According to Leedy & Ormrod (2005:100) “...qualitative researchers frequently use triangulation comparing multiple data sources in search of common themes—to support the validity of their findings”. In addition, Boeije (2010:176) states that:

Triangulation refers to the examination of a social phenomenon from different angles...it entails the use of more than one method or source of data in a research endeavour. Researcher triangulation and theoretical triangulation follow from here. Theoretical triangulation requires that more than one theory is applied to interpret the data. Reasons can...be because one theoretical perspective is not enough to explain the phenomenon under study.

Methods triangulation can reveal varied dimensions of a phenomenon leading up to a layered and thick description of a subject under study.

By using various data collection methods namely: interviews, conversations, field notes, observations and audio taping, I was involved in methodological triangulation. For instance, by observing co-researchers during interviews, their non verbal language and emotions could validate the truthfulness of what was being narrated.

In addition, theoretical triangulation was used in the data analysis phase. This was done through feedback from colleagues, as Leedy & Ormrod (2005:100) point out "The researcher seeks opinion of colleagues in the field..." I also sort interdisciplinary opinion through interactions and conversations with other researchers in social sciences, economic and political disciplines.

These feedbacks came into play in the developmental phase and during interpretation stage of this research project. The triangulation in this research served the purpose of supporting the validity of my findings.

Triangulation also enhances the story's thick description, and allows others to make their own judgment from the data that is provided (Leedy & Ormrod 2005:100).

2.6 CO-RESEARCHERS SPEAK

At this stage in the research process, I invite the children to introduce themselves and tell their own personal stories. Three points to note: 1) All the stories are told with the guidance of the guiding questions (Appendix 4) and other questions that flowed with the story, 2) Repetitions in the stories are omitted, and grammatical corrections made for coherence, and 3) The 10 stories included in the study address the research question, and their detailed descriptions help to thicken the research story.

2.6.1 Babra – ‘When I wanted to bath they were saying ‘go back to your mother’s death’

My name is Babra. I am 12 years old and was born in Lusaka. I am in grade 5. I have just my father. My mother died in 2003. When my mother was pregnant my father came home from town and my mother made a mistake. She didn't cook and my father started beating her on the stomach; my mother was very sick and she died. After that, it's my grandmother who said, "I want Babra to stay with me." My grandfather died in 2009. I have 2 stepbrothers and 1 stepsister.

After I finish school, I need to choose one – mm...I want to be a sister or a doctor. But I just know when I grow up I might be a doctor because I want to help other people. I want to give them medicine, to help them to walk (she has a slightly bent leg). When I grow up I can help them. And, Mr. Rupiah Bwezani Banda (Zambia's president), he can help the children that don't have money.

The president can give them money so that they can go to school and when they have finished they can go to university so that when they grow up they should help others.

The church can pray to God so that God can help them. Mm...at my grandmother's home I was not staying well. I was not staying well because when I have done—ah, I was not staying well...I was staying with my stepmother and my grandma. I was just changing. I had my sister and my brothers. So when I wanted to bath they are saying that “go back to your mother, go to your mother's death.” And I was crying. I was praying and I know that God answered me and that's why I came here so that I can learn. When I finish my education I should help others. I am happy here (Seko House) because I am staying well. We have everything.

Reflection on my interview with Babra

Babra appeared a bit anxious in the beginning as she narrated her story. When she spoke of her pregnant mother's death and her mistreatment she was emotional. However, Babra was relaxed and happy when she spoke of the good care she was currently receiving. Her faith in God was evident and she believes God answered her prayers and provided good care.

Arising from Babra's story are issues of: (a) Wife murderer, (b) Discrimination, (c) Movements from home to home, (d) Lack of care by family, (e) Holistic care by the NGO, and (f) Faith in God.

2.6.2 Brenader Sasha – ‘When my father died he took everything...we were only left with one chair and cloths’

My name is Brenader Sasha and I am 18 years old. I was born in Lilayi, Lusaka. My father died when I was 4 years and my mother when I was 5 years. I have 3 brothers.

When they (parents) died we were staying with our grandmother and grandfather (maternal grandparents). By that time my grandmother was not working even my grandfather because they were old. So they didn't pay (rent) for the house so we had to move again and it was at night. She (landlord) chased us at night, so we had to move from Chawama to Kamulanga. Then the second day, we didn't have food to eat or water to drink, even salt we didn't have. So my grandfather had to go to the market and beg for food. After sometime we were again chased from the house.

At one time my grandfather took us to stay with my father's relatives. There we had to fetch water and fill a drum each. We had to sell things for them at the market. Their children were not working and they were even beating us.

When we asked him (father's brother) if we shall start going to school, he said if we do what he tells us to do, then we shall go to school. One day my brother left to look for my grandfather without saying where he was going. They even forbid us from going to see our grandparents. The next day the second one (brother) followed. One day myself I went there (grandparents' place). I left my young brother there (uncle's home) and then when I came (back) they beat me. I went back to my grandfather to tell him...and my grandfather came and said"...I will take these children from you because you are not taking care of them".

My grandfather took us, but by that time they had already shifted – they were just shifting from place to place. We were not even staying in the house just outside in a plastic shelter. When it rained we got wet and everything else got wet. Then one day we shifted again and my grandfather was sick. We had to go just behind our gate (Cheshire Homes Society's gate) there (pointing at the gate). It was in 2000. Then there is one woman who said "I know the place where you could stay", then she brought us here (Cheshire Homes).

The Sisters told us...“you should wait—you will be coming and eating then you will be going back home.” But they didn’t know we were sleeping outside (their gate). Then one day they told us to take them to our home. Then we went there, then they said “out here its where you are staying!” They told us they would look for a house for us. My small brother was taken in to be staying here, and they looked for a house for us.

After staying in the new house for some time, my grandfather became sick. When he got better he tried to look for a job but couldn’t find. My grandmother also tried to look for a job but didn’t find any. My grandfather died in 2005. By that time I was staying here (Cheshire Homes Society).

One time when we were staying with my father’s brother (uncle), he wanted to remove blood from us, and people were saying “he is a Satanist you should stop praying with him.” Then we stopped praying with him because when my father died he took everything, everything which was in the house which belonged to his brother, and all the things which we bought he took. We were only left with one chair and the cloths.

Reflection on my interview with Brenader Sasha

Brenader Sasha was confident and keen to share her life experiences since she lost her parents. Her initial experiences were traumatic in spite of her elderly grandparents attempts to care for her and her siblings.

Brenader’s story sounded disjointed as she anxiously moved from one topic to another. She was emotional when she spoke of the suffering they and their grandparents experienced on the streets, and at the hands of her father’s brother (uncle). The situation changed dramatically when the Sisters began caring for them, and she was happy to narrate how it happened.

A number of issues emerge from Brenader' story and experiences: (a) Care by elderly grandparents, (b) Homelessness - living on the streets, (c) Property grabbing by extended family, (d) Discrimination by extended family, (e) Exploitation - child labour, (f) Belief in Satanism, and (g) Holistic care by the NGO.

2.6.3 Katty Perry--'I was sleeping, he came and removed his pajamas he wanted to sleep with me then I screamed...and ran away'

I am Katty Perry. I was born in Lusaka and I am 16 years old. Both my parents died. My dad died when I was 2 years old. Then my mum passed away when I was 3 years old. I have been staying with my grandma. Sometimes I used to stay with my aunt, uncle; ok I never had a fixed home here in Ng'ombe. In fact I only ever stayed with my mum's family. My father's family is in Kitwe (Copperbelt province). So I only met my brother last month. (We got separated when he was 5 and I was 3). He went back on Monday, 6 September, 2010. During the December holiday it's my turn, I am going to visit my dad's family.

I didn't know him (brother), but if I had not insisted, I would never have seen my brother. I used to bother my aunt day and night. And I was also starting to bother Mrs. Malik. Of course, there were photos of my mum and dad, and there were my photos with my brother...at my aunt's. When we met, mm...it was like I was happy but him was crying. We met here at Seko House. My aunt brought him.

At first I used to stay with mum's brothers, my uncles. But the day they found out that I have got the same disease from my mum and dad, that is when they started giving me food on my own plate. (In Zambian culture people eat from same plates: one for carbohydrates and one for protein/vegetables); my own cloths (sometimes children share cloths), my own everything! Then myself I saw that they never used to treat me very well. At last I decided to...one day I asked why they were giving me food what, what?

They told me that they were scared that if I am, ah...they said that if I will be sharing my things with their children, they'll also get the virus (HIV) from me. So I never felt nice, then I went to my mum's sister. Her, she only ah...is like she brought me up. I never knew that she was my aunt. She used to tell me that "I am your mother." Then I explained everything to her. Then she went to talk to them. After that...I went to live with her. But again, since I was taking medicine...her husband lost his job. Then I had to shift again and go back to my other uncle again. Mm...ok my uncles were nice but my aunts! Their wives used to mistreat me. Mm...before I go to school I have to wake up at 0500, do house chores everything, but I am going to school at 0600 hours. But they had their own children—their own children are even older than me. She had 6 girls and 1 boy. But she never used to give her own children a lot of chores. I was supposed to do them. If I don't, I won't find my lunch.

After this I decided to live with my aunt again. But there it was like my aunt would like to stay with me, treat me and love me like her own child, but my uncle, her husband never liked it. And my aunt one day when I was, it's like one day when I came back from school I left the front...I only pushed the door and entered the house, there was some conference. My uncle was telling my aunt "I don't like this girl to be living with us here. You know she is positive...I want her to leave or else you will leave." Then my aunt said "if she leaves, then both of us will leave." After then I asked them. They told me, my aunt told me it's nothing I should just go to my grandmother's house.

Then I ran out and said to my aunt I shall not be living here. I will only be living with my grandma. At that time my grandma was old. But at least the support was nice and my aunt also—she has that heart to live with me but her husband! She came and called me and said "you should be living with me. You know that before your mum died she told me that I should be taking care of you." I went again to live with my aunt. At that time, when I was 12 my uncle, it's like there was a funeral, my aunt's daughter passed away. (I have got four aunts: my mother's brothers' wives and her - she is the only sister of my mum). Like my aunt went to the funeral and me I never used to go to (on) any holiday because I don't have anyone else. I never even knew my dad's parents!

With my aunt at the funeral, it means I and my uncle and his son remained. Then as I was sleeping I had a feeling, was concerned if I won't leave the house he might do something to me. It's like I was sleeping he came and he removed all his pajamas and he wanted to sleep with me then I screamed and opened the door immediately and ran away. At that time it was like 2300 hours. I started running on my own. Then I went to my grandma's house and never told her anything. I told my mum, ah aunt. Then my aunt decided to divorce her husband. But then the relatives said "you shouldn't divorce just pretend you don't know anything here whether what the girl said is true."

That's when I saw that next time if I remain alone he was going to do something bad to me. Then I went to Mrs. Malik and said "could you please find me, let's say a place where I could live happily and where I could find shelter?" Then I think Mrs. Malik was shocked with the question. She asked me why I was asking for shelter. I just kept quiet. I went again to leave with my uncle, my mum's brother. There it's like I was given, obvious the treatment was bad again. They used to treat me bad again. It's like my uncle never knew that those things used to happen. One day my aunt just woke up, I was like sick, I never woke up early and I never did the house chores. Then when she woke up she was in a rage; pulled my cloths and threw them out saying that "you are leaving my house". After that I got my cloths, packed them and I went to my aunt's place. Ah, my aunt told me that from that day I was going to live with her forever. But myself I saw that my aunt would like me to live with her, but her husband!

Then gain I wrote my mum's brothers, my uncles, I wrote them a letter telling them that I am, I want to leave their house for ever. Then I don't know what my uncle did so he went to Mrs. Malik and told her that "you can take the girl anywhere you want".

About care for orphans - I think children should know both their families, dad's and mum's side. Then their guardians should treat them as their own children because after, mm...when those children grow up they don't know what they may become, mm...they may also help them in future. So they should be treated like their own children.

Some families don't have so much money to take their children plus some orphans to school, so the church and the government should help them with education and other things. And, if that child has no specific, has no place to go, they should help her with shelter...and health care.

When I complete my education, let's say if I won't become a social worker that means I am going to study law and fight for justice for women and those poor people. Ok, I have two careers: one to study and become a lawyer, the second one, I want to become a social worker to look after orphans and those other people. I am just inspired by Mrs. Malik.

Reflection on my interview with Katty Perry

Katty Perry was confident and eager to narrate her story. She was emotional when she spoke of not having a permanent home as she moved from place to place. Katty's experiences of not knowing about her brother, her father's family and the mistreatment by some extended family members moved her to tears. The positive ending where she was receiving good care at the care giving institution put a smile on her face.

Katty Perry's story touches on many aspects about care and/or lack of it: (a) Ignorant about her real mother and the existence of her brother and dad's family, (b) Discrimination as an orphan and due to her HIV status by extended family, (c) Exploitation - child labour, (d) Inadequate care by uncles and aunts (e) Attempted rape, and (f) Holistic care by the NGO.

2.6.4 Preta – 'After my mother died...my brothers and sisters left me alone with my father'

My name is Preta and I am 13 years old. My mother died in 2003 and my father in August, 2008. We were all staying together here in Ng'ombe with my brothers and sisters. My mother was sick with sugar disease (diabetes).

One day as she went to the bedroom she fell down and then died. My father took her to the clinic and they said that “your wife is sick with sugar disease”, but we didn’t have money to pay for her treatment.

My father was working in town. So his friend Mr. Malupenga was jealousy of my father – he said to him “you are getting too much money.” So my father said “because I am working hard that’s why I am getting money every day.” Mr. Malupenga said “Ok you are going to see” and then he went to see his grandmother who was a witch. So he took medicine and put it on the door at my dad’s office. And when my daddy was walking in he stepped on the medicine, and when he came home he was just voting.

One day my father bought me a packet of lollipop, two pairs of stockings, cloths and shoes for school. After shopping we were walking home when at a street corner my father fell down. So after that I called out “my father has fallen I need help!” I was shouting like someone help me and then two guys came and picked up my father. After that we went into the house and my father started saying that his left hand was paining and then the left leg was paining. My aunt brought him some medicine and told us not to worry everything was going to be all right, but I started crying. After that my father’s legs and the hand didn’t work, they became paralyzed.

After sometime he went to the village with my grandmother who took him to a witch doctor who said that someone had put medicine at the entrance door which caused my father to faint. I just stayed at home when my father was sick and was sad because dad was sick and was just voting. After sometime, my father and I went back to Lusaka.

In Lusaka we went to Misisi compound and stayed there for one month. Then I went to my mother’s village and stayed there for two months. My father came to pick me up and we came back to Lusaka. Again my father went back to his village alone. In the village he started being sick again and then he died. When he died I was just alone at home and I started crying. Later when I went to the pre-school and I said that my father had died, no one could tell me “poor her, she is left alone!”

After my mother died and was buried, the priest said “may her soul rest in peace” I just cried. After one week my brothers and sisters left me alone with my father and my father didn’t say anything. Everyone left the house.

When my father left me and went to the village, I was in a bad feeling. So when my father died I knew someone was going to tell me that he has died and then I started crying. At first my father’s young brother told me that my father was fine, everything is working well, but he lying to me and I felt bad.

My father left me some money about ZMK 105000 (US\$22) before he went to the village but it finished, and I was staying alone in a big house. Then one day my best friend came and took me to Kondwa Centre, and there I said I didn’t have cloths. Then aunt Malik told me that I was going to start school at Kondwa, and so I started pre-school there...I prayed to God and the angel came and helped me. After that the years passed by, we stayed here and here I am alive. I am happy because God helped me because of suffering with my father. I have a home, my bed, my wardrobe, my cloths, and God gave us aunt Malik to take us shopping. Shopping cloths and shoes, after that we go to Green Valley and swim. We have swimming costumes. It is a very beautiful house and I am very glad.

How to care for orphans! Somebody can help them, like aunt Malik. She is a very good person that I have in my life. She took care of me and when she comes she smiles for us. Sometimes the government is not good. If I met the president...I would tell him, just like an example, when I grow up I’ll go to the president and say: “Mr. Rupiah Bwezani Banda can you please, I am begging you to help the street children. Get the street children and put them together as a family and give them food and cloths and help them to go to school, that’s all. You can help them. Please tell the government so that they continue doing those things for the street children, and some blind people who are suffering.

When I finish school, I want to become a teacher. I want to teach some children education so that they grow up well. What I mean is that they finish their education and to be brave as I was.

Reflection on my interview with Preta

I was struck by Preta's confidence and keenness to describe her life's sad experiences. She was emotional when she spoke of her mother's sudden death and the health struggle and eventual death of her father. Her courage in caring for her dad and living alone in a 'big house' after his death is heart breaking. Preta was happy when she spoke about God's help through her best friend who took her to Kondwa Centre where she was admitted in pre-school.

The following are some pertinent issues that emerge from Preta's story: (a) Mother's death due to lack of medical treatment, (b) Girl child care of a sick father, (e) Abandonment by elder siblings, (f) Witchcraft, (g) Views on care for other OVC, and (h) Holistic care by NGO.

Biographic details of *female* participants

NAME	AGE	EDUCATION	AGE ORPHANED	STATUS	NGO CARE-GIVER
Babra	12	Grade 5	5	M.O.	Seko House
Brenader Sasha	18	Grade 9	4	D.O.	Divine Providence Home
Katty Perry	16	Grade 7	2	D.O.	Seko House
Maria *	18	Grade 10	8	D.O.	Divine Providence Home
Preta	13	Grade 5	7	D.O.	Seko House

Key for the abbreviations and symbols in the above table

M.O. = Maternal orphan

P.O. = Paternal orphan

D.O. = Double orphan

* = Story in chapter one

2.6.5 Albert - ‘Life is good here because the Sisters are giving us everything’

My name is Albert. I was born in Mumbwa, Nangoma District on 15 January, 1992. My family is gone. They have all passed away but now I am just remaining with my uncle and my aunt. My mother died when I was 2 years old and father too.

Here (Cheshire Homes Society) life is just good because the Sisters are giving us everything that we want. They are just like our parents. They are our parents in short.

I came here on...I have just forgotten the date but in the month of January, 2009. It was like I passed grade 7. My uncle failed to pay for me because he married...he has got 2 wives now. Because of that other wife he failed to pay for me. He wanted to buy things for his new wife. That is the reason he failed to pay for me. That is how I came here to look for help to find someone that would pay. I stay here. I am studying and working just like that. I go to Divine Providence school.

Caring for other children? Mm...how I can look at those things? Just through education, providing education to the children,

Reflection on my interview with Albert

Albert appeared relaxed as he answered the guiding questions without any emotions. However, when he spoke about the Sisters’ care, being as good as parental care, he showed some emotions. He narrated his life experiences in few words. Albert seemed happy and satisfied in his studies and work. Issues from Albert’s story: (a) Failure by extended family to pay education fees, (b) Holistic care given by the Sisters, (c) Care for the OVC through education.

2.6.6 Horace – ‘I can’t say that my father is dead, but I don’t know where he is right now, he just left’

My name is Horace. I was born in Zambia, Chawama, Lusaka on 17 April, 1996. I have a mother and no father. I can’t say that my father is dead, but I don’t know where he is right now, he just left. My mother comes from this country called Democratic Republic of Congo and my father is a Zambian. I have a younger brother and a sister - a little baby. I don’t know anything about my relatives because I haven’t seen them. They know that I am still existing but they don’t care.

My mother looked for a place for us to go to. She even wrote letters to the priest of the Catholic Church so that we can receive help. She found this place, Cheshire Homes, that’s how we came here. Me and my brother are here so it’s just my sister who is still being nursed. Life is good here because people are taking care of us. I didn’t come here when I was old just like this, I came when I was a little boy so I grew up here. Things are just developing than before. We are receiving help from the Sisters taking good care of us.

How society can help other children? They should look for a place for those children to stay because they are helpless and need help. So the government should help the children through many means: providing food, cloths, accommodation and sanitation for them.

Reflection on my interview with Horace

Horace was relaxed and seemed happy to narrate his experiences. He was emotional when he talked about abandonment by his father and his relatives’ unconcerned attitude. Horace was appreciative of the care he is receiving from the Sisters. Issues arising from his story include: (a) Desertion by his father (b) Poverty, (c) Holistic care by the NGO, and (d) Views on care for the OVC.

2.6.7 Jatropha -- 'I once stayed at St. Lawrence Home then my friend told me "Let us go to town"'

My name is Jatropha. I am 16 years old. I was born at Chawama clinic, Lusaka. My mother lives in Chawama. My dad passed away when I was 9 years old. He passed away at the Matero hospice. I have got 2 sisters and 3 brothers.

I failed grade 7. I wanted to repeat but I didn't have money. I came to the streets when I was young. My friend is the one who told me to come; I didn't know the way the street is. But now my friend went to Livingstone. I once stayed at St. Lawrence Home. Then my friend told me "let us go to town" then we came here in town, and then he ran away. Now I do different things here (Soweto market). I look after wheelbarrows but I am not happy. This is bostic (an adhesive substance) I am holding and I sniff it. It is my friend who taught me.

I would like to go back home and continue to go to school. But I am scared of my mother because she said she will tell my uncle to beat me because I ran away from home. Children should go back to their parents. If the government want to start learning centres, children can learn carpentry. I would like to be a doctor because it is a good job to help somebody who is sick.

Reflection on my interview with Jatropha

Jatropha seemed distracted, perhaps by the other street children and marketers. I got the feeling that he didn't take the interview seriously. Jatropha answered some guiding questions without emotions. Furthermore, he didn't describe his life experiences in any detail at all. I found him to be undecided about his life. He continuously blamed his friends for his decisions and actions.

The issues from Jatropha's story are: (a) Lack of money to continue his education, (b) A runner-away from home and NGO care, (c) Peer blame game for his bad actions, (d) Preference for street life, and (e) Dependence on numbing substance (inhaling solvents, glue)

2.6.8 Oliver -- 'When I started my education, that's when I thanked God'

My name is Oliver. I was born in Chawama in 1994, January 13th. I have parents, but my father I don't know him. I have my mother, her nationality is Zairean. My father's nationality is Zambian. My father didn't die he is around...But I don't know whether he is alive or dead. I don't know but he just left me, he left me when I was 4 years. I have a brother and a sister.

It was very hard to come here (Cheshire Homes). When I was young I told my mother that we should look for a boarding school or half boarding school for me. After some days past, my mother went to Father Lambe to ask for help. So Father Lambe was sent by my mum to go and look for a boarding school there at Cheshire Homes in Chawama where they look after orphans. But it was very difficult for us to find a place. So he was just going round but he did not find a place at Cheshire because unfortunately it is just for orphans. There were only girls no boys. So then we just stayed here at home for some years. Then my mother came here (Cheshire Homes) and asked for help, but Sister Judith rejected us, she said "no we can't keep children who have mothers".

My mother one day wanted to go for a retreat at a church camp. So she came here and asked for help that I just sleep here for 2 days. After sleeping for 2 days, Sister Claudia said that we (with his brother) should be coming here every day. At 1200 hours we will be going home. So that's when I came here and started school. I started my education, that's when I thanked God, that "I thank God for what he has done for the rest of my life". I will continue praying until I finish my education, until I achieve my call.

I jumped grade 2, but in 2004 I remember when I was just going to another school I was doing grade 4 in 2004. So I was supposed to be in grade 10 this year, 2010 but I didn't manage because my mother didn't have money to pay my school fees.

My mother is a tailor. She completed her education in Zaire and she speaks French. When I was young with my brother, I remember...we used to speak French with my father and mother. So after some years passed, I have forgotten, yet by that time I didn't know how to speak Nyanja or Bemba. But by this time I know a bit of French, I can speak it.

About caring for other children? Ok - I can say that, for example, if my young brother became the president, I would just say that he should help the street kids, and those children who don't have mothers build them an orphanage. That's what I would just tell him because ok as for me I don't want to be a president, I want to be a doctor.

The government can just help them by giving them cloths and building an orphanage for them. What I can say again is that, ok, some of the children run away from their parents – they just have stepmothers – you know they will just be violated like that, just beating them badly. So they just run away and just stay by themselves. So that's why they run away.

But even me when I become rich in this country I will be helping them. Because you know, ok what I am thinking is that all these Sisters who were coming here, I am thanking them for what they have done – they were donating things. I would like to do the same and besides I want to work in the 'Touching Lives', you know 'Touching our Lives'? Ah! Those are the ones - those people who help the poor. Yes, that's what I am wishing for. It's an organization. I hope you watch it on the TV. I saw it on ZNBC (state TV) last year (2009).

Reflection on my interview with Oliver

I found Oliver to be humble and interested. He was eager and anxious to describe his life's experiences in detail. He spoke with emotions. He was excited to express his faith in God, whom he continuously thanked for getting him into Divine Providence school after many failed attempts. He has compassion for the marginalised children on the streets. Oliver's desire to help the poor children and also to encourage his brother do the same when they grow up, came out strongly.

Some of the emerging issues from Oliver's story and experiences include: (a) Abandonment by his father, (b) School fees problems, (c) Acknowledgment of God's intervention in his situation, (d) Ideas on how to help the OVC, (e) views on why some children are on the streets, and (f) Desire to help the marginalised children when he finishes his studies.

2.6.9 Villa – 'When I was in the compound there was no one to take care of me'

My name is Villa. I was born in Serenje (Northern province) in 1994, 28 September. My father passed away in 2004. We are 7 in the family, I am number 4. I have 2 brothers who are older and young brothers are 2 and then 2 sisters.

My mum stays nearby the Cheshire Homes. And my sisters and brothers, it is Sister Angela who pays their school fees and sponsors them. Two brothers learn here at Cheshire, 1 sister at Danso school and 1 in Highridge. One sister is in Kabwe with my grandmother because my mum can't manage to take care of her. The other one stays with mum.

I have aunts and uncle. One uncle passed away in 2010. He was the one who seemed like he can sponsor the family but he passed away. My mum is a maid just cleaning the house in Kamwala South. I am working here and studying but I am not sleeping here. Every day at night when I knock off I go home. I come in the morning then I go back at night around 1900 hours. Here I do any duty, whatever she (Sister) gives me. Like right now I am cleaning the toilets.

How to care for poor children? May be it is to find some people who can sponsor them, like here. The government should take care of them because for a person who hasn't got a mother or father it's very difficult to be learning like I am doing. When I was in the compound there was no one to take care of me. But my friend who stays here we were learning with him from grade 1 up to 7. When I passed grade my grade 7 examination there was no money to pay school fees for me.

Reflection on my interview with Villa

Villa was relaxed as he answered guiding questions unemotionally with bare facts. He is content with the education he is receiving and the work that he does. Villa was also appreciative of the educational sponsorships his 4 siblings are getting through Sister Angela of Cheshire Homes.

The issues arising from Villa's story and experiences include: (a) Lack of school fees, (b) Financial dependence on extended family, and (c) Views on how the OVC should be cared for.

Biographic details of *male* participants

NAME	AGE	EDUCATION	AGE ORPHANED	STATUS	NGO CARE GIVER
Albert	18	Grade 8	2 years	D.O.	Divine Providence Home
Horace	15	Grade 8	No idea	X	Divine Providence Home
Jatropha	16	Grade 7	9	P.O.	St Lawrence Home of Hope & Self on the streets
Oliver	16	Grade 9	4	X	Divine Providence Home
Villa	16	Grade 10	10	P.O.	Divine Providence Home

Key for the abbreviations and symbols in the above table

M.O. = Maternal orphan

P.O. = Paternal orphan

D.O. = Double orphan

X = Absent father (don't know whether alive or dead)

2.7 REFLECTIONS ON THE INTERVIEWS

The continuous feedback informed the reflection process throughout the study. The feedbacks took place during the interviews and conversations.

- The various attitudes of children describing their life experiences: some were eager and emotional at times, while others were apathetic.
- The magnitude of suffering endured by the children infected and /or affected by the HIV and AIDS epidemic.
- The role of siblings and extended families in provision of care.
- The determination to make it in life and also make a difference in the lives of other children in similar circumstances.
- The role of the Christian faith and trust in God to intercede in the children's challenging life situations.
- The views on the impact made by the various care giving NGOs in the lives of the OVC.
- The role of Government in care giving and/or lack of it, for the OVC.
- Issues pertaining to witchcraft and Satanism.
- My evaluation that the national government is not doing much for its vulnerable children, especially those orphaned by AIDS, and the need to provide holistic care to them.

2.8 CLOSING REMARKS

In this chapter I described the action and the action field of the story. The co-researchers introduced themselves. They also narrated their individual stories and experiences concerning care and/or lack of care, in their own way and language.

In the process of narrating the stories, each story evolved through the five phases of the ABDCE metaphor of fiction writing as different experiences unfolded. Thus each story began with ‘action’, went through the stages of background, development, climax and ending. Some of the stories had many climaxes before coming to the inevitable end.

The focus of chapter three is on the action and background which “together can be compared to “Browning’s first, second and third movements: descriptive, historical and systematic” (Müller 2003:12).