CHAPTER 4
QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I describe the qualitative analysis of the data, including the practical steps involved in the analysis. A quantitative analysis of the data follows in Chapter 5. In the qualitative phase, I analyzed the data into generative themes, which will be described individually. I describe how the themes overlap. I link the findings to the literary body of indigenous psychology in Chapter 6. Evaluating whether and how the data illuminated and answered the research sub-questions will be considered in Chapter 7, where the primary question of this study will also be answered.

4.2 INTERPRETIVE PARADIGM

Analysis of the data of the current study was guided by an interpretive paradigm by means of which I aimed to view the narrative against the context in which it was set and the subjective viewpoints of the participants. Participants of research have 'working theories' of their conduct and experiences which are based on 'local knowledge', which form part of the oral and written cultural texts of the group that they form part of, and which matter to them and give meaning to their problematic experiences (Geertz, 1983; Denzin, 1989:109). In exploring these local theories of interpretation, the conceptual structures that inform participants' actions (and narratives) will be uncovered (Denzin, 1989:110). As the theoretical framework was indigenous psychology, I found an interpretive framework appropriate for the current study as it enabled me to explore participants' perceptions in the context of their indigenous/cultural environments and through the lens of their cultural beliefs and values. I attempted to be sensitive to what *they* felt and said was important to them, to *their* 'working theories' and to *their* attributions of meanings. In analyzing and interpreting the text, I also strove to be aware of my own cultural biases, 'local knowledge' and conceptual structures. Continual self-reflection and reflexivity on the analytical process and the obligation to observe my own processes helped me in the illumination and reformulation of data (Patton, 2002, in de Vos et al., 2005). Self-reflection was aided by writing in a personal journal after each session and reflecting on the process with the therapist and social workers of the Homes. My concerns that arose out of my own reflection processes are described in Chapter 6.

4.3   DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS

In analyzing the data, part of the process implied my understanding how I was actually to make sense of the data. This entailed a form of 'engagement' with the data, which meant risking my everyday stance, attitudes or knowledge in order to acknowledge the 'liminal' experience of living between familiarity and strangeness (Kerdeman, 1998, in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). As such my feelings ranged between a feeling of familiarity with the participants' attributions of meaning in their lives and a feeling that I could not identify personally with what they could be feeling or describing. Knowing that I would encounter this 'liminal' experience encouraged me to explore the data with a sense of flexibility and open-mindedness, improvisation and creativity as well as planning and adherence to steps and rules (Janesick, 1998, in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Analysis transforms data into findings by bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data (Patton, 2002, in de Vos et al., 2005). The analytical process "does not proceed tidily or in a linear fashion but is more of a spiral process; it entails reducing the volume of the information, sorting out significant from irrelevant facts, identifying patterns and trends, and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what was revealed by the data" (de Vos et al., 2005:333).

There is an "inseparable relationship between data collection and data analysis, and this is one of the major features that distinguish qualitative research from traditional research" (de Vos et al., 2005:335). Accordingly, as the data was being transcribed and translated, I found myself identifying patterns of expressions that alerted me to be aware of similar or divergent themes as more data unfolded. Furthermore, "data analysis does not in itself provide answers to research questions as these are found by way of interpretation of the analyzed data" (Kruger, de Vos, Fouché & Venter, 2005:218). Interpretation involves explaining and making sense of the data (de Vos, 2005; Denzin, 1989). This again involves an ongoing engagement with the process, in that interpretation and analysis are closely intertwined as the researcher automatically interprets as he or she analyzes (Kruger et al., 2005). Hence, it was from this combined process of data collection and analysis that a "plausible and coherent" interpretation developed (de Vos, 2005:335).

4.3.1 GENERATING THEMES: PARTICULARITIES, GENERALIZATIONS AND CONDENSATION

I read carefully through the transcripts to try to gain an overall understanding of each session. The importance of this stage lies in "immerse (in gone) self in the details, trying to get a sense of the interview as a whole before breaking it into parts" (Agar, 1980, in de Vos, 2005:337). In the data I identified trends or recurring patterns that reflected what the participants "felt most strongly about and what expressed the strongest emotional content which moved them and was typical of their common life" (Isazi-Diaz, 1993, in Johnson-Hill, 1998:33). Identifying "salient themes, recurring ideas or language, and patterns of belief that link the participants" is the "most intellectually challenging phase of data analysis and one that can integrate the entire endeavour" (de Vos, 2005:338). As therapy sessions progressed, I clustered recurring patterns and commonalities repeated by participants into generative themes.

A tension arises between preserving and representing each participant's particular form of expression, whilst, at the same time, deriving broader meanings, interpretations and significances in the form of general themes common to all participants (Falmagne, 2006). This is because "the outcome of research cannot merely be a collection of *particularized* case histories" such as might be presented in discrete themes or discrete participant characteristics (Falmagne, 2006:171). Instead, Falmagne (2006:172) advocates "a notion of *generalization* that preserves the richly particularized, socially constituted nature of concrete individuals while enabling social interpretations that transcend the particular case". This statement justifies the interpretive paradigm of the current study as far as theme generation is concerned and guided the interpretation process.

Generating themes with an awareness of participant *particularities* and *generalizations*, I found that the meaning expressed by one participant helped me to understand and make sense of what came next from another participant. This justified one of the goals of analysis, which is to "produce meaningful *condensations* that make it possible to gain from one participant an understanding that can enhance one's understands of another participant as well" (Falmagne, 2006:181). Conversely, theme analysis also involved noticing how one participant's expressions fitted into a chosen theme, while another might have indicated a divergence from the theme.

Individual theme content did not remain static throughout the therapeutic process. As therapy sessions progressed, I discussed the themes with the therapist, which gave her directives for encouraging change in participants' lives. The result was that the same patterns of expression generated in successive sessions often indicated a more positive slant as therapy progressed. This will be reflected in the quantitative data of Chapter 5.

To create order out of the different patterns and commonalities of participant expressions, I used a process of coding.

4.3.2 CODING OF THEMES

I numbered each 'turn unit' of the transcribed participant narratives, that is, each change of narrative between the therapist and the participant. This enabled clearer presentation of data when the themes were described and supported by quotations in the final written thesis. I then followed the theme analysis process as described by Neuman (2000, in Nwanna, 2006) and Henning et al. (2004, in Nwanna, 2006).

4.3.2.1 Open coding

The first stage was *open coding,* which entailed reading and rereading the data in order to have an idea of how patterns could be clustered and coded. Open coding involves naming the identified patterns or categories of expression, breaking them down into discreet parts, closely examining them, comparing them for similarities and differences, and questioning the phenomena that are reflected in them (de Vos, 2005). In this study, I highlighted the clustered patterns or themes in yellow and then named each theme depending on its focus or subject matter and marked the name down in red in the text above the highlighted narrative. This naming process is called "conceptualizing the data" whereby the name stands for or represents a phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, in de Vos et al., 2005). This is done by comparing utterances as the researcher goes along so that similar phenomena can be given the same name. Otherwise researchers would wind up with too many names that could result in confusion. The name given to each theme or category is the one that seems most logically related to the data it represents and is catchy enough to draw the researcher's or reader's attention to it (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, in de Vos et al., 2005).

4.3.2.2 Axial coding

Axial coding was then undertaken, which involved looking for links and connections between the themes so that related themes could be merged into clusters. De Vos (2005) calls this classifying or looking for categories of meaning and it involve searching for categories of meaning that have internal convergence and external divergence. De Vos (2005) qualifies this by explaining that the categories or themes should be internally consistent, but distinct from one another. In accordance to this, I clustered the highlighted themes in the different participants' narratives that were similar, and moved them to a new document.

Diverging instances of the identified patterns, trends and themes were noted from the narratives of the participants and they gave new meanings to my understandings of the text. They encouraged me to critically evaluate the "very patterns that seemed so apparent" (de Vos, 2005:339) and search for other, plausible and alternative explanations for the data.

4.3.2.3 Selective coding

Selective coding was the final process whereby all themes, from the document of the combined participant's themes, were divided into a selected number that comprised the final presentation. This involved "winnowing the data, and reducing it to a small, manageable set of themes to write into the final narrative" (de Vos, 2005:338). In the process, 'families' of themes were created with the sub-themes and categories being the 'children' and 'grandchildren' (de Vos, 2005).
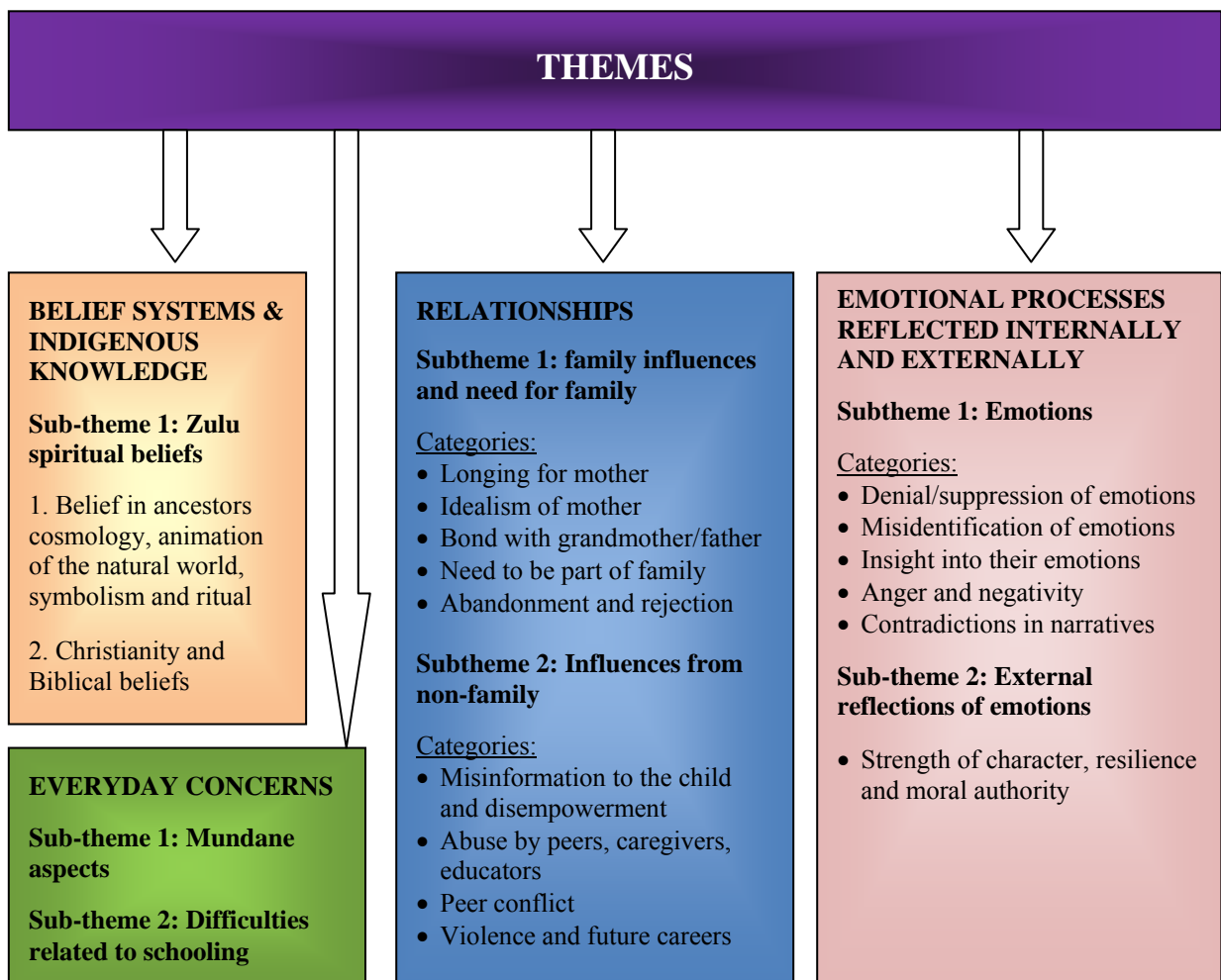
As I conducted the above three processes I realized that the lines or boundaries between one type of coding and the next could be artificial (Corbin, 1990, in de Vos et al., 2005) and tended to be blurred at times as I constantly moved between the three methods. Furthermore, the different types of coding did not necessarily take place in sequence.

4.4 THEMES

Four themes emerged from participant narratives:
- Participants' traditional beliefs
- Expressions of how the participants felt about and related to others in their lives
- The everyday concerns intrinsic to each participant
- Internal processes within participants' minds.

Themes will first be tabulated and then will be described. Within the tables I have indicated when a quotation was drawn from a Masekitlana session, as it can be seen how Masekitlana therapy encouraged talk on African belief systems as well as allowing for expression on other issues. It is not always possible to separate out themes, so in certain instances a description of one theme will make reference to the contents of another theme. Participants' lives could not be neatly demarcated into boxes, as I found that each facet of the participants' lives had an effect on other facets in a form of mutual influence and outcome. This overlapping of themes will also be explored.

THEMES

BELIEF SYSTEMS & INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

Sub-theme 1: Zulu spiritual beliefs

1. Belief in ancestors cosmology, animation of the natural world, symbolism and ritual

2. Christianity and Biblical beliefs

EVERYDAY CONCERNS

Sub-theme 1: Mundane aspects

Sub-theme 2: Difficulties related to schooling

RELATIONSHIPS

Subtheme 1: family influences and need for family

Categories:
- Longing for mother
- Idealism of mother
- Bond with grandmother/father
- Need to be part of family
- Abandonment and rejection

Subtheme 2: Influences from non-family

Categories:
- Misinformation to the child and disempowerment
- Abuse by peers, caregivers, educators
- Peer conflict
- Violence and future careers

EMOTIONAL PROCESSES REFLECTED INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY

Subtheme 1: Emotions

Categories:
- Denial/suppression of emotions
- Misidentification of emotions
- Insight into their emotions
- Anger and negativity
- Contradictions in narratives

Sub-theme 2: External reflections of emotions

- Strength of character, resilience and moral authority

Figure 10:   Themes and sub-themes

4.4.1 THEME 1: BELIEFS

4.4.1.1 Sub-theme 1: Cosmological, spiritual and ancestral beliefs, and symbolism

Inclusion criteria:

Indigenous African beliefs of a spiritual nature

Exclusion criteria:

Beliefs of a universal Christian nature

The participants, in particular Hlonipho and Nana, expressed concepts in their narratives that reflected traditional African spiritual and cultural beliefs. Hlonipho, when playing Masekitlana, expressed an understanding of his mother's death that demonstrated a typically African form of belief in ancestor-influence on the living relatives. It also demonstrated the African way of interpreting signs from nature as being messages from the ancestors. The conversations between the therapist and Hlonipho over his mother's death indicated how dual levels of understanding of one situation could arise between Western thinking on the one hand and African thinking on the other. The therapist labelled the phenomenon of Hlonipho's mother seeing animals before she died as 'schizophrenia', whereas Hlonipho had an alternative understanding arising from his cultural and historically transmitted traditions. This illustrates that the researcher should be alert for cues that indicate "taken-for-granted meaning patterns of African peoples and how what they say relates to these patterns … in order to try to catch something of the spirit of the people" (Geertz, 1973, in Johnson-Hill, 1998:34).

It is relevant for the purpose of this research that Hlonipho only related the full snake story during a Masekitlana session. He might have felt familiar with the typically African form of manipulating stones and it may have resonated with traditional African beliefs in the personalization of animals, the animation of natural objects, and the power these have to reveal ancestral spirits. Hence, he felt enabled at that session to reveal the snake story. Nana also related a story of bodily attack by a snake, demonstrating the symbolic significance of the snake in African culture. The ritual and symbolism of the stone play of Masekitlana might also have resonated with traditional African recitative rituals, and this, therefore, encouraged the participants to express themselves in traditionally African ways.

Table 3:   Excerpts on traditional Zulu beliefs

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
358/18/Hlonipho/2	"She used to see things we couldn't see…..animals".
658-672/34-35/Hlonipho/4 – Masekitlana	"She used to say there was a snake that used to come in and sit on her bed … I think it was alerting her that she needs to go back home … It opened its mouth and it talked. I heard it on my ears … I think it was alerting us that my mother needs to go quickly but we didn't pay attention and my mother died".
631/33/ Hlonipho/ 4 – Masekitlana	"My mother was sick and she used to see animals. And I don't know if that is what made her die".
658/34/Hlonipho/4 – Masekitlana	"My dad told us to leave it because maybe the ancestors were telling my mother that she needs to do Zulu rituals".
5167/62/Nana/7 – Masekitlana	"She had a bad dream. She dreamt about the snake, a big snake which has eight heads. The snake was eating her. The snake ate her and it only left the head. Then, another snake showed up and that snake had 50 heads. The snake swallowed her whole head in its mouth. This is the end of the story".
3690-3693/8-9/ Nana/ 1	"Your neighbours can *thakathi* (bewitch) you … They put some muthi on their food and then there was some horrible smell … Another aunty she ate that food and then she asked for some more and then the person put another *muthi* again in that plate … Then she says it is nice and the next day, she died … My friend was also sick and they took her to the hospital and at the end of the day she died".
4179/33/Nana/4 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I am going with my stone. I want to suck it. When I go to bed … the ghost comes this side and it also comes to the bed to sleep. Then my ghost goes to sleep. My ghost is very big. When it is not sleeping, it gets sent to go and hit that other person at night. When I say *ha*, it's nice to sleep, it comes back. But if don't say it, my ghost goes to sleep".

4.4.1.2 Sub-theme 2: Biblical beliefs

Inclusion criteria:

Beliefs of a Christian nature based on Biblical traditions

Exclusion criteria:

African non-Christian beliefs and beliefs in other religions

Hlonipho demonstrated how the African person can believe in the influence of the spirits of the ancestors whilst at the same time having a strong faith in Christianity and its effect on everyday life. In the first session of Masekitlana, Hlonipho appeared to have a form of

acceptance of the fact that a snake, embodying the spirits of his mother's ancestors, had called her to her family home to die. In the second session of Masekitlana he narrated beliefs in God and his dislike of the Biblical serpent. He did not appear to notice the contradiction in this (Refer 'contradications in narratives' Section 4.4.4.1, Table 19). In her first session of Masekitlana, Nana picked up the stones and started a theatrical form of Christian dialogue. It was in a 'rap' form of talking, as if she was an actor in front of an audience. At another session, she described her friendly or protective spirit in her life. She had also related an incident in her life of African bewitchment. Senzo appeared to have faith in a helping and rescuing God.

Table 4:   Excerpts on Biblical beliefs

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
777 & 779/41/Hlonipho/ 5 – Masekitlana	"I hate snakes". "Because it's controlled by Satan. Like when it happened with Jesus Christ. The snake told Jesus to jump higher".
798/42/Hlonipho/5 – Masekitlana	"So why can't God stop Satan from causing people to do bad things?"
4753/49/Nana/6 – Masekitlana	"The girl asked the question that, 'who was the creator of Jesus Christ?' In response to that, he said, 'It's Maria'. Then she said, 'Okay good'. Then she asked the question, 'How were the people created?' He said, 'With soil'. Then, they clapped hands for him".
4082/28/Nana/4 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"You know when you are quiet you are talking in your heart. It's God who says speak with your heart. When you speak louder, it's God who says talk. It's God who tells me to speak this and this. Everybody on earth whether he us shouting loud, you don't do it out of your own conscience. You say it because God tells you".
3060/77/Senzo/7 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"Then you get sick, and then the Lord comes and says do you want to rest? You get sick then you walk down with the Lord. As you are walking the car smashes you then you die".
3049/76/Senzo/7 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I say that I am cold then He picks me up".
537/27/Hlonipho/3	"It's God's spirit (who tells you to stop stealing)".

4.4.2 THEME 2: RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS

4.4.2.1 Sub-theme 1: Need for family

Inclusion criteria:

Relationships with family members and foster caregivers

Exclusion criteria:

Relationships with peers in Homes and schools and with caregivers in Homes

Throughout the participants' narratives, there were indications that the participants either placed a high value on their existing families or were longing for the love of a family. In particular, the participants talked a lot about their deceased or absent mothers, as not one of the participants was living with his mother.

- **Concerns around mother (sometimes father) and longing for mother**

The participants in the Children's Homes expressed the wish to experience the love of their mothers or they expressed regret that they had not experienced their mother's love. Hlonipho, in particular, mentioned his mother often and initially expressed anger over not being able to have her in his life (refer theme 'anger'). He was not able to be with his mother when she died, nor did he attend her funeral and the rituals surrounding that event. Often a participant would start talking about his absent or deceased mother or father and then would deny any sadness around this issue (refer theme of 'denial of emotions'). Senzo's mother had abandoned him to the care of his father's mother. Yet he still expressed a need to communicate to his mother his love for her. Mandla related how his mother was picked up by car by his grandmother to spend the weekend with the family but during Saturday night, she disappeared again. Nana was negative in her descriptions of a mother, as indicated in her picture stories. However, an expressed "negative contrast experience" might be a demonstration of the fact that she was aware that matters could be different and more ideal (Johnson-Hill, 1998). I felt that she was indirectly communicating that she would prefer a more nurturing mother. In effect what the participants were dealing with was the "trauma of the family unit dissolving" and in Hlonipho and Senzo's cases, "the stigma of AIDS associated to parental death" (Foster, Makufa, Drew & Kravolec, 1997). The death or disappearance of the participants' parent or parents had resulted in a "severe decrease in the

family's economic power" (Foster et al., 1997) or ability to keep the participants safe, so they were placed in Children's Homes.

Table 5:   Excerpts on concerns around and longing for mother and father

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
80 & 82/6/Hlonipho/1	"He is writing he is angry. I think he is writing about his mother".
237/13/Hlonipho/2	"My mother loved me".
572 & 574/30/Hlonipho/3	"This one is dreaming bad things. He is dreaming about his mother".
3024,3026, 3030 & 3034/80/Senzo/ 7— Masekitlana and Roberts-2	" (I would say) that I love her … She would say that I love you too … She didn't say it … Nobody (else says I love you)".
5178/64/Nana/7 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"Her mother was always scolding at the child even if the child has not done anything".

- **Idealism of mother (sometimes father)**

The social worker of the children's home where the three male participants stayed informed me that the boys would not countenance negative comments from her regarding their mothers as they held onto "utopian stories" (Balcomb, 2000) around the 'perfect mother'. She was of the opinion that, although their beliefs were inaccurate at times, it enabled a form of wish fulfilment and a fantasy world ideology that gave the participants some form of psychological sustenance. I questioned whether it was not linked to the huge reverence that African people hold for the mother figure. Participants also resisted describing how their mothers looked or behaved when they were sick. Hlonipho mostly expressed positive, albeit sparse, aspects about his relationship with his mother, although she left him in a hospital when he was sick and returned to her family home. He remained in the hospital for a year, during which time his mother died. Nana only once described how her mother had dumped her in the rain at her grandmother's door and had run away from the family. She expressed no further regret in connection with her mother. Senzo's description of a mother being "health-filled" was the closest he would come to admitting that his mother had died (refer 'denial of feelings' theme). Mandla's mother threw him away into a bush but the most he would say against her was that he felt "bad" about it; otherwise he remained neutral towards her presence in his life.

Table 6: Excerpts on idealism of mother

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
238/13/Hlonipho/2	"I don't remember (if there were things that his mother used to do to show him she loved him)".
933/49/Hlonipho/6 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"It is my mother (who is the most important person in his life even though she was no longer around)."
1669/5/Senzo/ 2	"His mother is health-filled" (in response to picture of mother hugging boy).
5508 & 5510/15/Senzo/5 – Masekitlana	"She calls my phone on her cell phone that's all (she does for him)". "No" (there is nothing he wants to change about his life).

- **Abandonment and rejection**

The above section explained how participants appeared to idealize their mothers. However, at other times (refer 'contradictions in narratives') they expressed feelings of being rejected by their parents, families and foster caregivers, which led them to feel let down by the adult world. Hlonipho appeared to reject his father as a method of coping with how his father had apparently rejected him. Furthermore, he was not emotionally prepared for the death of his mother and experienced it as a form of abandonment. Similarly Senzo, Mandla and Nana all related incidents of being rejected by their mothers.

Table 7: Excerpts on abandonment and rejection

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
210/12/Hlonipho/2	"I don't know where he (the priest who took him in) went. The last time he said he is coming to fetch me but he didn't arrive'.
421 & 423/22/Hlonipho/3	"They (priest and wife) didn't come to fetch me … It hurt me".
945 & 947/50/Hlonipho/ 6 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"No" (his father does not fit in anywhere because) … He didn't give birth to me".
72 & 74/51/Hlonipho/6 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	(He was expecting his mother to pass away) "*after* I passed away…..She wasn't supposed to get sick".
614/32/Hlonipho/4 – Masekitlana	"… my father told me that my mother is gone. Then he asked me to go to the priest because my mother was gone. I went there; when I came back my father was not there."
5466 & 5468/13/Mandla/5 – Masekitlana	"I feel sad … Because my mother threw me in the bush. Then someone picked me up".

3656 & 3658/6/Nana/1	"My mother put me out of the door of granny in the rain and my granny was there and I was crying and granny just picked me up … Mother did not like me."
85 & 87/24/Mandla/3	"Long time ago … yes, years ago" (in answer to when he last saw his father).

Often, because of rejection by their parents, the participants expressed feeling a closer bond to their grandparents, especially their grandmothers.

- **Bond with grandmother or grandfather as substitution for parents**

Due to participants not having their immediate parents in their lives, the grandparents, especially the grandmothers, had taken over the roles of parental nurture, love and guidance. Hlonipho, at the time of the current study, had no contact with any family members yet he wanted to write a letter to his grandmother firstly (and secondly to his deceased mother). Both Senzo and Nana had replaced their mothers with their grandmothers as their primary caregivers. Senzo visited his grandmother's sister, in the school holidays, although he referred to her as his "*gogo*/grandmother" and at times, his "*ma*/mother". This was perhaps a way of saying that he felt he had now accepted that the mother figure in life was this "grandmother".

Table 8:   Excerpts on bonding with grandmother

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
5015 & 5019/56/Nana/6 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I want to work for my granny … I want to do everything that she wants".
376 & 3764/Nana/1 – Roberts-2	"I miss home … I miss my grandmother".
3116/Senzo/3 – Roberts-2	"So you say hello granny, how are you then that's it … Then I tell her I love her".
1833/13/Senzo/2	"I will buy a house that my grandmother and I can stay in"
1714-18/7/Senzo/2	"She was a mother and she wasn't a grandmother then she grew up and she became a grandmother … Yes (when asked if he knows his mother) … It's my grandmother. She is now my grandmother … Yes (when asked if she looks after him well) … No (when asked if his mother looks after him well)".
1087/60/Hlonipho/4 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I can write to my grandmother".
5389 & 5391/10/Senzo/5 – Masekitlana	"My granny and my other granny (in answer to who he loves most) … my mother does not love me".

- **Need to be part of their families out of the children's home**

All four participants wished to leave the environment of the children's home and return to their family homes or to the home of a foster parent.

Table 9:   Excerpts on the need to be part of own family out of the home

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
2701, 2703 & 2705/60/Senzo/5 – Masekitlana	"Yes, I want to go … Home … I don't like it (here at the children's home) … Yes, and not come back … And stay at home".
4812 & 4814/51/Nana/6 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"It's been 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2012. Oh my God, there is no way. I am tired of this place. I don't want to stay here anymore. It's boring me … They don't treat me right. They are offending me".
1903/16/Senzo/3	"I was crying and I didn't want to come back (to the Home). My foster parents gave me twenty Rand and they said I must stop crying".

4.4.2.2 Sub-theme 2: Influence of non-family members on participants in Children's Homes and home environments

Inclusion criteria:
Influences from peers, caregivers, social workers and managers in Homes, influences from effects of participants' home/family environments

Exclusion criteria:
Influences from family members and school authorities

Participants had been removed from their original homes and so were subjected to influences out of their homes that they would not otherwise have had to suffer.

- **Misinformation to participants leading to disempowerment of participants**

Participants often expressed a lack of knowledge about their past and what had led up to their being admitted into the Children's Homes. Furthermore, children's home authorities appeared not to tell them exactly when they were going home and when their school holidays were to begin and end. The most serious lack of information experienced by a participant was Hlonipho, who was not told how and when his mother and father had died. This lack of

information tended to lead to a sense of helplessness, hopelessness and confusion in participants as to their future and to their own ability to make decisions about their lives. It also resulted in Hlonipho still pondering, at the time of the current study, about the deaths of his parents, a few years prior to that, and not being able to reach any form of closure. He expressed a great amount of anger, which could be reflective of having no family member in his life that he could visit or who enquired about him. From his narrative, I gave Hloniphothe description of being 'a child without a past'.

At one stage of the research and therapy process, I was not able to visit Hlonipho for three weeks due to the therapist's family problems. The Home authorities did not inform Hlonipho of this and the result was that he appeared surly and uncooperative at the subsequent session. Similarly, Senzo and Mandla often appeared restless as they did not know if and when they were going home. They also appeared downhearted in sessions after the holidays as they had not been prepared or told in their family homes when they were going to be fetched to return to the children's home. They had also developed their own ideas as to why they were originally admitted into the Children's Homes. The social worker's explanation to me for participants' coming to the Home appeared different from the stories told by the participants. In Mandla's case, his mother had abandoned him yet he believed that he came to the Home because he was "naughty".

Table 10:   Excerpts on lack of information leading to disempowerment

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
352, 363/19/Hlonipho/2	"I don't know, she (mother) didn't tell us (where her family home was) … There is nobody from my mother's family that I know … I don't know anyone (relative) … I only heard after she (mother) was buried".
615/33-4/Hlonipho/3	"Then I went to the priest … because my mother was gone … when I came back my father was not there".
100/7/Hlonipho/1	"When I came out of hospital looking for my father, they told me my father died".
2006, 2054 & 2068/21,23/Senzo/3	"I was playing, playing and playing then the car (to fetch him back to the Home) came then I went … I don't know (why he had to come back to the Home) … The social worker said I must go".
420, 422, 430/23/Hlonipho/3	"They didn't tell me when I am coming back … I am not sure if they will come and fetch me … They didn't come to fetch me … It hurt me … He (caregiver) didn't tell me (why they did not fetch him)".

2739/62/Senzo/5 – Masekitlana	"I was young, I don't know (why he came to the Home)".
5452/13/Mandla/5 – Masekitlana	"Because I am naughty (in answer to why he had to come to the Home)".

- **Abuse, peer conflict and fighting**

Participants had been removed from environments that were considered to be unsafe. However, in their alternate environments, that is, foster care, Children's Homes and schools, they appeared to experience further forms of violence in the form of abuse by foster caregivers or physical and psychological hurts at the hands of their peers and teachers. Hlonipho was taken away from the care of his father as he was sexually molested in that environment. He was then put in the care of a priest, where not only were Hlonipho's physical hygiene and nutritional needs neglected, but the priest's wife reportedly hit Hlonipho for supposedly "wandering the streets of the location".

A lot of participants' expressed anger was in relation to conflict and physical fighting incidents. Participants bemoaned the fact that they often did not start the fighting between them and their peers but felt they were blamed for it. By the end of Masekitlana therapy, Hlonipho described how he prevented his friends from fighting. Although Mandla appeared not to like the fighting in the Home, he explained that he came from an area where he had witnessed many knife fights. Hence, he explained how he enjoyed fighting with knives. Nana had been raped in the environment of her grandmother's home. During the course of the research, Nana was called out of a therapy session by another child in the Home on the pretext that Nana was to collect her laundry off the line. While Nana was out of the room, the girls hit her on her back. She returned crying. That evening, Nana ran away from the Home and was helped by a lady in the street to return by taxi to her grandmother's house. Hence, each participant had been exposed to some form of violence.

Table 11:   Excerpts on abuse and fighting in the Homes

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
106, 108 & 110/7/Hlonipho/1	"He (the priest) used to ill treat me … He liked hitting me … With a stick … He said I went around the location even if I didn't".
63/4/Hlonipho/1	"People get hurt when they are fighting then it becomes me who has done something wrong".

101-3/55/Hlonipho/6 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"They (the other boys in the Home) hit me then I stabbed them … With a comb".
5520/16/Senzo/5 – Masekitlana	"My friends hit me. Then I get angry then I start fighting back. Then I get hurt".
5734, 5736/25/Senzo/6 – Masekitlana	"Because he started on me … then I started hitting him".
5822/29/Senzo/8 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"When a person starts at me, swearing. Then I will kick".
2953/21/Nana/3	"Then they hit me … Then I ran away … I told her (lady in street) they were hitting me".

- **Participants' experiencing of violence and how it affected their ideas on future careers and community involvement**

Two of the participants, Senzo and Mandla, expressed violent ways to deal with situations. By this, they were reflecting their social context, that is, they had observed situations in their communities and had incorporated this into their attitudes towards managing conflict. Mkhize (2004) calls these internalized values or voices, reflective of social environment, the "dialogical selves" of the participants. This indicates how children's minds are made up of different voices reflecting what Mkhize (2004) refers to as their different dialogical selves. Mkhize describes how children's voices reflect socially constructed identities. What children hear being said around them and their observations of rituals and occurrences in their everyday lives, then become part of their identities. It is these identities that are expressed in their narratives.

Each of the three male participants wanted to be either a policeman or a soldier when he grew up and pursued a career. The need to be a policeman could have been a reaction to and a result of the participants' sense of powerlessness in their lives at the time of the study (refer 'disinformation and disempowerment' theme). Concerning a career, the different voices of Senzo, his different dialogical selves, expressed themselves in contradictory ways (refer 'different voices and contradictions in narrative' theme):on the one hand, he wanted to help old people who could not help themselves to cross roads, and on the other hand, he expressed exceptionally punitive ways to deal with people. Mandla also expressed violent ways of how he would be a policeman and, despite wanting to be a policeman, he appeared to display enjoyment over the prospect of a criminal's way of life and said that he would not be afraid to go to jail. It appeared that he was inured to violence and proud of his tolerance for violence.

The therapist commented to me that this was probably due to the environment from which he came, an environment of violence, and he was only expressing what he observed there. Nana recalled experiences of violence from her home environment. Participants often associated Roberts-2 picture cards with crimes such as shooting, killing and house-breaking. This could also have been a reflection of the society that participants found themselves in when they returned home to their communities.

Table 12:   Excerpts on perceptions of violence and association with future careers

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
1836 & 1838/1844 – 6/14/Senzo/2	"I shoot people … I want to take them out of jail … I do what other police do, I hit them … I will be a policeman … I will come here (to the Home) and tell those who are naughty to go to the police station … Then I will hit them … I will make them sit in jail … I will leave them there for one week".
1787 & 1789/11/Senzo/2	"He woke up … He sees a person who tries to open the door … The thug opened the door then he (boy in bed) got frightened … He thinks he is going to die … Because they will shoot him".
5535,5537,5539,5541,5543,5545,5547,5548/ 16-7/Mandla/5 – Masekitlana	"I want to be a soldier … I want to carry a gun … If someone hits me then I kill them … I changed my mind … I want to be a boxer … You fight for money … I'll go rob … I will have lots of guns with my partners … I will carry one until I am dead".
5042, 5053, 5055/57/Nana/6 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"The other day they (her grandfather and friends) came into the house when I was still young … They burnt the house … We started building another house … It was big … He burnt the house again".
3710 & 3714/10/Nana/1	" (I had) a bad one (dream) … Maybe there is someone who got shot … And these people are armed … They said to him come here and they had a gun in their hand".
4082/28/Nana/4 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"The sister is a child; she wanted to make the baby quiet. Then the mother arrived. She said I don't like people who don't handle my child properly. Leave my child or I will cut your neck".
4187/33/Nana/4 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"The other one says I will hit you … The mother (holding the baby) said you know I will hit you (girl/daughter standing next to her) … Then she hit her because she was being rude to all these children … Then she hit her again and again … The she hit her and hit her (hitting the stones)".

4.4.3   THEME 3: EVERYDAY SITUATIONS

4.4.3.1   Sub-theme 1: The 'mundane'

Inclusion criteria:

Interests that are in common with most children of that age and not typical to children's home children or children living with HIV

Exclusion criteria:

Interest in future careers, concerns with their HIV status

I noted not only the themes of interest to the focus of the current study but also the everyday, mundane themes that participants expressed. The latter, in accordance with an interpretive paradigm, were also important parts of participants' lives as they reflected their unique needs within their social contexts. Research must be careful not to only "construct life narratives spiked with the hot spots" (Fine et al., 2000:118). The areas of participants' lives where ordinary things happen are important as themes in that they not only accentuate the commonalities between researcher and participants but also demonstrate that participants live an ordinary life in spite of their trauma. Participants at times reflected the harsh realities of their lives but at other times they reflected more mundane desires, such as Mandla who, from wanting to be a policeman or a robber, changed his 'plans' to being a 'transporter' or driver of children (refer 'contradictions in narratives', 'different dialogical selves').

Participants in the current study followed daily routines and also had a need for comfortable homes, cars and entertainment. There were times when the therapist and I were hoping for richer content in participant narratives; however, they related situations typical to the everyday child of that age group. I also noted where participants' lives did not typically reflect life in a children's home but resembled the lives of the everyday child living in a suburban nuclear family environment.

Table 13   Excerpts on everyday concerns: the 'mundane'

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
2858 & 2862/67/Senzo/6 – Masekitlana	"My teacher is Miss Polo and the second one is Mr. Eckersley … I do my homework … I go and play outside … we bath … we watch Isidingo … Dragon Ball …We go to eat … We drink our medicine … We sit down a little bit then we go to sleep".

1634/13/Senzo/2	"I will have a lot of money … I will buy a house that my grandmother and I can stay in".
1859/15/Senzo/3	"Yes and my sister washes the dishes and sometimes I wash them".
3020/79/Senzo/7 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"Then I play with my two puppies … When I want to go sleep, I put them back in their small house where my granny puts the dogs".
2890/69/ Senzo/6 – Masekitlana	"We go to parties".
5565 & 5570/18/Mandla/6 – Masekitlana	"I can drive it anywhere … Mini Cooper".
5634/21/Mandla/6 – Masekitlana	"I want to take the children to school … My uncle has a taxi".
3844 & 3854 & 3858/16 & 17/Nana/2	"We are always eating jam, jam, jam … Peanut butter is also boring … Kentucky won't bore me".
1691-1701/6/Senzo/2	"I am expecting a Polly … My grandmother will buy it for me … He will play with me".
5015/56/Nana/6 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I want to be a housewife".
5108/60/Nana/7 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"She bought me the shoes, dresses and a T-shirt and the skirts".
1179/65/Hlonipho/7 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"We were picking mangoes from the trees".

4.4.3.2 Sub-theme 2: Schooling problems

Inclusion criteria:

Participants' educational concerns, including lack of school equipment and misunderstandings with educators.

Learning concerns

Exclusion criteria:

Conflict with peers in school

All four participants expressed difficulties with their schoolwork or with authorities in their schools. South African children who have experienced parental loss are vulnerable to poorer educational outcomes, and the death of the mother, in particular, has an impact on children's schooling (Ardington & Leibbrandt, 2010). This appeared to be the case with participants of the current study. I noted that participants did not appear to have much interest in any of their subjects nor did they express any rapport with teachers. Senzo in particular had a fear of his

educational authorities and three participants described teachers as being punitive; they did not feel that they obtained the required support they needed at school.

Table 14:   Excerpts on schooling problems

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
854 & 858/48/Hlonipho/6 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"It's because I am not studying well I get a headache".
896 & 894/49/Hlonipho/6 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I didn't pass very well … its spelling".
2398/45/Senzo/4	"I see a boy taking a chair and hitting it on the floor … Then he cries and does not do his homework and does not listen to the teacher".
2332/40/Senzo/4	"Because he is not happy … He failed so he is crying … She will punish him and hit him".
4053, 4058, 4060 & 4062/27/Nana/4 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I am going to fail … Because my teacher always tells me that I will fail, though I am not sick but I am not part of the class … Because in the class they make a noise … all of us, one person starts singing, and then the rest of the class sings and if one person talks then the rest of the class talks … Even good ones in the class, they also make a noise".
4114 & 4117/30/Nana/Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"It's that today I got hit … It's unfair that they hit us with a pipe … (she would prefer to be hit) with a stick … You can just see the pipe … It even broke on me".

4.4.4   THEME 4: PARTICIPANT EMOTIONS AS EXPRESSED INTERNALLY AND REFLECTED EXTERNALLY

The researcher noticed that the participants were thinking and expressing themselves in particular ways that reflected certain internal emotional and cognitive processes. However, as the participants were living in Children's Homes where there was not the opportunity to express emotions and resolve their inner conflicts, they often denied their emotions and blocked any expression of them during the sessions. Especially when therapy commenced, it appeared that the participants had eliminated or suppressed the bad memories of their past lives in order to survive in their present lives. Expression of emotions became more overt as therapy, especially Masekitlana therapy, continued. By the end of the research, the scores on the Roberts-2 assessment instrument indicated considerably greater emotional expression than before therapy began (refer to graphic data indicating this in chapter 5).

4.4.4.1 Sub-theme 1: Emotions

Inclusion criteria:

How participants felt, how they understood their emotions and how they expressed their emotions

Exclusion criteria:

Active expression of emotions in the form of anger and fighting with peers

Participants expressed their emotions in different ways during the course of therapy, with a denial or blocking of emotions at initial stages of therapy and a more open form of expressivity after the intervention of Masekitlana.

- **Denial or blocking of emotions**

I noticed that participants were not used to expressing their feelings at the commencement of therapy sessions. This could have been a socialized form of silence or a moratorium on expressing emotions that had been imposed on participants in their home environments as a result of the family's reaction to the behaviour of the participants' mothers – two of the mothers had abandoned their children – or as a result of their mothers having or dying from a stigmatized illness, HIV. A social and self-imposed silence reinforces orphans' feelings of grief, loss and failure since it prevents the children from preparing for the inevitable death of a loved one (UNAIDS Report, 1999). When probed by the therapist for some emotional expression, participants generally displayed, especially at the beginning stages of therapy, flattened, deadened emotions. I felt that this was an example of how participants had learnt to contain their emotions as a defence against feeling them acutely. This might have resulted in ongoing emotional pain, especially as they appeared to lack counselling support.

There is a difference between the ways in which "memory operates in safe and in conflict-ridden environments; traumatized people either repress their bad memories or are obsessed by them" (Denis, 2003:212). Denis (2003) believes that people are afraid to be confronted by their own pain and that therefore it takes time and courage to confront the past. Similarly, in the current study, I felt that it was only after a few sessions of therapy that participants felt comfortable, safe and contained enough to express their pain. Hlonipho's narrative around his mother appeared obsessive in that he related most of the Roberts-2 picture cards to a mother and he felt that any form of emotion he was feeling was because she was no longer in his life.

Table 15:   Excerpts on blocking of emotions

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
131, 141, 143, 47 & 49/4 & 9/Hlonipho/1	"I don't remember… I don't remember anything … I don't know (when asked if his mother ever felt sad or if his father ever read to him) … He doesn't want to talk that much about it … I don't understand".
159, 161, 163, 165/10/Hlonipho/2	"No … no … no … There was nothing much" (when asked if anything troubled him, upset him, made him happy or if anything happened that day).
230, 234, 237 & 242/14/Hlonipho/2	"Nothing … nothing … I don't remember … I don't know … I don't know" (when asked what he remembered about his family, what was nice about those times, how his mother used to show him her love, about his father's love and about the people in his home.
1063 & 1067/58-9/Hlonipho/Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I don't want to keep on thinking about it … I just leave it … I don't want to tell anyone … I keep quiet … I don't talk to anyone".
2402/46/Senzo/4	…And sleep and not think about what happened … I try to not let it into my mind … When I start sleeping I don't think of anything".
10, 12 & 15/15/Senzo/5 – Masekitlana	"No … (about anything he wants to change in his life) … Yes … (everything is fine) … No (about if he has issues)".

- **Misidentification or uncertainty in identifying emotions**

In their observed suppression of emotions, I questioned whether participants were unable to identify their emotions rather than simply suppressing them. I wondered if this indicated a lack of vocabulary, in general, or a cultural lack of emotional vocabulary, to express them. It could also have indicated a cultural difference between the researcher's conception of certain emotions and that of the participants. I have often found in my work that Zulu-speaking African people describe depression with the words, "thinking and thinking". In other instances during therapy, participants demonstrated unusual insight into their emotions.

Table 16:   Excerpts on misidentification of emotions

Turn unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
1046/55/Hlonipho/4/ Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"No (he does not know the difference between being angry and feeling sad) … He is thinking too much (if he is feeling sad)".

2/1/Hlonipho/1	"A person who is upset is the same as a person who is angry".
536/28/Hlonipho/3	"What is a conscience?"

- **Insight into emotional responses**

Despite the apparent uncertainties quoted above, participants appeared to have, at times, insight into their emotions that appeared beyond their years in maturity. Hlonipho, in particular, demonstrated unusual insight into his motives and behaviour. Both Hlonipho and Senzo, in their narrative, appeared to understand the concept of suppression of anger and then 'acting out' in the form of bad behaviour at a later stage.

Table 17:   Excerpts on insight into emotions

Turn unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
565/30/Hlonipho/3	"Why don't you listen to both your conscience and your mind before you do something? … First you listen to the one who says the right thing then you listen to the one who says the wrong thing lastly".
3026/75/Senzo/7 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"Let's say I dropped my money on the floor and the other boy says he also dropped his money on the floor … Then they fight and fight … Then they go home and do the wrong thing (in anger/acting out) … They take paint and paint the wall".
555/29/Hlonipho/3	"There was something that was bothering him … He kept it in his mind until he got too angry".
850/47/Hlonipho/6 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"It's to find people who will love me" (when asked what would make him happy).

- **Predominance of negative emotional states especially anger**

Participants often expressed an unusual amount of anger over situations in their lives. This anger appeared to be linked to their feelings of rejection by their families and their placement in the Homes. It was also often linked to parental loss, neglect by their parents and being misunderstood by school and Home authorities. Hlonipho had a calm, gentle exterior yet often projected feelings of anger onto the picture cards. Of the four participants, he appeared particularly angry that his mother was no longer in his life, although he only expressed this as a form of explanation in response to the picture cards. In the Feelings Heart Test, one of the four faces that Hlonipho placed in his heart was an angry face. He then made the comment

that the drawing of the angry boy was copying him, an interesting way of expressing that he identified with the sad face. Participants also preferred to talk about particular picture cards that elicited negative feelings in them. This could have been an indication that they were aware of their need to express sad or angry emotions. Senzo, Nana and Mandla demonstrated more active ways of 'acting out' their anger (banging stones together very hard, talking about using knives, wanting to hit little children) than Hlonipho's general negative malaise when describing the picture cards.

Table 18:   Excerpts on negative emotions and anger

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
80 & 82/6/Hlonipho/1	"He is writing … He is angry … I think he is writing about his mother".
572 & 574/31/Hlonipho/3	"This one is dreaming bad things … He is dreaming about his mother".
1042/57/Hlonipho/4 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I am always angry".
2408/46/Senzo/4	(In answer to what he did when he was angry?) …"I will hit a person then they start hitting me".
588/32/Hlonipho/4 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	(In answer to which picture card he wanted to begin with) … "That which made me feel bad".

- **Contradictions in narrative and contrariness of participants**

Often a participant's way of thinking in one session would be contradicted by how he was thinking and expressing himself in another session. Even in the course of one conversation, participants contradicted themselves, indicating how their dialogical selves manifested their many facets. On one day a participant would be prepared to relate something about his past and on another day, he would deny any memory of the same incident. An example of this is when Hlonipho described the period of his life when he was hit by the wife of the priest who took him into his home. At another session, he stated that the priest hit him. Yet when questioned at another stage, he denied any memory of it. In another session, he denied feeling unhappy or sad; yet he contradicted himself by claiming that he was always angry. Similarly, Senzo would make one statement and then would immediately contradict himself, as if he feared being chastised for his first statement, or perhaps he did not have enough confidence in

his opinions to stand firm on his first statement. In all participants' narratives, contradictions seemed to characterize a certain amount of contrariness or resistance to therapy.

Table 19:   Excerpts on contradictions in narrative

Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
98, 104, 106, 108, 110 & 131/7 & 8/Hlonipho/1	"I don't remember (about his time with the priest, yet at previous sessions …) … The priest found me sick and took me to hospital … I didn't like it there (when he returned to stay with the priest) … He used to ill treat me … He liked hitting me … With a stick".
74 & 76/50/Senzo/4	"I am not happy (in answer to why he is so happy) … I am" (in answer to why he is not happy).
2592, 2598 & 2600/56/Senzo/5 – Masekitlana	"It's easy (in answer to what a road looks like) … I don't know how to (when requested to draw it) … No, I will draw whatever I want … I don't know" (when asked what he wants to draw).
2693 & 2695/60/Senzo/5 – Masekitlana	"Inside (when asked if his house is ugly outside or inside) … Outside" (when asked why it is ugly inside).
3225 & 3226/86/Senzo/8 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"Because he is angry (when asked why someone in a picture card was doing something angry) … He is happy (when asked what made him angry) … He is angry, he is happy" (when asked why he says he is happy).
41, 43, 258, 921 & 947/9, 15, 51 & 52/Hlonipho/1, 2 & 6 (Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I don't remember anything … I don't know … I don't have anything to talk about (when asked about his father, yet at subsequent sessions …) … My father loved horses … When I came back my father was not there … He didn't give birth to me".

4.4.4.2 Sub-theme 2: External reflections of emotions

Inclusion criteria:

Positive effects of participant suffering and trauma and how the emotions were managed in positive ways and in ways to ensure survival on an everyday basis

Exclusion criteria:

Descriptions of anger and fear as expressed through conflict with peers and in the school environment

Despite the above forms of managing emotions, participants had developed some positive and surprising ways of surmounting their past and present challenges.

- **Strength of character, resilience and moral authority**

Life in the Homes did not appear to be easy for participants. After participants experienced altercations with peers or Home and school authorities, they were not always offered immediate comfort and protection such as parents would give a child. They therefore had to be their own sources of strength. Participants expressed a need for guidance from others as to the correct ways to behave and felt the lack of structure and discipline that is normally communicated in families. Despite this, and perhaps as a result of their setbacks in life, they showed remarkable strength of character and resilience in their lives, and expressed a form of self-control and moral authority over their lives and the behaviour of others.

Examples of resilience were demonstrated by all participants.
Hlonipho appeared to have established his own form of moral authority, which manifested as self-control to restrain him from retaliating in fights with peers. Furthermore, he took on the role of peacemaker in the fights. Through this form of moral authority, Hlonipho was able to express "negative contrast experiences" (Johnson-Hill, 1998), which entailed awareness that there was another way of being or of dealing with situations. This could have been the foundation of participants' resilience in that "reflective resistance, the impetus to resist the source of one's discontents contains the seeds for change and exploration of alternatives to present suffering". Hlonipho had identified within himself the seeds of transformation and change.

Senzo and Nana also appeared to know right from wrong. Senzo expressed a desire to help others and Nana demonstrated a quality of forgiveness in an incident involving her peers during the course of one therapy session. Her peers called her out of a session under the pretext that she needed to collect her laundry. Instead they hit her and she returned tearful to therapy (which had to be discontinued until the next day). On the evening of the incident she ran away from the Home to her grandmother, who returned her the next morning. Nana met with her peers, who apologized to her, and by the time she appeared at therapy that afternoon, she was cheerful and happy that she had reconciled with her peers.

Mandla, however, appeared to favour and respect violent forms of behaviour (refer theme 'violence and future careers'). This embracing of violence as a solution to problems might be another form of resilience in participants, although not one usually considered socially acceptable. Malinda and Theron (2010:319) corroborate this in their study of street youth

when they state that "at-risk youth often use what society labels as 'problematic' as pathways to resilience" and that "although these coping mechanisms may be labelled socially 'unacceptable' or 'maladaptive', they cannot be written off, as resilience can be hidden in alternative, marginal, and often destructive behaviours" (Bottrell, 2007, Donald & Swart-Kruger, 1994, Kombarakaran, 2004, McAdam-Crisp, Apteker & Kironyo, 2005 & Ungar, 2004, 2006 in Malinda & Theron, 2010:319). Fighting in the Homes might have served an adaptive function and "a different approach to life's challenges" for participants living in Homes (Hardoy, Sierra, Tammarazio, Ledesma, Ledesma & Garcia, 2010:371).

As expressed in the theme, 'Idealization of mother', the idea of a former loving mother appeared to be a strong source of resilience for participants and it demonstrated the need for the therapist in the current study to probe for loving memories. Hlonipho's memory of a loving mother and of a father who had horses appeared to make him feel happy. I was uncertain whether it was an accurate memory or not.

Table 20:   Excerpts on strength of character, resilience and moral authority

| Unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
4014, 4010 & 4020/24 & 25/Nana/4 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I said they are abusing me where I stay … I said ok I forgive you (for hitting her which led to her running away from the Home) …We have forgiven each other".
234, 236 & 238/14/Hlonipho/2	"Nothing (could he remember about his mother, yet he knew that …) … My mother loved me … I don't remember" (how she showed her love for him).
262/15/Hlonipho/1	"At home … My father used to have horses … He loved horses".
44/3/Hlonipho/1	"We must learn from adults and do what adults want us to do".
559 & 563/30/Hlonipho/3	"If it happens that I get angry, I would be able to stop it" … If it happens that I feel like breaking a chair, I can just stop it and put it down again … Your mind can tell you to stop".
503,504,507/26/Hlonipho/3	"He is telling him rules at home … That we must respect older people and that we must not fight".
515 & 517/27/Hlonipho/3 995/55/Hlonipho/3 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"I think this person is trying to stop these people because they are arguing … He realizes that if he just lets them fight, one person will get hurt so he decided to come and stop the fight … I would be the one who tries and stop the fight".
4071/27/Nana/4 – Masekitlana and Roberts-2	"Then the father said we are talking about respect and manners. You have a right to have parents. You have a right to have a bed. You also have a right to have a home".

2530-2/53/Senzo/4	"I would help people … I will help those who are elderly and those who have broken legs … When they are walking slowly then there will be a car that goes fast and I will help them".

4.5   OVERLAPPING OF THEMES

In the current study, it was a challenge to keep different themes discrete, as the content of one theme either contradicted the content of another, was reflective of parts of another theme, or the result or cause of another theme. The participants' need for their mothers and for their families was felt to be one of the underlying reasons for the anger they expressed towards their peers. Their suppression of emotions over the hurts they had received by being abandoned and neglected was probably released on the playgrounds of their schools and in the Homes, where they described the frequent situations involving fighting and bullying. Feelings of disempowerment and a lack of information in relation to their past, present and future lives resulted in negative perceptions of everyday situations. At the same time, having to defend themselves against their peers probably developed a form of resilience and adaptation to Home culture. Their community-mindedness also perhaps helped them to cope with the Home environment, and their ancestral and Biblical beliefs enabled them to accept their past lives and have faith that their future lives would unfold according to the plans of their ancestors and God.

The diagram below demonstrates how entwined the different themes are, how complex participants' lives and personalities were and the challenge it was in the current study to 'tease out' and differentiate participants' lives into distinct categories.
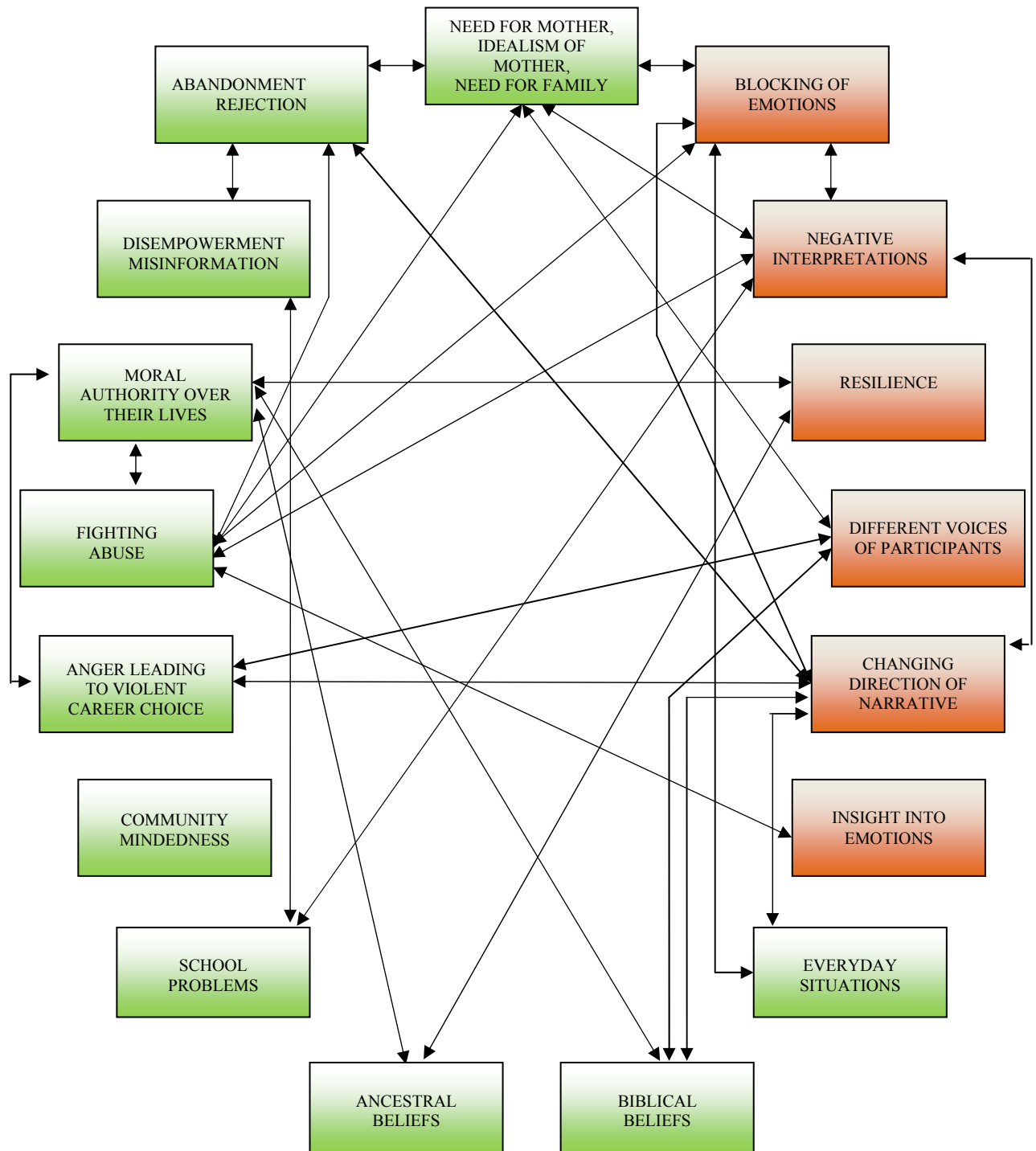
Figure 11:   Overlapping of themes

4.6   OBSERVATIONS

How the participants responded when using Masekitlana, the first sub-question of the current study, was partially answered by examining the above themes and will be revisited in Chapter 6, "Discussion". Answering this question also involved an observational inspection of the

videoed data in conjunction with the meta-narrative from the participants around their experience of this method of therapy.

I noticed that participants were able to talk more freely when they played or 'fiddled' with the stones. Senzo enjoyed talking while he rolled a stone up and down his legs. I had noticed how he fiddled nervously with his hands when the Roberts-2 was performed on him before the intervention of Masekitlana was conducted, but this ended when he was allowed to manipulate the stones while talking. Nana found banging the stones very hard together – to the point of leaving a thin 'carpet' of stone chips around her – enabled her to release anger that she felt over her peers hitting her, and sorrow at having to leave her family home due to her being sexually molested. Hlonipho only narrated his traditional African beliefs in talking animals embodying ancestral spirits while he was playing Masekitlana. Three of the participants enjoyed playing other African forms of stone games after they had finished talking with Masekitlana. The following narrative units demonstrated the participants' responses to Masekitlana therapy. However, it was the videoed material that indicated the participants' bodily movements and manipulation of the stones in conjunction with the verbal expression.

Table 21: Excerpts on participants' narrative responses to Masiketlana

Turn unit/page/speaker/session	Quotation
93-2/34/Hlonipho/3 – Masekitlana	*Therapist*: "Maybe you can take the stones you like and tell us about that situation that made you feel sad … Why are you choosing those stones, they look quite small". Participant: "I don't like that I am the only child from my mother and I don't have brothers".
5697-8/23/Senzo/6 – Masekitlana	*Therapist*: "Tell us about your stones, who do they represent?" *Participant*: "People in my life".
5706-7/24/Senzo/6 – Masekitlana	*Therapist*: "Tell us about yourself today. These are stones right, can you tell us about them? Tell us who N…… is, what does he do everyday, even on weekends?". *Participant*: "There is a game that is being played …"
4163,4165-8/32-3/Mandla/4 – Masekitlana	*Therapist*: "Ok, you've hit the stones too many times". *Participant*: "Yes, my stone is getting broken. These stones are so stupid". *Therapist*: "Well, play with them in another way. Rub them together". *Participant*: "This is a game they play at school. I'd rather

	not play it. Now I used to have a stone that looked like a cake. I like this one. No, I am going with this stone. I want to suck it. When I go to bed, the ghost will go away … The ghost comes this side and it also comes to the bed to sleep on the other side and finishes the cake … Then my ghost goes to sleep … My ghost is very big … When it is not sleeping, it gets sent to go and hit that other person at night … When I say ha, it's nice to sleep … It comes back … But if don't say it, my ghost goes to sleep".
4438-40/40/Nana/5 – Masekitlana	*Therapist*: "You said you like those stones?" *Participant*: "Yes". *Therapist*: "You make a cross with your stones and tell us something nice about your life".

The themes as they stand alone and the actions involved in playing Masekitlana constitute a 'thin' description of the meaning that participants created out of Masekitlana. The interpretation of the themes at a deeper, more symbolic level and the relevance of Masekitlana therapy are covered in Chapter 6. Denzin (1989) confirms that interpretation is always symbolic in that an utterance can only be grasped and understood by considering gestures and facial expressions around it *and* by contextualizing it; what an act means on the surface is perhaps not what it means at a deeper, symbolic level. How Masekitlana enabled participants to construct meaning at a deeper, more symbolic level is what lent credence to the intervention of Masekitlana.

4.7   CONCLUSION

Generative themes in this chapter indicated that participants responded to Masekitlana by expressing:

- their traditional and Christian beliefs;
- their sadness over the loss of their parents or the disintegration of their original nuclear families;
- their everyday concerns and occurrences in the Homes, including conflict with peers and difficulties with schooling; and
- suppression of emotions but, at later sessions of Masekitlana, a more open revelation of inner feelings of sadness and anger, with indications of resilience and moral authority in their lives.

Themes that emerged from the data, along with sub-themes and categories, have all been discussed with supporting quotes from the recorded therapy and assessment sessions. It can be noticed from the quotation tables that there was a predominance of quotations located in the sessions where Masekitlana was conducted with the participants. This indicated how this narrative game enabled the participants to express themselves in meaningful ways.

I found it difficult to tease out and delineate different sub-themes from each other, as one facet of a participant's life tended to be part of, to be caused by or to be the effect of another situation in his life. I indicated this complexity of participant experiences in life in the section and diagram on overlapping of themes. I also noticed how certain features of each participant repeated themselves throughout the themes. For instance, across various themes, Mandla appeared angry, Hlonipho expressed the need for his mother, Senzo yearned for a domestic life with his family and Nana expressed issues with her peers. Furthermore, each participant's narrative reflected in distinct ways the social context against which he experienced and spoke about his life in the study. In generating themes, I also noticed trends of expressions and emotions similar to all participants, that is, 'condensations' and 'generalizations' that can be identified and analyzed without discarding the particular life circumstances or unique social context of each participant (Falmagne, 2006).

I found myself interpreting the thematic data as I was compiling different themes. In this way I began a simultaneous process of analysis and interpretation, although for clarification reasons I answered the sub-questions and main question of the current study in Chapter 6, "Discussion".

In the next chapter, I will describe and demonstrate through graphic analysis how the participants progressed during the standard of care sessions and during the intervention sessions. I will also show how quantitative graphic analysis was more precise and definitive than the qualitative analysis in indicating differences between the two types of therapy, and in indicating more clearly the effect of the intervention phase that involved Masekitlana. The quantitative data of the next chapter will also indicate more precisely how the participants' adaptive functioning and how they thought about their lives changed as the intervention of Masekitlana proceeded.

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