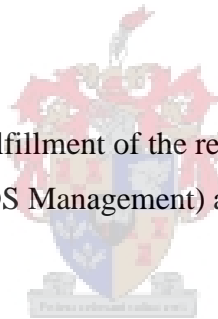**An analysis of the impact of child support grant on teenage fertility rate in South Africa**

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Assignment presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy (HIV/AIDS Management) at Stellenbosch University

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December 2008

Declaration

By submitting this assignment 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.

November 2008

Abstract

The introduction of Child Support Grant (CSG) in South Africa in 1998, gave rise to lots of unfounded rumours that it brings perverse incentives especially for teenagers to fall pregnant in order to access the grant. This research wants to determine whether there is a link between CSG and teenage fertility. The researcher in this research followed a triangulation of methods by using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Retrospective tables on CSG reports were analysed and correlation analysis was used to determine the link between the two variables. For qualitative data, in-depth interviews were conducted with teenage mothers and thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. The results obtained in this research suggests that there is no evidence that explicitly link CSG and teenage fertility rate except that there are other exogenous factors leading to the registration of the child for CSG.

Opsomming

Die Kindersorg-toelaag wat in 1998 in Suid-Afrika ingestel is, lei tot ongrondige gerigte dat dit verkeerde aansporing gee, veral vir tieners om swanger te raak om die toelaag te ontvang. Hierdie navorsing wil vasstel of daar 'n verwantskap is tussen die kindersorg-toelaag en tienerswangerskappe. Die navorser het van kwantitatiewe sowel as kwalitatiewe metodes gebruik gemaak. Retrospektiewe tabelle van Kindersorg-toelaag verslae is ontleed en korrelasie ontledings is gedoen om die verwantskap tussen die twee veranderlikes te bepaal. Vir kwalitatiewe data is in-diepte onderhoude met tiener moeders gevoer en tematiese ontledings is met die data gedoen. Die resultate van die navorsing toon dat daar geen bewys van 'n definitiewe verwantskap tussen die toelaag en tienerswangerskappe is nie, behalwe dat daar ander eksogene faktore is wat lei tot die registrasie vir die kindersorg-toelaag.

Chapter 1: Overview and Rationale

1.1 Introduction

Poverty alleviation is one of the primary objectives of social welfare policy (Republic of South Africa, 1997; Van der berg, 1998a). Over the past thirteen years the South African government has implemented a number of poverty alleviation measures with social assistance being one of them. In South Africa the majority of beneficiaries to social grants are women and children and this has a direct impact on poverty alleviation in households headed by women (Vorster, 2006). According to Vorster (2006), the increase in grant uptake was facilitated by government through improvements of systems for both grant delivery and the dissemination of grant information to potential beneficiaries, as well as changes to the eligibility criteria. According to the minister of social development Dr Zola Skweyiya, the government is injecting R3 billion a month into the budgets of poor households through social security grants. Social assistance has proven to be the most successful of the poverty alleviation measures especially the Disability Grant (DG) and Child Support Grant (CSG). The government of South Africa introduced Child Support Grant on the 1st of April 1998 with the intention to target impoverished children younger than 7 years. In the South African context, Child Support Grant is said to be a poverty alleviation strategy targeted at impoverished children which aims to provide the poorest parents or caregivers with monthly cash to cover day-to-day needs of children under the grant. According to Dieden and Gustafsson (2003: 330,331), almost two fifths of South African children live in female-headed households, which is true for over half of all poor children in South Africa. Could this kind of circumstances be influencing teenagers to take advantage of the Child Support Grant. The introduction of Child Support Grant in South Africa was greeted with a lot of mixed reactions. The advocates of Child Support Grant on one hand suggested that it could replace the then existing State Maintenance Grant (SMG) which was then eventually phased out in April 2001, while its critics on the other say that it brings about perverse incentives.

1.2 Relevance of the study

There have been unfounded rumours that the introduction of Child Support Grant in South Africa has brought with it some perverse incentives, one of which is to encourage women, especially teenage girls, to fall pregnant so as to access this grant. According to Spicker (2005), incentives cannot be understood in isolation and they vary according to the context in which they are applied. Spicker (2005) also points out that incentives are concerned with a potential gain, for example getting pregnant to access R190 Child Support Grant money. The question to be asked is whether or not people are gaining from this kind of behaviour. In order to attain a better the understanding of the terms and characteristics of incentives and their influence on behaviour, the study aims to link incentives with the perceived gain associated with them, particularly with regards to Child Support Grant. The study also strives to find the association between the observed increase in teenage fertility and the Child Support Grant. The characteristics of incentives will be discussed later.

1.3 Problem statement and research question

The problem that this research will strive to address is:

Does receiving Child Support Grant influence the decision of teenage mothers' (aged between 15 and 19 years old) motivation to have children? Given the general concern by both the government of South Africa and the general public about the rising number of teenage pregnancies, the researcher strives to find the link between Child Support Grant and the teenage fertility rate by finding qualitative information from the people who are alleged to be gaining from the perverse nature of the child Support Grant. To find out what their views, opinions and perceptions are about Child Support Grant money and its use. To realise this, the researcher aims to first determine whether there is any change in teenage fertility rate in South Africa and then try to link the change (if any) to Child Support Grant. Lastly the researcher aims to find other exogenous factors leading to the observed increase, if there is any.

1.4 Aims and objectives of the study

The main aim of this study is to determine the extent, if any, of the link between Child Support Grant and teenage fertility rate in South Africa. With this being the general aim of the research, the specific objectives drawn from the main aim are:

Objective 1: To provide a detailed analysis of the trends and levels of teenage fertility rates in South Africa. In order to determine whether there is any relationship between the two variables, which are fertility and Child Support Grant, the study will use correlation and regression analysis methods.

Objective 2: The study also aims to look at whether there are other exogenous factors influencing the observed trends and levels of teenage fertility. This will be done by conducting in-depth interviews with teenage mothers satisfying the selection criteria. These interviews aim to solicit views and opinions from the participants as well as their perceptions and attitudes towards Child Support Grant in general, its use as well as information on its relevance with regard to their children's lives. The interviews also strive to determine whether the Child Support Grants empower the recipients to participate as active citizens or whether it deters them from productive activities, and therefore creating a state of dependency.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Fertility remains one of the major issues in governmental agendas in Sub-Saharan Africa and the world at large. Data collection on population changes is still a major challenge since it is generally not available for proper estimation of population size and the data that is available is often unreliable. Changes in population and socio-economic differentials in fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa are evaluated using evidence from the Demographic Health Surveys (DHS), with the most reliable fertility rates coming from World Fertility Surveys (WFS). The reliability of data from Sub-Saharan countries is compromised by the fact that some countries only have one DHS which is not enough for population estimation. According to the DHS conducted between 1986 and 1993 by the Population Dynamics of Sub-Saharan Africa, although fertility levels were still high in the early 1980s, several countries were experiencing fertility decline during that era. South Africa's experience in the fertility transition is the most advanced in the Sub-Saharan Africa (Swartz 2002). This study takes into account the fact that there are various determinants of fertility and these determinants include among others knowledge and practice of birth control, marriage, household structure and mortality. There are other social determinants, but the study will only concentrate on the ones given above.

2.2 Fertility debates in South Africa

South Africa exhibits a fertility rate that is significantly lower than that of other countries in Southern and East Africa. South Africa, as a country, has very distinct poverty levels per racial group and these poverty levels seem to be brought about by socio-economic divisions along racial lines, which tend to show different fertility declines per racial group. The decline in fertility in all four racial groups in South Africa has been observed in the early 1960s (Swartz, 2002). Swartz (2002) continues to state that for South Africa as a whole, the fertility rate was high and stable between 1950 and 1970, and was estimated at an average of 6 to 7 children per woman. The fertility rate fell to 4 to 5 children per woman in the period 1980 to 1995 (United Nations, 1995). Both Makiwane and Udjo and Moultrie and Dorrington as cited in Voster (2006) reported an increase in

the proportion of births in certain categories of teenagers. Makiwane and Udjo found an increase in the proportion of births during the late teens (18 to 19 years), while Moultrie and Dorrington (as cited in Vorster, 2006) found an increase in the proportion of births to teenage mothers (15 to 19 years) in only four of South Africa's nine provinces. Demographers point out that while the total fertility rate has declined, the teenage fertility rate has remained relatively high.

Reasons for the observed decline in fertility rate in the 1960s in South Africa are strongly rooted in the fact that the past apartheid government had different family planning programmes for different racial groups in South Africa. The introduction of the Population Development Programme (PDP), which was aimed at lowering the national population rate, saw a lot of African women adopting family planning programmes and taking responsibility for their fertility as they found themselves in very difficult circumstances, where husbands had left them to look for work in far away areas and had now stopped sending money home for their families. Moreover, a variety of factors including cultural, political and social factors, led to many rural African women making their own decisions regarding their reproduction without the concern of their husbands. A combination of all these factors led to an observed decline in fertility rate in South Africa. Teenage fertility rate is relatively high in South Africa compared to other developing countries. It is recorded that half of all young people between 15 and 19 years of age, reported being sexually active. Thirty seven percent of South African women have fallen pregnant by the age of 19 and 80% of them have already had sex (Makiwane, 2006).

2.3 Fertility rate by race in South Africa

It can be noted that the estimated population from the 1996 census shows that fertility levels in South Africa mirror the observed patterns noted by other researchers (Chimere-Dan 1993; du Plessis et al. 1991). When looking at fertility rates by race, one finds that the African component of the population which is the poorest exhibits high levels of fertility rate, with the White population showing the lowest fertility rate. Although there seems to be a general decline in fertility, teenage pregnancy is still a major concern for South Africa. According to SADHS (1998) results, 35 percent of all teenagers in South

Africa have been pregnant or had had a child by the age of 19 and this indicates a very high level of teenage fertility. These pregnancies are more prevalent among African and coloured girls particularly those with little or no education. Teenage fertility nonetheless has remained one of the major concerns of the government, which affect all the people across races in all provinces of South Africa. In an attempt to link the percentages of fertility rate to Child Support Grant this paper looks at Child Support Grant recipients according to race. The majority of Child Support Grant recipients are black (90 %) and approximately 10% are coloured. There is also observed variances in the distribution of Child Support Grant recipients according to race by province in South Africa. While it can be said that the majority of Child Support Grant recipients are black this is not necessarily true for other provinces like Western Cape and Northern Cape where the majority of Child Support Grant recipients are coloured (Christell de Koker, Liezel de Waal and Jan Vorster 2006).

Table 2.1: Total Fertility Rate (TFR) by race in South Africa for 1995 to 1998 and 2000.

Total fertility rate (TFR)	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000
African	3.6	3.7	3.1	3.5	3.01
Coloured	2.8	2.8	2.4	2.6	2.54
Indian	2.5	2.7	2.3	2.5	2.4
White	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.9	1.8
National	3.2	3.2	2.9	3.2	

Source: The Demography of South Africa, Udjo (2005), pg 49 and TFR for 2000 obtained from Makiwane 2006 report.

It can be noted from Table 2.1 that there was a slight drop or decrease in fertility from 1995 to 2000 and also when one looks at the differences in total fertility by race the African and coloured groups exhibit a much higher rate compared to the white South Africans. One also notices that the TFR each year of the African component of the population was higher than the national TFR, while that of the white component of the population remained below that of the national TFR on the same year, despite the overall fertility decline. Local evidence shows South Africa had a relatively high teenage fertility

rate even before the introduction of Child Support Grant. South African demographers point out that although the TFR has declined, there is some evidence on the increase of teenage births between 1995 and 2005. Some indicates that pre-teen and early teen fertility rates have remained constant. In the light of these arguments there is no consensus as to whether teenage fertility rate is increasing or declining. According to a report released by Makiwane (2006), teenage births were well established long before the introduction of Child Support Grant. Makiwane (2006) has shown that there was an increase in coverage of Child Support Grant between 1998 and 2005. In contrast to this, teenage fertility rate appeared to have peaked in 1996 and since then it appeared to be levelling off and even declining Udjo et al (2005). Makiwane (2006) drew his conclusion from the fact that the upsurge of teenage fertility predates the introduction of Child Support Grant. He argues that if anything, the increase in teenage fertility rate could possibly be blamed on the political changes that South Africa went through during the period when teenage fertility appeared to have peaked.

2.4 The influence of arriage on fertility rate

Fertility trends in South Africa are subject to influence by marriage. Marriage patterns influence the fertility of a population strongly because of the timing of the marriage. It is very common that for countries with very high celibacy or late marriage patterns, there seems to be an important reduction in fertility but for areas with very low celibacy or early marriage there seems to be potentially high fertility. Like birth control late marriage patterns are seen as a way of adjustment to the growing economic conditions. Late marriage and high celibacy are seen as alternative ways to reduce fertility. South Africa is exhibiting a very low level of celibacy and high levels of fertility. It was observed that just over half of Child Support Grant recipients are single and have never married and approximately 30% are married, in terms of civil law (14%), customary law (12%), or a traditional or Muslim religion (4%) and a further 4% of Child Support Grant recipients cohabit with a partner. There is also a difference when looking at Child Support Grant recipients per province. According to de Koker et al (2006), it should be noted that 82% of Child Support Grant recipients aged 18 to 25 years are single, while 11% are married or cohabiting with a partner.

2.5 Understanding incentives

In his paper on "Understanding Incentives", Spicker (2005) suggests a few concepts with regard to incentives. According to Spicker (2005) an incentive consists of three characteristics, viz: potential gains, rewards, pay-offs or desired outcomes. He points out that the gains may be in the form of money, social status, better health or any wide range of benefits. The second characteristic is that an incentive is a marginal approach which means that it is not a determinant of behaviour, but rather a contributory factor to behaviour. Spicker (2005) continues to say that the third characteristic of an incentive is related to motivation. He says that incentives influence action, that actions are capable of being influenced, and that the choices are eligible, or capable of being chosen. In the context of Child Support Grants, we want to ascertain whether it is an incentive and also see how it creates sense of dependency in teenagers and therefore influencing their decision to have children. If we clearly understand the characteristics of incentives then we will be in a position to ascertain whether child support grant is an incentive. In the context of the social grant system being "better off" means being financially better off. The incentives in the South African grant system provide grant income only to people with certain characteristics. This means it excludes other portion of the same population that do not satisfy the characteristics of interest. It is in this light that this research tries to determine if this creates perversity. The discussion of what makes an incentive perverse follows in the next paragraph.

2.6 The perverse nature of incentives

Perverse incentives may exist in all social security systems, thus it is not a unique issue to South Africa. International evidence show that providing a basic minimum grant to all pensioners in the United States instead of aiding people in relation to their original salaries would disadvantage the middle class, and create perverse incentives (Anrig (undated) and Aaron (2005). Carlson (2005) also suggests that reduced state pension create perverse incentive to have fewer children in working age, if the same pension is given to all people. Contrary to this perverse incentives can sometimes be considered to have benefits depending from which policy perspective they are looked at. In the United States providing perverse incentives may encourage women in abusive relationships to

separate from their spouses and women who live in their parental homes to start out independently. In the United States and United Kingdom the incidence of teenage fertility is high where benefits are low. Murray (1984) advocated for the ending of benefits but his analysis was refuted (Walker, 2005) by evidence that increases in teenage births were trends established prior to the provision of higher benefits in the 1960s and 1970s (Christensen & Rosen, 1996).

2.7 Background on South African Child Support Grant

Child Support Grant in South Africa is seen as a strategy to alleviate part of the financial burden of parenthood, but it is also rumoured to be misused in most cases by desperate mothers and some adolescents, as an income-generating scheme. Previous research and studies in South Africa have shown that women who are not married and those with low educational attainment or with low income are likely to have unwanted pregnancies. The raising of a child under these unfortunate circumstances warrants the Child Support Grant provided by the government.

South Africa as one of the countries still struggling to address the problem of poverty has resorted to the provision of cash. This provision of cash came in the form of child support grant, disability grant, old age grant so on and so forth. The child support grant system identifies the child's primary caregiver[1] as the person who has a primary responsibility for the child on a daily basis. The Child Support Grant as a cash benefit has become an important means of income for many individuals and families. Although Child Support Grants have a major impact on child poverty, some of its critics claim that it is one major contributing factor towards increased teenage pregnancies. When Child Support Grant was introduced, the principle behind it was to "follow the child", meaning that the grant would be allocated regardless of the family structure. It can also be noted that in an attempt to make the grant accessible to a larger number of people, the starting grant amount had to be as low as R100 a month per child (Robinson and Sadan, 1999:26). This value of child support grant has over the years kept pace with inflation reaching R200 per

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[1] Caregiver: the person who undertake the primary responsibility for parenting children from day to day. In most but not all, cases, this is the child's biological mother.

child per month from April 2007. When Child Support Grant was introduced, it was targeted at children in two ways. The one is that only children under the age of six years were eligible to receive it; therefore it was age specific. The child support grant age eligibility was increased with the years to include children under the age of nine years, then until April 2006 when children of 14 years of age were eligible. The second way is that it was targeted at caregivers with a particular income. For caregivers to qualify for the child support grant the total joint income for both the caregiver and her spouse must be R1100 or lower if they live in rural or informal housing and R800 or lower for those that live in urban settlements. These thresholds have not increased since the introduction of Child Support Grant, regardless of the increase in inflation rate. Again the thresholds only apply to the income of the caregivers and not the number of children in their care. What it means is that ,in practice, a rural woman with an income of R1000 taking care of only one child is eligible for Child Support Grant, while a woman in the same area with an income of R1200 per month but with five children in her care, is not eligible. Due to this disparity the introduction of child support grant was received with mixed feelings. Critics of the Child Support Grant feel that when it was first introduced in South Africa in 1998, it was introduced without randomized control on children's outcomes and this made it difficult to evaluate its efficiency, hence teenage girls are alleged of taking advantage of the gaps and deliberately falling pregnant in order to access this grant.

According to a survey done by Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (PPASA) in 2003, some responses to questions on reasons for falling pregnant were that some women fell pregnant in order to get the Child Support Grant. Some respondents according to the results of the survey, indicated that some women misuse the Child Support Grant money by spending it on things that enhance their physical looks like lipsticks and clothing, rather that on the needs the children (PPASA, 2003). This kind of attitude towards child support grant, let to this government intervention strategy being nicknamed 'thigh grant' which simply means the women 'spread their thighs' to get the grant.

Contrary to the above, some research (Hassim, 2005:19) has shown that there is no support for the assertion that Child Support Grant induces pregnancy or leads to more women wanting to fall pregnant. According to the results of research conducted by PPASA, Child Support Grant increased from R100 in 1998 to R160 in 2003. When this happened, the rate of fertility decreased from 26.43% in 1998 to 16.87% in 2003, PPASA (2003:29). The results of this research are supported by Hassim (2005:19). This research will attempt to determine the causal relationship between Child Support Grant and the willingness of women to fall pregnant.

2.8 Incentive concerns of Child Support Grant

The Alliance for Children (2006) suggests that if all children should be beneficiaries of the Child Support Grant, the perverse inventiveness of the grant and the need for a means test will be eliminated. Likewise, the University of Cape Town's Children Institute (2003) stated that the "current provisions create perverse incentives for poor children to live with caregivers who are not their biological parents, and provide little if any support to biological parents to care for their own children". Van der Berg argues in support of this by saying that when the social grant is linked to a means test it may create a 'poverty trap'. What he means by this is that this might create an attitude or behaviour where people are not motivated to look for a job or to save money. The incentive becomes perverse if some people change their behaviour in order to qualify for the incentive. This means that if teenagers are indeed falling pregnant in order to successfully apply for this grant with the prospect of being better off financially, then that change in behaviour makes Child Support Grant a perverse incentive.

Chapter 3: Research Design

3.1 Introduction

Unlike the research on Child Support Grant that uses only one method of data collection, this study goes further than just the quantitative analysis of data. The study strives to go beyond the desk top analysis of data. The design to be followed in this research is the triangulation[2] of methods. This method is used in order for the researcher to ascertain that the same findings rendered by the quantitative method would still be obtained using the qualitative method. Therefore, both quantitative methods and qualitative methods will be applied. The quantitative method will attempt to analyse descriptive data in order to find out whether there is a link between the variables. The concurrent appearance of the introduction of Child Support Grant and an observed increase in fertility rate of teenagers will be examined. The main focus of the qualitative study is on teenagers who are expecting to have their children soon or those that have already given birth. The aim is to tease out the possible reasons or factors that could be playing a part in influencing their decision to fall pregnant. This is very useful information in determining whether the observed increase in teenage fertility rate is influenced by any factors other than the Child Support Grant.

3.2 Research methods

The study will use both the quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. For the qualitative method the study will use in-depth face-to-face interviews at the study site. These in-depth interviews will be conducted with both teenagers who have children and are receiving a Child Support Grant for them, and those that are pregnant. For the quantitative method, data sets from various sources will be used to determine whether or not the receiving Child Support Grant influence teenage fertility. The data to be used will be from the 1995 and 1998 October Household Surveys (OHS) performed by the Statistics South Africa, with the difference between the two surveys being their

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[2] Triangulation: A term that refers to the combination of two or more theories, data sources, methods in one study of a single phenomenon to converge on a single construct. (Ann Hilton, University of British Columbia, Canada).

difference in the sample size. The other set of data will be that of the 1998 South African Demographic and Health Survey (SADHS), followed by the 2001 Population Census which was the second post Apartheid census in South Africa. The last set of data that will be used will be the 2004 South African Demographic and Health Survey. Therefore these two methods of data collection will be used to complement each other with an intention to increase validity of the results. This is known as the triangulation of methods, which is the use of multi-methods in research. In order for the relationship between child support grant and teenage fertility rate to be determined, data sets on fertility rate and child support grant need to be evaluated and studied, and by using the statistical methods mentioned in data analysis procedures, conclusions can be drawn. The data sets of Age Specific Fertility Rates (ASFR) and that of the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of the population will also be studied.

3.3 Justification of the use of methods

Unlike research that tries to determine the relationship between fertility rates and Child Support Grant using only one method of data collection, this research uses more than one method. The one method will be personal in-depth interviews in which face-to-face interviews will be conducted with teenagers receiving Child Support Grant or those that have registered to receive it.. This is done in order to find out from the women's perspective what attitudes do they have towards receiving child support and how the money is being spent. The research participants will be expected to answer a set of questions around Child Support Grant. The main objective for these interviews is to find out if there are other factors influencing fertility rate other than Child Support Grant. The idea behind the in-depth interviews is not to try and test any hypothesis but it is away of finding out about the participants' experiences and what they make out of those experiences. This use of qualitative methods in the study is to try to describe and interpret the people's feeling and experiences in human terms rather than through quantification and measurements. The researcher works from the assumption that when people are allowed to freely talk and express their feelings and experience about a topic then they tend to know a lot about what is going on. It is important to note that qualitative research helps the researcher draw valuable conclusions in situations where it is difficult to say

what the variables are or how to measure them. In relation to the child support grant the in-depth interview strives to find out about the attitudes of the people about whether the reasons of people falling pregnant is motivated by the fact that they receive child support grant, the way the child support money is spent and so on. This quantitative analysis helps the researcher in this case to be able to identify potentially important variables and to generate hypothesis about possible relationships among child support grant and teenage fertility. Thus the interpretive approach to the question in this case does not seek to focus on isolating and controlling the variable as quantitative approaches would do but it focuses on harnessing and extending the power of ordinary language of the teenagers in a way that will help us understand the factors that leads to observed behaviour. The other objective of using qualitative methods is to create an opportunity for further follow-up studies that could emanate from the findings of the research.

3.4 Data collection procedures

3.4.1 Sampling Design

Since there are two methods to be used in this study, each method will have its own sampling procedure. For the qualitative method, chain sampling or what is known as snowballing[3] will be used. This method involves the interview of one participant who is then asked to suggest the other candidate for interview. Data on a few members of the target population that can be located will be collected and then they will be asked to provide information needed to locate other possible candidates for the interview. These candidates will be identified and approached for interview in their respective houses. Although it is difficult to locate the respondents due to the informal nature of the settlement, it is advantageous because most of them are unemployed. It is therefore easy to find them at any time of the day. This will be repeated until the number of people to be interviewed is reached. It is often very tricky for the researcher to know when there is enough material that warrants the researcher to stop, but according to Strauss and Corbin

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[3]Snowballing: An approach where the researcher initially contacts a few potential respondents, and then ask them whether they know of anybody with the same characteristics for participation in the study (Patton, 1990).

(1990) in their grounded theory approach the researcher must continue interviewing until a point of saturation is reached. This simply means that the researcher stops collecting new material because it no longer adds anything to one's unfolding analysis. When the researcher feels that additional cases do not provide new information that challenges or adds to the emerging interpretive account, the researcher will stop with the interviews. The minimum number of cases to be interviewed will range from 10 to 20 interview units depending on the availability of willing participants.

3.4.2 Data analysis techniques

The analysis of the quantitative data in this research will follow a multifaceted approach. This approach will first be that of simple descriptive methods, by explaining the trends and levels through tables and graphs. Information will be drawn from these graphs and explanation of observed trends and levels given. Secondly, the study will put more emphasis on statistical analysis using two variable regression analysis and correlation. The linear regression analysis method will involve the study of the dependence of one variable (the dependent variable) on the other variable (explanatory variable).The focus of the analysis will be on determining if there is any association between child support grant and teenage fertility rate, followed by determining the degree of association between these two variables (if any) and finally checking if the values of one variable can be used to predict the values of the other. The researcher takes into account the fact that the dependence of one variable on the other does not necessarily mean causation. What this means is that even if it is a found out that teenage fertility and child support grant are related, it would not necessarily mean that child support grant causes an increase in teenage fertility rate. After determining whether there is any relationship between Child Support Grant and teenage fertility rate a correlation analysis will be conducted. Correlation analysis seeks to measure the strength or the degree of the association between the two variables.

Whereas in quantitative research the researcher relies on tried and tested statistical packages to analyse data, in the interpretative approach the researcher is the one responsible for data analysis. The researcher becomes the primary instrument for

collecting and analysing data. For data analysis of qualitative data, the researcher will use content analysis approach which is the characteristics of language as communication with regard to its content. This simply means that content analysis is use to make inferences by objectively or systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages (Mouton and Prozesky, 2002). A complex process involving selection, sharpening, sorting, focusing, discarding and organising data in order to make sense of it, will be followed. The analysis of data in this study will follow eight steps as suggested by Palmquist (1993). The first step that the analysis of data will follow is when the researcher decides on what the level the data will be analysed. For this research the level of data analysis will be a "key phrase". The researcher will then determine the all the necessary codes. Another step will be to set parameters for each code (rules for what a segment of text may be coded as or not). The last two steps will then be coding and analysis. In coding, certain segments of the text will be attached to certain meaningful key labels or codes.

Chapter 4: Findings and Discussions

4.1 Quantitative analysis results

The analysis of quantitative data led to the following results as presented:

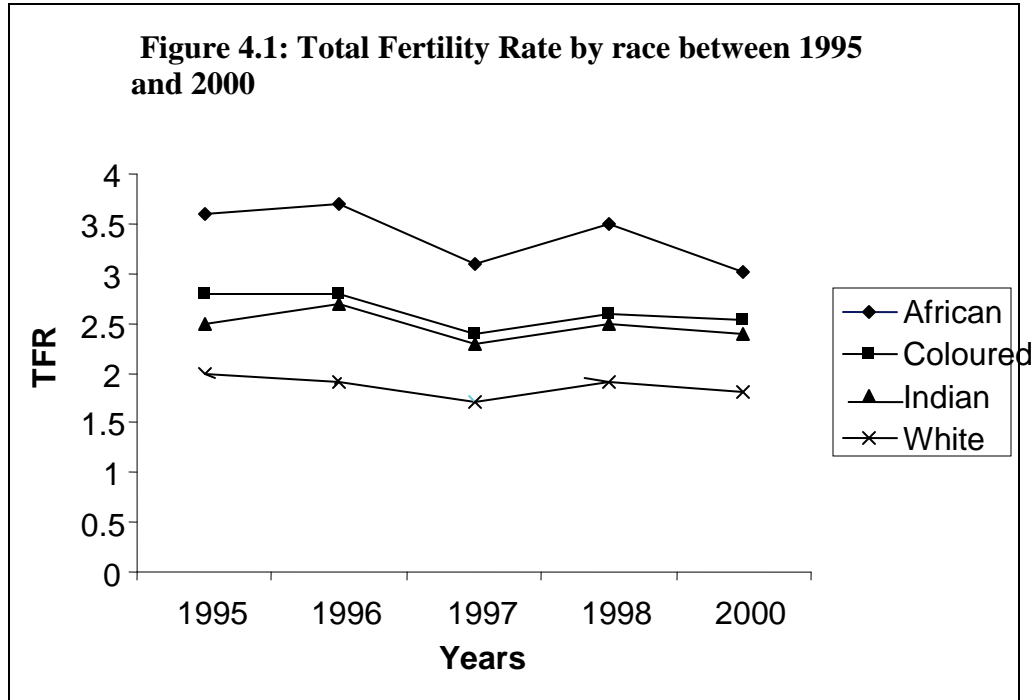**Figure 4.1: Total Fertility Rate by race between 1995 and 2000**

Figure 4.1 shows that there is a slight decrease in Total Fertility Rate between the years 1995 and 2000 in South Africa. This decline in Total Fertility Rate does not only take place in one or two particular race but across all races with Africans having the highest Total Fertility Rate of them all. When looking at this graph from the background knowledge that child support grant was introduced in 1998 one would expect the Total Fertility Rate for the year 2000 to be higher and the graph would be sloping up rather than down. Makiwane (2006) mentions that even though Africans have shown the highest Total Fertility Rate in all the racial groups they are the ones that experience the highest fertility decline. The Age Specific Fertility Rates by race are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Age Specific Fertility Rates (ASFR) And Total Fertility Rates (TFR) for the Year 1995 and 2000.

	1995		2000	
	ASFR 15-19 yrs	TFR	ASFR 15-19 yrs	TFR
African	45	3.6	65	3.01
Coloured	54	2.8	56	2.54
Indian	28	2.49	27	2.4
White	6	1.99	20	1.8

Source: Makiwane and Udjo, Evidence from national surveys and administrative data (2006).

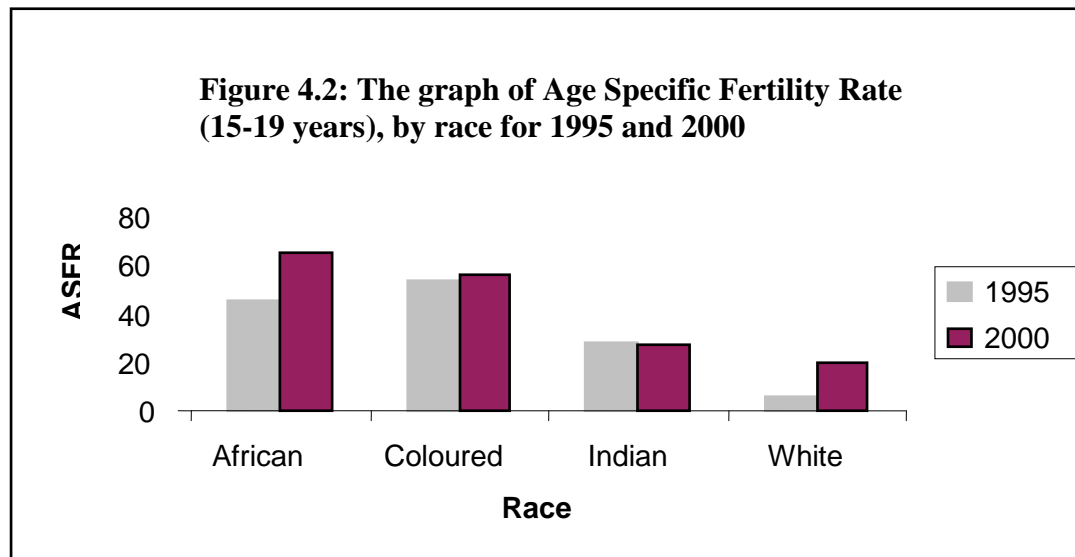Figure 4.2: The graph of Age Specific Fertility Rate (15-19 years), by race for 1995 and 2000

Figure 4.2 shows that there has been an observed decline in TFR across all races, but contrary to that there is a contrasting trend for the ASFR by race. For example, it can be seen that the white population group experienced the highest ASFR increase between 1995 and 2000, as opposed to the lowest TFR of the same years. Makiwane and Udjo (2006) observed that all the population groups experienced a significant increase in ASFR except for Indians. Makiwane and Udjo (2006) furthermore add that whilst the

overall fertility of Africans declined over this period, births by teenage women have increased.

Table 4.2: Estimated Age Distribution of CSG Beneficiaries in March 1999 & 2005.

Age Group	Beneficiaries (%) in March 1998	Beneficiaries (%) in March 2005	% Fertility of Different Age Groups.
15-19	1.64	2.69	15
20-24	14.86	16.61	28
25-29	21.90	21.62	23
30-34	19.24	19.35	17
35-39	18.43	15.11	10
40-44	11.90	10.66	4

Table 4.2 shows the Child Support Grant beneficiaries for the 1998 and 2005. When looking closely at the Child Support Grant beneficiaries' for both years one can see that percentage of teenage mothers as beneficiaries is very low, but rising The low beneficiary numbers of teenage mothers still persist even after the introduction of Child Support Grant. Makiwane and Udjo (2006) noted fewer than 3 percent of teenagers who have received Child Support Grant in the period 1998 and 2005. They also make note of the fact that 15 percent of all births in the same year were of teenage mothers. In order to determine the strength of the relationship between child support grant and teenage fertility rate linear regression was applied to the data and the results thereof are presented in Table 4.3

Table 4.3 (i): Regression Coefficients for Child Support Grant and Age Specific Fertility Rates.

| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of Estimate | Change Statistics | | | | | | Durbin-Watson |
	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.996(a)	.991	.988	.001	.991	334.688	1	3	.000	2.425

a Predictors: (Constant), CSG
b Dependent Variable: ASFR

Table 4.3 (ii): Summary of the results

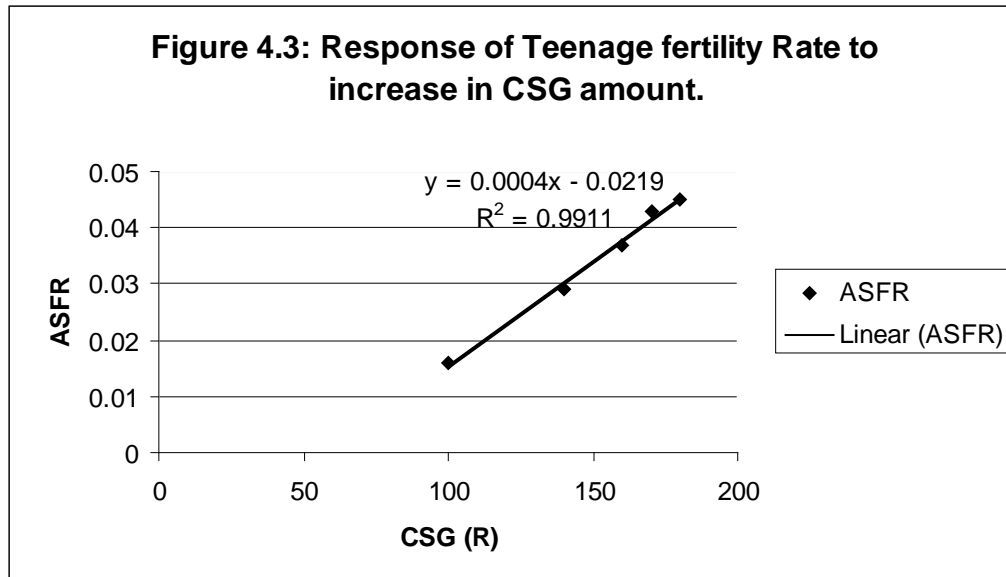| Explanatory variables	β	Standard Error	Significance
Constant (CSG)	0.996***		0.000
ASFR	-0.022	0.003	0.006
$R^2 = 0.99$			

Notes: Significance at ***$p \leq 0.01$; Number of cases (n) = 5

Table 4.3 (ii) above is the summary of the model results showing that the regression coefficient (R^2) 0.991 is highly significant at one percent confidence interval. This indicates that there is a very highly significant relationship between Child Support Grant and Age Specific Fertility Rate.

Another part of analysis of quantitative data involves the use of linear regression where a regression line gives a graphic picture of the association between Child Support Grant amounts (x) and teenage fertility rates (y). The following regression equation is used as a form of summarizing the association between these two variables.

$$y = mx + b$$

Where **m** is the slope, **b** is the y-intercept of the straight line.

Figure 4.3: Response of Teenage fertility Rate to increase in CSG amount.

$$y = 0.0004x - 0.0219$$
$$R^2 = 0.9911$$

In an attempt to determine the strength of the association between Child Support Grant and teenage fertility rate the plotting of a best fit line technique is used as in Figure 4.3. The results shows that the value of m (the slope of the graph) = 0.000373 and the value of b (y-intercept) = -0.02188. It can also be noted that the value of r (correlation coefficient) = 0.995548. The above result indicates that there is a strong positive association between these two variables, since the correlation coefficient is approaching +1. This is not a good enough analysis to conclude that one variable causes the other.

4.2 Qualitative analysis results

4.2.1 Introduction

As part of the study, a qualitative analysis was undertaken to solicit the participants' attitudes and views about child support grant and reasons influencing teenagers to fall pregnant. There is also a widespread public perception, arising from moral and cultural concerns, that an increase in youth fertility is a result of the provision of the child support grant. Fifteen teenage mothers were interviewed at Huhudi Township the North West province. The analysis of their responses led to the following results:

4.2.2 Family structure

In this section the respondents had to indicate their family structure in terms of the number of people in the house and how many of the people in the house are working. From the responses it is clear that almost ninety percent of the respondents had a family that consisted of more than six persons (occupants) in the house. Half of these respondents live in houses that are less than four rooms and in almost all cases up to three members of the family share a bedroom. The family structure is not complete with most of the families either one of the parents not being there because of divorce or death. In almost ninety percent of the respondents their older sisters and brothers are still living with their parents and their children are also living in the same house.

4.2.3 Other sources of income

In this section respondents were asked to indicate if there is any other source of income to supplement the Child Support Grant money. All the respondents indicated that they do not have any other source of income and some of them even mentioned that they depend on the Child Support Grant money received by their sisters for their children. Some respondents mentioned that it is not their intentions to just "sit" and wait for Child Support Grant but they have been looking for jobs and they are not successful in getting them. For those respondents whose fathers of their children are working, they alluded to the fact that in most cases the father is earning very little money because they are doing day jobs. Even when they provided for their children it is not regular and can even take months before they contribute some money.

4.2.4 Reasons for registering children for Child Support Grant

When asked why they have registered their children for Child Support Grant twelve out of fifteen (80%) of the respondents indicated that due to the financial pressure in their households had no choice but to take the advantage of the opportunity by the government. This is a sample of one respondent said when asked why she registered her child for Child Support Grant.

> *Pam*: "I desperately needed the money. Right now my baby needs milk that is supplied by the governmental clinics, if it wasn't for the money; I don't know what I would have done if it wasn't for this money".*

According to some of the respondents, if they had a choice then they would not register their children for this grant since it is associated with a category called the "the poorest of the poor" within the community. Some respondents mentioned that they needed to register their children because as soon as the child was born they have differences with the fathers of their children and they separated, therefore the little that the father was contributing to the raising of the child was not there anymore. For those respondents that are still with the fathers of their children, the problem is that their partners are not working and their families would not contribute to the raising their sons' children.

4.2.5 Is a monetary incentive the way to go?

When asked about whether they thought it was a good idea for the government to offer money as a means of support to people to raise their children 80 percent of the respondents mentioned that it was a good idea considering the fact that there is generally a problem of unemployment in South Africa. Even though these respondents felt that it was a good idea, they still felt strongly that the amount needs to be looked at since it does not really cater for their children's needs. This is what one respondent said to this question:

> *Cindi* : "No the money is too little to cater for my child's needs, maybe the government must also provide jobs and not just money to this people receiving grants for their children. The parents will also benefit from that income unlike with the child support grant".*

A minority, only two out of fifteen respondents felt that giving money as an incentive to people, especially teenagers, was not a good move by the government. They allude to the fact that some recipients are too young and do not know how to handle money, especially when they had not worked for it. They indicated that some of the child support grant

recipients do not necessarily spend the money on their children, but rather on things like alcohol and on themselves. The fact that 80 percent of the respondents are saying that monetary incentive is good considering that there is high unemployment indicates that if there was employment then they would rather work. This reasoning can then be used to rule out the fact that Child Support Grant creates a sense of dependency on its recipients.

4.2.6 The use of Child Support Grant money

When asked to comment on the kinds of items that the child support grant money is used to buy, some respondents indicated that they use the money to buy food and clothes for their children, except that the money is too little to be able to cater for all their children's needs. It came out strongly that in some cases the entire household depends on the child support grant money for everyday survival. The majority of the respondents indicated that they also use money to buy clothes like school uniforms and shoes for themselves because they had their children while still at school. Two out of fifteen respondents indicated that they felt that it would be better if the government rather provided them with food parcels and clothes for the babies as having to buy these things themselves had proven to be a very expensive exercise with limited monetary resources. This is clearly pointed out in the following statement by one of the respondents in answering the question on whether monetary incentive is a way to go. She said:

> *Mpho*: "It was a good idea because some people are not working and therefore do not have money to raise their children well. The child support could be supplemented with some food packages and clothes".*

> *Arlene*: Yes these things do happen, when ever its time for pay out of grants all the loan sharks are there to get their money. This is money in payment of loans taken to buy alcohol. Some people loose all the money after paying the debts that they created through taking credit on alcohol.*

4.2.7 Attitude towards Child Support Grant

When they were asked to give their feelings about the rumours and concerns regarding teenagers falling pregnant in order to receive child support grant, the majority of respondents indicated that they had heard about this and they also know that it is actually happening in their community. Some respondents say that this action is immoral and shows lack of responsibility and maturity from the people who do it. When asked about what they think the reasons for this are, some of the respondents indicated that it was because some of their peers want to look fashionable and trendy; therefore they fall pregnant so that they can buy clothes with the child support grant money. There are also reports of people spending the child support grant money on alcohol during weekends especially the weekend following the child support grant payout day. The analysis shows that there is to some extend misuse of the child support grant money by the participants as is seen in the statement below:

> *Ben*:"I don't approve of this kind of thing, but I think they do it because they need money. Some people do it because they want to have money for buying nice clothes and some want to buy alcohol when they go to night clubs. I know that my friends do it because they want to have money to buy beautiful clothes".*

Only three of the total number of the respondents indicated that they were not aware of this and do not actually think people are deliberately falling pregnant to receive child support grant but rather people are falling pregnant unexpectedly.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

In the report on "Incentive Structures of Social Assistance Grants in South Africa" by Kesho Consulting and Business Solutions (Pty) Ltd (2006), the authors draw very interesting conclusions from both the local and international evidence. They found out from analysing quantitative data sets that that South Africa had a relatively high fertility rate way before the introduction of child support grant. They point out that pre-teen and early teen fertility remained constant between 1995 and 2005. It is also evident in their report that there have been a huge number of child support grant beneficiaries in recent years. They posit that teenage mothers represent a very low percentage of all child support grant recipients. When the Social Pension Fund Grant System (SOCPEN) data were analysed it was established that there is no link between the availability of child support grant and the fertility behaviour of teenagers in South African population. These results were further confirmed by Makiwane and Udjo (2006) after analysing retrospective data on fertility and child support grant, which found no link between these two variables. The next chapter will present the discussion on the findings of this research and its alignment with the previous research findings.

5.2 Discussion

The results from this study partially show a different picture from the other researches. The analysis of quantitative data on one hand shows that there has been an observed decline in the total fertility rate in South Africa since 1995. However, the Age Specific Fertility Rate for ages 15 to 19 years showed an increase during the same period. This simply means that teenagers contribute a larger percentage to the total fertility rate; hence the ASFR (15 to 19 years) continued to increase despite the decreasing TFR for the country. The plot of best fit line shows that there is a strong association between the amount of child support grant and the age specific fertility rate. This research draws a conclusion that even if there is a strong relationship between Child Support Grant and teenage fertility, there is not enough evidence that Child Support Grant has an impact on observed teenage fertility trends. The analysis of qualitative data on the other hand,

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shows that teenagers are aware of the difficult circumstances of raising a child especially while still at school. This makes them desperate as some of them need money for school fees and buying themselves school uniforms and other clothes. What this research has found is that some respondents take advantage of the Child Support Grant money. There are reports that their friends fall pregnant so that their monthly grant income can be substantial. It is also evident from qualitative data that there is a need for increasing the child support grant money, but with stringent control measures. It will be very unfair to draw a conclusion that there is indeed a link between Child Support Grant and teenage fertility rate just from this analysis. The conclusion that should rather be drawn from these results is the one that support Makiwane and Udjo (2006), when they said that there is no link between Child Support Grant and teenage fertility rate.

This conclusion stems from the following observations:

Evidence from the analysis of quantitative data indicates a significant association between Child Support Grant and teenage fertility rate which does not indicate a causal relation. One can not conclude that Child Support Grant has an influence on the observed increase in the age specific fertility rate. There was a general decline in fertility before child support grant was introduced in South Africa and this trend continues even after child support grant. When Child Support Grant was introduced for younger children, one of the main reasons was to provide financial support during the window of nutritional opportunity period (the first three years of the child's life). The analysis of qualitative data shows that the decision to register the child for Child Support Grant comes only after the couple experience some problems and then have to separate. Therefore the Child Support Grant recipients only register their children when they are older.

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