Xhosa-speaking single mothers' experiences of 'intlawulo' (paying the damages)

by

Caileen Lubbe

A Thesis presented for the Degree of Master of Arts (Psychology) in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University

Supervisor: Professor A.P. Greeff · Co-supervisor: Dr C. de Goede

March 2020

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: March 2020

Copyright © 2020 University of Stellenbosch
All rights reserved

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

ABSTRACT

In this study I explored Xhosa-speaking single mothers' experiences of intlawulo. Intlawulo is a custom within the Xhosa culture that requires a man to pay compensatory money to a woman's family if he admits to having impregnated her outside of wedlock. In English, the term intlawulo translates directly to "paying the damages", and it is premised on the notion that a man has damaged an unmarried woman's chastity, her reputation, and her future marriage prospects.

This study employed an exploratory and qualitative research design. Participants were recruited through non-probability snowball sampling, and data were collected by means of semi-structured interviews. Twelve Xhosa-speaking single mothers from Khayelitsha, South Africa were selected to take part in the study and were interviewed by an experienced fieldworker. Data collection continued until data saturation occurred. All interviews were transcribed verbatim, and the data were analysed according to Braun and Clarke's (2006) technique of thematic analysis. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model was selected as the theoretical framework through which my findings were explored and theoretically conceptualised.

The findings indicated that Xhosa-speaking single mothers' experiences of intlawulo varied greatly, and were often contingent upon whether or not their partners had acknowledged paternity and/or paid intlawulo to their family. Positive experiences of intlawulo – which resulted from male partners' acknowledgment of paternity and/or payment of intlawulo – included: improvements to self-esteem; positive emotions (e.g., happiness, pride); and improvements in relationships and communication amongst the families. Participants who had positive experiences also tended to hold more positive views of intlawulo, describing the custom as valuable and important; as something that held cultural significance; or as a means

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

of connecting two families. In comparison, participants whose partners had not paid intlawulo or acknowledged paternity generally reported negative experiences of intlawulo, such as feelings of devaluation; stigmatisation; distress; anger; father-child separation; and conflict. These participants also tended to have negative views of the custom, seeing it as disempowering to women, or as something that held little importance and value. Many single mothers' accounts alluded to a sense of disempowerment amongst women throughout the intlawulo process due to a lack of agency at being excluded from the negotiation process and perceiving intlawulo as a predominantly male-directed process.

Beliefs surrounding the debate as to whether intlawulo is more important than the payment of child maintenance – and vice versa – was prominent throughout the data text, and it was found that most participants in this study favoured ongoing child maintenance over the payment of intlawulo. A number of barriers to intlawulo were identified, namely: financial constraints; scepticism over paternity claims; and differences in beliefs about and/or views on intlawulo between different families. Although the custom remains important and relevant to many single mothers and their families, shifting views on intlawulo between the younger and older generations were observed.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

OPSOMMING

In hierdie studie het ek Xhosa-sprekende enkelma's se ondervindings en ervarings van intlawulo nagevors. Intlawulo is 'n gebruik in die Xhosa kultuur wat vereis dat 'n man 'n bedrag geld aan 'n vrou se familie betaal as vergoeding omdat hy haar voor die huwelik swanger gemaak het. Hierdie "betaling van skade" moet plaasvind omdat hy 'n ongetroude vrou van haar maagdelikheid beroof het en daardeur haar huwelikswaarde, reputasie, en toekomstige trougeleenthede verminder het.

Hierdie kwalitatiewe studie was ondersoekend en beskrywend van aard. Deelnemers is verkry met behulp van 'n nie-waarskynlikheid sneeubalsteekproefneming en die data is met behulp van semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude ingesamel. Twaalf Xhosa-sprekende enkelma's van Khayelitsha in die Kaapse Metropool, Suid Afrika is gekies om aan die studie deel te neem. 'n Ervare Xhosa-sprekende vrou het as veldwerker die onderhoude gevoer totdat dataversadiging bereik is. Die onderhoude is woordeliks getranskribeer en volgens Braun en Clarke (2006) se tematiese ontledingstegniek ontleed. Bronfenbrenner (1979) se ekologiese stelselsmodel het as teoretiese raamwerk gedien aan die hand waarvan ek die studie beplan en die data ingesamel, ontleed en teoreties verklaar het.

Ek het bevind dat Xhosa-sprekende enkelma's se sienings van en ervarings met intlawulo merkbaar verskil. Hierdie verskille het dikwels daarvan afgehang of hulle mansvriend vaderskap erken het en/of intlawulo aan die deelnemer se familie betaal het. Deelnemers se positiewe ervarings met intlawulo het grootliks saamgehang met die erkenning van vaderskap en/of deur die betaling van intlawulo, en het die volgende ingesluit: 'n verbetering in selfbeeld, positiewe emosies (bv. geluk, trots); en verbeterde verhoudings en kommunikasie tussen die families. Deelnemers wat positiewe ervarings met intlawulo gehad het, was ook meer geneig om 'n positiewe siening daaroor te hê. Dit sluit in: die intlawulo-gebruik word beskou as

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

waardevol en belangrik; dit is iets wat vir hulle kulturele betekenis het; en dit is iets wat die betrokke twee families aan mekaar verbind. Hierteenoor het deelnemers wie se mansvriend nie vaderskap erken het en/of intlawulo betaal het nie, meer negatiewe sienings van en ervarings met intlawulo gehad. Byvoorbeeld: gevoelens van minderwaardigheid, frustrasie, angs, ongemak, woede, stigmatisering, konflik, en die weerhouding van die pa's om hulle kinders te sien. Verder het hierdie deelnemers ook intlawulo beskou as iets wat vrouens ontmagtig en wat onbelangrik en van min persoonlike waarde is. Verskeie deelnemers het verwys na 'n gevoel van ontmagtiging onder vrouens tydens die intlawulo-proses omdat hulle nie self aan die intlawulo-onderhandelinge en gesprekke kon deelneem nie. Hierdie gesprekke is grootliks deur mans beheer, terwyl vrouens gekeer is om aan die onderhandelingsproses deel te neem en/of daarvan uitgesluit was.

Sienings oor die debat of intlawulo belangriker is as die betaling van kinderonderhoud, of omgekeerd, het sterk na vore gekom. Die bevindinge dui daarop dat meeste van die deelnemers in hierdie studie kinderonderhoud belangriker geag het as die betaling van intlawulo. Die volgende hindernisse vir die betaling van intlawulo is ook geïdentifiseer: finansiële beperkings van die mansvriend, skeptisisme oor die eis van vaderskap, en verskille tussen families oor die uitvoer van die intlawulo-gebruik. Alhoewel baie enkelma's en hulle families steeds die gebruik as belangrik en waardevol sien, is daar 'n duidelike verskuiwing in sieninge oor intlawulo, veral merkbaar tussen die jonger en ouer geslagte.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my research supervisor Professor Awie Greeff for his never-ending support and enthusiasm surrounding my research and my writing. Thank you for the countless hours of your time that you have invested in helping me bring all of this together, I really appreciate it. Your kind nature, strong work ethic and passion for what you do has left me inspired, and has given me the courage and patience to conquer a milestone which, at times, seemed unattainable. Thank you for believing in me since the very beginning. You have played a pivotal role in my decision to further my studies and my writing as a researcher, and I really appreciate everything you have done for me in the last three years.

Then to my co-supervisor, Dr. Christine de Goede, thank you for providing me with the opportunity to explore such a fascinating and unique topic. Without your guidance and enthusiasm this research would not have been possible. Your passion for the topic and your desire to bring to light the untold stories of these remarkable women has instilled in me a deep sense of appreciation and sentimentality for this thesis, and for the voices and stories contained therein. Thank you for the many hours of your time that you have given up freely to attend our meetings, to travel with me into Cape Town, and to take those three-hour phone calls. Thank you for your invaluable guidance and feedback throughout the course of this thesis, it would not have been the same without your input.

To my father Gert, thank you for always remaining so supportive of my dreams and for inspiring me to pursue my passion so fearlessly. Thank you for being my sponsor, my mentor, and my voice of reason. Thank you for showing me that anything in this world is possible through hard work, persistence, and a little bit of humility. You continue to show me that the sky is the limit.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

To my step-father, Professor Paul Bowen, thank you for believing in my potential as an academic and for always motivating me to pursue new heights in my career. I would not be where I am today without your advice, support, and practical assistance over the last seven years. I really appreciate the many hours of revision and fine-tuning that you have put into helping me refine this thesis. Thank you for your sincerity, dedication and keen sense of humour throughout.

To my mother Amanda, thank you for standing beside me every step of the way and for instilling in me a strong work ethic since a young age. You have been a beacon of strength and a source of inspiration throughout my academic and personal life. Thank you for your limitless optimism, love and support over the last 24 years. You have a heart of gold.

To my brother Neil, thank you for keeping me grounded and for always encouraging me to strive towards becoming the best version of myself. Thank you for the laughter, the deep meaningful conversations and many cups of coffee we have shared over the last two years. My time as a postgraduate would have been a whole lot less colourful without these sweet memories.

Then to Noluthando Kwayimani, thank you for your hard work and for having taken on the huge responsibility of being my fieldworker and data-collector. Thank you for the many hours that you have taken out of your busy schedule to attend meetings, travel to interviews and assist with translations.

Finally, I would like to thank all of the single mothers who took part in this study. Thank you for your invaluable contribution to this research and for allowing us to hear and share your stories.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.. i

ABSTRACT.. ii

OPSOMMING.. iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.. vi

LIST OF APPENDICES.. xi

LIST OF FIGURES.. xi

Chapter 1: Introduction.. 1

1.1 Background to the study.. 1

1.2 Problem statement.. 3

1.3 Rationale for this study.. 4

1.4 Research question and aim.. 7

1.5 Conclusion.. 7

1.6 Layout of chapters.. 8

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework.. 9

2.1 Introduction.. 9

2.2 Literature review.. 10

2.2.1 Single motherhood.. 10

2.2.1.1 Premarital pregnancy and stigma.. 13

2.2.1.2 Father absenteeism.. 16

2.2.2 Xhosa culture and customs.. 18

2.2.3 Intlawulo: Paying the damages.. 22

2.2.3.1 “Paying the damages” in different African cultures... 25

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

2.3 Theoretical framework.. 26

2.4 Conclusion.. 32

Chapter 3: Research design and methodology.. 34

3.1 Introduction.. 34

3.2 Research design.. 34

3.3 Participants.. 37

3.4 Sampling.. 40

3.5 The use of semi-structured interviews... 43

3.6 Procedure.. 44

3.7 Data analysis.. 46

3.8 Ethical considerations and procedures for gaining approval to conduct this research.. 50

3.9 Trustworthiness.. 51

3.10 Conclusion.. 56

Chapter 4: Results and discussion.. 58

4.1 Introduction.. 58

4.2 Category 1: Different perspectives on intlawulo.................................... 59

4.2.1 Intlawulo associated with cultural belonging......................... 60

4.2.2 Intlawulo as a male apology... 62

4.2.3 A means to ancestral connection... 65

4.2.4 Uniting two families... 66

4.2.5 Shifting views on intlawulo.. 67

4.2.5.1 Generational differences... 68

4.2.5.2 Maintenance versus intlawulo.................................... 71

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

4.2.6 Intlawulo as disempowering.. 77

4.2.6.1 "Like a parcel being passed around"........................... 78

4.2.6.2 Male-directed process.. 81

4.2.7 Summary of themes and subthemes identified in Category 1.. 83

4.3 Category 2: Partner's paternity acceptance a defining moment.............. 84

4.3.1 "I'm damaged goods".. 85

4.3.2 Distress and negative emotional affect.................................... 91

4.3.3 Positive feelings and improved self-esteem............................ 98

4.3.4 Intlawulo a barrier between father and child........................... 102

4.3.5 Intlawulo a source of conflict.. 105

4.3.6 Improved relationships... 108

4.3.7 Summary of themes identified in Category 2........................... 111

4.4 Category 3: Barriers to intlawulo.. 113

4.4.1 Financial constraints.. 113

4.4.2 Scepticism over paternity claims.. 117

4.4.3 Different beliefs about/views on intlawulo.............................. 121

4.4.4 Summary of themes identified in Category 3........................... 122

4.5 Conclusion.. 123

Chapter 5: Concluding reflections, limitations and recommendations...................... 126

5.1 Concluding thoughts and reflections.. 126

5.2 Limitations and recommendations... 130

References.. 132

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

APPENDICES.......... 146

Appendix A Fieldworker's details and information.......... 146

Appendix B Sampling script.......... 147

Appendix C Participant information and consent form.......... 149

Appendix D Biographical questionnaire.......... 152

Appendix E Interview schedule.......... 153

Appendix F Data Collector's Non-disclosure and Ethics Agreement.......... 156

Appendix G Ethics clearance: REC notice of approval.......... 157

Appendix H Mapping Exercise.......... 158

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 A visual representation of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory (as applied to the single mother) 27

Figure 2. A visual illustration of all themes and subthemes within their Respective categories.......... 59

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

Family life in contemporary South Africa can differ vastly from one household to the next. These disparities can be attributed not only to the country's complex political past, but also to its rich diversity of cultures, races, and ethnic groups (Sooryamoorthy & Makhoba, 2016). In terms of parenting, it has been identified that single motherhood is by far the most prevalent form of parenting amongst South African families, with almost 40% of children under the age of 18 residing only with their mothers. This group is proportionately larger compared to the 32.6% who reside with both parents, the 24.4% who live with neither, and the mere 3.7% who live exclusively with their fathers (Statistics South Africa [StatsSA], 2012). South Africa is also said to have the lowest marriage rate in Africa and the second highest rate of father absenteeism in Africa after Namibia (Richter, Chikovore, & Makusha, 2010).

Almost half of all South African mothers between the ages of 25 and 34 are never-married single mothers, and it has been identified that single motherhood is by far the most prevalent amongst the African/black population (41.9%) (StatsSA, 2012). As many as four in every ten black children live without fathers present in the home (StatsSA, 2012). This places black single mothers in an especially vulnerable position, as African/black women have been identified not only as the group with the highest unemployment rate in the country (compared to black men, and men and women of other races), but they also tend to receive substantially less annual income than do black men when they are employed (StatsSA, 2012).

Single mothers face various challenges that women with cohabiting partners/husbands do not, making them a population that is financially, socially and psychologically vulnerable

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

(Anderson, 2016). Furthermore, single-parents are more financially constrained, have longer work-hours, have less practical and emotional assistance, are subject to societal stigma, and are at an increased risk for psychopathologies such as depression and anxiety (Anderson, 2016). Within the South African context, these challenges may be exacerbated by high rates of poverty and unemployment, with single mothers often lacking financial support and struggling to secure employment (Ntshongwana, Wright, Barnes, & Noble, 2015).

In some cases, cultural practices or customs may add to the complexities of single motherhood, such as that of *intlawulo,* which is practiced within – but is not limited to – the Xhosa culture. Intlawulo, or "paying the damages", is a custom according to which a man is expected to pay an agreed-upon amount of money to a woman's family if he admits to having impregnated her out of wedlock (Nathane-Taulela & Nduna, 2014; Richter et al., 2010). According to Eddy, Thomson-de Boor and Mphaka (2013), many traditional African cultures consider this payment a precondition if the father is to have access to his child. In light of this, various studies have pointed to the tendency of intlawulo to serve as an impediment to poor or unemployed men wishing to co-reside with their partners and children, thereby serving as a barrier between father-child and mother-father interaction (Eddy et al., 2013; Makusha & Richter, 2016; Nathane-Taulela & Nduna, 2014; Nduna & Sikweyiya, 2015). This separation is generally enforced by a girl's parents, who will forbid her male partner from having contact with his child for as long as he does not make the payment. There are several consequences that may result from this separation, not only for the father, but also for the mother and the child (Eddy et al., 2013; Nduna, Kasese-Hara, Ndebele, Pillay, & Manala, 2011; Patel & Mavungu, 2016). Research on the topic of intlawulo is limited, however, especially in terms of women's experiences thereof, which warrants further investigation.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

1.2 Problem statement

Experiences accompanying the intlawulo custom may vary from one single mother to another, depending on the process that takes place in her family and the outcome thereof. Due to past research not having dealt with single mothers' direct experiences of this custom within the Xhosa culture, there is limited information on how Xhosa women experience intlawulo and the various ways in which it affects women's lives (both positively and negatively). For some Xhosa-speaking single mothers, intlawulo might be viewed as an additional challenge, which can be added to the long list of challenges mentioned previously. Several past studies have reported on the significant value that many African cultures attribute to a woman's virginity, and how premarital pregnancy is often viewed as "damage" to her reputation, her family's reputation, and her future marriage prospects (De Goede, 2018; Mturi & Moerane, 2001).

From a gender equality perspective, this attribution of value to a girl's virginity can be viewed as problematic, as it renders premarital sexual relations more taboo or unacceptable for females than it does for males. However, the position that women fill in heterosexual relationships may vary across different contexts and cultures, and it is therefore important to note how the perceived power dynamics of these heterosexual relationships are influenced by the discourses that exist within their specific cultural context. For example, the practice of *lobola* (bride-price) in African cultures might be interpreted differently by people outside of the culture than it will by people belonging to that culture. As will be discussed in greater detail under section 2.2.2 (Xhosa culture and customs), some people may view lobola as the act of purchasing a bride, while others view it as a gesture of gratitude to the parents of the bride or as a means of uniting two families (Mndende, 2006). The former view may be held primarily by people who do not belong to the culture and who do not understand the cultural significance of lobola, and who may in turn problematise it from a gender-equality perspective (e.g., suggesting that the women

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

are being treated like physical assets or property rather than persons with the same freedom and rights as their male counterparts). At the other end, the latter view may typically be held by individuals who do belong to the culture, who hold positive associations with lobola, celebrate its cultural significance, and who do not feel the need to problematise it.

While intlawulo is often interpreted as restitution paid by the man for damaging a girl's chastity and lobola (bride price) value (Phoofolo, 2007), the women themselves may interpret it in a variety of different ways (De Goede, 2018). In some cases the process of intlawulo can be detrimental to a woman's self-worth and her sense of identity, as the term "damages" may lead some women to feel as though they have lost their value (De Goede, 2018). For others, the custom may be interpreted more positively, with some women interpreting intlawulo as a beneficial cultural tradition that facilitates a bond between the unmarried couple's two families (De Goede, 2018).

Through this study, I set out to identify and explore these different experiences and interpretations of the custom, specifically amongst Xhosa-speaking single mothers. The problem to be solved in this study can thus be stated as follows: Xhosa speaking single mothers' experiences of intlawulo have not previously been researched, and there is a need to fill this gap in the literature so that women's experiences and views of the custom can be understood.

1.3 Rationale for this study

In the South African context, where high levels of unemployment and poverty prevail, single mothers are an especially vulnerable group, and since single motherhood is the most prevalent parenting style in South Africa, it can be argued that an exploration of single mothers' experiences should be prioritised. The subject matter of the present study is also socially

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

relevant within the South African context, as premarital pregnancies and the practice of intlawulo not only affect single individuals, but entire families.

Some authors have noted the general lack of culturally sensitive studies in psychology (Bersoff & Bersoff, 1999; Kazdin, 1999; Stanley, Kuraski, & Srinivasan, 1999; Veroff & Goldberger, 1995). Veroff and Goldberger (1995) suggest that one way of addressing this dearth is to pay more attention to cultural psychology/anthropology and to focus studies on particular cultural groups. The present study therefore addresses this lack of culturally sensitive studies in the existing body of literature, as it lends its focus to a specific cultural custom belonging to a specific culture, and explores how this custom is experienced by members of that culture.

Although previous studies have made reference to intlawulo (Eddy et al., 2013; Nathane-Taulela & Nduna, 2014; Nduna & Sikweyiya, 2015), there have not yet been any studies that explore Xhosa women's first-hand experiences thereof. Furthermore, most past studies that have referred to intlawulo have done so within the context of father absenteeism, viewing it as a possible barrier to father-child interactions. The tendency for some families to keep a father away from his child until intlawulo is paid can hold implications for men trying to establish their parental rights in a court of law. The findings of a study such as the present one may therefore be used to help inform future policies and law practices within South Africa (this is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4, section 4.2.5.2).

The idea of intlawulo as a barrier between a father and his child places the practice in a relatively negative light (Eddy et al., 2013; Makusha & Richter, 2016), and therefore fails to consider the possibility that intlawulo may in fact also yield positive outcomes for single mothers and their families. Furthermore, there is some indication that the experiences women have with regard to intlawulo may be shifting due to factors such as globalisation, rural to urban

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

migration, larger women's movements in South Africa, and a bigger focus on women's rights within society (De Goede, 2018). Because the custom has not been written about extensively in past literature, there is much that still needs to be learnt of Xhosa-speaking single mothers' experiences and interpretations of intlawulo. This is a shortcoming in the existing literature that I wish to address through the present study.

By creating an awareness of the experiences that Xhosa-speaking single mothers have had of intlawulo, other women who are in similar situations might be able to relate to these experiences or learn of the various different ways in which the custom can be interpreted – both positively and negatively. Furthermore, the findings obtained from this study may be valuable to other researchers who wish to conduct future research with Xhosa-speaking participants, as well as to practitioners who have Xhosa-speaking clients. For South African practitioners and social scientists, understanding traditional customs such as intlawulo may also offer vital insight into cultural discourses that may affect women's psychological wellbeing, and how these discourses may either hinder or promote their sense of agency as women. Because the present study explores the experiences of single mothers falling into the age category 18 to 35 years, the findings may allude to possible shifts in the younger generation's views of these traditional customs away from the more traditional views held by their elders. Being aware of these shifting views and discourses can be of great value to practitioners and researchers in the field, especially in such a diverse and rapidly evolving modern-day society. Consequently, this study explores Xhosa-speaking single mothers' experiences of the intlawulo custom.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

1.4 Research question and aim

This study's research question is: *What are Xhosa-speaking, never-married single mothers' experiences of intlawulo (paying the damages)?* Deciding on a concise and highly specific research question was important, as it forms the basis on which my research aim could be established. The aim of the present study was to explore how Xhosa-speaking single mothers had experienced the practice of intlawulo first hand, and because there was limited knowledge of this particular phenomenon prior to this study, no predictions or hypotheses could be tested. Therefore, the sole purpose of this study was to explore this phenomenon so that it may contribute to existing knowledge in the field (Bless, Higson-Smith, & Sithole, 2013).

1.5 Conclusion

For Xhosa-speaking single mothers, the intlawulo custom may have a significant effect on their experiences during pregnancy and on their new identity as a single mother. Experiences of intlawulo may, however, differ vastly from one single mother to the next, and it is highly possible that some mothers may experience the custom as positive or beneficial, while others may experience it more negatively or deem it disadvantageous. Prior to this study, the question as to how young Xhosa women experienced intlawulo was unanswered, and the custom itself has until now been largely unexplored. This lack of information, as well as the social relevance of the topic to South African society, served as motivation for conducting research about single mothers' experiences regarding this particular cultural custom. I argue that the findings of this study can offer rich new information for the field of family psychology, particularly within the South African context.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

1.6 Layout of chapters

In Chapter 2 I report on extant literature relating to single mothers and the practice of intlawulo, with specific reference to Xhosa culture and customs. Thereafter, I motivate the use of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model as the primary theoretical framework through which I have studied the phenomenon of single motherhood and the various ways in which intlawulo is experienced by Xhosa-speaking single mothers. In Chapter 3 I describe the methods that were followed to collect and analyse the data, as well as the ontological and epistemological perspectives that were selected. I then provide a methodology section (Chapter 3), followed by a presentation and discussion of my findings (Chapter 4), in which the results are critically analysed and compared to existing empirical findings. Finally, in Chapter 5, I draw conclusions from my study, discuss the limitations, and provide recommendations for future research.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Chapter 2

Literature review and theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to locate my topic of interest within the extant body of literature by establishing parallels to related empirical findings and to motivate the need for further investigation on the topic. To provide a greater understanding of the context in which the present study is situated, I explore the nature and challenges of single motherhood, as well as the role played by culture in the experiences of single mothers, both during and after pregnancy.

The impact of other compounding factors, such as poverty, father absenteeism, and stigmatisation of single mothers is also identified and discussed, as these factors hold relevance to the context in which this study was conducted. I then explore various traditional customs and practices within Xhosa culture, whilst providing an account of the impact that urbanisation and modernisation have had on these practices over the years. An overview of the intlawulo custom is presented, which includes a description of what the custom entails, how it came into practice in the Xhosa culture, and what has been written about it in the literature. This is accompanied by an exploration of similar practices that have been reported amongst other cultures and ethnic groups, not only within South Africa, but internationally.

The chapter concludes with an outline of the selected theoretical framework – Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model – which is used to formulate a theoretical understanding of the findings (see Chapter 4). I motivate my use of this theoretical framework and provide related empirical findings to demonstrate the model's applicability to the context of the Xhosa-speaking single mother.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

2.2 Literature review

This section provides an in-depth account of current literature relating to the present study's primary areas of interest, namely single motherhood, Xhosa culture, and the intlawulo custom. Premarital pregnancy and father absenteeism are further explored as subsections of single motherhood, as these are factors that hold relevance to the life-experiences of single mothers. This review of the extant literature allows for a detailed understanding of the context in which the participants find themselves (i.e., Xhosa-speaking single mothers residing in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, South Africa) and points out a gap in the literature, which the present study intends to address.

2.2.1 Single motherhood

Several different terms have been used by scholars to capture the essence of single motherhood and to describe the group of women who can typically be classified as "single mothers". While some authors have used the term "lone mothers" to describe these women (Kim, Jeon & Jang, 2010; Targosz et al., 2003), others have made use of the term "female-headed household" when discussing single mothers within their household context (Raniga & Mthembu, 2017). The first of these – "lone mothers" – has been used by authors to describe women who are raising their children alone due to separation or divorce from the father of their child, or having been widowed (Kim et al., 2010). The other commonly used term – "female-headed household" – is often used to describe contexts in which a father or male figure is physically absent from the family home, and where a single, female parent is responsible for coordinating the physical, social, material and economic resources necessary for the wellbeing of all individuals in the household (Raniga & Mthembu, 2017).

It must be noted, however, that reducing single mothers and their experiences to one specific definition can be challenging as well as problematic. According to Anderson (2016), each

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

single mother follows a different pathway to single motherhood and faces her own unique set of social, financial and practical challenges. The terms “lone mother” and “female-headed household” mentioned previously, therefore, carry definitions that are not necessarily applicable to each and every single mother within our diverse, global society. In light of this, De Goede (2018) problematised the use of such restrictive and highly specific definitions of single mothers, and proposed instead that women be identified as single mothers on the basis of self-classification; in other words, if and why women classify themselves as a single mother. Some single mothers, for example, may still be living with their parents and next of kin, while others may be residing with friends, with other single mothers, or alone with their children (Anderson, 2016). Furthermore, while some single mothers may be widowed, others could be divorced, separated or simply never have married (Anderson, 2016; Wong, Garfinkel, & McLanahan, 1992).

For the purpose of the present study, it was important to acknowledge the diverse experiences of single motherhood; to view each single mother within her own context; and to establish if and why each participant identified herself as a single mother. I therefore chose to take the same approach towards defining “single motherhood” as De Goede (2018) had done, as this would allow the participants the opportunity to self-classify as single mothers without having to fit the confines of any one specific definition. For instance, most of the participants in this study were still living with their parents; were not the heads of their own households; nor separated from a partner through divorce, widowing, etc. Therefore, neither of the two definitions – “lone mothers” nor “female headed households” – were applicable to the single mothers in this study.

Single mothers are faced with several challenges on a daily basis. These include insufficient funds to provide for their families, inadequate time to spend with their children, having to make

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

career compromises, and having to fill the role of both parents (Mkhize & Msomi, 2016). These challenges may be compounded by the added burden of poverty, as low-income households tend to experience high levels of disorganisation, chaos, instability and disruptions to daily routines (Evans, Gonnella, Marcynyszyn, Gentile, & Salpekar, 2005). Other co-factors of poverty that exacerbate stress and vulnerability in low-income households are factors like overcrowding, crime, problems with housing (Coulton, Crampton, Irwin, Spilsbury, & Korbin, 2007), poor school performance, job instability and low job quality (Yoshikawa, Aber, & Beardslee, 2012). Single-mother households therefore may be considered especially vulnerable in low-income contexts. Furthermore, on the individual level, poverty has been said to affect a single mother's self-esteem and her ability to feel independent, resulting in her gradually losing her sense of self and having a negative impact on her childrearing practices (Anderson, 2016). This increased vulnerability amongst poor single mothers to compromised mental health warrants further investigation of this phenomenon within the field of psychology, especially if effective interventions for this population group are to be implemented.

In the United States of America (USA), low-income mothers constitute the most common type of single parenthood (Anderson, 2016; Kreider & Elliott, 2009; Ventura, 2009), a trend that is reflected in South African society (StatsSA, 2012). Furthermore, it was found that in seven first-world nations (namely, USA, Canada, France, Sweden, Germany, Australia and the United Kingdom) households headed by single mothers have significantly higher poverty rates than do any other type of household (Christopher, England, Smeeding, & Phillips, 2002). This too is true for South African households, where most single mothers are subject to high unemployment rates and lower annual income (StatsSA, 2012). In contemporary South Africa, single mothers find themselves living in a context marked by financial difficulties, stigmatisation, and systemic discrimination that stems from the triple jeopardy of class, race and a non-traditional family structure (De Goede, 2018). This makes South African single

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

mothers an extremely vulnerable group compared to the general population of the country. In the two subsections to follow, I discuss pressing issues that are inextricably linked to single motherhood and that affect the everyday lives of these women. These are: premarital pregnancy, stigma, and father absenteeism.

2.2.1.1 Premarital pregnancy and stigma

Pregnancy is a significant event in every mother's life, with the first year after the birth being particularly challenging in terms of filling new roles, undergoing relationship changes, and dealing with a sense of lost control (Mulherin & Johnstone, 2015). In the case of single mothers, these adjustments may be even more overwhelming, as single mothers face an array of challenges that women with cohabiting partners/husbands do not (Anderson, 2016). A premarital pregnancy may present with several challenges. One such challenge is having to deal with societal stigma, which may vary in severity based on the cultural context and circumstances in which the pregnancy occurs.

Past research on premarital pregnancies in Africa is extensive, with similar findings across different countries and cultures. Amongst the Basotho people of Lesotho, girls who become pregnant before they are married are referred to as *o senyehile*, a term used to imply that they are "spoiled" or "destroyed" (Mturi & Moerane, 2001). Basotho girls are traditionally urged to marry early for two reasons: firstly, to ensure their fertility, and secondly, to safeguard a girl's virginity before marriage (Phoofolo, 2007). Premarital pregnancy is something that greatly dishonours a girl within the Basotho community – and her *bohali* (bride price) value is said to deteriorate to that of a "second-hand" marriage partner (Phoofolo, 2007).

In the late 1900s, a new rule was introduced in the Caprivi region of Namibia, stating that two cows had to be paid as bride-wealth to a girl's parents if she was a virgin, and only one if she

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

was not, as it was thought that a woman who had already had a child with another man was highly unlikely to remarry (Becker & Hinz, 1995). Smith (2000) indicates that, for some Igbo families in South-Eastern Nigeria, childbirth before marriage was more stigmatised than abortion. In the most extreme of cases, young girls who get pregnant before marriage may be banished from their communities and left to die, as is portrayed in the documentary, *Punishment Island* – about an islet on Uganda's Lake Bunyonyi, where unmarried pregnant girls are said to have been left to starve (Cini, Zabberoni, & Cini, 2017).

Similar attitudes toward premarital pregnancy have also been documented in countries outside of Africa. Amongst young Pakistani Muslim women, premarital sex is strictly discouraged. According to Kurian (1991), the majority of marriages in India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Bangladesh are arranged marriages – which are said to help maintain social tradition by allowing young Muslims to fulfil both religious and social obligations in the eyes of the family, the community and society. Marrying for love is discouraged, as it presumes that two young people have already become romantically involved before marriage and is therefore perceived by others in the community as a threat to a Muslim girl's chastity, and hence, to her family's honour (Zaidi & Shuraydi, 2002). The girl, therefore, comes to be viewed as one of lesser value within her community when she is no longer chaste (Zaidi & Shuraydi, 2002).

In South Africa, many single mothers experience stigmatisation within their communities because of premarital pregnancies, and may sometimes be ostracised by their immediate family (De Goede, 2018; James, 2015; Nduna & Jewkes, 2012b). According to the findings of De Goede's (2018) research on Xhosa-speaking single mothers, conflict often occurs between Xhosa single mothers and their families during the pregnancy months because of failure to meet cultural expectations of premarital chastity. In De Goede's (2018) study, several single mothers reported having been ostracised by their next of kin during pregnancy, sometimes for

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

weeks or even months on end, as premarital sex is considered a taboo in Xhosa culture. In some cases it was so severe that family communication and even financial support were stopped (De Goede, 2018). A common belief amongst these women is that a girl who falls pregnant outside of wedlock not only brings disgrace onto herself, but shames her entire family and their good name, with the pregnancy being seen as a visible sign of her premarital sexual transgressions (De Goede, 2018). This kind of stigmatisation faced by single mothers has a significant effect on their self-esteem, psychological wellbeing, and quality of life (Anderson, 2016; Smith, 2000).

Amongst a sample of Xhosa-speaking single mothers residing in the Cape Town Metropolitan region, it was found that their pregnancies were generally unplanned, and that these young mothers experienced great distress surrounding the disclosure of their pregnancy to their partners and families (De Goede, 2018). De Goede (2018) notes that the confirmation of an unplanned pregnancy is an overwhelming experience for these women, with many reporting feelings of intense shock, guilt, and shame that result from their self-stigmatisation at having disgraced their families. Many of these single mothers therefore find disclosure to be a daunting task and keep their pregnancies hidden from their families for as long as they can. Several of these participants also reported having felt psychologically unprepared and unfit to be mothers. The interpersonal conflict and isolation that often follow disclosure causes young women significant distress throughout their pregnancies, affecting their self-esteem, motivation, happiness, and overall mental health (De Goede, 2018).

The findings of a study conducted by Nduna and Jewkes (2012a) on psychological stress amongst young adults in rural Eastern Cape show that denial and rejection of paternal responsibility by the father of the child was the most hurtful source of distress for young women during pregnancy. It is not uncommon for men to show denial or to disappear altogether in the

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

wake of an unplanned pregnancy, which may lead to accusations of promiscuity by the family, friends, and the community, thereby worsening her shame and distress during pregnancy (Nduna & Jewkes, 2012a). Wilson (2006), however, contends that the denial of paternity by young men should be viewed within the context of conflicting behaviours, with the men having the biological ability to father children while not being able to take up the social role of being a father. In some cases, the denial of paternity may also be tied to poverty or cultural expectations, both of which are addressed in the section to follow.

2.2.1.2 Father absenteeism

Because father absenteeism is directly linked to single motherhood, it is important that reasons behind this phenomenon are identified and explored. A large proportion of children in South Africa do not have a positive father-child relationship (Richter et al., 2010). South Africa has been identified as not only having significantly low rates of paternal maintenance for children (Khunou, 2006), but also high rates of neglect and abuse of children by men (Richter & Dawes, 2008).

There are several factors that contribute to father absenteeism. Sometimes a father may abandon his children due to feelings of failure and shame that emerge from his inability to provide financially for his children (Ramphele, 2002). In other cases, as one would find within the South African context, there are additional factors that may contribute to the high rates of father absenteeism. For example, South Africa's history of racial segregation and exploitation – where the migrant labour system of the *apartheid* era forced men to work and live far from home, while the women remained at the homestead – weakened the African family structure and resulted in many fathers being excluded from their children's lives (Ramphele & Richter, 2006). Other factors that have been identified as contributors to father absenteeism within

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

South Africa are the high rates of HIV/AIDS, infidelity, mistrust, and interpersonal conflict between couples (De Goede, 2018).

Although single-mother households can be quite resilient, there are some common disadvantages for children who grow up without fathers in the home. In households where a father is in residence, children's health care, nutrition, and education are likely to be much better than in households where there is only a mother (Richter et al., 2010). Children with fathers in the home may also benefit from their father's position in the community, and may enjoy a greater sense of protection within society than children who have no involvement with their fathers (Guma & Henda, 2004). The absence of a father as a financial contributor may also be viewed as a barrier to the child's education, as many single mothers may be unable to pay for school fees on their own (Khewu & Adu, 2017).

There are a number of advantages for mothers who have a husband or partner in residence. Women with co-residing partners are more likely to receive affirmation and practical assistance in their roles as parents, and may have to carry less of a financial burden due to a second income that can be contributed by the father of the child (Richter et al., 2010). Women who have a partner or husband to help raise their children are also likely to receive more emotional support and are less likely to experience stigmatisation within their families and communities (Anderson, 2016; Nduna & Jewkes, 2012b). The disadvantages for single mothers and their children who do not have a co-residing partner or father figure in the home are therefore discernible, and the reasons behind high rates of father absenteeism remain worthy of investigation.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

2.2.2 Xhosa culture and customs

Members of the of the Xhosa culture – also known as the amaXhosa, or the Southern Nguni – are an ethnic group residing mainly in the Eastern and Western Cape provinces of South Africa (Joyce, 2009). The language spoken by the amaXhosa is isiXhosa, which, after Zulu, is the second most widely spoken language amongst South Africa's eleven official languages (StatsSA, 2012). Ancestors play a prominent role in many Xhosa people's lives (Joyce, 2009), serving as intermediaries between the individual and a supreme being called *Qamata* or 'creator' (Mndende, 2006). Within the Xhosa community it is believed that the ancestors favour their living descendants and have the ability to protect them, while simultaneously having the power to punish them for their wrongdoings (Mndende, 2006). Ancestral links are therefore of great importance amongst members of the Xhosa culture.

Generally, there are said to be important milestones in a Xhosa person's life, which are celebrated through different rituals and ceremonies (called *isiko)*, and that serve as a means of honouring one's ancestors (Mndende, 2006). Through the celebration of these rights of passage, the status of young Xhosa people is established within their community, and their connections to their ancestors are strengthened (Mndende, 2006). Despite the increase in urbanisation in contemporary South African society, many of these traditional rituals and ceremonies are still widely accepted and practised amongst Xhosa people (Padmanabhanunni, Jaffer, & Steenkamp, 2017). Although globalisation and modernisation may be leading to changing views and discourses amongst some members of the younger generation in contemporary South Africa, for many Xhosa people, traditional family life continues to be largely patriarchal, and men are viewed as heads of the household (Joyce, 2009). What is strived for in terms of role distribution is that men play the role of the breadwinner, while wives take on the role of homemaker (Hunter, 2006).

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

The amaXhosa have several different clans into which they are subdivided, with clan identity being considered essential for holistic well-being (Mndende, 2006). As is the case with most traditional African families, Xhosa families attribute great value to both matrilineal and patrilineal descent, as it allows them the ancestral connections that are crucial for developing a sense of self and to achieve overall wellbeing. It is, therefore, problematic when an African child has unresolved paternity, as there is no opportunity for the child to connect with kin or ancestors on their father's side of the family (Denis & Ntsimane, 2006; Hunter, 2006; Nduna & Jewkes, 2012b; Ramphele & Richter, 2006). These children who do not know their fathers may experience significant distress, spiritual disharmony, and identity confusion in not having a link to their father's ancestral lineage (Nathane-Taulela & Nduna, 2014).

Within traditional African culture, marriage is a central institution and must be understood in relation to the interconnectedness of the community and the concept of *ubuntu* (Parker, 2015). In African society the individual and the group are considered to be interconnected, premised on the belief that when something happens to the individual it happens to the whole group, and vice versa (Parker, 2015). The "group" includes not only the living, but also those who are deceased and those who are yet to be born (Parker, 2015). Kinship and marital ties are, therefore, considered to be of great importance within African communities, as a person is seen as being related not only by blood (consanguinity), but also through marriage (affinity) (Parker, 2015).

In Xhosa culture, marriage is traditionally viewed as a duty both to the community and to oneself, and is also interconnected with having children, as it is not customary to have one without the other (Parker, 2015). Having children allows for the continuation of life, and ensures that the genes of one's mother, father and the ancestors on either side are carried forward. Eddy et al. (2013) contend that most traditional African cultures consider marriage to be a symbol of a man's respectability, as well as a precondition for him to have access to his

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

children. It therefore becomes clear that any barrier to the payment of a bride price, or the act of marriage itself, can be highly problematic.

Bride-wealth – commonly referred to as lobola or *ilobola* by South Africans – plays a vital role in traditional African marriages and was traditionally designed as a means of uniting two families and promoting feelings of mutual understanding and trust. Although the different African bride-wealth systems are structurally similar, every ethnic group has its own practices that are culturally unique and distinctive (Kuper, 1982). In Xhosa culture, lobola is a term used to refer to the custom of passing livestock (or its monetary equivalent) from the groom's family to the bride's family out of gratitude for allowing their daughter to join the future husband's family (Mndende, 2006). While some may view lobola as the act of purchasing a bride, others emphasise that the custom should in fact not be viewed as a transaction or a "purchase" of the bride, but rather as a gesture to unite the two families (Mndende, 2006). The custom of lobola continues to be practised today, even amongst the urbanised Xhosa population, with marriage continuing to be a central part of young people's identity formation and their journey into adulthood (Hunter, 2011).

Paying lobola shows that the man getting married can take care of a wife and a family, and is also viewed as a means of guaranteeing that the marriage will be stable (Rudwick & Posel, 2014). Furthermore, the practice is seen as a token of a man's gratitude shown to the future bride's family for having raised their daughter well (Parker, 2015). The size of the lobola payment depends on several factors. A woman's level of education, physical attractiveness, family wealth, status, and virginity all act as determining factors when lobola is negotiated (De Goede, 2018). In the Xhosa culture, the sexual "purity" of an unmarried woman is highly valued by some families, so much so that some young Xhosa women undergo virginity testing – a ritual called *inkciyo* (Swaartbooi-Xabadiya, & Nduna, 2014).

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Because contemporary South African families are largely urbanised, money has started to replace livestock when it comes to bride-wealth and intlawulo negotiations, as many families residing in the city do not have the physical capacity to accommodate cattle (Hunter, 2011). The issue with this, however, is that the use of money instead of livestock creates for many the perception that payment of money for the bride makes her the property of the groom and may leave her vulnerable to abuse by her husband and his family (Hunter, 2011). Furthermore, the socio-economic changes generated by capitalism, colonialism and the apartheid system have resulted in many African families being less dependent on agricultural practices for survival, having moved into wage labour instead (Eddy et al., 2013). An implication of this shift is that many men cannot afford the large cash payment requested of them for lobola (Eddy et al., 2013).

Poverty is a factor that impinges significantly on young men's ability to practise lobola in modern-day South Africa, and is possibly the leading cause of declining marriage rates amongst black South Africans (Richter et al., 2010). This decline in marriage rates may, in turn, be linked to the growing prevalence of never-married single mothers in South Africa. However, despite possible threats and challenges to traditional marital practices, it appears that most Xhosa youth continue to view ilobola as an important and necessary practice (Mwamwenda & Monyooe, 1997; Parker, 2015).

Mwamwenda and Monyooe (1997) found that 88% of Xhosa-speaking university graduates supported the lobola custom inherent in most African cultures, viewing it as an integral part of an African marriage. This was substantiated by their belief that lobola symbolises a husband's gratitude for his wife's dignity and value (Mwamwenda & Monyooe, 1997). Similarly, a study conducted on grade 12 learners' attitudes towards the practice of lobola indicated that culture and traditions were considered significantly important to the learners, despite urbanisation and

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

globalisation in the new South Africa (Parker, 2015). This was possibly due to the learners wanting to show respect to their parents and relatives – both living and dead – and not wanting to forget their origins (Parker, 2015). In Xhosa culture, respecting one's elders is of critical importance and is a virtue that young Xhosa people are always expected to show (Mtuze, 2004).

Based on the extant literature that has been discussed in this section, marriage continues to be highly regarded within Xhosa culture, even amongst the youth (Eddy et al., 2013; Mwamwenda & Monyooe, 1997). Having explored the literature on marital customs within Xhosa culture, it becomes apparent that there is a recurring theme of "value" that emerges – value that is attached to women as prospective brides, as well as to the act of marriage itself. Simultaneously, however, there also appears to be a sense of devaluation when women do not adhere to customs of conventional marriage within their culture (De Goede, 2018). This gives rise to practices such as intlawulo, which is addressed in the section that follows.

2.2.3 Intlawulo: Paying the damages

In some African cultures, it is required that a man pays intlawulo (the isiXhosa term for "fines") when he impregnates a woman before marriage (Eddy et al., 2013; Nduna & Jewkes, 2012b). The reasons for the payment are varied, depending on the family's interpretation thereof, but generally serves as compensation for the "damages" done by a man either to the woman's reputation, to her family's reputation, or to her virginity (De Goede, 2018). The amount to be paid is decided during a negotiation process that takes place between the two families – generally the men in the families – and depends largely on how much the man's family can afford (Patel & Mavungu, 2016). Historically, in Xhosa culture, the identity of a child born outside of wedlock remains maternal until the father of the child acknowledges paternity and pays intlawulo; only then can the child be introduced to his father's ancestors through

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

traditional ways (Nathane-Taulela & Nduna, 2014). The practice of intlawulo is, therefore, one of great significance, as it affects the livelihoods of all involved.

In cases where a man does not acknowledge paternity and/or fails to pay intlawulo, he is generally dismissed by the woman's family as irresponsible (Eddy et al., 2013). It is, however, often the case that young men do not have the financial means to pay intlawulo, even if they have the intention to do so (Eddy et al., 2013; Makusha & Richter, 2016; Nathane-Taulela & Nduna, 2014; Nduna & Sikweyiya, 2015). It is for this reason that several past studies have pointed to intlawulo's tendency to serve as an impediment to poor or unemployed men who wish to co-reside with their partners and children (Eddy et al., 2013; Makusha & Richter, 2016; Nathane-Taulela & Nduna, 2014; Nduna & Sikweyiya, 2015).

Some families are more tolerant than others, and might allow a father to be involved in his child's life even if he has not paid intlawulo (De Goede, 2018). According to Wilson (2006), the expectations for intlawulo to be paid tend to be strongest in rural areas. Although payments such as lobola or intlawulo tend to validate the relationship between a man and a woman in the eyes of their elders and the community, it has been found that never-married mothers will usually prefer that the father is present in the child's life and generally wish to continue their relationship with him (Wilson, 2006).

In previous South African studies, unmarried men have often spoken out about having become estranged from their children, despite their attempts to be as involved as possible in their children's lives (Makusha & Richter, 2016; Patel & Mavungu, 2016). In the case of Xhosa fathers, this estrangement sometimes results from not being permitted to reside or come into contact with his child until he has paid intlawulo or married the mother (Makusha & Richter, 2016; Patel & Mavungu, 2016). Poorer fathers, therefore, often speak longingly about the

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

things that they could have done for their children had they paid intlawulo, such as co-residing, helping with homework, and seeing their children grow and progress at school (Makusha & Richter, 2016). Intlawulo is, therefore, often conceptualised by these fathers as a cultural practice that stands in the way of their desired interaction and connections with their child.

Intlawulo may symbolise different things for different people, and may be interpreted either positively or negatively, depending on each individual's subjective experience thereof. De Goede (2018) notes that the way in which the participants in her study interpreted intlawulo varied substantially. While some viewed it as a means of uniting the man and the woman's families of origin, others viewed it as a symbol of their "damaged" reputation and diminished worth as women, or as a once-off penalty that exonerated the father and his family from having to be involved in the child's life (De Goede, 2018). De Goede (2018) contends that the different ways in which single mothers and their families interpret intlawulo could potentially have a significant impact on single mothers' sense of self-worth and their psychological wellbeing. However, due to the parameters of De Goede's (2018) study, she was not able to explore the custom of intlawulo in greater detail, suggesting that future research be conducted on the topic.

Although a number of South African studies have mentioned intlawulo, the first-hand experiences of Xhosa-speaking single mothers with regard to this cultural practice are yet to be explored. Some researchers have paid attention to the growing number of absent fathers in South Africa, with a number of them having made reference to the practice of intlawulo (Eddy et al., 2013; Nathane-Taulela & Nduna, 2014; Nduna & Sikweyiya, 2015; Nduna et al., 2011; Patel & Mavungu, 2016) or – in the Zulu culture – *inhlawulo* (Langa & Smith, 2012; Makusha & Richter, 2016; Richter et al., 2010; Wilson, 2006). However, no previous research could be found on single mothers' direct experiences of intlawulo.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

2.2.3.1 “Paying the damages” in different African cultures

Amongst the Basotho people of Lesotho (mentioned previously), the same practice of “paying the damages” can be found, but is referred to as *litsenyehelo* (Kaufman, De Wet, & Stadler, 2001). As is the case in the Xhosa and Zulu cultures, the payment of damages amongst members of the Basotho culture is necessary for paternal recognition and lineal belonging – allowing the child a connection to his or her father’s ancestral line (Mkhwanazi & Block, 2016).

The findings of a study by Langa and Smith (2012) indicate that, amongst teenage Zulu fathers, the payment of damages has started to lose its cultural significance, with only 12% of participants in the study having paid inhlawulo (Zulu term for “paying the damages”), and 88% not having been asked to pay damages at all. It was suggested by the authors that the decline in the cultural significance of this practice may either be due to urbanisation, or due to a general lack of fathers and close male relatives such as brothers or uncles, who are needed for the negotiation process. Langa and Smith (2012), however, highlight the need for further studies in this regard if one is to establish reasons behind this decline of the practice amongst Zulu people.

Except for a few countries in Africa (Kaufman et al., 2001; Langa & Smith, 2012; Makusha & Richter, 2016; Wilson, 2006), no other international research was found that makes reference to, or deals directly with, a practice such as intlawulo. This lack of international research on the topic does not mean that such customs do not exist elsewhere in the world, but implies that they are currently not widely documented. However, what can be found across the literature is a recurring theme of “devaluation” that is often associated with young women that engage in premarital sex, and how it threatens their family’s reputation and honour (Mturi & Moerane, 2001; Phoofolo, 2007; Zaidi & Shuraydi, 2002).

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

2.3 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework that was selected for the present study is Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model. This model views the individual as being situated within different layers of wider social systems – the micro-, meso-, exo-, macro- and chrono-systems respectively (Darling, 2007). Each of these systems is said to influence one another interdependently, suggesting a bidirectional influence in which the person not only affects their environment, but is also in turn affected by this environment (Darling, 2007).

In the case of single mothers – specifically within the Xhosa culture – there are several broader, social and environmental factors at play when it comes to a woman's experience of bearing a child outside of wedlock and being confronted with intlawulo. Because intlawulo has only been reported on in past studies – generally by men who spoke of it as a barrier to accessing their children – it became evident that there was a need to explore women's experiences and interpretations of this custom. Through an exploration of these single mothers' experiences of intlawulo, one may identify the effects that the custom has not only on single individuals, but also on personal relationships, everyday interactions and the wider community. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model permits a comprehensive analysis of how these experiences of the custom are situated within larger systems of the single mother's environment.

With the use of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model I was able to analyse different factors found at each of the respective levels that affect Xhosa-speaking single mothers' experiences of intlawulo. One may argue that there is a bi-directional influence between the single mother and the various outside factors or larger systems around her. She not only influences these larger systems, but is in turn also influenced by them. In Figure 1

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

below I give a visual representation of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model, which has been specified to the context of the single mother and her day-to-day interactions.

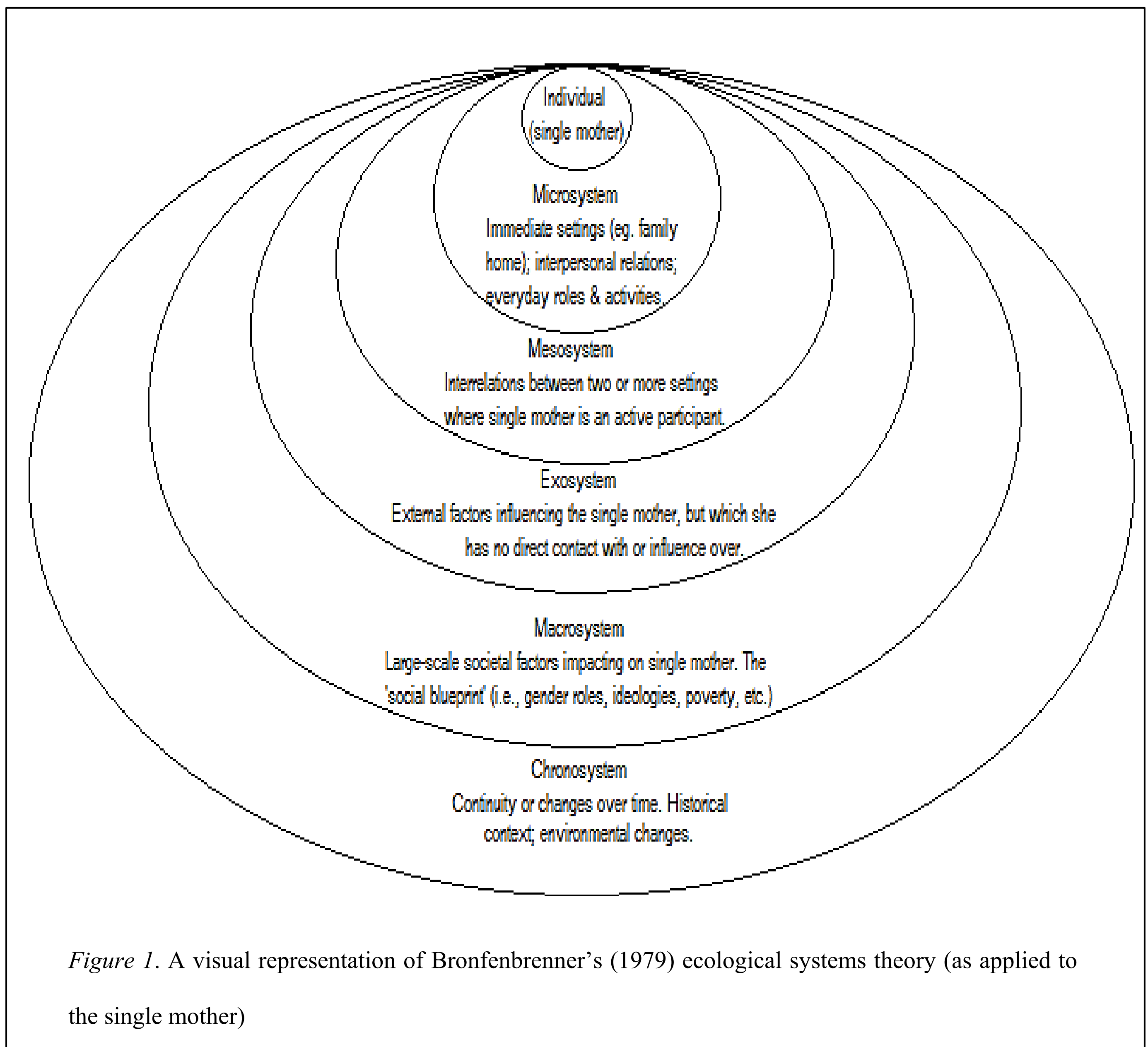


Figure 1. A visual representation of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory (as applied to the single mother)

At the microsystems level, the single mother experiences certain interpersonal relations, activities and roles within her everyday context that have a direct impact on her (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The microsystem comprises of her immediate settings – namely the places where she lives, works and socialises – and the interpersonal relationships and face-to-face interactions that she has in these spaces (Heppner, 2008). In the context of the Xhosa-

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

speaking single mother, her microsystem would comprise her home, work and/or school environments, and the relationships and interactions she has with the people closest to her, such as her parents, siblings, partner, child, peers, colleagues and friends. The microsystem also entails her role as a daughter, mother, partner, etc., and how she goes about carrying out these roles on a daily basis (Hirano, Rowe, Linstrom & Chan, 2018).

When focusing on the microsystem, emphasis is placed on the lived experiences of the individual. Bronfenbrenner (1979) contends that the most powerful facets in any environment are the ones that give meaning to the person within that environment. Each of the various microsystems in the single mother's environment has the potential to impact on how she experiences intlawulo, and the overall outcome thereof (Hirano et al., 2018). The subjective experiences of the individual are therefore noteworthy, as they not only provide insight into the objective properties (e.g., size) of features within the individual's environment, but also into the unique way in which these features are perceived by the specific individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

The second layer of the socio-ecological systems model is the mesosystem, and this is described by Bronfenbrenner (1979) as the interrelations or links between two or more settings in which the individual is an active participant. The difference between the microsystem and mesosystem must, however, be noted. The fundamental difference lies in the nature of the relationships or interconnections that take place on either of these two levels. At the micro-system level, interactions or processes occur in one particular setting (e.g., the single mother's home environment), whereas at the mesosystem level interactions take place across different settings (e.g., between the single mother's household and her school/workplace) (Lau & Ng, 2014). In the case of the single mother, she may find herself in a number of different settings on a daily basis, in which she may be exposed to a wide range of ideologies, information and

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

belief systems. These beliefs and ideologies may either be conflicting across different settings, or may be reinforced from one setting to another, which in turn has the potential to cause the single mother either distress or affirmation.

The exosystem involves the various external factors that influence the individual and their behaviour within the microsystems, but which the individual does not have influence over nor direct contact with (Visser, 2007). Examples of factors that form a part of the exosystems include health care and welfare services, councils, school governing bodies, local municipal services, and the distribution of local resources (Hirano et al., 2018). The exosystem is said to be bi-directional, as an event in the exosystem can affect the microsystem and vice versa. However, it is important to note that it is not the individual that has direct influence over the exosystem, but rather the events within the individual's microsystem that may affect the exosystem (Lau & Ng, 2014).

The macrosystem level entails large-scale factors within society that are promoted and controlled by those in higher socio-economic positions (e.g., government policies and the media) (Visser, 2007). The macrosystem has an influence on the individual, and includes factors such as ideologies, cultures, belief systems, gender roles, lifestyles, economic trends and available resources (Kotzé, Van der Westhuizen, & Barnard, 2017). Socio-cultural and economic factors, such as oppression and poverty, have also been identified by Bronfenbrenner (1979) as factors of the macrosystem (Visser, 2007). The macrosystem involves activities at all the different levels of the ecological system, and has been conceptualised as the "social blueprint" (Trainor, Lindstrom, Simon-Burroughs, Sorrels & Martin, 2008). What has been suggested in terms of the macrosystem is that members belonging to certain cultures or subcultures find support for their values and behaviour from each other, meaning that their behaviours and values influence one another interdependently (Trainor et al., 2008).

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Within the context of Xhosa-speaking single mothers – particularly those who fall within the lower socio-economic communities – macrolevel factors such as oppression and poverty are likely to affect them and their families significantly. South Africa's history of segregation and inequality during the apartheid years can be linked to persisting oppression and unequal access to resources within South African society today, and women of colour tend to be the group that is most susceptible to taking strain under these large-scale factors. Furthermore, a lack of access to resources (another factor that emerges from the macrosystems level) in poorer families may have a significant impact on the outcome of the intlawulo process and the overall experience that the single mother has of it. This is substantiated by previous research findings that point to the fact that intlawulo often serves as a barrier between young South African fathers and their children, particularly in cases where they do not have enough money to pay for damages (Eddy et al., 2013; Nathane-Taulela & Nduna, 2014; Nduna & Sikweyiya, 2015; Makusha & Richter, 2016).

In Bronfenbrenner's (1979) original writings on ecological systems theory, only the four previously discussed systems (the micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems) were incorporated. However, after making some revisions, Bronfenbrenner (1979) later went on to add a fifth system as an addendum to his original theory, called the chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Neal & Neal, 2013). The chronosystem is a system that reflects continuity or change over time, and how these changes influence each of the other systems (Neal & Neal, 2013). This system reflects changes in both the patterns of environmental events and socio-historical conditions over time (Lau & Ng, 2014). An example of this in the single mother's life would be the transition from being a child in her own parents' home to suddenly taking on the role of a mother herself. Other transitions could include, for example, her leaving high school, starting a new job or moving out of her family home, as these changes would affect all of the other socio-ecological systems. In attempting to fully understand the chronosystem, it is, therefore,

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

important to have a thorough understanding of the contexts that form part of the other subsystems (i.e., mesosystem and exosystem) (Lau & Ng, 2014).

Intlawulo affects more than just a single individual, as it impacts on people's relationships, on family ties, on the psychological wellbeing of people, and on individuals' situatedness within the wider community. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological systems theory was therefore considered the most suitable theoretical framework for the present study as it allows for the single mother, and the complex, dynamic environment around her, to be viewed as a series of nested systems, which influence one another interdependently and that ultimately influence her experience of the intlawulo custom.

2.3.1 The place of culture in the ecological systems model

Since intlawulo is a practice that is directly linked to culture, it is important to establish the place of culture within ecological systems theory. Some authors suggest that cultural values form part of the individual's psyche (Angless, 1990), and that culture cannot be separated from the individual as it is a product of human activity (Markus & Kitayama, 2010). These arguments are premised on the belief that culture should not be seen as a separate system that operates exclusively at the macrosystems level, but as something that is embedded in people's cognitive processes and that is part of everyday activities and routines.

The concept of culture is complex and therefore difficult to define (Smith, 2006). It is said that authors may introduce both intra- and interpersonal dimensions when attempting to define culture (Smith, 2006). Based on Kroeber and Kluckhorn's (1963, p. 40) content analysis of 157 different definitions of culture, the following definition was formulated:

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

> Culture consists of traditional ideas and the values attached to these ideas. It is made up of explicit and implicit patterns, and encompasses behaviours acquired and transmitted through symbols. Furthermore, culture constitutes the distinctive achievement of different groups, which includes – but is not limited to – the embodiment of artefacts. While culture systems may in one sense be seen as the result of actions, it can be viewed on the other hand as continuing elements of further action.

The tendency of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model to place culture within major processes that occur beyond the individual in the distal environment has been deemed problematic by some authors (Vélez-Agosto, Soto-Crespo, Vizcarrondo-Oppenheimer, Vega-Molina, & García-Coll, 2017). By restricting culture to the macrosystems level, the assumption is made that culture operates externally and separately from everyday routines, activities and actions that take place within the microsystems. Vélez-Agosto et al. (2017) contend that this is problematic because cultural processes are in fact not part of a hierarchical system that operates separately from the individual, but rather something that infiltrates all aspects of life (e.g., routines, habits, language) and therefore directly influences a person's internal processes and outcomes.

2.4 Conclusion

Having reviewed the existing literature on single mothers, the Xhosa culture, and the practice of intlawulo, it becomes apparent that: 1) single mothers constitute a large portion of the global population and are faced with a wide array of complex challenges; 2) the Xhosa culture attributes great value to traditions that have been passed down by previous generations, despite the urbanisation of the youth; and 3) the practice of intlawulo has been noted in previous South African literature, but has not been explored as a topic in its own right.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

In this chapter I have also highlighted the impact of broader socio-economic factors, such as poverty and stigmatisation, on the livelihoods of single mothers, indicating that single motherhood and poverty often go hand in hand, and that many single mothers around the world continue to be subjected to significant stigmatisation. Furthermore, it has been made apparent that intlawulo is practised not only in Xhosa culture, but also in the Zulu (inhlawulo) and Sesotho cultures (litsenyehelo), amongst others. Through an extensive review of the literature, it has been found that intlawulo is still practised as a necessary and relevant practice in contemporary South Africa, but that the practice seems to be viewed by many young Xhosa and Zulu fathers as a barrier between them and their children when they do not have the necessary financial means. Finally, I have discussed and motivated the use of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model as the selected theoretical framework for my study, by demonstrating the model's applicability to the context of the single mother and the experience of significant events in her life.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Chapter 3

Research Design and methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I provide a detailed account of the selected research design, as well as an overview of the ontological and epistemological paradigms through which the research question was explored. Descriptions of the sampling procedures, data collection methods and data analysis techniques are also presented, followed by a motivation as to the applicability of these strategies to the exploratory nature of my research question.

To allow for a better understanding of the context in which the participants of this study find themselves on a day-to-day basis, an overview of Khayelitsha's demographics, infrastructure and socio-economic background is provided. The demographic characteristics of my 12 participants are then presented, followed by a detailed description of the sampling and data collection methods that were utilised. Thereafter, I motivate the use of thematic analysis as the principle method of data analysis. The chapter concludes with ethical considerations that were adhered to for obtaining ethics approval and for ensuring that ethical standards were maintained throughout the data collection and analysis phases.

3.2 Research design

A qualitative research design, informed by a relativist ontology and social-constructivist epistemology, was selected to fulfil the proposed aim of the present study. In order to gain a deeper understanding of ourselves and the world we live in, it is necessary to continuously generate new knowledge through posing specific questions about phenomena and finding answers to them (Bless et al., 2013). From a relativist ontological perspective, truth is seen as

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

something subjective, which is created through meaning and experience. This approach to research seeks to understand people's experiences of certain phenomena as well as the context that has shaped these experiences (Bless et al., 2013). The results of the present study can, therefore, be said to have emerged not only from the participants' subjective interpretations of their realities, but also from my own subjective interpretation of the information that the participants shared with me. As a researcher, my interpretations of the participants' accounts can differ vastly from how another researcher might have interpreted them, as all truth is considered subjective.

Social constructivism – the epistemological lens through which my research question was explored – posits that human development is socially situated and that knowledge is constructed through interaction with others (McIlveen & Patton, 2006). The underlying assumption of social constructivist theory, according to McIlveen and Patton (2006), is that people live their lives according to certain personally constructed narratives that they have about themselves, or that have been constructed for them by significant others. Meaning therefore is believed to be actively constructed via relationships and social interaction within a specific context (Maree, 2010). Listening to others' experiences may, therefore, serve as a reflection of the diverse human experience and help researchers to better understand how subjective realities are created (McMahon & Patton, 2002). A social-constructivist approach was, therefore, relevant to the present study, as I set out to explore the subjective experiences of Xhosa-speaking single mothers with intlawulo, and how they attributed meaning to these experiences.

The present study is exploratory and qualitative in nature, meaning that its focus is premised on observing, interpreting and analysing individuals' experiences, actions, and their thoughts about themselves, their surroundings and events in their lives (Bazeley, 2013). Qualitative

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

research is concerned with making meaning out of everyday phenomena and investigating how people experience and understand these phenomena that occur within their world (Bryman, 2012). This type of research design is ideal for studies being conducted on aspects that were previously negated and that occur in contexts that are still relatively unexplored (Bless et al., 2013; Smith, 2006). The aim of qualitative research is to provide a broader understanding of a particular phenomenon, situation or community under investigation (Bless et al., 2013).

Although quantitative research methods can be rigorous and highly effective for conducting social research across a wide array of contexts, an exploratory, qualitative approach was deemed more appropriate for the present study, for various reasons. First, the topic itself is unique and new to this field of research, as single mothers' direct experiences of intlawulo had not been explored prior to this study. There was, therefore, limited information on the topic, as it has largely been negated in past literature. Second, I set out to identify how Xhosa-speaking single mothers had experienced intlawulo from their own point of view, and it was, therefore, necessary that the participants be allowed to answer more open-ended questions, with more freedom in terms of how much they could share and how they chose to answer the questions. This flexibility allowed for more depth and complexity in the participants' responses, which was necessary for conceptualising the diverse and multi-faceted experiences of these women through a socio-ecological theoretical lens.

A qualitative approach tries to understand phenomena in their natural context, as opposed to a controlled environment, which is more characteristic of quantitative studies (Bless et al., 2013). The design of qualitative research is also much more flexible than that of quantitative research, as the former entails the collection of data through open-ended questions, which allows the participants and the researcher the opportunity to explore the topic from various angles. This makes the approach far less reductionist in nature, as it does not have the tendency to exclude

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

certain variables in favour of others, as one would often see in the case of research in the natural sciences and most quantitative social research (Bless et al., 2013). According to Walker (1985), a qualitative approach is also more appropriate when studying complex phenomena that require cultural sensitivity.

Because of the open-ended nature of qualitative, exploratory research, the research design of my study allowed for an exploration of the individual narratives of Xhosa-speaking single mothers with regard to their experiences of intlawulo. Furthermore, since it was found that there has not previously been a study such as this one, the present study aimed to provide new information on the experiences of participants from this specific population, and to give personal accounts of a cultural phenomenon about which there was limited information.

3.3 Participants

All participants who took part in this study were residents of Khayelitsha and the surrounding informal settlements. Khayelitsha is a township located about 32 km from the central business district of the city of Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa. Xhosa is by far the most widely spoken language amongst residents of Khayelitsha, with over 90% of residents being first-language Xhosa speakers (StatsSA, 2012). Over the last 20 years, Khayelitsha's population has grown rapidly and it is now home to more than 1.5 million residents, making it the largest township within the Western Cape and the fastest growing township in South Africa (Brijlal & Jere, 2019). Khayelitsha is a predominantly informal settlement, and is marked by high unemployment rates, widespread poverty, a high prevalence of chronic diseases, and significantly high levels of food insecurity (Bowden, Even-Zahav, & Kelly, 2018; Richards et al., 2018).

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Due to the infrastructure of Khayelitsha not being able to accommodate the rapid influx of new residents it receives every year, many residents live in unsafe, unsanitary, and unstable conditions (Richards et al., 2018). It has been identified that 50% of households in Khayelitsha do not have access to running water, 89% experience moderate or severe food insecurity, and the incidence of tuberculosis in the area is significantly higher compared to the national incidence rate – 1 389 per 100 000, as opposed to a national incidence of 834 per 100 000 (Battersby, 2011; Richards et al., 2018). Raniga and Mthembu (2017) contend that the people who are most vulnerable to the effects of poverty and deprivation in Africa are those residing within informal settlements in Africa, and for households headed by single mothers it may be even more difficult to cope amidst these circumstances (Mkhize & Msomi, 2016). Single mothers who reside in contexts such as Khayelitsha therefore inevitably face a vast array of challenges on a daily basis.

Participants had to meet the following seven inclusion criteria in order to participate in the study:

1) ***Self-identifies as a single mother*** – participants had to identify themselves as single mothers, as some could have been residing with partners or family members and, therefore, may not have been the sole caretaker of the child when data were collected. However, even when other adults were present in the home, some of these women may still have classified themselves as single mothers, depending on how each woman viewed herself within her specific context.
2) ***Xhosa speaking*** – participants had to be mother-tongue Xhosa speakers.
3) ***Understands English*** – participants had to be able to reasonably conduct an interview in English, as translating each interview from isiXhosa to English would not have been time nor cost efficient. Translations of this degree were not budgeted for, and this was

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

reiterated to the participants within the Participant Information and Consent form (see Appendix C). Participants were, however, told that if they wished to express something specific (such as a word or phrase) in Xhosa at any point during the interview for their own convenience, to better express themselves, or to convey something more clearly, they were welcome to do so (see Appendix C).

4) Must never have been married

5) Has to be residing in the Cape Town Metropolitan region – within the vicinity of Khayelitsha and neighbouring informal settlements.

6) Between the ages of 18 and 35

7) ***First child has to have been born in the last five years***

Thirteen participants were recruited in total. However, one had to be excluded due to technical difficulties with the audio-recording device, which caused her interview recording file to be corrupted and inaccessible. Recruitment and data collection concluded after the thirteenth participant had been interviewed, at which point it was evident that data saturation had been reached (the point of data-saturation is discussed in further detail on p.44).

The final 12 participants' ages ranged from 18 to 30, with the mean age of the group being 23.3 years of age. The ages of the participants' eldest child ranged from one year and four months to five years old. All participants identified themselves as single mothers, and their reasons for their single status were relatively similar. Some participants said that they were single mothers because they were not married, and/or because they had broken up with or did not have a relationship with the father of their child. Others identified as single mothers due to the fact that the father of their child was only a means of financial support and that he did not reside with or provide any physical assistance. There were also some participants who said that they

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

were single mothers based on the fact that they were raising a child alone, that they were the primary caretaker, and/or that the father was not a part of or involved in the child's life. Others spoke of the father's lack of responsibility for their child as being a premise on which their single-mother status could be based.

Although the majority of participants were still living with one or both of their parents, four of the participants were living with neither a mother nor a father in the home. Five participants were living with their mothers but not with their fathers; nine had one or more siblings residing with them in the home; five had members of their extended family living with them (grandmothers, cousins, nieces or nephews); and one participant was living completely alone with only her child.

All participants were mother-tongue Xhosa speakers and were also reasonably competent in English. All of the participants had never been married and were living within the Cape Town Metropolitan region. Seven participants reported that they were living in Khayelitsha without specifying a particular area/site, and two participants were living in neighbouring areas, namely Delft (bordering on site C of Khayelitsha) and Mfuleni (Blue Downs). Ten of the participants had been born in Cape Town and two in the Eastern Cape province.

3.4 Sampling

An experienced fieldworker was appointed for the recruitment of participants as well as for conducting interviews (her skills and past experience are summarised in Appendix A). The decision to appoint this particular fieldworker was premised on several factors. Firstly, she had previous fieldwork experience and was already familiar with the sampling and data collection strategies that I wished to employ. Another advantage was that the fieldworker had already established a wide social network within the relevant communities where I wanted to recruit

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

participants; and she had become well known within these communities over the years. This made her an ideal candidate for recruiting potential participants. She had also been briefed on research ethics prior to this study. Lastly, she is a Xhosa-speaking single mother, which made her more relatable to the participants than I may have been, and this could, therefore, have elicited more candid/authentic responses from the participants during the interviews.

Non-probability snowball sampling was used to recruit participants. This is a non-probability method of sampling whereby the researcher seeks out an individual who can recruit participants through his/her social networks. Each participant who is recruited may then be asked to make further referrals, initiating a process that is analogous to a snowball rolling down a slope (Wasserman, Pattison, & Steinley, 2005). Snowball sampling is considered particularly useful for seeking out people who are not listed or are difficult to find. The technique was therefore applicable to the present study, as the target population was highly specific (refer to inclusion criteria under *3.3 Participants*), were not affiliated with a specific organisation or group, and could not be recruited from already-existing lists.

Non-probability sampling does not allow results to be generalised to a population (Bryman, 2012). Generalising to a wider population is, however, not the aim of qualitative research, as qualitative studies strive rather to conduct an in-depth exploration of subjective experiences deemed relevant to the research question.

According to Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007), sample sizes in qualitative research must not be too small, nor too large. If sample sizes are too small it may be more difficult to achieve data saturation, whereas sample sizes that are too large may make it difficult to conduct high-quality, in-depth, case-oriented analyses.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Prior to recruitment, it was made clear to the fieldworker that she was not allowed to recruit her own friends and/or family members or any of the single mothers that had already taken part in her parenting workshops, as this could potentially have influenced their responses and may have introduced bias. This is outlined in the Data Collector's Non-disclosure and Ethics Agreement (see Appendix F).

Individuals who met the inclusion criteria were identified by the fieldworker herself, either through her community networks or through referrals made by other participants. The fieldworker contacted them telephonically or in person, depending on which method was most cost and time efficient in each case. Every participant was visited twice, the first time to establish rapport and to make the participant more familiar with the study, and the second time to conduct the actual interview. When approaching or contacting a prospective participant for the first time, the fieldworker would begin by giving a brief introduction of herself and then provide a basic summary of what the study entailed, as per the sampling script (see Appendix B). The prospective participant was then asked by the fieldworker whether she was willing to take part in the study. If she wanted to take part, the fieldworker finalised a date and time with her that would be most suitable for conducting the interview.

Finally, participants were asked to make further referrals, should they know any other potential participants. Although the fieldworker had previously received training with regard to recruitment strategies, data collection methods and research ethics, we (the co-supervisor, Dr De Goede, and I) recapitulated all of it with her again before recruitment and data collection commenced.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

3.5 The use of semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in the present study, as they were considered the most suitable method of qualitative data collection for my topic and for the overall nature of this study. Semi-structured interviews can be defined as self-report measures through which participants report on their own subjective experiences of the phenomenon under investigation (Bless et al., 2013). According to Bless et al. (2013), semi-structured interviews are ideally suited to exploratory research, as they allow the researcher to explore the participants' responses in detail and discover new aspects of a specific research problem. Semi-structured interviews were also deemed a suitable means of gathering data that were to be analysed through a socio-ecological lens such as Bronfenbrenner's (1979), as it would allow participants the freedom to share information about a vast range of different experiences, events and contexts at all of the different levels of Bronfenbrenner's model (micro-, meso- etc.).

The interview schedule that was followed contained three open-ended questions: first, an opening question regarding the disclosure of pregnancy, and then two main questions relating to intlawulo. The first question regarding intlawulo was concerned with what intlawulo is (means) to the participant, and/or how the participant understands it. The second question was concerned with her experiences of the events that took place during intlawulo (feelings, reactions, relationship changes, etc.). For each question, some probes were given, to be used if it was necessary to elicit more detailed responses, or explanations, from the participants surrounding the question.

Possible limitations of semi-structured interviews are that they are not cost nor time efficient (Bless et al., 2013). Although focus groups would likely have been a much quicker and economical way of gathering data from a group of participants, there was always the risk that

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

some participants would have dominated the conversation and caused those who were more introverted to become excluded (Bless et al., 2013). Furthermore, in a focus group, participants could have influenced one another's views of and opinions on the matter, and some might not have been as candid when talking about their experiences of intlawulo*,* and may have censored what they share, based on what they deem more socially appropriate or favourable within a group setting (Bless et al., 2013). Personal interviews were therefore deemed more suitable for the present study.

3.6 Procedure

Recruitment of participants only commenced once ethics approval had been obtained, and the fieldworker had been briefed on ethical considerations, recruitment, and data collection protocol. Although it was anticipated that 10 interviews would be conducted, data collection continued until data saturation was reached, which occurred after the 12th interview. Data saturation is the point at which no new codes or themes emerge, and where the addition of any further data is unlikely to contribute anything new to what has already been learnt (Bless et al., 2013). Although each participant who took part in this study brought forward their own unique story and experiences, no quotes had arisen after the 11th participant that could have constituted any new themes or subthemes. The recruitment of participants, the conducting of interviews, and the transcription of data therefore occurred concurrently in this study. This ensured that the optimal number of participants were recruited (not too many, nor too few). It also allowed me to regularly assess the fieldworker's performance, thus ensuring consistent quality of interviews and adherence to ethical standards. Interviews took place in quiet spaces that afforded the interviewer and interviewees with the necessary privacy, and in which the interview could run smoothly without any interruptions or outside disturbances.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Before each interview commenced, the fieldworker first provided the participant with a participant information and consent form (see Appendix C). The participant was then given an opportunity to review the information sheet by herself, or with the help of the fieldworker, and was given a chance to ask any questions that she (the participant) might have had. The participant was then asked to sign the consent form and was given a copy of this form to keep.

Once the consent form had been signed, the participant and fieldworker completed a biographical questionnaire together (see Appendix D). Once this was completed, the fieldworker commenced with the interview process, guided by the interview schedule (see Appendix E). All open-ended questions and probes contained in the interview script/schedule were mapped from the relevant literature reviewed in Chapter 2 so as to indicate the primary sources of each question. This mapping exercise is depicted in Appendix H. Mapping was not done for questions contained in the biographical questionnaire, as these questions served merely as a means of identifying whether or not participants met the inclusion criteria. For practical reasons, all interviews were recorded with an audio-recording device. Each participant was, however, asked beforehand whether she agreed to the use of such a device. Should they have raised any concerns regarding the confidentiality of their responses, they were reassured that their responses would be stored in a secure place where no-one, except for myself, my supervisor and co-supervisor, would be able to access it (this is outlined in Appendix C). It was decided – for practical purposes – that any participants who remained uncomfortable with the use of the audio-recording device, despite reassurance, would be excluded from the study. All participants consented to the use of the audio-recording device and exclusion on this basis was not necessary.

The interviews lasted approximately forty minutes to an hour. After each interview, I listened to the full audio-recording to ensure that all ethical considerations were adhered to and that the

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

most important points in the interview script had been covered. The interviewer was also reminded prior to data collection that she should inform me immediately if a participant got emotionally disturbed or uncomfortable at any point during an interview, so that she (the participant) could be given the necessary support and/or referrals. To ensure that the fieldworker adhered to the necessary ethical considerations and other aforementioned stipulations at all times, she was asked to sign the Data Collector's Non-disclosure and Ethics Agreement (see Appendix F) before recruitment and data collection commenced.

Using the audio-recordings, I transcribed each interview verbatim in Microsoft Word and stored all of the interview transcripts electronically on my private password-protected laptop. Although all of the participants were reasonably competent in English, many made occasional use of Xhosa words or phrases during their interviews so as to better express themselves. These words and phrases were then translated into English with the assistance of the fieldworker to ensure that no valuable information was lost or mis-translated within the dataset. Despite having an adequate understanding of the English questions that were asked, there was one participant who answered all of her interview questions in Xhosa as she felt more comfortable answering in her first language. Her responses were then translated word-for-word with the help of the fieldworker.

3.7 Data analysis

The process of data analysis has been described as a close engagement with one's data in which the meaning and significance of the data are highlighted by means of technically sophisticated and insightful procedures (Antaki, Billing, Edwards, & Potter, 2003). There are several available methods for analysing data qualitatively, such as grounded theory, discourse analysis, thematic analysis, ethnography, narrative analysis, and interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA), amongst others (Bless et al., 2013).

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

For the present study, thematic analysis was deemed the most suitable technique for analysing the data. Thematic analysis, as a method of data analysis, can be used to identify, analyse and report recurring patterns within a dataset for the purpose of identifying major themes and underlying meanings within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The technique ensures a rich and detailed, yet complex, analysis of the data and allows the researcher to make sense of collective experiences and meanings. Thematic analysis is not only a highly accessible technique, but is also flexible, as it can be applied to various theoretical frameworks and is not restricted for use only within contexts that employ certain pre-existing theoretical frameworks. This makes it a widely used technique in psychological research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Furthermore, thematic analysis has proved useful in cases where a topic has been under-researched, and for which an overall description of a phenomenon is required (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This makes the technique especially applicable to the present study, which deals with a topic that has thus far been largely unexplored.

For the present study I made use of the ATLAS.ti version 8 (Scientific Software Development, 2016) software program to organise, code and visually display my data for analysis. The data remained secure at all times, as files generated from the ATLAS.ti software were all stored in a password-protected folder. There are several advantages to using ATLAS.ti for qualitative data analysis. It not only allows its users to create memos and free codes as they go along, but also to visualise this coded data in the form of a network/visual mind map. ATLAS.ti version 8 is also very versatile and allows researchers to analyse their data according to whichever methodological strategy is best suited to answering their research question (Coetzee, 2015). Furthermore, I believe that using a software program such as ATLAS.ti version 8 helps to facilitate a more robust analysis of the data by enhancing the rigour and transparency of the data analysis process.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Before conducting thematic analysis, it is important for the researcher to note that there are two different ways of conducting this type of analysis, namely inductive and deductive (theoretical) thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the case of inductive thematic analysis, the themes extracted from the data are closely linked to the content of the data itself, as opposed to theoretical thematic analysis, which is more theory driven and fits themes into a pre-existing coding frame. For the present study I made use of inductive thematic analysis, as it was considered the most suitable for several reasons. This approach to coding and analysis is a "bottom-up" approach and is driven not by theory, but rather by what is within the data itself. Furthermore, inductive thematic analysis is usually experiential in its orientation, giving a voice to the meanings and experiences of a phenomenological dimension (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Due to the fact that the present study is exploratory in nature, and that the topic thereof is largely unexplored, inductive thematic analysis was deemed to be the most appropriate.

There are six phases of thematic analysis outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006), all of which were carried out during my analysis of the data. First, I familiarised myself with the data by re-reading the full interview transcripts several times. Thereafter, I began to create codes – referred to by Braun and Clarke (2006) as *generating initial codes* – during which I attached labels to certain words or phrases, either to capture their surface meaning (semantic codes) or to identify hidden meanings (latent codes). With the use of ATLAS.ti version 8 I was able to carry out this step by selecting words and/or phrases within the transcribed text and assigning new or existing codes to them from an automatically generated list of codes.

The third step of thematic analysis was to establish themes by seeking out broader patterns of meaning across the coded data. The list of codes, which was automatically generated by ATLAS.ti, allowed me to group similar codes together into "families". It is, however, important to note that not all codes that were grouped into a specific family necessarily ended up

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

representing a separate theme. Once the former step was complete, I went on the fourth phase of thematic analysis, in which I weighed up the different themes that I had created to determine the relevance of each to the research question and its overall applicability to the data. This phase entailed refining the themes developed in phase three, at which point I could decide which of the themes contained enough data to stand as independent themes, and which could be merged into other themes that were more suitable. For this phase, I created a mind map/network of my potential themes so as to represent my data visually, thereby allowing me to connect patterns in the data and refine the overall dataset. The final version of this mind map can be observed in Figure 2 in Chapter 4.

Once meaningful themes had been chosen, the fifth phase of thematic analysis was carried out – finalising a name for each theme – and providing detailed definitions for each of them in order to capture their essence. During phases four and five, memo writing was utilised so as to reflect both on the content and the overall meaning of the themes. Finally, during the sixth phase of thematic analysis, I analysed the themes and refined the dataset by incorporating existing theory and literature, thereby strengthening the validity of my findings. At this point, the results obtained from my data were ready for presentation.

Throughout my data there were various words and phrases that emerged frequently. However, not all were necessarily relevant to the research question of the study. As noted by Braun and Clarke (2006), the purpose of analysis is to identify which of the codes that emerge are relevant to answering a specific research question. I therefore remained aware and critical at all times as to the relevance of these emerging codes to the overarching research question.

Thematic analysis allowed me to explore not only the semantic meanings of words and codes in the data, but also the underlying/latent meanings that could be found beyond that which was

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

explicitly stated (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This method of data analysis is also relevant to constructivist methodology, making it suited to the ontological nature of the study. Thematic analysis is very versatile, as it can be applied either to an essentialist/realist method or to a constructionist/contextualist method (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Due to the inherently exploratory, experiential nature of the present study, it was established that inductive thematic analysis would be appropriate for analysing my data.

3.8 Ethical considerations and procedures for gaining approval to conduct this research

Before recruitment and data collection commenced, ethics approval was obtained from Stellenbosch University's Research Ethics Committee (REC): Human Research (see Appendix G). The study was declared a medium-risk study by the REC, as it dealt with subject matter that some women may have experienced as sensitive or that may have evoked strong emotions. However, it was decided that the results obtained from the study would yield valuable information, hence the risk was considered acceptable. The possibility that some participants may have required psychological or emotional support after taking part in the study was acknowledged, and the contact details of the necessary referrals were listed in the consent form for their convenience. I ensured that these counselling services/facilities were located within close proximity to the participants' communities, and that the services were free of charge (see Appendix C).

There are several ethical principles that had to be adhered to in this study: informed consent; voluntary participation/right to self-determination; anonymity and confidentiality; and risk management.

Participants were requested to provide their informed consent before taking part in the interviews, and therefore had to be over 18 years of age. It was also clarified to each participant

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

during recruitment that her participation in the study was entirely voluntary, and that she was free to withdraw from the study at any time should she wish to do so. Participants were fully informed about the study and were granted their right to self-determination by being able to decide freely whether or not they wanted to participate. Furthermore, the participants were reassured beforehand that any information they shared during the interviews would be kept confidential and would not be shared or discussed with anyone outside of this study. No-one except for my supervisor, my co-supervisor and I had access to the transcripts, as they were stored electronically on my personal computer, which is password-protected. Anonymity was maintained by means of pseudonyms (made-up names) that were chosen by the participants themselves, meaning that no participant could be identified in the transcripts or in the final write-up by their real names, or any other personal information they may have given.

Risk management was an essential part of ensuring that participants received the necessary psychological support throughout their participation in the study – before, during and after. When conducting research on human participants, there is always the risk that some participants may experience psychological distress in the months following the study, especially if it is a medium- to high-risk study that deals with sensitive topics. Participants in the present study therefore were provided with the relevant contact details of local facilities that could offer them the necessary psychological support, namely LifeLine and Families South Africa (FAMSA). These organisations were selected due to their accessibility to the participants, both geographically and telephonically. None of the participants in this study are known to have required these services.

3.9 Trustworthiness

In the positivist paradigm, the terms validity, reliability and generalisability are quantitative criteria for testing rigour (Loh, 2013). Lincoln and Guba (1985), however, introduced a

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

qualitative equivalent for application within the interpretivist paradigm, known as trustworthiness. Trustworthiness refers to the morality, integrity, and ethics surrounding data that are collected through participants (Macnee & McCabe, 2008). To ensure trustworthiness of the data, I addressed all four criteria of trustworthiness outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985), namely credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

The first criterion, *credibility*, is the extent to which the conclusions of a study are an accurate reflection of both the data and the participants. It may be considered the qualitative equivalent of internal validity, which is used in quantitative research, and is concerned with how believable the findings of a study are (Bryman, 2012). To address credibility, my analysis of the data was reviewed by my co-supervisor to ensure that meaningful interpretations had been made and that the presentation of the results was clear. I also provided thorough descriptions of the participants, their responses and the open-ended questions that they had been asked. Furthermore, I tried to remain aware at all times of my own assumptions, preferences and personal attributes that may have led to a biased interpretation of the data. To address this issue, I employed "bracketing", a process that aids in separating one's own perspectives and experiences from the interpretation and analysis of another's experiences (Chan, Fung, & Chien, 2013). To ensure the fidelity of this process of bracketing, I questioned every interpretation or assumption I made about a participant, their experiences, and their comments. I reminded myself that I was an outside observer, and took my participants' comments at face value, knowing that I had to present their stories as authentically as I possibly could.

A researcher's expertise in using specific research methods has also been said to contribute to the credibility of the research findings (Shenton, 2004). My prior experience of using qualitative research in past academic assignments was, therefore, greatly advantageous, as was my attendance of several ATLAS.ti workshops. I was, therefore, already familiar with

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

qualitative data analysis and with the computer software available to me. Furthermore, both my co-supervisor and my supervisor had extensive past experience in qualitative research and therefore offered invaluable assistance throughout.

Transferability, the second criterion of trustworthiness, is the degree to which the findings of a particular study can be applied to other similar situations, or the extent to which the conclusions drawn by the study are considered relevant to issues beyond its parameters (Anney, 2015; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Transferability has been said to correspond to generalisability, also known as external validity, in quantitative research (Bryman, 2012; Morrow, 2005). To achieve transferability, I provided sufficient detail of both the phenomenon (i.e., single mothers' experiences of intlawulo) and the context in which the study took place, to such an extent that the reader would be able to make comparisons to other, similar settings with which they may be familiar. I also tried to draw similarities – as well as differences and contradictions – between different participants' narratives to create an insightful awareness and understanding that may be applied to a larger audience group (Reid, Flowers, & Larkin, 2005). Furthermore, the fact that my fieldworker was also a Xhosa-speaking single mother was greatly advantageous, as she could assist with translations and interpretations of words and phrases with which I was unfamiliar.

Dependability is the third criterion of trustworthiness and refers to the consistency with which the research process was carried out over the course of the study. It is said that dependability in qualitative research parallels reliability in quantitative research (Anney, 2015; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To ensure dependability, I made sure that the fieldworker followed the sampling script and interview schedule systemically at all times, so as to ensure procedural consistency throughout the recruitment and data collection phases. I also provided a clear description of the

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

procedure that was followed (see section 3.6) so as to ensure possible "repeatability" of the study, should future researchers want to conduct a similar study.

The final criterion of trustworthiness outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985) is *confirmability*, which refers to how accurate and free from bias the collected data are. Lincoln and Guba (1985) have defined confirmability as the degree to which the researcher remains impartial towards the findings of a study and takes responsibility to ensure that the findings accurately reflect the participants' views of their world. Confirmability has been said to be the qualitative parallel of objectivity in quantitative research (Morrow, 2005). Having multiple observers is one way of enhancing confirmability. I therefore ensured continuous correspondence and sharing of documents between my co-supervisor, my supervisor and myself throughout the data analysis phase to allow for perspectives and ideas other than my own to be incorporated into the process of data analysis. During the first stages of my research, the fieldworker was also asked to give her input and guidance regarding sampling, data collection (formulation of interview schedule), and the translation of interviews. Trustworthiness can, therefore, be said to have been enhanced through mutual commitment and engagement with the data, both by my supervisor and co-supervisor. Furthermore, I provided a thorough account of how I had identified themes from the dataset and how my findings correlated with those of previous research.

By addressing all four of the criteria outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985), I was able to strengthen the trustworthiness of my data. Shenton (2004) proposes some additional strategies for improving trustworthiness. One such strategy is being familiar with the culture and context of one's participants (Shenton, 2004). Although I did not immerse myself physically in the context of my participants, the fact that the fieldworker was so familiar with their context and culture (being a Xhosa-speaking single mother herself) was considered greatly advantageous, as it may have caused the participants to be more comfortable and authentic in their exchanges

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

with her. Furthermore, my supervisor and co-supervisor both had extensive experience in working with, and researching, this particular group of women (i.e., Xhosa speaking participants; single mothers; and Xhosa-speaking single mothers).

Another advantage of having had a fieldworker who was already immersed in the culture and contexts of the participants is that she had a better grasp of the timing and manner in which to ask specific questions so as to keep it context-specific and culturally sensitive. By listening to the audio-recordings of these exchanges between the fieldworker and the participants, I was able to gain valuable new information and insight into the social and cultural dynamics of these single mothers' daily lives. Furthermore, the fieldworker was able to establish rapport with participants by first doing a home visit with each participant to get to know them, to establish their true willingness to take part in the study, and to get them comfortable with the procedure that would take place.

Researcher reflexivity

One final aspect that I wish to address is researcher reflexivity, which, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985), is an unavoidable aspect of trustworthiness that is essential for carrying out successful qualitative research. This aspect of trustworthiness pertains to the tendency for a researcher's disposition and background to influence what they choose to investigate, how they choose to investigate it, and how they interpret the findings. This tendency inevitably increases the risk of bias in research. It has been said that no research findings can be completely free of bias, although one can attempt to limit it as much as possible. I therefore remained aware at all times that my disposition as researcher had the potential to affect a number of aspects within this research study. Although we are all South Africans, I am a white, Afrikaans-speaking, childless, middle-class university student living in Stellenbosch, whereas my participants were

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

all black, Xhosa mother-tongue speakers in the midst of learning to cope with the complexities of single motherhood, and living predominantly in low-income areas in and around Khayelitsha.

It was important that I remained aware at all times of my different position. It is important for me to acknowledge that my interpretations of phenomena would always be subjective and that I could never be completely uninfluenced by my preconceived ideas about the world, but that I had the responsibility to represent the experiences of my participants as accurately and authentically as possible. To ensure this, I consciously tried to acknowledge and remain critically aware of my own ideologies and preconceived ideas about the world at all times, and to note the influence they could have on my data analysis, interpretations and conclusions. I therefore set out to prioritise subjectivity and reflexivity in my research at all times, by seeking out a second opinion on my understanding and/or interpretation of quotes, either from the fieldworker, my supervisor, or my co supervisor. I sought their interpretation and understanding of the quotes as well, especially before generalising or making conclusive statements about issues that carried great weight or significance in my reporting of the data.

Being completely objective in one's study of the self and the world has been said to be an impossible task for human beings (Bless et al., 2013). However, Bless et al. (2013) contend that it is possible to develop shared knowledge amongst members of the human race that may help people to better understand the world around them and to solve the problems that communities face. This is what I set out to achieve in this current study.

3.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided a detailed outline of the present study's research design, sampling procedure, data collection strategy, data analysis technique, and the various ethical considerations that were noted and applied throughout the research process. I identified my research design as qualitative and exploratory in nature, and motivated the applicability of such

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

a design to my chosen topic. Furthermore, relativism and social constructivism were motivated as the selected ontological and epistemological perspectives through which meaning and subjective truths could be extrapolated from my participants' accounts. The demographics of the participant group were provided, as well as an overview of Khayelitsha's overall demographics, so as to provide a better understanding of the context in which the present study took place. The use of non-probability snowball sampling was motivated, as well as the appointment of a fieldworker both for recruitment and data collection. The use of semi-structured interviews was discussed and motivated briefly, after which Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis technique was described as the chosen means of data analysis. Finally, I provided the ethical considerations that were adhered to in the study to allow both for cultural sensitivity and overall scientific rigour.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Chapter 4

Results and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I report on and discuss the findings of my research. With the use of Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis technique, I identified a total of 15 themes from the dataset, each forming part of one of three overarching categories. The first category encompasses the varied perspectives or symbolic views that the participants have of intlawulo, and is represented through six themes and four subthemes. The second category contains six themes relating to how a male partner's paternity acceptance was a defining moment for the participants in terms of their overall experiences of intlawulo. The third and final category is concerned with factors that were reported by the participants to have hindered the intlawulo process, or that were said to have served as barriers to intlawulo. In this final category, three themes were identified and are discussed.

A visual representation of all themes – within their relevant categories – is presented in Figure 2 to facilitate a simplified understanding of how the themes have been grouped together and where they are located in relation to one another. Each theme and subtheme is substantiated by quotations from one or more of the participants, after which it is discussed in relation to the existing literature and conceptualised from a socio-ecological systems perspective, as proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1979). Summaries of the findings within each theme and subtheme are provided at the end of each category. The chapter concludes with an overall summary of the findings, in which the core of each theme and subtheme – within its respective category – is provided.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

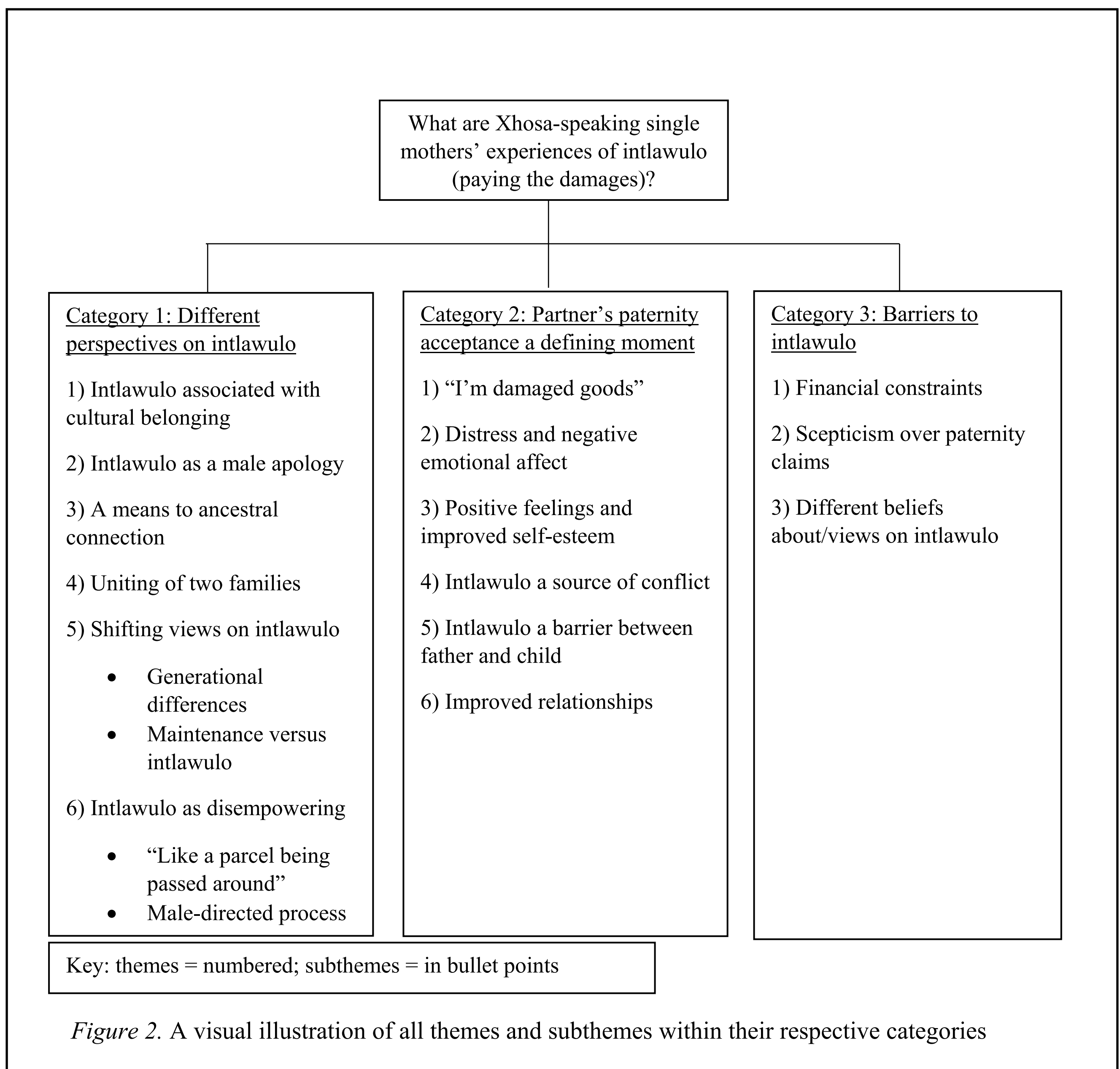


Figure 2. A visual illustration of all themes and subthemes within their respective categories

4.2 Category 1: Different perspectives on intlawulo

In this study, Xhosa-speaking single mothers were found to have vastly different perspectives on intlawulo. These different perspectives or interpretations of the custom are often complex, as each single mother may attach a different symbolic meaning to intlawulo, depending on her own subjective experiences of the custom. For some participants, intlawulo was linked to a sense of cultural belonging, as something that made them feel culturally connected. Others viewed the custom as a means to ancestral connection, and spoke of how the payment of intlawulo can both facilitate and/or hinder their ancestral bonds.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Several of the single mothers in this study perceived intlawulo as an apology, which had to be made by the male partner to the woman and her family to atone for having had premarital sex with her. For some, this apology was also viewed as a gesture of respect that had to be shown by the male partner to the woman's family. Furthermore, it was identified that there were changing perspectives on the custom amongst the younger generation, with several participants having mentioned that intlawulo was not of any personal significance to them, but that they respected and adhered to the custom because it was valued by their elders. A final theme that was identified in this category was of intlawulo as a custom that disempowered women, as signified through women's general lack of agency and their exclusion from decision-making on issues that affect them directly. These different perspectives and interpretations are elaborated on within the various themes and subthemes to follow.

4.2.1 Intlawulo associated with cultural belonging

Several participants stated that intlawulo was of value to them because of its cultural significance, and that taking part in it made them feel connected to their Xhosa heritage. Naledi was one of the participants who spoke of intlawulo as being culturally significant to her. When asked what intlawulo meant (symbolised) to her, Naledi responded with the following:

> *It* [intlawulo] *means a lot, because uhm, it's part of my culture, and I have to go through it, because uhm, it's my father's culture and, and it's something (pause) it's something good and it's, and it makes me – I feel proud about it.* – Naledi

Naledi spoke of intlawulo affectionately, using words like "good" and "proud", which convey powerful, positive feelings toward the custom. From a more traditional social ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), Naledi's culture and the belief system under which she was raised form part of her macrosystem, and can be said to have had a substantial influence

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

on her subjective view of traditional customs, such as intlawulo. It can be argued that, when certain positive views of culture and tradition are reinforced at the macrosystems level, this may impact on the individual's subjective experience thereof in the microsystem.

However, if one conceptualises culture rather as something that infiltrates all aspects of an individual's life – as some critical authors have contended (Angless, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Vélez-Agosto et al., 2017) – Naledi's culture and belief system would form part of all the different levels of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) biopsychosocial model, and not only the macrosystem. This conceptualisation of culture at all the different levels of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model therefore does not limit culture to being a factor that exists separate from, or outside of, the individual and her immediate settings, but rather as something that is embedded within her psyche and everyday surroundings.

Based on the statements that Naledi made regarding intlawulo, it becomes apparent that her positive feelings toward the custom are not necessarily influenced by factors existing merely in the distal environment, but that she sees intlawulo as forming part of something that is part of her daily life and that she personally feels very proud of – her culture. There could be factors within her microsystem that influenced her perspectives on the custom, such as her family's beliefs and opinions, or her partner's beliefs and/or views on the custom. If there are similarities between the views of different people within her different microsystems (e.g., her parents and her partner), these views are more likely to be reinforced within her own perspective on intlawulo, which is an interaction taking place at the mesosystems level. Culture also forms part of the exosystem, in that there are certain ideologies and belief systems that form part of each cultural group, and over which the individuals themselves do not have influence (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

By becoming aware of the cultural symbolism that the intlawulo custom holds for Xhosa-speaking single mothers, researchers and practitioners may gain a better understanding of why the custom is valued, and why many Xhosa speakers continue to see it as an integral part of their culture and their sense of belonging.

4.2.2 Intlawulo as a male apology

A salient feature in the participants' experiences of intlawulo is that it was seen by many as an apology, to be made by the man's family to the woman's family, for their son's wrongdoings (i.e., having sexual relations with the woman before marriage). Some participants spoke of how this apology by the male partner was also a gesture of respect that had to be shown to a woman's parents. When discussing the process of intlawulo, these participants often described their experiences of the custom in such a way that their male partner was placed in the position of a perpetrator, or the one responsible for damages, while the participants themselves assumed the role of the passive victim unto which the damage had been done.

Three of the 12 participants in this study described intlawulo as an apology when asked what the custom meant to them, using terms such as "apology", "apologise" and "sorry" abundantly throughout their interviews. Sipokazi, a 24-year-old single mother, responded with the following when asked what intlawulo meant to her:

> *I think it's, it's a way of apologising to the family, (pause) the one that you, you (pause) the, I think it's a way of apologising to the family that you did wrong by getting a girl pregnant in that house. […] That person did wrong to that family. He, he has to go and apologise, no matter what. Like, ja* [yes]. *Go and apologise.* – Sipokazi

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Through repetition of the word "wrong", Sipokazi conveyed a strong sense of disapproval towards men who had had premarital sexual relations with women, and her repetition of the words "apologise" and "apologising" also emphasised how strongly she felt about them having to atone therefor. Whilst discussing her experiences of intlawulo, Sipokazi tended to focus on the blame that had been attributed to her male partner, despite the fact that she held equal accountability for the pregnancy. This focus on the male partner's blame was also observed in a number of other participants' cases, as can be identified in the following statement by Aziphile:

> *Because the guy have impregnated the girl he is a bit disrespectful to this family, because he was not supposed to do it. […] he needs to pay that money* [intlawulo] *because he – he has wronged my family.* – Aziphile

Like Sipokazi, Aziphile spoke of her male partner as the one who had wronged her family and who had to be held liable for his actions. Furthermore, Aziphile raised the issue of respect – or in this case, disrespect – that her partner had shown towards her family by getting her pregnant. The issue of respect and/or disrespect was highlighted by several participants. Respect is a virtue that holds great importance/significance within Xhosa culture (Mtuze, 2004), which is perhaps why it formed such a central part of some participants' views and experiences of intlawulo. Lisa, a 25-year-old single mother, responded with the following statement when asked what intlawulo meant to her:

> *I think it* [intlawulo] *means respect. Ja, respect from that family to the mother's side's family.* – Lisa

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Although families do place a substantial amount of blame on their daughters for their premarital pregnancies – by shunning them or showing disappointment in them (De Goede, 2018) – the ritual of intlawulo still operates on the traditional belief that it is the men who need to pay for damages done, not the women. This inconsistency in blame distribution for premarital pregnancy in the participants' accounts could have stemmed from discourses with which they had grown up, which would in turn have shaped their beliefs on the matter in accordance with the norms and expectations of their families/communities. From Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory perspective, these norms and expectations are factors at the macro-system influencing the single mother at the micro-systems level. I argue, however, that this tendency to view men as the perpetrators and women as the victims can be problematic for a number of reasons.

Firstly, a substantial portion of the blame for premarital pregnancy is shifted away from the women and onto the men, even when – in most cases – women hold equal accountability for the pregnancy. Secondly, while many daughters may experience significant feelings of guilt and shame from being shunned by their families, they are simultaneously caught in the midst of a contradiction – that they hold equal accountability for the pregnancy, but that their male partners are the ones who need to pay for these transgressions and disrespect shown therein. Another problem with the tendency to depict men as the ones inflicting damage and women as having the damage done unto them, is that it implies a sense of devaluation and a lack of agency amongst women. These gender-based ideologies are problematic, as they render women voiceless and powerless (Grimshaw, 1993).

In the present study, there were cases where participants admitted their role in the pregnancy and were well aware of the hypocrisies and inconsistencies of the typical male-female blame distribution. This questioning of mainstream and outdated notions is discussed in greater detail

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

in section 4.2.5, wherein the changing cultural views between members of the same culture are explored.

4.2.3 A means to ancestral connection

A spiritual connection to one's ancestors is of great importance within Xhosa culture, and may be influenced by several factors, one of which is the intlawulo custom. In cases of premarital pregnancy, some believe that a child's ability to connect with his or her paternal ancestors may depend on whether or not the father has paid damages. Some women's families will refuse to let the biological father have access to his child for as long as he has not made this payment, as was reported by several participants in the present study (refer to section 4.3.6).

Two participants emphasised their belief that a child should be raised by both parents, and therefore advocated for the payment of intlawulo on this basis. One such example is the following statement made by Julia:

> *I was raised by both my parents. So to me it means that umntana* [a child] *must be raised by both parents. And in order for that to happen i-ancestors must connect and (pause) the only way that should happen is through the cows* [intlawulo] *bring – brought together – and the relationships and the, and the conversations happening between the two families. That's what it* [intlawulo] *means to me, the connection.* – Julia

Julia mentioned the need for a child to connect with ancestors from both the mother's side and the father's side, which is consistent with the existing literature on the importance of matrilineal and patrilineal ancestral connection in the Xhosa culture (Joyce, 2009; Mndende, 2006). As noted in the literature review (section 2.2), Xhosa families attribute great value to both these lines of descent, as it allows them the ancestral connections that are crucial for developing a

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

sense of self and for achieving overall wellbeing. It is, therefore, believed to be problematic when an African child has unresolved paternity, as there is no opportunity for the child to connect with kin or ancestors on the father's side of the family (Denis & Ntsimane, 2006; Hunter, 2006; Nduna & Jewkes, 2012b; Ramphele & Richter, 2006).

In light of this impediment to ancestral connection, I argue that Xhosa families who enforce strict rules surrounding traditional customs such as intlawulo, should consider the potential disadvantages that these rules can pose in unfavourable circumstances (i.e., cases where there are financial constraints). For example, a father may be forbidden to see his child for as long as he does not pay intlawulo, even if he has attempted in good faith to be a part of his child's life (through love, support, or monthly maintenance, etc.). This separation can hold long-term negative consequences for both fathers and their children, as is discussed in greater detail in section 4.3.4. While intlawulo may hold several advantages for women and their families (as will be discussed across various themes in Category 2), I argue that it is important for families to remain aware of the disadvantages that such strict adherence to rules and tradition pose, especially when it holds implications for something as important as ancestral connection. If following tradition and custom comes at the cost of a child's psychological, spiritual and/or physical wellbeing, some families may come to feel that exceptions to traditional procedures are necessary.

4.2.4 Uniting two families

Five of the participants in this study described intlawulo as a means of uniting, connecting or bringing their family and their partner's family together. This coming together of families was – in most cases – only possible when a participant's male partner had accepted paternity and/or paid intlawulo.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Although Sipokazi's family had not received any intlawulo money from her partner, she was one of the participants who described intlawulo as a means of uniting two families. When asked what her understanding of intlawulo was, she described the custom not only as an apology (as discussed in section 4.2.2), but also as the uniting of two families.

> *And then it's* [intlawulo] *a, also a unity of two families. Not in a marriage way, but in, that child is bringing that family together. […] There's two families […] and they have to connect, they have to, they have to work actually, because for the sake of this child.* – Sipokazi.

Julia was another participant who described intlawulo as a means of uniting two families:

> *[…] we're now one family, we're united by intlawulo, because the, the, the intlawulo ritual makes, builds a connection between us. […] a relationship. So, now, because we in a relationship we can connect.* – Julia

These views of intlawulo as a means of uniting families are consistent with the findings of De Goede's (2018) study on Xhosa-speaking single mothers, where some participants in her study were said to have viewed intlawulo as a means of symbolically uniting the man and the woman's families of origin.

4.2.5 Shifting views on intlawulo

When it comes to cultural customs such as intlawulo, there are various different discourses at play, and although a group of people may belong to the same culture or ethnic group, individual interpretations of a particular custom may differ vastly from one person to the next. In this theme, two subthemes were identified, namely, *generational differences* in how intlawulo is perceived, and, secondly, the debate surrounding *maintenance versus intlawulo.* These subthemes are explained in greater detail below, and are each substantiated by relevant quotes.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

4.2.5.1 Generational differences

From the responses given by participants in this study, it was identified that perspectives on intlawulo amongst the younger generation were beginning to change in comparison to the more traditional views and beliefs held by the older generation. Half of the participants expressed indifference to the custom, with four of these explicitly stating that intlawulo was not of any importance to them. These perspectives and attitudes towards the custom contrast strongly with the beliefs and ideals held by the older generation, as the participants' accounts indicated that it was generally their parents and grandparents who stressed the importance of intlawulo, and who insisted that it be paid.

Pretty, an 18-year-old single mother living with her parents, offered a good example of the changing perspectives on intlawulo between the younger and the older generations. When asked what intlawulo meant to her, Pretty responded with the following:

> *I would say it's not that important, it* [intlawulo] *doesn't make a difference if the baby – intlawulo – they paid intlawulo or not, that's just something old people do in the Eastern Cape, so the parents that came from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town still have those things, that they wanna do those things. But I don't think it's important.* – Pretty

Pretty's stance on intlawulo is that she does not consider the custom to be of any personal importance to her, and that it does not make a difference to her as a single mother. Furthermore, she tends to view it as something that only holds value for older people, especially those who live in or are from the Eastern Cape province. From an ecological systems perspective, these views on intlawulo by Pretty can be said to have been influenced by factors in the chronosystem, as differences in views between the younger and older generation can be attributed to societal and cultural changes that have occurred gradually over time. The same can be said for Pretty's

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

belief that intlawulo is mainly of importance to older people who have come from a different province (Eastern Cape), in that contextual changes over time (i.e., moving from the predominantly rural Eastern Cape to the Cape Town Metropolitan region) form part of the chronosystem. Knowledge of such changes in perspective may be of significant value to practitioners or researchers working with Xhosa speakers. Being aware of these shifting views and ideologies over time, and how they may vary across different geographical locations, may be a vital means to understanding the possible conflicting views and interests between members of the same culture, and even members of the same family.

Pretty challenged the discourses surrounding intlawulo negotiations in more than one way. When she was asked how she felt about the way in which her elders placed blame for the pregnancy mainly on her partner, she gave the following response:

> *(Laughs) That's just how they put it, but we both did it. It wasn't his fault – uhm, alone, I wasn't using contraceptives also – so, so it was both our problems. But that's just how they do it – they always blame it on the guy. […] it's wrong for him to have sex with me before […] before marriage […] ja. So for them* [participant's parents] *it's wrong, and he shouldn't have done that.* – Pretty

Although Pretty is able to acknowledge the shared accountability she holds with her partner for the unexpected pregnancy, she highlights that there is a tendency for elders to place the majority of the blame on the male partner (as discussed in section 4.2.2), saying that he was wrong and that he needs to pay for doing something he should not have done. However, the fact that Pretty is able to point out this inconsistency and unequal distribution of blame, indicates that she is grappling with these traditional views and alluding to the possibility that they may be outdated

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

and unjust. It can therefore be said that there is tension between old and new perspectives surrounding this custom.

Another example of how the younger generation may be challenging the traditional perspectives of the older generation can be identified through the following statement by Lhoza, a 26-year-old single mother, who reported having "snuck around" to allow her partner to see his child:

> *But he* [her partner] *is stressed sometimes about these damages* [intlawulo]. *Because he can't see the baby. I have to sneak around if I want him to see the baby. So it is very difficult.*
> – Lhoza

The statement above shows that Lhoza, like Pretty, does not follow the rules and regulations of the intlawulo custom as strictly as her parents might have liked her to, and somewhat challenges them instead by defying their wishes and allowing her partner to see the child in secret. Because some of these young women have started to challenge or to shift their perspectives on intlawulo, some may have become more conscious of their lack of agency as women throughout the negotiation process, and are therefore more likely to be outraged, upset, or feel disempowered in the process. This sense of disempowerment is discussed at a later stage as a theme in its own right (see section 4.2.7).

Although intlawulo is considered to be of great importance to some people, several participants in this study felt that, regardless of whether or not their intlawulo was paid, it did not make a difference to them as individuals and did not make them any different from women whose families had received payments. Pretty and Aziphile were both examples of such cases, as expressed by them in the statements below:

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

> *Just because your baby has, uhm, your boyfriend has actually paid intlawulo doesn't make you different to me. Just because my boyfriend didn't pay intlawulo and stuff like that, we just the same*. – Pretty

> *[…] but some of the people they don't even pay intlawulo. […] here I am and my damages* [intlawulo] *was not paid for, and I'm fine. – Aziphile*

What is noteworthy about these two participants' responses is that their views on intlawulo are strikingly similar, despite the fact that Pretty's family had received an intlawulo payment from her partner, and Aziphile's had not. In spite of these different outcomes, Pretty and Aziphile both drew hypothetical comparisons between families who had received an intlawulo payment and families who had not, thereby attempting to demonstrate that it did not make any difference to single mothers. This alludes to the possibility of shifting views amongst young Xhosa-speaking single mothers on the custom – as being insignificant and outdated – regardless of the outcome. It must be noted, however, that the views expressed by these two participants are their own, subjective views on the custom, and that there were other participants in this study who did in fact see intlawulo as significant, and as something that could affect a single mother and her sense of self. This will be discussed at a later stage, within the various themes of Category 2.

4.2.5.2 Maintenance versus intlawulo

Another way in which I identified complex and varied perspectives on intlawulo from my participants' responses was through an emerging debate as to whether intlawulo was more important than paying maintenance, or vice versa. Some participants and/or their families did not view intlawulo as absolutely essential, and believed that child support (i.e., "maintenance") and ongoing financial and/or emotional assistance from a father throughout his child's life was

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

sufficient. Other participants stressed that paying child support could not compensate for failing to pay intlawulo. Furthermore, there were cases where both intlawulo and maintenance from the child's father were deemed essential.

Almost half of the participants in this study considered support and/or maintenance from the child's father to be sufficient on its own, and were indifferent to whether or not intlawulo was paid. Two such examples were given by Lhoza and Aziphile, both of whom had partners who had failed to pay intlawulo to their families:

> *To me, I just want the father to support his child only. I don't mind about the intlawulo. Because, what is important is that the ch … the father is supportive and it's fine to me. I don't mind about damages* [intlawulo]. – Lhoza

> *They* [partner's family] *didn't even put a ten cent* [for intlawulo]*, but they are responsible for the child. They are supporting the child with clothes and food, they* [partner's family] *don't have a problem. And that's what I really wanted, not necessarily money for damages* [intlawulo]. – Aziphile

Lisa – another single mother whose family had not received intlawulo from her partner – shared a similar view to Lhoza and Aziphile, except, in her case, she stressed the importance of emotional support and involvement from the child's father:

> *They must, they must pay the damages* [intlawulo]. *And if (pause), if they cannot financially they must at least be part of the baby – of the baby's life. Ja* [yes]. *(pause) Even if they cannot pay money, they can at least love the baby. I think it's intlawulo that way. Love and support.* – Lisa

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Aziphile, Lhoza and Lisa all spoke about the importance of ongoing support from the child's father over that of intlawulo, which is consistent with the findings by Wilson (2006), who states that never-married mothers usually prefer that the father of their child be present in the child's life rather than having him pay intlawulo. This tended to be a preference for never-married mothers in Wilson's (2006) study, despite their elders' and community's tendency to favour traditional payments like intlawulo and lobola. In cases where emotional involvement and ongoing child maintenance were viewed as more important than intlawulo, the participants' families seemed to be more accepting of the male partner's inability to pay the damages, as long as he showed love, support and involvement in the child's life. This is consistent with the findings by De Goede (2018), who found that some Xhosa families are more open to the idea of having a father involved in his child's life, even if he has not paid intlawulo.

Lisa's re-interpretation of intlawulo as being synonymous with love and support also differs significantly from how the custom was interpreted by the majority of the other participants (i.e., as damage reparation or as an apology). While some women and their families may want intlawulo or financial assistance from the partner for raising the child, Lisa noted that men do not always have the means to make such financial contributions, and that the provision of love and emotional support from fathers can – in her opinion – compensate for a lack of intlawulo and/or child maintenance. Re-interpretations such as these point to the complexities of a custom such as intlawulo, and how it may be perceived by different people in vastly different ways.

In contrast to the cases mentioned previously, there were some participants who placed more emphasis on intlawulo than on maintenance, and who felt that maintenance could not compensate for a lack of paying the damages. An example of such a case can be identified in the following statement by Julia:

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

> *If you can't pay the cows* [intlawulo] *that we asking, you then, how are you gonna be a father to the child? Because uyaybona* [you see], *because a child is not gonna be raised just by this – by just money* [child maintenance]. – Julia

Julia did not merely perceive intlawulo as a payment or a sum of money, but also as an indication of a man's readiness to be a father and his ability to take responsibility for his actions. In her opinion, a man's ability to care for his child was questionable as long as he failed to make the payment that was expected of him. It also becomes apparent that Julia did not view maintenance as sufficient, and that maintenance money does – in her opinion – not exonerate fathers and their families from having to pay intlawulo, since it takes a lot of money to raise a child. This example contrasts with a finding reported by De Goede (2018), who found that – amongst her participants – intlawulo was interpreted by some as a once-off penalty that exonerated a father and his family from showing continuous involvement in the child's life. This difference in perspective once again points to the different beliefs and views people hold of the custom.

Finally, there were some participants who viewed both intlawulo and maintenance as necessary, placing emphasis on the fact that intlawulo was not sufficient on its own and that paying monthly child support/maintenance was also needed. This is highlighted in the following statements by Pretty and Nozie (whose families had both received intlawulo payments):

> *Ja* [yes], *I don't understand why they* [partner's family] *think just because you pay intlawulo – five thousand is nothing – five thousand in two months. Five thousand is not enough to maintain a baby. A baby has to eat, a baby has to have wipes, a baby has to have, uhm, nappies and stuff. So I don't think that* [intlawulo] *is enough.* – Pretty

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

> *Then* [in addition to intlawulo] *he also needs to pay the maintenance of the child on a monthly basis, yes. – Nozie*

In light of the different perspectives surrounding maintenance and intlawulo, it is important for scholars and practitioners to weigh both a) intlawulo; and b) a father's duty to pay maintenance, against the principles enunciated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act no. 108 of 1996. The right of a child to maintenance, and the automatic reciprocal duty of a parent to maintain a child, are enshrined in Section 28 of the Constitution (Skelton, Carnelley, Human, Robinson & Smith, 2010). This right and duty to maintain is encompassed in both Civil Law (within the Children's Act No. 38 of 2005) and Customary Law (Ozah & Skelton, 2018).

Under customary law (law of the indigenous people of South Africa), the payment of damages (intlawulo) is viewed as an acknowledgment of paternity, "but is not considered sufficient for the acquisition of parental responsibilities and rights" (Ozah & Skelton, 2018, p. 52). If a father wishes to have continuous involvement in his child's life, he will usually have to make an additional payment (cows or cash equivalent) for the child's maintenance. Therefore, according to customary law, both intlawulo and the paying of maintenance are necessary for obtaining paternal rights.

The payment of maintenance is also a requirement laid out in Section 21 of the Children's Act, No. 38 of 2005, regarding the automatic acquisition of parental responsibilities and rights by unmarried fathers (Republic of South Africa Government Gazette, 2005). In addition, the payment of intlawulo is also mentioned as a means to acquire full parental rights and responsibilities (Ozah & Skelton, 2018). This section of the Children's Act, No. 38 of 2005 (Republic of South Africa Government Gazette, 2005, p. 26), states, in subsection 1, that an

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

unmarried father may acquire full parental responsibilities and rights in respect of his child under the following conditions:

a) if at the time of the child's birth he is living with the mother in a permanent life-partnership; or

b) if he, regardless of whether he has lived or is living with the mother-

i) consents to be identified or successfully applies in terms of section 26 to be identified as the child's father, or pays damages in terms of customary law;

ii) contributes or has attempted in good faith to contribute to the child's upbringing for a reasonable period; and

iii) contributes or has attempted in good faith to contribute towards expenses in connection with the maintenance of the child for a reasonable period.

It should be noted how the aforementioned requirements (laid out both in customary and civil law) may hold serious implications for some Xhosa fathers. For instance, fathers who are not residing with their child's mother – or who are not viewed by the woman and/or her family as a permanent life partner – cannot acquire paternal rights and responsibilities on the basis of requirement (1) (a) in Section 21 of the Children's Act No. 38 of 2005. This was the case for many participants and their partners in this study, as they were still living separately in their respective family homes at the time of the child's birth. In such cases it would therefore have been necessary for male partners to fulfil the other three requirements set out in (1) (b) of Section 21 of the Children's Act No. 38 of 2005.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Young Xhosa men do not always have the financial means to pay both intlawulo and maintenance, and the requirement of them to do so by law can therefore be problematic. In customary law, as well as in Section 21 (1) (b) of the Children's Act No. 38 of 2005, both the payment of intlawulo and the payment of maintenance are deemed necessary (Ozah & Skelton, 2018). If, however, a father cannot fulfil both, he can claim paternity in terms of Section 26 of the Children's Act, No. 38 of 2005, as directed in Section 21, (1)(b)(i) of this same act ("consents to be identified or successfully applies in terms of section 26 to be identified as the child's father"; p. 26). This legal remedy for biological fathers is discussed in greater detail under Category 2 (section 4.3.4), where it holds special relevance.

Because the South African Constitution recognises such a vast range of different legal systems, children may grow up with more than one legal system regulating their everyday lives and their relationships with family members (Ozah & Skelton, 2018). Evidently, both civil and customary law stress maintenance as a prerequisite for a father to have parental rights to his child. Intlawulo – although also a prerequisite stressed in customary law – is not considered to be sufficient on its own, and maintenance is also required in order for a father to have parental rights. Adherence to the custom is nonetheless also laid out as a requirement in Section 21 of the Children's Act, No. 38 of 2005. It has been established that these laws may be problematic for many fathers who do not have the financial means to pay intlawulo.

4.2.6 Intlawulo as disempowering

Some participants demonstrated negative feelings or attitudes toward intlawulo, reporting feelings of disempowerment, frustration and irritation with the custom. The sense of disempowerment that many participants reported was found to be premised on two different factors. The first of these was a lack of agency regarding the participants' choice as to whether or not they wanted to be part of the negotiations. The second factor was that intlawulo was

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

traditionally considered a male-directed process, rendering the participants in this study voiceless in a decision-making process that directly affected them. These factors are presented and discussed in the subthemes to follow.

4.2.6.1 "Like a parcel being passed around"

Before delving into the complexities of this subtheme, it is necessary to provide a more concise understanding of the various stages that the intlawulo negotiations typically follow. Before any negotiations can take place, the single mother first needs to disclose her pregnancy to those closest to her (i.e., her partner and her immediate family). From there on, her family will generally contact the male partner and/or his family to set a date for the first family visit, during which the woman's family will visit the house of her partner's family. For participants who took part in the present study, however, this step played out slightly differently, as most participants' families did not contact the partner's family regarding a first visit, leaving it up to the participants themselves to arrange it with the partner, or simply showing up at his family home without prior notice.

The purpose of the first visit is to receive acknowledgement from the participant's partner that he had indeed had sexual relations with her and for him to accept fatherhood of the unborn child. It is necessary that the single mother be present during this visit, so that the partner can publicly confess that he "knows" her, acknowledging a sexual relationship with her in front of all who are present. Based on the accounts of the participants in this study, it was generally male family members who accompanied the women on this first visit. Furthermore, it was made clear that, once the male partner had acknowledged paternity, those present would either begin the price negotiations immediately, or they would set a date for a second meeting, at which point they would negotiate a price to be paid. In cases where a second date had to be set, it was usually because a male figure – or the head of the house (man or woman) – was not present at

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

the time of the initial visit, and they would have to come back at a later stage. From the experiences reported by the single mothers in this study, intlawulo prices were generally negotiated by the men, as per tradition, and were paid to the woman's parents as compensation for the lobola they had lost when their daughter got pregnant. It was up to a woman's parents to decide how this money would be spent (i.e., on the baby's needs, or on the household).

Half of the participants reported that they had been excluded from all negotiations after the first/initial visit, and some showed noticeable discontent over this. Two examples of this were identified from Zoe and Natasha's experiences:

> *I sat in the room with my sisters. After that she – when they came you could hear people are talking, negotiating. You want to listen, but you can't hear clearly. […] I wasn't* [part of the negotiations]. *I wasn't part. […]* [And] *I felt bad, because I'm the reason why they are there! (Laughs) I'm the reason why they are talking. Ah, they talking about me, I wish I was there, but I couldn't even hear because the room was closed.* – Zoe

> *Firstly, remember they didn't discuss the price with me. And I'm not even sure if that's like, if that's the rule of this intlawulo thing. I don't know if i-i-it's the part of – they don't discuss with you first, as (pause) the person who's experiencing this – the person who's gonna raise this child. […] So I feel like, at least there should be consult, like, the mother first – the one who's pregnant, before going and making huge decisions.* – Natasha

Natasha later went on to say:

> *I heard some people go together with the family to discuss, but they were like, no we don't need you. […] I wasn't even there – you know, to stand up for myself.* – Natasha

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Natasha – who had been excluded from the negotiations – felt that young mothers should not be excluded from the intlawulo negotiations, as the decision that was made would directly affect them and would have a bigger impact on them than on anyone else. In her case, Natasha felt that she should have had a say, but was told, instead, that she was not needed in the negotiations. I argue that Natasha's grievances over the process allude to changing feminist views or perspectives on how the custom must be practised.

Zoe's experiences were very similar to Natasha's; she also felt that she would have wanted to be a part of the negotiations, since she was the reason for them happening. Furthermore, Zoe showed great curiosity surrounding the negotiations, saying that she wanted to hear what they were saying and that she wished she could have been part of the process. Both of these women had wanted to be part of their intlawulo negotiations as active participants, so that they could have their voices heard in the decision-making process that concerned them directly. I argue that their exclusion from these negotiations is problematic, as it leaves women feeling disempowered and voiceless.

Nozie was another participant who showed discontent over the proceedings of the intlawulo negotiations, except in her case she had not wanted to be present at the negotiations:

> *Look at the time I wa – it felt very weird. For me, and just the whole process, uncomfortable, because for me it would have been better if I wasn't there (Laughs). It would have been better if I wasn't there and part of that. Because you feel like, eish, you are just a parcel being passed around! People talk about you while you are here, not there. It is very uncomfortable. It is very uncomfortable. If it were for me, that process* [intlawulo] *wouldn't take place. It would just be done simpler.* – Nozie

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Although Nozie's wishes were the opposite of Natasha and Zoe's, there was the same sense of disempowerment taking place, as Nozie was obliged by her elders to attend the negotiations even though she did not want to. Nozie felt that being present at the negotiations and hearing other people discuss her – while she had no say on the matter – was debilitating. It essentially stripped her completely of her voice and agency as a woman, and made her feel like an object or a "parcel being passed around". This, once again, ties in with women's lack of agency (mentioned previously) in the intlawulo process, as Nozie was unable to voice her opinion or decide for herself what she wanted. Therefore, Nozie and several participants reported experiencing such a lack of autonomy and/or sense of voicelessness in the wake of intlawulo, as they were obliged to go through the process and obey their parents' wishes.

4.2.6.2 Male-directed process

It was identified that intlawulo was generally viewed as a male-directed process, and that, as women, the participants themselves were largely excluded from the negotiations. Half of the participants deemed intlawulo to be a traditionally male-directed process – one that had to be carried out by men only. In these cases, negotiations were typically run by male family members like fathers, uncles, grandfathers, brothers and male cousins of the participants. The statements below offer examples of such gender-normative views:

> *Then we had to wait for his uncle. Then they had to call his uncle to come. Apparently you don't speak to a woman about these things. It has to be men only (...) discussing such.* – Aziphile

> *I had that feeling this is something to do with me. Ja* [yes]*, but it's fine and then, my aunt said, uhm, let's do something else outside, because it's men. I'm not supposed to hear what they are saying inside.* – Naledi

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

These views that the participants had of intlawulo as a predominantly male-directed custom are consistent with the findings of Patel and Mavungu (2016), who highlight that the amount to be paid for intlawulo is generally negotiated between male family members from either side. This exclusion of women from the decision-making process is also consistent with the extant literature on some Xhosa customs and beliefs, which states that traditional family life in Xhosa culture has, for a long time, been largely patriarchal (Joyce, 2009). From the perspective of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, gender roles and ideologies (i.e., that only men should manage intlawulo) are factors at the macrosystems level that have influence over the single mother and her family within the microsystem, thereby influencing her views on – and experiences of – the custom. Based on this study's findings, (most) participants felt obliged to adhere to these norms surrounding the custom, as they had little to no influence with regard to changing anything about the custom. This is once again symbolic of women's lack of agency under a predominantly patriarchal system.

There were, however, some exceptions to the norm when it came to the intlawulo process. Two participants shared interesting accounts of how their partners' families had had women present at the negotiations instead of men, which they found to be non-normative and unusual. Nikkie and Nozie shared the following about their experiences:

> *According to us it's the males that runs the negotiations, but to them* [partner's family] *it's the mothers, the mothers, not the fathers.* – Nikkie

> *So I have my uncles (laughs). I had my uncles and he had his aunts. I was like – ok, it was very weird, but anyway, uhm, very intimidating at first, the aunts – I must say. Because, I think – it's also, because they are women and they expect that the men will be like, why are we going to have a negotiation with the females – instead of* [males]. – Nozie

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

In contrast to the predominantly male-directed proceedings that several participants had reported, Nikkie and Nozie spoke of the involvement of women in the negotiations. It is important to consider the two cases above in the light of the context in which the events took place. These participants were living in contexts where fathers were often absent from the home (Richter et al., 2010) and where it was not uncommon for households to be run by never-married women (StatsSA, 2012). Therefore, even though intlawulo was traditionally a process that was expected to be carried out by men, the context in which the participants found themselves did not always allow for this, and women may have had to step in to fill traditional male roles. The high rates of father absenteeism in South Africa can be seen as a socio-cultural factor that exists at the level of the macrosystem, which would affect the practice of customs such as intlawulo, and would, in turn, affect single mother's experiences of the custom, both at the micro- and mesosystem levels (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

4.2.7 Summary of themes and subthemes identified in Category 1

In this category, six themes were identified. In the first theme – "intlawulo associated with cultural belonging" – I identified how intlawulo was valued by the participants for its cultural significance and for making them feel connected to their Xhosa heritage. The second theme, "intlawulo as a male apology", was concerned with how intlawulo was symbolic of an apology – which had to be made by the male partner to atone for his wrongdoings and to show respect towards the woman's family. The third theme, "a means to ancestral connection", was centred on the importance of matrilineal and patrilineal descent within Xhosa culture, and the implications that ensued if this connection was hindered on the basis of an intlawulo payment (or rather, a lack thereof).

For some, intlawulo was a means to "uniting two families", which was the core of my fourth theme within this category. Thereafter, I discussed my fifth theme – "shifting views on

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

intlawulo" – which comprised two different subthemes. These subthemes highlighted two different ways in which views on intlawulo are shifting. The first of these pertains to "generational differences", i.e., how views of the custom are starting to differ amongst the younger and older generations; and the second subtheme is concerned with the debate surrounding the importance of maintenance over intlawulo, or vice versa (in "maintenance versus intlawulo").

The final theme in this category was "intlawulo as disempowering", which was also substantiated by two subthemes. Both of these subthemes – "like a parcel being passed around" and "male-directed process" – were linked to women's voicelessness and lack of agency throughout the negotiation process.

4.3 Category 2: Partner's paternity acceptance a defining moment

Throughout the data analysis, it was apparent that the participants' partners' acknowledgement of having fathered the child was an event that held great significance for the women. Four participants spoke of how the denial of fatherhood by their partners was feared by themselves and/or their families. The participants therefore stressed the importance of their partners' paternity acceptance, especially in front of their elders, as such denial or non-acceptance was said to have the potential to terminate the possibility of any further intlawulo negotiations. The participants' overall experiences of intlawulo (positive or negative) were largely dependent on this confirmation of paternity from their partners, which had a significant impact on the single mothers and their families.

When the male partner and/or his family accepted responsibility for the pregnancy, women were more likely to experience positive emotions relating to intlawulo, and reported better interactions amongst all who were involved in the negotiations. In such cases, the participants

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

seemed to experience positive feelings and higher self-esteem; improved relationships with those closest to them; and a sense of unity between their family and their partner's family. Some even valued intlawulo as a means through which they could regain their dignity in the face of their premarital pregnancies.

In cases where male partners did not accept paternity, it seemed women were more likely to experience negative emotions and interactions with others throughout the negotiations. The kinds of negative consequences that ensued when partners did not accept paternity were: stigmatisation and shame; distress and negative emotional affect; conflict; and father-child separation. These negative consequences – as well as the positives mentioned previously – are discussed across six separate themes.

4.3.1 "I'm damaged goods"

In this theme, I report on and explore feelings of shame, stigmatisation and reduced self-worth that were experienced by the participants throughout the intlawulo negotiations. The stigmatisation that participants experienced in relation to intlawulo took on several different forms. The first of these is a form of self-imposed stigmatisation, which is linked to the notion of being "damaged". Some participants evidently took the term "paying the damages" literally and came to view themselves as damaged women or "damaged goods".

Pretty was asked why she thought intlawulo was called "damages", what this meant to her, and whether she had come to think of herself as damaged. She responded with the following statement:

> *I think, me as a girl I'm damaged now, because I know what motherhood is, and stuff, you see? […] I'm damaged goods, as they say.* – Pretty

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Pretty declared herself to be "damaged" on the premise that she knows what motherhood is, almost as if motherhood is symbolic of her loss of innocence and the passage from one phase of her life to another (girlhood to womanhood). This transition is a change at the chronosystems level of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological model, and would be the point at which Pretty is undergoing major changes in terms of her identity and the roles she plays within her microsystem. For example, where she had previously played the role of a daughter within her family home, she now has to come to terms with filling the new and challenging role of being a mother and taking on the responsibility that comes with it. Instead of feeling a sense of pride over being a mother, some women may feel that their self-worth is inextricably linked to their virginity, which is why the use of the term, "paying the damages", may serve to be problematic for some young mothers. These women may come to see themselves as "damaged goods", altering their sense of self and making the transition to motherhood even more daunting for them than it already is. Practitioners should therefore be aware of the difficulties that these young girls face, and the impact that they have on their sense of identity and overall mental health.

Lhoza gave a very similar statement to that of Pretty, also focusing on the transition from girlhood to motherhood. When she was asked what intlawulo meant to her and why it was important to her, Lhoza responded:

> *But I have to be paid* [paid for]*, because that boy damaged me, damaged my, my life and I'll never be an intombazana* [girl]. *I am a mother now. I am a mother now, I have responsibilities, I have to work for my child.* – Lhoza

In Lhoza's case, it seems that intlawulo was important to her because it was the price that had to be paid by a man for having "damaged" both her life and her as an individual. Lhoza's

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

mention of her newfound responsibilities as a mother also point to the magnitude of this transition and the role that she has to fill. Another participant, Lisa, provided a statement regarding the loss of girlhood when one gets pregnant at a young age, providing a metaphor and vivid imagery of girls being delicate flowers. When asked what intlawulo was/meant to her, Lisa replied with the following:

> *[…] the fa– (pause). The family must, the father's side's family must pay the damages* [intlawulo] *to the mother's side's family. Because, (pause) when you, when you're a girl in your home, in your family (pause) you are a flower of your family. Ja* [yes]*, and now, the flower has broken now.* – Lisa

From the three statements by Pretty, Lhoza and Lisa above, it becomes clear that several of the single mothers grappled with accepting their new identities as mothers (as opposed to girls), and that some had come to view themselves as "damaged goods". This is consistent with the findings of De Goede's (2018) study, where Xhosa single mothers viewed intlawulo as a symbol of their "damaged" reputation and diminished worth as women. Lisa's use of the broken flower metaphor to describe her "damage" and reduced worth ties in with existing literature on the immense value that is placed on the chastity and sexual purity of an unmarried Xhosa woman (Swaartbooi-Xabadiya & Nduna, 2014).

At the chronosystem level of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological systems model, the participants' transitions from being a child in their parents' home to suddenly taking on the role of a mother themselves was a significant change that occurred over a few months of their lifespan. Furthermore, at the macrosystems level, the participants' culture and the accompanying belief system (i.e., that young Xhosa women who are unchaste have reduced value) can be seen as factors that influence the single mother as an individual (Kotzé et al.,

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

2017). The findings of the present study are therefore consistent with findings by authors such as Mturi and Moerane (2001), Phoofolo (2007), and Zaidi and Shuraydi (2002), who identified how young, unmarried women who engage in sexual practices before marriage could threaten their family's reputation and honour, and how there was a sense of devaluation that came with these transgressions.

The second form of stigmatisation that the participants experienced came from family members, where participants often felt like they were labelled in their household as "the one who was not paid for". Comments of such a nature were reported by participants to have come up often in conversations amongst members of their immediate family, as was reported by Lhoza and Aziphile:

> *As a woman, I feel like I'm weak. Like I'm not strong enough. Because other people outside or in my reach, they have been paid. Even my older sister, her boyfriend paid damages* [intlawulo]. *So, I feel like I'm a disgrace – I don't know how I can put it. Because, uhm, there was – there's my older sister then, I'm the middle one, there's the younger sister. But in my family I'm that person. He, his family, the family of my child, there is an example to my family – look, they – Lhoza's child – the family of that child* [partner's family] *didn't pay lobola – sorry intlawulo for Lhoza. Like, I know exactly – even if we talk, like we, we chat, there is that thing – they didn't even pay you.* – Lhoza

> *It was always my father – it is still always my father, uhm, that would always give those type of ugly comments like 'sis this thing that was not even paid for'. Then I would feel very ashamed and hurt.* – Aziphile

De Goede (2018) contends that the different ways in which single mothers and their families interpret intlawulo could potentially have a significant impact on single mothers' sense of self-

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

worth and their psychological well-being. The two statements above provide rather extreme examples of how a family may react when intlawulo is not paid, and I argue that this form of stigmatisation within the participants' own homes (at the microsystems level) can lead to a very negative experience of the intlawulo custom by single mothers.

A third form of stigmatisation came from people outside of the immediate family, perceived by the participants as judgements made by the broader community on the basis of whether or not their intlawulo had been paid. Naledi made the following statement about how she believed society viewed single Xhosa mothers whose partners had not paid intlawulo:

> *Sometimes, uhm, for example, your child is not listening to you, maybe doing wrong stuff and then people always judging, saying, yes, obviously it will happen to her or him, because the father didn't pay damages* [intlawulo]. *Or maybe the child is a drug addict stealing from other people – they making that comments, saying it's because the father's not paying, because all that bad luck is going on the child. So that, that's the type of remarks, uhm, the community give.* – Naledi

The above statement holds significance for a number of reasons. As mentioned previously, ancestors play a vital role in a Xhosa person's overall sense of well-being (refer to section 4.2.4). When a child is born outside of wedlock, there is always the risk that the child will grow up not knowing who their biological father is, and will therefore not be able to connect to a paternal line of ancestry, or take part in certain rights of passage. This is why intlawulo could be seen by some as a means of rectifying one's standing with one's ancestors, or as a way of restoring a spiritual balance that has been disrupted. It is therefore also understandable that some members of the community would view a child as a carrier of bad luck if the parents have not rectified a relationship with the ancestors through specific rituals such as intlawulo.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Nozie was another participant who highlighted the social stigma that may be experienced by single mothers whose partners deny them. Although Nozie's family had received intlawulo from her partner; she was asked how she would have been affected if she had been denied by her partner, to which she responded:

> *If the guy says no, then all of a sudden people start doubting you in terms of who do you sleep with, do you go around sleeping around and saying the child is this one's, while it's not this one's. So it has a very negative effect on females. Uhm, because immediately people want to know what did the guy say, did he uhm (pause) – it's just that stigma of, you don't know who your baby's father is, even if you do, uhm (pause) it has not much impact on the guy, but mostly on the female.* – Nozie

Nozie was but one of several participants who had spoken of the link between a male partner's denial of paternity and the societal stigmatisation placed on women. This is consistent with extant literature which claimed that it is not uncommon for men to show denial or to disappear altogether in the wake of an unplanned pregnancy, which in turn may lead to accusations of promiscuity from the women's family, friends and communities (Nduna & Jewkes, 2012a). These accusations often worsen a woman's shame and distress during pregnancy (Nduna & Jewkes, 2012a). The issue surrounding assumed promiscuity amongst young girls is elaborated on further in section 4.4.2 under Category 3.

Based on the findings within this theme, acknowledgement of paternity by the participants' partners was identified as a defining factor as to whether or not intlawulo could go forward, with denial or non-acceptance cancelling out the possibility of negotiation completely. Natasha had reported feelings of great relief over the fact that she had not been denied by her partner in

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

front of her family, saying that denial from him would have been debilitating. She portrayed non-acceptance (of paternity) as her main fear in the intlawulo process, stating the following:

> *[…] at least now I'm relieved – that he* [partner] *agreed that he's the one who impregnated me. Because, that was my only fear, that he was going to deny me in front of my family! Like, taking my, like – it's like dragging my name through the mud. So I was relieved, at least I was like, ok its fine.* – Natasha.

From Natasha's statement it becomes clear that the acceptance from her male partner was a defining moment for her in the intlawulo process. However, there was more at stake than merely losing the intlawulo money. Through her use of the words, "like dragging my name through the mud", Natasha makes it clear that denial by her partner would have caused her great embarrassment and humiliation in front of her family and others who were present. Had her partner denied her, she may have experienced even more public shaming than she already had upon the initial disclosure of her having had premarital sex. This illustrates how a partner's acknowledgement of paternity can affect a woman's sense of dignity. I argue that this tendency for a male partner's acknowledgement to give (or take away) a single mother's dignity is problematic, as this means that her feelings of self-worth are contingent upon his decisions and actions. This again leaves the single mother voiceless and powerless.

4.3.2 Distress and negative emotional affect

For a number of participants, their experiences of intlawulo involved some degree of distress and/or negative emotional affect. However, as was identified in the previous theme, positive experiences of intlawulo were generally reported by participants who had received acknowledgement of paternity and/or an intlawulo payment from their partners, and those who had not generally spoke more negatively of their experiences with the custom.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Aziphile, for example, had experienced insulting comments from her father due to unpaid intlawulo. When hearing these derogatory comments from her father, she reported having felt shame, emotional “hurt”, stress and sadness:

> *I would feel very ashamed and hurt. […] It* [remarks made by others] *was really stressing me, because all the time it would come up.* – Aziphile

From Aziphile’s account it is clear that there were definite feelings of emotional pain and shame that resulted from her father’s demeaning comments. From the statement one can also derive that the lack of intlawulo payment by her boyfriend was causing Aziphile ongoing turmoil, and that she felt a sense of powerlessness in wanting to change something that was out of her control. She later explained that these sorts of demeaning comments by her father would come up all the time, and that these feelings of sadness were persistent because of her family’s inability to “move on”, as expressed by the following excerpt:

> *I’d become very sad, because it’s very annoying. I feel like we are not moving on from this, all the time. We are going back to it all the time and it’s really annoying and it makes me sad. And I don’t really like that.* – Aziphile

From a social ecological perspective, the demeaning comments made by Aziphile’s father are highly influential at the microsystems level. Because she had to face these harsh comments in her everyday life and in her own home, it was inescapable, and reinforced her beliefs of being damaged as a woman. It can be argued that this notion of her being damaged – which is aggravated by the fact that her partner did not compensate for the damages – affects her sense of self and her overall experience of the intlawulo custom.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Other examples of strong negative affect were identified in participants who had referred to their crying or depressed mood during the negotiation process. Zoe was one of the participants who provided such an account:

Interviewer: *If the baby's daddy denies you in front of everyone. What damage do you think that makes?*

Zoe: *(Sighs) that one is very bad, because you can even get depression or lose your baby, because of that, because of – it's very stressful. Having a child with no father, knowing that who the baby's daddy is. And then worst part, when the baby – when you give birth to that baby, that baby will look exactly like that guy that says it's not his child. [...] Knowing that the father denied the child breaks your heart every single time. [...] then you end up even hating the child, because he looks like someone who said 'no, you are not my child'. See?*

Zoe uses weighted words like "depressed", "breaks your heart" and "hating the child" to describe her emotional state during pregnancy and the intlawulo negotiations. She links these feelings to the fact that her partner denied fatherhood of her child. Zoe speaks about having been depressed and heartbroken because of this denial, which is consistent with the findings of Nduna and Jewkes (2012b). In their study on psychological stress amongst young adults in the rural Eastern Cape, Nduna and Jewkes (2012b) found that denial and rejection of paternal responsibility by a child's father was the most hurtful source of distress for young women during pregnancy. This was how Zoe and a number of other participants may have felt at some point during their pregnancy and/or intlawulo negotiations, and once again, points to how a partner's acceptance or denial of paternity was influential in their overall experience of the custom.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Several participants felt that they had been labelled by their families as "the one who had not been paid for". This can be observed not only in Aziphile's case (discussed previously), where she was labelled by her father as a "thing that was not paid for", but also in Lhoza's case:

Lhoza: *I can laugh like – but inside me there's that thing [...].* [I'm the] *example now of this family (laughs), like even if it's a joke, like everyone laughs about it, but ...*

Interviewer: *It sounds like it was really taking its toll on you.*

Lhoza: *It is.*

Lhoza, whose partner had not paid intlawulo to her family, was made to be the cautionary tale in her family, and she seems to have internalised this label of being "damaged", as something inside of her that she would always have to carry with her. This notion of her as the "damaged" family member seems to have distressed her significantly, as can be identified by her agreeableness to the interviewer's obervation regarding the emotional toll the process has taken on her (Lhoza).

Anger was a feeling that several participants had experienced in the wake of intlawulo. Sipokazi not only reported anger, but also conveyed a sense of resentment towards her partner for not acknowledging paternity of their child. When asked how she felt about the refusal of her child's father to accept paternity, she responded as follows:

It makes me angry. It makes me angry every time I'm thinking about it [denial of paternity from partner]*, but I'm having one silent prayer. I'm having one silent prayer, that, in my heart I want God to punish him very hard.* – Sipokazi

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Sipokazi's case demonstrates how intlawulo – a custom that generally takes place over a short period of time – can result in long-term interpersonal and intrapsychic consequences for some single mothers. These long-term effects should not be taken lightly, and such past hurts might only be alleviated if the two families have the opportunity to rebuild a sense of trust and cooperation between them. If intlawulo (or other, similar rituals) do not go as planned, families should be given the opportunity to build on their existing knowledge and tools that help them resolve their differences with another family, and to ensure cooperation from both sides. Researchers and practitioners who wish to aim interventions or parenting workshops at Xhosa-speaking families need to be aware of the need for guidance in this area (i.e., handling conflict between different families in order to reach consensus for the sake of the child).

During these interviews, two participants became emotional and showed strong negative affect while reflecting on their experiences. Natasha's was one such case:

> *Yoh, it broke me down. It broke me, in such a way that (pause) I, I told myself that I would never forgive her. […] that's the sad part now, because I knew I was loyal. I was like, no man, I don't deserve this, it's too much. It was too much, I (voice breaking) don't lie. Ja. (Starts crying).* – Natasha

In Natasha's statement above, she shows strong emotion when reflecting on her past and present experiences. While her partner had acknowledged paternity of their child, his mother continued to deny the possibility of this and rejected Natasha persistently. Natasha's voice broke as she spoke of this denial she faced, which, along with her noticeable crying, indicated that the process had caused her great sadness and heartache. This also serves as an indication that she may still be grappling with the sadness and frustration that these past events have caused her.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Natasha later went on to describe how she had experienced feelings of intense worry and panic on the day of the negotiations:

> *And then I went home. I started to bath and I was panicking. I couldn't sit, I was moving around, like (nervous sigh/whistle). God, I'll just cross my (laughs) fingers now. And then, uhm, ten 'o clock passed, they weren't back. Still half past ten, they not back.* – Natasha

Through this statement, Natasha's distress and anxiety on the actual day of the negotiations are prominent through her physical restlessness and anxiousness as she waited in anticipation to hear the outcome. Through a biopsychosocial lens, the negotiations between Natasha's family and her partner's family can be viewed as an event that takes place at the mesosystems level, between two environments in which the participant exists. Natasha takes on the role of a daughter in her family environment, and a romantic partner when she is with her partner. It would be expected that bringing these two "worlds" together would be daunting and perhaps even angst-promoting for her, especially given the sensitivity of the discourse surrounding premarital pregnancy. The panic and anxiety she felt in the wake of these events is, therefore, also understandable, especially since she was being left out of the negotiations and could not have any influence over the outcome. Natasha reported having crossed her fingers in the hope that the negotiations would run smoothly, which was once again contingent on her partner's acknowledgement of paternity. By crossing her fingers and hoping for the desired outcome, it is apparent that Natasha had no agency in these negotiations, and that her partner's acceptance of paternity and willingness to pay intlawulo was a defining aspect of how she would come to experience and feel about the custom.

Based on the findings of this present study, it was not only participants who experienced distress in the midst of the intlawulo negotiations, but their partners and family members as

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

well. Pretty, for example, mentioned the effect that the anticipation of the intlawulo process had had on her partner, stating:

> *He* [her partner] *was kind of like shocked, he was scared, because [...] he was kind of scared, I could see that he wanted to run away.* – Pretty

Pretty's partner had experienced significant distress over the impending negotiations, reportedly having felt negative emotions such as shock and fear. These feelings allude to the unexpectedness of the pregnancy, as well as to the unpreparedness that the male partner may have been feeling with regards to paternal responsibilities. In addition, Pretty had perceived that her partner wanted to run away, which points to the severity of his distress. Another participant, Nikkie, spoke of how the delay of the intlawulo payment caused her partner to experience feelings of self-loathing:

> *For me, since he take time to pay it* [intlawulo] *neh, it looked like he was not sure, so you don't want to pay the damages* [intlawulo]*, that it was not ready for him. And then, now he like hating himself.* – Nikkie

In light of the above statements, the intlawulo process appears to have had a significant negative impact on some participants' partners, having caused them feelings such as stress, shock, fear and even self-loathing. This demonstrates how intlawulo may hold implications for the self-esteem and psychological wellbeing of both partners. The acknowledgement of the male partner's paternity does, however, remain a determining factor in the overall experience of the intlawulo process, and I argue that this places great responsibility on the male partner. This need to take responsibility for "getting a girl pregnant" before marriage might be why Pretty and Nikkie's partners experienced distress and negative emotional affect in the wake of the intlawulo negotiations.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

The distress that young male partners may have experienced in relation to intlawulo can be understood in terms of the cultural context in which the pregnancy took place, as premarital pregnancy is considered taboo in Xhosa culture (De Goede, 2018). Researchers and practitioners can benefit greatly from becoming aware of these complexities in traditional customs such as intlawulo, and how young Xhosa men and women can benefit from changing discourses that de-stigmatise premarital pregnancy and promote paternal responsibility amongst young men. If young fathers such as Pretty and Nikkie's partners could be given the necessary support and guidance to becoming fathers, the responsibility of acknowledging paternity may, for some, become less daunting and more attainable.

4.3.3 Positive feelings and improved self-esteem

As mentioned previously, single mothers who had reported negative experiences of intlawulo were generally those whose partners had failed to acknowledge paternity and/or pay intlawulo (see section 4.3.2). In this theme, however, I discuss some of the more positive effects that resulted from the intlawulo process, and how these were once again contingent on the male partners' acknowledgement of paternity. When asked about intlawulo, many of the participants in this study reported positive feelings within themselves and those closest to them, and some even conveyed that there had been improvements to their self-esteem and sense of identity.

While several of the participants grappled with accepting their new identities as mothers (as opposed to girls) and had come to view themselves as "damaged goods" or as "weak" women (see section 4.3.1), others viewed intlawulo as a means of regaining their dignity after the turmoil of a premarital pregnancy. Natasha presented a good example of this:

> *Look to me it's* [intlawulo] *more like, it's bringing back the dignity of a single mother. Like […] ok at least after all I got something back. Because you know, when you just gave birth you have all those emotions about your body, your body changes totally. Maybe you have a*

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

> *big belly now, that you didn't have. Like you gained weight or you lost weight. So, giving birth itself, it comes with emotions. So for me intlawulo, it's, it's more about like bringing back the dignity of a single mother.* – Natasha

Natasha described how she had come to view intlawulo as a means of helping a single mother regain her dignity after undergoing the physical and emotional changes that come with pregnancy and giving birth. The custom, therefore, seems to have had a very positive effect on her sense of identity and her self-esteem.

Natasha's view of intlawulo as a custom that protects a single mother's name and brings back her dignity has most likely emerged from a personally constructed narrative that she has formed over time, via her personal relationships and social interactions within her immediate environment (Maree, 2010). The need to protect one's name and retain one's dignity through intlawulo implies that Natasha has come to subjectively view premarital pregnancy as unacceptable in society and as something that strips a single mother of her dignity and her good name – hence the need for practices such as intlawulo to regain what has been lost. However, the fact that her dignity depends on her male partner's acknowledgement and the outcome of the negotiations can be deemed problematic. I argue that the tendency for the father's acknowledgement of paternity to dictate women's feelings about themselves and their own worth strips them of their agency and leaves them disempowered (as previously discussed in section 2.4.6).

In addition to her improved self-esteem, Natasha also offered a good example of how the intlawulo process can facilitate personal growth for some women. Although she and her family had not received an intlawulo payment from her partner, Natasha still spoke of the personal benefits the process as a whole had had for her:

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Natasha: *So it was more like an emotional journey, whatever, that I went through with that family* [partner's family].

Interviewer: *It made you strong after all.*

Natasha: *It did, trust me it did. Because it taught me something like, to stand up for myself and never rely.*

Natasha states that, although it was an emotional journey for her trying to get the two families to reach a mutual understanding or agreement, the whole experience helped her grow as an individual, to stand up for herself and to be self-reliant.

Naledi was another participant who spoke of how her intlawulo payment had promoted feelings of self-worth. When asked whether she still saw intlawulo as relevant in modern-day times, she responded as follows:

> *It's* [intlawulo] *something beautiful, because you feel respected. Not only by the boyfriend or your husband's, uhm, family, but by anyone. Even if your child goes in the street you know, you got from both sides, supporting him.* – Naledi

It can be inferred from her statement that the support shown by Naledi's partner and his family unto the child had – to an extent – made her feel more respected and less self-conscious of her "out-of-wedlock" birth, in that she can let her child play freely in the streets without fearing judgement from the general public. This is consistent with findings by Anderson (2016) and Nduna and Jewkes (2012b), who found that women who have a partner or husband helping to raise their children generally receive more emotional support and are less likely to experience stigmatisation within their families and communities. In addition to her enhanced self-worth, Naledi also spoke of the happiness that had resulted from her partner's intlawulo payment:

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

> *They* [partner's family] *came back with the money* [intlawulo]*, they came back with the bottle of whisky, yes. And voilà! And then they paid the money off. And that was the happiest day of my father.* – Naledi

Shortly after Naledi mentioned how happy the payment of intlawulo had made her father, she also described how happy her partner's cooperation and commitment had made her feel:

> *He* [her partner] *said, yes I heard your father asked for extra five thousand, but it's not a problem. Because that's my child. He made me feel so happy at that moment, because I thought he was going to fight against my father, but he didn't hesitate, he took the five thousand out. […] Hey, I'm like, in the sky floating. At that moment I felt like a princess.* – Naledi

Based on the above statements, both Naledi and her father had felt happiness and experienced overall satisfaction with the outcome of the intlawulo negotiations. Furthermore, the words, "I felt like a princess" and "I was in the sky", carry strong feelings of elation and enhanced self-worth. Naledi's two statements are once again a good example of how influential a male partner's actions and decisions can be in a woman's overall experiences of intlawulo and her views about herself and her worth. I argue that this can become especially problematic when a woman's self-worth is determined by monetary value (i.e., the size of her intlawulo payment).

Two of the 12 participants expressed great pride over the fact that their intlawulo had been paid. Zoe was one such participant, having made the following statement when asked whether she thought that her intlawulo payment had changed society's perception of her:

> *Yes it did. Because at least when they* [members of society] *maybe mock me or say it's – things like 'oh you're pregnant and then you are young', I'm saying, but I still have my baby daddy and he paid the damages* [intlawulo]. *So I used to brag about that, you understand? So that's the only thing that will make me feel proud and I can say against them.* – Zoe

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Zoe felt that intlawulo buffered her against any ridicule or judgement by people around her because of her premarital pregnancy, and this made her feel proud of her partner's payment. Although her partner's financial commitment to her appears to have affected Zoe in a positive way, it can be deemed problematic that her feelings of pride and self-worth are reliant thereon. It is worth posing the question as to how Zoe would have been treated by members of her community, and how she would have felt about herself if her partner had not paid intlawulo. This tendency for women's self-esteem and self-worth to depend on their male partner's financial commitment to them is problematic, and once again points to the agency that the male partners carry, and the lack thereof amongst female partners. The implications that may arise from this lack of agency is a sense of disempowerment amongst young single mothers, as discussed in section 4.2.6. I argue that women who were/are not able to ensure the same ongoing commitment from their partners may experience a loss of dignity and self-worth.

Based on the participants' accounts, intlawulo holds several personal benefits for single mothers, such as positive feelings, improved self-esteem, and sometimes even an opportunity for personal growth. The fact remains, however, that these benefits are often only experienced by single mothers whose male partners have acknowledged paternity and/or paid intlawulo.

4.3.4 Intlawulo a barrier between father and child

Most of the participants in this study emphasised that male partners and their families were only granted access to the child once they had paid intlawulo. This tendency for the custom to act as a barrier between financially constrained fathers and their children was found across the dataset. According to the accounts of the participants in this study, stricter families often did not allow the man to see his child or to visit their home if he had not paid damages, whilst more lenient families allowed fathers to see their children as long as they were paying some sort of maintenance. In the majority of cases, however, the participants spoke of how the father of

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

their child was not allowed to see his child before the payment had been made, as this was one of the traditional rules of the custom that had to be followed.

Pretty, whose family had received an intlawulo payment from her partner, spoke of how strictly the rules of intlawulo were enforced by her father:

> *If they* [partner's family] *hadn't paid the money* [intlawulo], *then my dad wouldn't have allowed my boyfriend to come see the baby. Traditionally it's like that, if you don't pay intlawulo then you're not allowed to see the baby at all. My boyfriend never saw his baby for a month, so he only got to see the baby after intlawulo was paid.* – Pretty

Pretty provided a very extreme example of father-child separation on the basis of intlawulo, stating that her partner was strictly forbidden to see his child before having paid intlawulo, so much so that he was prohibited from seeing his child in the first month after the birth. Two other participants who spoke of father-child separation in the face of intlawulo were Lhoza and Naledi:

> *It's very difficult, because the father of the child, he is trying everything and – but he can't see the baby […]. If I want to go there I have to sneak around like I'm going to see a friend. So I can't just go there to, to, with the child. That child belongs here, because that family didn't pay for damages* [intlawulo]. – Lhoza

> *Sometimes it's sad when your child's father doesn't pay damages* [intlawulo], *because, uhm, – which means the child can't go on his father's culture – maybe one day, if it's a boy – go to bush, or if it's a girl she can't, uhm, […] – it's, it's difficult, we're actually making it difficult for the child.* – Naledi

Both Lhoza and Naledi spoke of the negative consequences that ensued when couples were not able to overcome the financial barrier of having to pay intlawulo. These reports are consistent with the findings of previous South African studies that have highlighted intlawulo's tendency

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

to serve as an impediment for poor or unemployed men who wish to be involved with or co-reside with their partners and children (Eddy et al., 2013; Makusha & Richter, 2016; Nathane-Taulela & Nduna, 2014; Nduna & Sikweyiya, 2015).

In cases such as Lhoza's, her partner had every intention to support his child and to be a part of his child's life, yet he was still forbidden by her parents to have any contact with the child. This too is in line with the findings of previous research, which indicated that unmarried men often became estranged from their children on the basis of not fulfilling intlawulo, despite attempts to be fully involved in their children's lives (Makusha & Richter, 2016; Patel & Mavungu, 2016).

Although Naledi's partner was fortunate enough to afford intlawulo, she still highlighted the negative consequences that would have ensued for her child if things had gone differently. Naledi mentioned that there were crucial rituals or rights of passage that her child would not have been able to participate in if her child did not have contact with the father and his culture. For example, participating in a naming ritual (De Goede, 2018) or going to "the bush" as a right of passage during puberty.

As discussed in section 4.2.5.2, the fact that young Xhosa men are required – by more than one law system – to pay both intlawulo and child maintenance can be problematic, especially in contexts where there are financial constraints on fathers. Fortunately, there are laws in place that protect biological fathers' paternal rights, even if they do not want to or cannot pay intlawulo. It can therefore be argued that denying a biological father access to his child for the mere failure or inability to pay intlawulo is unconstitutional. Xhosa men who cannot pay intlawulo but wish to claim paternity can obtain their parental rights if they comply with the requirements laid down in section 26 of the Children's Act 38 (Republic of South Africa Government Gazette, 2005, p. 29), which states that an unmarried, biological father may, in

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

terms of subsection 1 (a), apply for an amendment to the register of births identifying him as the father of the child (if the mother consents to such an amendment); or in terms of subsection 1 (b), "apply to a court for an order confirming his paternity of the child if the mother refuses to consent to such amendment". In addition, these fathers must also have attempted in good faith to contribute towards the maintenance and upbringing of the child, as referred to in subsections 1(b) (ii) and (iii) of section 21 of the Children's Act 38 (2005), as mentioned in Category 1 under section 4.2.5.*2*. These fathers will then enjoy the protection of the civil courts to exercise paternal rights, even if the customary requirement of intlawulo has not been met.

On the condition that a father complies with the provisions of sections 21 and 26 of the Act referred to above (Children's Act 38, 2005), I argue that this is a plausible legal remedy for Xhosa men who either a) do not have the financial means to pay intlawulo; or b) do not wish to be bound by the principles of customary law, in order to acquire parental responsibilities and rights.

4.3.5 Intlawulo a source of conflict

Another negative outcome of intlawulo is that it often results in conflict amongst those involved in the process, whether it be between the participant and her family members, the participant and her partner, or between the two families. Conflict was reported by four of the participants, but was an especially prominent point of discussion throughout Lhoza and Natasha's accounts. Conflict between participants and their family members were identified in statements such as the following one by Natasha:

> *After that conflict I just wondered, eh, where can I go to do abortion. This baby thing is causing conflict to my family, so I, I, I, I thought if I do abortion then there will be peace,*

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

> *because there will be no baby coming, so there will be no this intlawulo, then my life will go on.* – Lhoza

It follows from the above statement that the conflict arising from intlawulo (as well as the premarital nature of the pregnancy) was experienced by Lhoza as so severe that she contemplated abortion as a possible means of resolving it. The thought of such a drastic action points to the severity of Lhoza's distress.

In other cases, conflict emerged between the participants and their partners, or between participants and members of their partner's family, as is presented in these statements by Natasha:

> *At some time it, it, it, it, it ripped us* [she and her partner] *apart, at some time because, uhm, after I went to the mother* [partner's mother], *after I told – I gave her a piece of my mind – things changed […] he was not himself, he was like, he had too much. I think he was like, he said to me with (pause) that look of 'I've had enough of this catfight'.* – Natasha

Natahsha later went on to say:

> *'… this is my mother* [partner's mother] *we're talking about, and this is you* [participant] *– you're my girlfriend, and this is my child'. So for him* [partner] *[…] – yes it was a triangle, he was caught in the middle. Because I would tell – like my mother said this, and this, and this, and they were – and then the mother on the other side was saying 'Natasha is doing this, and this, and this, and this, and this (snaps fingers). Then it was tough for him* [partner], *like he couldn't decide.* – Natasha

In the quotes above, Natasha was reflecting on how the conflict between she and her partner's mother had caused her partner to become distant from her (Natasha) and to exclude himself as much as possible from the ongoing "catfight" between them. This had a destructive effect on their relationship, as is inferred from the words "it ripped us apart".

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Another example of how the intlawulo negotiations caused conflict between a participant and her partner was identified in the following excerpt:

> *It affected, affect to, it affected my relationship* [with partner]. *Because at that time, when there was a conflict between our families, we didn't talk too much. Like there was a gap. Because I was angry fro – to him, because I didn't want to talk to him. [...] I didn't answer his calls, because I was angry. Like, to – I can convince my father, this* [intlawulo] *is important to his – I can convince him* [participant's father] *that he can see it* [intlawulo] *is important, but he can't convince his mother. So, that is why I was angry to him, and it affects my relationship with him.* – Lhoza

An example of how intlawulo resulted in conflict between a participant and her partner's family is Natasha's statement below, where she speaks of the fight that she had with her boyfriend's mother for having denied her:

> *As a result we had a* <u>*very*</u> *huge fight – we had a very huge –I just drank (pause), uh, – vodka –another December. I think my child, she was almost one year. I just drink vodka, [...] and I was, like you know what [...] I just had enough. I had to talk, I had to spit it out, like, you know. She* [partner's mother] *had to hear my voice, now.* – Natasha

Conflict between families often ensued when the two families had different views on and beliefs about intlawulo (i.e., how it should be done and whether or not it should be done). For example, Lhoza believed that the conflict between her and her partner's family could have been avoided if only it had not been for intlawulo:

> *Sometimes in this – our generation – not to be paid [...] it cause more conflict, as to my experience. If the family, or our families can understand each other, then we gonna treat the baby and we gonna give him or her anything he want. Then like, not – because this*

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

intlawulo thing, I think, cause conflict. Because if there, there was no intlawulo, there will be no this conflict. – Lhoza

Lhoza was one of several participants who viewed intlawulo as a source of conflict. This conflict generally took place within her microsystems, such as with her partner or immediate family. This ensuing conflict may have made an already-stressful situation (i.e., premarital pregnancy) even more difficult to cope with.

4.3.6 Improved relationships

There were several instances where participants said that the intlawulo process had facilitated positive changes within their close relationships. What must be noted, however, is that acknowledgement of paternity and the payment of intlawulo were not the sole cause of improved personal relationships. The quality of relationships before the pregnancy and intlawulo negotiations also played a role in whether the participants' relationships withstood the challenges that came with intlawulo, and whether or not relationships improved over time. In other words, it is possible that relationships that were already strong and healthy may have been more resilient, and thus helped individuals to better navigate the complexities of the intlawulo process. It is also possible that couples who already had a strong bond were able to strengthen their relationship even further through intlawulo. These possibilities are explored in light of the participants' responses below.

Pretty said how the intlawulo process made her relationship with her partner stronger, whilst also facilitating contact between her partner's family and the baby:

It [intlawulo] *made us* [she and partner] *stronger actually. […] We got close, we got to spend a lot of time together, went out, did everything together. We were much closer than before.*

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

[…] and now his family could actually see the baby and stuff. And we were all just fine after that. – Pretty

From the information that Pretty provided, it is apparent that intlawulo facilitated positive changes in her and her partner's relationship. If Pretty's experience (as quoted above) is to be viewed through a socio-ecological lens (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), it can be said that the intlawulo custom occurs at the macrosystems level – as a part of her cultural heritage – and influences the relationship that she has with her partner at the micro-level. Because the custom had a positive effect on their relationship, Pretty's subjective experience of intlawulo became a predominantly positive one.

Julia spoke of a positive change not only in her and her partner's relationship, but also in the relationship between her partner and her father:

Now this is – now we [participant and her partner] *are parents, like, now we can be free, like now we can look forward to, to being parents and raising this child together. […] after that* [intlawulo payment] *we were free. We were free to be together, I won't lie. […] We can communicate about stuff. Stuff can happen and my father can talk to him and he can talk to my father. […] And when he wants the baby, he can communicate to my father and not only me.* – Julia

This response by Julia highlights how intlawulo had been a freeing experience for her and her partner in that they no longer had to hide their relationship and could communicate with one another openly. Furthermore, paying intlawulo allowed Julia's partner to have better communication with her father, and her partner no longer had to hide his involvement in his child's life from her parents. These are some of the positive relationship changes that happened between Julia and some of her significant others. What I would like to problematise here, however, is the different course that these interactions may have taken if Julia's partner had

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

not paid intlawulo. Many couples are not as fortunate as Julia and her partner evidently were, as some men might not have the means to pay intlawulo, and therefore, may not have the opportunity to experience the same positive relationship changes that Julia and her partner had experienced through the process. Another example of how intlawulo brought about positive change in a participant's relationship with her partner can be seen in Naledi's case:

> *We* [participant and her partner] *were happy, we still happy. The thing is, uhm, what made us, uhm, more closer, it's because now he* [partner] *has rights. Or he can come in the family now, he don't have to stand outside.* ***Understand, he used to stand outside, because he didn't pay damages. So now he has rights, towards his child. He can come whenever, so – and we have a celebration, he's part of the family.*** – Naledi

For Naledi, the intlawulo payment not only brought she and her partner closer, but also served as a gateway to his paternal rights and allowed him to become a part of her family. Although Naledi says that the intlawulo process brought her and her partner closer, it cannot be assumed that the custom would have reaped the same benefits for a woman whose partner had not paid intlawulo.

Two participants said that their families had treated them better after their intlawulo was paid. Sisanda was one of these participants, and said the following about her family's attitude towards her after they had received an intlawulo payment from her partner:

Interviewer: *When the damages was paid, uhm, how did they* [her family] *treat you now? Did they treat you any different?*

Sisanda: *Yeah, they treated me different, because they knew the father and the father was taking responsibility. […] So they were being softer, than they'd been before.*

Interviewer: *Did it make you feel any better about the situation?*

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Sisanda: *Yeah, in some way, because I saw them loving my child and being supportive, so that meant something.*

Sisanda evidently felt that her family was being softer and kinder to her after she had been paid for, and also more supportive and loving towards her child, which meant a great deal to her. I argue that it is problematic when single mothers are treated better by their families when their partners have paid intlawulo, as the payment is something over which the women have no control. It can be said that, when families treat their daughters better or worse on the basis of this payment, it can once again take away their dignity and self-worth.

The findings reported in this theme have highlighted that several participants considered intlawulo as a means of facilitating positive changes within relationships. I have also discussed the possibility that the nature of relationships before pregnancy and the intlawulo negotiations may have played a role in the overall experiences of the participants with the custom. Furthermore, participants who had reported positive relationship changes were typically women whose partners had paid intlawulo, whilst those who reported negative experiences, such as conflict, were often women whose partners had not paid.

4.3.7 Summary of themes identified in Category 2

Six themes were identified in this category, all pertaining to the weight carried by the male partner's acceptance of paternity. The first theme in this category – "I'm damaged goods" – was concerned with feelings of stigmatisation, shame and reduced self-worth that participants had experienced in the wake of intlawulo. In the second theme, "Distress and negative emotional affect", I identified the emotional and psychological distress that participants experienced, either at the time of negotiations, or during their actual interviews. The third theme, "Positive feelings and improved self-esteem", was centred on the personal benefits that

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

ensued for participants during the intlawulo process, such as regaining their dignity and self-confidence or experiencing feelings of happiness and pride.

Apart from the distress that many participants had experienced, other negative consequences that resulted from a father's denial of paternity – or his inability to pay intlawulo – were identified in the themes, "Intlawulo a barrier between father and child" and "Intlawulo a source of conflict". In the former, it was noted that intlawulo served as an impediment for some fathers who had not paid intlawulo, even when they attempted in good faith to be involved in their children's lives. The latter, "Intlawulo a source of conflict", was concerned with the participants' reports regarding the moderate to severe conflict that ensued between them and their loved ones in the wake of intlawulo. The final theme that was identified in this category was "Improved relationships", in which I identified how the custom of intlawulo had facilitated positive relationship changes amongst the participants and their loved ones.

The overlaps that exists between themes/subthemes of categories 1 and 2 are noteworthy, with male partners' acceptance of paternity having affected both participants' views on intlawulo (as discussed in category 1) and their experiences accompanying the intlawulo process (as discussed in category 2). As identified in category 2, participants whose partners had acknowledged paternity and/or paid intlawulo generally reported more positive experiences with intlawulo, such as improvements to their self-esteem; positive emotions (e.g., happiness, pride); and improvements in relationships and communication amongst their families. These participants, in turn, also tended to hold more positive views of the custom (category 1), describing it as valuable and important; as something that held cultural significance; or as a means of connecting two families. On the contrary, participants whose partners had not paid intlawulo or acknowledged paternity, generally reported more negative experiences surrounding the custom, such as feelings of devaluation; stigmatisation; distress; anger; father-

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

child separation; and conflict. These participants thus also tended to have negative views of the custom, seeing it as disempowering to women, or as something that held little importance and value. Although the overlap between these two categories is therefore significant, and the lines separating their respective themes and subthemes may be indistinct at times, the participants' perspectives on intlawulo have been grouped into a separate category from category 2 for the purposes of reader-friendliness and compartmentalisation. The interdependence between the male partners' acceptance of paternity, their payment of intlawulo (or lack thereof), and the single mothers' views and experiences on the custom is undeniable. The overlap between categories was therefore unavoidable, and this once again points to the complex and multi-faceted nature of the intlawulo process.

4.4 Category 3: Barriers to intlawulo

Based on the accounts that were given by the participants in this study, several factors prevented intlawulo from being paid, and therefore led some participants to have more negative experiences of the custom. These barriers were: financial constraints; scepticism over paternity claims; and differences in families' adherence to culture and tradition. These barriers are explored in greater detail in the sections to follow.

4.4.1 Financial constraints

The first barrier to intlawulo that was identified was a lack of financial resources available to the man's family. This was reported as a barrier by four of the six participants whose families had not received their full intlawulo payment. Even in cases where the male partners had the intention to pay intlawulo, their families simply did not have the financial means to do so. An example of this can be identified in Lhoza's case, who gave the following response when asked how the intlawulo process had affected her relationship with her partner:

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

> *But, he didn't have money, he don't have money so he can't pay it* [intlawulo], *because he don't have money. […] So I was angry to him, but as time goes on I decided to make peace, because he can't change that and he didn't have money. Even if he has money, he will pay the damages, I know.* – Lhoza

In Lhoza's case, a lack of financial means made it impossible for her partner to pay intlawulo, even if he wanted to. From a socio-ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), poverty is an economic factor that can be found at the macrosystems level (Visser, 2007). Many people in South Africa live in impoverished circumstances and this impedes many young men's best intentions to fulfil cultural customs such as intlawulo (Eddy et al., 2013; Makusha & Richter, 2016). This finding in the present study is, therefore, consistent with previous studies that found that young men often do not have the financial means to pay intlawulo, even if they have the intention to do so (Eddy et al., 2013; Makusha & Richter, 2016; Nathane-Taulela & Nduna, 2014; Nduna & Sikweyiya, 2015). I argue that this lack of access to resources in poorer families may affect the outcome of the intlawulo process and the overall experience that the single mother has of it.

For a number of participants' partners' families the payment of intlawulo was not financially viable, and some families preferred to provide the money that they did have to support the child. In other words, it was more practical to support the child continuously through maintenance than to do a large, once-off payment that was unattainable for many fathers. An example of such a case was identified in Lisa's responses. Lisa said that her family had not taken well to the fact that her partner's family was not going to pay intlawulo, and that her parents would even have been satisfied with a small/reduced amount. However, Lisa's partner's family did not even have the means to make a small contribution for intlawulo, as is expressed in the following excerpt:

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

> *But then they* [partner's family] *said they didn't have even a small amount* [of money]. *Ja* [yes] ... *but they are going to support the child every step of the way. [...] she* [partner's mother] *said she doesn't have intlawulo, money. So she's going to see – she's going to buy everything for the baby.* – Lisa

In light of the former statement by Lisa, it is important to note the context in which these participants' experiences took place – primarily low-income communities where money is already scarce. As noted by Eddy et al. (2013), the socio-economic changes in South Africa that were generated by capitalism, colonialism and the apartheid system have led to many African families becoming dependent on wage labour rather than agricultural practices, making it increasingly difficult for young African men to provide a large cash payment equivalent to livestock. In this study, even in cases where participants had received an intlawulo payment, the payment was often smaller than what the woman and her family had expected, but was accepted nonetheless because of financial constraints. Two examples of such cases are Sisanda and Nozie's:

> *Hmmm, it's* [the intlawulo amount] *not too much for lento ayenzileyo* [for what he did]. *But ok, it's what he can afford.* – Sisanda

> *I wouldn't say* [his family supported me] *the way I expected, but [...] I think they did their best at the time with what they had. [...] I guess, for me, it was just, it's a matter of appreciating whatever little I get from them.* – Nozie

Both Sisanda and Nozie received intlawulo payments that were substantially smaller than what their families had requested from their partner's family. However, in both of these cases, the women seemed forgiving or accepting of this compromise, as they were able to acknowledge the fact that there had been financial constraints on their partners. These findings are consistent

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

with the writings of Patel and Mavungu (2016), who highlight that intlawulo payments are largely dependent on how much the man's family is able to afford.

In some cases, the male partner's family did have the financial means to pay for intlawulo, but expected their son to pay for it himself. This lack of financial independence was mentioned as a barrier to intlawulo by five of the participants in this study. In most of these cases, the young fathers were still fully dependent on their parents. This lack of financial independence served as an impediment to financially dependent male partners who wished to pay intlawulo. An example of such a case can be observed in the following response by Natasha:

> *So, what did they* [partner's family] *say, I asked them* [her family]*, and they* [her family] *say, the mother* [partner's mother] *said 'uhm, the boyfriend is still in school' [...] he was doing his second year. So she said he was still in school, so he will pay himself whenever he gets finished with the school, and then whenever he gets a job – because she's not gonna pay for his damages. She's not gonna pay for his (pause)* [problems]*, you understand me.* – Natasha

From the account given by Natasha, it becomes clear that she viewed financial independence as the key to intlawulo, since her male partner wanted to pay intlawulo but did not have his own money to pay for it at the time. Of the five participants who reported financial dependence as a barrier to intlawulo, there was only one case where a male partner was able to overcome this hurdle. Pretty shared the story of how her partner had started working to earn wages so that he could become financially independent and pay her intlawulo himself:

> *He actually worked, because, ehm, his family actually has a, have a tavern. So he actually worked for his father – helped his father a lot to raise the money. He had to work for it.*

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

> *That's what his dad actually said that day, he said 'you gonna have to work for that money. I'm not just gonna give you that money'.* – Pretty

In light of Pretty's statement above – and that of others just like her – financial dependence on one's parents was clearly a barrier for young men who wanted to pay intlawulo, regardless of whether or not their parents had the available finances. Based on the findings in this theme, financial constraints had the potential to impact negatively on single mothers' overall experiences of intlawulo, as these such constraints generally led to an unfavourable outcome (i.e., a woman's family not receiving intlawulo).

4.4.2 Scepticism over paternity claims

Several participants reported that scepticism from their partner's family over the child's paternity was a factor that had the potential to delay or completely hinder the intlawulo payment. In such cases, participants said that their partners' families had been reluctant to believe that their son was truly the father of the baby, and thought it possible that the participant was lying. Because of this scepticism, the male partner's family sometimes requested to see the child before going forward with any negotiations so that they could examine the child's physical features and confirm that the child truly belonged to their family's lineage.

Nikkie was one of the participants who spoke of her partner's family wanting to examine her child's physical features for confirmation of paternity:

> *I wait for one – when my child was one year six months – coz we have to take him* [the child] *to his* [partner's] *parents. So their* [the male partner's] *parents have to check, and all that stuff [...] they just look at the parts and all that stuff. They just see the baby* [to check that it is theirs, before intlawulo]. *(Laughs) Like, I was like, you don't trust me. Like it's not, it's not his baby? That's how I was feeling.* – Nikkie.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

According to this quote, Nikkie and her family had to wait until her baby was one year and six months old before they could obtain intlawulo, as her partner's family wanted to personally examine the child's physical features to make sure that it was really their son's child. Cases such as these illustrate just how complex the intlawulo custom is, as the process not only involves the couple, but also multiple third parties from both families, as well as individuals from both the younger and older generations. The implications of non-acceptance by a male partner and his family are noteworthy (as discussed throughout Category 2), and may have a negative impact on both the mother and her child. Nikkie's ability to gain the trust of her partner's family can potentially determine whether or not her child will have a father present in his/her life, which may have long-term consequences for the child's well-being (Guma & Henda, 2004; Richter et al., 2010). Training programmes or workshops offered to single mothers within such contexts may therefore benefit greatly from gaining awareness of these issues, and should not only provide these women guidance on basic parenting techniques, but also on navigating the complexities of extended family relationships.

Of the twelve participants who took part in this study, there was one whose partner had denied paternity of his child, and another participant who had received denial from her partner's mother. Sipokazi was the participant whose partner had denied paternity of her child. She reported that any attempt by her family to claim damages would have been pointless, as her partner did not want the child and refused to acknowledge that he was the father:

> *... it's difficult, to actually make your family understand. On the other side, like, look guys we can't go there* [to the partner's house]*, because the guy doesn't want* [this child]. – Sipokazi

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Sipokazi knew that her partner was already denying fatherhood of the child, and found it daunting to convey this to her family. Another participant who had been faced with denial and scepticism was Natasha. Although she had received acknowledgement of paternity from her partner, she continued to receive denial from her partner's mother:

Natasha: *She* [partner's mother] *didn't accept the child from the start. The fact that she denied me in the negotiations showed that, Ok, this one didn't accept.*

Interviewer: *And how did that make you feel as a single mother? How, what was the feelings that …*

Natasha: *Yoh, it broke me down!*

Interviewer: *neh?*

Natasha: *It broke me, in such a way that (pause) I, I told myself that I would never forgive her.*

In Natasha's case, her partner was willing to pay intlawulo, but because he was still financially dependent on his mother, the intlawulo could not be paid as his mother continued to deny that her son was responsible for the pregnancy. From the phrases, "it broke me down" and "I would never forgive her", it can be inferred that this ongoing denial and scepticism from her partner's mother was an emotionally taxing experience for Natasha, and that it had upset her deeply. Natasha went on to say that scepticism over paternity claims was generally due to beliefs of supposed promiscuity amongst young girls within their communities, as is presented in the following excerpt:

> *It's more like she* [partner's mother] *was saying, I was promiscuous to the relationship. For me it felt like that. It's more like she said you are promiscuous. You not even – I'm not even sure if you only had a relationship with my child – with my son only. So, I was like, yey! My*

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

dignity! Like she disgraced me in a way. […] In our days it's, it's not easy for the boyfriend's side to pay it [intlawulo]. *Because you know people are promiscuous out there.* – Natasha

Natasha was one of several participants who listed suspicions of promiscuity as a barrier to intlawulo. From a biopsychosocial perspective, these beliefs or ideologies of young women's supposed promiscuity that exist within communities can be said to form part of the macrosystem. These ideologies serve as large-scale societal factors that affect the single mother at the microsystems level (i.e., her sense of identity, and/or her relations with her partner and family members). I argue that these suspicions imposed on her may exacerbate the stress and stigma she is already experiencing as a young, unmarried mother. In addition, hesitation by the father of the child and his family to accept paternity poses the risk of her child growing up without a father, which would present her and her child with many additional day-to-day challenges (Guma & Henda, 2004; Richter et al., 2010).

One participant reported that the scepticism and distrust she received from her partner's family were not related to promiscuity, but rather to financial gain. Pretty said how her partner's father was sceptical of her true intentions, believing that she was just an opportunist who wanted to work her way into their family for financial gain:

But like, I think that since he [partner's father] *has this business and he makes so much money, so he thought that maybe I'm just an opportunist, I want to make money, I want to be able to get money from his family. So, I was kinda like shocked, but I still expected it anyway. Because everyone knows how his father is, ja.* – Pretty

Based on Pretty's account, her partner's father had a reputation in the community for his financial wealth, and she therefore anticipated his initial reaction towards her. What was prominent in this theme is that single mothers tend to face scepticism due to a lack of trust

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

between participants and their partners, and between participants and their partners' family members. It also became clear that intlawulo is a complex, multigenerational custom, which involves many people and not just the couple themselves.

4.4.3 Different beliefs about/views on intlawulo

In this study there were three instances in which participants' and partner's families held different beliefs about intlawulo, and therefore struggled to reach a mutual agreement and settle the payment. Different views on intlawulo were either due to two families belonging to different AmaXhosa clans, or simply because the two families had different traditional beliefs regarding the custom. For example, Nikkie belonged to a different AmaXhosa clan than did her partner, who claimed that his family (as Mpondos) had a different way of doing things than did her family:

Interviewer: *And as your baby's daddy is Mpondo, it made it difficult for ...*

Nikkie: *Mm* [yes]

Interviewer: *– you to accept their way of doing ... –*

Nikkie: *– and I didn't even understand how they do it* [intlawulo] *[...] my boyfriend even explained to my mother before, how they do it. They don't do like us.*

Although Nikkie's family did eventually receive a portion of the anticipated intlawulo money, the process was tedious, as it took a while to convince her partner's family that paying intlawulo was important to her family and necessary for him to be allowed to see his child.

Sometimes, even when two families belonged to the same AmaXhosa clan, there were inconsistencies between their respective views of intlawulo. Lhoza's account, for example,

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

demonstrates the difficulty of reaching consensus when two families are from different backgrounds and hold different views on the importance of paying intlawulo:

Lhoza: *My boyfriend – he is from one place and I am from another place. So we have different, we have different cultural ...*

Interviewer: *... ways of doing things [...]*

Lhoza: *Yes, yes. In his side they don't pay damages, they just support the baby, he told me so. We can't, I can't – he can't do i-intlawulo and this stuff, he will support the baby only.*

In Lhoza's case, her family and her partner's family held different views on intlawulo, with her family viewing the custom as important, while her partner's family preferred rather to support the child through maintenance (as discussed in Category 1, section 4.2.5.2). Based on participants' accounts in this study, it follows that families who were serious about intlawulo had a difficult time accepting that it was not a priority for the other family, but eventually came to accept this after a while, especially considering the financial context in which the events were taking place (i.e., lower socio-economic context in which child maintenance was of more practical value).

4.4.4 Summary of themes identified in Category 3

In this category, I identified three themes, each of which was concerned with factors that hindered the process of intlawulo. The first of these was "financial constraints", which entailed one of two scenarios: 1) that the partner and his family did not have enough money to pay intlawulo; or 2) that the partner's parents did have the means to pay damages, but refused to pay it on behalf of their son, as they expected him to raise the money himself. Furthermore, several participants were faced with suspicion or scepticism from their partner and/or his family

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

when disclosing the pregnancy to them, as outlined in the second theme ("scepticism over paternity claims") of this category. The final theme in this category was "different beliefs about/views on intlawulo", which entailed inconsistencies between different families' beliefs and traditions surrounding intlawulo, and how this hindered the payment from being settled.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I presented and discussed my findings in relation to the existing literature, conceptualising my findings from a socio-ecological lens. I identified 15 themes and four subthemes through the thematic analysis of the data, which were divided into three separate categories. Overall, it was noted that participants who reported positive views and/or experiences of the intlawulo custom, were generally the ones who had received acknowledgement of paternity and an intlawulo payment from their male partners, and that those who reported negative views and/or experiences of intlawulo were the ones whose partners had not acknowledged paternity or had not paid intlawulo. Positive experiences of intlawulo included improvements in the participants' self-esteem; positive emotions (i.e., happiness, pride); and improved relationships and communication amongst families. Participants who had had these positive experiences therefore often tended to hold more positive views of intlawulo in general, describing the custom as valuable and important; as something that held cultural significance; or as a means of connecting two families.

According to participants in this study, negative experiences of intlawulo included feelings of devaluation; stigmatisation; distress; separation of fathers from their children; conflict; and difficulties around obtaining intlawulo (due to various barriers). In turn, the participants who had had these more negative experiences of intlawulo were generally the ones who held negative views of intlawulo, which included views of intlawulo as disempowering to women, or as something that held little importance and value.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Feelings of disempowerment surrounding intlawulo were not exclusively reported by women who had not received acknowledgement and/or intlawulo, but even by women whose families had received the anticipated intlawulo payment from their partner. It was established that most participants had experienced intlawulo as a process that was to be carried out by men only, and that the single mothers themselves were often excluded from the negotiations surrounding the payment, which left them feeling disempowered. The fact that many participants had no say or involvement in the negotiations alludes to a lack of agency amongst single mothers when it comes to negotiating intlawulo, which may in turn be why so many participants reported grievances with the custom. I argue that these different, complex narratives pertaining to the experience of intlawulo may either enforce the current status quo surrounding the custom (i.e., narratives stating that intlawulo needs to be respected and maintained), or problematise and question the status quo (i.e., narratives framing the custom as outdated or disempowering).

Some participants tended to view intlawulo as an apology that had to be made to the woman's family for the "damage" done by the man. The debate surrounding the prioritisation of intlawulo over child maintenance and vice versa was also a recurring theme throughout the course of my data analysis, and was discussed in relation to the principles enunciated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

In the second category, acknowledgement or acceptance of fatherhood by the participants' partners was identified as the defining factor as to whether or not intlawulo could go forward, with denial or non-acceptance cancelling out the possibility of further intlawulo negotiations completely. As noted previously, the participants' overall experiences of the custom seemed to be significantly influenced by whether the father and his family accepted paternity and/or payed intlawulo. It was also established that a male partner's acknowledgement of paternity significantly influenced some single mothers' sense of dignity, self-worth, and self-esteem. It

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

is worth noting that intlawulo had the potential to affect a single mother's self-esteem in vastly different ways. While some women had come to view "paying the damages" as a sign/symbol of their own personal damage as women (as discussed in section 4.3.1), others viewed the custom as restorative of their dignity. I problematised this tendency for single mothers feelings about themselves to be contingent on their male partner's acceptance and/or financial commitment, as it once again lends all of the power and agency to the male partner. Finally, in my third category, I identified three barriers that had the potential to hinder the payment of intlawulo. These barriers are financial constraints, scepticism over authenticity of pregnancy, and differences in values, traditions and beliefs between families. In the next chapter I provide concluding reflections on my study as a whole. This will be followed by the limitations of my study and, finally, recommendations for future research on this topic.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Chapter 5

Concluding reflections, limitations and recommendations

In this chapter, I reflect on all preceding chapters by summarising their contents and offering conclusive thoughts on the findings contained therein. In terms of the results reported in Chapter 4, I provide reflections on the core of each theme and subtheme so as to identify the significance it holds for single mothers' experiences of, and views on, intlawulo. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of my study, and recommendations for future studies in this area of research (i.e., on topics relating to intlawulo; Xhosa-speakers; single mothers).

5.1 Concluding thoughts and reflections

In the introductory chapter of this study I have provided the relevant background information pertaining to my research topic, followed by my problem statement, research rationale, research question and research aim. The aim of the present study was to explore how Xhosa-speaking single mothers had experienced the practice of intlawulo first-hand, as there was limited knowledge of this particular phenomenon prior to this study. In the second chapter I have explored existing literature relating to topics that are central to my study's primary areas of interest; namely, single-motherhood, the Xhosa culture, and intlawulo. In addition, I have motivated the selected theoretical framework as the theoretical lens through which my research problem was explored.

In the third chapter of this study, I provided a detailed account of the methodology which I had employed throughout my research. This included the use of and motivation behind my selected research design, as well as detailed accounts of my participant demographics, sampling

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

procedures, data collection technique, data analysis, and the various ethical considerations that I had adhered to.

Following the analysis of my data, I was able to group my 15 themes and four subthemes into three different categories, as presented in Chapter 4. The first category encapsulated themes and subthemes relating to Xhosa-speaking, single mothers' varied perspectives on intlawulo. For some of the women who participated in this study, intlawulo held cultural symbolism, by instilling within them a sense of cultural belonging. Others interpreted intlawulo as a male apology, which male partners were expected to make to a woman's family to atone for getting her pregnant before marriage and damaging her lobola prospects. While men and women generally hold equal accountability for premarital pregnancies, there continued to be a discourse around male culpability in participants' discussions surrounding intlawulo.

Intlawulo was interpreted by several of the single mothers as a means to ancestral connection, wherein the importance of matrilineal and patrilineal descent was emphasized. This was consistent with existing literature on the importance of ancestral connection within Xhosa culture. Some participants had come to view the custom as a means to uniting the man and woman's families of origin, facilitating connections and improved communication between families. Although intlawulo still holds value and relevance for many single mothers and their families today, it was found that there are shifting views on the custom between the younger and older generations. Several participants in this study expressed indifference to the custom or viewed it as unimportant, yet simultaneously highlighted how important intlawulo was to their parents and other elders. Another way in which views on intlawulo were shifting amongst single mothers and their families was made apparent through the debate surrounding the importance of intlawulo over the payment of child maintenance, and vice versa. At least half of the participants in this study viewed child maintenance as more important than intlawulo.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Many single mothers' accounts alluded to a sense of female disempowerment throughout the intlawulo process, due to a lack of agency the women had felt at being excluded from the negotiation process and perceiving intlawulo as a predominantly male-directed process. The grievances that some women expressed as a result of this disempowerment and lack of agency are indicative of changing feminist views on the custom and how it should be practised.

From the themes contained in Category 1 it can be concluded that Xhosa-speaking, single mothers' interpretations and perspectives on intlawulo varied greatly, yet they were often contingent upon whether or not women's partners had acknowledged paternity and/or paid intlawulo to their family. Single mothers tended to report more positive experiences in cases where male partners had acknowledged paternity and/or paid intlawulo, and therefore held more positive views of intlawulo, describing the custom as valuable, important, culturally significant, or as a means of uniting families. In comparison, women who had experienced more unfavourable outcomes from the intlawulo process tended to have negative views of the custom, seeing it as disempowering to women, or as something that caused shame or hurt and which held little importance and value to them.

The second category into which some of my themes were divided is concerned with how male partners' acceptance of paternity was a significant event during intlawulo negotiations, and how this acceptance held substantial weight in terms of women's overall experiences of the custom. Half of the participants placed emphasis on their partner's acknowledgement of paternity, as it was a defining factor in terms of whether or not intlawulo could go forward. The possibility of being denied by their partners distressed many participants and their families. What is prominent throughout the various themes within the second category, is that positive experiences of intlawulo were generally reported by women who had received acknowledgement of paternity and/or an intlawulo payment from their partners, whilst those

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

who had not, generally spoke more negatively of their experiences of the custom. Positive experiences included: improved self-esteem; positive emotions (i.e., happiness, pride); and improvements to relationships and communication amongst families. Negative experiences of intlawulo were generally linked to conflict, father-child separation, stigmatisation, and feelings of distress, sadness and anger.

In Category 2 it was also noted that male partners' acceptance of paternity not only had the potential to worsen, or alleviate, a single mother's experience of stigma and shame surrounding her "damages", but that his acknowledgement also dictated her sense of dignity and self-worth. In light of this, I argue that the sudden transition from girlhood to motherhood may be more daunting for women who experience stigma and denial as a result of their partners not acknowledging paternity, or not paying intlawulo, whilst other women who have received acknowledgement and/or damage compensation from their partner may view intlawulo as restorative to their dignity within the context of their unplanned, out-of-wedlock pregnancy. The experiences that single mothers in this study had with intlawulo can therefore be said to have been contingent upon whether or not their male partners had accepted responsibility for fathering the child, and, in turn, whether or not their partners had paid intlawulo.

The third and final category involved an exploration of the various different barriers to intlawulo, or the factors that hindered the payment or slowed down the negotiation process. These factors included financial constraints, scepticism over paternity claims, and differences in beliefs or views between families. The first of these, financial constraints, had the potential to impact negatively on single-mothers' overall experiences of intlawulo, as it prevented her family from receiving intlawulo altogether. Other women struggled to secure an intlawulo payment due to scepticism they received from their partner and/or his family with regard to the authenticity of her paternity claims. According to reports of participants in this study,

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

scepticism over paternity claims was often linked to suspicions of promiscuity, and sometimes to suspicions of the young women seeking financial gain from a man's family. Such scepticism and mistrust, once again, had the potential to impact negatively on a single mother's dignity and self-esteem by exacerbating the stress and stigma she was already experiencing as a young, unmarried mother. A final barrier to intlawulo was the fact that different families held different beliefs about/views on intlawulo, and that woman and their families did not always agree with their partner and his family's way of going about a custom such as intlawulo.

Through a critical analysis of the data and an exploration of the phenomenon of intlawulo through the lens of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model, a theoretical understanding of Xhosa-speaking, single mothers' experiences of the custom was formulated. It was concluded that Xhosa-speaking single mothers had varying experiences of intlawulo, and that this variance was inextricably linked to whether or not the participants' partners had acknowledged their paternity and/or paid intlawulo. These vastly different experiences and interpretations of intlawulo, once again, demonstrate the complexity of the custom and the nuanced views and experiences that people have thereof.

5.2 Limitations and recommendations

A limitation of this study is that it explored only single mothers' experiences of intlawulo, and did not explore any of the views or experiences of their family members or partners. As highlighted in past studies, such as that by Patel and Mavungu (2016), South African men have previously expressed their discontent over not being able to see or be involved with their children due to a lack of an intlawulo or "inhlawulo" (Zulu) payment. Other authors, like De Goede (2018), have noted that research on single parenthood in the last few decades has tended to focus on single mothers rather than on single fathers. A recommendation for future research would therefore be to interview both male and female partners with regard to their experiences

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

of intlawulo, so that similarities and differences in their experiences of the custom can be explored.

Another recommendation for future research is to explore the views on, and experiences of, the custom amongst the older generation (i.e., the single mother's parents and/or grandparents), so that it can be established whether the views that elders hold of intlawulo are significantly different from those of youngsters, as was found in this study. The notion that intlawulo was considered more important and valuable by the participants' parents and other elders is, however, the participants' own subjective beliefs and opinions on how their elders perceive the custom, and it cannot be said for certain that this is exactly how their elders see or feel about the custom. In order to establish how the older generation truly feels about or views intlawulo, it would be necessary to conduct interviews with them as well. . This would allow for an interesting comparison between the generational views and experiences of the custom – and whether or not there are indeed such stark intergenerational differences in the beliefs and views surrounding intlawulo.

The participants that took part in this study were all residing within an urban informal settlement (the Cape Town Metropolitan region) and their experiences of intlawulo can therefore be said to have been influenced by socio-economic factors such as poverty, globalisation and modernisation. According to the findings of previous research, the expectation for intlawulo to be paid tends to be strongest in rural areas (Wilson, 2006). A recommendation for future research would thus be to explore the views and experiences of intlawulo in both rural and urban isiXhosa communities. Such a comparison would allow researchers and practitioners to establish whether or not urbanisation may be contributing to shifting views on culture and customs amongst the youth.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

References

Anderson, C. M. (2016). The diversity, strengths, and challenges of single-parent households. In F. Walsh (Ed.), *Normal family processes: Growing diversity and complexity* (4th ed., pp. 128–148). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Angless, T. M. (1990). *An exploration into the counselling needs of battered women: A feminist perspective for clinical social work practice.* (Masters thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa). Retrieved from https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/14370/thesis_hum_1990_angless_teresa_m.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Anney, V. N. (2015). Ensuring the quality of the findings of qualitative research: Looking at trustworthiness criteria. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies (JETERAPS), 5*(2), 272–281. Retrieved from: http://jeteraps.scholarlinkresearch.com/articles/Ensuring%20The%20Quality%20Of%20The%20Findings%20new.pdf

Antaki, C., Billing, M., Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (2003). Discourse analysis means doing analysis: a critique of six analytic shortcomings. *Discourse Analysis Online, 1,* 1–7. Retrieved from: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/0278/161e36ba3e3b15270379399f6b463a295066.pdf

Battersby, J. (2011). The state of urban food insecurity in Cape Town. *Urban Food Security Series,* (11), 1–35. Retrieved from: www.afsun.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/AFSUN_11.pdf

Bazeley, P. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: Practical strategies*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Becker, H., & Hinz, M. O. (1995). *Marriage and customary law in Namibia*. CASS Working Document No. 30. Windhoek: Centre for Applied Social Science. Retrieved from: https://www.africabib.org/rec.php?RID=W00067720

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Bersoff, D. M., & Bersoff, D. N. (1999). Ethical perspectives in clinical research. In P. C. Kendall, J. N. Butcher, & G. N. Holbeck (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in clinical psychology* (pp. 31–53). New York: John Wiley.

Bless, C., Higson-Smith, C., & Sithole, L. (2013). *Fundamentals of social research methods: An African perspective* (5th ed.). Cape Town: Juta & Company Ltd.

Bowden, R., Even-Zahav, E., & Kelly, C. (2018). Innovative food procurement strategies of women living in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. *Urban Forum, 29*(3), 315–332. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-018-9338-3.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101. doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Brijlal, P., & Jere, A. K. (2019). Identifying and exploiting economic opportunities: The case of unemployed women in Khayelitsha township, Cape Town. *African Journal of Business and Economic Research, 14*(2), 5–23. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.31920/1750-4562/2019/14n2a1

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). Recent advances in research on the ecology of human development. In R. K. Silbereisen, K. Eyferth, & G. Rudinger (Eds.), *Development as action in context: Problem behavior and normal youth development* (pp. 287–309). Heidelberg and New York: Springer.

Bryman, A. (2012). The nature of qualitative research. In A. Bryman, *Social research methods* (pp. 379–413). New York: Oxford University Press.

Chan, Z. C., Fung, Y. L., & Chien, W. T. (2013). Bracketing in phenomenology: Only undertaken in the data collection and analysis process. *The Qualitative Report, 18*(30), 1–9. Retrieved from: https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol18/iss30/1

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Christopher, K., England, P., Smeeding, T. M., & Phillips, K. R. (2002). The gender gap in poverty in modern nations: Single motherhood, the market, and the state. *Sociological Perspectives, 45*(3), 219–242. Retrieved from: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1525/sop.2002.45.3.219

Cini, L., & Zabberoni, S. (Producers), & Cini, L. (Director). (2017). *Punishment island* [Documentary]. Italy: Berta Films. Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nj1xoo41Mq8

Coetzee, B. J. (2015). *Barriers to and facilitators of paediatric adherence to antiretroviral therapy (ART) amongst children younger than five years in rural South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, South Africa). Retrieved from: https://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/97966

Coulton, C. J., Crampton, D. S., Irwin, M., Spilsbury, J. C., & Korbin, J. E. (2007). How neighborhoods influence child maltreatment: A review of the literature and alternative pathways. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 31*(11), 1117–1142. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2007.03.023

Darling, N. (2007). Ecological systems theory: The person in the center of the circles. *Research in Human Development, 4*(3–4), 203–217. Retrieved from: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15427600701663023

De Goede, C. (2018). *The management of family routines by single, Xhosa-speaking mothers with young children* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, South Africa). Retrieved from: https://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/103334

Denis, P., & Ntsimane, R. (2006). Absent fathers: Why do men not feature in stories of families affected by HIV/AIDS in KwaZulu-Natal? In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 237–249). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Eddy, M. M., Thomson-de Boor, H., & Mphaka, K. (2013). *So we are ATM fathers: A study of absent fathers in Johannesburg, South Africa*. Retrieved from: https://www.uj.ac.za/faculties/humanities/csda/Documents/Absent-fathers-full-report%202013.pdf

Evans, G. W., Gonnella, C., Marcynyszyn, L. A., Gentile, L., & Salpekar, N. (2005). The role of chaos and poverty and children's socioemotional adjustment. *Psychological Science, 16*(7), 560–565. doi:10.1111/j.0956-7976.2005.01575.x

Grimshaw, J. (1993). Practices of freedom. In C. Ramazanoğlu (Ed.), *Up against Foucault: Explorations of some tensions between Foucault and feminism* (pp. 52–72). London: Routledge.

Guma, M., & Henda, N. (2004). The socio-cultural context of child abuse: A betrayal of trust. In L. Richter, A. Dawes, & C. Higson-Smith (Eds.), *Sexual abuse of young children in southern Africa* (pp. 95–109). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Heppner, P. P. (2008). Expanding the conceptualization and measurement of applied problem solving and coping: From stages to dimensions to the almost forgotten cultural context. *American Psychologist*, *63*, 805-816. Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.63.8.805

Hirano, K. A., Rowe, D., Lindstrom, L., & Chan, P. (2018). Systemic barriers to family involvement in transition planning for youth with disabilities: A qualitative metasynthesis. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 27*(11), 3440–3456. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1189-y

Hunter, M. (2006). Fathers without Amandla: Zulu-speaking men and fatherhood. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 99–107). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Hunter, M. (2011). Beneath the "Zunami": Jacob Zuma and the gendered politics of social reproduction in South Africa. *Antipode, 43*(4), 1102–1126. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00847.x

James, S. (2015). Xhosa teenagers' experience of motherhood. *Africa Journal of Nursing and Midwifery, 17*(1), 90–103. Retrieved from: https://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/sabinet/ajnm/2015/00000017/00000001/art00008

Joyce, P. (2009). *Cultures of South Africa: A celebration*. Cape Town: Sunbird Publishers.

Kaufman, C. E., De Wet, T., & Stadler, J. (2001). Adolescent pregnancy and parenthood in South Africa. *Studies in Family Planning, 32*(2), 147–160. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4465.2001.00147.x

Kazdin, A. E. (1999). Overview of research design issues in clinical psychology. In P. C. Kendall, J. N. Butcher, & G. N. Holmbeck (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in clinical psychology* (pp. 3–30). New York: John Wiley.

Khewu, N., & Adu, E. O. (2017). Problems confronting fathers in the education of their pre-school age children and the implications for South African Early Education Policy. *Journal of Social Sciences, 50*(1–3), 153–160. doi:10.1080/09718923.2017.1311730

Khunou, G. (2006). Fathers don't stand a chance: Experience of custody, access and maintenance. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 265–276). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Kim, D. S., Jeon, G. S., & Jang, S. N. (2010). Socioeconomic status, social support and self-rated health among lone mothers in South Korea. *International Journal of Public Health, 55*(6), 551–559. doi:10.1007/s00038-010-0169-9

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Kotzé, T., Van der Westhuizen, M., & Barnard, E. (2017). Teaching strategies to support isiXhosa learners who receive education in a second/third language. *South African Journal of Education, 37*(3), 1–12. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.15700/saje.v37n3a1374

Kreider, R. M., & Elliott, D. B. (2009). America's families and living arrangements. Current Population Reports 2007, 20-561. Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhorn, C. (1963). Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions. *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Harvard University, 47*(1), 8–223. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kuper, A. (1982). Lineage theory: A critical retrospect. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 11*(1), 71–95. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Adam_Kuper/publication/234147498_Lineage_Theory_A_Critical_Retrospect/links/5a16f26da6fdcc50ade5f5e7/Lineage-Theory-A-Critical-Retrospect.pdf

Kurian, G. (1991). South Asians in Canada. *International Migration, 29*(3), 421–433. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.1991.tb01029.x

Langa, M., & Smith, N. (2012). Responsible teenage fatherhood in a South African historically disadvantaged community. *Journal of Psychology in Africa, 22*(2), 255–258. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1080/14330237.2012.10820526

Lau, J., & Ng, K. M. (2014). Conceptualizing the counseling training environment using Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling, 36*(4), 423–439. doi:10.1007/s10447-014-9220-5

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry,* 289–331. London: Sage Publications.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Loh, J. (2013). Inquiry into issues of trustworthiness and quality in narrative studies: A perspective. *The Qualitative Report, 18*(33), 1–15. Retrieved from: https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol18/iss33/1

Macnee, C. L., & McCabe, S. (2008). Data collection methods. *Understanding nursing research: Using research in evidence-based practice* (2nd ed., pp. 160–192). Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Makusha, T., & Richter, L. (2016). Gatekeeping and its impact on father involvement among black South Africans in rural KwaZulu-Natal. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 18*(3), 308–320. doi:10.1080/13691058.2015.1083122

Maree, J. G. (2010). Reassessing career counselling in Africa in the 21st century: Breathing new life into qualitative approaches. *Journal of Psychology in Africa, 20*(3), 353–358. Retrieved from: https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/16222/Maree_Editoria%282010%29.pdf?sequence=1

Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (2010). Cultures and selves: A cycle if mutual constitution. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 5*(4), 420–430. doi:10.1177/1745691610375557

McIlveen, P., & and Patton, W. (2006). A critical reflection on career development. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance, 6*(1), 15–27. Retrieved from: http://eprints.qut.edu.au/5584/1/5584.pdf

McMahon, M., & Patton, W. (2002). Using qualitative assessment in career counselling. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance, 2*(1), 51–66. Retrieved from: http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.471.6918&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Mkhize, N., & Msomi, R. (2016). African single mothers' experiences of work and career in South Africa. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 47*(3), 323–342. doi:10.3138/jcfs.47.3.323

Mkhwanazi, N., & Block, E. (2016). Paternity matters: Premarital childbearing and belonging in Nyanga East and Mokhotlong. *Social Dynamics, 42*(2), 273–288. Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02533952.2016.1218137

Mndende, N. (2006). *African spiritual journey: Rites of passage among the Xhosa speaking of South Africa*. Cape Town: Icamagu Institute.

Morrow, S. L. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counseling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*(2), 250–260. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.250

Mturi, A. J., & Moerane, W. (2001). Premarital childbearing among adolescents in Lesotho. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 27*(2), 259–275. doi:10.1080/03057070120049967

Mtuze, P. T. (2004). *Introduction to Xhosa culture*. Alice, South Africa: Lovedale Press.

Mulherin, K., & Johnstone, M. (2015). Qualitative accounts of teenage and emerging adult women adjusting to motherhood. *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology*, *33*(4), 388–401. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1080/02646838.2015.1042963

Mwamwenda, T., & Monyooe, L. (1997). Status of bridewealth in an African culture. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 137*(2), 269–271. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1080/00224549709595438

Nathane-Taulela, M., & Nduna, M. (2014). Young women's experiences following discovering a biological father in Mpumalanga province, South Africa. *The Open Family Studies Journal, 6*(1), 62–68. Retrieved from: https://benthamopen.com/contents/pdf/TOFAMSJ/TOFAMSJ-6-62.pdf

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Nduna, M., & Jewkes, R. (2012a). Disempowerment and psychological distress in the lives of young people in Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 21*(6), 1018–1027. doi:10.1007/s10826-011-9564-y

Nduna, M., & Jewkes, R. (2012b). Denied and disputed paternity in teenage pregnancy: topical structural analysis of case studies of young women from the Eastern Cape Province. *Social Dynamics, 38*(2), 314–330. Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02533952.2012.719349

Nduna, M., Kasese-Hara, M., Ndebele, M., Pillay, N., & Manala, L. (2011). Prevalence and characteristics of unresolved paternal identity in families of a South African community. *Journal of Psychology in Africa, 21*(4), 589–593. doi:10.1080/14330237.2011.10820503

Nduna, M., & Sikweyiya, Y. (2015). Silence in young women's narratives of absent and unknown fathers from Mpumalanga Province, South Africa. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 24*(2), 536–545. doi:10.1007/s10826-013-9866-3

Neal, J. W., & Neal, Z. P. (2013). Nested or networked? Future directions for ecological systems theory. *Social Development, 22*(4), 722–737. doi:10.111/sode.12018

Ntshongwana, P., Wright, G., Barnes, H., & Noble, M. (2015). Lone motherhood in South Africa: Some methodological challenges and policy imperatives. *South African Review of Sociology, 46*(4), 80–99. doi:10.1080/21528586.2015.1100096

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Collins, K. M. (2007). A typology of mixed methods sampling designs in social science research. *The Qualitative Report, 12*(2), 281–316. Retrieved from: https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol12/iss2/9

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Ozah, K., & Skelton, A. (2018). Legal perspectives: Children, families and the state. In K. Hall, L. Richter, Z. Mokomane, & L. Lake (Eds.), *Children, families and the state: Collaboration and contestation* (pp. 46– 60). Retrieved from: https://www.hst.org.za/publications/NonHST%20Publications/South%20African%20Child%20Gauge%202018.pdf#page=48

Padmanabhanunni, A., Jaffer, L., & Steenkamp, J. (2017). Menstruation experiences of South African women belonging to the ama-Xhosa ethnic group. *Culture, Health & Sexuality,* 20(6):704–714. doi:10.1080/13691058.2017.1371335

Parker, G. (2015). The practice of lobola in contemporary South African society. *Journal of Third World Studies*, *32*(2), 175–190. Retrieved from: https://muse.jhu.edu/article/646560/summary

Patel, L., & Mavungu, E. M. (2016). Children, families and the conundrum about men: Exploring factors contributing to father absence in South Africa and its implications for social and care policies. *South African Review of Sociology, 47*(2), 19–39. doi:10.1080/21528586.2016.1161543

Phoofolo, P. (2007). Holy weddings, unholy marriages: Christian spouses and domestic discords in early colonial Lesotho, 1870–1900. *Journal of Religious History, 31*(4), 363–386. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9809.2007.00688.x

Ramphele, M. (2002). Steering by the stars: Youth in cities. In M. Tienda & W. J. Wilson (Eds.), *Youth in cities: A cross-national perspective* (pp. 21–30). Cape Town: Cambridge University Press.

Ramphele, M., & Richter, L. (2006). Migrancy, family dissolution and fatherhood. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 73–81). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Raniga, T., & Mthembu, M. (2017). Family resilience in low income communities: A case study of an informal settlement in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *International Journal of Social Welfare, 26*(3), 276–284. doi:10.1111/ijsw.12243.

Reid, K., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2005). Interpretative phenomenological analysis: An overview and methodological review. *The Psychologist, 18*(1), 20–23.

Republic of South Africa Government Gazette: Children's Act 38 (2005). Retrieved from: http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/2005-038%20childrensact.pdf

Richards, D., Hunter, L., Forey, K., Myers, C., Christensen, E., Cain, S., ... & Van Hoving, D. J. (2018). Demographics and predictors of mortality in children undergoing resuscitation at Khayelitsha Hospital, Western Cape, South Africa. *South African Journal of Child Health, 12*(3), 127–131. Retrieved from: https://www.ajol.info/index.php/sajchh/article/view/178337

Richter, L. M., & Dawes, A. R. (2008). Child abuse in South Africa: Rights and wrongs. *Child Abuse Review, 17*(2), 79–93. doi:10.1002/car.1004

Richter, L., Chikovore, J., & Makusha, T. (2010). The status of fatherhood and fathering in South Africa. *Childhood Education, 86*(6), 360–365. doi:10.1080/00094056.2010.10523170

Rudwick, S., & Posel, D. (2014). Contemporary functions of ilobolo (bridewealth) in urban South African Zulu society. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 32*(1), 118–136. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2014.900310

Scientific Software Development. (2016). ATLAS.ti (version 8) [Data analysis and research software]. Retrieved from www.atlasti.com

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information, 22*(2), 63–75. doi:0167-8329/04/$17.00

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Skelton, A., Carnelley, M., Human, S., Robinson, J. A., & Smith, B. (2010). 20.4.2 Duty to maintain. In A. Skelton, & M. Carnelley (Eds.), *Family law in South Africa: Private Law*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Smith, D. J. (2000). "These girls today na war-o": Premarital sexuality and modern identity in Southeastern Nigeria. *Africa Today, 47*(3), 99–120. doi:10.1353/at.2000.0074

Smith, P. N. (2006). *Resilience in Xhosa families* (DPhil thesis, Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, South Africa). Retrieved from: https://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/1478

Sooryamoorthy, R., & Makhoba, M. (2016). The family in modern South Africa: Insights from recent research. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 47*(3), 309–321. doi:10.3138/jcfs.47.3.309

Stanley, S., Kuraski, K. S., & Srinivasan, S. (1999). Ethnicity, gender and cross cultural issues in clinical research. In P. C. Kendall, J. N. Butcher, & G. N. Holmbeck (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in clinical psychology* (pp. 54–71). New York: John Wiley.

Statistics South Africa (StatsSA). (2012). *Gender statistics in South Africa, 2011* (Report no. 03-10-05). Pretoria: Statistics South Africa. Retrieved from: http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-10-05/Report-03-10-052011.pdf

Swaartbooi-Xabadiya, Z., & Nduna, M. (2014). Virginity testing: Perceptions of adolescent girls in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. *New Voices in Psychology, 10*(1), 16–34. Retrieved from: https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC160960

Targosz, S., Bebbington, P., Lewis, G., Brugha, T., Jenkins, R., Farrell, M., & Meltzer, H. (2003). Lone mothers, social exclusion and depression. *Psychological Medicine, 33*(4), 715–722. doi:10.1017/S0033291703007347

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Trainor, A., Lindstrom, L., Simon-Burroughs, M., Sorrells, A., & Martin, J. (2008). From marginalized to maximized opportunities for diverse youth with disabilities: Position paper of the division on career development and transition. *Career Development for Exceptional Individuals, 31*(1), 56–64. doi:10.1177/0885728807313777

Vélez-Agosto, N. M., Soto-Crespo, J. G., Vizcarrondo-Oppenheimer, M., Vega-Molina, S., & García Coll, C. (2017). Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory revision: Moving culture from the macro into the micro. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 12*(5), 900–910. doi:10.1177/1745691617704397

Ventura, S. J. (2009). Changing patterns of nonmarital childbearing in the United States. *NCH 8 Data Brief, 18*, 1–8. Retrieved from: https://stacks.cdc.gov/view/cdc/5441

Veroff, J. B., & Goldberger, N. R. (1995). What's in a name? The case for intercultural psychology. In. N. R. Goldberger & J. B. Veroff (Eds.), *The culture and psychology reader* (pp. 3–21). New York: New York University Press.

Visser, M. (2007). The social ecological model as theoretical framework in community psychology. In N. Duncan, B. Bowman, A. Naidoo, J. Pillay, & V. Roos (Eds.), *Community psychology: Analysis, context and action* (pp. 102–116). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Walker, R. (1985). An introduction to applied qualitative research. In R. Walker (Ed.), *Applied Qualitative Research* (pp. 3–26). Hant: Gower.

Wasserman, S., Pattison, P., & Steinley, D. (2005). Social networks. In S. Wasserman, & P. Pattinson (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of statistics in behavioral science*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Wilson, F. (2006). On being a father and poor in southern Africa today. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 26–37). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Wong, Y. L. I., Garfinkel, I., & McLanahan, S. (1993). Single-mother families in eight countries: Economic status and social policy. *Social Service Review, 67*(2), 177–197. Retrieved from: http://hdl.handle.net/10419/160748

Yoshikawa, H., Aber, J. L., & Beardslee, W. R. (2012). The effects of poverty on the mental, emotional, and behavioral health of children and youth: Implications for prevention. *American Psychologist, 67*(4), 272–284. doi:10.1037/a0028015

Zaidi, A. U., & Shuraydi, M. (2002). Perceptions of arranged marriages by young Pakistani Muslim women living in a Western society. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 33*(4), 495–514. Retrieved from: https://www.jstor.org/stable/4160383

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Appendix A

Fieldworker's details and information

Name and surname: Noluthando Kwayiman

Gender: Female

Age: 26

Home-language: IsiXhosa

Other languages: English

Current occupation: Family Affairs Facilitator at Salesian Life Choices –a social enterprise aimed at addressing inequality within the 'Cape Flats'.

Qualifications, previous experience and skills:

Noluthando has gained valuable experience over the years, presenting parenting workshops within the relevant communities and working with diverse groups of vulnerable people. Through these activities she has established a wide network and has become well known within these communities. She is also a Xhosa-speaking single mother and is therefore affiliated with many other single mothers within the communities where she lives and works. She has also previously worked as a recruiter and interviewer for other research teams, where she underwent training for recruitment strategies, how to conduct interviews, and on ethics. She has completed high school and is currently in the process of completing her tertiary education. She has agreed to be our fieldworker and is aware of exactly what will be required of her in terms of recruitment and data collection.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Appendix B

Sampling script

Greeting and brief introduction

Good day, my name is Noluthando and I am a Xhosa single mother living in Cape Town. I have approached you today//I am contacting you today because I am assisting with a research study at Stellenbosch University on Xhosa single mothers and I believe that you fit the inclusion criteria for this study. I am looking for participants to take part and was wondering if you wouldn't perhaps give me a few minutes of your time so that I can tell you more about the study?

**Allow for response*.*

If they are not interested, thank them for their time and give a polite goodbye. Perhaps ask if they know of someone else who fits the inclusion criteria and who would possibly be interested.

If they are interested and would like to find out more, continue with the script as follows:

What the study is about/ what it entails

The study is about Xhosa-speaking single mothers' experiences of intlawulo (or 'paying the damages'). There has not been a study like this before so we are eager to find out more about the topic of *intlawulo* and specifically how you, as a Xhosa single mother, have experienced it. You have been identified as a potential participant because, as I understand it, you see yourself as a single mother, you've never been married, your mother-tongue is isiXhosa, you are able to speak English relatively easily, you live in the Cape Town metropolitan area, you are between the ages of 18 and 35, and the birth of your first child happened during the last five years. Is this information correct, or do you disagree with me on some of these points?

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Allow for response

If you decide to take part in the study, we would have one interview with you that would take only about an hour of your time. Remember that any information you share would be kept confidential, which means that it will not be shared with anyone outside of the research team at any time. You also mustn't feel obliged to take part in the study, you don't have to if you don't want to. You can even withdraw at any time from the study, even once you've agreed to participate in it. You have the right to choose what you want to talk about and what you don't want to talk about and you can also stop whenever you feel like it. Should you want to take part, the interview will be held at your house or any other place that is most convenient for you.

Do you have any questions?

Allow for response and answer any questions that they might have. Refer to participant information and consent form for clarity on any concerns raised.

Would you like to be a participant in this study?

Allow for response. If they say **no, thank them for their time ask them if they know of someone else who fits the inclusion criteria and who would possibly be interested in taking part. Give a polite goodbye. If they say **yes,** thank them and tell them that their participation will make a valuable contribution to our research. Arrange a date and time for the interview that suits them. Lastly, ask them if they know of someone else who fits the inclusion criteria and who would possibly be interested in taking part in the study. Tell them that a reminder SMS will be sent to them the day before their interview and give them a polite goodbye.*

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Appendix C

Participant information and consent form

UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are hereby invited to take part in an interview which forms part of a study being conducted by Caileen Lubbe, under the supervision of Professor AP Greeff and Dr. Christine de Goede from the Psychology Department at Stellenbosch University. The interviews are to be conducted by our fieldworker Noluthando Kwayiman, who is working for us as a fieldworker. You were approached as a possible participant because you are a Xhosa-speaking, never-married, single mother between the ages of 18 and 35, living within the Cape Town Metropolitan region and you therefore fit our inclusion criteria for this study. Your participation will be of great value and will make a significant contribution to our research.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study will look at Xhosa-speaking single mothers' experiences of *intlawulo* (paying the damages). There has not yet been a lot of research done on this topic, so we would like to get as much information as we can about *intlawulo* to fill this gap in the research and to build on to the knowledge that we currently have of it.

2. WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to fill out a short biographical questionnaire and to take part in an interview. Our fieldworker Noluthando (Nolly) will come to your house or any other place that is most convenient for you. You will be given the choice of filling in the biographical questionnaire yourself or to have it filled in by the interviewer as she reads through it with you. This should take no longer than 10 minutes to complete. Once this has been done, you will begin with the interview which should take a maximum of 1 hour. You will be asked a few broad questions that you may answer in any way you want. There is no right or wrong answer. We will also ask you to do the interview in English so that it does not have to be translated from Xhosa to English later, as it is very expensive to translate. However, if you wish to express something specific in Xhosa at any point during the interview for your own convenience or to convey something more clearly, you are welcome to do so. For practical reasons all interviews will be recorded with an audio recorder, however if you should have any concerns or feel uncomfortable with us recording the interview, please inform the interviewer.

3. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

The interviewer may ask you to reflect on personal, sometimes painful experiences in your life. Talking about these events in your life may be a positive experience for you, but for some it can be distressing. Should you experience any discomfort or emotional distress during the interview we ask that you bring this to the interviewer's attention. If this occurs you can decide whether you wish to continue with the interview, whether you'd like to take a break, or whether you'd rather want to end the interview. If you experience any discomfort or psychological distress following the interview, you will be referred to the relevant persons or facilities for psychological support, free of charge. Contact details and physical addresses are provided below:

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Life Line: 56 Roland Street, Cape Town, 8001 (24 hour telephone counselling service; AIDS and HIV counselling).

- (021) 461 1113 - office
- (021) 461 1111 – helpline

Life Line Bishop Lavis Day Hospital, Lavis Drive, 7490 (Drop-in Centre Monday to Friday 8H00 – 16H00 and Saturday by appointment).

- (021) 9344822/3027
- (021) 934 3037

Khayalitsha Cape Town, CWD 505 Scott Street, CWD Centre, Khaylitsha, 7784 (Drop-in Centre Monday to Friday 8H00 – 13H00 and Saturday by appointment).

- (021) 361 5855 – lifeline
- (021) 361 9197 – office

Families South Africa (FAMSA)

No 9 Bowden Road, Observatory, 7925 (Offer counselling for individuals, couples and families; violence awareness; trauma debriefing; premarital counselling and divorce mediation).

- (021) 447 7951
- (021) 447 0170 - Appointments
- (021) 447 0174

.

4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

The results obtained from this study will provide various benefits to society as it will contribute to the knowledge that exists of *intlawulo,* both academically and within the general public. Through this study we also want to create an awareness of the experiences that Xhosa-speaking single mothers have had with the custom of *intlawulo*, so that other women who find themselves in similar situations might be able to relate with these experiences and feel less alone in the daily challenges they face. Our hope is that this will empower single mothers and help them and their families to gain even more knowledge about *intlawulo*.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

You will be given a R50 food voucher as a token of appreciation for your participation. This will be given to you once the interview has been completed. There are no costs that you need to pay for participation.

5. PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY AND IDENTITY

Any information that you share in your biographical questionnaire or during your interview with Nolly that could possibly identify you as a participant, will be kept confidential. This means that it will not be shared with anyone outside of the research team and will be stored in a safe, secure place at all times. All transcriptions of the interviews will be stored electronically on the principal investigator’s (C. Lubbe) personal computer that is password-protected. No outside parties will be able to retrieve this information at any time, nor will they be allowed to obtain it from the primary researchers. No names of participants or organisations involved will be identified in the final research report.

We will ask you to provide a pseudonym (a made up name that will be used to replace your real name when we report the research results) so that your responses will remain anonymous. Confidentiality and anonymity will also be maintained if the results of the present study were to be published in an academic journal or article.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

6. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you agree to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any consequence. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study.

7. RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Caileen Lubbe at 079 213 0230 (E-mail: caileenlubbe21@gmail.com) and/or the supervisor Professor Awie Greeff at 021 808 3464 (E-mail: apg@sun.ac.za) or the co-supervisor Dr. Christine De Goede at 082 294 4270 (E-mail: christine.degoede@gmail.com).

8. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have taken note of the above information and I am comfortable with the language it is written in.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I ________________________________ *(name of participant)* agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Caileen Lubbe.

__________________________________   ______________________

Signature of Participant   **Date**

DECLARATION BY THE DATA COLLECTOR

As the **interviewer,** I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition I would like to select the following option:

	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.

__________________________________   ______________________

Signature of Principal Investigator   **Date**

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Appendix D

Biographical Questionnaire

1) Name: ______________________________

2) Age: _______

3) Is IsiXhosa your home language? Yes No

4) Have you ever been married before? Yes No

5) Are you currently in a relationship with anyone? Yes No

6) Do you identify yourself as a single mother? Yes No

7) Briefly tell us why you identify yourself as a single mother:

____

____

____

8) What is the age of your oldest child? _________________________

9) Who lives with you? (Please indicate with a cross and specify how many)

		#
Mother		-
Father		-
Brother(s)		
Sister(s)		
Grandmother		-
Grandfather		-
Cousin(s)		
Aunt(s)		
Uncle(s)		
Niece(s)		
Nephew(s)		
Friend(s)		
Other children (who are not your own)		

10) Which community do you live in within the Cape Town Metropolitan area? ____________

____

11) How long have you been living in the Cape Town Metropolitan area? ________________

12) Where were you born? ____, and where did you grow up? ____

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Appendix E

Interview schedule

i) Opening

Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this study. We will be covering the topic of *intlawulo*, is that ok with you?

[Allow for participant to respond]

For the purpose of this study I would like for you to provide as much information as you can about *intlawulo* because a lot of people who will be reading the final research study will know nothing or very little about it, so let's assume that you're talking about it to someone who's never heard of it before. Also, remember that each Xhosa single mother has had a different experience with *intlawulo,* and may understand it in a different way. So your experiences of it may differ greatly from mine, even though we are both Xhosa single mothers. That is why I want you to tell me as much as you can about your own experiences, and not to assume that it has been exactly the same as mine.

I would like to remind you that all of the information that I obtain from this interview will be used for research purposes only and that all responses and personal information that you provide will remain confidential. However, should you mention anything that leads me to believe that you and/or someone else is at risk of serious physical and/or emotional harm, I will have to pass the information over to the research supervisor. The interview should take an hour at the most and you have the right to withdraw freely from the study at any point, should you wish to do so. Are there any questions that you would like to ask before we begin?

[Allow for participant to respond]

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Is it ok with you if I record our conversation for the purpose of transcribing it later?

[Allow for participant to respond]

Ok let's begin.

ii) Body

*Main question(s) presented in normal font and prompts in italics.

Introductory question: What happened when you first found out that you were pregnant?

Question 1: Tell me, what is *intlawulo* to you?

- *How do you understand it?*
- *What does it mean to you?*

Question 2: The *intlawulo* process might have happened differently in your family than in mine, so tell me, what happened with you?

- *What did your family do and how did it make you feel?*
- *How did your boyfriend react and how did that make you feel?*
- *How did your boyfriend's family react and how did their reaction affect you?*
- *How did it affect your relationships with others? (Parents, other family members, the father of the child, his family, members of the community)*

***General probes**:*

- *Sounds like it was difficult, how did you feel about it?*
- *Earlier you mentioned/spoke about […], can you tell me a bit more about that?*
- *I notice you've spoken a lot about […], but what about […]? *Keep focus on intlawulo and how what its impact was on the participant, her family, and others around her. Also, how did it affect the relationships or interactions between the participant and her family or others around her (ie. community members, people at work/school or friends).*

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

iii) Closing

Do you have any further questions or concerns about the topics that we have discussed, or is there anything specific that you would like to add to your responses?

[Allow for participant to respond]

Do you know of someone else who fits the inclusion criteria, and who you think might also like to take part in the study?

[Allow for participant to respond]

Thank you once again for your participation in this research study. Should you wish to read the final report and the results thereof I will gladly send you a copy once it has been printed!

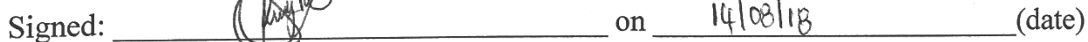
Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Appendix F

Data Collector's Non-disclosure and Ethics Agreement

I Nolutnando Kwayimani (name and surname), promise to adhere to the following principles when recruiting participants and conducting interviews:

- Not to recruit friends, family members or any individuals who have attended my parenting workshops through Salesian Life Choices.
- To be sensitive to the feelings and wishes of participants at all times.
- To inform the rest of the research team if a participant has experienced distress or was upset during an interview.
- To reflect on feedback that I receive from the principal investigator and to use this feedback proactively so that I can improve the quality of interviews that are to follow.
- To carry out the tasks requested of me strictly according to the sampling script and interview schedule and to remain ethically conscious at all times.
- To keep all participants' information confidential at all times and not to disclose it to anyone outside of the research team.



Signed: ______________________ on 14/08/18 ______________(date)

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Appendix G

NOTICE OF APPROVAL

REC Humanities

New Application Form

19 September 2018

Project number: 7721

Project Title: Xhosa-speaking single-mothers' experiences of 'intlawulo' (paying the damages)

Dear Miss Caileen Lubbe

Your REC Humanities New Application Form submitted on 20 August 2018 was reviewed and approved by the REC: Humanities. Please note the following for your approved submission:

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
26 July 2018	25 July 2019

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number (7721) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary).

Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Data collection tool	Interview schedule_Appendix E	04/07/2018	1
Informed Consent Form	Participant information and consent form_Appendix C	20/08/2018	2
Research Protocol/Proposal	C Lubbe_Masters Research Proposal -18219969_20 August 2018	20/08/2018	2
Non-disclosure agreement	Fieldworker non-disclosure and ethics agreement	20/08/2018	2
Default	Responses to REC feedback	20/08/2018	1

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at cgraham@sun.ac.za. Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Appendix H

Mapping exercise

Mapping of the literature review to open-ended questions and probes contained in the interview schedule

Question	Question reference/ number	Relevant literature
What happened when you first found out that you were pregnant?	Introductory question	De Goede (2018); Mturi & Moerane, 2001; Mulherin & Johnstone, 2015; Phoofolo, 2007
Tell me, what is intlawulo to you?	Question 1	De Goede (2018)
- How do you understand it? -What does it mean to you	Probes (Q1) (relating to personal symbolism and interpretation)	
The intlawulo process might have happened differently in your family than in mine, so tell me, what happened with you?	Question 2	De Goede (2018)
-What did your family do and how did it make you feel? -How did your boyfriend react and how did that make you feel? -How did your boyfriend's family react and how did their reaction affect you? -How did it affect your relationships with others? (parents, other family members, partner, his family, community).	Probes (Q2) (relating to psychological and/or emotional implications; and possible relationship changes resulting from the intlawulo process)	De Goede, 2018; James, 2015; Nduna & Jewkes, 2012b; Zaidi & Shuraydi, 2002