

Poverty as a Source of Behavioural Problems that Affect the Realization of the Right to Basic Education among Children: A Case Study of Schools in the Eastern Cape - South Africa

Newman Wadesango*, Owence Chabaya, Symphorosa Rembe** and Patricia Muhuro****

*** Walter Sisulu University, East London, Republic of South Africa**

Email: nwadesango@wsu.ac.za

****University of Fort Hare, Alice Campus, South Africa**

KEYWORDS Drug Abuse. Gangsterism. Bullying. Rape. Burglary. Rural Schools

ABSTRACT It is evident that although the South African Government has put in place policies and strategies to ensure safe and secure teaching and learning environment, poverty, especially in rural areas, has become a source of behavioural problems among learners that disrupt learning in schools and deny others the right to education. The study examined how poverty in the home influences children's behaviour problems and how, in turn, it affects access to education among children. This was a qualitative research where data was collected through interviews with 12 primary school learners with behaviour problems from 3 schools in the Eastern Cape, educators, parents/guardians and some members of the community as well as document analysis. The findings showed that children can be forced by poverty to adopt anti-social behaviour including criminal activities which are anti school. This affects access to education as well as safety and well-being of other children in schools.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Almost 18 million of South Africa's present population of approximately 40 million people are children who live in various degrees of want that includes lack of shelter, food, clothing and proper education (Children's Movement in South Africa 2010). Despite the massive injection of transfers into households with poor children through the introduction and expansion of child support grants, poverty amongst children is still substantial with 65.5% child poverty compared to 45.2% poverty among adults in South Africa (Streak et al. 2008). Nearly two-thirds of children living in poverty are in rural areas. In short, 3 out of 5 children younger than 17 years are living in poor households (Children's movement in South Africa 2010). Bezuidenhout and Joubert (2003) highlighted that the high rate of poverty in rural areas is attributed to factors such as high rate of unemployment within households. This study investigated poverty as a source of behaviour problems and its effect on the realization of the children's right to education. In this case, the study investigated 12 learners from 3 primary schools who had extreme behaviour problems.

Statement of the Problem

From the above discussion, it is evident that

although the government has put in place policies and strategies to ensure safe and secure teaching and learning environment, poverty, especially in rural areas, leads to behavioural problems among learners that disrupt learning in schools and deny others the right to education. Behavioural problems in this study constitute drug abuse, gangsterism, bullying, rape, burglary and other criminal activities and violence which take place in both primary and secondary schools. These problems are critical since they, in the process deny the perpetrators and the victims, their right to basic education and in turn this stifles the governments' policies on education for all. Therefore, this study attempted to make an analysis of the effects of poverty among school pupils in the schools under study.

METHODOLOGY

The research is a case study of three schools in the Fort Beaufort district in the Eastern Cape province, South Africa. Anderson and Arsenaault (2000) define case study as an investigation into a specific phenomenon within its real-life context. This study adopted interpretive qualitative methodology. Bogdan and Biklen (2003) point out that interpretive qualitative methodology affords researchers opportunity to get involved in particular settings under study because they are concerned with context. One of the

advantages of qualitative interpretive methodology is that “it can reveal the nature of certain situations, settings, processes, relationships, systems or people” (Leeds and Ormond 2001: 148).

Sample and Sampling

The study was confined to three rural schools in the Fort Beaufort district. Purposive sampling was used to identify 12 learners (four from each school) who showed very serious behaviour problems. Use of purposive sampling ensured that relevant data about the 12 learners with very serious behaviour problems was covered and their home environments explored. Their ages ranged from eight to thirteen years and they were all male learners. Other respondents included parents and guardians of the 12 learners; other parents from close neighbourhood to the 12 learners; 4 educators per school, that is the principal and three educators. The purpose of choosing the above respondents was that some of them knew the twelve learners very well as they were part of the family and of the school, others interact with them almost every day, others are in their neighbourhood and they know how they live and what they do.

Data Collection

Data were collected through interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis. Use of varied data collection methods enabled researchers to triangulate data from various sources. Interviews were carried out with the learners, their parents or guardians, the school principals and educators. Focus group discussions were carried out with other parents from the communities. Documents such as registers and mark lists were used to find out about the academic performance as well as school attendance rates of the 12 learners under study.

Data Analysis

Collected data was sorted into categories. The categories were then grouped into the following themes: physical conditions of learners' homes; learners living alone; learners living with grandparents; high unemployment rate among households; alcohol and drug abuse by parents and family members; learner performances and school attendance and performance.

Ethical Consideration

The researchers acknowledge that the research involved dealing with very sensitive and confidential information about individual learners and their families as well as the school, and the community at large. Putting into consideration the fact that almost all the learners in the sample were minors, interviews with them were carried out in the presence of the social worker after getting permission from their parents or guardians. In addition, the respondents were told clearly that they were at liberty not to answer some of the questions if they so wished. Permission to obtain and use information from all the respondents was sought at every stage of the research. Permission was sought from both the school and the district office in written form.

Data Presentation

Data was grouped along themes such as: factors in the home environments which affect learners' behaviour such as physical conditions of learners' homes; learners living alone; learners living with grandparents; high unemployment rate among households; alcohol and drug abuse by parents and family members; learner performances and school attendance.

Individual interviews and focus group meetings held with respondents showed that home environments have effects on learners' behaviour. They include the physical conditions of learners' homes, high unemployment rate among households in the village, alcohol and drug abuse by parents, guardians and family members and lack of responsibility among parents as presented below.

Physical Conditions of Learners' Homes

Observations made on the physical conditions of homes of the 12 learners who participated in the study showed that they lived in very appalling conditions. They came from very large families in crowded conditions. In the individual interviews with learners and parents, some of the respondents stated that as many as six to eight people shared a single room in a one roomed house. It came out that many of the learners shared rooms with adults of different ages and sexes including their parents or guardians. One 15 year old learner respondent expressed the

following in the interview: *"I share a bedroom with my sister, my mother and my mother's boyfriend and I don't like this man"*. Interviews with the educators also indicated that the same learner was a bully in both the school and the village.

Learners Staying Alone and Learners Looking After Other People's Homes

Interviews with learners and educators and focus group interviews with other parents who live in learners' neighbourhood revealed how some of the learners were staying on their own either at their absent parents' homes or through being hired to look after homes of some members of the community who were working away in towns. The hired learners were required to stay in the houses and ensure that they are clean and items are not stolen from the households. In return, they had their school fees paid or were given food and money and in some cases it was their parents or guardians who were given food or money. Since these children got limited supervision or none, some of them indulged in drugs and alcohol and committed crimes. In one focus group interview with parents who live in the learners' neighbourhood it was pointed out that many of the learners who are keeping people's houses have made friends with people who are bad role models. They have also been in trouble with the law because they have committed criminal offences. In an interview, one educator narrated the following:

A fifteen year old learner was entrusted to look after his neighbour's house who works in Cape Town. Before moving into the neighbour's house the learner used to live with his mother and other younger siblings. The boy used to bring in a lot of friends of both sexes to drink and socialise. On this particular day when they had consumed alcohol they gang raped a girl. It is not clear whether the girl was drinking with them. The learner and his peers who are not at school have a pending court case.

What came out from all the individual interviews and focus group meetings with most of the respondents is that many of the learners who are looking after people's houses are children from female headed households and those living with either grandparents or aunties.

Interviews with educators and focus group meetings with community members showed that some learners' parents and guardians were working away from home leaving children al-

one without adult supervision. This provided opportunity for children to get carried away and engage in criminal activities as they associated with peers and other people who were bad role models. One educator pointed out in an interview that;

One learner in my class stays with his younger siblings because the mother went to look for work in town. He comes to school late and at times comes only twice or three times a week. One time he did not come the whole week because he had trouble with the police after he got drunk.

According to a study by Conger (1979), delinquency may be caused by parents or guardians who may be rated to be inadequate in child supervision and as hostile or indifferent rather than loving and responsible.

Learners Living With Grandparents

It was also observed that most of the learners were living with their grandparents or their relatives mostly aunties. It was revealed in the interviews with educators and focus group discussions that some of the parents of the learners moved to towns to seek for employment and left the children with grandparents. Some of them rarely come back or made contact with their families. In one focus group discussion, the following incident was narrated by a parent who lives in the learners' neighbourhood:

Some children were left with a grandparent and there were no contacts with the parents of those children. When the grandparent died there were no relatives around to take care of them and social workers had to intervene. They had to be placed in foster care very far from people they were familiar with.

Some of the grandparents and guardians interviewed confirmed that given the situation where the households had nothing else to depend on except the social grants, some children ended up engaging in criminal activities for their daily survival. This also means given the fact that they are needy, it is easy for them to be used by criminals to do the dirty work because they will be given something in return. One learner said:

My parents are in Johannesburg, my grandparents receive social grant. My parents never send money or come home. I have not seen them since I came to stay with my grandparents. Sometimes I am sent by the big boys to take items from people's houses and I am given money.

Children in such circumstances are exposed to all sorts of abuse and may end up being delinquent.

High Unemployment Rate among Households in the Village

Interviews with learners and educators and focus group discussions with members of the community revealed that there is a high rate of unemployment among most households in the villages. Most of the households survive on social grants, namely old age, disability and child grants. Some households lived on handouts from friends and relatives because they did not qualify for any of the social grants and did not have family members who were employed. One learner said in an interview:

My father gets disability grant and I work in the tavern near our house at weekends and during holidays to get money — I use that money with my friends to buy alcohol.

As a result of unemployment, many households sell alcohol in order to make ends meet in their homes and this in turn made the community end up having a lot of beer halls or taverns where children could easily access alcohol. Since the main objective of the owners would be to make high profits, they would sell alcohol to all customers irrespective of their ages.

Alcohol and Drug Abuse by Parents and Family Members

All the respondents who participated in the study admitted that there is alcohol and drug abuse in many households in the villages. Interviews with educators and learners, and focus group discussions with parents revealed that there is excessive use of alcohol by young and old people in the villages. Learners confirmed that their parents, guardians and other members of the family took alcohol excessively. One learner stated:

“My father was drinking but a little. My mother is drinking a lot and is drinking every weekend. I also take alcohol with my friends. When my mother is drunk she shouts at my father and they fight in front of us”.

Nine learners admitted that they took alcohol and that their parents, guardians and siblings were aware of it. However, it was also revealed in focus group discussions that some pa-

rents and guardians of learners under study fought in the presence of their children when they were drunk. On a similar note, one learner said the following in an interview:

Both my parents are drinking alcohol excessively and fighting in front of us. My brothers and my sister are also drinking every day. They are also using ‘dagga’. I also take alcohol with my friends.

It also came out that parents, especially mothers, who drink too much did not cook for their children often. Interviews with educators and focus group discussions with other parents who live in the neighbourhood of the learners under study provided a picture of what goes on in some households. One focus group pointed out the following:

In one home, the mother goes to the tavern everyday and a 14 year old girl is left to look after the younger siblings. Of late the girl has also started going out to drink leaving the younger brother and younger sister alone in the house. At times she does not go to school due to alcohol hangover.

Interviews with the learners under study also showed that they felt that alcohol abuse by their parents was one of the causes for their parents’ poor parenting activities as shown in some interview responses below:

I love my mother. When she is not drunk she does everything for us. She finds food for us when there is nothing at home. But when she is drunk, she is a different person. She shouts at us and at my father and at times beats us for no reason.

I love my father but I hate my mum because of what she did to me. One time she was from the sheeben (an unlicensed drinking establishment) drunk and stabbed me on the back with a knife. I had done nothing wrong to her. That is when my father decided to take me to my grandparents.

The learner who was stabbed by his mother was described by the educators as aggressive. He bullies, and takes other learners’ lunches and fights them when they are in the classroom and during break time. He is nine years old. This was confirmed by his grandmother who said she repeatedly visited the school because of his behaviour problem. Before he came to stay with his grandmother, he used to drink and would stay away from home for a number of days.

The parents and guardians of the 12 learners

confirmed that their children were abusing drugs and alcohol. During the interviews they mentioned that most of their children went to the *shebeens* and to the many taverns in the village. One of the parents of the learners commented:

Children are allowed in the sheebens and taverns. They are drinking and playing music. Tavern owners are saying children bring money because they buy alcohol and buy the music.

One learner said:

We go to play music in the sheebens because the owners allow us. However, at times when the places are busy, they do not allow us because they fear that we may be beaten or assaulted by older people. Also during busy days policemen visit the sheebens and the owners fear they will be asked to account for underage children being there. When police are around, we send older people to buy alcohol for us and we share with them.

Lack of Responsibility among Parents

Interviews with educators, and focus group interviews with parents from the neighbourhood of the 12 learners revealed that parents and guardians of the learners under study did not show responsibility towards their children. They also did not seem to care about how and where the children spent their time after school or knowing who children associate with as friends. Some of the parents did not care where the children spent the night. One learner said:

We arrive home late from shebeens or taverns with my friends, but my parents say nothing.

One parent also said the following:

I don't know who his friends are because he never comes home with them. Moreover, he is looking after someone's house, and he does not sleep at home. Furthermore, I don't know the activities he is involved in. Sometimes I do tell him what I don't like, so why should I care about where he goes or stays? If he is not at home by 19h00 I lock him out and he finds his own ways of getting into the house. I am doing the same thing to his sister.

Lack of Role Models

Interviews with learners showed that some parents and family members of some children were not good role models in their families and their homes. There is no good relationship am-

ong them as they are fighting. Their children are also fighting with each other or with other children. The following comment about the behaviour of parents and family members came from some of learner respondents interviewed:

We are not relating well as children. My brothers are beating me and my father doesn't say anything. My brothers are also involved in criminal offences such as theft, burglary and attempted murder. Presently one of them has a criminal case.

We get help from our aunt who usually visits us and wash our clothes even cook for us. Sometimes we have to walk longer distance to her place when we are hungry. We don't know where my father is staying while my mother is spending time with her friends in sheebens.

Poor Parental Involvement in Children's School Work

The interviews with parents of learners with serious behaviour problems revealed that some of them felt that it was the duty of educators alone to discipline the children at school as shown in some parents' interview responses below:

Educators called me several times because of my child's behaviour. This started from 2005 when my child was in grade 5. I told the educators to beat my child because he is like that at home.

I was called by the school very often such that I have told educators that I won't visit the school again because I'm tired of my child's behaviour. The child is beating me and his sister at home.

I have been called to school several times because of my child's behaviour. Educators must not bother themselves about him if they can't beat him. The child is disrespectful even at home.

Learners' Performance at School

Individual interviews with parents of the twelve learners and educators showed that the learners are not performing well at school. All the twelve learners had repeated almost every grade. Document analysis of the learners records such as attendance registers, daily written exercises and mark lists (daily exercises given by educators during class sessions; homework and other assignments which were supposed to be

completed outside school sessions; tests and end of term and year examinations) revealed that most of these learners did not complete the exercises they were given during class sessions. Homework was not completed most of the times and attendance was very erratic. Documents also showed that most of them did not do their homework.

This was confirmed by educators who indicated in the interviews that some of the 12 learners did not do homework, and other school activities. Documents analysed from the three schools also showed that all 12 learners had very low scores in exercises, tests and end of term and end of the year tests. All the twelve learners attended school irregularly. Most of them were also spending a lot of time with peers who have dropped out of school.

Behaviour of the Twelve Learners at School

Interviews with educators revealed that there were fights among learners in and outside their schools. The twelve learners in this study were always part of the fights. They also confirmed that there was a lot of bullying among learners in the three schools particularly by the twelve learners. The following are comments from some of the parents during interviews:

I was called at school because my child was beating other learners especially girls and taking their belongings.

Learners' behaviour at school was confirmed by some educator respondents from the three schools. They stated:

One of the learners is bullying other learners; taking their lunches and beating them in the school and at home in the village.

The problems that we are faced with are bullies, learners who fight and bring weapons, and dagga to the school; learners who do not want to wear school uniform and learners who do not do their work.

Last month when we were having group work in grade six a knife dropped from a learner from one of the groups and all learners denied being owners. It transpired that it belonged to one of our problematic learners.

Information gathered from educators from the three schools showed that all the twelve learners do not respect the teachers and even their own parents. When parents are called to the school because of their bad behaviour, the children shout at them in front of the educators.

Educators revealed in the interviews that at times some of the twelve learners used abusive and dirty language when they communicated with other learners at school. They also threaten other learners especially girls, pursue them after school and take their valuables. In two schools sometimes some girl learners had to be escorted to school by parents or older siblings because of being intimidated by the problem learners and their peers. In the third school, some learners were missing classes because of being bullied and threatened by the problem learners. Participant educators in all the three schools expressed concern by the fact that they have to hold emergency school governing body meetings often to address problems of the 12 learners.

Summary of the Findings

What emerged from the data collected in this study was that behaviour problems among the children were caused by effects of poverty in the families. All 12 learners come from poor families mainly headed by grandparents and unemployed women. Some households have dysfunctional families. In some male headed households the men have migrated to big cities to search for employment and have abandoned their families and do not provide any form of support.

There were high incidences of alcohol abuse among parents and family members. This in turn caused lack of appropriate parental guidance and direction for children in some of the families. Parents do not take full responsibility for their children. Some of the parents are not good role models. Lastly, there is lack of communication, education and love for their children.

The findings revealed excessive use of alcohol by the community members. Children are exposed to drugs and alcohol as they are allowed in taverns. There are no activities that involved children and women especially during weekends. The community is dependent on social grant as a source of income. Lastly, there is no consistent working relation between the school and community, social workers and police. They work together only when problems arise.

DISCUSSION

The WHO [World Health Organisation] guidelines for prevention of child maltreatment specifically recommended that information gathering, either through epidemiological research

or facility-based surveillance, with widespread availability of results, be a priority (Porter 2003). Accurate estimation of prevalence helps inform decisions about the most appropriate setting within which to allocate limited health resources to achieve maximum benefit for child welfare.

The findings of the study revealed that children's rights as outlined in the Constitution of South Africa (section 28 1996), were being violated especially in poverty stricken environments. Violating these rights has a negative impact on the child's behaviour which in turn impact negatively on the education prospects of the child and in some cases including that of other children in the school and the environment. The child has a right to be cared for and loved by both his/her biological parents. Some of the participants were being cared for by grandparents because their biological parents were unable to support their children with clothes and other basic needs which they have a right to. One respondent mentioned that when he was with his biological parents he did not have clothes because they were not buying him as they used all the money on beer. Grandparents find it difficult to discipline the children. Some respondents are from single families. According to literature, children from single parent families are at risk of showing signs of behaviour problems (Kim and Cocchetti 2009).

These findings are consistent with findings from earlier studies where absence of biological parents was pointed out as a risk factor to children's exposure to abuse (Hester 2003) which reported that not living with both biological parents places a child at high risk of various forms of abuse. For instance, a recent study conducted in Turkey, reported that 20.9 % of the survivors of sexually abused children had separated or divorced parents. In a study involving adolescents with separated parents, Wilson (1997) found that family structure was significantly related to rape as persons who lived with one biological parent were more likely to have been survivors of sexual abuse than those living with both biological parents.

The study revealed that some behaviour problems were caused by high alcohol abuse in the respondents' home and the community. Abusing alcohol resulted in situations where parents did not pay attention to their children. The study found out that when drunk, mothers who are supposed to be there for their children and love

them, subjected them to abuses such as *verbal and physical abuse*, and family fights instead. This finding is consistent with other researches in confirming an association between parental substance abuse and abusing of children (Berger and Waldfogel 2000).

The findings also highlighted that parents and family members in this study are not good role models. In certain families, some members are involved in criminal activities. This creates an impression that in some families, crime is accepted as a norm or life style, and something they cannot do without. Behaviour problems also result from the poor family relationship that the child is exposed to. Fights within their families affect children emotionally. Furthermore, a child who is exposed to fights and alcohol abuse find it difficult to perform in his/her school work. Biskup and Cozic (1998) mentioned that youngsters from families characterized by poor discipline, where there is no right or wrong, bad parent relation, alcoholic parents are regarded as those who are at risk or more liable to be criminals than others. This finding is consistent with several previous studies (Du Preez 2005; Finkelhor 2009). A study that was conducted by Finkelhor (2009) established that in families characterized by parental domestic violence, children may be poorly supervised and subjected to a considerable amount of dislocation that exposes them to misbehaviour. In this regard, parental domestic violence threatens the quality of family relationships with serious implications on children's exposure to different forms of misbehaviour. For instance, in families where parental domestic violence reigns supreme, there is a high likelihood that children will not disclose their problems to their parents, thereby ending up seeking advice and assistance from friends and outside which may lead getting bad advice.

The study revealed that children who grow up in poverty stricken communities whose characteristics such as high rate of unemployment and high alcohol and drug abuse tend to be abused and in turn, they also develop into abusers themselves. Early studies emphasize the link between neighbourhood context and children's exposure to the perpetration of abuse. Several earlier studies, some of which in fact, use the term 'dangerous neighbourhoods', suggest the status of the neighbourhood as a risk factor for child abuse and subsequent bad behaviour among children (Klein 1998; Finkelhor 2009).

Poverty and Academic Outcomes

Poverty stricken home environments were found to have serious implications on children's access to education. It emerged that respondent learners under study reported lower academic outcomes where interviews with school heads and educators indicated that a decline in academic performance was strongly linked with the learners' home backgrounds. In addition, document analysis in this study also confirmed high truancy among the learners with behavior problems as well as decline in their academic performance. This is in tandem with a previous study carried out on abused learners who were referred to the Schools Psychological Services, where teachers indicated a drop in academic performance and inappropriate behaviour in the classroom (Kemp 1998; De Wet 2005).

Behaviour and Poverty Stricken Homes

This study suggests that a history of poverty stricken home is associated with specific negative behaviours such as substance abuse and those related to the sexual nature. The engagement by the 12 learners under study in delinquent behaviours was further confirmed by school heads and educators through interviews. The finding from the present study is consistent with several previous studies that confirmed the link between deprived home environments and delinquency among children (Black et al. 2001). In addition, the link between poor home environments and substance abuse was also confirmed in earlier researches where premature and excess abuse of alcohol and smoking were cited (Olley 2008).

CONCLUSION

Poverty has serious implications on children's realization of their right to education. The findings from this study have shown that poor home environments increase children's chances of being abused and also ending up developing bad behaviours and habits which may have negative impact on their schooling.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The government should design institutional programmes aimed at providing social and

psychological support for individuals and groups include camps, group homes, alternative schools and shelters.

- Parent management training should be provided to the parents of affected children.
- The government should also come up with special programmes designed to tackle the problem of such children living in poverty, including rehabilitation schemes that take children off the streets.

REFERENCES

- Anderson A, Arsenaault N 2000. *Research Methods*. 2nd Edition. Philadelphia: Falmer Press.
- Berger LM, Waldfogel J 2000. Prenatal cocaine exposure: Long run effects and policy implications. *Social Services Review*, 74(1): 28-58.
- Bezuidenhout C, Joubert S 2003. *Child and Youth Misbehaviour in South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Wyk.
- Biskup DM, Cozic CP 1998. *Youth Violence*. USA: Greenhaven Press Inc.
- Black DA, Heyman RE, Slep AMS 2001. Risk factors for child physical abuse. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 6(2): 121-148.
- Bogdan CR, Biklen SK 2003. *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods*. 4th Edition. USA: Pearson Education Group Inc.
- Children's Movement in South Africa 2010. Situation of Children in South Africa. Children's Resource Centre. From <<http://www.childrensmovement.org.za>> (Retrieved on 17 January 2011).
- Conger J 1979. *Adolescence, Generation Under Pressure*. London: Multimedia Publication Inc.
- De Wet C 2005. The nature and extend of bullying in Free State Secondary School. *South African Journal of Education*, 25(2): 82-85.
- Du Preez N 2005. Child conflict with the law. *Journal of South African Perspectives*, 6(2): 63-69.
- Finkelhor D 2009. The prevention o childhood sexual abuse. *CALCASA*, 19(2): 169-194.
- Hester JP 2003. *Public School Safety*. London: McFarland and Company, Inc, Jefferson.
- Kemp A 1998. *Abuse in the Family: An Introduction*. Pierce College Washington: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Kim J, Cocchetti D 2009. Longitudinal pathways linking childhood maltreatment, emotion regulation, peer relations and psychopathology. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 51(6): 706-716.
- Klein ACR 1998. *Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Family Violence*. USA and Canada: Routledge.
- Leeds D, Ormod J 2001. *Practical Research*. 7th Edition. London: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Olley BO 2008. Child sexual abuse, harmful alcohol use and age as determinants of sexual risk behaviours among freshmen in Nigerian universities. *African Journal of Reproductive Health*, 12(1): 75-88.
- Porter L 2003. *Young Children's Behaviour*. 2nd Edition. Philadelphia: Chapman Publisher.
- Streak J, Yu D, Van der Berg S 2008. Measuring child poverty in South Africa. *HSRC Review*, 6(4): 23-35.
- Wilson KJ (Ed.) 1997. *When Violence Begins at Home: A Comprehensive Guide to Understand and Ending Domestic Abuse*. London: Hunter House Publisher.