

‘We are managing our own lives . . .’: Life transitions and care in sibling-headed households affected by AIDS in Tanzania and Uganda

Ruth Evans

Department of Geography, University of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading RG6 6AB

Email: R.Evans@reading.ac.uk

Revised manuscript received 16 February 2010

This paper explores the ways that young people express their agency and negotiate complex lifecourse transitions according to gender, age and inter- and intra-generational norms in sibling-headed households affected by AIDS in East Africa. Based on findings from a qualitative and participatory pilot study in Tanzania and Uganda, I examine young people’s socio-spatial and temporal experiences of heading the household and caring for their siblings following their parent’s/relative’s death. Key dimensions of young people’s caring pathways and life transitions are discussed: transitions into sibling care; the ways young people manage changing roles within the family; and the ways that young people are positioned and seek to position themselves within the community. The research reveals the relational and embodied nature of young people’s life transitions over time and space. By living together independently, young people constantly reproduce and reconfigure gendered, inter- and intra-generational norms of ‘the family’, transgressing the boundaries of ‘childhood’, ‘youth’ and ‘adulthood’. Although young people take on ‘adult’ responsibilities and demonstrate their competencies in ‘managing their own lives’, this does not necessarily translate into more equal power relations with adults in the community. The research reveals the marginal ‘in-between’ place that young people occupy between local and global discourses of ‘childhood’ and ‘youth’ that construct them as ‘deviant’. Although young people adopt a range of strategies to resist marginalisation and harassment, I argue that constraints of poverty, unequal gender and generational power relations and the emotional impacts of sibling care, stigmatisation and exclusion can undermine their ability to exert agency and control over their sexual relationships, schooling, livelihood strategies and future lifecourse transitions.

Key words: Tanzania and Uganda, sibling care and life transitions, qualitative and participatory methods, child- and youth-headed households, gender and generational norms, AIDS in Africa

Introduction

The emergence of child- and youth-headed households in East and Southern Africa has been linked to the AIDS epidemic since the 1980s. Commentators suggest that the phenomenon is becoming increasingly widespread as numbers of orphans continue to rise in countries like Tanzania and Uganda affected by the ‘long-wave impacts’ of the epidemic (Bicego *et al.* 2003; Foster and Williamson 2000). In Tanzania, an estimated 12 per cent of the 1.1 million children considered ‘most vulnerable’ lived in child-headed households in 2007 (MHSW 2006). Concern about child-headed households stems predominantly from the lack of adult supervision, as young people

are seen as having to take on ‘parenting’ responsibilities at an early age which can impact both on young carers and the children they are caring for. The notion of children as carers, in particular, subverts universal models of childhood as a protected life phase free of ‘adult’ responsibilities (Robson 2004; Evans *in press*). Hollos suggests that among the Pare in Tanzania, girls aged 12 and boys aged 14 are ‘considered to be equal to adults in power and skill in most work and they can take care of themselves and of the household in the absence of grownups’ (2002, 175). Studies have highlighted the cultural significance of older siblings’ roles in caring for younger siblings and in socialisation and informal training in many African societies (Cicirelli 1994; LeVine *et al.* 1996; Weisner 1982).

'Sibling caretaking' of young children by older siblings is commonly used as an important childcare strategy to free up time for mothers to engage in other productive or reproductive tasks as well as forming a crucial element in children's socialisation in familial responsibilities and cultural values.

Despite the cultural significance of sibling care, commentators suggest that the situation of orphaned children growing up in child- and youth-headed households in Africa challenges local understandings of childhood as well as universal models (Kesby *et al.* 2006; Bourdillon 2004). Although most orphaned children are cared for by extended family members, the phenomenon of sibling-headed households represents a significant change in conventional patterns of care for orphaned children (Nyambedha *et al.* 2003; Van Blerk and Ansell 2007a). While some studies have investigated the situation of young people living in child- and youth-headed households in Zimbabwe (Foster *et al.* 1997; Germann 2005; Francis-Chizororo 2008), Uganda (Luzze and Ssedwabule 2004), Rwanda (Thurman *et al.* 2006) and Zambia (Bell and Payne 2009; Payne 2009), research to date has rarely examined young people's experiences from a care perspective. Little is known about how young people manage sibling caring responsibilities following their parent's death or the effects of bereavement on their identities, social relations and life transitions.

In addition to subverting global and local norms of childhood, young people's caring responsibilities for siblings during the 'liminal phase of youth' (Valentine 2003) challenge conventional understandings of 'individualised' youth transitions to adulthood (Panelli 2002; Punch 2002; Jeffrey and McDowell 2004). The life transitions of young people caring for a family member are highly relational, rather than 'individualised' and embedded in their social relations with siblings and other household members, relatives, peers and other adults in the community. Research in the global North, mainly focused on the school-to-work, educational and housing transitions of young people, has revealed both the 'structured' and 'individualised' (Wallace 1987) nature of young people's choices that are shaped by social differences of gender, race, class, disability and sexuality (Bowlby *et al.* 1998; Valentine 2003; Hopkins 2006; Valentine and Skelton 2007). Studies recognise the diversity and fluidity of youth and lifecourse transitions (Hopkins and Pain 2007; Vanderbeck 2007; Hockey and James 2003; Evans 2008), yet few studies to date have explored the life transitions of young people in the global South (see Punch 2002).

Geographies of youth in Africa have emphasised the gendered nature of youth transitions (Chant and Jones 2005; Van Blerk 2008) and explored the ways that young people 'navigate their social becoming' over time and space (Christiansen *et al.* 2006) and reconfigure 'geogra-

phies of exclusion and inclusion' (De Boeck and Honwana 2005) within often highly compromised socio-economic and political contexts (Cruise O'Brien 1996; Ansell 2004). Langevang (2008, 2046) argues that a 'central defining marker of being young in present-day Accra is the uncertainty involved in making a respectable living' and that young people's efforts to 'manage' their lives often depend on the careful maintenance of social networks. Diouf argues that young people's greater involvement in the public and domestic spheres in post-colonial cultures within the context of the rapid spread of HIV has led to African youth increasingly being constructed as a 'threat' or 'menace', provoking a moral and civil panic about 'the bodies of young people and their behaviour, their sexuality and their pleasure' (2003, 3). Diouf suggests that 'by living life on the margin, young people abolish the gap between adolescence and adulthood, and in some cases, between childhood and adolescence' (2003, 9).

This paper draws on these understandings of the often marginalised nature of geographies of youth in Africa to explore the embodied, relational life transitions of young people caring for their siblings in contexts in which they are often stigmatised and positioned as 'deviant'. Based on in-depth qualitative and participatory research with young people living in 'unaccompanied' sibling-headed households,¹ NGO staff and community members in Tanzania and Uganda, I discuss the specific dynamics of sibling care and the life transitions of young people positioned 'on the margins' in East Africa. Following a brief description of the research methods, I analyse key cross-spatial and temporal dimensions of young people's caring pathways and life transitions: transitions into sibling care; the ways young people manage changing roles within the family and household; and the ways that young people are positioned and seek to position themselves within the community.

Research methods

This paper is based on the findings of a small-scale pilot study that aimed to investigate the gendered and age-related experiences of young people caring for their siblings without a co-resident parent/adult relative in communities affected by AIDS in Tanzania and Uganda. The study adopted a youth-focused qualitative methodology that recognises young people's agency in shaping their caring pathways and life transitions while acknowledging the structural inequalities that constrain these. In the first phase, a small purposive sample of participants was identified through NGOs supporting orphans and vulnerable children in each country. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 14 young people (9 girls, 5 boys, aged 12–23) from 11 sibling-headed households

living in urban and rural areas, including Dar es Salaam, Mbeya, and Nshamba, Kagera region (Tanzania) and Kampala and Mpigi, Mukono, Wakiso and Luweero districts (Uganda). Project workers (15) supporting the young people were also interviewed from five NGOs in Tanzania and Uganda. Focus groups were conducted with a further 15 young people and five community leaders and NGO staff in Tanzania.

Most of the young people interviewed in both countries were the eldest co-resident sibling who headed the household. In Tanzania, I conducted interviews and focus groups in Kiswahili and the audio-recordings were transcribed and translated into English with research assistance. In Uganda, I conducted the interviews in English, with interpretation to/from Luganda provided by NGO workers, although some young people spoke English. Audio-recordings of the interviews were later transcribed. Participants' accounts have been anonymised throughout the paper to protect their identities. This small-scale study does not seek to be representative of young people caring for siblings in child- and youth-headed households in Tanzania and Uganda, but rather attempts to provide qualitative insights into the diverse experiences of this group of young people.

Participatory approaches to feedback and dissemination are seen as a way of enabling the voices of marginalised groups, such as children affected by AIDS, to prioritise research findings and engage in policy dialogue (Van Blerk and Ansell 2007b; Coad and Evans 2008). In the second phase of the research (a year after the first phase), participatory feedback workshops were held with 33 young people (15 siblings heading households and 18 of their younger siblings) and 39 NGO workers and community members in the three main research locations of Kampala, Nshamba and Mbeya. Young people heading households who had participated in the first phase were invited to participate in a one-day workshop with one or more of their younger siblings. The workshops with young people used participatory diagramming (Kesby 2000) and focus groups to verify initial findings and actively involve participants in identifying key messages and priorities through the co-production of creative research outputs (art posters and video-recorded drama and music performances). Initial findings and young people's messages were then presented and discussed further with NGO workers and community members. All participants received a summary of findings in Luganda, Kiswahili or English and expense payments to compensate them for their time and contribution to the research process.

Temporal and spatial transitions to sibling care

The study locations in Tanzania and Uganda were specifically selected as areas that had been severely affected

by the AIDS epidemic since the 1980s and hence it is unsurprising that parental death from AIDS-related illnesses was perceived by project workers and community members as the major factor that had led to the formation of sibling-headed households. According to African constructions of childhood and kinship responsibilities within patrilineal and patrilocal societies, orphaned children would usually be cared for by paternal relatives, since they were perceived as a resource that 'belonged' to the father's clan (Omari and Mbilinyi 1997; Hollos 2002). Project workers explained that following the funeral, paternal relatives would decide who should care for the children, which usually resulted in orphaned siblings being dispersed between relatives in different foster households. However, widespread poverty and the scale of the AIDS epidemic in these communities meant that many relatives were no longer able to support orphaned children. Children's experiences of 'property grabbing' and denial of their inheritance rights, combined with harassment and difficulties in adapting to new routines and relationships meant that project workers considered it preferable in many cases to support young people to continue to live together independently in sibling-headed households rather than be cared for in foster households.

Recent literature has explored the significance of 'events' as rites of passage in the lifecourse and the ways that these constitute population groups and inscribe social meanings through time (Teather 1999; Hallman 1999; Bailey 2009). The events surrounding a parent's death and the assumption of care for their siblings represented a major life transition for most young people interviewed. Most said that they started looking after their siblings when they were aged 12–15 years old and the loss of their parent/adult relative they lived with was associated with major disruptions and changes in household composition and their caring responsibilities. In several households, one or more younger siblings had moved to live with relatives in foster households following their parent's death. In a few instances, older siblings (brothers and sisters) had left the household, migrating for work or studies. These changes in the social space of the household over time meant that responsibility for sibling care was passed on to the next eldest co-resident sibling. Sibling birth order and co-residence, therefore, may represent more salient factors than gender in influencing which sibling within the household assumes a caring role following parental death, which corresponds with the findings of research with young people caring for chronically ill or disabled parents/relatives in a range of contexts (Evans and Becker 2009; Becker *et al.* 1998; Becker and Becker 2008). The significance of sibling birth order in the negotiation of responsibilities within the family and migration strategies has also been demonstrated within

households unaffected by chronic illness or disability in Bolivia (Punch 2001 2002).

Several sibling-headed households were formed following negative experiences of foster care, stigmatisation and relatives' refusal to care for children after their parents' death. Siblings in one household in Tanzania found that their labour was exploited, they received differential treatment compared with their aunt's own children and their aunt denied them access to the financial support provided by an NGO to meet their needs, confirming previous research findings about orphans' difficulties in fitting into foster households (Urassa *et al.* 1997; Van Blerk and Ansell 2007a). Following the transition to sibling care, many young people in Uganda were unable to continue with primary or secondary schooling due to poverty and the need to provide for their siblings. While the transition to care had also resulted in poor educational outcomes for some young people in Tanzania, most received educational support from NGOs at the time of the interview.

Some young people's caring responsibilities commenced when their parent migrated for work, or their parent became ill and moved away to receive care from a relative. One young man's story in Uganda illustrates how a series of events associated with parental loss could lead to increasing poverty, dislocation from the extended family and an intensification in young people's care work. Godfrey (aged 17) started caring for his three younger brothers when his mother moved away to be cared for at her sister's home. Following his mother's death some months later, Godfrey started doing casual agricultural work to support himself and his siblings and was not able to continue his schooling. When their home collapsed, the brothers moved in with their uncle for a few months, until they were thrown out, forcing Godfrey to seek alternative accommodation and work long hours to earn enough money to pay the rent for the room where he and his brothers stayed. Their relationship with their uncle deteriorated further when he took over the land the brothers used to grow food, which was their only remaining asset.

For some young people, their parent's death can be seen not only in terms of disruptions but also as a reaffirmation of their caring role and a strengthening of sibling ties within the household. Several siblings in Tanzania articulated their transition to sibling care in terms of a shared decision between siblings to stay together and live independently in their inherited parental home, although this was often motivated by a fear of the loss of property and other valuable assets. As Kadogo (aged 14) caring for her three younger siblings explained:

[After our father died, our relatives] said that 'we cannot look after you because we have our own children as well.

So you have to decide one thing, do you want us to look after you or you look after yourself?' We said that we cannot leave our farm and house, our father had built us a house only one year ago and it has never been damaged. So we said let us keep our house, because it was a good house, and our farm. We decided to look after ourselves.

For some young people, their parent's death represented a change in the focus of their care work. Several young people's caring pathways commenced when their parent started to become ill, looking after their siblings and gradually providing more intensive nursing care as their parent's health deteriorated. Following their parent's death, their caring responsibilities shifted towards sibling and self care and household management (see also Evans forthcoming). Often, their mother or father had expressed their wish for the children to stay together and care for each other after their death. Young people felt a strong sense of commitment to respect their wishes and fulfil cultural expectations of their caring role. Agnes (aged 16, caring for three younger siblings with HIV, Uganda) explained how she started caring for her siblings when her mother became ill:

She told me I must live with my brothers and sisters, even if she's dead, I must stay here with them to look after them because no one will look after them when she's dead.

Young people's narratives also reveal diverse experiences of managing the transition to sibling care, in terms of changes in their everyday practices. Many found caring for their siblings very difficult at first and experienced extreme hardship, while they were grieving and coming to terms with their parent's death. As Juma in Tanzania commented:

When I started to look after myself, my brother was young and I was still young myself. It is difficult because you don't know what you're doing and no one really tells you. You spend ages thinking about your situation.

However, as the eldest siblings responsible for the family, they realised that they needed to try to earn money to meet their basic needs and learn to cook, budget and manage the household. While some young people said that their parents had helped to prepare them by giving them advice before they died, others commented on how NGO workers and their peers in similar situations had provided advice, encouragement and life skills training, as well as material support, which facilitated their transition to sibling care. Hamisa (aged 19) who lived on her own immediately following her mother's death (before she started caring for her younger cousin) commented on the problems she experienced when she first lived on her own, in terms of preparing meals and keeping her clothes clean:

At first, I was a dirty person. But now, I can't go without washing my clothes . . . When I started cooking for myself, I used to have a lot of problems. But I had friends who advised me well, 'do this and that' . . . There are other people who have lost their parents and they are now used to this kind of life. That's why I've been able to get used to it.

Young people in Nshamba felt that the life skills training they received from NGO staff in budgeting, personal hygiene, subsistence farming, conserving food safely and preparing the right amount of food to avoid waste and so on, combined with support from peers in similar situations, were invaluable in the transition to sibling care.

These diverse experiences suggest that young people's caring pathways were characterised by disruptions and change over time as well as continuities in sibling relations and caring roles. Sibling care, like young people's caring responsibilities for other family members, can be characterised along a continuum which shifts over time and space, depending on the household structure, availability of other carers, need for care, the household's socio-economic status, access to assets and resources and connectedness to informal and formal support networks (Evans and Becker 2009).

Familial transitions within the social space of the household

Studies suggest that the success of child-headed households may depend on the age and gender of the eldest sibling, as young women are perceived as more able to ensure the household's long-term survival due to their early socialisation in domestic work (Barnett and Blaikie 1992; Foster *et al.* 1997; Luzze and Ssedyabule 2004; Evans 2005). Within the sample, roughly even numbers of young people of each gender headed households (9 young women; 10 young men). As discussed earlier, following an often acute period of grief after their parent's/relative's death, young people accepted cultural expectations of their caring role, as the eldest co-resident sibling available to look after their younger siblings. Participants highlighted the fact that gender inequalities in access to land and property in customary law and patrilineal marriage practices mean that young women often have less inheritance rights than younger male siblings and may be expected to marry and move to their husband's household when younger male siblings reach maturity. This suggests that in the longer term, young men may be more likely to head sibling households. However, many older siblings (young men and women) expressed a long-term commitment to care for their siblings until they had completed school and were able to support themselves financially. They acknowledged that this could

restrict their future transitions, such as delaying migration to urban areas to pursue livelihood strategies or educational opportunities, or (especially for young women) delaying marriage.

Through developing interdependent caring relations and sharing domestic duties within the home, siblings reconfigured the household as a more autonomous space free of the usual intergenerational hierarchy. In contrast with previous negative experiences in foster households, young people were able to manage the household independently of adult control. When young people represented their feelings about looking after themselves on art posters in the participatory workshops in Tanzania, siblings identified close relationships and freedom and autonomy to make decisions as positive aspects of living together (see Figures 1, 1a and 2), in addition to highlighting the poverty, lack of basic needs and loneliness they experienced (see Figures 1a, 1b, 1c and 2).

Although siblings developed close, interdependent relationships in the household, older siblings often sought to maintain intra-generational hierarchies of age and sibling birth order in order to manage younger siblings' misbehaviour, which sometimes led to tensions and conflict. Furthermore, young people often reproduced conventional gender norms in the allocation and negotiation of household chores and care work between siblings. Young women heading households reported spending more time each week doing domestic duties and managing the household, while young men heading households tended to share the care work and allocate household chores to younger siblings (particularly girls), spending many more hours than young women each week engaging in paid work and other income-generation activities to support the family financially (see also Evans forthcoming). This household division of labour was linked to gendered constructions of domestic duties, care and the breadwinner role, manifested in fewer expectations placed on young women to succeed in the labour market and inequalities in access to employment opportunities, which have been documented in a range of African contexts (Evans 2006; Langevang 2008; Van Blerk 2008).

Despite sharing household chores and caring responsibilities between siblings, the research suggests that young people often 'looked towards one particular member as the overall leader and decision-maker' (Bell and Payne 2009, 1032), based on age seniority and to some extent, income-earning responsibilities, supporting the findings of research with child-headed households in Zambia and Zimbabwe (Bell and Payne 2009; Francis-Chizororo 2008). Many young men and women perceived sibling care in terms of their adult role as a breadwinner and took pride in their role as head of the family. Hamisa (aged 19, Tanzania) said:



Figure 1 Young people’s life-size art poster created in participatory feedback workshops in Mbeya, Tanzania: ‘We are happy living together as a family’

Young people’s messages on the poster²: (a) ‘The benefits of living with my younger siblings. I feel good because we comfort each other about everything. We feel bad when we’re harassed.’ Tumaini, age 19. (b) ‘I feel lonely when I see my friends being brought up by their parents and then there’s me bringing up the family. Victa, 21’. (c) ‘Life is hard, like sleeping on the floor, lacking food, shelter, you can get ill and not have any money for medicine. Because life is so difficult, you find you’re not able to go to school, you’re on the street looking for work. Karimu, I’m 15’

Me? I see myself as an adult because I look after my young sister and I look after myself without depending on my mother, without saying that ‘my mother will buy me clothes, will cook for me, I will ask her for a pen’. I know how to manage my finances as a father or mother.

Young people also identified themselves as a parent/guardian for their younger siblings because of their role in providing moral guidance and teaching to their siblings, attempting to fulfil the parental role their mother or father would have performed if they were still alive, as Bell and Payne (2009) also reported. Some young people, particularly young men, appeared to enjoy their ‘adult’ position of power in managing the household and commanding respect from their younger siblings. For example, Rickson emphasised his authoritative role in the family: ‘I see myself as a grown up person

because I am the one leading the family. I have authority over my siblings’.

However, young people’s accounts also highlighted the ambiguous position that they occupied as an elder sibling taking on a full-time parental caring role. Several young people expressed contradictory feelings about assuming ‘adult’ responsibilities whilst they still considered themselves a ‘child’. As Juma commented:

You see, us, we didn’t want to be adults, but we had to be adults because of the things that happened with our parents. We would still like to be able to do the things we used to. To be able to play and laugh with our friends but my life is really a struggle and when I need help, I don’t have an adult who I can ask. It’s not as though I wanted to live on my own. Any problems that you have, you have to know how to deal with them.



Figure 2 Young people’s art poster created in participatory feedback workshop in Nshamba, Tanzania
 Young people’s messages: ‘Being free to make decisions about different things’, ‘Life is hard for children who bring themselves up’, ‘Doing hard work’

I have to be like both mother and father. So in this way I am an adult.

This reveals the contradictory nature of the familial transitions that young people are engaged in following their parents’ death. Young people’s situation as orphans caring for their siblings, often without adult guidance and support, challenges normative global notions of child-

hood and youth as life phases that are characterised by play and education, in which children are cared for within the family home by parents and other (adult) relatives. Although a critical ‘unromanticised’ approach to universal models of childhood may help to emphasise young people’s agency and deconstruct normative assumptions underpinning such ideals, as Kesby *et al.* (2006) note, young people, just like adults, need time for play, relaxation and respite from the material and emotional demands of care work and so these aspects of a ‘good childhood’ should not be overlooked.

Furthermore, several young people’s narratives highlight the difficult ‘emotion work’ (Hochschild 1979) involved in sibling care, as they struggled to provide for their younger siblings’ material and emotional needs, while their own emotional needs for love, support and guidance were often unnoticed. Hamisa (aged 19, Tanzania) talked about the loneliness of her parental role within the family, missing the love and company that her late parents had provided:

When I have all these responsibilities at home, firstly, I think of my parents. When I think about my parents, I get pain in my heart. So when I have these negative thoughts, I reach a point of losing hope. I say to myself ‘why am I just here alone?’ (see also Figure 1b)

While younger siblings said they felt able to turn to their older sibling for emotional support when they missed their parents, older siblings reported that they were unable to share their feelings with their siblings because they did not want to cause them further distress. Young people thus sought to regulate and manage their emotions and ‘presentation of self’ (Goffman 1959) in order to protect the person they were caring for from emotional upset (Evans and Thomas 2009). Cultural taboos about the public expression of emotions in Tanzania and Uganda further restricted young people’s opportunities to talk about their grief and the emotional pressures of caring with friends, neighbours or other adults (Evans and Thomas 2009).

The ‘in-between’ place of sibling-headed households in the community

As discussed earlier, some young people enjoyed their position of power within the household and were proud of their ‘adult’ responsibilities as the head of the family. However, young people heading households often found that they had low social status within the community and were not treated as ‘adults’ in decision-making processes. Rickson felt that it was better to adopt the position of a child within the community:

In the village, when it comes to participating in things, I don’t get involved, I position myself as a child, a student

who goes to school, I become young. I don't get involved with parents. I become like a child, although in our house, I become like parents, but when with others, I become young, like a young child. (Rickson, aged 19, Tanzania)

As Bushin *et al.* note, 'young people construct their identities in part through the discourses that are available to them', including amongst others, 'ontological narratives (used by individual social actors to make sense of their lives)' and 'public narratives (used by institutions varying from family, workplace, church, government, nation)' (2007, 76). Rickson's self-identification as a 'young child' in the village can be interpreted in the context of wider international, national and local discourses of orphanhood in Tanzania (and other sub-Saharan African countries) that seek to identify the 'most vulnerable' children in need of support according to strict age criteria, levels of poverty and relations with adult caregivers (MHSW 2008). In order to continue to access support and resources from NGOs and members of the community, young people, particularly those who exceed the usual age-boundaries of qualifying for support, may seek to emphasise their vulnerability as children lacking adult supervision rather than demonstrating their competencies as youth who were 'managing their own lives'. This reveals the ways that young people perform their 'social age' and demonstrate or disguise their competencies according to the potential benefits associated with appearing 'older' or 'younger' (Solberg 1997; Valentine 1999).

As noted above, international development discourses construct orphans as passive, dependent children who are in need of support until they reach the age of 18 (Meintjes and Giese 2006; Kesby *et al.* 2006). This global discourse of orphanhood, based on strict age definitions of childhood, however, has little to say about young people's support needs in the 'liminal period' of youth. As Kesby *et al.* comment, 'households headed by 18-year-olds occupy an ambiguous position in which they no longer qualify for orphan assistance but also remain marginalised by society' (2006, 198).³ When members of ward-level 'Most Vulnerable Children Committees' in Tanzania were asked about the support available to young people heading households who reached the threshold of 18, participants suggested that the criteria for continued support would usually be based on the age and vulnerability of the children that young people were caring for or could be based on young people's educational status as secondary school students. Perceptions of children's vulnerability and dependency were thus central to young people's continued access to NGO resources and it is unsurprising that young people in Tanzania with access to such support sought to sustain this image of themselves and identify as 'a young child' within the community. Global discourses of orphanhood co-existed alongside local constructions of young people's 'deviancy' based on the

ways that sibling-headed households transgressed African socio-cultural norms of 'the family', kinship responsibilities and household formation. While many young people developed supportive relationships with neighbours, relatives, community leaders and others who they often turned to for advice, company and material support, several young people had direct experiences of stigmatisation linked to poverty, orphanhood and AIDS. Young people found themselves in a weak bargaining position to negotiate a fair payment for casual work, with people sometimes refusing to pay them for work they had completed. Young people in Uganda who had inherited property experienced difficulties securing rental income from tenants or found that relatives often took this money, leaving them with just a small amount of food instead. Several young people said that they were regularly insulted and intimidated by neighbours who, according to the young people, were trying to force them out of their home to seize their land. Furthermore, young people in Tanzania suggested that the support they received from NGOs could cause resentment and jealousy about their successful transitions following their parents' death, as Sophia (aged 19, Tanzania) commented:

I think after our mother died, they thought that our life will end, they thought that we will be nothing and we won't have any direction. But now after seeing that we are now studying and our life is totally different from what they expected, they say 'let us confuse them so that we divert them from their path'.

This reveals the conflicts and contradictions that may exist between the narratives that young people draw on in making sense of their lives and the 'discourses through which others in their society interpret their lives' (Bushin *et al.* 2007, 76).

The embodied experiences of young people also reveal public disquiet about their 'in-between' place between adolescence and adulthood as 'not-quite adults' who were taking on 'adult' roles. The idea that young people posed a threat to the social and moral order (Diouf 2003) was evident in assumptions and unease about the unregulated bodies and sexuality of young people, particularly young women, who lived independently and headed households without 'adult' supervision. Agnes (aged 16, Uganda) reported that her relatives were suspicious of her intentions to care for her younger siblings following her mother's death, claiming that she was motivated by potential economic gains of 'taking over the house and becoming the wife of the man' by engaging in a sexual relationship with her step-father. She described how her step-father, who was an alcoholic and had left following her mother's death, returned and attempted to rape her one night. Since then, she did not feel safe with her siblings and she slept at her (female) neighbour's house every night.

Socio-cultural expectations of material exchange within heterosexual relationships have been widely documented in many African societies, particularly in terms of sexual relations between young women and older men in the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in East and Southern Africa (Baylies and Bujra 2000; Silberschmidt and Rasch 2001; Evans 2002; Bell 2007; Langevang 2008). Many young people in Tanzania and Uganda perceived the pressures on young women heading households to engage in sexual relationships with men for financial support as a key gender difference in young people's experience of heading households. Several young women emphasised the need to resist sexual coercion and abstain from sexual relationships to avoid pregnancy and becoming infected with HIV.

Marriage continues to be regarded as a major marker of 'adulthood' in Tanzania, Uganda and other African countries (Langevang 2008), although this appears to be changing in response to increased livelihood options for young women in some places (Boehm 2006). For young people's transitions to adulthood to be considered 'successful', lifecourse stages were expected to follow a socially and morally accepted sequence, as Langevang comments:

A 'responsible' and 'successful' path into adulthood requires the socially appropriate timing of different transitions: first you should finish your education, then acquire financial independence, then get married and establish an independent household, then have children. (2008, 2044)

Three young women interviewed in Tanzania and Uganda had become mothers since they had started caring for their siblings and did not receive any support from the baby's father. Young mothers heading households thus negotiated multiple life transitions, becoming a mother and caring for their infant at the same as struggling to provide for their siblings. Yet, since the young women were unmarried and had not completed their education when they gave birth, they were not considered to have made successful transitions to 'adulthood' and they were further stigmatised. Young mothers were often unable to continue attending school due to negative attitudes of school staff, a lack of childcare facilities and poverty, although Sophia (aged 19), who cared for her five-year old daughter and three younger siblings in Tanzania had received support from an NGO to complete her secondary education at the time of interview.

The sexuality of young men heading households was also perceived as a social and moral threat, leading to blame and exploitation within the community. Godfrey (aged 17, Uganda) was accused of engaging in sexual intercourse with a woman while she sheltered from the rain at his home. The woman's husband reported him to

the local chairperson and despite denying any inappropriate behaviour, Godfrey was locked up and had a fine imposed on him, which he was struggling to pay in instalments. These experiences suggest that young people heading households may be positioned as marginal on multiple levels, leading to community sanctions that could have significant effects on young people's emotional and material wellbeing, educational and employment opportunities and future life transitions.

As Punch *et al.* (2007) note, Foucauldian perspectives suggest that the exercise of power (in this instance, in terms of age hierarchies, generational norms and global and local discourses) produces resistance. Young people's narratives reveal the strategies they adopted to resist marginalisation and harassment, such as seeking protection from community leaders and neighbours, developing supportive friendships with their peers and interdependence and solidarity between siblings, or suppressing their emotions and becoming highly self-reliant. Hamisa (aged 19, Tanzania) saw community leaders as a key source of protection:

Some bad neighbours come at night and throw stones at my roof, so I'm too scared to sleep. But I went to our local leader and informed him about this, they started to guard us. So I don't have this problem anymore.

This reveals the ambiguous nature of young people's agency (Robson *et al.* 2007) and 'place' within the community, as they are positioned and position themselves simultaneously as vulnerable dependents in need of protection and support and as competent social actors able to manage their lives and to call on the resources of others.

The workshops attempted to offer siblings a supportive space to share their experiences with their peers and identify messages that could help to raise awareness about their situation. Young people identified 'property grabbing' and harassment as key issues about which they wished to raise awareness in their locality. In Kampala and Mbeya, young people developed drama stories about orphaned children whose inheritance rights were denied, in one instance, by neighbours who claimed that the children's parents had sold their land to them before their death, forging a land deed agreement, and in the other, by an aunt who used corporal punishment and verbal abuse to chase the children out of the house. The drama from Kampala showed the young people seeking legal help from the local council chairperson, who considered the case and upheld young people's inheritance rights, arranging for the neighbours to be arrested by the police. Both dramas and the song performed in Nshamba included messages about how they would like the community to respect them and safeguard the rights of orphaned children, such as a rap verse about how they

wished to be treated: 'to be free to make decisions; teachers should understand our problems; the community should not grab our property; to be listened to in the community'. Young people appeared to value the opportunity to share their experiences and seek to collectively challenge the stigmatisation they faced, as one young woman wrote: 'I liked doing the drama because it's short but it can be easily understood and teaches people'. This reveals the potential of safe spaces (Robson *et al.* 2007) and youth-led collective mobilisation strategies to resist and challenge orphans' low social status within the community, as has been demonstrated by child- and youth-led interventions, such as girls' self-defence clubs and peer support groups, in Nshamba, Tanzania and other communities affected by AIDS in Africa (Madoerin 2008).

Conclusions

This paper has highlighted the relational and embodied nature of young people's life transitions over time and space within the highly marginal context of sibling-headed households affected by AIDS in Tanzania and Uganda. Although parental death due to AIDS-related illness was often associated with the temporal transition into sibling care and experienced as a major disruption with negative material and emotional impacts, young people's accounts suggest it could also be associated with a reaffirmation of their caring role and a strengthening of sibling ties within the social space of the household. While some young people already had significant caring responsibilities, the transition to sibling care and formation of sibling-headed households was influenced by a complex range of structural, relational and individual factors, including: sibling birth order, changes in household composition and migration; cultural expectations of sibling care and parents' wishes for siblings to stay together after their death; access to formal and informal resources and assets, which often differed considerably between rural and urban areas; the need to resist adult exploitation and abuse of siblings' inheritance rights and the desire to develop a more autonomous space living with siblings in their inherited parental home. This complex range of factors illustrates the 'contextual dynamism' of young people's lives, in which social, cultural, economic, political and environmental processes and conditions intersect within particular places (Bushin *et al.* 2007, 71). It also reveals the significance of transitional moments and events, such as parental death and the assumption of a caring role, as 'rites of passage' (Teather 1999) in young people's life narratives.

Young people caring for their siblings independently without a co-resident adult relative blur the boundaries between 'childhood', 'youth' and 'adulthood', subverting conventional notions of children's dependence on adults

and their usually limited autonomy within patriarchal household structures and generational hierarchies. Young people were constantly engaged in a process of reconfiguring norms of the 'family' and 'household' through their everyday practices, while also reproducing (and sometimes subverting) intra-generational hierarchies of age, sibling birth order and gender. They emphasised the closeness of sibling relationships and their freedom and autonomy in making their own decisions. However, young people's transitions into a changed, often ambiguous position within the family, as the eldest sibling taking on the roles of breadwinner, guardian, mother and father towards their siblings, involved considerable 'emotion work' (Hochschild 1979), which they sometimes found overwhelming. This highlights the importance of seeking to understand young people's feelings and emotional interactions with others when conceptualising their capacities to manage their lives and act as social agents (Robson *et al.* 2007).

As Langevang found in Ghana, young people in Tanzania and Uganda 'move between youth and adult positions in their everyday lives' (2008, 2044). While young people demonstrated their competencies by caring for their siblings and living independently without adult supervision, this rarely translated into a higher social status or greater involvement in decision-making processes as equals to adults in the community. Their experiences reveal the marginal 'in-between' place that young people occupy between local and global discourses of 'orphanhood' that constructed them as 'deviant', due to their status as 'not-yet-adults' taking on 'adult' roles within the household. However, young people also revealed a range of strategies they adopted to resist stigmatisation and harassment and in most instances, succeeded in managing their own lives and sustaining the household over time, assisted to a greater or lesser extent by NGOs and community members. Indeed, despite some negative experiences, young people developed strong social ties with their peers, extended family members, neighbours, community and faith leaders and NGOs, whom they often relied on for material and emotional support. As Langevang comments about young people's life transitions in Ghana, 'managing entails careful handling of the social relationships that young people create and are bound up in' (2008, 2046).

Furthermore, young people's experiences suggest that the safe spaces they created within their own households, through their sibling practices and care, and those facilitated by NGOs (where available) enabled young people to develop a sense of solidarity that could potentially lead to collective empowerment (Punch *et al.* 2007) and provide a means to challenge their marginal 'place' in the community. Nevertheless, constraints of poverty, unequal gender and generational power relations and the emotional impacts of sibling care, stigmatisation and exclu-

sion often undermined young people's ability to exert agency and control over their lives (Punch *et al.* 2007; Robson *et al.* 2007). Further longitudinal research is needed to understand more about the changes and continuities in young people's caring pathways over time and the ways that emotional, intergenerational and intersectional geographies mediate young people's complex life transitions and processes of 'social becoming' in Africa. The structured, relational and embodied nature of youth transitions in the African context revealed by this research poses a challenge to individualisation theories about young people's transitions in 'the West', questioning the extent to which young people make 'individualised' choices about their lives. As Punch notes,

Majority world young people may achieve economic independence sooner than those in the minority world, but long-term family interdependence tends to be maintained throughout the life-course. (2002, 132)

Furthermore, despite very different socio-cultural, political and welfare contexts, research in the global North has also demonstrated that many young people have considerable, often unrecognised, caring responsibilities for family members, which are likely to influence their life-course transitions (Becker *et al.* 1998; Becker and Becker 2008; Evans and Becker 2009; Evans *in press*). This suggests that individualisation theories may be overstated and there needs to be greater recognition of the ways that young people's life transitions in different spatial and temporal contexts are shaped by emotional geographies, socially-embedded in relationships with family members, peers and others in the community and often circumscribed by structural inequalities of poverty, gender, age and generational norms.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank all the young people, NGO staff and community members who participated in the research for sharing their views and experiences. The research was supported by the Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers) with a Small Research Grant and by the School of Human and Environmental Sciences, University of Reading. I also wish to thank Sophie Bowlby and the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

Notes

1 Foster *et al.* (1997) use the terms 'unaccompanied' and 'accompanied' child-headed households to differentiate between households where there were no adults present ('unaccompanied') in comparison with those where adults were present, but the adults were sick, disabled or elderly and considered to have little or no responsibility for the day-to-day running of the household ('accompanied'). This paper focuses

on children and young people who live in households headed by a sibling who is aged up to 25 years of age without a co-resident adult relative.

- 2 Young people were asked to choose pseudonyms when writing their messages in order to protect their identities.
- 3 Difficulties caused by age-based criteria for accessing 'adult' or 'child' support services for young people in the 16–25 age group have also been identified as a significant issue for young adult carers in the UK, in terms of young people being unable to access continued support from 'young carers' projects when they reached the threshold of 18 years of age (Becker and Becker 2008).

References

- Ansell N** 2004 Secondary schooling and rural youth transitions in Lesotho and Zimbabwe *Youth and Society* 36 183–202
- Bailey A** 2009 Population geography: lifecourse matters *Progress in Human Geography* 33 407–18
- Barnett T and Blaikie P** 1992 *AIDS in Africa: its present and future impact* Belhaven, London
- Baylies C and Bujra J** eds 2000 *AIDS, Sexuality and gender in Africa: collective strategies and struggles in Tanzania and Zambia* Routledge, London
- Becker F and Becker S** 2008 *Young adult carers in the UK: experiences, needs and services for carers aged 16–24* The Princess Royal Trust for Carers, London
- Becker S, Aldridge J and Dearden C** 1998 *Young carers and their families* Blackwell Science, Oxford
- Bell S** 2007 'The child drums and the elder dances?' Girlfriends and boyfriends negotiating power relations in rural Uganda in **Panelli R, Punch S and Robson E** eds *Global perspectives on rural childhood and youth: youth rural lives* Routledge, London 179–91
- Bell S and Payne R** 2009 Young people as agents in development processes: reconsidering perspectives for development geography *Third World Quarterly* 30 1027–44
- Bicego G, Rutstein S and Johnson K** 2003 Dimensions of the emerging orphan crisis in sub-Saharan Africa *Social Science and Medicine* 56 1235–47
- Boehm C** 2006 Industrial labour, marital strategy and changing livelihood trajectories among young women in Lesotho in **Christiansen C, Utas M and Vigh H** eds *Navigating youth generating adulthood: social becoming in an African context* Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala 153–82
- Bourdillon M** 2004 Children in development *Progress in Development Studies* 4 99–113
- Bowlby S, Lloyd-Evans S and Mohammad R** 1998 The workplace. Becoming a paid worker: images and identity in **Skelton T and Valentine G** eds *Cool places: geographies of youth cultures* Routledge, London 229–48
- Bushin N, Ansell N, Adriansen H and Lähteenmaa J and Panelli R** 2007 Reflecting on contexts and identities for young rural lives in **Panelli R, Punch S and Robson E** eds *Global perspectives on rural childhood and youth: youth rural lives* Routledge, London 69–80
- Chant S and Jones G** 2005 Youth, gender and livelihoods in West Africa: perspectives from Ghana and The Gambia *Children's Geographies* 3 185–99

- Christiansen C, Utas M and Vigh H** 2006 Youth(e)scapes in
Christiansen C, Utas M and Vigh H eds *Navigating youth
generating adulthood: social becoming in an African context*
Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala 9–28
- Cicirelli V** 1994 Sibling relationships in cross-cultural perspective
Journal of Marriage and the Family 56 7–20
- Coad J and Evans R** 2008 Reflections on practical approaches to
involving children and young people in the data analysis
process *Children and Society* 22 41–52
- Cruise O'Brien D** 1996 A lost generation? Youth identity and state
decay in West Africa in **Werbner R and Ranger T** eds *Postcol-
onial identities in Africa* Zed Books, London
- De Boeck F and Honwana A** 2005 Introduction: children and
youth in Africa: agency, identity and place in **Honwana A and
De Boeck F** eds *Makers and breakers: children and youth in
postcolonial Africa* James Currey, Oxford 1–18
- Diouf M** 2003 Engaging postcolonial cultures: African youth and
public space *African Studies Review* 46 1–12
- Evans B** 2008 Geographies of youth/young people *Geography
Compass* 2 1659–80
- Evans R** 2002 Poverty, HIV and barriers to education: street chil-
dren's experiences in Tanzania *Gender and Development* 10
51–62
- Evans R** 2005 Social networks, migration and care in Tanzania:
caregivers' and children's resilience in coping with HIV/ AIDS
Journal of Children and Poverty 11 111–29
- Evans R** 2006 Negotiating social identities: the influence of
gender, age and ethnicity on young people's 'street careers' in
Tanzania *Children's Geographies* 4 109–28
- Evans R** in press Young caregiving and HIV in the UK: caring
relationships and mobilities in African migrant families *Popu-
lation, Space and Place* DOI: 10.1002/psp.583
- Evans R** forthcoming Children's caring roles and responsibilities
within the family in Africa *Geography Compass*
- Evans R and Becker S** 2009 *Children caring for parents with HIV
and AIDS: global issues and policy responses* The Policy Press,
Bristol
- Evans R and Thomas F** 2009 Emotional interactions and an ethic
of care: caring relations in families affected by HIV and AIDS
Emotions, Space and Society doi:10.1016/j.emospa.2009.
08.003
- Foster G and Williamson J** 2000 A review of current literature of
the impact of HIV/AIDS on children in Sub-Saharan Africa
AIDS 14 S275–84
- Foster G, Makufa C, Drew R and Kralovec E** 1997 Factors leading
to the establishment of child-headed households: the case of
Zimbabwe *Health Transition Review, Supplement 2* 7 155–68
- Francis-Chizororo M** 2008 The formation, constitution and social
dynamics of orphaned child-headed households in rural Zim-
babwe in the era of HIV/AIDS pandemic Unpublished PhD
thesis School of Geography and Geosciences University of St.
Andrews, Scotland ([https://research-repository.st-andrews.
ac.uk](https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk)) Accessed 28 January 2010
- Germann S** 2005 An exploratory study of quality of life and
coping strategies of orphans living in child-headed households
in the high HIV/AIDS prevalent city of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe
Unpublished PhD thesis University of South Africa
- Goffman E** 1959 *The presentation of self in everyday life* Penguin
Books, London
- Hallman B** 1999 The transition into eldercare: a uncelebrated
passage in **Teather E** ed *Embodied geographies. Spaces, bodies
and rites of passage* Routledge, London 208–23
- Hochschild A** 1979 Emotion work, feeling rules and social struc-
ture *American Journal of Sociology* 85 551–75
- Hockey J and James A** 2003 *Social identities across the life course*
Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke
- Hollos M** 2002 The cultural construction of childhood: changing
conceptions among the Pare of northern Tanzania *Childhood* 9
167–89
- Hopkins P** 2006 Youth transitions and going to university: per-
ceptions of students attending a geography summer school
access programme *Area* 38 240–7
- Hopkins P and Pain R** 2007 Geographies of age: thinking rela-
tionally *Area* 39 287–94
- Jeffrey C and McDowell L** 2004 Youth in comparative perspec-
tive: global change, local lives *Youth and Society* 36 131–42
- Kesby M** 2000 Participatory diagramming: deploying qualitative
methods through an action research epistemology *Area* 32
423–35
- Kesby M, Gwanzura-Ottmoller F and Chizororo M** 2006 Theor-
ising other, 'other childhoods': issues emerging from work on
HIV in urban and rural Zimbabwe *Children's Geographies* 4
185–202
- Langevang T** 2008 'We are managing!' Uncertain paths to
respectable adulthoods in Accra Ghana *Geoforum* 39 2039–47
- LeVine R, Dixon S, LeVine S, Richman A, Leiderman P, Keefer C
and Brazelton T** 1996 *Child care and culture: lessons from
Africa* Cambridge University Press, New York
- Luzze F and Ssedyabule D** 2004 *The nature of child-headed
households in Rakai District, Uganda* Lutheran World Federa-
tion, Geneva
- Madoerin K** 2008 *Mobilising children and youth into their own
child- and youth-led organisations* REPSSI, Johannesburg
- Meintjes H and Giese S** 2006 Spinning the epidemic: the making
of mythologies of orphanhood in the context of AIDS *Child-
hood* 13 407–30
- MHSW (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare)** 2006 *The costed
MVC action plan 2006–2010* Ministry of Health and Social
Welfare, Government of Tanzania, Family Health International
and USAID, Dar es Salaam
- MHSW (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare)** 2008 *The
national costed plan of action for most vulnerable children
2007–2010* Department of Social Welfare, MHSW, United
Republic of Tanzania
- Nyambedha E, Wandibba S and Aagaard-Hansen J** 2003 Chang-
ing patterns of orphan care due to the HIV epidemic in Western
Kenya *Social Science and Medicine* 57 301–11
- Omari C and Mbilinyi S** 1997 *African values and child rights:
some cases from Tanzania* Dar es Salaam University Press, Dar
es Salaam
- Panelli R** 2002 Editorial: Young rural lives: strategies beyond diver-
sity *Journal of Rural Studies* 18 113–22
- Payne R** 2009 Child-headed households in Zambia: from con-
cepts to realities Unpublished PhD thesis Department of Geog-
raphy Royal Holloway University of London
- Punch S** 2001 Household division of labour: generation, gender,
age, birth order and sibling composition *Work, Employment
and Society* 15 803–23

- Punch S** 2002 Youth transitions and interdependent adult-child relations in rural Bolivia *Journal of Rural Studies* 18 123–33
- Punch S, Bell S, Costello L and Panelli R** 2007 Power and place for rural young people in **Panelli R, Punch S and Robson E** eds *Global perspectives on rural childhood and youth: youth rural lives* Routledge, London 205–18
- Robson E** 2004 Hidden child workers: young carers in Zimbabwe *Antipode* 36 227–48
- Robson E, Bell S and Klocker N** 2007 Conceptualising agency in the lives and actions of rural young people in **Panelli R, Punch S and Robson E** eds *Global perspectives on rural childhood and youth: youth rural lives* Routledge, London 135–48
- Silberschmidt M and Rasch V** 2001 Adolescent girls, illegal abortions and ‘sugar-daddies’ in Dar es Salaam: vulnerable victims and active social agents *Social Science and Medicine* 52 1815–26
- Solberg A** 1997 Negotiating childhood: changing constructions of age for Norwegian children in **James A and Prout A** eds *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood* The Falmer Press, London 126–44
- Teather E** 1999 Introduction: geographies of personal discovery in **Teather E** ed *Embodied geographies. Spaces, bodies and rites of passage* Routledge, London 1–26
- Thurman T, Snider L, Boris N, Kalisa E, Mugarira E, Ntaganira J and Brown L** 2006 Psychosocial support and marginalization of youth-headed households in Rwanda *AIDS Care* 18 220–9
- Urassa M, Boerma J, Ng’weshemi J, Isingo R, Schapink D and Kumogola Y** 1997 Orphanhood, child fostering and the AIDS epidemic in rural Tanzania *Health Transition Review, Supplement* 2 7 141–53
- Valentine G** 1999 ‘Oh please, mum. Oh please, dad’: negotiating children’s spatial boundaries in **McKie L, Bowlby S and Gregory S** eds *Gender, power and the household* Macmillan, London 137–54
- Valentine G** 2003 Boundary crossings: transitions from childhood to adulthood *Children’s Geographies* 1 37–52
- Valentine G and Skelton T** 2007 Re-defining ‘norms’: D/deaf young people’s transitions to independence *The Sociological Review* 55 104–23
- Van Blerk L** 2008 Poverty, migration and sex work: youth transitions in Ethiopia *Area* 40 245–53
- Van Blerk L and Ansell N** 2007a Alternative strategies for care giving in the context of AIDS in Southern Africa: complex strategies for care *Journal of International Development* 19 865–84
- Van Blerk L and Ansell N** 2007b Participatory feedback and dissemination with and for children *Children’s Geographies* 5 313–24
- Vanderbeck R** 2007 Intergenerational geographies: age relations, segregation and re-engagements *Geography Compass* 1 200–21
- Wallace C** 1987 From generation to generation: the effects of employment and unemployment upon the domestic life cycle of young adults in **Brown P and Ashton D** eds *Education, unemployment and labour markets* Falmer Press, Lewes
- Weisner T** 1982 Sibling interdependence and child caretaking: a cross-cultural view in **Lamb M and Sutton-Smith B** eds *Sibling relationships: their nature and significance across the lifespan* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, London 305–27