



## Children Have Faced Several Challenges: Analyzing Reports of Children Who Became Orphans Caused by COVID-19

Sarah Madinatu Hassan

Grand Valley State University, Michigan, USA

Correspondent : [madinatuhassan2000@gmail.com](mailto:madinatuhassan2000@gmail.com)

Received : July 28, 2022

Accepted : October 25, 2022

Published : October 31, 2022

**Citation:** Hassan, S.M. (2022). Children have Faced Several Challenges: Analyzing Reports of children who became Orphans Caused by COVID-19. *Ilomata International Journal of Social Science*, 3(4), 429-440

<https://doi.org/10.52728/ijss.v3i4.566>

**ABSTRACT:** Many children have become orphans due to COVID-19. Their experiences have been under reported due to focus on other areas. This study explores adverse social consequences of children who became orphans due to COVID-19. With the aid of a documentary review approach, this study extracts and analyzes reports from 11 highly ranked news reporting sites in the United States of America that contained expert opinions and narratives on the negative social consequences of being orphaned by COVID-19. Analysis of data followed the narrative thematic analysis procedure. The outstanding themes identified are the loss of caregivers and primary social support system, and increased risk of mental health concerns. The findings demonstrate the need for emergency financial support for COVID-19 related orphaned children and the involvement of experts trained in Trauma-Focused Cognitive-Behavior Therapies (TF-CBT) to help children's psychosocial needs.

**Keywords:** COVID-19 orphanhood; children; social consequences; mental health; social support



This is an open access article under the CC-BY 4.0 license.

## INTRODUCTION

UNICEF defines an orphan as anyone who has lost one or both parents ([UNAIDS, 2009](#)). Ebola, HIV/AIDS, SARs-COV 2 and other epidemics have taught the world that children who are orphaned due to pandemics and epidemics are on top of the list of persons who experience the highest forms of effects on their well-being, health, and safety consequent to losing their caregivers (primary and secondary) ([Denis-Ramirez et al., 2017](#); [Mbamba et al., 2022](#); [Mbamba & Ndemole, 2021](#); [Nyamukapa et al., 2004](#); [Urassa et al., 1997](#)). In every 12 seconds, a child under the age of 18 loses a caregiver to COVID-19 ([Hillis, Unwin, et al., 2021](#)). Lessons from previous pandemics point to the fact that children orphaned due to global health crisis are challenged with adjustment, acceptance, isolation and social exclusion and mental health issues ([Atwine et al., 2005](#); [Bennell, 2005](#); [Miller et al., 2007](#)). Left-behind children go to the extent of

attempting to, and for some, committing suicide ([Guldin et al., 2017](#)). The risks of suicide are higher among children because of high levels of attachment and the difficulty in living with the conception of their parent or caregivers' absence ([Mbamba & Ndemole, 2021](#); [Melhem, 2011](#); [Yeboaa et al., 2022](#)). Referring to a 7-year study on youth bereavement, Melhem and colleagues highlighted that, children who were younger than twelve (12) years following the death of their parents and caregivers struggled the most ([Melhem, 2011](#)).

Children orphaned by HIV developed anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression ([Chi & Li, 2013](#)). These disorders, when unaddressed, Cluver and colleagues posited, could persist for years in the child's life, with the tendencies of worsening as orphaned adolescents move through the developmental phases ([Cluver et al., 2012](#)). Hong Kong for example, orphaned children of SARSs-COV 2 suffered long term emotional trauma due to social experiences of alienation, social stigmatization and rejection ([Siu, 2016](#)). Recent studies on the number of children becoming orphans to COVID-19 globally postulate that the numbers continue to rise exponentially ([Hillis, Blenkinsop, et al., 2021](#); [Hillis, Unwin, et al., 2021](#)). For example, between April 2020 and June 2021 in the United States alone, Hillis and colleagues estimated the number of COVID-related orphaned children to be around 140,000 which should have increased by today's date ([Hillis, Blenkinsop, et al., 2021](#)).

While previous studies have highlighted some consequences of crisis on orphaned children, and recently, studies consolidating the numbers of children of different identities and different countries affected by COVID-19, little exist specifically delving deeply into the social consequences of COVID-19 on orphaned children in the United States at the time this research was being conducted. Even though Kentor and Thompson have attempted to offer some recommendations on how to deal with the rising issues of orphaned children globally, scholarship on practical ways to help children through the daunting experiences is scanty considering the enormous numbers of children orphaned by COVID-19 in the United States ([Kentor & Thompson, 2021](#)). Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore the specific adverse social consequences of COVID-19 on children orphaned by COVID-19 in the United States in order to highlight some policy and practice implications. Hence, the researcher sought to answer the following questions;

1. What form does the social consequences faced by children orphaned by COVID-19 take?
2. What urgent measures can be taken to help children facing adverse social consequences?

## METHOD

### Documentary Review

Following *the pediatrics* publication of the maiden paper which explored COVID-19 related orphans and caregiver death in the United States, several news reporting sites released articles discussing potential social impacts on COVID-19 related Orphaned children. Like every other pandemic, face-to-face interactions have been hampered due to COVID-19. This has left the researcher with little alternatives to collect and curate data. Therefore, the use of online news portals to gather reports and current information to inform policies, practice and research remains one of the best options. This study uses a documentary review approach to collect data on narratives that showcase the social consequences of covid-19 related orphanhood on children ([Mogalakwe, 2009](#)). Utilizing records from online news sites for scientific analysis is a widely used and accepted data collection approach. Many studies on previous pandemics and crisis situations like conflicts have employed the documentary review approach ([Hoogeveen & Pape, 2020](#); [Mogalakwe, 2009](#)), because of the difficulty with face-to-face interactions and risks to health and life.

### Search Procedure and Summary of Results

Published reports and news articles focusing on the United States on negative social consequences of being orphaned due to COVID-19 were extracted and analysed. Reporting portals were selected based on their credibility ranking in the United States (see table 1 for the list of news portals). The researcher used the search button of news portals and websites to search for the reports. This was done with key word combinations (see list of keyword combinations in table 2). The researcher did not restrict the search to date of publication as long as reports were on possible social consequences of being orphaned by COVID-19.

After a careful and thorough search eleven (11) news portals and websites reporting on COVID-19 related orphanhood and the negative social consequences in the United States, the researcher recovered thirty-five (35) reports. Out of this, twelve (12) reports from eleven (11) portals were considered for the study because they met the specific inclusion criterion for the study. Eligible reports contained expert accounts (interviews or reports) on children who have lost their caregivers to COVID-19 and the challenges they are facing or are likely to face. Twenty-three (23) articles were excluded from the study because they did not meet the eligibility criteria. Table 1 below presents the summary of data sources and number of reports.

Table 1. Summary of Sources.

News Source/Reference	Number of reports
( <a href="#">NJ Spotlight News, 2021</a> )	1
( <a href="#">Vanity Fair, 2021</a> )	1
( <a href="#">The Guardian, 2021</a> )	1
( <a href="#">ABC News, 2021</a> )	1
( <a href="#">Vox, 2021</a> )	1
( <a href="#">Miami Herald, 2021</a> )	1
( <a href="#">TIME, 2021</a> )	2
( <a href="#">The Hill, 2021</a> )	1
( <a href="#">LA Times, 2021</a> )	1
( <a href="#">Wbur, 2022</a> )	1
( <a href="#">COVID Collaborative, 2021</a> )	1

Table 2: Keyword combinations

Key Words - *means the word could be written in different ways
<p>COVID-19 orphans AND The United States*</p> <p>COVID19 AND Orphans</p> <p>COVID-19 orphanhood AND Mental Health</p> <p>COVID-19 orphanhood AND Social Support</p> <p>COVID-19 death AND Children</p> <p>For United States of America* = *Alabama *Alaska *Arizona *Arkansas                      *California *Colorado *Connecticut *Delaware *Florida *Georgia *Hawaii                      *Idaho *Illinois *Indiana *Iowa *Kansas *Kentucky *Louisiana *Maine</p>

\*Maryland \*Massachusetts \*Michigan \*Minnesota \*Mississippi \*Missouri  
\*Montana \*Nebraska \*Nevada \*New Hampshire \*New Jersey \*New Mexico  
\*New York \*North Carolina \*North Dakota \*Ohio \*Oklahoma \*Oregon  
\*Pennsylvania \*Rhode Island \*South Carolina \*South Dakota \*Tennessee  
\*Texas \*Utah \*Vermont \*Virginia \*Washington \*West Virginia \*Wisconsin  
\*Wyoming

### Quality Control

Records with the same URL were considered duplicated and only one was included. Also, articles reporting on the same event were considered duplicates, and only one entry was considered. However, information from the different websites reporting on the same event (with different URLs) was used to supplement or confirm the included information reported.

### Data Analysis

The data that was extracted was imported into Excel spreadsheet for organization. The file was structured into two categories; verbatim quotes, and news/report sources. When this was done, the researcher extracted the data and cross-checked multiple times with the links for validation and corroboration. Afterwards, the thematic narrative analysis procedure was followed to analyze narratives (Fraser, 2004). First, verbatim quotes were labeled to represent individual stories. The researcher read and re-read these stories closely to identify similar and contradictory segments. Following this, segments were organized into themes based on commonalities from actual narratives as well as derived meanings from the narratives. Throughout the process, the researcher was conscious of contradictions that could deepen the findings.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

From the thematic analysis of the narratives, two essential themes were identified in this study: 1) Increased Risks of Mental Health 2) Loss of primary support system and caregivers

### Loss of primary support system and caregivers

Findings from the narratives reveal that orphaned children loss their fundamental social support systems when their parents die. Unlike non-pandemic times, this is particularly a bigger challenge for them since many families are already grappling with the challenges COVID-19 comes with.

On many children losing their primary social support to COVID-19, some of the reports revealed;

*Many U.S. children lost a parent or grandparent who was their primary caregiver during a 15-month span of the pandemic. These were the relatives who watched them, fed them, did their laundry, made sure they got to school, provided housing, and generally made their lives possible (Q1)*

Apart from primary caregiver support loss, narratives revealed that a huge number of the children lost secondary caregivers who were of immense support to their livelihood.

*From April 1, 2020 through June 30, 2021, more than 140,000 children under age 18 in the United States lost a parent, custodial grandparent, or grandparent caregiver who provided the child's home and basic needs, including love, security, and daily care (Q2)*

*Losing a grandparent can be more than merely upsetting. The death of grandparents can also reduce the psychosocial, practical, and/or financial support for their grandchildren (Q3)*

### **Increased risks of mental health**

Narratives reveal that children who become orphans due to losing a parent to COVID-19 are at higher risks of mental health complications. Some of these include experiences like depression, sadness and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) which can often translate into other undesired consequences like suicide.

*Children losing primary caregivers have higher risks of experiencing mental health problems; physical, emotional, and sexual violence...These adverse experiences raise risks of suicide (Q4)*

*children who lose a parent tend to be at higher risk of experiencing physical and mental-health problems, housing instability, academic and behavioral issues, and sexual abuse (Q5)*

*Children are imaginative, particularly younger children...They're left with [mental] images that may be far worse than what actually happened in their parent's final days (Q6)*

*Though the physical effects of COVID-19 have generally not been as severe for most children compared to adults, the mental health impacts of the pandemic are just as severe. And that has laid bare an ongoing epidemic in children's mental health (Q7)*

Additionally, narratives from reports indicated that, because children need care and support, even after losing their parents, chances are, they are either placed with kin and kith or in foster care systems which usually comes with adjustment challenges. Some children also have the tendency of becoming homeless because they are unable to cope with living with relatives or in foster care which increases their chances of being traumatized through the exposure to navigating their way around life on the streets.

### **Discussion and Implications**

Findings of this study reveal that being orphaned due to COVID-19 presents a double challenge of living and livelihood to children. This is because the pandemic has already widened inequalities and exacerbated suffering everywhere; undermining progress on global poverty, clean water, social welfare and more ([Hoyt et al., 2021](#); [Marmot, 2020](#); [Mbamba & Ndemole, 2021](#); [Stantcheva, 2022](#); [Yeboaa et al., 2022](#)). This leaves children who lose their caregivers at the mercy of alternative care systems like foster or kinship care. Already, a plenitude of studies have highlighted the congestion in the foster care system ([Berrick & Skivenes, 2012](#); [Collins et al., 2018](#); [Lockwood et al., 2015](#); [Rolock et al., 2019](#); [Yi et al., 2020](#)) in the United States coupled with the harsh experiences of some children with foster care history. Reports of the current study indicate that the loss of either primary or secondary caregivers means the loss of a child's primary social support system. The result is a deprivation of the child's essential life necessities including food, cloths, shelter, and even distortion of their education. Consistent with the findings of Elston et al. (2017) and Kamara et al. (2017) on the Ebola epidemic which postulated that several children orphaned became malnourished due to the loss of their primary support networks, chances are, several COVID-19 orphaned children could be experiencing malnourishment in the United States ([Elston et al., 2017](#); [Kamara et al., 2017](#)).

This essentializes the need for emergency financial and nutritional support for the children and their host families. This is also a clarion call on actors like Save the Children-USA, UNICEF-USA, Compassion International-USA among others to uptick support for these children with urgency. In line with the White House's commitment to eliminating barriers leading to difficult

living for young people affected by the pandemic such that they can access social and health care and services freely and conveniently ([The White House, 2021](#)), international actors and national non-profits can push for the urgency of COVID-19 related orphan challenges.

Additionally, since the reliance on kinship care system becomes one of the best options for children upon the loss of their caregivers as revealed in the findings and corroborated by previous studies ([Hillis, Blenkinsop, et al., 2021](#); [Mbamba & Ndemole, 2021](#); [Yeboaa et al., 2022](#)), it is important to engage in careful background investigation of kin and kith of orphaned children before they are placed in such places. This is particularly important because children are already plagued with a complex intersection of the struggle with their loss and only kinship ties who are in the capacity to properly provide and care for them should be allowed to do so.

The risk of mental health challenges is also presented as a stupendous consequence experienced by COVID-19 related orphans. In line with evidence from previous health epidemics which led to the decease of caregivers ([Denis-Ramirez et al., 2017](#); [Nyamukapa et al., 2004](#); [Urassa et al., 1997](#)), the current study reveals that losing a primary caregiver increases the risk of mental health concerns, neglect and even abuse. This is also congruent with the findings of ([Siu, 2016](#)) in Hong Kong which posited that orphaned victims of SARS in Hong Kong suffered long term emotional trauma due to social experiences of alienation, social stigmatization and rejection. Findings reveal that traumatic scars resulting from some of the children watching their parents die are etched in their memories which inhibits their sound mental health. Also, the findings, having found that mental health concerns are widespread, recommends the need for active and urgent involvement of practitioners (social workers, therapists etc.) with expertise in Trauma-Focused Cognitive-Behavior Therapies (TF-CBT) specializing in children ([Cohen et al., 2004](#); [Mbamba et al., 2022](#)). TF-CBT as a comprehensive effective treatment approach is relevant because it includes aspects on exposure, cognitive-behavioral, affective, humanistic, attachment, family, and empowerment therapies.

Even though the release from the white house in October stated that American Rescue Plan pandemic relief package will provide a substantial amount of money to incorporate behavioral health services in pediatric primary care settings and expand community behavioral treatment for children affected by COVID-19, there is the need to expedite and put in place an emergency fund from the relief package because every single day that passes, children's crisis compound ([The White House, 2021](#)).



## CONCLUSION

Consistent with findings of previous studies on pandemics, the current study found that children in the United States who become orphans due to COVID-19 experience compounded forms of adverse social consequences. The prevalence of such social evils including the loss of primary social support system and the increased risks of mental health complications like depression, isolation, PTSD which could lead to suicide, brings the need for urgent intervention mechanisms from federal, state, and non-profits.

The researcher recognizes that, the narrative analysis of news reports confines the ability to make profound analytic conclusions. For example, the researcher is unable to tell the situations or circumstances under which the narrations were experienced and reported. This limits information detail that could be acquired during face-to-face interviews. However, the current findings reveal insights which could be relevant for studies with a large-scale quantitative design to generate results which will be representative for practice implications.

## REFERENCES

- ABC News. (2021, February 24). As COVID-19 turns more children into orphans, siblings step up to fill the void. *Abcnews.Go.Com*, 1–3. <https://abcnews.go.com/US/covid-19-turns-children-orphans-siblings-step-fill/story?id=76054302>
- Atwine, B., Cantor-Graae, E., & Bajunirwe, F. (2005). Psychological distress among AIDS orphans in rural Uganda. *Social Science & Medicine*, 61(3), 555–564. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.12.018>
- Bennell, P. (2005). The Impact of the AIDS Epidemic on the Schooling of Orphans and Other Directly Affected Children in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Development Studies*, 41(3), 467–488. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0022038042000313336>
- Berrick, J. D., & Skivenes, M. (2012). Dimensions of high quality foster care: Parenting Plus. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 34(9), 1956–1965. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chilyouth.2012.05.026>
- Chi, P., & Li, X. (2013). Impact of Parental HIV/AIDS on Children's Psychological Well-Being: A Systematic Review of Global Literature. *AIDS and Behavior*, 17(7), 2554–2574. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10461-012-0290-2>
- Cluver, L. D., Orkin, M., Gardner, F., & Boyes, M. E. (2012). Persisting mental health problems among AIDS-orphaned children in South Africa. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 53(4), 363–370. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2011.02459.x>
- Cohen, J. A., Deblinger, E., Mannarino, A. P., & Steer, R. A. (2004). A Multisite, Randomized Controlled Trial for Children With Sexual Abuse-Related PTSD Symptoms. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 43(4), 393–402. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00004583-200404000-00005>
- Collins, J. L., Jimenez, R., & Thomas, L. J. (2018). Health out of foster care as young adults age out of foster care: A phenomenological exploration of seeking healthcare services after

- aging out of the US foster care system. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 81, 322–331. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.05.012>
- COVID Collaborative. (2021). *Hidden Pain: The Report*. <https://www.covidcollaborative.us/initiatives/hidden-pain>
- Denis-Ramirez, E., Sørensen, K. H., & Skovdal, M. (2017). In the midst of a ‘perfect storm’: Unpacking the causes and consequences of Ebola-related stigma for children orphaned by Ebola in Sierra Leone. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 73, 445–453. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2016.11.025>
- Elston, J. W. T., Cartwright, C., Ndumbi, P., & Wright, J. (2017). The health impact of the 2014–15 Ebola outbreak. *Public Health*, 143, 60–70. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2016.10.020>
- Fraser, H. (2004). Doing Narrative Research. *Qualitative Social Work*, 3(2), 179–201. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325004043383>
- Guldin, M.-B., Ina Siegismund Kjaersgaard, M., Fenger-Grøn, M., Thorlund Parner, E., Li, J., Prior, A., & Vestergaard, M. (2017). Risk of suicide, deliberate self-harm and psychiatric illness after the loss of a close relative: A nationwide cohort study. *World Psychiatry*, 16(2), 193–199. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wps.20422>
- Hillis, S. D., Blenkinsop, A., Villaveces, A., Annor, F. B., Liburd, L., Massetti, G. M., Demissie, Z., Mercy, J. A., Nelson III, C. A., Cluver, L., Flaxman, S., Sherr, L., Donnelly, C. A., Ratmann, O., & Unwin, H. J. T. (2021). COVID-19–Associated Orphanhood and Caregiver Death in the United States. *Pediatrics*, 148(6). <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2021-053760>
- Hillis, S. D., Unwin, H. J. T., Chen, Y., Cluver, L., Sherr, L., Goldman, P. S., Ratmann, O., Donnelly, C. A., Bhatt, S., Villaveces, A., Butchart, A., Bachman, G., Rawlings, L., Green, P., Nelson, C. A., & Flaxman, S. (2021). Global minimum estimates of children affected by COVID-19-associated orphanhood and deaths of caregivers: a modelling study. *The Lancet*, 398(10298), 391–402. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(21\)01253-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(21)01253-8)
- Hoogeveen, J., & Pape, U. (2020). *Data Collection in Fragile States: Innovations from Africa and Beyond* (1st ed.). Palgrave Macmillan. <https://olc.worldbank.org/system/files/Intro-DataCollectioninFragileStates-InnovationsfromAfricaandBeyond%281%29.pdf>
- Hoyt, L. T., Cohen, A. K., Dull, B., Maker Castro, E., & Yazdani, N. (2021). “Constant Stress Has Become the New Normal”: Stress and Anxiety Inequalities Among U.S. College Students in the Time of COVID-19. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 68(2), 270–276. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2020.10.030>
- Kamara, M. H., Najjemba, R., van Griensven, J., Yorpoi, D., Jimissa, A. S., Chan, A. K., & Mishra, S. (2017). Increase in acute malnutrition in children following the 2014–2015 Ebola outbreak in rural Sierra Leone. *Public Health Action*, 7(1), 27–33. <https://doi.org/10.5588/pha.16.0084>
- Kentor, R. A., & Thompson, A. L. (2021). Answering the call to support youth orphaned by COVID-19. *The Lancet*, 398(10298), 366–367. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(21\)01446-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(21)01446-X)
- LA Times. (2021, October 8). Coronavirus Today: COVID-19’s orphans. *Latimes.Com*, 1–5. <https://www.latimes.com/science/newsletter/2021-10-08/coronavirus-today-covid-orphans-coronavirus-today>
- Lockwood, K. K., Friedman, S., & Christian, C. W. (2015). Permanency and the Foster Care System. *Current Problems in Pediatric and Adolescent Health Care*, 45(10), 306–315.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cppeds.2015.08.005>

Marmot, S. M. (2020). *Build Back Fairer: The COVID-19 Marmot Review*.

<https://www.health.org.uk/publications/build-back-fairer-the-covid-19-marmot-review>

Mbamba, C. R., & Ndemole, I. K. (2021). "I Paused My Life": Experiences of Single Mothers Caring for Their Autistic Children in Ghana. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 47(5), 659–669.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2021.1875966>

Mbamba, C. R., Yeboaa, P. A., & Ndemole, I. K. (2022). Autistic children in the care of single mothers: opportunities and barriers to safeguarding the welfare of special needs children. *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies*, 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450128.2022.2080895>

Melhem, N. M. (2011). Grief in Children and Adolescents Bereaved by Sudden Parental Death. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 68(9), 911.

<https://doi.org/10.1001/archgenpsychiatry.2011.101>

Miami Herald. (2021, July 21). US is No. 4 in the world with most orphaned children by COVID deaths, study finds. *Miamiherald.Com*, 1–5.

<https://www.miamiherald.com/news/coronavirus/article252921513.html>

Miller, C. M., Gruskin, S., Subramanian, S. V., & Heymann, J. (2007). Emerging health disparities in Botswana: Examining the situation of orphans during the AIDS epidemic. *Social Science & Medicine*, 64(12), 2476–2486. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2007.03.002>

Mogalakwe, M. (2009). The Documentary Research Method – Using Documentary Sources in Social Research. *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review*, 25(1), 43–58.

<https://doi.org/10.1353/eas.0.0006>

NJ Spotlight News. (2021, October 11). COVID-19 deaths means thousands now orphaned. *Njspotlightnews.Org*, 1–5. <https://www.njspotlightnews.org/2021/10/thousands-nj-black-brown-children-covid-19-orphans-caregivers-childhood-trauma/>

Nyamukapa, C. A., Foster, G., & Gregson, S. (2004). Orphans' household circumstances and access to education in a maturing HIV epidemic in eastern Zimbabwe. *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 18(2). <https://doi.org/10.4314/jsda.v18i2.23824>

Rolock, N., White, K. R., Ocasio, K., Zhang, L., MacKenzie, M. J., & Fong, R. (2019). A Comparison of Foster Care Reentry After Adoption in Two Large U.S. States. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 29(2), 153–164. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049731518783857>

Siu, J. Y. (2016). Coping with future epidemics: Tai chi practice as an overcoming strategy used by survivors of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in post-SARS Hong Kong. *Health Expectations*, 19(3), 762–772. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hex.12270>

Stantcheva, S. (2022). *Inequalities in the Times of a Pandemic*. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w29657>

The Guardian. (2021, October 7). More than 140,000 US children lost a parent or caregiver to Covid, study finds. *Theguardian.Com*, 1–5.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/oct/07/covid-hidden-pandemic-children-parents-caregiver>

The Hill. (2021, October 7). rphaned by COVID-19: 140,000 children in America have lost their parents or caregivers. *Thehill.Com*, 1–5. <https://thehill.com/changing-america/well-being/575812-orphaned-by-covid-19-140000-children-in-america-have-lost-their/>

The White House. (2021). *FACT SHEET: Improving Access and Care for Youth Mental Health and Substance Use Conditions*. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/10/19/fact-sheet-improving-access-and-care-for-youth-mental-health-and->

substance-use-conditions/

TIME. (2021, November 1). Up to 5 Million Children Have Lost Parents During the Pandemic. Here's How They've Coped. *Time.Com*, 1–5. <https://time.com/6111902/covid-orphans-coping/>

UNAIDS. (2009). *The Global Economic Crisis and HIV Prevention and Treatment Programmes: Vulnerabilities and Impact* (1st ed.). The World Bank. [https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/documents/2009/20090703\\_jc1734\\_econ\\_crisis\\_hiv\\_response\\_en.pdf](https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/documents/2009/20090703_jc1734_econ_crisis_hiv_response_en.pdf)

Urassa, M., Boerma, J. T., Ng'weshemi, J. Z. L., Isingo, R., Schapink, D., & Kumogola, Y. (1997). Orphanhood, child fostering and the AIDS epidemic in rural Tanzania. *Health Transition Review*, 7(2), 141–153. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40652331>

Vanity Fair. (2021, December 15). In the Shadows: The Orphans COVID Left Behind. *Vanityfair.Com*, 1–5. <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2021/12/in-the-shadows-the-orphans-covid-left-behind>

Vox. (2021, April 20). The shadow orphan crisis of Covid-19. *Vox.Com*, 1–5. [www.vox.com/science-and-health/22386227/covid-19-child-bereavement-orphans](http://www.vox.com/science-and-health/22386227/covid-19-child-bereavement-orphans)

Wbur. (2022, January 13). An overlooked consequence of COVID-19: The hundreds of thousands of orphans left behind. *Wbur.Org*, 1–5. <https://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2022/01/13/covid-19-orphans>

Yeboaa, P. A., Mbamba, C. R., & Ndemole, I. K. (2022). “Everything Has Turned Against Us”: Experiences of Left-Behind Spouses of Incarcerated Persons. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 48(3), 345–352. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2022.2042456>

Yi, Y., Edwards, F. R., & Wildeman, C. (2020). Cumulative Prevalence of Confirmed Maltreatment and Foster Care Placement for US Children by Race/Ethnicity, 2011–2016. *American Journal of Public Health*, 110(5), 704–709. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2019.305554>