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Fostering the Orphaned and Vulnerable Child: Exploring Identity Economics in Relation to Orphaned and Vulnerable Children in the Eastern Cape and Cape Town, South Africa

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FOSTERING THE ORPHANED AND VULNERABLE CHILD:

EXPLORING IDENTITY ECONOMICS IN RELATION TO ORPHANED AND VULNERABLE CHILDREN IN THE
EASTERN CAPE AND CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

According to UNICEF, 3.7 million children are orphaned in South Africa (2010). Parliament enacted the Children's Act on April 1, 2010 to grant and protect the rights orphaned or vulnerable children (OVC). The Children's Act aims to promote the well being of children, prevent abuse or neglect, and increase options for the care of children found to be in need or care and protection (Jamieson, Mahery, and Scott 2011). Children not receiving care and protection from a parent or guardian are placed in one of three options of alternative care. One being child and youth care centers (CYCC); also known as an orphanage or children's shelter. There are six possible reasons a child would be considered an OVC. Once a child is found to need care and protection, they are placed in temporary alternative care for no longer than six months while the court considers a social workers report in making the final decision of where the child should be placed (ACT, Government Gazette). While it is effective to have laws in place to protect children's rights, it is important to measure how OVC develop in the long term to be able to economically support one's self. A study titled, *Seven Institutionalized Children and Their Adaptation in Late Adulthood: The Children of Duplessis (Les Enfants de Duplessis)*, highlights the drastic effect child care provided in orphanages can have on orphaned children into adulthood. The study also measures the adults' ability to function in society in many ways, including socio-economic advancement. The study concludes abusive and counter-productive care has had adverse effects on orphans in the long term.

Using George Akerlof and Rachel Kranton's theory of Identity Economics, I explore what obstacles orphans in Cape Town face in society and the workforce and how specific skills may impact their chances of better survival as members of South African society. The utility function, also known as motivation, effects the child's participation and outcome in the economic sphere. Seven social workers and CYCC workers are interviewed to about the difficulties the OVC they have worked with experience and the difficulties they encounter in working at CYCCs in the Western Cape. The data compiled is analyzed in the context of concepts constructing Akerlof and Kranton's

theory of Identity Economics. The data collected indicate a poor performance of some CYCCs due to indecent management and lack of funds. One CYCC that performs well due to a moderately high stable source of funding, and another CYCC holds great potential due to strongly ambitious management.

GLOSSARY

OVC	Orphaned and Vulnerable Child/Children
CYCC(s)	Child and Youth Care Center(s)
CYCW(s)	Child and Youth Care Worker(s)
CHH	Child-Headed Households
ECD	Early Childhood Development
ECDC(s)	Early Childhood Development Center(s)
DoSD	Department of Social Development
DSW	Designated Social Worker
NCPR	National Child Protection Registrar
NN&S	National Norms and Standards
QA	Quality Assurance
SOFAS	Social and Occupational Functioning Scale
CORA	Caring for Orphans in Rural Areas

CHILDREN LIVING IN CHILD HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

A household where the parent, guardian or caregiver is terminally ill, has died, or has abandoned the children and there is no adult family member available to care for the children and a child has taken on these responsibilities of caring, protecting, or financially supporting children in the household. (Defined in Section 137 in South Africa's Children's Act 38 of 2005, *Government Gazette* 2010)

STREET CHILD

Any child who lives, begs, or works on the streets; including children who have left home and sleep on the streets. (Defined in Section 137 in South Africa's Children's Act 38 of 2005, *Government Gazette* 2010)

IDENTITY (as defined by George Akerlof and Rachel Kranton)

How people think they and others should behave; how society teaches them to behave; and how people are motivated by these views

(See page 6 of George A. Akerlof and Rachel E. Kranton's book *Identity Economics: How Our Identities Shape Our Work Wages, and Well Being* for more information)

UTILITY FUNCTION

A mathematical expression that characterizes what people care about; motivation

(See page 9 of Akerlof and Kranton for more information)

TASTE-BASED DISCRIMINATION

When employers hire candidates based on personal preferences; often shaped by their perception of the other

Ex. Male employers may not like working with female employees or white employees may not like working with Black employees

(See Chapter Eight in Akerlof and Kranton for more information)

STATISTICAL DISCRIMINATION

Statistical discrimination is a theory of inequality between demographic groups based on stereotypes that do not arise from prejudice or racial and gender bias. When rational, information-seeking decision makers use aggregate group characteristics, such as group averages, to evaluate individual personal characteristics, individuals belonging to different groups may be treated differently even if they share identical observable characteristics in every other aspect.

(See Chapter Eight: Race and Minority Poverty in Akerlof and Kranton for more information)

INTRODUCTION

An estimated 3.7 million children are orphaned in South Africa according to UNICEF (2010). The unemployment rate is 22% in Cape Town and 24.9% in all of South Africa (Statistics of South Africa). There are an unprecedented amount of children vulnerable to malnutrition, neglect, abandonment and abuse. As an orphaned or vulnerable child, one will face many obstacles that are likely to prevent success in the workforce and adjustment to everyday life. Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) require assistance for overcoming toxic stress, trauma, and issues with cognitive and physical health development. They are immediately at risk for dropping out of high school and the workforce and becoming unstable members of society. It is crucial orphans and vulnerable children receive particular attention catered to identity development and social positioning. In this study, I conduct interviews of social workers and child and youth care workers to explore the challenges OVC face in Cape Town and the Eastern Cape, the difficulties and successes of institutional care, and the relevance of identity in economics.

On April 1, 2010, the Children's Act 38 of 2005 came into operation. The President made an announcement in the *Government Gazette* that the Children's Act of 38 of 2005 was a combination of the Children's Bill finished in December 2005 with the Children's Amendment Act 41 of 2007. Parliament split the creation of the Act into parts. First, Parliament met from 2003 to 2005 to draft a bill that outlined the services of the national government, which included children's rights, adoption processes, parenting rights, and the role of courts (Jamieson, Mahery, and Scott 2011 pp7). The second meeting resulted in the Children's Amendment Act 41 of 2007 consisting of services provided by provincial governments (Jamieson, Mahery, and Scott 2011 pp7). Child and youth centers, early childhood development programs, and protection services were included in the amendment. The Act notes a statutory intervention is required if¹:

- a) A child has been abandoned or orphaned and lacks visible means of support

¹ Jamieson, Mahery, and Scott 2011

- b) Displays behavior which cannot be controlled by the parent or caregiver
- c) Lives or works on the streets or begs for a living
- d) Is addicted to drugs and/or alcohol and is without any support to obtain treatment for the dependency
- e) Has been or is at risk of serious physical or mental harm
- f) Has been abused, neglected or exploited

Only a social worker or authorized police have legal jurisdiction to remove a child from his or her home and place them into alternative care. As a part of registration requirements, CYCCs are required to offer therapeutic programs targeting the development and stabilization of children. The court's decisions and programs offered at CYCCs are required to be based on the child's best interest. In this study, I will define Vulnerable Children as children living in child headed households, a street child, or a child undergoing abandonment, any form of abuse, neglect, or children involved in criminal activities.

METHODOLOGY

Various childcare workers and social workers were interviewed at several child and youth care centers to build an assessment of what factors may impact the utility function of OVC in Cape Town. By finding out what challenges children faced, I could find what experiences have shaped their identity and what adversities may put their motivation to strive for economic prosperity at risk. In addition, exploring the challenges CYCCs face in caring for children helps to identify what difficulties caretakers may have in setting high norms for economic success and catering to the confidence building of OVC, as well as how the care provided influences the utility function of OVC in Cape Town.

Five interviewees were met at their perspective institutions, and one director, Pam Jackson was interviewed via telephone. I took notes during all interviews. Because I did not have a reliable

means to record interviews, only some interviews were recorded via laptop. However, I was able to write word for word meaningful statements. Interviewees were informed of the purpose of my study, what the information shared would be used for, and given a consent form to sign to assure they were willing to conduct the interview and understood their rights throughout and after the interview. Pam Jackson gave oral consent over the phone.

The study of seven Quebec orphans conducted by J. Christopher Perry, John J. Sigal, Sophie Boucher and Nikolas Paré titled, *Seven Institutionalized Children and Their Adaptation in Late Adulthood: The Children of Duplessis (Les Enfants de Duplessis)*, explores what factors play a role in an orphaned child's eventual psychosocial adaptation into adulthood. The authors provided histories for each person as told by the orphans as adults ranging from ages 51 to 69 years. There is a consistent narrative of abuse, sexual abuse, neglect and exploitation from unchecked caregivers that resulted in feelings of rejection, inadequacy, and fears of being deprived of autonomy. The authors rely on several scholars that argue theories concerning the impact of deficit in institutionalized care having negative affects on child development. Wolff and Feeshea's study in 1999 reveals a connection between administrative structure of orphanages having affects on child development when they found authoritarian structure resulted in poor psychological functioning versus administration structure that includes participation of the orphan and communities in some decision-making resulting enhanced psychological functioning in society (pp284). By exploring the difficulties child and youth care centers are having in caring for OVC in Cape Town, I can assess the quality of care being provided and what affects it has on the development of OVC as they enter the workforce in adulthood. The study argues orphans with heightened childhood strengths fared better than children without childhood strengths. It should also be noted orphans with childhood strengths were given a little more nurture and support by caregivers. The social and occupational functioning scale (SOFAS) of the interviewed adults varied based on how much nurture they received as a child. All adults experience cruel forms of corporal punishment. Also, their defensive functioning indicated

issues with mental inhibition and triggered their responses to stress. The authors conclude, “This indicates that the individuals response to stress is predominantly directed toward minimizing awareness of their conflicts but not necessarily mitigating subjective distress nor handling their own emotions and wishes in a highly adaptive way” (299). This conclusion applies to my study because stress is inherent in the work environment, especially in higher levels of occupation. If OVC do not respond well to stress, then their utility function to pursue certain careers or a career at all is decreased. OVC may not have had the proper upbringing to foster positive motivation and ambition. It also indicates whether OVC can handle the stress and long-term dedication it takes to function in higher education settings; completing these levels of education will yield higher acquisition of skills and alleviate poverty in the long run. Because it is unethical to interact with current children at the CYCCs in Cape Town, the most efficient way to measure difficulties OVC face in the economic sphere is to measure the difficulties CYCCs have in providing adequate and effective care for children in residence.

I can infer OVC are not experiencing gruesome and cruel corporal punishment in Cape Town’s CYCCs because of the regulations and guidelines of services outlined in the Children’s Act 38 of 2005. However, I did not have access to current OVC in residence to investigate whether CYCCs are upholding the guidelines in the Act, nor am I certified with skills to determine what abuse and neglect may be taking place. Relying on the assumed honesty and intimacy of the interviews with CYCWs, I can gain entry into how well programs and basic care are dispersed. The Act was only effective on April 1, 2010, and CYCCs were given a timeframe of three years to register. State Department of Social Developments may have not had time to conduct a thorough review of therapeutic programs and services offered by CYCCs.

Background of Interviewees

Funeka Ginger is the Social Worker at Al Noor Orphanage in Woodstock. Although she has been a social worker at the orphanage since August of 2012, she has been a social worker for 20 years. Born and raised in Cape Town by her grandparents as an orphaned child of a 14-year-old mother, she always knew she wanted to be a social worker. She worked for Child Welfare Society for 10 years. She left Child Welfare Society to start a private social development firm to deliver services such as therapeutic intervention, grief counseling, psychosocial assessment, and risk assessment to families and married couples. She was approached by Al Noor's board because they were in need of an efficient and reliable social worker to, not only meet the legal requirements to qualify as a child and youth care center, but analyze the best ways to improve on services provided to OVC. Known as Aunty Funeka around the orphanage, she enjoys providing a safe space and counseling for the children. Because she plays a critical role in the policy and program development at the orphanage, she was interviewed to gain first hand information on what difficulties the orphanage is facing, challenges OVC face in Cape Town, especially at Al Noor, and what happens to children when they leave to enter the workforce.

Sharon is the Program Coordinator at Al Noor Orphanage. She is responsible for extra curricular activities, helping children with academic studies after school, and planning outreach programs or workshops engaging life skills training. She is also one of the after care workers that becomes responsible for children after 3:30 pm. She has been working at the Al Noor Orphanage for 5 years. She emigrated from Cameroon when she was 24 years old to volunteer in Cape Town for a yearlong program focused on community development. She decided to stay in Cape Town because she believed there was an abundance of economic opportunity. She was introduced to the orphanage through a friend who heard that the orphanage needed another Program Coordinator. By then Al Noor had been operating for 7 years. She was hired after Director Amena decided she had enough

experience in social development to begin working with children. Although she had dreams of becoming a doctor, she is content with working at Al Noor because she is passionate about children. She enjoys motivating the children at the orphanage. She believes orphaned and vulnerable children believe they are less important in society, most children never have the opportunity for school, and lack “people to show them the way”. She was interviewed with the intent of gaining information on what programs available for children cater to successful development through trauma and other issues. In addition, she also provided insight into whether children at the orphanage have trouble entering Cape Town’s workforce.

Melvis Mando is a 20-year-old young woman living in Woodstock. She currently works as the Support School Facilitator at Al Noor Orphanage. Her job is to help children with homework, academic projects, and other areas of their studies. She was once a benefiter of Al Noor. She began living at the orphanage at the age of eleven. She was originally born in Cameroon, and she lost her mother before the age of 8 years old. No one else could provide for her, so her mother’s sister took up the responsibility to act as her guardian. When she was 9 years old, her aunt, her aunt’s two children, and she moved to Cape Town with the hope of accessing better economic opportunities. Unfortunately, her aunt still struggled to provide for her family as the only adult and sole breadwinner. As a result, her aunt met with workers at Al Noor to explain how she couldn’t care for Melvis because she was struggling to gain employment. She explained to Melvis why she had to leave her at the orphanage, and Melvis maintained contact with her aunt while growing up at Al Noor. She continues to work at the organization as a way to give back to her “family” and contribute to making a better society. She already has a diploma in Business Management and plans to open her own early childhood development center in the future. She was interviewed to see if her utility function was positively impacted by the care she received in the orphanage and to see what experience she had in entering the workforce.

Kathy Schultz is the founder of CORA, which stands for caring for orphans in rural areas. The organization was started in 2009; which she spent all of 2010 travelling around the Eastern Cape assessing the needs of orphan children. Lately, CORA is focusing on the needs of orphaned and vulnerable children in early childhood development. She spent the first two years paying for expenses out of her pocket, and she only recently began to receive financial support from corporations like Old Mutual, Investec, and the National Lottery. Kathy grew up with two parents and an older brother in Kings Williams Town, Eastern Cape. She grew up in poverty and without many luxuries, unlike most white South Africans during Apartheid. She feels the most important lesson she learned as a child is, “A person is a person because of other people. Respect myself and respect others.” In the 1980s and early 90s, she spent time participating in the underground sector of the African National Party (ANC). She attributes her upbringing to the reason why she is so passionate about caring for vulnerable people, and most of all equality. Kathy has been living in the Western Cape for 23 years, but that has not stopped her from returning home to the Eastern Cape to care for underserved communities. She was interviewed for her insight on the needs of orphaned and vulnerable children because she participates in the grassroots sector of development and has direct experience with OVC in South Africa.

Jane Keen is currently an employee at SEAP (South African Education and Environment Project). She worked as a Social Worker for 23 years in the Western Cape. She was born and raised in Johannesburg. She came to the Western Cape as an undergraduate student to study at University of Cape Town where she majored in Social Work and Sociology. She became a certified Social Worker in 1978, and she finished social work in 2001 after working with street children and domestic and rape survivors. She worked with other social workers to start The Homestead, the first shelter for street children in Cape Town in 1982. Although she claims to have not been very political during those days, she boldly stood up to the laws of Apartheid that outlawed the integration of black,

coloured, and white children living in a facility. She and her team decided it was immoral to only admit street children of a certain race, so she defied the law by refusing to leave the children on the street. Jane joined the staff of SEAP in 2003 and has been working to fundraise for the non-profit organization ever since. Although she is 10 years removed from directly working with street children, she was interviewed for her perspective on the evolution of child protection laws and options available for street children.

Pam Jackson has been working at Ons Plek for 25 years. She serves as the Director and Head Social Worker in order to inform the policy and procedure of South Africa's Children's Act. What she enjoys most about her job is the opportunity to be creative and use her resources in the best interest of the children who come through Ons Plek. Although she admits the weight of carrying everything, as the Director can be overwhelming from funding issues to the children in pain, she still enjoys her job. She always planned to be in social work because she viewed it as a way to challenge the government during the Apartheid. She deliberately got involved with protesting and lobbying on the behalf of people of color for this reason. She has gotten in trouble with the police because it was clear that she was educating herself about the harsh reality of being black or coloured in apartheid South Africa. Pam was born and raised in Johannesburg. After studying in Johannesburg, she spent some time working with sick children before starting a private practice offering social work services. When she came to Cape Town, she found it hard to run her business because no one knew her name. She noticed there was an alarming amount of children living on the street and wanted to get involved. At the time, six projects were started to get male children off the streets. Ons Plek was the last project to start in 1988, and the organization only houses street girls. Pam was interviewed for her insight on the type of care being provided to vulnerable children in Cape Town.

Literature Review

When reading the Children's Act 38 of 2005, one could assume orphans and vulnerable children have all the protection and rights they need to have a prosperous life in South Africa. The act lays out regulations on how children should be cared for in alternative care if they have been identified and reported as being vulnerable and abused children. The options for alternative care consist of child and youth care centers, foster homes, and reformatory school (Section 191). A child and youth care center (CYCC) can be classified as an orphanage, and it is defined as a support center that has six or more children in residence. Even the specification of what can be defined as a CYCC implicates thorough care and intricate advocacy on the behalf of children placed in an orphanage. It is important to understand how meaningful care and resources provided in a CYCC can impact a child for the rest of their lives.

In the study, *Seven Institutionalized Children and Their Adaptation in Late Adulthood: The Children of Duplessis (Les Enfants de Duplessis)*(2006), four researchers follow up with seven orphans in their fifties and sixties from institutions run by the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec during the era of Premier Minister Maurice Duplessis (Boucher, Paré, Perry and Sigal 2006, pp283). The main research question is, "How influential are the child's innate strengths, traumas and other adverse experiences, and the other adults who intervene during childhood as precursors to the chapters of late adulthood?" (pp284). The ways in which the authors looked at the domains consisted of childhood strengths, attachment, and adverse or traumatic experiences. Using theories that explored the effects of deficits in institutionalized care, the authors found authoritarian structure often leads to poor psychological functioning (pp284). Administration that includes participation of the orphans and the community they live in when making decisions enhances the psychological functioning of the orphaned child. They also found the mitigating factors that impact of negative experiences on development can include academic or athletic competence, presence of interested caring adults during adolescence, and presence of a stable mate in early adulthood (pp285). These

factors are important in my research because they are fostered through supportive and adequate care of OVC at CYCCs in Cape Town and the Eastern Cape. There research applies to my exploration because this can determine whether or not an OVC can handle the pressures of the workforce and if they can endure pushing themselves to acquire higher-level skills. If not, South Africa may have a large population in need of federal assistance. OVC who do not receive support, counseling, and a structured environment will run the risk of becoming criminals in society. While recalling past experiences of living in the institutions, the orphans testify to a range of negative experiences that affected their autonomy, confidence level, and ability to cope with pressure of maintaining a job or healthy relationships with their spouses. The researchers measured the impact of the institutions through five tools and compared the orphans' positions to non-orphaned adults in Quebec. The main tool that relates to my research is the Social and Occupational Functioning Scale (SOFAS). SOFAS was constructed on a 100 point-scale; which is modeled on the Global Assessment Functioning scale. SOFAS is different form GAF because it assesses social and occupational functioning based on the past traumatic experiences and current experiences the orphans express in their interviews. In my research, I explore potential SOFAS in comparison to the type of care received in CYCCs.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) published a technical brief in March 2011 outlining the risks and obstacles of orphaned and vulnerable children and the importance of strong early childhood development. In this case, OVC are defined as children who have lost a parent to HIV/AIDS, who are otherwise directly affected by the disease, or who live in areas of high HIV prevalence and may be vulnerable to the disease or its socioeconomic effects (AIDSTAR-One Technical Brief 2011, pp2). Close to half of South Africa's 3.7 million orphans have lost their parents to AIDS-related diseases (UNICEF 2012). Early childhood is a time of rapid brain growth. USAID poses, "This biological evidence explains how, in the absence of nurturing and supportive relationships—the type of environment in which many OVC live— adversity can create "toxic stress" that undermines all aspects of a child's subsequent development, creating significant,

physically based, long-term obstacles to positive outcomes for these children” (1). This places a critical responsibility on CYCCS in South Africa. The USAID suggests an affective early childhood development program needs five comprehensive care components in order to encourage OVC to be great contributors to the South African community and to maximize their economic potential. OVC need five aspects of comprehensive care: 1) Food and nutrition to promote healthy weights and heights 2) Child development that includes physical and fine motor; cognitive language and sensory skills, and socio-emotional development 3) Economic strengthening to access resources 4) Health 5) Child protection to reduce exposure to toxic stress and promote overcoming trauma and grief (AIDSTAR-One, 2011, 8). These necessities can be applied outside of ECD programs for children ages 6 to 19 years. Positive care and support can alleviate some of the deleterious effects of trauma and grief and support the development, or recovery, of well being and self-esteem by protecting pre-adult OVC from stigma and social isolation (USAID 2011). USAID notes there is not enough research to measure the effectiveness of ECD specifically for OVC. The organization concludes by suggesting continuous assessments and documentation of progress for OVC, but the organization does not suggest any ways to properly measure effectiveness. Although there are laws in place thanks to the Children’s Act 38 Of 2005, there is still a possibility South Africa’s CYCCs are falling short of providing effective care psychological and cognitive development.

In their book, *Identity Politics: How Our Identities Shape Our Work, Wages, and Well Being*, George A. Akerlof and Rachel E. Kranton (2010) highlight a new way of looking at economics that pertains to identity and motivation. These factors apply to the impact of the education and support orphans in South Africa might receive. They begin with the definition of identity as “how people think they and others should behave; how society teaches them to behave; and how people are motivated by these views” (pp6). Norms in a particular environment can influence one’s motivation, or utility function. OVC face the possibility of low self-esteem due to the fact that they are not are not growing up in the standard household and rely on an institution for survival and support. The

trauma, abuse, or neglect they experience can also make orphans feel as if they are deserving of harmful treatment or they may be embarrassed of their experiences, so their confidence has taken a major deficit. In addition, societal norms may cause schoolteachers, peers, and employers to treat OVC differently. In regards to economists operating on the assumption that a consumer will only make the most rational decisions specific to their circumstances, Akerlof and Kranton argue, “This presumption ignores the fact that what people care about and how much they care about it, depends in part on their identity” (pp10). The authors claim tastes and preferences are not individual characteristics independent of societal context. If orphans are taught they can achieve academic and economic success and are expected to achieve success as the norm, they have a higher chance of building endurance and resilience in a discouraging economic climate. The authors draw on United States history to illustrate how there have been different codes for how blacks and whites should act. The same could be said for South Africa’s history; blacks were not expected to gain any more skills than what was required to become a domestic worker. Today, those norms have changed, but the economic opportunities available have not changed alongside the norms and expectations. As a result, some youth are turning to alcoholism, drugs, and crime. OVC can easily be discouraged due to trauma and difficulties adjusting to school and other social settings. One person’s decision, in this case people who are likely to discriminate against OVC—teachers, employers, and classmates—affects the motivation of others (pp102). OVC need particular attention and skills for confidence building. An orphanage or shelter plays a major role in this development.

I am interested in examining the type of care and support provided to OVC in Cape Town and the Eastern Cape’s CYCCs. Given previous research indicating strong correlation between the protection and support OVC garner, I hope to gain a better understanding on the type of norms and experiences that may impact the social and occupational functioning of OVC in regards to their potential participation in the workforce.

FINDINGS

The intent of my study was to explore the difficulties orphans and vulnerable children face in South Africa through the challenges child and youth centers face in caring for OVC to analyze their position in identity economics. The research centers on the experiences of OVC in Cape Town and the Eastern Cape. Based on a series of interviews, the major issues with providing care are funding and lack of support from government personnel. Therapeutic programs and counseling are available, and they have the potential to have a positive impact on the lives of orphaned and vulnerable children. However, CYCCs are struggling to provide the most basic needs for OVC. Because government present challenges in caring for orphaned and vulnerable children, they create a large burden on the public and intensify poverty by increasing potential criminals and unemployed workers in need of welfare assistance.

Better than How it Used to Be

In 1982, Jane Keen was one of the social workers to start the first home for street children of Cape Town. The Homestead housed black and coloured children who were found begging on the street or sleeping on the street due to lack of care or resources at home. Some of these children were also orphaned children struggling to care for themselves after losing their parents or main guardians. The Homestead opened its doors to any child who was in need of assistance. However, due to the laws of Apartheid, they were breaking at least two laws. The government argued that the home was not providing an adequate home under the rules of the Child Care Act 1960, and The Homestead was breaking the Group Areas Act of 1950 by caring for black and coloured children under the same roof.² The program offered to the street children at The Homestead was geared to meet their needs. There was a flexible structure, but children received more and more requirements step by step. Jane says, “If you’re living on the streets for years, there’s no way you can sit through school.” She says

² The Group Areas Act of 1950 legalized segregation of communities based on race.

the first goal of the shelter was to stabilize the children. The second was ideally to get the children reintegrated with their families. Both goals were a long process and took a lot of dedication. The Homestead offered work and training programs as a way to stabilize the children through skills. They started an interim program called Learn to Live that focused on getting street children back in school. The social workers at the shelter surveyed the children and found that the street kids they fostered were on average four years behind where they needed to be in school. Getting through school would have been arduous for these children after reintegration, so it seems Learn to Live was an important aspect of success for efficient reintegration.

When referring to today's state of shelters for street children, Jane is grateful but aware that there are still issues that need some attention. Today, Jane is ten years removed, so she does not have direct access to street children everyday. She says, "It's very different from how it used to be." She knows there is still not enough funding to properly care for OVC. She knows that an organization like Ons Plek and others are still struggling to raise funds, "but at least there's a much more formal system." Extended family members have a hard time fostering children without the foster grant.³ She only knows of two of the street children she's worked with who have gone on to become childcare workers, but for the most part the children have more than likely taken up unskilled jobs as a means for income.

Perspectives at the Al Noor Orphanage

A woman named Amena established Al Noor Orphanage twelve years ago in 2001. She recognized that the community was suffering from homeless children wandering the streets. Since then, the institution has registered with the Department of Social Development and house up to 34 boys and girls who may not be homeless, but are in need of protection and care. The organization offers sewing projects and gardening workshops. When walking into the property, three gardens are

³ The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) pays Child Support Grants to the parent or guardian caring for a child that is not their biological child. If the child is between the ages of 16 years, and does not live in a state institution or is leading a child headed household, they will receive the grant of R290 per month upon certain conditions. See website for more details. http://www.services.gov.za/services/content/Home/ServicesForPeople/Socialbenefits/childsupportgrant/en_ZA - Location

visible and healthy. Also, there is a field for children to play. At the time of my interviews, Al Noor was completing renovations. Although the improved facilities were relieving, the toxic smell of paint made it nearly unbearable to sit in the main building. The buildings do not have ventilation alleviate the smell. The cook appears to be using porcelain plates as a makeshift pot top. Director Amena showed signs of stress both days I conducted my interviews, and the second day she ordered an emergency, mandatory meeting after chastising a CYCW, Sharon, for mismanagement. The organization looks as if it has potential, but I could infer there were some difficulties present.

Perspective of a Social Worker in Cape Town

Funeka Ginger has been working at Al Noor Orphanage since August of 2012. She has been a certified social worker since 1993. She worked for Child Welfare Society, Red Cross Children's Hospital, and served as an advisor on for the University of Stellenbosch before she joined the staff of Al Noor Orphanage. She was approached by several Al Noor Orphanage board members with a request to act as a social worker for the orphanage. Her role is to see that statutory intervention is in place, develop admissions policy, and work hand-in-hand with childcare workers. She also assembles panel meetings with external social workers and close families of the children placed in Al Noor to ensure the child is on the right track for stabilization and development. Upon arrival to Al Noor, Funeka implemented structured rules that were previously not in place. She rules and expectations for residing at Al Noor hang taped on the walls in the separate residence areas for boys and girls. She admits Al Noor endures many complications. There is a lack of funds and resources to provide for the children who reside in the orphanage. She states Al Noor, like many orphanages, face obstacles when teaching kids about self-identity. She says the lack of resources generate issues because AL Noor gets children who are severely depressed. Without at least one staff member certified in counseling, the child has to wait for her to come in on Monday for a screening. She insists Al Noor needs a full-time psychologist. Even though Al Noor has been around for 12 years,

social workers come and go because the CYCC cannot afford to pay for them. There is no real structure or routine set in place once the children arrive from school. One of the main CYCWs often falls asleep while on the job, and the orphanage relies heavily on volunteer work that may not show up everyday. She even complained about Sharon. She has recommended security for after hours. Before she arrived, there were no set programs and workshops on identity, self-preservation, and respect. She has taken the liberty to invite the Depart of Justice to speak to children about potential careers and the steps they need to accomplish in order to be the best candidates for internships and jobs. Funeka encouraged one CYCW to invite Sonke Jenah Justice; which is an institution of men preaching empowerment and strong development of boys into men. She has had to adjust the admission policy to refer boys who abuse substances to other CYCCs because Al Noor does not have the resources to erase their substance abuse. She was concerned their unattended abuse of drugs like marijuana would spread to the other boys. She suggest that Al Noor utilizes external social workers and CYCWs to produce a program that helps OVC plan out their lives because most do not finish school or go on to secure jobs. She believes the reason most OVC leave is because once they begin receiving the Child Support Grant at sixteen, they feel as if they are grown adults. However, Funeka knows they are not properly prepared to care for themselves. She has faith in Al Noor and thinks it cannot address all their issues alone, but she believes they can with the help of the Department of Education and the Department of Social Development.

When talking about the issues most OVC face in Cape Town, she immediately states depression. She says in her experience, there are not enough CYCCs to support the children in need. OVC often battle with founding a sense of belonging. Funeka claims the cultural rituals, hinting at crime, are detrimental. The lack of recreational activities contributes to OVC's involvement in criminal behavior and substance abuse. She proclaims there is no support for OVC, and they are missing out on opportunities to excel. She uses the example of a parent attending to a child's athletic game, and asks, "Who goes for orphans?" According to her knowledge, it has been proven that most

talent is manifested with support. Funeka affirms most OVC of the orphanage do not go out and get a job. They don't understand that education is the key to success. Her hopes for the children she works with comprise of their earning education and improvement of attitude and self-respect. She wants them to understand, "You can make it, but if you have a bad attitude, you can see bad results."

Perspective of a Child and Youth Care Worker

Sharon has been working at Al Noor Orphanage for five years. She is responsible for coordinating programs during after care and over the weekends. Her favorite part of working at Al Noor is motivating the children to achieve success. She says, "My interest is seeing what they become in the future starting from their education and change of behavior." She decided to become involved with the orphanage because she had a rough life growing up with her mother after her father passed away. She considers herself an orphan, but she is grateful her mother was able to care for her. She wants to share the experience with the OVC of Al Noor. She says the OVC at Al Noor struggle with confidence because they often feel less important in society. She believes most OVC in Cape Town never have an opportunity for school or advance their education, lack people to show support and encourage motivation. She states her belief that most orphans have the mentality of, "Since I'm an orphan, there is no one to care for me. Let me remain like that." Sharon insists Al Noor tells them they have a life. Even so, OVC still feel less important because they grew up in a home.

Sharon admits that the home faces many difficulties. According to Sharon, the government does not fund the home because it does not fit into certain regulations. However, the government does allocate funds to OVC when they reach sixteen years of age. Donors only fund projects, but not basic needs. She feels companies forget the child needs food, not just skills. In addition, Sharon complains that companies will take time to give what Al Noor needs immediately. She admits that it can be hard to do her job because she is not a paid CYCW. She claims none of the CYCWs are paid,

but they are given unlimited access to food and beverage in the kitchen. Sharon also lives in a small room on the premises. Another difficulty Al Noor is the catering of different cultural backgrounds. Some of the children speak Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu, and some other languages. There are some children of Muslim or Christian background. Sharon expresses difficulty in catering to all their needs. I did notice a prayer room filled with rugs for Muslim children and staff to access. Furthermore, Al Noor grapples with difficulties when identifying each child's lifestyle in order to provide what they need. The orphanage has been struggling to look for counselors, psychologists, and psychiatrists to help children conquer trauma or behavioral issues creating obstacles in their development and academic success. The shelter's first goal is to provide security, accommodation, work on education, and hopefully teach life skills so that OVC can grow to be responsible adults in the future. Sharon believes that by taking in orphaned, destitute, and street children, Al Noor helps the community address many issues, such as drug abuse and crime reduction. Sharon hopes that the children who come through Al Noor Orphanage become the future leaders of South Africa. She wants Al Noor to "train the child that they belong to society. Then they become responsible, and that already is positive change in society."

Perspective of a Former Beneficiary of Al Noor

Due to ethical reasons, I was not able to interview OVC who were currently residing at the orphanage or children under the age of seventeen. Melvis is a twenty-year-old orphan who happens to work for the Al Noor Orphanage as one of the School Support Facilitators. She helps children with their homework, school projects, and other aspects of academic study. What Melvis likes most about working at the orphanage is she feels like she is working with family, and she feels like she belongs. She says, "It's not a strange environment to be working in." She is involved with the orphanage because she wants to give back to the place that has helped her so much through her childhood as an orphan. Melvis's mom died when she was young, and she never knew her father.

She emigrated from Cameroon with her aunt in 1999. In 2001, she was forced to move into the home when she was eleven years old because her aunt could not manage to take care of her and her two cousins with the little to no income. Cape Town awarded more of an income than she collected in Cameroon, but it still was not enough to care for three children. What Melvis likes least about her job is her lack of social life. She has never enjoyed being young because she is always too busy taking care of other people's children. It can be even more difficult because she is not financially stable, and Al Noor rarely can afford to pay her. Nevertheless, she wants to help make a better society in South Africa. She sometimes referred to herself as an intern at the orphanage because she has her own plans of opening up an early childhood development center.

Melvis states part of the difficulties she's encountered as an orphan in Cape Town is she often feels as if people perceive her as being "less than them and not as bright." She says she still managed to do well in school because living at the orphanage did not poorly affect her confidence. Even though she remained in contact with her aunt who explained to her that she simply could not afford to care for Melvis, she says of the orphanage, "I feel like I'm living with my parents." She adds, "Being in a home gave me a lot of opportunities, financially, spiritually, and physically." Most of the support she received came from the orphanage, even from people she did not know. This support impacted her by making her feel like she had a bright future. On the other hand, Melvis remembers her mother always telling her since the first grade before she died, "In life, if you don't have education you are useless." As a result, her main goal growing up in Al Noor Orphanage was to have a proper education. Melvis did not reveal the cause of her mother's death. Moreover, Melvis did reveal that most of the OVC at the orphanage normally leave around sixteen and seventeen years old, or sometimes before this age. She claims the orphanage is still a financial source for their OVC that leave, and if they do not go to college, Al Noor will still help them find a job.

The Ons Plek Experience

Ons Plek is a shelter for girls who live on the street or are at risk of living on the street. The home was founded in 1988 by social worker, Pam Jackson. She started with only one shelter in Philippi, and since she has opened one other home in Woodstock, and in Intervention Center in Philippi. Ons Plek is registered to house 34 young girls total. The number is consistently changing because rotate in and out of the home when they become adults or if their trauma is too strong for the vulnerable girls to successfully conquer and they decide to leave. The girls of Ons Plek typically have endured trauma, some form of abuse, or neglect. Many girls also have behavioral issues. Part of the treatment for the girls is to provide individualized attention, which is why only 16 girls are housed in Philippi, and 18 others are housed in one other shelter in Woodstock. There are four social workers and four CYWs in each shelter. Ons Plek has one permanent therapist, who is also a certified social worker. There is also 1 teacher in the shelters that teaches morning classes for the girls who are behind the rest of their class and may have a hard time getting to school. There are also 4 community workers in Philip that lead prevention workshops that can spot when a girl as dropped out of school. According to Pam, girls usually drop out of school before they eventually begin to live on the streets. These community workers collaborate with social workers to meet with families of the vulnerable to child and address issues that may be making it hard for the girl to continue school and resort to street living.

Ons Plek offers various therapeutic programs for the OVC that come through their shelters. Every child receives counseling at least once a week. If the child is in the stabilization phase, she receives counseling once every two days. Once she is there for the long term, she receives counseling once a week. Pam believes that as part of treatment, there needs to be a structured environment to help the child adapt to social environments. She says, "Every single rule is treatment, and learning there are consequences to actions is a part of the treatment." Girls are taught basic skills such as online grocery shopping and cooking. The teaching of these skills aims to prepare the girls to

be responsible adults. Pam says that because of these skills girls can plan their own events because they can create a list of tasks and necessities and learn to manage a budget. The girls are also required to take taxis or trains to school as a way of teaching them to operate through public transport and become familiar with going out on their own. If the girls are 18 years old and maintain a job, they are required to pay one-third of their monthly salary to Ons Plek because in reality they have to pay rent in order to keep a shelter in the real world. Once the girls leave, they receive the payments back to help them get started on their own; since the paid “rent” is actually saved for them an account. She says parents are usually happy their daughter is learning these responsibilities because it is what is expected of them when they return home. Pam says by enforcing these rules as treatment, Ons Plek avoids the issue of OVC living in a fancy place and refusing to return home because the shelter is so much better.

The type of job training the girls receives is also a part of treatment. The first goal of job training is to stabilize the girls so they will return to school. They receive in house teaching to facilitate the process. If children are behind in school, the staff meets with them to assess what realistic academic expectations should be achieved. Once the girls reach grade, sometimes they are told old to continue with school. As a result, Ons Plek helps them get into job training schools, such as hairdressing or hotel management. The second service offered is guidance on resumé building and filling out job applications, as well as preparation for interviews. Once the girls reach sixteen, they are expected to find a job. Pam admits that if the girl is having a tough time adjusting to school, she can receive job training at fifteen years old. By asking the girls to pay a third of their salary as rent, Ons Plek prepares them for managing finances without exploiting them. Girls typically apply for jobs in the hotel industry, retail management, as chefs, as hairdressers, as security guards, or working various shops. She tells a story of one 21-year-old young lady who began employment at a crèche. She eventually saved up to purchase a livable shack in the back of someone’s house. She also talks about one you lady who married a minister and now helps to train others to deal with HIV/AIDS in

her community. Another young lady married an Italian man in Cape Town and has been employed as a nurse in Italy for 5 years with one child. All of these young women stay in touch with Ons Plek. In fact, most of the women who have lived in Ons Plek keep in touch, and they bring their families to the annual Ons Plek Christmas Party. When asked if she encourages the girls to aim, she says, “We don’t push them to aim high because their self-esteem is already so low, and they already have ideas of what they should be like.” However, Ons Plek builds their confidence by “treating them like people, giving them the opportunity to make decisions, so they become empowered by their decisions.” Pam insists that the difficulties the girls in Ons Plek confront when facing the workforce are similar to many difficulties others are dealing with in Cape Town. These include job scarcity, lack of skilled training, and insufficient schooling. In addition to these issues, the girls have to deal with not having a stable or supportive family to alleviate their financial issues and adult responsibilities because they are street children. Although the shelters only supports girls, the prevention programs in Philippi deals with boys and girls. Pam expressed that the girls do not want boys in the homes because most of them have been abused by men all of their lives.

Funding for Ons Plek stems from various sources. One-third of expenses are covered by Western Cape’s Department of Social Services. Pam says, “Money is always a problem.” Ons Plek applies to foundations and trusts to cover the rest of their expenses. They do not plan events as fundraisers because Pam believes there is too much work put in for little return. The CYCC has received some funding from corporations. However, the recent initiative of Corporate Social Investment has affected the funding sources because corporations have decided to stop donating funds, and volunteer for a day to complete tasks such as painting the building. Pam critiques the new strategy because the volunteers are not very good painters, and she believes it is unproductive to come and volunteer for one day. She also says the worldwide recession has made funds difficult to secure. When asked about the reasons why other CYCCs may be financially struggling in Cape Town, she comments that poor management has a large impact. She says many CYCCs in Cape

Town have been forced to shut down over the years. She highlights that there is a huge lack of professional skills or their staff is not trained properly. She laments about the quality of social workers that have come through her CYCC. She says, “I can’t believe the low standards of social work. It is bad. It is really, really bad.” Pam attributes this to the government’s attempt to teach people how to run organizations and businesses post-Apartheid. She believes, “People in Government who are supposed to run things really don’t know what they are doing.” Pam admits that because Ons Plek has built a trusted, reliable and good reputation as an organization, it may be much easier for her to receive the funds from trusts and grants Ons Plek often applies for.

Issues in the Eastern Cape

CORA is a foundation recently established in 2009. CORA is an acronym for Caring for Orphans in Rural Areas. Kathy Schultz started the organization after recognizing there was a clear neglect of orphaned and vulnerable children in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape. She spent all of 2010 travelling around the Eastern Cape assessing the needs of CYCCs. In 2011 until today, CORA has found itself addressing the need to rehabilitate and enrich early childhood development centers. Many villages were caring for children in unfit infrastructures with very little to no funding. The food provided ranged from a plate of rice to some children, to a piece of chicken to one child, to some children not eating at all for the day. CORA provides sanitation, refurbishing, nutrition, and literacy materials in rural villages such as Noluthando. It also provides training for teachers and staff working in ECDCs and communities. Kathy argues the laws and regulations of South Africa’s Children’s Act 38 of 2005 are “absolutely not implemented.” Kathy claims many of the ECDCs are starving to provide for young children in the village because there is a major lack of government support. She speaks of the experience of trying to enter a community to help rehabilitate CYCCs, and members of the Department of Social Development telling her that her presence is not needed. She says, “People like UNICEF and everyone is having this problem!” Kathy says there is apathy in

the government because DoSD does not look at ways of addressing issues with CYCCs in the rural areas. She says there are not many orphanages in the rural areas because there is no funding for them. She declares, “There is no money for toilets and sanitation so it doesn’t happen. So people leave the kids outside.” CORA aims to remove the onus on an already burdened and impoverished community by providing children with dignity, education, and literacy. Kathy voices the best part of her job as, “Being able to provide opportunities for change and to the children hope. I believe in empowering the children, leveling the playing field and equal opportunity through dignity. ”

The OVC Kathy works with have experience a lot of harm in all her ten years of working with them. She says the greatest killer of orphaned parents in the Eastern Cape is tuberculosis. She professes some of the children have been burned with cigarettes by their parents, neglected or starved, or experience child trafficking for sexual exploitation.

CORA has hit many obstructions when applying for funding. For the first two years of the organization, Kathy paid for expenses with her personal funds. As of today, she collects funding from corporations such as Old Mutual and Investec. She alleges her grant proposals have been turned away simply because she uses the word “orphans” to describe the children she works with. She says DoSD claims the term is too degrading. When DoSD lost four of her proposals, she went down to their office seven times to demand an explanation and some assistance. The director of the ECD in Noluthando reports the DoSD told her a total of R130, 000 has been set aside for the village. The director has yet to receive any funds. Kathy has paid at least R1 million to improve the ECDC’s facilities. She says teachers who work at the ECDC are unpaid. Once they partner with CORA, teachers receive a small wage of R100-200 per month from the organization. She also spends over R12, 000 a week to train teachers in ECD methods. Kathy loathes what she calls “Government Apathy”. She says with fiery passion, “Here we have children who are going to grow up to be leaders, employees, work in sports, or you can meet them at the barrel of a gun or you’re going to get a knife pointed at you.”

Kathy declares OVC in the Eastern Cape stumble across many problems. She says a lot of OVC don't have identification books, so they do not have access to their grants.⁴ Uncollected grant money leads to very little nutrition. They typically have a lack of support and education because do not have access to resources like urban children might. That is why she goes into villages to help them. She says jobs are hard to find. Even though OVC are aiming higher, they are falling short because of the reality of the employment situation. Stating, "Becoming a criminal in this country is more viable than getting a job", Kathy avows low opportunity for jobs hurts communities. They are often fighting the Government to listen to them. Moreover, she witnesses the nurturing and support evokes the feeling in OVC that they are something and important.

ANALYSIS

As noted in the research conducted in the of Les Enfants de Duplessis, the type of care received from child and youth care centers impacts the way orphaned and vulnerable children adapt to society. If there is a deficit in institutionalized care, the development of the OVC will suffer (pp284). My analysis of Cape Town and the Eastern Cape's type of care is that because there are issues with providing adequate care, OVC in South Africa will not have all of their needs met and will eventually rely suffer through trauma and potentially add to high crime rates and unemployment. A common theme in the issues of child and youth care centers appears to be issues with funding. The Al Noor Orphanage stated issues with funding for the purpose of providing basic needs and finding psychosocial therapists, and CORA runs into issues of funding to reconstruct buildings and provide at least two daily wholesome meals. If the CYCC cannot find a stable counselor for children who experience trauma, abuse, and neglect, OVC will struggle to get through school and adapt to pressures and responsibilities in society. If the children cannot get through school, they will not acquire higher-level skills and may eventually remain in lower level jobs. If the environment is not soothing or conducive to overcoming traumatic experiences, CYCC will not aim for higher level jobs

⁴ Child Support Grant

because there will be too much energy focused on dealing with past experiences. If orphaned children do not learn basic skills such as cooking or budget management, they will not be prepared for a stable adulthood. Not all children will face this issue. This will depend on their personal motivation and childhood strengths as stated in the research on Les Enfants de Duplessis (pp298). Melvis is an example of how an OVC's utility function can suffice, and they begin to think about stability and the possibility of becoming leaders. However, Melvis remembered the lesson about education her mother consistently reminded her about. Also, she felt the need to volunteer at Al Noor Orphanage because she was able to develop a close and tight-knit relationship with the staff. Since the orphanage is understaffed, they are not able to develop a close relationship with each child to provide a sense of identity and confidence. In the Eastern Cape, it seems the priority is to provide basic needs because the infrastructure is so lacking in so many early childhood development centers. If CYCWs have consistent access to the tools they need for daily meals and education tools, they can focus on other important aspects of child development when dealing with OVC such as therapeutic programs that help with behavior and learning challenges. The success Ons Plek boasts of attributes to their greater access to funding. Because of its reputation, when Ons Plek applies for grants and trusts, they are more likely to receive funding.

Furthermore, another theme in the research is the varying of management skills among the different institutions. Ons Plek has been around for 25 years. Pam Jackson holds high standards for the type of social workers and staff members she hires because she is seriously invested in girls who live on the street. She remembers the days when there were no shelters available for street children, especially for girls. CORA has only been established for four years. Kathy began executing strategies in 2011, and she has already succeeded in rejuvenating three early childhood development centers. She has not only found the funds, which proves she is resourceful and dedicated to help OVC by any means, but she also helped to plant a garden so that the ECDCs can have at least one reliable source of food. These are sustainable measures in addition to surface level attempts to make

change, such as organizing blanket, books, and toy drives. Kathy is used to be apart of the underground sector of the ANC. The meticulous planning and operation of the organization mobilizing in secrecy possibly contributes to her ability to be single-track minded and focus on accomplishing goals. In addition, Kathy is very passionate and devoted to her cause of caring for orphaned and vulnerable children in the Eastern Cape. She feels they are overlooked and invisible. Funeka Ginger sits as the beacon of hope for the management of Al Noor Orphanage. By giving Al Noor Orphanage the favor of only paying her what they can afford, she displays an admirable commitment to the well being of OVC. She is aware that she is losing money from the potential business her private firm could be collecting, but she her heart focuses on “doing what [she] believes is right.” It is no wonder most of the children at Al Noor leave by the ages of sixteen and seventeen. The management of the organization affects the ramifications of its services and structure. Proper management can also affect the probability of funds. If management is not resourceful, then the work ethic of the staff will suffer because the incentive to perform well is not there with little to know wages. In addition, low funds and poor management may also have an effect on why Al Noor constantly rotates social workers. As discussed before, low funds hurt the OVC of this organization in the long run because the type of CYCW they interact with may not be performing well with low incentives and poor structure in leadership. Moreover, management and funds intertwine with one another and influence the quality of childcare.

Implications of Identity and Utility Function

In their book, *Identity Economics: How Our Identities Shape Our Work Wages, and Well Being*, George A. Akerlof and Rachel E. Kranton define identity as how people think they and others should behave, how society teaches them to behave, and how people are motivated by these views (pp6). Orphans and vulnerable children are perceived by South African society as less than capable to perform and less deserving. Funeka, Sharon, Melvis, Kathy and Pam confirm this perception in their interviews. With frustration, Melvis admits to the existence of society’s perception when she

speaks about her experiences in growing up in an orphanage in Cape Town. Funeka and Sharon express the worry they have as children develop. They both acknowledge the negative impact the society's perceptions of OVC can have on the children they have encountered. Pam states part of the strategy of delivering effective treatment at Ons Plek is to treat the street girls like they are people. This strategy is part of building self-esteem in young girls who already suffer from abuse or neglect. She even reveals the girls already have a low perception of their own limitations, and it factors into why the shelter does not push the girls to aim high. However, teaching domestic skills, independence, and efficient decision-making inherits the objective of fueling higher motivation to function in society. Kathy's mentioning of her rejected funding proposals because she used the word "orphan" to describe the children in need of CORA's help. The Department of Social Development in Eastern Cape told her the term was too degrading, but she argues the term would not be degrading if the group were not so disenfranchised. In return, OVC are not highly motivated if they are perceived as less than. Even if they are, they may run into autonomy issues like Leonard from the Les Enfants de Duplessis study. He struggles to get along with his boss and co-workers because he often felt as if his competence was always in question (pp298). Akerlof and Kranton highlight this issue and present the theory as statistical discrimination. The example used in the chapter on Race and Ethnicity centers on a case study that indicates white employers think black employees have low skills, so they will not hire black employees. In return, blacks may have no incentive to acquire high skills because they are usually judged and discriminated against no matter what (pp98). The authors suggest black children need to be socialized to acquire higher levels of skills, and they need special emphasis on self-determination, resilience, and self-confidence (pp98). These same issues apply to orphans and vulnerable children. If employers assume OVC perform below average, they are less likely to hire them. OVC will begin to aim lower. Kathy mentions that she believes OVC often aim too high just to be disappointed. Although the amount of rejection needed to produce adverse responses varies depending on one's personal strengths, OVC are likely to drop job-hiring expectations.

The utility function of an OVC relies on the type of care received in child and youth care centers. Akerlof and Kranton proclaim, “Utility functions and what goes into them give economists a formal way to classify motivation” (pp9). Therapeutic programs act as solutions to self-esteem and resilience building. As of February 2013, the total unemployment rate in South Africa stands at 24.9%, and the unemployment rate is 22% in Cape Town (SASSA 2013). With nearly a quarter of the population facing unemployment, competition for jobs stands high and OVC can be intimidated. OVC will also need higher-level skills in order to stand out and make employees feel as if they are adding to the business. In addition, if there are no jobs available, OVC will become discouraged in the process of looking for employment. If OVC do not engage in confidence building, the care received at CYCCs do a disservice of preparing children for the tough workforce that will determine their exposure to poverty.

CONCLUSION

All in all, the orphaned and vulnerable children in Cape Town and the Eastern Cape are being robbed of their holistic rights to protection and care as stated in the Children’s Act 38 of 2005. The government is not sufficiently supporting child and youth care centers to carry out proper care and services needed to stabilize children and develop cognitive and independence skills. By failing to allocate adequate funding and therefore impacting management of CYCCs, state government creates a larger burden on the public, escalate poverty, and potentially increasing criminals and unemployed workers in need of welfare assistance. The Child Support Grant is not a proper investment in South African OVC because without proper skills and support to enter the workforce, OVC become reliant on small paychecks and complacent with their low-income position in society. This can be an arduous task as OVC tangle through the abuse, neglect, or orphanhood in their childhoods. The children do not possess a high utility function or any incentive to seek higher-level job training.

If South Africa's Children's Act clearly mandates a provincial responsibility to provide basic education, protection, and care, why is there a disconnect between what is written in law and actually practiced? Some scholars have constructed theories about the obstacles in making laws visible in practice. In her essay titled, "Some Remarks on the 'Horizontal' Effects of Directives", René Barents touches on the notion of simply because laws are written and delivered, does not guarantee implementation. There are processes to maintaining Community law. She argues, "the direct effect of Community law is not conditional upon the addresses of the relevant provisions: Member States, individuals or Community institutions themselves" (pp98). This would mean because a law is written does not mean it will automatically invoke change or effects. Using Merten de Wilmars and other authors, she defines Community law as "the possibility for an individual to invoke the Community law provisions concerned before his national court in order to protect his interests" (pp98). The upholding a law depends on whether or not individuals will challenge the violation of their rights in court. In other words, if there ever were a situation violating one's rights, this law would give the individual justification and evidence for demanding a specific result. Because funding is already tight within many CYCCs, especially Al Noor and CORA, they must focus the funds they receive on caring for OVC. Challenging the courts on a violation of rights in the Children's Act is a privilege and a luxury. It would take time to search for a civil rights lawyer dedicated to the cause. Where is the responsibility to properly invest in orphaned and vulnerable children? It may stem from the negative connotations that come with being labeled an orphaned and vulnerable child. Society does not see a need to invest in their education. Too often social activists use vague terms such as "underprivileged" and "low-income" when referring to children struggling to gain access to equal education. Typically, OVC are not distinguished in this group of children. Many people understand orphanhood as a child in need of donation of blankets, food, clothes, or books. What about the necessity for counseling and support? Corporations cannot see past donations to CYCCs as funds for gardening or sewing projects or books and clothes. Otherwise, they would understand the necessity

for funds to afford skilled and dedicated social and child welfare workers and trauma therapists. There certainly needs to be an in depth study into the type of care being provided to OVC and how proper care yields better returns for all of society.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The research conducted in this study does not suffice as deep insight into the experiences of OVC and CYCCs in all of South Africa. However, it does spark a conversation and inspiration for further study. The study can be executed on a larger scale by interviewing CYCWs in all of the townships in the Western Cape. The Department of Social Development does release an annual report on the amount of OVC in each province and the conditions in which they live, but it does not provide detailed strategies to improve conditions. It also may not be an accurate depiction of what occurs on the ground. Researchers can also look into several other provinces in the country to get a better picture of what OVC and CYCCs go through in South Africa as a whole. The project would take more than four weeks to thoroughly conduct on a larger scale. Making sure to stay within ethical guidelines of children who experience trauma, abuse, and abandonment, researchers could obtain a better picture of the effects of CYCCs in South Africa by studying the OVC who frequent the institutions. They can study behavior patterns, improvement in behavior patterns, development of cognitive skills, graduation rates, and their ambitions. This insight could give a better understanding of the effectiveness of care on adult social and occupational functioning similar to the study of Les Enfants de Duplessis.

ETHICAL REFLEXIVITY

There may have been a hierarchy present when speaking with some of the interviewees. Sharon of Al Noor Orphanage could have been striving to paint a particular picture of successful and efficient care as the Program Coordinator of Al Noor Orphanage. Because she was aware that I was

going to writing a paper about the organization, her honesty may have been tainted. Even when admitting that she is not paid, she could have been attempting to inspire me to in some way to get involved with raising funds for the institution because she knew I was an American student. The assumption about the United States' activity in raising funds for shelters and underprivileged kids in other countries is that we have the resources to raise funds and provide donations. When speaking with Melvis, I told her my personal story of triumph as an African American foster child. The purpose was to make her feel comfortable with sharing her life experiences with me by letting her know I don't entirely come from a position of privilege. The methodology could have encouraged her to talk about how she did not feel affected by her experience growing up in an orphanage. However, I do believe she was honest. Because I made it clear I would only share our interview in my research paper and a presentation to the School for International Training faculty, Funeka Ginger felt she could be honest with me about the difficulties Al Noor was experiencing. I made sure Melvis was comfortable speaking with me, and I made a conscience effort not to ask questions that could possibly provoke remembrance of traumatic experiences. Moreover, I think signing a consent form made the interviewees feel respected and safe.

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doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0008169

APPENDIX A:

LIST OF PRIMARY SOURCES

Interviews

Mando, Melvis. Personal interview. 22 Apr. 2013.

Ginger, Funeka. Personal interview. 24 Apr. 2013.

Not Given, Sharon. Personal interview. 24 Apr. 2013.

Schultz, Kathy. Personal interview. 2 May 2013.

Keen, Jane. Personal interview. 3 May 2013.

Jackson, Pam. Phone Interview. 6 May 2013.

Legislation

Children's Act of 38 of 2005
Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950
Child Support Grant, last updated on April 4, 2013
Children's Act No. 33 of 1960

APPENDIX B:

INTERVIEW/GUIDED CONVERSATION QUESTIONS

1. What is your role in this organization?
2. What do you like most about working with this organization?
3. What do you like least about working with this organization?
4. What pushed you to get involved with this organization?
5. What counseling and therapeutic programs do you offer children?
6. What difficulties do you predict children of the organization are currently facing in their lives?
7. What difficulties do you predict the children will face when they graduate from high school?
8. What are your hopes for the children who rely on the organization?
9. Are CYCCs getting adequate support and funding?
10. What counseling programs do you offer for the purpose of life skills development?
11. Where are you from?
12. What did you aspire to be as a child?
13. What was the most important lesson you learned as a child?

APPENDIX C: SIGNED CONSENT FORMS