An Orphanage in Cape Town

Qualitative research about employees and children

Author:
Jessica Rösbo, 840302

Instructor:
Christopher Kindblad

Examiner:
Niklas Westberg
Opening

I will never forget my experience of South Africa and I will always be grateful for how much it taught me. I will also never forget the children that I worked with for eight weeks and all of the new friendships that I made during my visit. It was a wonderful and memorable experience that I will keep very close to my heart.

I would like to say thank you to the following people for all of the help that I received during my journey:

To

All of the members of employees at the orphanage,
All of the children who live at the orphanage,

And to

My professor Christopher Kindblad, who helped me a lot with my work

And finally to

My wonderful family and boyfriend that have been there throughout my whole journey
Abstract

To collect data for this report a field study was performed at an orphanage in Cape Town, South Africa. I carried out volunteer work for eight weeks to find out more about the children’s situations. I wanted to find out what it was like to work at an orphanage for children in need and what the employees were doing to help. The children’s ages ranged from five to eighteen years old and they all lived together, although boys and girls slept in different rooms.

Before I went to South Africa, I thought that an orphanage was a place for children without parents, who had been abandoned when they were infants. Some of the children at the orphanage come from situations like this, but many of them have family who they need help and protection from. Their own parents cannot take care of them because of different social problems such as sexual abuse, drug abuse or poverty.

During the field study qualitative research was performed, where the people that I worked with and the children in the orphanage were participating. Observation was also included in my field work. The result of the field study was very interesting. The most important findings from my results were that all of the people I spoke to said that they would like to see some changes at the orphanage. They came up with plenty of different ideas to make the environment better. I interviewed five employees at the orphanage and all of them said that they would like to extend the amount of employees, have better communication among themselves, therapy sessions - and more weekend activities for the children. During this period of the field study I interviewed a lot of children of different ages, but out of the interviews six where used in this report.

Keywords: Orphanage, Social problems, Children, Employees, Changes
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1. Introduction
Apartheid, a civil rights struggle between black and white people, had an appalling impact on South Africa’s development. The history left a big mark on the country and even on the people of South Africa. It was a hard time for the homeland. For 42 years of
South Africa’s history the black people struggled for their liberty. Numerous black people were considered to be unequal, compared to the whites. Even today, one can still see the first hand effects of South Africa’s history. There have been different kinds of consequences on the people and the country. Some of the costs of Apartheid are: Poverty, racial discrimination and high levels of societal tolerance for violence, and cultures of violence. Poverty and inequality between people is still increasing in South Africa. Many people, who have had it hard, have it even harder now. People had to go through many political and social changes and because of that individuals in South Africa have a hard time escaping the poverty. The poverty has negative effects on individuals. The high crime rate has one of the biggest influences, arousing fear among many individuals in the country. An addition to Apartheid and the high crime there are different social problems in South Africa. Due to people’s oppression during Apartheid, problems among individuals are on the rise. There are diverse social problems in South Africa and some of them can be unemployment, poverty and different types of abuse, both sexual and physical abuse. Other common forms of abuse can be drug and alcohol. Another, social problem is physical neglect and abandonment. In correlation with physical neglect one also sees all these different forms of social problems, which lead to a disrupted family support system. A great amount of these social problems in the society influence South Africa’s children, leading to a large number of children, which do not have a family. A lot of families have split up because of the social problems in society. There have always been social issues in South Africa, but after Apartheid and the poverty’s consequences it started to break down, even more. All children deserve a family and a good childhood in life, but as earlier referred to there are several children in the South African society that do not have a family. That is one major reason children end up at the orphanage. Even if some of the children at the orphanage do not have parents in their life, there are several of them that have parents. The following circumstance that the children do not live with their parents is because of the social situation within the family. They cannot take care of a child and that is why the children come to stay at the orphanage, to get a better life and also because of the situation, that the children deserve a better life. Several children at the orphanage, studied here, come from families where they do not receive the support and the love that they deserve from their family members. When a child arrives at the
orphanage, they are desperate for help and support. The child is alone and does not have any parents. He or she was either abandoned by their parents or the parents did not care for their child properly. For the children to grow up and to be good citizens they need, support, love and good mother and father figures to learn what is right and wrong. The orphanage betters the children’s future, in comparison with their original homes. However, the orphanage is not always able to provide the children with all of the things they need such as, a loving and family environment.

1.1 The purpose and specific research questions
The purpose of this field study is to get an insider perspective and see what the employees at the orphanage do to help these children to get a better standard of life. It is as well of a big importance to see how the children experience there situation at the orphanage. What are the employees doing to help these children in need of care and what can they improve? To get a broader understanding of their culture is crucial for this paper to develop. It is interesting to see how people in other cultures and societies work with and through these kinds of social problems. To analyze these aspects of South Africa was one of the many reasons behind this field study.

The aim of this research is to answer the following question:
How do the children experience their situation at the orphanage?
What kinds of changes would the employees and the children like to see at the orphanage and how could the orphanage change for the better?

2. Bold

2.1 Cultural History of South Africa
South Africa is a country that is undergoing constant development. In comparison to other African countries, South Africa has come far in its development. It is a land of possibility and opportunity. South Africa has a rich history and multitude of cultures. It has eleven different languages, English being one of them. It is an interesting country
with a lot of different people and cultures. The country is proud of their heritage, and they are especially proud of the country’s remarkable achievement during the First Decade of Freedom. (South Africa Yearbook, 2004/05). There are 48 600 000 people living in South Africa, and by looking at the lifestyles of people who live in South Africa, it shows that they are as varied as the land in which they live (South Africa Yearbook, 2004/05).

“A small number of South Africans live in a wealthy nation filled with shining cities and sprawling suburbs”.

(Kizilos, 1998). One of South Africa’s mostly discussed historical elements is Apartheid. It began in 1948 and ended in 1990; it went on for more than 40 years. Apartheid was a system of legalized racial segregation, enforced by the National Party. It enhanced a political discriminative separation between black and white people, meaning that the white people had all the rights while black people did not have any rights. That is what Apartheid stood for. A lot of young black children had a big role in the Apartheid; they were one of Apartheid’s premier hallmarks. Many young people were against this political system and tried to help their parents. The children participated in the struggle to reform one of history’s most detestable systems. This system forced the young people and their parents into submission, which let them to become second-class citizens (Ronnås, 1987).

"The year was 1986 and under this year did the police kill 92 children and 10.000 children got arrested according to the laws" (Ronnås, 1987, page.3)

Even if South Africa’s society is heading in the right direction, it is still difficult for a child to get a healthy and a good education. Several of these children are in need. Many have no home or family that can take care of them, nor someone who can give them food, clothing, or a proper education (The Children's Movement for Creative Education).

2.2 Short resume of Cape Town’s history
Cape Town is a large city, one of the oldest cities in South Africa and the most culturally diverse. The city was founded in 1652 as a Dutch trading camp. Before that, Cape Town did not have regular contact with Europe. During this time, the city grew slowly due to the fact that it was hard to get workers, which led to imports from Indonesia. A couple of years later, Cape Town became a colony under Dutch and British control. Until the 1700-century Cape Town reminded Dutch. In 1795 the British started to protect the city from
Frenchmen’s, which led to a war between Holland, France and Britain. The war ended in 1814 with Britain as the winner. In 1910 Britain established the Union of South Africa, which included Cape Town, the two defeated Boer colonies and the British Colony of Natal. Cape Town became the legislative capital of the Union of South Africa which later became the Republic of South Africa. In the 1948 election the National party won on the platform of apartheid. With Apartheid, all areas were classified according to race. In 27 April 1994 Nelson Mandela won the first democratic election in South Africa and ended the apartheid. Since 1994 Cape Town has struggled with HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, drug-related crime and xenophobic violence but they also have had a boom in tourism. (Lacour-Gayet, 1977)

"One of Cape Town’s main challenges is the high crime rate. Apart from crime’s devastating direct consequences for its victims, the social and psychological consequences for crime occurring in the city and the subsequent fear of crime should not be underestimated. The fear of crime also leads to increased fragmentation and the polarisation of the city, characterised by enforced segregation through gated communities, stigmatisation and exclusion” (Gie and Haskins, 2007)

Cape Town is one of the world’s most dangerous cities, due to the many social problems—including murder, rape, drug related crime and commercial/industrial crime. During 2008, there were 60 murders reported per 100,000 people, and 73 rape cases were reported from April to December 2007 per 100,000 people. During 2008, the reported drug related crimes were 829 incidents per 100,000 people. The number of commercial and industrial crime incidents reported during 2008 was 463 per 100,000 people. There are many police stations in Cape Town; in 2006 they had 62 police stations. Today, three years later, the amount of police stations has most likely increased. The population of Cape Town is 3.4 million people; therefore it is clear that there is a lot of crime in this city based on the statistics above. But even thought Cape Town is a town of many crimes, there is also a great deal of good that exists. The people are nice, helpful, and every individual I have met there displayed kindness and warmth. (City of Cape Town official website - local government services)
2.3 The Athlone suburb of Cape Town
Athlone is one of Cape Town’s suburbs, and this is where I worked and lived during my eight weeks of field work. Athlone is situated 9 km west of Cape Town International airport and 10 km from the centre of Cape Town. It is a coloured area and it forms part of the Historical Cape Flats, which received its name from the flat sandy stretch of land located on the outskirts of Cape Town. During Apartheid were Athlone a dumping ground for the people who felt victims of those atrocities (Origins of Athlone). Even if Athlone is a community where most coloured people live, there are many other cultures there, such as Indians, blacks and whites. The number of coloured people living in Athlone in 2001 was 73 943 and the number of white people was 1936. There were 2377 Black people and 11943 Indian people. Athlone is a good example of how people with different backgrounds and cultures can become a unified culture (Origins of Athlone).

2.4 The Children’s Home
The orphanage was founded by the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, it started in 1929 as an old farmhouse used to house orphaned girls in need of care. As time went by, the needs of the community changed in such a way that greater emphasis was put on the needs of all children at risk, both girls and boys. After 70 years of hard work, the home was transformed. Currently the home takes care of 50 children, 25 boys and 25 girls. These children range from the age five to eighteen years old. The children come to the orphanage due to different kinds of social problems in their homes and they have been placed there through the Children’s Court (The orphanage, Children’s home).

“Before we take a child from its parents we first give the family a lot of chances to improve, but if they will not improve or can’t improve, we place the child at the orphanage” (Social Worker at the orphanage).

When they come to the orphanage, they do not have to be five years old; the ages of the children vary. A five year old child can come to the orphanage because he or she has been sexually abused by the father in the family. Another child can be seventeen when they come to the orphanage. When the child arrives to the orphanage, they start participating in school; they get clothes, food and a safe environment. The social worker at the orphanage tries to get the child host or foster parents. Host parenting is when the child visits a certain family who can look after the child during weekends. If the family is
interested in foster care, they can apply for it, although the first step is to become a host parent. When a child goes into foster care, the child moves in with the family and becomes a family member. When a child turns 18 years old, the orphanage tries to get the child a host family that can look after the child. Sometimes it can be hard to get a child into foster care and it can depend on several things. If the biological parents try to improve their situation at home and want their child back, it is impossible for the child to get foster parents. Sometimes the parents will improve their situation so that the child can come home, but most of the time they find it difficult to change. If they will not improve, the social worker has to start looking for a family to the child.

"First of all we are looking for the biological parents and see if they can take care of them. We look at their situation and see if the child can go back. If that’s not possible we are looking for host parents. Those can even be family like grandma. So the family is the first step before host parents. We try to place them while they are young and find them a family, but sometimes it can be hard, especially if the child is older. Sometimes it’s the child that doesn’t want help” (Social Worker at the orphanage).

Some of the children at the orphanage do not have host-or foster parents. They do not have anyone who can take care of them. The upsetting truth is that they realize this. Depending on their age, whether they are five or sixteen, it can be easier or harder for a child to get a host or foster parents. The living conditions for the children at the orphanage consist of two separate houses, one for the boys and one for the girls. They have five rooms in each house, where they accommodate children according to age. In one room they have age five to eight, and ages nine to thirteen in another room. The children are actively involved in different types of sports, such as softball, soccer, volleyball and karate. The children are also involved in other activities, such as Youth Fellowship. Sometimes the staff, other organisations and different churches even organise other types of activities for the children. The children participate in different types of schools, and the employees have to get them ready for school every morning. (The orphanage, Children’s home).

"It is vitally important that all Child and Youth Care workers take an active role in the educational progress of each child in his/her section by doing the
following: See your children off to school each day and ensure that they are properly clothed and have a school lunch and any other requirements, Meet and maintain personal contact with the child’s educator, Check their homework on a daily basis, Be present during study times and assist, Be alert to any educational problems and inform the Social Worker and Educational Officer, Be available for your child’s school meetings.” It is desirable that you be able to work in a team environment. You are expected to have and exercise the following traits: love, warmth, honesty, empathy, patience, a forgiving nature and being well-organized. Serious disciplinary problems must be referred to the Social Worker and you are reminded that corporal punishment is not permitted. Evidence of this could lead to immediate dismissal. Recreation plays an important role in the development of the child and the carer should encourage participation (The orphanage Children’s Home, Job Description).

Employees at the orphanage think that it is important to develop the children spiritually and emotionally because of their different kinds of physical needs. They have devotions twice a day, in the morning and in the afternoon.

“We are grateful to have been blessed with loyal and dedicated staff. They are always willing to give more than what is expected of them. Together we strive to create and maintain a homely atmosphere where both children and staff can feel loved, secure and protected- and, God willing, help the children to re-enter the community as productive members of society.”(The orphanage, Children’s home)

2.5 Social problems at the orphanage

2.5.1 Physical, Sexual, drug, alcohol and neglect abuse

Different kinds of social problems can be found at the orphanage. It can occur in the home or outside the home. Physical abuse is the most recognised form and there are different types of injuries which can be caused by physical violence. Some of them are: brain damage, burns, broken bones, bruises and bites. These are just a few of the injuries a child can receive from being physically abused. It is important to know that many of the
injuries looks like the result of every day accidents or scrapes (Havelin, 2000). Sexual abuse is something that has always occurred and can arouse emotions like anger, unhappiness, disgust, confusion and reservation. These emotions are not something we as individuals can eliminate. It is extremely important to talk about the abuse and to understand how sexual abuse can affect a child for life. There are three different types of sexual abuse: Incest, where family members are the ones abusing. It can be the biological father that is abusing his son or daughter. Sexual abuse can occur between step-parents and their non biological children. Another type is sexual abuse between a stranger and a child, including paedophilia. The last type is sexual exploitation which can be pornographic, films and books (Havelin, 2000). Physical neglect is the kind of abuse that is easiest to identify. It occurs when the parents leave their children alone at home or elsewhere, when the child does not get enough food and when the child lives in squalid conditions (Havelin, 2000). There are lot of different drugs in the South African society and there are constantly more and new drugs arriving to the markets. All drugs that are called psychoactive drugs are most commonly used and have an effect on human’s thinking, behaviour, consciousness and mood (Maisto, Galizio & Connors, 1995). Several of the children at the orphanage have parents that are addicted to alcohol and drugs and because of their high usage of these psychoactive drugs can it lead to a bad home environment for the child, such as: child and spousal abuse can occur from rapid emotion and mood changes. It can cause social problems where the family’s financial stability decreases or increases, which can lead to living on the street, where they have to beg for money and food. It can lead to divorce in the family or loss of a family member. Another common situation can be that mothers and fathers leave their unplanned children on the street or somewhere else when the child is born (Maisto, Galizio & Connors, 1995).

2.5.2 A short story about a woman who lived at the orphanage 22 years ago
Cam is 40 years old now and is working as a cleaner. She lived at the orphanage from the age of four, until she was 18 years of age. Cam does not remember the reason why she came to the orphanage, all she can recall is the social worker bringing her and her six siblings to the orphanage. Not even the social worker told her why they were there. They just knew that they where orphans and came from Queenstown, in Cape Town. Cam said
that she has always wondered why she came to the home. She has always been angry that they took her to the orphanage. Cam explained what it was like to live at the orphanage 22 years ago:

“I was glad to stay there because of my schooling, but I’m also glad that I got out of there. They didn’t care about what they were saying to you. They called you a “throw-away-child”. They always reminded us where we came from and what we were. If the staff didn’t like you, they gave you ugly shoes and clothes and threatened you so you were scared to sleep at nights. We were pigs to the staff, not human beings. Even if the staff hit me, pulled my hair and hit me in the face, where rude to me or did something else, I was just glad to have a roof”.

Cam states that the employees always were right, they did not listen to her and they did not have enough food; Cam said that the staff took it. The orphanage also got many donations, but the children just got a small amount of it. A lot of the children that were living at the orphanage had families that they could go home to, but Cam and her siblings never had that privilege. They just had each other. At Christmas, Cam used to cry because she saw all her friends going home to families, but she had to stay at the orphanage. Cam and her siblings never got the opportunity to get a family that could take care of her and her siblings. The reason for that was that no one could look after so many children at once. When they had schoolwork to do, the employees never helped them. They always had to do their school work in school where they could get more help. Cam said that when she turned eighteen she and her siblings moved to her sister’s house and got 100 rand (South African money) from the orphanage, so she never had money or support to attend college.

3. Methodological approach
This section intends to explain how the study carried out, how the collection of data passed to and how the selection was made. Furthermore, the scientific approach made clear and the ethical aspects of the study will be considered. Finally, work reliability and interpretation method will be described.
3.1 Theory of science
By doing this research was hermeneutics one source that was useful for the project. Hermeneutics are used to get a deeper understanding about a written text and about an event in the social world. Hermeneutics is relevant to the social sciences because a lot of their data consists of meaningful phenomena, such as documents, oral statements and texts. Everything in the social world that endures a meaningful phenomenon has to be interpreted and be comprehensible. People may have an idea of their life world, others and society, which can pose a problem in the interpretation. Social scientists will often have to interpret what has already been interpreted by the social actors, about themselves and their environment (Neuman, 2006). Gilje et al. (2007) explains that there are two different processes of hermeneutic interpretation. One is implying descriptions of social actor’s life and acts of themselves, which should not be interpreted; because descriptions can often be inaccurate. Even the concepts the social scientists use can be unscientific. The second tradition argues that these descriptions are of fundamental importance in particular because it is the researchers own perceptions of what they do that gives meaning. It is therefore important that the research is based on social actors’ descriptions of their environment. This research is based on the second tradition of the social actor’s life, because it is of most importance to see and listen to what the informants had to say. The research would not be interesting if the informant’s opinions would not be included. The informant is a part of the orphanage and without listening, talking and asking those questions about themselves and the orphanage, there would not be a story to tell.

3.2 Prior knowledge
I chose my topic because my interest of working with young people has always been great. I was also curious to see how another part of the world worked with children with various social problems. Some of my past experience and understanding I received when I worked with asylum seekers children and young people who came to Sweden without parents. Although I knew they went through something terrible, I admired these children that had been taken to a completely foreign country without their parents. Although I knew that asylum seeker children are very different from an orphanage in South Africa I can see some parables. The child asylum seekers came to Sweden without parents, while the children at the orphanage arrived without parents. I saw a certain connection between
those two and knew that both of them wanted a mother and a father that could take care and look after them. When I went to South Africa I had little understanding on the subject I had chosen, but I never knew what was expected of me. I had always been interested in South Africa, but the information I knew about, came from the books I had been reading. I could never imagine how the life and culture was in South Africa. I just knew that the life was hard for several of the people in the country. I did not know much about their history; however I could never have imagined how it would be when I arrived, if there would still be segregation between black and white people or if the situation would be better. I found coming to the orphanage challenging, for the reason that I did not know anything about it. I did not receive any information before arriving, therefore I had many questions. I wanted to know if I could interview the employees at the orphanage. I could not even know the age of the children at the orphanage, if I could have the opportunity to interview them or if that would not be a possibility. Due to the fact that I was doing the research in another country, one challenge was the culture differences. Before coming to the new culture and the new place it is usually common that people have different apprehension and preconceived thoughts about the place or people they will meet during their visit. I pictured my informants to have different opinions and I did not want to come to the orphanage and give them orders, I just wanted to come and listen and hear their stories. The attention of this field study was never to give them directions, because we came from two different parts of the worlds, where cultures and our idea of right and wrong differed. Although my experience of the subject and the area was not so much before I went, I can describe my journey as the hermeneutics circle, which aims to interpretation grows in a circular motion between the individual prior knowledge and exposure to new experiences and ideas, leading to new understanding, which in turn become prior knowledge in future interpretation approaches (Neuman, 2006). My understanding about the orphanage and the people living there increased day to day. One of my purposes with this trip was that I at least had a hope of trying to make something good of my experiences and lessons learned down in South Africa.

3.3 Qualitative method
In this project micro sociological research has been performed, where one regards relations among individuals in smaller organisations (Rosengren & Arvidson 2005). A
qualitative approach for the data collection was chosen for the reason that it suited this particular project well. It was desirable to gain a comprehensive understanding about the children and the employees that worked at the orphanage therefore; a qualitative research was used to receive a deeper knowledge about the problem. (Rosengren & Arvidson, 2005) “Qualitative research means that the researcher has to be a part in the collection of the material for the research. Be part of the social reality, which going to be researched. It doesn’t matter if it’s in a prison, school, a demonstration or an election campaign etc” (Rosengren & Arvidson, 2002).

Jacobsen (2002) also explains that Qualitative research increases the closeness to the source of information and that qualitative research is flexible and can adapt. This results in understanding how humans make sense of their surrounding, in relation to inherited knowledge and skill. Hermeneutics gives you a broader understanding of an event in a social world; however an additional concern about qualitative research is that it gives you a more in depth understanding of the issue, although it will not include a large amount of informants for the research. In comparison, quantitative provides answers and more informants for the research, where it will not provide the same intimacy as qualitative research. (Jacobsen, 2002)

3.4 Sample
It is always a good opportunity to increase the knowledge and understanding about another culture through working or visiting the country for a while. Knowing, that if I wanted to write about an orphanage in South Africa, my only alternative was to work as a volunteer or visit South Africa without having any set plans. If my subject for my essay was: “What is an orphanage and why do we need them?” it would have been much easier for my project to be written in Sweden. However, I chose instead to have a topic about a specific orphanage, because I have always dreamed about working in an orphanage and having the chance to explore a new country as well as culture. My first thoughts about an orphanage were limited and without going to South Africa my knowledge about orphanages would never increase. I would never know that many of the children who are staying at the orphanage have parents; however they are unable to live with them because of different kinds of social problems in the family. I would never have been able to learn about their culture or get the opportunity to hear several interesting yet sad stories that
children of a young age were telling me. My knowledge about their history and about Apartheid would not be as in depth, if I did not receive the opportunity to meet people that could tell me their history and share their knowledge first hand. Five employees that were working at the orphanage and six of the children were elected for the interviews. Some of them had been working there for many years and some of them were fairly new. The children were different ages and had dissimilar social experiences in life. Some of them had been living at the orphanage for many years of their life while some of them a couple of months. I wanted to see if the answers differed from each other, depending on how long they had been working or living at the orphanage. To get a broader view and a deeper understanding about the orphanage there were many different interviews performed. However, I chose to only include ten of them in my results and using two other interviews to my background information. The informants in the project were elected by convenience selection. No one in particular at the field was asked to attend the interview, because all informants were selected spontaneously. With one of the informants I did have to book an appointment. The difficulties with this selection was that all of the informants did not have time right away, however if they said that they would help, they always did, and I was grateful for that. One day I got the opportunity to interview a 40 year old woman that had been living at the orphanage 22 years ago. I was given her number from another volunteer and I thought it would be interesting to see if she would like to share her thoughts with me and speak a little bit about the orphanage. She was a kind lady and we made arrangements to have an appointment at the volunteer’s house. She had an interesting story to tell and I think we could talk for ages, because everything she told me was terrifying, yet relevant to my project. All interviews took place in an employee room at the orphanage. I wanted to listen and hear different stories about the orphanage, however almost all of them had similar answers.

3.5 Qualitative interviews
Five employees and six children were elected to participate in the project. An interview with a social worker and Cam was done as well, although only some of their information has been included in the background information. Though a wider perspective of the orphanage was desirable interviews with different individuals with diverse ages and experiences were done; Nina 21 years old, educated economist and dancer, Sara 23 years
old, some courses on psychology, Brenda 40 years old, educated Child and Youth Care Worker, Megan, 45 years old, educated Social Worker, Cindy 55 years old, no education. In this research interviews were used in the data collection process. The interviews were semi-structured because they tend to give a broad result though it allows one to ask follow up questions when needed. What is typical for doing semi-structured interviews is that you can follow up interesting material and answers while talking to the informants (Kvale, 1997). Interview-guides were used during all interviews; one specifically for interviewing the employees and one for the children. The interview-guides were used for the reason that some structure in the interviews was desired and that one, in addition, could prepare for the meeting. The aim with using structured interviews is to ensure that each interview is presented with exactly the same fixed questions in the same order. It leads to more comprehensible research (Rosengren, & Arvidson, 2002). The interviews that were held with the employees and the children at the orphanage resulted in good answers to the questions. The informants gave a deeper understanding of the situation at the orphanage and the situation surrounding the children. They really opened up. One unprepared interview was done with one of the employees, even though there are risks with these kinds of interviews, this one turned out to be successful. This interview has been presented in the results. The negative aspect was that the interviewer had to be more focused to not forget any questions or run out of questions to ask. (Rosengren & Arvidson, 2002). A negative aspect of using interviews is if the informants do not tell everything that is needed for the project, because they may, for example, feel uncomfortable or just do not want to talk about their personal experiences in life. Most interviews were good however; during some you could tell that they felt uncomfortable (Kvale, 1997). To ease tension, the interviews were started off by talking to the informants in an informal way, about things that did not concern the topic. To work at the orphanage whilst gathering empirical material was a positive in gaining trust among the informants.

3.6 Observation
To work at the orphanage every day during this project gave me the opportunity to perform observations whilst working. By doing observations the situational understanding increased and created an inside perspective. Observations were performed
by just being with the children or just have a conversation with the employees. Attention, watching and listening carefully were a part of the field every day. All senses were used to make the best of the observation, while working. I became an individual that noticed everything around the environment (Neuman, 2006). When observing something special or just talking to an individual that stated something that could be useful for the project I took notes. It was important to not forget all the new information that was received day by day. As Sjöberg (1999) describes is the field always an analysis stage, it is not even one minute without analyzing what they see to find different explanations. People try all the time creating a new theoretical understanding of the unknown and also revise other thoughts as people have before they start to explore everything about the field. According to Sjöberg (1999) is it good to be a part of the field, to work and to create a good relationship towards the institution when doing a research. It will automatically construct a more understandable knowledge for the researcher if the person is a part of the daily routines. Sjöberg (1999) as well explains how hard it is to avoid a close relationship among the researcher and the people in the institution. I felt that working with the same people every day and try to not have a close relationship was very hard to avoid. After being involved in their life for two months it did not just become a duty for me to do my research because it as well became my workplace who I worked in everyday, from early morning to late evening. As a researcher, I believe we have several different roles on the field, one who help and one who analyzes and observe. All individuals have different requirements when they are working. I found it hard to just be a researcher who takes, because I like to give. But I as well think it depends on what kind of research a person do. I had to give and take to try to understand my question and aim with this research. Even if this approach gives me the best answer to my questions I can say that it took plenty of time and energy to accomplish what I wanted, but the positive is that you learn something infinitely and create an entirely different perception of reality and a different culture, which I had not done if I would stayed at home. All employees and the children who I interviewed new about me were doing a research about the orphanage. I found all of them very helpful and no one found it disturbing, just positive for the children due to the fact that a deeper conversation took place with some of the children who were open about their different situations. If I would have time would I interview even more children to
get broader information but due to the fact that I had limited of time could I not manage
to fulfill all my thoughts. I found it easier to work with both the children and the
employees if I knew them better. I found it easier for them to answer my questions
because they knew me as a person. Anonymousness was a part of the study, so all notes
was organized by false names, in case someone found my notes. (Neuman, 2006)

3.7 Interpretive Explanation
Interpretive explanation is about developing an understanding of social context in a
society. Max Weber was one of many sociologists who studied interpreting the operator’s
motives and intentions. Weber wanted to come to an understanding of their situation and
find an explanation for human conduct in a specific historical situation. The theorist has
to attempt to discover the meaning of a practice or an event, by placing it within a
specific background. Theorists try to comprehend the social world, what the research is
about. It is important to try seeing the social world as another person does (Newman,
2003).

3.8 Measurement, Reliability and Validity
Data can be measured in various ways; it can be measured in the form of numbers and
sometimes in words (Neuman, 2006). In this research both numbers and words have been
used in measuring data, since it generates a wider perspective and more clarity. In all
measurement, reliability and validity are central issues. All researchers want their
measurement to be reliable and valid. Reliability and validity are helpful in measuring
the truthfulness, credibility, or believability of findings. The word reliability means
dependability and consistency and validity involving truthfulness (Neuman, 2003). This
research has high reliability, due to the broad selection of interviews and the eight weeks
long work at the orphanage in addition to living with an African family during the stay.
To live with the African family gave knowledge and a different understanding about the
culture and the people in the country. Due to the work at the orphanage the correctness of
what was expressed during the interviews could be observed whilst working with the
informants and by regarding their everyday life. This method gave the project a greater
reliability in comparison to just performing interviews, without working and getting to
know the informants.
3.9 Ethics
I followed the traditional approach for interviews by allowing the informants to remain anonymous. I changed all the names of my informants and chose to call the orphanage ‘the orphanage’. Even if South Africa is a country far away and all my informants did not say anything about anonymity, I wanted to keep it anonymous. At the beginning of an interview I always explained that no names would be used in my project. It was important to tell my informant that, even if they did not mind. It was also necessary to tell the informant about the purpose of my research, and the reasons why they were needed (Kvale, 1997). When writing this project, the concern of ethic consideration is important to think of, both for the individuals and for the organisation. To write a project about an orphanage can be sensitive subject. My consideration when doing the research was always my informants feeling for the subject. I always knew that it was hard for them to talk about what had happened to them in life; every time we talked about their life, it brought back emotional feelings about their life. I always asked if they are okay to talk about their life. They were brave and they always pointed out that it was nice to talk to someone about their life, even if it was hard (Kvale, 1997). When interviewing a child, it was always hard, for the reason that I did not knew how they would react or if they would feel comfortable or not. I felt like that for two reasons: the subject matter and the young age of the children (Kvale, 1997). To always consider confidentiality when analysing the result is important. It is material about how certain things can improve at the orphanage, therefore the consideration of the informant’s statement is important to understand; otherwise the researcher can interpret the results incorrectly (Kvale, 1997).

4. Theoretical Framework
In this theoretical chapter nine conceptions will be presented: Culture, heredity, looking-glass self, the play, the game and the generalized other, primary groups, socialization and habitus. These conceptions will help to make the analysing more convenient and understandable. It is important to try to see issues from both the employees and the children’s perspective; these five theories will describe and uphold both my, the employees and the children’s opinions.
4.1 Culture
Culture is a very broad conception. It can have diverse meanings for us as individuals. Culture can be our language, our behaviour, or growth.

“Culture is defined as the shared patterns of behaviors and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization. These shared patterns identify the members of a culture group while also distinguishing those of another group” (Centre for advanced research on language acquisition).

Edward B Tylor (1871) describes Culture in his book Primitive Culture as: “Culture is the full range of learned human behaviour patterns” (Human Culture). Tylor (1871) explains Culture as a long term type of learning. For example, as children grow up they are taught their culture by their parents. Later in life, when they have children of their own, the pass on the same culture from generation to generation. Culture is something that we learn through life, it’s not something that we are born with (Giddens, 2003).

“Human infants are born without any culture; they must be transformed by their parents, teachers, and others, into cultural and socially adept animals” (human Culture). Giddens explains that no culture can exist if we do not have a society and that a society cannot survive if there is no culture in it. We would not have languages if we did not have culture, we would not have different religions, knowledge, norms and values. Both norms and values vary greatly among cultures. There are several different cultures in our world and society. Even dissimilar families in our society or country have diverging cultures. Some cultures classify education very highly, while some other cultures define education as not so important. They appreciate other things that can be more important to them, for example work or the family. Depending on an individual’s background or the upbringing the individual receives, it can lead to what culture the person has. Culture does not just have to be associated with upbringing or what kind of background the individual has had; culture can also refer to religion (Giddens, 2006).

4.2 Heredity
It is up to the social environment to decide what kind of upbringing the child will have in the future. All family members, friends and neighbours call Cooley (1922) primary groups which are close to human’s biological life. These social connections should be
helpful to integrate a social “I” for the child. Teach the child how to be independent and responsible for one’s self in relation to others, so the child can make good choices in life. Cooley (1922) explains that even if the child’s parents for example are doctors and they have potential to be smart, their child will not be smart or a doctor. The parents have to teach their child how to be smart and strong and educate their child. All is about education and manners in life. Cooley (1922) says that it takes about one year for the child’s mom to teach the child how to walk and speak. To learn other social activities takes several more years for the child to learn, so he or she can eventually stand on his own. Its takes many years for a child to grown up in the mean time, the child needs someone that can take care of them, so they can learn and be educated. The child needs to learn and go through different processes in life and learn social behaviour and other social patterns, before the child can live by themselves (Cooley, 1922). The basis of the looking-glass self is symbolic interaction. Symbolic interaction describes how we as people interact with each other. The symbols are dependent on human’s ability to first agree upon the meaning of the symbol, and second the ability to interpret the symbol. Cooley believes that we are social individuals in the society. Social psychology describes the society as a living organism, which in turn is composed of individuals with their own features. Cooley believes that our “I” greatly affects depending on the people we come in contact with. To explain how our “I” emerges in interaction with other individuals, Cooley uses his concept the looking-glass self. The looking-glass self describe three different dimensions:

“We imagine how we must appear to others, we imagine the judgment of that appearance, and we develop our self through the judgment of others” (Yeung, King-To, Martin & Levi, 2003, page 83). According to Cooley will we either experience a pride or humiliation. It states that how we imagine what others think of us, is based on how we think about ourselves. Our actions are governed by how other people react and the attitudes they have. The looking-glass self demonstrates our responsiveness and sensitivity to ambient reactions to our actions. (Cooley, 1922).

4.3 Socialization
Socialization is a conception whereby children or some other members of the society learn the lifestyle of their community; it’s a lifelong process. Every generation has it
norms, values, and cultural structures, which each child inherits and takes with him or her into their adult life.

“Children are active participants in this process, and in fact they produce their own language and conversations of gestures that may be unique to them. Children produce their own worlds of social experience, construct private meanings of themselves, violate their caretakers’ sense of morality, and often retreat into their own universes of play, games and fantasy. By producing their own worlds of experience and discourse, children develop special ways of socializing themselves” (Denzin, 1977).

During socialization, the child gradually becomes aware and obtains knowledge and skills that becomes a base in the culture in which the child is brought up in. It is a life time process, however when the child is newborn the parents have to take care of the child constantly. Until the child starts to develop awareness, knowledge and skills for the culture the child lives in, the parents have to take care of the child. The socialization connects different generations with each other. It is important to know that a child’s birth affects the life of the people that have responsibility for the child. They also have the opportunity to learn new things from the babies. Parenting is something that connects the child’s and the parent’s actions for their whole lives. They learn valuable lessons from one another. Socialization makes it possible for children and grownups to learn new ideas develop their capacity and adjust themselves to their surroundings (Giddens, 2003).

It is stated that socialization takes place in two different phases. One of them is Primary Socialization and the second is Secondary Socialization. Primary Socialization occurs during childhood. The family is very important during this period of the child’s life. It is during this period that the child learns the basics in life, the language, how to act in different situations. During this period of the child’s life, the child develops behaviours from its parents. After the earlier ages of life, the Secondary Socialisation takes place. During this period of life, the parents do not have to take all the responsibility of the child. Kindergarten, school, friends and other organisations start to take some of the parent’s roles (Giddens, 2003).

4.4 The play, the game, and the generalized other

“The self is something which has a development; it is not initially there, at
birth, but arises in the process of social experience and activity, that is, develops in the given individual as a result of his relations to that process as a whole and to other individuals within that process” (Mead, 1934, page 39).

Mead refers peoples “I” to a life changing process. “I” develops through individuals whole social lives. Play and game are two stages in the development of the child. In the first stage, the child mimics and imitates their significant others who are the most important to lay the foundations for the child’s “I”. In the second stage, where the playing takes part, is where the child is playing without consequences to their actions. The child does not have an awareness of norms and good behaviors. The child plays different roles, like for example to be a teacher or a mother. The next step is the game, where the child must learn to understand the rules and that his actions will provide consequences. The child has a role and that role is also a feature in the game. They will now learn to interact with others in a whole new way; he or she creates a holistic approach to the game with all its players and their roles (Mead, 1934). Mead speaks of two stages in the process towards a fully developed “I”. First it is self constructed of the specific attitudes of others in a specific situation. In the next step, however, also to the social attitudes of the generalized other to the social group you belong to. We learn, in other words, society’s general standards (Mead, 1934).

4.5 Habitus

Habitus is a concept in which Pierre BourdAieu explains that we all form a certain pattern with different habits, as we have. We get a certain habit if we are a teacher or if we are a secretary. It can also describe different positions in society, not only individuals. We can, for example, build different habits in different cultures, different situations. We can also build different habits when we are in a special group or in work places. That particular habit that we once had, we will always continue to have. (Brante, Andersen, & Korsnes, 2001)
5. Result
This chapter is divided in two main chapters, employees at the orphanage and children at the orphanage. After each main chapter will the chapter employees at the orphanage consist of four smaller chapters: Workplace, Changes at the orphanage, Education and Rules. The chapter children at the orphanage will consist of: History about the children’s
social situation, Ideas for the orphanage, Changes at the orphanage, Therapy and Host and foster parents.

5.1 Employees at the orphanage

5.1.1 Work place
All informants stated that working at the orphanage is extremely demanding, but also educational, challenging and interesting. They also said that the orphanage is a good place to be at, but it has both positive and negative sides. Because of the children’s dissimilar backgrounds, they have different needs and this requires knowledge of how to help the children. The workers know that the children get protection and a home, but also feel they need to do something more and different for them. They also have to be there for the children, but find it hard when they are so short-handed. Sara, for example, knows that the employees at the orphanage are working hard and are tired after their shifts, but even so, she wishes they could do something more, such as arranging something for the children every week or during the weekends. According to her, the children are bored during weekends and they need something to do. Every day Sara compares her country to South Africa, and what they would do when working with children with different needs. Sara thinks that the employees at the orphanage could learn more from the volunteers, because the volunteers see things from a different point of view. They can recognize what needs to improve or change, even if it is only small. For instance, they could have divided the children into different kinds of groups, depending on their age and arrange something with them, once a month or more often. The children would then have something fun to look forward to. Nina believed that it is important to have patience with the children. She said that all children are in different ages and they have different emotions and needs that the employees have to understand. She has a good relationship with the children and works with them every day, which leads to a deeper understanding of what the children really need. Even if Nina is working and seeing the children every day and has a good relationship with them, it can be hard to manage to organize and control the children, because of their different upbringings as well as the unawareness of what is right and wrong. Brenda’s philosophy is that children at the orphanage need to learn good behaviour from an older person. She believed that there are circumstances where younger
individuals can learn from each other, but in this case she thinks they need a mother and a father figure. The majority of the children come from families where they have a disrupted backgrounds; where the parent’s ability to take care of their children fell short. So when coming to the orphanage, they need to try to start trusting an older individual again. Brenda thinks that the children do not get enough help from the employees. For some of the children, it is hard to trust the employees at the orphanage which is something Brenda would like to see changed. All informants stress that the relationship between the employees should improve. Cindy, one of the employees, understood that there are a lot of different rumours that are spreading between them, because they cannot get along. Furthermore, she believed that the children get affected by the employee’s behaviour.

“*There’s a lot of misunderstanding about small things, among the staff. The staffs say what they want, they do what they want to do etc. This place need to be more organized and they should follow the rules. It’s sad because the children watch us and we are supposed to be role models.*” (Cindy, 55).

5.1.2 Changes at the orphanage

**Better living conditions**

Every one of the employees believed that a change of the living conditions would be better for the children, because all children are now living together, although the girls and boys are living separate, in two different houses.

“I *would like the youngest kids to live together, because they are at the same level. It would also be great if the older kids could live together, but divide them into different groups depending on what kind of help they need*”(Nina, 21).

The informants said that it would be best for the children to be divided into smaller groups, where they could be a group of at most five people in a little house, depending on the age and on their social backgrounds. For example, if there are a few children that have been sexually abused in their life, they should live together, so they could get the type of help that they need. Also if there are a few children that have been taking drugs, they should live together, Sara thought. It would be better for the employees to get the opportunity to concentrate on few children. The child’s growth and the environment where the child lives are important. Now they are sleeping with eight to ten children in
the same room, which the employees think is too much, because now all the children are affecting each other in different ways. The employees believe they need a calmer and more secure environment. One suggestion was to have the children divided into smaller groups once in a week, where they can sit and talk or do something else with the employees.

“What I wish for the orphanage is to have a cottage-system. If you go to Lily Bloom (another orphanage in Cape Town) you will see they have like cottages, small houses with different age-groups where you can make your own rules and put your own food on the tables and decide how you are going to work as a group together. It would be more control because now the small children take bad examples from the older ones and the older gets away with things and then the smaller ones think that is okay to do that” (Brenda, 40).

Family environment
All employees had different suggestions of different changes for the orphanage. Two out of four of the informants believed that the surroundings at the orphanage should change to a more family environment. Brenda stated that children need a family environment to come home to every day after school, because they come from families where they have not learnt to be loved from their parents. Nina believes that the employees need to be more observant when they are working. The children come from hard backgrounds where they have not had a mother or a father figure and they maybe have not learned the difference from right and wrong. The children are here to learn important things in life and learn to be independent, but Nina said that they do not learn it here. Nina thought that if there was a worker at the orphanage that ensures that the other workers do their work properly, it would improve the situation.

“When the children come home from school, the staffs don’t ask them how it was in school, they just do what they need to do, and that’s it. They have to have someone that listens to them, laugh with them, play with them, and help them with their homework.” (Cindy, 55)

Better team manners
Sara mentions team manners, one important change that should be introduced, among the employees. Sara understood that the employees are not working well together and they should learn how to cooperate with the children. She knows that almost all of the staff is educated, but sometimes they do not behave like they have an education. A meeting once in a week about team manners and what is good and what is bad at the orphanage, should be introduced to the director of the orphanage, so all employees can talk about how they feel about different things at the orphanage. The employees have a lot of meetings at the orphanage, where they talk about everything, but they do not do anything about it, Brenda said. She wishes they could start doing everything that they say at the meetings and not just talk about it. Sara believes that a child’s needs have to come first. They are staying at the orphanage to get a better life, but Sara says that she does not think they will get a better life by living together. She argues that it is good for the children to have a place they can come home to, with proper clothes, food and a bed every day. It is good for the children to have the opportunity to leave their un-nurturing environment, but Sara thinks it is not enough for the children. They need more than just a house where they can feel safe.

**Therapy for all children**

One important proposition for the children was therapy. All employees thought it would be good for the children to have therapy, because only a few of the children receive therapy now. They all said that the children have a lot of different life experiences, where they have been through something difficult. The best solution for the children to learn how to live with what has happened to them would be with therapy sessions. Brenda explains that they have a Safe line where just four or five children go and have sessions to talk about their history and how they feel. The children that do not go to sessions to talk about their life often talk to their friends, but Brenda thinks all children at their institution need professional help.

**Show support and care for the children**

Sara recalls one occasion when the employees did not put much effort into the children. There was a gathering of children from different orphanages to compete in various
sporting events. Sara explained that all the employees were there to look after the children, but no efforts were made to support them. The children were cheering their orphanage name because they were so proud of their backgrounds, however the employees, whose duty it was to support the children, just sat quietly and observed. Even though the children were having a fantastic time at the gathering, the employees decided to take them back to the orphanage before it was over. This caused many of the children to be unhappy. Sara disagreed with the employee’s choice and believes the children should have been allowed to stay until the end because they do not have the opportunity to go out often as a group.

More employees at the orphanage
Another matter was actually how little employees are working with the children every day. All employees would like to have more personnel at the orphanage. Right now there are four employees working with 25 girls and 25 boys every day. Two employees wake up 25 girls and 25 boys in the mornings and get them dressed. It is extremely difficult with the number of children to look after, to keep them organized and keep an eye on all of them at the same time, Nina speculated. Nina claims that the employees are not trying enough to help the children. She said that they could do better than they already do. Nina mentions that working with the boys was a difficult matter. She said that she would like to see more of the employees work with the boys. The workers assume that the boys are more trouble makers then the girls and prefer working with the girls. Nina speculates that it would be better if all employees could work equally as much with the boys and the girls. Nina believes that it is significant for the staff to be with the children, all of them, no matter how good or bad their life has been.

“I think no matter what gender, social problems or age the child has it is very important for the employees to help all of them (Nina, 21).

Another big concern at the orphanage has been the importance of listening to each other, for both the employees and the children. According to Cindy the employees are not good listeners. She said when the employees are talking to the children; they should get down to the child’s level and listen to the youngster, because the child will listen more and the results will be better. Even the children have their rights to express themselves. Cindy
means that the employees always think that they are right, even if they are wrong. The employees, like the children, need to learn how to say I am sorry, but they never do.

**Homework and studying hours**

Before Sara came to the orphanage, homework was a huge problem. The children were not required to study or do homework, because the other employees thought the children would get it done on their own. However, when Sara arrived, study time became mandatory. Sara wanted to introduce help for the children’s homework, because she knew that some of the children needed help with their academic skills. She believed that education is important in a child’s life and she wanted to make it clear to the employees, so they introduced homework hours between 16.00-17.00.

**5.1.4 Rules**

**Corporal punishment**

The orphanage has plenty of rules and one of them is no corporal punishment. Three of the employees have seen other workers hitting the children, even though they are all aware that corporal punishing is forbidden at the orphanage. All three of the employees that have seen corporal punishing at the orphanage agree that there are plenty of ways to discipline a child, without physical injury. Maybe some of the employees at the orphanage got disciplined like that by their own parent’s and think that corporal punishing is the right way to teach a child regulation of what is right and wrong, said Cindy.

“One of the staff was fixing one of the child’s hairs and she did it very hard. I told her that she was abusing that child. I didn’t think it was right. (Cindy, 55).

**Screaming at the children**

Nina and Cindy said that not all of the employees are using that method of disciplining the children, but some of them do. But even if the employees are not hitting the children, physical punishment can occur. Nina thought that the employees who scream can sometimes say the wrong words to the children, and even that can be a wrong way to punish a child. When a child does something wrong, there are so many other ways to explain to a child that what they have done is wrong. Cindy stresses that the child might
not know that they did something wrong because he or she might have seen their parent’s doing it.

“A lot of the children here come from a lot of different backgrounds. They come from a lot of disturbed backgrounds so they have had a lot of social problems in their young life with very bad experiences. I think that a majority of them will end up on the streets because they don’t have host parents that can take care of them after 18 years old. The kids don’t have the support system in their life. The staff members don’t take care of the kids as they should. They really need security and a mother and a father figure to put them in a good direction in life. They don’t have it here. You can’t see any future in some of them. A lot of them are going to turn from good to bad. I think it should be the opposite. Take the child from the bad environment and put into a better environment. I had that in life, they put me from the bad to the good and I think that I have had an extremely good life” (Nina, 21).

5.2 The Children at the orphanage
In this chapter all informants will first be presented one by one then I will divide my result in three chapters, where the first will be; Ideas for the orphanage and the second will be; what kind of changes the children would like to see at the orphanage, Therapy and the final chapter will be; Host and Foster parents.

5.2.1 Short history about the children’s social situation
Raul is 15 years old. Raul has nine siblings and one of them is also staying at the
Raul has been living at the orphanage for three years now and he thinks that it’s a nice place to stay. He also said that he thinks that the other children who stay at the orphanage are nice to him. Raul told me that he could not live with his mom for the reason that she was under the influence of alcohol almost every day. Raul as well told me that his father died when he was four years old and that he does not know much about his father’s death. Raul just knew that his father drank a great deal before he died.

Emily is 17 years old and she did not actually know for how long she has been staying here, but according to another volunteer, for 4.5 months. Emily has two sisters who are also staying at the orphanage. Emily explained when she came to the orphanage for the first time she did not like it, she wanted to stay by herself, but that was not an option for her. After a while of staying at the orphanage, she started to like it more. She thinks it’s a good place to be at sometimes, but sometimes Emily recalls memories that are upsetting. Emily’s story begins when she lived with her mom and father and her two sisters in a poverty stricken area in Cape Town. Emily’s father sexually abused her for many years of her life. The abuse started when she was a little girl.

Sara is 15 years old and has been living at the orphanage for 6 months. Sara has a little sister who is 8 years old; however she is staying with Sara’s parents. She thinks that the orphanage is a nice and safe home. Sara also believes that the staffs are kind and willing to help the children with their problems. She really enjoys staying with so many other children, because they help each other in a number of ways. Sara was raped by her father once and that is why she is staying at the orphanage.

Petra is 17 years old and has been living at the orphanage for nine months. She has two sisters and one brother. Before moving to the orphanage Petra was living with only her mother, her father had passed away several years ago. Petra and her mother had a loving relationship. She wishes that she could have better contact with her mom while she is staying here, but it is too dangerous for her. Petra thinks the orphanage is a good place to be at, but the first time she came here, she thought that the other children were going to hit her. Petra was sexually abused by a man who she did not know.
Matthias is 16 years old and he has been staying at the orphanage for two months. He has a younger brother that is nine years old, who he does not have any contact with. Matthias thinks that the orphanage is a very safe place to be at, but not always pleasant. He believes that there is not much to keep him busy. Matthias said that he likes being alone, so it is hard sometimes to live with so many different children. Matthias was physically abused by his father so he had to escape and live on the street before coming to the orphanage.

Sofia is 16 years old and she has been living at the orphanage for almost two years now. Sofia has four brothers and one sister. She does not have any contact with her siblings. When Sofia was a little child, she was adopted by a family that was looking after her, until now, when she had to move in to the orphanage. Her biological father died while she was young and her biological mother could not look after her. The reason why Sofia is staying at the orphanage is because she has been taking drugs for many years.

5.2.2 Ideas for the orphanage
Raul and Emily said that the workers are doing good work, but they could do more. He thinks that they scream too much and complain often. Raul believes the employees spend too much time talking about each other. He states that it is not a good idea to argue with each other, because it will make the environment worse among the children. The children know about what is going on, but the staffs thinks that they do not understand. Raul explains that the staff should start talking to the children more, developing a closer relationship, so they can have fun together. He also believes that it would be nice if the employees and the children could do something together every so often, for example, playing soccer in a park. He understands that the orphanage does not have much money, but there are many social activities you can do that do not cost much. One last point he brought up was, even if the staff want a closer relationship to the children, it can be hard, because there are so many children to look after. They really need more staff members to work here and help the current employees. Emily explains that if a child does something wrong and the employees disagree with the behaviour, you can be punished. Emily thinks that they are too hard on the children sometimes. She knows that it is hard to look after
50 children, but it would be easier with the help of more employees. Emily admitted that the children need discipline, but sometimes the staffs are too unfair to the children. They need to learn how to cooperate and talk to the children in a well-mannered way. Emily has witnessed the staff hitting the children when they are not listening, even if the staffs know that they are not allowed to do that.

“Once in the kitchen they hit me”.

One last example Emily told me about was the homework. She believes that they need more help with their homework. They have homework hour between four and five, but a great deal of the children are doing something else between those hours. They need more structure when they are sitting with the homework. She told me that four people can’t help 50 children with their homework in one hour. School is very important for the children, she said. If they do not learn now, how can they get a good job and a stable life, when they get older? Sara directly stated that the employees could do something more for the children. Sometimes it is not enough, she said. Sara knows that it is hard for the employees to work with so many different ages and problems, but they could make more of an effort. Some of the younger children are even smoking, and yet the staffs do not do anything about it. Sara thinks that the staff should have more control and focus more on the children. They need more discipline and rules. Sara also told me that the employees are good with discipline, but they should not scream like they always do. They should explain to the child, so the child knows what is right and wrong. Sometimes the children do not know, because they have seen their father or their mother doing something similar, or even something worse. Sara as well expressed how the personnel should stop gossiping so much, because it is effecting the environment at the orphanage. If the staff can not cooperate and start communicating in a normal way, they can never start changing the orphanage for the better. When Petra first came to the orphanage she was scared that the workers would hit her, and scream at her if she would not listen. However she does not think that the employees are like that. Petra said that if you do not listen to them or do not do what they say, they scream, but most of the time, the staff are calm and try to do a good job. One thing she really believes that they should improve is the listening. They really need to start listening to others, not only to themselves. They also need to consider that several of the children that live at the orphanage maybe had a
mother or a father that screamed and hit them a lot. They have to think about the fact that, maybe some of the children get scared when they are raising their voices. Matthias stated that some of the employees at the orphanage are good and some of them are not. He believes that the workers should talk to the children more and not scream so much.

“One of the staff is scaring me. She would like to put me in jail. I wish she had never phoned the police, but she did. I did something after you guys left on Thursday, we had a big fight and the police came and put me into jail. I was there for the night, sleeping with so many people and sleeping on the floor without any food, it was so scary”.

Even if he thinks that some of them are not doing very good work, he thinks that he learns plenty by being at the orphanage. He states it is so much safer than being at home with his parents. He expresses that getting the opportunity to go to school is good, because his parents never had money to send him to school. Now he can at least get an education. Matthias is thankful that he has a home and a school to go to every day. Sofia likes the employees. She explains they are doing good work. Sofia hopes that the orphanage will get more employees, because they could use the extra help. Sofia said that she knows which of the children likes the workers and who does not like the employees very much. She explains that even though she gets along with the workers, she knows that several of the children do not. She told me that the opinion of the staff is different, depending on what child you are talking to.

5.2.3 Changes at the orphanage
Both Emily and Raul think that mixing children with differing backgrounds is a bad idea. Raul explains that even if it is not disturbing him, it would be better for those people that really need serious help to divide them into smaller groups.

“I think the staff should focus more on those kids that really need help. It’s very different if you come from a family that I come from, where your mother is drinking or if you come from a family where they are abusing you in different ways” (Raul).

Emily believes that it would be much better for the younger children, between five to eleven years, to live at another place, because they really need more of a different kind of care. The children have been through groups of social problems, so it would be better to have different groups where you help the children to overcome their fears and learn how
to deal with their different social problems. It is better if you have a group where you can focus on sexual abuse, or psychical abuse.

“All of us children are unlike and have dissimilar needs. It’s very important to know how to put our needs first. Some of the children feel very bad about what has happened to them, and some of them feel better” (Emily).

Sara assumes it is okay that so many children with varied backgrounds and ages live together. She states that they can learn from and help each other. However she knows that some of the children need more care than others at the orphanage. Several of the children have experienced traumatic events in their life, and it is not something that is easy to forget, you have to learn to live with it, Sara explains. Petra explains that she believes it good, for the reason that the children can learn from each other. You can also teach the younger children in the group something new. Of course some of the children are naughty and when the younger five years olds see the older children misbehave, it is not good at all. Although, there is always something positive and negative about everything, Petra explains. Petra also stated that if you are five years old or sixteen years old, you always need something different from the people around you. She believes that the employees work hard to fulfil the children’s needs every day. The employees have a hard job. Matthias response to the question was that he wishes the orphanage could change to something better, because all children need a peaceful and quiet environment, but at the moment the orphanage is full of noise. He stated that there are children everywhere at the orphanage, which causes there to be an endless sound of children running around at the home. In addition, Matthias states that he believes that all children are to unlike each other at the orphanage. There are many children staying in the same room and in the same house, many of them that wish the employees could change. He told me that he does not know how the orphanage can expand, where children could live with two or three to a room. At the moment there are ten children sleeping in the same room, which Matthias believes is too many. Sofia is satisfied with the living conditions at the orphanage, due to the fact that she is happy to have many friends that she can be with every day. Sofia stresses that she sees which of the children at the orphanage are grateful about the living conditions and who is not. There are always some that are not satisfied, she pointed out. The situation for Sofia is different than for most of the children at the
orphanage. Sofia can soon go back to her foster parents, while many of the other children have to live in this condition for a longer time. Sofia stated that she is enjoying every moment right now. Of course it has been an emotional journey, due to the fact that she has learnt a lesson. She always knew that if she improved she could go back to her host parents. Sofia also explained that it must be hard for a child not having any parents that can look after them.

“A lot of the children at the orphanage can’t go home, because they don’t have a second home. I can imagine how hard it can be to live here for many years. It’s very important for a child to have a mother and a father figure and a lot of these children, don’t have that. They are just staying with a lot of different children and have a few adults that are looking after them” (Sofia, 16).

“I wish the orphanage could get a better family environment, because we don’t get enough of love and care. We don’t get so much love from the staff, just from each other. We need more staff members that can look after us. I think the workers are too tired sometimes. When they are tired they don’t do their best and don’t listen to the children. Sometimes the children need more help with different things, like with their homework, because when the employees are too little or too tired, they can’t help all of the children” (Emily, 13).

5.2.4 Therapy

Raul does not talk to a therapist. He stresses that he does not feel that he needs to talk to someone about his life.. He explains that the workers should have therapy sessions with some of the children, for the reason that he sees that several of the children are not happy with their lives. They need a friend or someone to talk to about their life and what has happen to them. A great amount of the children that are here feeling scared to open up to anyone and talk to them.

“Some off the kids are too angry and when they are angry, they get dangerous. They need to let their emotions out and they do that by hitting themselves or some other in their way” (Raul).
Emily’s answer to this question was no. She said that she never talks about what happened. The reason why she does not talk about it is simply for that reason that she does not want to talk about it. It is extremely difficult for her to talk about the abuse. It hurts so badly every time she talks about it, Emily pointed out. She just wants to forget about the whole occurrence.

“I don’t want to talk to someone, because I think, what are they going to think about me if I tell them, will they think I am a bad person?”

After the incident Sara really needed to talk to someone about what happened to her, due to the fact she was in shock. Although, she talked to a therapist for a while, she could not believe that it could happen to her, she explained. She does not talk to anyone now, however she would like to talk to someone, for the reason that its helps if she talk to someone about her problems.

“They really make you understand why it happened and that it’s not your fault that you’re father did that to you”.

Petra and Matthias does not talk to many people about what happened to them. Petra and Matthias just thinks it is nice to have a place to stay at, where they can be safe. When they first came here they spoke to the social worker and told her the whole story. Sometimes Petra talks to some of the employees if she feels that she needs to talk to someone. Matthias does not talk about his life with the employees, but he would love to talk to a therapist, because he has so many emotions inside him that he wants to let out.

“I did a terrible thing to the girls here at the orphanage and I really scared them, but I didn’t mean it. After being so terrible abused by my father I always have to defend myself if I feel that someone is not nice to me, I can’t help it”.

At the beginning when Petra first arrived here, it was hard for her to open up, due to the fact that she did not know who she could trust. She also explained that the children talk to each other about their problems sometimes, which also makes her feel better. When Sofia came to the orphanage she talked to the social worker about her life, yet she does not talk to a therapist anymore. She did talk to a therapist after her host parents found out about her taking drugs. Her parents sent her to a rehabilitation centre. Sofia believes that she feels better when she talks to a therapist, so she would do it again if she had the opportunity.
5.2.5 Do you have a host or a foster parent?
Three of the informants said yes on this question. Sara said yes, yet she has never seen her host mom. She stressed that she is too scared to go there because she does not know her. Four of the informants explained that they do not have any host or foster parents right now.

“I would love to have a host family to go to someday, because I haven’t had a good father or mother in my life. I would love to come to a family that really could take care of me and love and accept me for who I am. I really need a family, so I finally could feel loved from someone” (Matthias, 14).

6. Analysis
The analysis is divided into two main chapters, the growth and who will then be followed by the orphanage.

6.1 Growth
Almost all the children came from different family cultures were poverty and social issues were a major concern to the lifestyle of the family. These instances include, but are not limited to, the children’s mother or father abusing them, alcohol or drug abuse or
being absent from the children’s lives due to imprisonment. All the children came to the orphanage at different ages depending on the social situation in their family. They did have proper primary groups, which Cooley (1922) associates with family members and people that are close to the child. According to Cooley (1922), if a child should have a proper and well-educated primary socialization, the child needs support from its primary group to develop a proper social identity. The children who came to the orphanage at an older age have experienced many years of neglect from their primary groups. For the children to learn to be independent according to Cooley (1922), the children need social support from their primary groups. Often times the children had grown up experiencing no love, limited schooling, malnourishment, care, and a sense of security, and other issues that arise from a poor background. Due to this they often experienced social difficulties because of their lack of primary socialization during their first years of life. According to Giddens (2003), it is important for children to be able to depend on their family members, and to interact with them during primary socialization, and to develop what he calls ontological trust (Giddens, 2003). Oftentimes the children in the orphanage were not able to rely on their families during times of need. As a result of the appalling original family culture, in which the children did not have a proper primary socialization, difficulties in their current life may appear, and for instance often they do not have the same moral standards as a child who grows up with caring parents. Some of the children came to the orphanage after their parents left them on the street or in dumpsters when they were newborns. So, is it better to know that your parents left you when you were a newborn, because they could not take care of you and would like you to have a better life? Or is it better to live with parents that are sexually abusive or neglectful? Coming from families with disrupted family cultures, the children are really happy to come to a place that can provide for them by giving them food, shelter, and a chance for an education. That is more than most could imagine ever having. One question to ask is if the child’s development will have an effect on the rest of their life? Will they ever forget what happened to them and start to live a normal life? Several of the children were living with their families during their primary socialization, because their parents did bad things to them during this crucial period, they could have issues distinguishing between right and wrong. Relating this assumption to Edward B Tylor.
where he describes culture as a long variety of learned human behavior patterns (Human Culture). Edward B Tylor maintains that a child will learn different behaviors during its lifetime. Values of what is right and wrong that were learnt during development may change, depending on other social influences in the child’s life. According to Anthony Giddens (2003), when we are born we do not have a culture, but after the different processes of socialization we develop cultural norms. Often times the children from the orphanage learn improper norms based on the negative atmosphere of their upbringing. They often develop incorrect behaviors while they are still quite young. Cooley (1922) refers to the fact that even if a child’s parents are well educated and intelligent, they still have to educate and teach their child because the child is not automatically intelligent at birth. This shows that even if children’s parents are intelligent, there is no guarantee that the children will be intelligent as well. Everything is up to the environment in which the child lives. They must be taught good manners and educated. Going along these lines it is possible for the opposite situation to occur, and that children from rough upbringings still have the same opportunity to achieve a better social life as those with easy upbringings as long as they are eventually are in a socially secure environment. According to Cooley (1922):

“It takes about one year for the child’s mom to teach the child how to walk and speak. To learn other social activities takes a lot more years for the child to learn, so he or she can eventually stand on his own. Its takes several years for a child to grow up in the mean time, as well as the child need someone that can take care of the child, so he can learn and be educated”.

6.2 Orphanage
All the children came to the orphanage needing different kinds of help and support. The society would like to provide what is best for the children including a conventional upbringing with all the necessities of life. Most of the children at the orphanage have had a disrupted primary socialization, which means that the children require a safe haven in which to learn the normal routines of life. How can it be possible for the children with difficult upbringings to later achieve a normal life? A lot of these children have had an interrupted primary socialization, during this period the two concepts of play and the game should occur. Mead found this important for the development of an individual’s
“I” (Mead, 1934). Several of the children at the orphanage did not have a “regular” upbringing and therefore have not experienced these two stages, play and the game, during their lives. This means that from the first days of their lives, they have not had anyone who can look after them and give them support and love. It is crucial that the orphanage helps the child by trying to “renew” their primary socialization, so that the child would learn to play new roles and exhibit different habits and norms. Through the looking-glass self, Cooley (1922) means that a “renewed” primary socialization would be beneficial, allowing a social “I” to develop through mirroring, play and game, where the role of the takeover will lead to the development of social “I”. This is significant for the children at the orphanage (Mead, 1934 & Cooley, 1922). According to Cooley, the “I” is greatly affected by the people we come in contact with, so a change of a child’s “I” can be managed by the employees at the orphanage. When the children start to live at the orphanage they enter their secondary socialization. As Giddens (2003) points out, secondary socialization occurs when a second-party institution has a parenting role in the child’s upbringing. Since the child’s parents are not able to take care of their child, the responsibility falls on the orphanage to help the child develop a superior future. After a child comes to live at the orphanage will they experience a “renewed” primary socialization and social development of “I”? Or will they still not undergo a primary socialization? One of the employees was discussing the importance of a cottage-system for all the children. According to Cooley’s explanation of primary group would the cottage-system be a good way for the employees to start providing support and necessitate that the children needs to try to get the children a good primary socialization. Brante et al (2001) explains that we can have different habits and patterns depending on our way of life. He states that if we develop a certain habitus in life, we will continue to have this habitus for the rest of our lives; even our surroundings affect our habitus. The culture in which a child lives, affects the development of their habitus. So based on this concept, if a child comes from difficult surroundings, but is then transferred to a better environment, will the child continue to express these bad habits or develop new ones based on his or her new environment? I believe that a child that comes from a challenging environment, but is then later transferred to a better environment can change their habitus. Yet I believe it is solely based on the individual and that it is possible for them to
learn a new culture and good behaviour from the people in the new surroundings during their secondary socialization. If the child comes from a bad environment, having been in this environment for multiple years, it's important for that child to be placed in a supportive environment that includes having access to someone to talk to about their issues and set rules to establish new behaviours. Also developing friendships with others is important, so that all the children have opportunities to talk with other children that have experienced similar situations with, and therefore know that they are not alone in their feelings. By having a deeper understanding of the fact that their parents were in the wrong and that it was not their fault that their parents drank, hit them or took drugs, the children have a greater chance of recovery. Many of the children find it hard to understand that it is not their fault, because even though the child’s parents have done something wrong, they are still their parents and therefore hold a special place in their heart. As a child gets older they find it easier to understand that they needed to leave the situation with their parents, for their own safety. The question is when a child comes to the orphanage are they put in a better environment in which they can learn new habitus and norms? Almost all the children that attended the project expressed that they had come to a better and safer environment, yet that they would like to have see some changes, such as more employees, more activities, therapy sessions, a better family environment, and more help with their homework. Even the employees came up with a great amount of suggestions for the orphanage to become a better place, for they know that the children require a better environment in which to grow and become good citizens. As mentioned above it is important for these children to experience a renewed primary socialization; however with the organization unwilling or unable to improve their work, how can they expect their children to develop into something better?

“I do not think this is a loved and carrying home for the children, they really need to change a lot there before it will be a loved home”(Cindy, 55).

When talking with the children, there were no mentions of love simply just that all their basic needs were provided. One important concept to understand is that these children came from unsafe environments and since they have a home, with food, clothes and several friends, they are satisfied with their situation. Anything is better than living on the street, due to the employees that come from outside, see their living conditions at the
orphanage and know that something really has to change. Yes, they have clothes, food for
the day, school and a roof, but is that really enough? Perhaps if the organization had a
better economic situation, then they would be able to provide better service for the
children, like motivating them through praise instead of punishment, providing them with
the respect they require, and showing them that they are lovable. Also due to their poor
economic situation they are unable to provide the smaller living groups that the children
and some of the employees request. If these groups were provided, the children would be
given the opportunity to receive additional help with their schoolwork and form a closer
relationship with the employees.

When the children come to the orphanage they start living with many children. There are
fifty children, between the ages of five and eighteen, and four employees who work with
them daily; two workers for twenty-five boys and two workers for twenty-five girls. How
can four staff members take care of so many children? Since there are so few employees,
many of the children felt that they were not receiving enough attention. Even the
employees stated that it would be better for the children if there were more employees. In
order for a child to receive a good upbringing they require a calm and secure
environment, in which they can develop good habits and norms. As mentioned before,
Brante et al. (2001) concept about Habitus describes different patterns in life. According
to Cam, a forty year old woman, who stayed at the orphanage for fourteen years of her
life, her stay at the orphanage was miserable; the employees treated the children
inadequately and did not provide the children with proper food or clothes. Brante et al.
(2001) concept of Habitus can be seen played out in Cam’s life, for now twenty-two
years later a pattern is still visible. Even though there are new employees working at the
orphanage, many of the institutional habitus are still present and have not changed for
several years. Whilst now the orphanage is able to supply the children with adequate
nutrition there is still the lack of love and attention, which all children require for proper
growth and development. When will the institution start considering what is really best
for the children and start making an effort to change it? Several of the children have
many siblings. When they are adopted often times they are separated from each other
due to the fact that most families cannot afford to adopt so many children at once. Also
when children reach the age of eighteen the orphanage will try to find a family to take
them in, yet often times the child will just be sent to live on their own since the orphanage is no longer able to care for them.

7. Conclusion
Doing this research has been a highly educational, interesting, and an emotional journey. When visiting another country in which one is not familiar, one will always find some aspects they like and some they do not. In countries similar to South Africa, one often experiences a variety of social problems. This can be quite an eye opening experience coming from a different background, often one is shocked by what they see and devastated that they cannot do more to help. When first visiting the orphanage in Cape
Town, I found it hard to cope with the cultural differences but was still fascinated by their unique culture. Another issue in South Africa is their lack of sexual education. Many times they do not educate woman, men and younger children about sexual relationships. This has lead to many unwanted pregnancies, which result in unwanted children. Often times after giving birth, they just leave the newborn at the orphanages or on the street. Due to their cultural and moral standards, they are sometimes unwilling to make the effort to engage in protected sex. As a result of the high levels of poverty in the nation, many people turn to drugs and then are unable to recover from their hardships. When these people become parents they are unable to teach their children what is right and wrong, or even take care of them at all. Therefore even if the child’s parents know that they are sometimes doing wrong, they feel unable to make it better for themselves and their children because there is no one available to assist them. Another reason could be that they are unwilling to try to get any help, because of their way of thinking, for they are most likely raising their children in the same way they were brought up. It is hard to truly understand the South African society without having lived there for an extended period of time. I know that the institution and the employees would like to see changes in the orphanage but are unable implement these changes due to economic restrictions. But even if the organization does not have funding, there are always other ways to make changes. So how can their standard of living change? My result showed that many of the employees and the children would like to see different kinds of changes for the orphanage and for its children. One of the changes who almost all of my informants mentioned was the cottage-system. I think this small change would make a big difference in the children’s situation. In this system, the children would be in smaller groups and have a larger number of employees, which would allow for more individual help, for example therapy sessions, more help with homework’s and better relationship among them all. Also the children that come from similar backgrounds would be housed together so that they can rely on each other for support. A current issue that the staff do not have time for all the children, which is a major problem since all of them need help, with varying degrees. I really think that the staff should think of the children’s social needs first by being more understanding and providing more emotional support. The problem now is that the children are running around the orphanage unattended because of the lack of
employees and lack of organization by the employees. Some other important changes were that the employees would like to strive for at the orphanage are, more employees, better family environment for the children, team manners, therapy for all children, better emotional support for the children, no screaming and hitting as well as better support during homework ours. The result for the children showed that the children would like to have more employees so the children could receive more individual help, more activities during weekends that do not have to cost a lot, more help during homework hour, better living conditions, therapy for all children who needs help and finally better environment among all employees at the orphanage. Nina, an employee and dependent of the orphanage, was very keen about teaching the children to be independent, more like the orphanage she had lived in before. She was interested in introducing new ideas of how to make the children more independent at daily life skills, like cooking for themselves and doing their own laundry. I think that it would be good for the children to learn to be more independent, no matter their age. For when they are eighteen they will have to learn how to be independent, so they can stand support themselves. As I have previously mentioned that a lot of these children at the orphanage do not have the luxury of living with host or foster parents, due to their ages and backgrounds. Consequently if the children do not improve their standard of living at the orphanage, they could end up unemployed, living on the street, with no higher education, performing criminal actions, abusing drugs and having a hard time in general adjusting to society, just as their parents did. While some of the children will not end up like this, but unfortunately this will be the case for a large number of them if the orphanage does not improve, and begin to recognize the children’s varying needs. After reading an article from the Swedish magazine “Allers” (2009) was the article about a woman (Jacinta) who started an orphanage in Kenya. First at the beginning had she eight children who lived at the orphanage and today are there 200 children who she can supply. She had to work very hard to accomplish her goal. When reading that article I really feel that she is working with her heart. She has now eight teachers, seven “mothers” and seven “fathers” and the “parents” live on the orphanage all the time so they can help all children with all things that parents help their children with. They as well describe in the article that they still have a far way to go with their development, but they are at least helping the orphan’s now. Jacinta (2009) who started
the orphanage describe how the employees at the orphanage show the children that they have a lot of different possibilities in life and that the employees believe in the children. I know that even if a child do not have any parents and live at an orphanage, they can have a lot of opportunities if the institution just wants to help and do the best for the children. I think that the institutions attitude towards orphan children need to change and to start believe in all of them. I believe that children who have had a “bad” upbringing can still change their life to something better; they just need help from the individuals around.

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