Social Support Needs of Single Mothers in Low-income Urban Communities

by

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ABSTRACT

Poverty in Botswana is a challenge for female headed households who have been identified as one of the groups that has been highly affected. Whereas poverty is dominant in the rural areas there has been an increasing record of urban poverty which has been attributed to urbanisation and the subsequent rural to urban migration. The poor in urban areas tend to stay in low income urban areas due to their limited choices brought about by lack of resources.

The quality of the environment one stays in has been linked to varying outcomes for different people. Those who stay in disadvantaged environments may find themselves socially isolated from other neighbourhoods, lacking social services and besieged with a number of challenges common with poor neighbourhoods such as high crime rates and lack of job opportunities. Single mothers living in low income urban communities are also confronted with these challenges as well as those associated with parenting in poor communities. Social support has been identified as a stress buffer which can intervene and prevent situations from being appraised as stressful or lessen the impact of stress on individuals.

The aim of this study was therefore, to gain a deeper understanding of the social support needs of single mothers living in low income urban communities. A combination of quantitative and qualitative research approaches were used in this study. Exploratory and descriptive research designs were further utilised in this study in order to explore the subject in an in-depth manner and to provide a detailed description of the phenomena being studied. A semi-structured interview guide was used to collect data from single mothers staying in Old Naledi, a low income urban community in Gaborone, Botswana. The development of the interview guide was informed by the literature review. Individual interviews were conducted with the single mothers.

The main findings of the study indicate that single mothers in Old Naledi are faced with stressors such as neighbourhood, parenthood, poverty, crime and criminal activities, illness and death. These stressors had negative emotional and material effects on the single mothers.

The findings further reveal that single mothers had emotional, instrumental and informational and appraisal needs. At the microsystem level these social support needs were provided for by their families who were the biggest providers of social support to single mothers; their neighbours, friends and their social groups. At the macrosystem level the single mothers got most of the social support from government while non-governmental organisation provided the least social support to single mothers in Old Naledi.

The conclusions of the study indicate that there is need to support families in their efforts to provide social support to their needy family members. There is also a need to assess the social support needs of single mothers in Botswana against the social support provided at the macrosystems level. Given the socio-economic profile of these mothers there is a need to make bold investments in these mothers and their families in order to help them break out of the circle of poverty they and their children could be facing.

OPSOMMING

Armoede in Botswana is 'n uitdaging vir huishoudings met vroue aan die hoof, wat as een van die groepe geïdentifiseer is wat tot 'n groot mate daardeur geraak word. Alhoewel armoede oorwegend in die landelike gebiede is, is daar 'n toenemende voorkoms van stedelike armoede, wat toegeskryf word aan verstedeliking en die gevolglike landelike na stedelike migrasie. Die armes in stedelike gebiede bly hoofsaaklik in laeinkomste- stedelike gebiede weens hul beperkte keuses as gevolg van 'n gebrek aan hulpbronne.

Die gehalte van die omgewing waarin 'n mens woon, word aan wisselende uitkomste vir verskillende mense gekoppel. Diegene wat in benadeelde omgewings woon, bevind hulself moontlik sosiaal afgesonderd van ander buurte, ervaar 'n gebrek aan maatskaplike dienste en gaan gebuk onder etlike uitdagings wat algemeen in arm buurte is, soos hoë misdaadsyfers en 'n gebrek aan werksgeleenthede. Enkelmoeders wat in laeinkomste- stedelike gemeenskappe woon, ervaar ook hierdie uitdagings, asook dié wat met ouerskap in arm gemeenskappe gepaard gaan. Sosiale ondersteuning is geïdentifiseer as 'n stresbuffer wat kan ingryp en kan voorkom dat situasies as stresvol beskou word, of die impak van stres op individue kan verminder.

Die doel van hierdie studie was dus om beter begrip te verkry van enkelmoeders se behoeftes aan sosiale ondersteuning in laeinkomste- stedelike gemeenskappe. 'n Kombinasie van kwantitatiewe en kwalitatiewe navorsingsbenaderings is in die studie gebruik. Verkennende en beskrywende navorsingsontwerpe is voorts in hierdie studie gebruik om die onderwerp in diepte te bestudeer en 'n gedetailleerde beskrywing te bied van die verskynsel wat bestudeer is. 'n Semigestruktureerde onderhoudgids is gebruik om data in te samel van enkelmoeders woonagtig in Old Naledi, 'n laeinkomste- stedelike gemeenskap in Gaborone, Botswana. Die ontwikkeling van die onderhoudgids is deur die literatuuroorsig gerig. Individuele onderhoude is met die enkelmoeders gevoer.

Die vernaamste bevindinge van die studie toon dat enkelmoeders in Old Naledi voor stressors soos die buurt, ouerskap, armoede, misdaad en kriminele aktiwiteite, siekte en dood te staan kom. Hierdie stressors hou negatiewe emosionele en wesenlike gevolge vir die enkelmoeders in.

Die bevindinge toon voorts dat enkelmoeders emosionele, bemiddelings-, inligtings- en beoordelingsbehoeftes het. Op die mikrostelselvlak voorsien hul families, as die grootste verskaffers van sosiale ondersteuning aan enkelmoeders, in hierdie behoeftes aan sosiale ondersteuning, asook hul buurte, vriende en sosiale groepe. Op die makrostelselvlak ontvang die enkelmoeders die meeste van hul sosiale ondersteuning van die regering, terwyl nieregeringsorganisasies die minste sosiale ondersteuning aan enkelmoeders in Old Naledi bied.

Die gevolgtrekkings van die studie is dat daar 'n behoefte is aan ondersteuning aan families in hul pogings om sosiale ondersteuning aan hul behoeftige familielede te verskaf. Dit is ook nodig om enkelmoeders in Botswana se behoeftes aan sosiale ondersteuning te assesseer teenoor die sosiale ondersteuning wat op die makrostelselvlak verskaf word. Gegewe die sosio-ekonomiese profiel van hierdie moeders is dit nodig om groot beleggings in hierdie moeders en hul families te maak om hulle te help om uit die kringloop van armoede waarvoor hulle en hul kinders te staan kan kom, te ontsnap

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The environment has an influence on the welfare and wellbeing of people. The quality of the environment has been linked to the varying outcomes of wellbeing and welfare for adults and children (Turney & Harknett 2010). Living in an advantaged neighbourhood may produce social capital benefits, including a range of supports such as financial, housing and child care services (Turney & Harknett, 2010). The reverse can be said of neighbourhoods that are disadvantaged. This view is highlighted by various authors (Wilson, 1987; Turney & Harknett, 2010) who confirm that residents in poor communities are socially isolated from mainstream social networks, resources, and institutions. According to Ceballo and McLoyd (2002), the state of the neighbourhood affects all individuals residing in that community; however, some groups could be more affected. These groups include the children and the women living in those communities, especially single mothers and those in female-headed households (FHH).

The challenges faced by people living in low income communities are varied; for instance for poor single mothers, "poverty related stress which includes worries related to work, housing, food insecurity, discrimination, stigma, exposure to violence, victimisation, and illness" (Broussard, Joseph & Thompson, 2012: 190) are experienced on a continuous basis. Other challenges include the fact that jobs are scarce, neighbourhoods are deteriorated and unsafe and community, family and personal support are limited (Broussard et al., 2012). These are challenges that single mothers have to contend with on an everyday basis, often with very limited support. In comparison with married mothers, poor single mothers have been identified as having elevated risks for mental health problems as they tend to be more depressed and report feelings of low self-esteem (Ceballo & McLoyd, 2002).

According to the United States Census Bureau, reports published in 2011 cited in Broussard et al. (2012), close to 40% of single mothers with children aged 18 and younger lived in poverty in 2010. Ali and Thorbecke (2000) also state that more than 50% of the people in sub-Saharan Africa were living in poverty in the 1990s. In Botswana, female-headed households were more likely to be poor than male-headed household and this pattern has been observed over time.

In 1985/86, female headed households recorded a poverty rate of 60 percent, compared with 58% for male headed households. In 1993/94, poverty rates for female and male headed households were respectively estimated at 50 and 44 percent accordingly. Similarly, in 2002/03 poverty rates were estimated at 27.4 and 33.1 for male and female headed household respectively. (Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis, 2008: 4)

As opportunities have become more and more limited in the rural areas, an increasing number of people have relocated to urban centres in search of better opportunities. This rural-urban migration has brought with it challenges such as unemployment, lack of skills and lack of money that previously presented mostly in the rural areas. This has also contributed to the rise in urban poverty incidences in Botswana, which, according to Statistics Botswana, (2011) rose from 10.6% in 2002/03 to 14.0% in 2009/10.

Due to their limited resources the poor in the urban areas tend to be concentrated in low-income communities. This is because most of them cannot afford the facilities and services on offer and so life for many of them is often of a poor quality (Broussard et al., 2012). Unlike the rural poor, the urban poor must also find cash to provide for their daily needs; often without the support of the extended family members. Turney and Harknett (2012) point out that individuals living in poor neighbourhoods may face isolation and may lack social support from friends and family due to a number of reasons including having exhausted support from their resource constrained networks; inability to reciprocate the social support received; and difficulties in developing supportive relationship with non-kin because of lack of trust. Keating-Lefler, Hudson, Campbell-Grossman, Fleck and Westfall (2004) earlier also pointed out that poor single mothers often have less social support, increased psychological distress and have problems in caring for their children.

Social support has been identified as important in mitigating negative effects of stress experienced by individuals such as single mothers (Keating-Lefler et al., 2004). Social support in this context includes the four specific components of informational support, appraisal support, emotional support and tangible support (House, 1981). The social support theory as advanced by House (1981) suggests that social support is relevant for mental health outcomes, particularly under conditions of stress and single motherhood. House (1981) also highlights that social support can be used in three ways to prevent the negative effects of stress on the health outcomes of individuals. Social support can be used to reduce the level of stresses that can be dangerous to an individual's health; inputs that promote health can be provided and the impact of stress on individuals can be mitigated through social support. Given the challenges that single mothers in low-income urban communities face which can subject them to stress, the need for social support for these mothers and their families therefore cannot be over emphasised as social support can assist these mothers and their families to cope better with their situations and to draw on their environment to survive and to function optimally.

Even though some studies have been carried out in Botswana on poverty, its characteristics and how it affects people (Mazonde, 1996; Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis, 1997; Jefferis & Kelly, 1999), only limited studies on the social support needs of single mothers in low-income

urban communities in Botswana could be identified. Some existing studies concentrated on assessing and evaluating the social services accorded to poor and needy families in general (Bar-On, 1999; Nthomang, 2012; The Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis (BIDPA), 2013). The emphasis of other studies has been on poverty in the rural areas as this is where poverty is more pronounced in Botswana (Kissoudji & Miller, 1983; Lesetedi, 2001; Wikan, 2004), while poverty in urban areas, especially in Gaborone, has mostly been studied from a physical planning perspective (Mosha, 1999; Kent & Ikgopolelng, 2011).

To fill the gap in the existing research, this study was focused on the needs of single mothers in a low-income urban setting; their potential stressors; and the social support available for them through different ecological systems. This is because single mothers in low-income urban communities are faced with bigger challenges than their counterparts in medium- to high-income communities (Byrnes & Miller, 2012). As these families experience more challenges they draw more on their environment to be able to cope and to face their challenges, as well as improve the welfare of their families (Turney & Hacknett, 2009). The social support that these families receive is critical in assisting them to do this; thus social support becomes the bridge between the families' way of life and a better future (Byrnes & Miller, 2012).

Getting a better understanding of the social support needs of single mothers in low-income urban communities can be instrumental for social service provision and policy making. The study will also serve to amplify the voices of the single mothers and could therefore influence family interventions within low-income urban communities.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND FOCUS

Different studies confirm the increase in urbanisation in the world (Hope, 1998; Mitlin, 2005; Modie-Moroka, 2009). This urbanisation has contributed to the rise in urban poverty which had not previously been a big challenge in most African countries including Botswana (Modie-Moroka, 2009). Urban poverty brings with it challenges that are peculiar to urban settings such as where the poor people live, given their economic challenges. Mitlin (2005) indicates that the poor in urban areas either live in poor neighbourhoods in the inner city or they squat on the periphery of the city or town. In both these places there are challenges that come with residing in that type of locality. Mitlin (2005) highlights that those in the inner city are challenged with overcrowding and associated health problems, contestation over resources, high crime rates and, for those who are renting, high rentals. For those residing on the periphery of the city, the challenges are those of lack of or non-existent basic services which bring with it health problems due to lack of sanitation services, lack of provision of clean and safe drinking water and being far away from health facilities. Those staying on the

periphery of the city may, however, have an advantage of low population density compared with those in the inner city. Those staying in the inner city have an advantage of being closer to facilities and often to their places of work.

The poor tend to be concentrated in poor neighbourhoods (Wilson, 1987; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). Female-headed households have been identified as one of the groups that are highly affected by poverty in Botswana (Rakgoasi, 2014). Single mothers residing in low-income urban communities in Botswana are therefore more likely to be poor. Living in poverty exposes single mothers in low-income communities to poverty-related stress which includes worries related to work, housing, food insecurity, exposure to crime, illness and discrimination (Broussard et al, 2012). Parenting and child care worries are more of the things single mothers in low-income communities have to contend with. Broussard et al. (2012) state that lack of child care services hinders low-income mothers' sustained participation in the workforce. High costs of child care, irregular, and often long working hours force single mothers to seek support from alternative sources of support and to depend heavily on informal providers, which often increases the single mothers' stress (Broussard et al., 2012).

While single mothers experience poverty and the stress associated with it, these mothers frequently also experience less social support, increased psychological distress and difficulties in caring for their infants (Keating-Lefler et al., 2004). The stress experienced by these single mothers could be due to limitations in facilities, criminal activities, low educational outputs of schools, excessive noise from neighbours and general lack of social support, especially in the urban areas (Turney & Harknett, 2009; Broussard et al., 2012; Byrnes & Miller, 2012). In order to deal with such challenges, these single mothers may need support at different levels and in different forms. The support could be at an individual level, community level or at the national or policy level.

Given the discussion on the potential stressors and challenges with which single mothers living in low-income communities struggle, research into the social support needs of single mothers in low-income communities is relevant. The research is both relevant in relation to the timing of existing research globally, and to the identified research gaps in Botswana.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION, AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim and objectives of the study are presented next. The study sought to answer the following research question;

What are the social support needs of single mothers living in low-income urban communities?

1.3.1 Aim

The aim of the study was to gain a deeper understanding of the social support needs of single mothers in low-income urban communities.

1.3.2 Objectives

To meet the aim of the study, the objectives of the study were;

- To explain the potential stressors experienced by single mothers in low-income urban communities and their social support needs.
- To describe the social support available for single mothers in low-income urban communities from an ecological systems perspective.
- To investigate the views of single mothers in a low-income urban community on their social support needs.
- To draw conclusions and make recommendations for further research and future social work practice involving single mothers living in low-income urban communities.

1.3.3 Theoretical Points of Departure

The ecological systems perspective was chosen as the theoretical framework for this study. Payne (2005) and Healy (2005) point out that Germain and Gitterman's (1996) life model of social work practice offers the major conceptualisation of the ecological systems theory in social work. The ecological systems theory builds on the general systems theory which emphasised wholeness and that parts of a system need to be together in order to function effectively (Healy, 2005). Ecological systems theory also brings in the metaphor of ecology which, according to Payne (2005), is based on the interdependence between people and their environment, simply known as the people-in-environment conceptualisation. The life model or ecological systems perspective aims to improve the level of fit between the people and their environment, especially between human needs and environmental resources (Germain & Gitterman, 1996). The ecological systems perspective is therefore concerned with how people interact with their environment and the different systems within these environments and how the environment and the people influence each other. The ecological systems perspective was used in order to allow the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the social support needs of single mothers in a low-income community; their needs and challenges as they live in this environment. It also assisted the researcher to describe and explore what the current relationship between the single mothers and their environments is and the social support that can be viewed as the environmental resources available or not available to these families.

1.4 CLARIFICATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Working definitions of the key concepts that have been used in this study is provided in this section. The key concepts include single mothers, low-income community and social support.

1.4.1 Single Mothers

The term single mothers refers to mothers who are not married with children, widowed with children, or separated, deserted or officially divorced women with children. Differences in the use of this word have been noted in different studies; whereas some studies emphasise that the single mothers must be not cohabiting (Tietjen, 1985; Cairney, Boyle, Offord & Racine, 2003) others describe single mothers as single even though they are cohabiting or staying with a partner (Nelson, 2000; Broussard et al., 2012). For purposes of this study, a single mother is defined as a mother who is not married with children, or widowed, separated, deserted or official divorced with children, including those cohabiting or living with a partner.

1.4.2 Low-Income Community

These are communities that are characterised by members who mostly have low educational levels, high unemployment rates, low income, or working mostly in the informal sectors of the economy (Neuman & Celano, 2001).

1.4.3 Social Support

Social support is defined by Tietjen (1985:489) as "assistance or nurturance given by one individual to another usually taking the form of material aid, services, information or emotional support". For purposes of this study, social support will include the four specific components of informational support; appraisal support; emotional support; and instrumental support, as described by House (1981) and later confirmed by Keating-Lefler et al. (2004).

1.5 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This section will present the research design and research methodology used in this study. The section will discuss the research approach, research design, study sample, data collection, data analysis, data verification, limitations of the study and the ethical considerations taken into account in this study.

1.5.1 Research Approach

The study utilised a combination of quantitative and qualitative research approaches as described by De Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delport (2011). The use of the two approaches combined ensured that the two complemented each other and allowed for a more complete and in-depth analysis of the problem. The study therefore utilised a combination of quantitative and qualitative research approaches in order to gain a holistic understanding of the research problem.

A quantitative research approach was used in the study in order to explain and predict phenomena, with the intent to establish, confirm or validate relationships (De Vos et al., 2011: 63). For this study the quantitative research approach involved the use of a semi-structured interview schedule with

open- and closed-ended questions in order to establish the social support available for single mothers and the type of support they have received.

The qualitative research approach, on the other hand, was used to assist in gaining deeper insight and in describing the respondents' views on the social support they received and recommendations regarding the support that they should be assisted with. This was based on the fact that qualitative research approaches, according to De Vos et al. (2011: 65) is concerned with describing and understanding rather than explaining or predicting human behaviour as it stimulates participants' account of meaning, experiences or perceptions.

The two research approaches combined allowed for the attainment of the study's aim and objectives.

1.5.2 Research Design

Exploratory and descriptive research designs were used in this study. An exploratory research design was conducted in order to gain insight into a situation, phenomenon, community or individual (De Vos et al., 2011). According to De Vos et al. (2011), the need for an exploratory study could arise out of a lack of basic information on a new area of interest. This study engaged the exploratory research design in order to explore the views of single mothers concerning their social support needs in a low-income community.

A descriptive research design was used to complement the exploratory research design. A descriptive research design presents a picture of the specific details of a situation, social setting or relationship, and focuses on 'how' and 'why' questions (De Vos et al., 2011).

In line with using a combination of quantitative and qualitative research approaches, a combination of exploratory and descriptive research designs was used.

1.5.3 Study Sample

A sample comprises "elements or a subset of the population considered for actual inclusion in the study or it can be viewed as a subset of measurements drawn from a population in which [the researcher is] interested in," (De Vos et al., 2011:223-224). The aim of sampling, according to Schofield (2006), is to save time and effort (De Vos et al., 2011:4). It is also to pick elements from the study population in such a way that descriptions of those elements accurately portray the parameters of the total population from which the elements are selected (Barbie & Mouton, 2002).

For this study, a non-probability sampling method of purposive sampling was used to identify the individuals to be interviewed. A non-probability sampling method is one in which the odds of selecting a particular individual are not known because the researcher does not know the population

size or the members of the population (De Vos et al., 2011:231). Purposive sampling, which is also known as judgemental sampling, was identified as the best to utilise in this study in order to assist the research and identify a sample composed of elements that contained the most characteristics – representative or typical attributes - that best served the purpose of the study, which, according to De Vos et al. (2011) is the benefit of utilising this method.

One of the limitations of this sampling method, however, is that it can lead to researcher bias; this is because the method is highly reliant on the judgement of the researcher. In order to overcome this, De Vos et al. (2011:392) propose that "a clear identification and formulation of pre-selected criteria for selection" must be set. The criteria for inclusion in this study's sample were as follows;

Participants had to:

- Be residents in a low-income urban community having resided there for more than 12 months
- Be single mothers
- Be 18 years of age or above
- Speak English and / or Setswana

Participants were identified through a local non-governmental organisation (NGO), the Botswana Council of Churches based in Old Naledi, one of the low-income communities in Gaborone, Botswana. The organisation was also strategic for this study in that it works with the community members of Old Naledi where the study was undertaken and therefore assisted the researcher in identifying study participants.

The study sample size consisted of 20 participants. The number of participants was arrived at based on the two set criteria for selecting the number of participants in a qualitative study which are *sufficiency* and *saturation* (De Vos et al., 2011). *Sufficiency* according to De Vos et al. (2011) is an assessment of whether the number of participants interviewed reflects the range of participants that make up the population such that even those that have not been selected will have a chance to connect with the experience of those selected. *Saturation* on the other hand is a point in the study where the researcher begins to hear the same information repeatedly and is not learning anything new (De Vos et al., 2011). The 20 participants were therefore selected because they reflected the range of participants that made up the study population and because the researcher was no longer getting new information from the interviews.

1.5.4 Methods or Instruments for Data Collection

In line with other qualitative studies, this study utilised a semi-structured interview schedule to collect data from the participants during the interviews. Semi-structured interview schedules are described by De Vos et al. (2011: 348) as those organised around areas of particular interest, while still allowing

considerable flexibility in scope and depth. One-to-one interviews were conducted with participants. This was done to gain a detailed picture of the participants' beliefs about, or a perception or accounts of a particular topic. Since this study was aimed at gaining deeper understanding of the social support needs of single mothers in a low-income urban community the semi-structured interview schedule was used to assist in getting information which allowed for this. With semi-structured interviews, the researcher used predetermined questions on an interview schedule, which guided rather than dictated the interviews.

De Vos et al. (2011) explain that a semi-structured interview schedule is a questionnaire written to guide interviews. The interview schedule was therefore developed for use by the interviewer to guide the interviews. The interview guide was translated into Setswana because the study population consisted of people who were not able to express themselves freely in English because of their educational levels.

Predetermined questions were developed and utilised during the data collection exercise. A combination of closed-ended and open-ended questions were included in the interview schedule. This was done in order to ensure that the interview was structured but allowed for in-depth probing as the schedule just guided the interview. The development of the predetermined questions, based on the literature review, assisted the interviewer to think explicitly about the interview, what was hoped to be covered; challenges that could be faced, especially in terms of question wording or sensitive areas (De Vos et al., 2011: 352). This process therefore assisted the interviewer to be prepared and to be able to anticipate different situations that arose in the field, as well as different ways of handling them. (See attached Annexure 2 for the interview schedule).

Prior to conducting the interview, the researcher prepared accordingly. The researcher took time to familiarise herself with the interview schedule so that she could concentrate on what the participants were saying during the interviews (De Vos et al., 2011: 353).

Semi-structured one-to-one interviews were used to gather data. The plan was to use a voice recorder with the consent of the participants for all the interviews; however, almost all the participants were uncomfortable with the use of the recorder, which led to abandoning the idea of recording the sessions. Informed consent was obtained using consent forms which were developed (see Annexure 1). Since the participants did not consent to the use of the voice recorder, the researcher took notes during the interviews. The researcher made field notes of the things that she observed. Field notes and recorded interviews were transcribed soon after the interviews were concluded. This helped the researcher to determine whether the collected data was complete and to manage and organise the information accordingly.

1.5.4.1 Pilot Study

Following the development of the interview guide, a pilot study was done. Baker (2003), quoted by De Vos et al. (2011:237) defines a pilot study as, "a procedure for testing and validating an instrument by administering it to a small group of participants from the intended test population". According to De Vos et al. (2011), a pilot test is essential for identifying any errors in the interview guide and to have these rectified. The pilot test was done in this study to check for possible ambiguity of the questions; to ensure that the translated interview guide was understood in the way it was intended; and to ensure the general feasibility of the interview guide and the data to be collected. The issues arising from the pilot test were addressed and the interview guide was corrected and adjusted accordingly.

1.5.5 Data Analysis

De Vos et al. (2011:249) point out that data analysis is carried out in order to reduce data to an intelligible and interpretable form, so that the relations of research problems can be studied and tested and conclusions drawn. Since this study used a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, data analysis consisted of analysing the quantitative data using quantitative methods, and the qualitative data using qualitative methods and procedures (De Vos et al., 2011).

1.5.5.1 Quantitative Data Analysis and Interpretation

According to Rubin and Babbie (2005), as quoted in De Vos et al. (2011:249), quantitative data analysis can be regarded as the technique by which researchers convert data to a numerical form and subject it to statistical analysis. For purposes of this study, quantitative date were analysed manually with calculators and by computer. This was in line with De Vos et al. (2011), who point out that, if the sample is relatively small, some statistical analyses can be performed manually with a calculator or electronically with the use of programs such as Microsoft Excel or the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. Since the study sample consisted of twenty (20) participants, which is relatively small, both manual analysis and computer-based analyses were employed. Descriptive methods of quantitative data analysis were used to describe the distribution or spread of the sample across a range of variables with the aim of producing a scope of the characteristics of such distribution through frequencies, measures of central tendencies and measures of dispersion. Interpretation of data was then undertaken to explain and present the findings of the research.

1.5.5.2 Qualitative Data analysis and Interpretation

As with quantitative data, qualitative data that were gathered were also analysed and interpreted. De Vos et al. (2011) explain that qualitative data analysis entails the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. It "reduces the volume of raw data information, sifting

significance from trivia, identifying significant patterns and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveals", (De Vos et al. 2011: 397). Schwandt (2007), as cited in De Vos et al. (2011:397), goes on to point out that data analysis is broadly conceived as the "activity of making sense of, interpreting and theorising data".

This study utilised the process of qualitative data analysis as outlined by De Vos et al. (2011:404). The steps taken were as follows:

- 1. Preparing and organising the data
 - Planning for recording of data
 - Data collection and preliminary analyses
 - Managing the data
 - Reading and writing memos
- 2. Reducing the Data
 - Generating themes, categories and coding the data
 - Testing the emergent understandings and searching for alternative explanations
 - Interpreting and developing typologies
- 3. Visualising, representing and displaying the data
 - Presenting the data by means of narratives of participants (De Vos et al., 2011:404).

Once the translating and organising of data were completed, the researcher read through the transcriptions in their entirety in order to become immersed in the details and to get a sense of the interview as a whole (De Vos et al., 2011: 409). As the researcher was reading these translations, notes were made as the initial step in the process of exploring the data (De Vos et al., 2011: 409).

Once the steps in the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data were completed, the researcher followed three of the steps recommended by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), as quoted in De Vos et al. (2011), of data consolidation, data comparison and data integration. In *data consolidation*, data from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses were combined to create a new dataset (De Vos et al., 2011). This was followed by *data comparison* during which data from the quantitative and qualitative analyses were compared, and then *data integration* was undertaken. Here data from quantitative and qualitative analyses had to be integrated into either a whole coherent dataset or two separate datasets (De Vos et al, 2011).

The analysed quantitative data are presented in Chapter 4 in the format of tables and figures. Qualitative data, on the other hand, are presented under themes, categories and as narratives of the participants in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents the conclusions that were drawn after the data analysis and discussion of this study.

1.5.6 Data Verification

Various social scientists have developed criteria for assessing the truth value of qualitative studies. Two of these researchers are Lincoln and Guba (1999) who are quoted in De Vos et al. (2011) as having developed a criterion that consists of four constructs that a qualitative research study should satisfy. These are credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability (De Vos et al., 2011). Regarding *credibility*, the aim is to ensure that the participants are accurately identified and described (De Vos et al., 2011). To ensure credibility, this study developed a criterion regarding the people that were to be interviewed and these participants are described in Chapter 4, in the presentation of the identifying information about the participants. Concerning transferability, the aim is to ensure that the findings of the study can be transferred from a specific situation or case to another (De Vos et al., 2011). In this study, transferability was ensured through recording the steps undertaken in data collection; the theoretical framework used; and the accurate recording of the findings of the study. The third criterion is that of *dependability*. "Here, the researcher asks whether the research process is logical, well documented and audited" (De Vos et al., 2011:420). To enhance the dependability of this study, supervision and peer examination were used to assess whether the research plan and implementation were logical and well documented. The last of the four criteria is that of conformability. Here, the researcher asks whether the findings of the research can be confirmed by another (De Vos et al., 2011). To ensure the conformability of the study, the researcher used the auditing trail strategy advised by De Vos et al. (2011). This strategy requires that the researcher documents the process of continuous analysis and all decisions taken during the entire research process systematically so that the study is not understood in terms of what was found only, but also in terms of how it was found (De Vos et al., 2011). The researcher in this study documented all the steps that were undertaken to arrive at the findings of the study. The researcher's supervisor monitored the steps taken in the research process and the documentation of these, thus fulfilling the role of the auditor in this study.

1.5.7 Limitations

Limitations identified in this study include the following:

The study utilised the exploratory and descriptive research designs. Due to the nature of these research designs the study sought to explore and describe the phenomena being studied and not to explain why things were in that way. The research question being asked by the study was that of *what* the social support needs of single mothers in low income urban communities are, rather than *why* single mothers in low-income urban communities have social support needs.

The study utilised a non-probability sampling method which, according to De Vos et al. (2011) could lead to researcher bias, as mentioned before. To minimise this, a criterion for inclusion in the study sample was set and followed.

The study sample consisted of 20 participants in one low-income community in one urban area. The results of this study are therefore limited to the specific sampled population and should be interpreted in this context.

The study utilised open-ended questions to gain in-depth information regarding the phenomena under investigation. Limited depth was found in the emotional needs of single mothers living in low-income urban communities as the participants did not describe their needs in detail despite further probing.

The study was completed, however, and the research aim and objectives achieved despite these limitations.

1.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations in studies involving human beings are very critical, especially for caring professions such as social work, nursing and others. According to De Vos et al. (2011:114), "the term ethics implies conforming to a code of principles; rules of conduct; the responsibility of the researcher; and the standards of conduct of a given profession". Ethical consideration was therefore given maximum attention in conducting this study. The following are some of the measures and ethical considerations that were considered.

1.6.1 Ethical Clearance

The study was conducted under the guidance and supervision of the Social Work Department at the University of Stellenbosch. The application for ethical clearance was submitted to the Departmental Ethics Screening Committee (DESC) of the Department of Social Work for approval as a low risk study in which the only foreseeable risk was one of discomfort and inconvenience. The application for ethical clearance was approved by DESC in August 2014.

In line with the DESC approval, the researcher adhered to the ethical considerations as outlined in the proposal and throughout the study remained within the confines of these. There was no departure from the approved proposal at any point during the data collection exercise.

1.6.2 Ethical Issues

The ethical issues identified as being relevant to this study concerned avoidance of harm to participants; voluntary participation; informed consent; confidentiality and compensation. These are discussed below.

1.6.2.1 Avoidance of Harm

Barbie (2007), cited in De Vos et al. (2011:115), states that "the fundamental ethical rule of research is that it must bring no harm to participants". This study sought to ensure that no harm would be inflicted on any of the participants in the study. To achieve this, the researcher emphasised voluntary participation in the study and informed consent. The researcher explained the purpose of the study to potential participants and explained the contents of the consent form and clarified any issues that arose out of this form.

1.6.2.2 Voluntary Participation

De Vos et al. (2011) state that no one should be forced to participate in a project; participation should be voluntary at all times. This issue of voluntary participation was made clear to all the study participants, explaining that they had the right to participate or not participate in the study. Participants were also informed that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point. Fortunately, all the participants remained involved throughout the interview sessions.

1.6.2.3 Informed Consent

In line with voluntary participation, the informed consent of participants was sought. In order to obtain the informed consent of the participants, all possible and adequate information on the goal of the investigation; the expected duration of the participant's involvement; the procedure to be followed; and the possible advantages and disadvantages of participating in the study were explained to the participants (De Vos et al., 2011). A written consent form was used in this study (Annexure 1). The signed off consent forms have been kept safely.

1.6.2.4 Confidentiality

De Vos et al. (2011:119) state that "every individual has the right to privacy and it is his or her right to decide when, where, to whom and to what extent his or her attitudes, beliefs and behaviour will be revealed". In consideration of this, information regarding participants in this study was handled in a confidential manner so that their privacy has not been violated. Confidentiality places a strong obligation on researchers to jealously guard the information confided to them (De Vos et al., 2011) and the researcher ensured that all participants' information and field notes were kept in a manner that protected the privacy of the participants.

To further protect the privacy of the study participants, the participants remained anonymous; no names, addresses or any information that could link participants to the study were required.

1.6.2.5 Compensation

No compensation was provided to the study participants and that there would be no compensation for taking part in the study was explained at the onset. This was done to manage expectations from the participants and to make sure that whoever took part in the study understood this.

1.7 CHAPTER LAYOUT

This research report consists of five chapters. Chapter one comprises an introduction to the study and presents an outline of how the research was undertaken. Chapter two gives an explanation of the potential stressors experienced by single mothers in low-income urban communities and their social support needs. The theoretical framework used in this study, which is the ecological systems perspective, is also presented in Chapter two. Chapter three provides a description of social support available to single mothers in low-income urban communities from an ecological perspective. Chapter four then presents the findings of this investigation and discussions on the views of single mothers in low-income urban communities concerning their social support needs. Chapter five presents the conclusions and recommendations of this study. Recommendations regarding areas that need further research are also presented in Chapter five.

The research study was conducted between February 2014 and September 2015.

Chapter Two

POTENTIAL STRESSORS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT NEEDS OF SINGLE MOTHERS IN LOW-INCOME URBAN COMMUNITIES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Parenting can be a source of joy and fulfilment in most adult lives, but for single mothers living in low-income areas it can be a source of added strain (Ceballo & McLloyd, 2002). Some of the distress comes from single-handedly negotiating parenting responsibilities, being socially isolated and being less consistently involved with social contacts (Ceballo & McLloyd, 2002). A poor fit between the person and their environment can lead to stress (Germain & Gitterman, 1996). Living in a low-income urban area can also be a source of stress as the areas are often characterised by high crime levels, inadequate resources, high poverty levels and lack of employment opportunities (Klebanov, Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1994; Santiago, Wadsworth & Stump, 2011). Social support is proved to be a positive resource for individuals and families living in poor, low-income areas as it is able to buffer some of the negative effects of stress caused by negative life events, chronic strain and daily hassles (Cobb, 1976; Wilson, 1991; Thoits, 1995).

This chapter explains the potential stressors and social support needs of single mothers in low-income urban communities, which was the first objective of this research study. It presents a literature analysis to address this objective. The chapter starts off by discussing life stages of single mothers; social support as a concept; the ecological perspective; social support as a stress buffer; stressors for single mothers living in low-income urban areas; and social support needs of low income mothers living in low-income urban areas.

2.2 LIFE STAGES OF SINGLE MOTHERS

Single mothers in this study, as highlighted in Chapter one refer to women who are mothers and not married, including those with partners and those who are cohabiting (Nelson, 2000; Broussard et al., 2012). These women are not married but have children, are widowed with children, separated, deserted or officially divorced women with children, but can be cohabiting or staying with a partner. Based on this description, the single mothers are in different stages in their lives, ranging from teenage mothers to mothers who are in the late adulthood stage. What is common among these women in this study is that they are single and mothers and live in a low-income urban community. This section describes the different life stages of these mothers, using the psychosocial stages conceptualised by Erik Erikson (1959). The four stages that are looked at are the identity versus identity diffusion;

intimacy versus isolation; generativity versus stagnation; and integrity versus despair (Lefrancois, 1993; Dunkel & Sefcek, 2009).

2.2.1 Developmental Tasks

Developmental tasks are milestones reached after gaining some new major competencies or skills. They can also be defined as the occurrence of a significant event with important psychological consequences (Lefrancois, 1993). Different developmental tasks that take place in the adolescent, young, middle and late adulthood life stages will be discussed.

The adolescence life stage is referred to as the **identity versus identity diffusion** stage according to Erikson's (1959) psychosocial development stages. The major developmental tasks in this life stage are to develop a strong sense of self-identity (Lefrancois, 1993); it is at this stage that an individual develops their self-certainty and deals with self-consciousness (Slater, 2003).

The **intimacy versus isolation** stage is estimated to be around the ages of 20 to the mid-30 years, usually termed young adulthood and is characterised by people developing close relationship with others and achieving the intimacy required for forming relationships as opposed to being isolated (Hamachek, 1990; Lefrancois, 1993).

The seventh stage of Erik Erikson's (1959) psychosocial stages is **generativity versus stagnation** which occurs in middle adulthood (Van Hiel, Mervielde & De Fruyt, 2006). In this stage people are actively raising their children and the biggest task is to strike a balance between generativity and stagnation (Van Hiel et al., 2006). The people at this stage are concerned with the general welfare of others, which includes their immediate family members and community members (Hamachek, 1990; Lefrancois, 1993; Van Hiel, 2006).

The last stage of the psychosocial stages as conceptualised by Erik Erikson (1959) is the **integrity versus despair** stage which takes place in the late adulthood. At this stage the individual is getting closer to death and has to deal with the reality that they may die at any point. The major development task in this stage is evaluation of the life lived; the individual takes a look back and assesses what they have been able to accomplish and what they have not been able to achieve (Lefrancois, 1993). If upon this evaluation the individual comes to a conclusion that they have done well in life they will consequently have feelings of satisfaction and integrity. If, however, evaluation in negative, a sense of despair arises as the individual has to face the reality that there is not much time left on earth to do anything to change what has happened (Lefrancois, 1993).

There has been some criticism of the Erikson's conceptualisation of the psychosocial stages by writers who have pointed out some of its shortcomings (Peck, 1986; Gilligan, 2003; Sorell & Montgomery,

2009). These include that the psychosocial development is depicted to be in tandem with biological growth and development, which is not always true as some people, especially women, may be going through development tasks in one life stage while still in another (Sorell & Montgomery, 2011). The fact that these life stages are presented as linear therefore may not be entirely accurate (Peck, 1986). Another argument is that the theory is androcentric in that it places men and their interests, as well as their preferences and characteristics, at the centre (Sorell & Montgomery, 2009). This is done through the emphasis of the theory on acquiring independence and autonomy, which favours males more than females, as women and girls base their identity in the development and sustenance of caring relationships (Gilligan, 2003). Peck (1986) points out that models of psychological development, including Erikson's (1959) model, were based almost exclusively upon men's life experiences, which therefore does not take into account women's life experiences. Gilligan (1977, 2003) has strongly emphasised the need for a developmental model which is sensitive to and reflects the life experiences of women. In particular, Gilligan (1977, 2003) has called for a reassessment of the role of relationships and attachment in a woman's adult life.

Germain and Gitterman (1996) have advanced the life course concept, which is an aspect of the life model of social work practice. This model helps to address some of the shortcomings identified in Erik Erikson's psychosocial stages (1959). The life course refers to the unique pathways that each individual takes from conception to birth and old age in varied environments and varied life experiences (Germain & Gitterman, 1996). The life course is anchored in an "ecological view of non-uniform, indeterminable pathways of bio-psychosocial development within diverse environments and cultures" (Germain & Gitterman, 1996:21). The life course emphasises the following tenets: human diversity; the self-regulating, self-directing and indeterminable nature of human beings; environmental diversity; newly emerging family forms and their special tasks and developmental issues; rapid shifts in societal and community values; and the critical significance of global and local environments (Germain & Gitterman, 1996).

The life course places human development and social functioning in a matrix of historical, individual and social time. The life course theory can be very useful in understanding the situation of single mothers central in this study. Although the theory will not help list expected behaviour patterns of single mothers, it does give an avenue for understanding single mothers on their own terms; their life experiences, their varied environments and their different needs. The points brought forward in the feminist psychological theory (Peck, 1986; Gilligan, 2003) and women's development will also be taken into account, so as to present a balanced view of the life experiences of women.

It can be concluded that the life stages of single mothers are different because the needs of these mothers are varied depending on their life stages and levels of development, whether physically, emotionally, socially or cognitively. The social support accorded to these mothers should therefore be responsive to their different needs. The following section of this chapter explores the concept of social support and why it is important, as well as the social support needs of single mothers in low-income urban areas.

2.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL SUPPORT

Social support has been researched in the field of medicine and psychology with regard to how it contributes to the health of patients and clients, especially those with mental illnesses (Cobb, 1976; Kaplan, Cassel & Gore, 1977; Lin, Woelfel & Light, 1985; Taylor, 2011). Despite the fact that social support has been written about there seems to be lack of agreement on the standard definition of this concept. Some of the researchers have noted this aspect (Lin et al., 1985; Thoits, 1985; House, 1987; Williams, Barclay & Schmied, 2004; Finfgeld-Connett, 2005). There are broad themes on which social support seems to centre, however, and these concern that social support is assistance given to individuals or groups of people by others. The support can be emotional, financial, material aid, and informational.

In a study carried out by Williams et al. (2004) which sought to critically appraise the way in which definitions of social support have been developed, the researchers identified thirty definitions of social support. Those definitions have been developed over the years. Kaplan et al. (1977), for instance, defined social support as "the degree to which an individual's needs for affection, approval, belonging and security are met by significant others", while House (1981: 39) defines social support as, "an interpersonal transaction involving one or more of the following: emotional concern which includes liking, love, empathy; instrumental aid including goods and services; information especially about the environment, and appraisal which is information relevant for self-evaluation". Tietjen (1985:489) defines social support as "assistance or nurturance given by one individual to another, usually taking the form of material aid, services, informational or emotional support". Taylor (2011:189) defines social support as, "the perception or experience that one is loved or cared for by others, esteemed or valued, and part of a social network of mutual benefit or assistance".

These definitions demonstrate that social support involves transactions or relations with one or more people; that in these relations and transaction there is aid or assistance of one of the parties; and that this assistance can either be tangible or non-tangible. Social support has further been acknowledged as a multidimensional concept which does not only concern itself with the amount of support given, but also with the type and the source of the support (Thoits, 1982; Finfgeld-Connett, 2005). The four

definitions above highlight the type of support individuals can be given and acknowledge that there should be a source for this support. The definitions however do not explicitly show that the source of the support can be from formal or informal networks. Formal networks are defined as organised community organisations and other institutions, while informal networks include family, friends, neighbours and community members (Payne, 1997).

The networks from which people draw their support are in line with the ecological systems theory which was used in this study. Pincus and Minahan (1973) refer to these networks as resource systems. These authors identified three resource systems which are the informal or natural resource systems, the formal resource systems and the societal resource systems (Pincus & Minahan, 1973).

Bronfenbrenner (1979), on the other hand, describes these networks and systems as an ecological environment in which a person's behaviour must be understood. He identified four interconnected systems to make up the ecological environment; these are the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem, which are discussed in more detail in the following section that discusses the ecological perspective.

2.4 ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The ecological systems perspective was used to guide this study and to understand the social support needs of single mothers in low-income urban communities. The history of the ecological perspective in social work originates from the general systems theory advanced by Von Bertalanffy (1968, 1971), a biologist, and from sociological attempts to apply biological system theories to the social world (Payne, 1997; Healy, 2005). Since then, systems theory has been explored further and has evolved over time from the general systems theory to social systems theory and the complex systems theory (Teater, 2010). Payne (1997) points out that two forms of systems theory have been distinguished in social work and these are the general systems theory advanced by Pincus and Minahan (1973) and the ecological systems theory by Germain and Gitterman (1980, 1996). In this section, these two theories are discussed, as well as the ecological model of human development advanced by Bronfenbrenner (1977, 1994).

2.4.1 The General Systems Theory

The general systems theory was mainly derived from the biological systems theory and used some of the biological terminology to explain client needs and situations (Healy, 2005:134-135). The term homeostasis is central in the general systems theory; in social work it refers to the maintenance of a steady or balanced state essential for the growth of the human organism (Healy, 2005). In the application of this theory, social workers therefore aim at identifying the state of disorder or poor fit

between their clients' lives and their environments and work towards restoring this and arriving at a state of homeostasis. The theory highlights that a system can either be open or closed. A closed system is one which does not interact with the outside environment and is not affected or influenced by the outside environment, whereas an open system is one which interacts with the outside environment and is affected and influenced by the environment (Teater, 2010). This theory believes that social systems as open systems can be influenced, affected and can interact with their environments.

Pincus and Minahan (1973) emphasised that people, including single mothers, depend on their social environments for a satisfactory life, so social work should focus on such systems. The authors identified three systems that people interact with and depend on for assistance. These are the informal resource systems, the formal resource systems and the societal resource systems. The informal resource systems include the family, friends, neighbours, co-workers other helpers, whereas formal resource systems include membership of organisations or formal associations. Societal resource systems, on the other hand, include hospitals, schools, places of employment and other government and public service providers (Pincus & Minahan, 1973).

2.4.2 The Ecological Model for Human Development

The ecological model for human development as advanced by Bronfenbrenner (1977) offered an alternative view to the psychodynamic theories on human development. The model took a broader approach to human development and focused on the growing human organism and the changing environments it actually lives and grows in (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The changing relation between persons and their environments was explained in system terms (Bronfenbrenner, 1977:513). Bronfenbrenner identified four systems within which an individual grows and develops. These are the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem and the macrosystem, as can be seen in Figure 2.1.

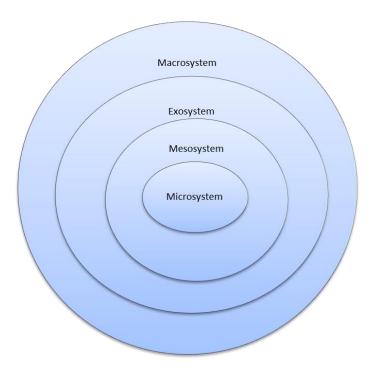


Figure 2.1: Ecological Model for Human Development

These four ecological systems conceptualised by Bronfenbrenner (1977, 1994) are discussed next.

2.4.2.1 The Microsystem

The microsystem refers to the complex relations between a person and the immediate setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). A setting, according to Bronfenbrenner (1977:514), is a "place with particular physical features in which the participants engage in particular activities in particular roles". Microsystems include social roles and interpersonal relations experienced by a person in a face-to-face setting with their immediate environments, which can comprise family, school, peer group or workplace (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1994). The microsystems therefore are the smallest and most direct systems that a single mother interacts with on a daily basis.

2.4.2.2 The Mesosystem

The mesosystem refers to the interactions between two or more settings that contain the person, in this case a single mother (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The mesosystem, for example, refers to the interaction between the single mother's family and her workplace. A mesosystem is therefore a system of microsystems.

2.4.2.3 The Exosystem

The exosystem involves the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings, one of which does not contain the person, but its events indirectly influence the immediate setting in which a person is contained (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). An example of an exosystem for a single mother is the relation between the home and her child's school.

2.4.2.4 The Macrosystem

The macrosystem consists of the overarching patterns of microsystem, mesosystem and exosystem characteristics of a given culture or subculture. Macrosystems embody the belief systems, bodies of knowledge, customs, life styles, values and life-course options reflected in the interaction among the systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1994).

2.4.3 Focus of the Ecological Systems Theory

The ecological systems theory, also referred to as the life model, brings together the general systems theory and the ecological perspective; it focuses on the person-in-environment (Healy, 2005; Teater, 2010). The theory retains some of the central tenets of the general systems theory which focuses on wholeness or that the parts of a system have to function well together for the wellbeing of that system (Healy, 2005). It therefore emphasises the interaction between the single mother and her environment and the environment and the single mother, also termed as the reciprocity of person-environment exchanges (Germain & Gitterman, 1996). These exchanges can be positive, negative or neutral.

2.4.3.1 Person-Environment Fit

As a part of the ecological systems theory, the person-in-environment focuses on the reciprocity of the person and the environment. This model sees people as constantly adapting in an exchange with many different parts of their environment; how people influence and affect their environment; and how the environment does the same to the people (Payne, 1997).

The ecological life model presents some concepts that are central to its understanding. These are adaptedness, dysfunctional exchanges, adaptive exchanges and adaptation. *Adaptedness* occurs when the environment provides resources and experiences at the appropriate time and in the appropriate form to assure people's overall optimum functioning (Germain & Gitterman, 1996: 8). When this occurs, there is a good fit between the person and the environment and both prosper.

Adaptive person-environment exchanges occur when the environment is unfavourable or merely adequate and the person changes himself or herself or the environment in order to enhance the person-environment fit (Germain & Gitterman, 1996). These are exchanges that support human potential for adaptedness.

Adaptation, on the other hand, refers to actions or efforts that move an individual towards adaptedness. This can be through changing oneself, changing the environment and changing the person-environment relationship in order to enhance the fit (Germain & Gitterman, 1996).

Dysfunctional exchanges occur when there is a poor fit between the person and the environment. When this happens a person's "needs, capacities, rights and aspirations, personal development and

functioning are apt to be impaired and the environment may be damaged" (Germain & Gitterman, 1996:8). Dysfunctional exchanges fail to support adaptedness. The stress most single mothers face is due to a poor fit between them and their environments.

In the following section the ecological perspective is used to explain, analyse and discuss potential stressors that could be experienced by single mothers in low-income urban communities.

2.5 POTENTIAL STRESSORS FOR SINGLE MOTHERS

In order to understand stressors experienced by single mothers it is important to first understand what stress is. Most definitions of stress build on Lazarus's (1966) definition of stress (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Modie-Moroka, 2014). Lazarus (1966) indicated that, stress arises when one appraises a situation as threatening or otherwise demanding and does not have an appropriate coping response Modie-Moroka (2014:1270) defined stress as "an adaptational response to environmental, social or internal demands (known as stressors) that produce physiological or emotional arousal (through the stress hormone cortisol) in the individual". She highlighted that stress may therefore arise when an individual's ability to cope with stress is overstretched. For purposes of this study, the definition by Lazarus (1966) will be used as it better articulates what stress is and shows that a thought process goes on within an individual for an individual to name an event or incident as stressful.

Feminist scholars have raised concern that urban development has not been gender sensitive and, to a large extent, has not catered for the needs of women, especially single mothers (Masika, De Haan & Baden, 2007). Urban poverty and the pressure it exerts on people have to be looked at in terms of gender equity, as "men and women respond to urban poverty in different ways as a result of gendered constraints and opportunities" (Masika et al., 2007:8). This gender analysis has to go a step further and look at the needs of the different categories for both men and women. The needs of a married woman, for example, will not completely be the same as that of a single woman or a woman with children. In policy development, consideration has to be given to all these differing scenarios.

This section will discuss the potential stressors for single mothers living in low-income communities, taking into consideration the factors that make this group of people vulnerable. These factors include, at first, the place in which these single mothers reside; not only is the place a low-income area but it is found in an urban area; second, parenthood: this group consists of mothers, which means that they do not have to cater for their needs only, but for those of their families as well; third: women; being a woman is not a concern per se, but the social and economic challenges that women face are a crucial factor. These three factors and others influence how single mothers living in low-income urban communities appraise situations as stressful and how they respond to those situations (Matheson, Moineddin, Dunn, Creatore, Gozdyra & Glazier, 2006). Other potential stressors include the poverty

levels, housing challenges, food insecurity, high crime levels, and exposure to violence, discrimination and stigma, limited family resources, inadequate social support, scarce job opportunities, illnesses and death (Turney & Harknett, 2010). The following discussion focuses on the place of residence or the neighbourhood, parenthood, poverty, overcrowding, crime levels and exposure to violence, as well as illnesses and death. Since these factors are social problems, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive and at times are closely related and influence each other, as will be highlighted in the following discussion.

2.5.1 Place of Residence or the Neighbourhood

The place of residence or the locality within which single mothers live can be a source of stress or provide a supportive environment to deal with potential stressors. Neighbourhood socio-economic status has been linked to employment opportunities, educational attainment, availability of resources and social mobility (Turney & Harknett, 2010; Small & Newman, 2001). "Neighbourhood characteristics have also been related to health problems for adults such as anxiety, anger and depression" (Byrnes & Miller, 2012: 1659). Studying and analysing the place of residence or the neighbourhood is therefore imperative in understanding the potential stressors for single mothers living in low-income urban areas. The ecological system further buttresses the importance of a good fit between a person and their environment. The theory demonstrates that, if there is a poor fit between the single mothers and their environments, their "needs, capacities, aspiration and functioning may be impaired" (Germain & Gitterman, 1996:8).

Mitlin (2007) describes typical conditions in urban low income areas as having high living densities and associated health problems, greater commodification, and potentially more contestation over resources and overcrowding. These conditions can be taxing on the residents as there are more negative than positive attributes to these localities. Living in a low-income urban area can therefore be a source of stress for single mothers and can cause maladaptive exchanges between the people and their environments, which may lead to impaired development and functioning and maybe even be damaging the environment.

2.5.2 Parenthood

The birth of a first child has been identified as one of the life events that require major behavioural change; some people are able to adjust well; for others it is a difficult adjustment. Parenting in a low-income, urban neighbourhood brings its own set of challenges as parents have to raise children in an environment that may have high crime levels, high disorder and lack of resources (Byrnes & Miller, 2012). Parents are therefore, constantly worried about the safety of their children and the opportunities available for their children, as well as child care and child morbidity and mortality.

Studies have shown that disorganisation in neighbourhoods can interfere with parents' use of effective parenting practices; and that the parents in these areas are prone to using harsh, inconsistent and more punitive parenting styles (Ceballo & McLoyd, 2002; Byrnes & Miller, 2012). Compared with married mothers, single mothers were found to be more depressed and reported feelings of low self-esteem, partly due to their single-handed negotiation of heavy parenting responsibilities (Ceballo & McLoyd, 2002). Most times single mothers are responsible for providing for the family, disciplining the children and negotiating the environment they live in, for both themselves and their children. The challenges faced by single parenting is best described by Ceballo and McLoyd (2002:1310) who posited that, "single parenting and psychological distress are liked to an unremitting succession of negative events, economic hardship, social isolation and heavy parenting responsibilities".

2.5.3 Poverty

Poverty is a common feature in low income urban communities (Small & Newman, 2001). Poverty is defined in varied ways but the essence of it is a picture of deprivation, lack, insufficiency, inadequacy and scarcity of resources (Small & Newman, 2001; Bastos, Casaca, Nunes & Pereirinha, 2009). In Botswana, poverty, inequality and high unemployment rates are challenges that the country is still faced with (BIDPA, 2013). Poverty has been a challenge for the country since its independence, with GDP per capita less than US\$100 (Gwebu, 2012). Since independence the country has made significant strides in reducing the poverty levels, which stood at 59 percent in 1985/86, to 47 percent in 1993/94 and 30.6 percent in 2002/03 (BIDPA, 2008). The latest Statistics Botswana report indicates that the poverty level was 19.3 percent in 2009/10 (Statistics Botswana, 2013). Despite this, poverty is still a challenge, particularly in the rural areas. Poverty is also higher for families raising children than for other families; it is more pronounced in female-headed households compared to male headed households (BIDPA, 2013). Urban poverty is also now becoming a challenge as there has been an increase in the percentage of people living under the poverty datum line, from 10.6 percent in 2002/03 to 14.0 percent in 2009/10. This increase was also noted in the percentage of households in cities and towns living under the Poverty Datum Line (PDL), which increased from 8.8 in 2002/03 to 13.3 in 2009/10 (Statistics Botswana, 2011).

Unemployment, which is one of the biggest contributors to the high poverty rates in Botswana, remains a challenge for the country (Jefferis & Kelly, 1999; Malema, 2014). The unemployment rate is estimated at 17.8 percent, with female unemployment at 21.4 percent compared to male unemployment at 14.5 percent (Statistics Botswana, 2011). The most affected age group for females is those who are 15 to 29 years old, with an unemployment rate of 38.1 percent who were more concentrated in urban areas than in the rural areas (Malepa & Komane, 2014). Around 41 percent of the unemployed females had completed junior secondary education only, while those who had

completed secondary education constituted 25.4 percent and those with primary education were 12.5 percent (Malepa & Komane, 2014).

Low-income urban communities are mostly populated by people who are unemployed, working in informal jobs, have low educational attainment and have low income if they are working (Small & Newman, 2001). The community therefore tends to reflect the status of its inhabitants. In the United States of America, the concentration of poor people in urban low-income communities or the inner city is explained in three ways, namely that it is due to the departure of the working middle class blacks from the inner city, that it is a residential segregation model; and because of the departure of low-skilled jobs from the inner city, which left the people jobless and thus increased the concentration of poverty (Small & Newman, 2001). In Botswana, low-income urban communities were established following the rural-to-urban-areas migration of people in search of better opportunities (Kent & Ikgopoleng, 2011). When the city of Gaborone was established, the low-income community of Old Naledi was tolerated as a temporary squatter camp for the builders from the rural areas who were constructing the city (Kent & Ikgopoleng, 2011). As the city began to grow, more people, often with low to no skills, low educational levels came from the rural areas and they settled in Old Naledi, due to its low rental rates.

Single mothers with low to no skills, low educational attainment, who are unemployed or working in the informal sector are some of the people who are most likely to stay in low-income urban communities. Urban poverty, which is now increasing in Botswana, exerts pressure on single mothers staying in these communities as they do not only have to contend with their own personal lack but that of their communities as well. Poverty, as such, is one of the potential stressors that single mothers have to contend with as a daily hassle or chronic stressor.

2.5.4 Overcrowding

Low income urban communities are characterised by overcrowding, insufficient resources and infrastructure (Turney & Harknett, 2010). The residents living there are predominantly those with low educational levels, unemployed, low income and working in informal job settings (Matheson et al., 2006). According to Small and Newman (2001) overcrowding is one of the factors that increases the likely hood of being unemployed, dropping out of school and taking up crime.

2.5.5 Crime Levels and Exposure to Violence

The low income urban areas experience high crime levels due to a number of factors and the residents of these communities are exposed to violence. Samson (1988) as quoted by Small and Newman (2001), points out that the major cause of delinquency in low-income urban communities is social disorganisation and lack of social efficacy. This means that crime levels in these areas tend to be high

because low-income urban communities tend to be highly disorganised. High crime levels put pressure on single mothers as they have to be able to shield themselves against criminal activities, or end up becoming victims of these activities. Living in these communities also exposes the single mothers and their families to crime and violence, which can be stressful for them.

2.5.6 Illness and Death

Illness is frequent in low-income urban areas due to factors such as over-crowding, crime, poor sanitation and waste disposal, as well as lack of information and awareness of health-related issues (Mitlin, 2005). Poor sanitation exposes residents to diseases such as diarrhoea that are borne or spread through unhygienic environments Kabir et al. (2000), as quoted by Mitlin (2005:14), highlights this: "[I]in urban settings of developing countries, the combined effects of old pathogens and new health risks including environmental pollution and stress are particularly high among the poor." Of late, Sub-Saharan Africa has had to battle the HIV and AIDS pandemic. Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for 22.1 million HIV-1 infected individuals, with Botswana having one of the highest HIV-1 seroprevalence rates in the world (Do, Phiri, Bussmann, Gaolathe, Marlink & Wester, 2010). The HIV and AIDS pandemic amplified the need for home-based care of patients in Botswana, as the health facilities became overwhelmed with the number of patients (Ndaba-Mbata & Seloilwe, 2000). This has obliged families to accept responsibility of care for their chronically and terminally ill relatives (Ndaba-Mbata & Seloilwe, 2000). The burden of care for these relatives has often been relegated to the women in the families (Smith, 2002). The HIV and AIDS pandemic is one of the social problems that have put women at greater risk of being infected and negatively affected. Various reasons ranging from biological factors to social and economic factors have been advanced as to why this is the case (Ackermann & De Klerk, 2002.

The potential stressors discussed above indicate that single mothers in low-income communities can be made vulnerable by the places they reside in, poverty, parenting responsibilities, crime and exposure to violence, as well as illnesses that may affect single mothers or their family members. Due to the heightened levels of stress for single mothers in low-income urban areas there is a need for these women to be assisted and supported in order to help them cope better and overcome the challenges they have to face. In the next section the social support needs of single mothers in a low income urban area is discussed and explained.

2.6 NEEDS OF SINGLE MOTHERS IN A LOW-INCOME URBAN AREA

Social support is important for single mothers living in low income urban areas as it can help them appraise the situations as not being stressful or, if appraised as stressful, can help reduce the effect of the stressful event on them. The definition of social support advanced by House (1981) is used in

discussing the areas in which social support is needed by these single mothers. House (1981) defines social support as an interpersonal transaction involving one or more of the following: emotional concern which includes liking, love, empathy; instrumental aid including goods and services; information, especially about the environment, and appraisal, which is information relevant for self-evaluation.

2.6.1 The Need for Emotional Support

Emotional support is associated with sharing life experiences. This support is needed to boost self-esteem and make a person feel valued, cared for and accepted in their own right. Emotional support therefore involves the provision of empathy, love, trust and caring (House, 1981; Thoits, 1995; Keating-Lefler et al., 2004). Research has also shown that emotional support is not only about provision of the support but also about the how people perceive its availability. According to Thoits (1995: 64), "perceived emotional support is associated with better physical and mental health and usually buffers the damaging mental and physical health impacts of major life events and chronic strains".

Due to its significance, emotional support is needed by single mothers living in low-income urban areas. The emotional support needs of the single mothers have to be met in order to enable these women to develop higher self-esteem, to feel valued and cared for. This is because social support, especially emotional support, has been linked to improved mental and physical health of people in stressful situations (Devoldre, Davis, Verhofstadt & Buysse 2010). Perceived support can help in the appraisal of events and incidents as stressful or not. Emotional support is often provided by close friends, family members, lovers, partners or a confidant with whom the person has a good relationship (Unger & Powell, 1980). As highlighted earlier, one of the challenges of living in poor urban communities is that the social capital available for single mothers is often limited as family members do not necessarily reside in the same locality and available social capital is from people who are also battling with almost the same problems (Turney & Harknett, 2009). As such, meeting the emotional needs of the single mothers can be difficult. The single status of these mothers also compounds the challenge as they do not have partners to provide this type of support. Given the potential stressors that single mothers living in low-income urban areas face, it is important for their emotional support needs to be met as this can help them cope better, develop an internal locus of control for solving their own problems, and meeting their needs and those of their family members.

2.6.2 The Need for Instrumental Support

Instrumental support involves the provision of tangible aid and services that directly assist a person in need (House, 1981; Keating-Lefler et al., 2004). This can take the form of provision of money,

food, transport or shelter to individuals. Though instrumental support is about the tangible assistance given to people, it has also been linked to emotional support as the way people appraise this type of help is often emotional and is expressed in how it made the people who received the support feel about themselves and their situations (Semmer, Elfering, Jacobshagen, Perrot, Beehr & Boos, 2008). A low income urban community presents challenges as alluded to above to its residents. These challenges include inadequate resources and infrastructure, low levels of education, high unemployment rates, poverty and crime (Mitlin, 2005). Instrumental support is necessary to address these challenges. The instrumental support needed by single mothers in low-income urban areas can be met through informal and formal networks. This support can be provided by organisations such as the government, non-governmental organisations, and community organisations and through informal networks such as friends, family or neighbours (Unger & Powell, 1980). Instrumental support needs are often basic requirements for survival: food, shelter, clean water and good sanitation. In Maslow's hierarchy of needs, these needs fall under the low-level needs, which are physiological and safety needs (Lefrancois, 1993).

2.6.3 The Need for Appraisal Support

Appraisal support involves the provision of information that is useful for self-evaluation (House, 1981; Keating-Lefler et al., 2004). Appraisal support includes constructive feedback, affirmation and social comparison. Appraisal support is necessary for the evaluation and appraisal of a situation; if this support is provided it has the potential to prevent the situation from being appraised as stressful.

2.6.4 The Need for Informational Support

Informational support involves the provision of advice, suggestions and information that a person can use to address problems (House, 1981; Keating-Lefler et al., 2004). Informational support can come after a person has appraised a situation as stressful and needs to respond to this situation; the advice, suggestions and information that a person can get at this stage helps an individual to respond appropriately to the situation at hand.

Informational support can be provided by both formal and informal networks. Because of its fluid nature, informational support at times is one of the needs of single mothers that are not met; it is assumed that people have the information to assist them in decision making whereas that is not the case. Although single mothers can also strive to get their needs for information met, this may also be influenced by the emotional needs of such mothers. If the single mother's self-esteem is low it often becomes a challenge for her to go out to try to meet their other needs.

Social support is essential in assisting single mothers living in low-income urban communities to function optimally. The support that these mothers need varies depending on their life stages, their

stressors and their needs. Social support as such should vary in order to meet the single mothers' particular needs. The provision of such social support is what is needed to help these mothers experience good fit with their environments. Social support, however, is not always beneficial to its recipients. This is discussed below.

2.7 RECIPROCAL NATURE OF SOCIAL SUPPORT

Even though social support is highly regarded as a positive thing, research has also shown that it can be negative and can aggravate the stress that an individual is already experiencing. A study conducted by Nelson (2000) to describe the relationships of single mothers in a rural area and those they rely on for assistance explored the extent to which these relations are based on expectations of reciprocity. This study confirmed the finding of Carol Stark's "All our Kin" a study conducted in 1974, which highlighted that receiving support carries with it the obligation to reciprocate. This need for reciprocity can place single mothers under added pressure to help those who helped them in the past. This situation becomes even more stressful when resources are limited, as highlighted by Stark (1974) (quoted by Nelson, 2000: 293) with, "reciprocity is the norm among bounded communities of shared poverty, where what each individual has is available for all to see". Negative social support has also been noted in Keating-Lefler et al.'s (2004) study, which showed that single low-income mothers said they received negative social support from the service providers and their children's fathers. Similarly, a study conducted by Tirelo Modie-Moroka (2009) in Francistown, Botswana, showed that the presence of social capital does not always predict positive health outcomes, as some studies have shown.

The negative side of social support indicates that, even though social support is beneficial, social workers and other service providers need to understand that assumptions should not be made; that just because social support is available, it will be good for the clients. An analysis of what is beneficial for the client should rather be undertaken, taking into account the different needs and circumstances of different people.

2.8 SOCIAL SUPPORT AS A STRESS BUFFER

Social support has been recognised for its ability to buffer the effects of stress or perceived stress in individuals (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Tietjen, 1985; Lakey & Cohen, 2000; Green & Rogers, 2001; Broussard, Joseph & Thompson, 2012). This means that social support is seen as having the ability to cushion or protect individuals and families from potentially negative effects of stressful events (Cohen & Wills, 1985).

The model below devised by Cohen and Wills (1985) shows that social support can intervene at two different points within the causal chain linking stress to illness.

Model of Social Support

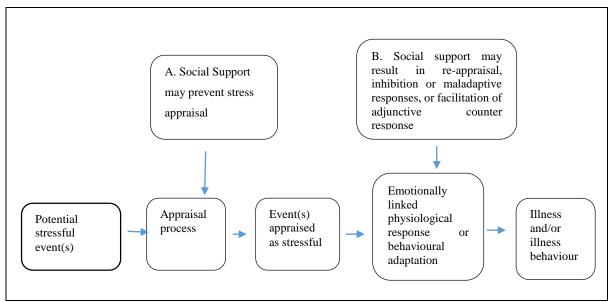


Figure 2.2 Two points at which social support may interfere with the causal link between stressful events and illness

Source: Cohen and Wills (1985:313)

This model shows that social support can intervene during the appraisal process and may prevent the situation being appraised as stressful. Social support can also intervene at a later stage after the event has been appraised as stressful; this is between the appraisal and the effects of the stressful situation. Social support may lessen the impact of the stress by providing a solution which could lead to reappraisal of the situation or facilitate positive adjustment.

The buffering effect of social support in a stressful situation is important to understand when studying the social support needs of single mothers in a low-income urban area. This is because the environment in which these mothers live could pose potential stress to the single mothers (Mitlin, 2007). Parenting in low-income communities can also be challenging for single mothers, given the environment in which they live (Ceballo & McLoyd, 2002). Social support is therefore crucial for these single mothers, as it can assist them not to appraise situations as stressful or to offer solutions to their stressful situations. Ceballo and McLoyd (2002) posited that social support may reduce the parental stress experienced in living in dangerous neighbourhoods.

2.9 CONCLUSION

In line with objective two of this research, Chapter two analysis of literature on the social support needs of single mothers in low-income urban communities. The concept of social support as defined by different authors was analysed and a working definition for the purposes of this research was derived from these different definitions. The literature showed that, despite the fact that much has been written about social support there is still no standard definition for this concept. This makes it difficult for researchers to standardise and compare findings from their studies. Potential stressors for single mothers living in low-income urban communities have also been discussed. Social support needs of single mothers in low-income urban communities were analysed based on the existing literature. In all, four social support needs derived from House's (1981) theory of social support were identified. These are the emotional support needs, the instrumental, the informational and appraisal support needs. The link between the stressors and the needs of single mothers in low-income urban communities was underscored. Finally, the reciprocal nature of social support was also presented and discussed. This was to emphasise that, even though social support can bring about positive outcomes in the coping of individuals, it can also bring with it negative consequences, as shown in Section 2.5.

The chapter looked at the role of social support as a stress buffer; this was illustrated in a diagram to highlight the points at which social support can intervene to buffer the effects of stress on individuals.

Building on Chapter two, Chapter three, which follows, addresses the third objective of the research, which was to explore the nature of social support available to single mothers in low-income communities in Gaborone, Botswana.

Chapter Three

SOCIAL SUPPORT AVAILABLE TO SINGLE MOTHERS IN LOW-INCOME URBAN COMMUNITIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The challenges and potential sources of stress for single mothers in low-income urban communities were discussed in the previous chapter. These mothers' needs for emotional, instrumental, appraisal and informational support (House, 1981) were also discussed. The discussion showed the importance of social support as a buffer against potential effects of stress and why provision of social support for single mothers in low income urban communities is imperative. Social support, however, is not always readily available for single mothers in low-income urban communities (Broussard et al., 2012). Various reasons have been advanced as to why this is the case. Some of these reasons are that people in low-income communities are less likely to have a network of neighbours that they can trust and the residents of low-income communities are also resource-constrained and therefore are not in a position to provide for themselves, let alone others (Byrnes & Miller, 2012). In some places, especially at the macro level, the lack of support stems from how the communities came to being; Old Naledi in Gaborone, for example, was established in an area which was not meant for residential purposes and, because of that, the community was set up in a disorganised manner and lacked social services provided in other residential areas (Gwebu, 2003; Kent & Ikgopoleng, 2011). Some studies, however, have shown low-income urban communities in America that depend more on informal social support for their needs and the social networks are able to assist one another despite their apparent lack of resources (Stack, 1975; Lindblad-Goldberg & Dukes, 1985; Wilson & Tolson, 1990).

The nature of social support available for single mothers in low-income urban communities in Botswana is discussed in this chapter. An analysis of the social support provided to single mothers was undertaken from an ecological systems perspective. As such, the discussion looks at the support available to single mothers at the micro, meso and macro levels in Botswana. This chapter thus, addresses the second objective of this study, which was to describe the social support available to single mothers in low-income communities in Botswana. The life stages and needs of these single mothers are taken into consideration when discussing the support available, in order to draw attention to whether these needs can be met by the available social support or not. It also shines a light on whether the social support available is relevant for single mothers at those particular stages and where there may be a misfit between the needs and the social support available.

3.2 SOCIAL SUPPORT AVAILABLE AT THE MICROSYSTEMS LEVEL

Social support is provided to single mothers at all levels; from the microsystems level to the macrosystems level, through informal resource networks to the formal and societal resource networks. The microsystem, as described in Chapter 2, is the level where a pattern of activities, social roles and interpersonal relations that occur at the immediate, face-to-face level (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). These include interaction at the family level, at school for students, and at the workplace for adults, peer groups and friends (Lefrancois, 1993, Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Healy, 2005). Single mothers depend on their support systems for support in child care, advice, useful information, tangible resources and appraisal support at the micro level (Keating-Lefler, 2004). According to Stack (1975, 1997), black, poor, urban people adopt a number of strategies to survive and these include establishing socially recognised ties which they can rely on for support during different stages in their life cycles. Botswana has a strong history of provision of social support to families by other family members (Mokomane, 2013; Mupedziswa & Ntseane, 2013). In line with patriarchal norms, families used to provide leadership and support to families headed by single mothers (Mookodi & Fuh, 2004). The leadership role was carried out by an uncle, brother or any male member of the family (Mookodi & Fuh, 2004). With socio-economic developments and rural to urban migration, the rise in single-parent families was noted and single mothers assumed the responsibility of heading their families without male members of the family (Mookodi, 1999).

The family is one of the smallest and most direct systems with which the single mothers interact on a daily basis. The family refers to a social unit related by blood, marriage, and or adoption (Dintwa, 2010). The family in Botswana, as in many other sub-Saharan Africa countries, plays a pivotal role in providing social support to family members, especially those deemed needing and vulnerable (Mokomane, 2013; Mupedziswa & Ntseane, 2013). The social support available from family members to single mothers is informal and it ranges from emotional support to instrumental support and informational support. Over the years, the support that families provide for each other has changed due to demographic and socio-economic transformations that have taken place in the country (Mokomane, 2013). The face of the family in Botswana has also changed over the years; whereas the common family structure was an extended family, there now are the nuclear family and single-parent families (Dintwa, 2010). As these changes took place, the support the families used to render to members also took a strain and this led to an increase in the formal provision of social support to families by organised entities such as government, local non-governmental organisations and international non-governmental organisations.

In the following sections the discussion turns to the social support available to single mothers from family, friends and neighbours in low-income urban communities in Botswana, focusing on the social

support provided to single mothers at different life stages. The study takes cognisance of the fact that single mothers in low-income urban communities are not a homogenous group; they are at different life stages, have different needs and therefore receive different kinds of support from their families and other support systems. The four life stages of identity, identity diffusion, intimacy versus isolation, generativity versus stagnation and integrity versus despair (Lefrancois, 1993) are used to discuss the social support available to single mothers, starting with support available at the microsystems level.

3.2.1 Social Support Available during Adolescence

Individuals who are in the adolescent stage are at a point in their lives where they are trying to define their identity (Lefrancois, 1993). According to the psychosocial theory conceptualised by Erik Erikson (1959) the formation of the identity at this stage involves coming to a point where individuals identify with what they can be more than what they are (Lefrancois, 1993). The development of a strong identity and a strong feeling of who one is, is a major developmental task at this stage and the primary conflict facing an individual at this stage is in accepting, choosing and discovering an identity and diffusing the energy resulting from conflict and doubt concerning the chosen identities (Lefrancois, 1993).

There are indications that adolescent sexual activity is high and rising in most African countries (Meekers, 1994). This sexual activity increases the chances of adolescents falling pregnant at a younger age. Adolescent pregnancy, which is often unplanned and unwanted, brings with it a set of challenges including disruption in important adolescent developmental tasks such as identity formation and related career and educational paths (Lefrancois, 1993). For adolescent mothers in low-income areas, the socioeconomic conditions of the place bring in added stress. Social support for adolescent mothers is therefore crucial in buffering some of the stress that these mothers are faced with so that they can cope and adjust better to their situation.

At the adolescence stage, the role of the parents of the adolescent is to provide basic resources, care, protection, guidance and supporting development and advocacy in relation to institutions with which the adolescent interacts (Lefrancois, 1993). Conflict usually arises between adolescents and their parents. This, according to Lefrancois (1993), is because of the changing needs and interests of the adolescent which requires readjustment in the family.

The social support available to an adolescent mother is nearly the same as that which is available to any other adolescent, except that more support is given to this adolescent because of the needs emerging from being a mother (Stack, 1975). The support will therefore go beyond providing basic resources and care, protection and guidance and supporting development; but will also provide guidance in the care of the new-born baby, emotional support and financial assistance. The *family*

thus provides emotional support, instrumental support, informational and appraisal support to single adolescent mothers (Unger & Powell, 1980). This is because a teenage mother is seen as not emotionally ready to nurture a baby, so, a family member, usually a female member of the family, avails herself to assist the teenage mother with the baby (Stack, 1975).

Friends play a very important role in the adolescence stage in supporting the individual who is still in a quest to find their self-identity while at the same time searching for a place they can belong to (Lefrancois, 1993). Friends provide emotional, informational and appraisal support at this stage (Lefrancois, 1993; Maleki & Demaray, 2003). Support from friends and peers has been found contradictory. Some studies have found that it brought about positive effects and others have reported negative effects (Sherman & Greenfield, 2013). In their study, Thompson and Peebles-Wilkins (1992) found that support from friends and peers seemed to increase distress among the group of teenage mothers, whereas taking part in a self-help group relieved the stress felt by teenage mothers. This could be because some peers with limited understanding of the needs and experiences of teenage mothers are ill equipped to provide valuable support to adolescent mothers (Sherman & Greenfield, 2013). If the teenage mothers had relied on support from their friends before the pregnancy and find out after child birth that their relationship has changed, this could cause distress for such teenage mothers. Support from friends and peers who have gone through or are undergoing the same experience as the adolescent mothers have been found to be positive and even to bring the teen mothers closer (Sherman & Greenfield, 2013).

Neighbours are another important source of social support for adolescent single mothers. According to Wilson and Tolson (1994), neighbours in a black community become an extension of the extended family. Neighbours can provide varying support to single adolescent mothers according to the degree of intimate contact (Unger & Powell, 1980). The support available from neighbours for adolescent single mothers include emotional, informational and appraisal support. Tangible support that may also be available for single mothers from the neighbours include tangible assistance such as child care and transport (Wilson & Tolson, 1990).

3.2.2 Social Support Available during Adulthood

Adulthood is a stage that comes immediately after adolescence. Adulthood is a term that is fluid and can start at different times in different cultures. Erik Erikson's (1959) psychosocial theory identifies three stages that make up adulthood; these are the intimacy versus isolation stage, which is early adulthood; generativity versus self-absorption, which is middle adulthood; and integrity versus despair, which is late adulthood (Lefrancois, 1993).

3.2.2.1 Early Adulthood

Early adulthood is referred to as the intimacy versus isolation stage in psychosocial stages as advanced by Erikson (1959). This stage continues from the identity versus identity diffusion or adolescence stage; and in this stage too, the individual continues with their search for personal identity. The major developmental task at this stage is for the individual to develop a sense of self-worth and identity through forming intimate relationships with others, especially those of the opposite sex (Lefrancois, 1993). The conflict that needs to be overcome at this stage is between the need to make a commitment in relationships with a partner and the unwillingness to do so. A balance which entails commitment and allows the individual to retain an independent identity will resolve this conflict (Lefrancois, 1993). It is at this stage that individuals start to ask themselves about marriage, selection of a partner and making differing lifestyle choices.

Even though presented as linear, the life stages actually are not the early adulthood can start at the adolescent stage in certain contexts. Peck (1986), in her agreement with the arguments put forward by Gilligan (1977, 2003), points out that chronological time and age are inaccurate indices for measuring progression through life, because it is the person's subjective reaction to the aging process that determines how they respond to the passage of chronological time. Based on this, people, especially women, can be at two different stages at a particular time.

The support available through family, friends, neighbours and the social groups at the microsystems level are more or less similar to those provided to adolescent single mothers. The social support available from the *family* includes emotional, instrumental, informational and appraisal support (Unger & Powell, 1980; Wilson & Tolson, 1990). The instrumental support available from the family to single mothers includes child care, material support and assistance with household chores (Wilson & Tolson, 1990). This is in line with what has been said about the purpose of the black American families whose role is to promote family welfare, especially given the high number of single parent families in their communities (Stack, 1975; Wilson & Tolson, 1990). Despite changes in the family structure in Botswana, the families still avail social support to their members to varying degrees (Dintwa, 2010). The social support availed to young adults include that of instrumental support, informational support, especially from the older female members of the family, emotional and appraisal support.

Friends are also an important source of social support for young adults. Friends can provide informational support, appraisal support, emotional support and instrumental support to single mothers (Broussard et al., 2012).

Neighbours also provide informational support, emotional, appraisal and tangible support such as child care and assistance with some material needs (Wilson & Tolson, 1990)

3.2.2.2 Middle Adulthood

In middle adulthood, individuals need to be generative and productive by establishing caring and work relationships that will benefit the community and the world instead of being absorbed in the self (Lefrancois, 1993). Through work and establishing a family, the individual is able to self-discover and self-express. The conflict that needs to be resolved at this stage is to reach a balance between self-interests and interest in others (Lefrancois, 1993). Peck (1986) points out that generativity and intimacy which is in the early adulthood can take place simultaneously for women, especially those in the child bearing age. She brings forward the argument that the life stages are not necessarily linear, but could be influenced by a socio-historical context that shapes the stereotypes of aging with an effect on experiences of aging (Peck, 1986).

The middle adulthood is a stage in which an individual can have multiple family relationships, they can have young children, grandchildren and parents who are still at the upper levels of middle adulthood, or those that are very old (Lefrancois, 1993). The individual can also have nephews, nieces, cousins, aunts and uncles.

The *family* provides emotional, informational and appraisal support to single mothers at this stage. There is need for reciprocity of the support provided because single mothers also have to support the different family members who may be at different life stages (Nelson, 2000).

The *friends* at this stage can provide instrumental support through the formation of support groups which assist each other in times of need; these can be burial societies which provide financial aid to households in distress (Ngwenya, 2002). Friends also provide emotional support, as well as informational and appraisal support to single mothers, which is in line with the conceptualisation of social support offered by House (1981).

3.2.2.3 Late Adulthood

The last of the eight developmental stages conceptualised by Erik Erikson (1959) is the late adulthood stage and here individuals are at a stage where they review and evaluate their life and lifetime experiences, and make sense of them (Lefrancois, 1993). This evaluation can leave an individual with a sense of accomplishment and contentment if the evaluation is positive or a sense of despair if the evaluation is negative (Lefrancois, 1993). The conflict at this stage is between getting a sense that life is purposeful and worthwhile and a feeling of despair emanating from the inability to correct anything that was not done well and realising that there is not much time ahead to do anything (Lefrancois, 1993).

At this stage of late adulthood the single mothers are most likely to be grandmothers and the support they need is from their *family*, especially their children, in providing for them and taking care of them.

At this stage, single mothers receive instrumental, emotional, informational and appraisal support from their *families*, *friends and neighbours* (House, 1981). The current changing state of the family in Botswana due to changes in socio demographic trends such as migration and urbanisation and the HIV and AIDS pandemic has, however, contributed to the isolation and, at times, over burdening of older female adults in Botswana (Clausen, Wilson, Molebatsi & Holmboe-Ottesen, 2007). Older African females are now compelled to care for their HIV-infected children and vulnerable and orphaned grandchildren (Clausen et al., 2007). The extent to which informal resource systems are able to provide social support to the elderly in Botswana has not really been established, however the assumption is that social support is available for older adults from these systems (Shaibu & Wallhagen, 2002).

3.2.3 Social Support Available from Social Groups and Associations

Social support at the microsystems level is also available through social groups and associations. The single mothers who are members of these social groups and associations have direct face-to-face interaction with these settings. The social groups and associations include the mutual aid association which, according to Patel, Kaseke and Midgley (2012), regularly collect contributions from members and provide benefits when need arises. These associations strengthen community social support and capital. Patel et al. (2012) state that these mutual aid associations can be categorised into burial associations, benefit associations and credit accumulating associations. Burial associations (diswaeti) and credit accumulating associations (metshelo) are common in Botswana. According to Ngwenya (2002), burial associations are relatively autonomous and provide social relief and support which could be material or non-material to a member and their family who have lost a family member. In Botswana, women make up the most members of burial societies (Ngwenya, 2002), so this could be an important source of support for single mothers living in low-income urban communities, as these burial societies are found in both rural and urban areas alike (Ngwenya, 2002). Support groups are also available for different purposes, including for people living with HIV and AIDS. Support groups for people infected and affected by HIV and AIDS "are made up of ten or more members supporting each other emotionally, spiritually, physically and psychologically; sharing information, ideas and experiences about common concerns and needs", according to BONEPWA, the Botswana Network of People living with HIV and AIDS (BONEPWA, 2014).

The social support available from social groups and associations therefore are, that of instrumental support, and informational, emotional and appraisal support.

Social support at the microsystem level serves as the first line of support for single mothers across the different life stages presented above. The support provided to mothers by the informal resource network varies depending on the life stage and the needs of the mothers. As shown above, resource

networks at this level mostly provide emotional, institutional, informational and appraisal support. Support at the micro level can also be used to source for support from other levels; this is done through the informational support given by the informal resource networks (Wilson & Tolson, 1990).

3.3 SUPPORT AT THE MACROSYSTEMS LEVEL

The macrosystem, as described in Chapter two refers to the overarching pattern of micro-, meso- and exosystems characteristics of a given culture (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The macrosystem therefore refers to the belief system, customs, values or blueprint of a particular culture. The macrosystem has a bearing on the social support available to single mothers at all levels as it reflects on the values and beliefs of a particular society. In a country, these are often reflected in the laws, policies and national programmes that a country puts in place. In Botswana, the government and the nation are committed to the eradication of absolute poverty and more equitable income distribution by the year 2016 through the long-term national vision 2016: Towards Prosperity for All (Government of Botswana, 1996). This long-term vision is divided into seven pillars among which is the pillar of a compassionate, just and caring nation. In this pillar Botswana commits to the eradication of absolute poverty, reduction of income inequality and access of people to productive resources, regardless of ethnic origin, gender, disability or misfortune (Government of Botswana, 1996). To those who find themselves in poverty, there will be social safety nets to assist them. The national vision is thus a commitment and a call to all stakeholders in Botswana to join hands and work towards prosperity for all Batswana. The implementation of the national vision as such is a multi-stakeholder effort which includes government and non-governmental organisations.

3.3.1 Women and Development in Botswana

Botswana is a signatory to the Millennium Development Goals of which the third goal is to promote gender equality and empower women. Female-headed households are affected by poverty more than male-headed households and women are more likely to be unemployed, compared to their male counterparts (BIDPA, 2013; Malepa & Komane, 2014). Women are also more likely to be infected with HIV than their male counterparts, at a rate of 20.4 percent versus 14 percent (BIDPA, 2013). Given the challenges that women face in Botswana, initiatives were put in place by both government and civil society to help address these challenges. One of the initiatives was the development of the women's movement in Botswana, which gained momentum in the 1980s and 1990s, even though its roots can be traced from as early as the 1970s (Bauer, 2011). The more liberal women's NGOs were formed in the 1990s and advocated for gender equality, empowerment of women and dissolution of discriminatory laws against women. To address this issue, the government of Botswana has acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979), the

Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989), the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD, 1994); the Beijing Declaration and Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA, 1995); the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (1997) and its addendum on The Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children (1998), the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2000); and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 2000 (Bauer, 2011; Rakgoasi, 2014).

In addition to these initiatives, the government of Botswana put in place the Women's Affairs Division, which was later upgraded to the Women's Affairs Department and is now the Gender Affairs Department. The National Policy on Women in Development was adopted in 1996 (Rakgoasi, 2014). A new National Gender and Development Policy of 2015 has just been adopted and will now guide the gender and development initiatives in the country (Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 2015). The country has made significant strides towards the empowerment of women and gender equality: a number of laws have been reviewed to make them gender sensitive and some have been put in place. These laws include the Citizenship (Amendment) Act of 1995; The Criminal Procedure and Evidence (Amendment) Act of 1997; The Deeds Registry (Amendment) Act of 1996; The Penal Code (Amendment) Act of 1998; The Affiliation Proceedings (Amendment) Act of 1999; and the enactment of the Abolition of Marital Powers Act of 2004 (Rakgoasi, 2014: 367).

Despite these efforts, more needs to be done to address poverty amongst women; representation of women in leadership positions, especially the political leadership; violence against women; and the high unemployment rates amongst women. Availing and targeting of social services and support provided to families at the macro level is essential to assist those who need this support more.

3.3.2 Social Support Available from the Non-Governmental Organisations

Non-Governmental Organisations in Botswana are seen as partners that can assist government to attain the national vision, especially the pillar of a compassionate, just and caring nation, through the provision of social safety nets to vulnerable groups in the society (Government of Botswana, 1996). The Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organisations is an umbrella organisation of NGOs which has a diverse membership divided into eleven broad sectors (Vision Council, 2009). Among these sectors are those of Gender and Development, Youth and Children, Health and HIV and AIDS, Human Rights and the Development Arm of the Church (Vision Council, 2009). In these sectors there are member organisations that provide different services to the public, including those of informational support, instrumental and emotional support.

3.3.3 Social Support Available from Government

To operationalise the national vision, the Government of Botswana (GoB) has over the years developed and implemented National Development Plans (NDPs). Through these plans, policies and programs aimed at assisting people living in poverty and those deemed vulnerable have been put in place. The general objective of these policies is mainly to improve the welfare of the people and assist them in dealing with predicaments they may be faced with, so as to function effectively again. Even though there is no particular policy or programme aimed at assisting single mothers in low-income urban communities, these mothers and their families are able to benefit from the other welfare programmes and policies that are in place. These policies and programmes constitute the social support available from government and include the destitute person's programme; orphan care programme; vulnerable group and school feeding programme; old age pensions programme; and the Ipelegeng public works programme. There are policies and programmes that are aimed at empowering women, such as the women economic empowerment programme; and those that cater for the safety and security of women provided by government. These policies and programmes are discussed below.

3.3.4 Social Support Available for Adolescent Mothers at the Macrosystems Level

As mentioned previously, adolescent mothers are mostly of school-going age, so the social support that is availed to them has to take this into account. Adolescent pregnancy and motherhood is something that is highly discouraged and looked down upon in traditional Tswana settings (Meekers & Ahmed, 1999). Child bearing outside wedlock was seen as deviant and premarital sex was condemned and even punished (Meekers & Ahmed, 2000). The national policy dealing with pregnant school-going children was based on what was culturally acceptable and on patriarchy, which worked to the disadvantage of the girl child (Chilisa, 2010). The Education Act's (1978) provision disadvantages the girl child by excluding her from school immediately it is found that she is pregnant (Chilisa, 2010; Molosiwa & Meswela, 2012). The Act states that:

- 34 (1) If a pupil becomes pregnant the parent or guardian of such a pupil shall be required to withdraw her from the school at which she is enrolled; and her admission to a school, which shall be other than that from which she was withdrawn, shall be at least one calendar year after cessation of pregnancy and subject to the written approval of the Minister.
- (2) The parent or guardian of a pupil who is responsible for the pregnancy of another pupil shall be required to withdraw him from the school and his return shall be subject to a written approval from the Minister.
- (3) A pupil shall not be allowed to write an examination at school while she is pregnant. (4) A pupil who was withdrawn from a school on account of her pregnancy shall not be allowed to write an examination at a school until at least six months after such pregnancy has ceased.
- 35 A pupil who has been expelled from a school under regulation 34(2), at which he was enrolled shall not during the academic year during which he was expelled or withdrawn, be allowed to write an

examination for which he had registered at such school unless the Minister authorises otherwise. (Republic of Botswana, Education Regulations, 1978, 58–68).

There have been some administrative changes to this law, even though the changes have not been incorporated into the law yet. The amendments which have been made through a directive to the schools change some parts of section 34 and allows the girl child to return to her former school after pregnancy and after she has been certified fit to go back by a medical doctor (Molosiwa & Meswela, 2012). The social support available for an adolescent mother at this level through this amendment is the chance to go back to school, which can bring about emotional relief.

3.3.5 Social Support Available for Adult Single Mothers

The following social support is available from the macrosystems level for single mothers at all different life stages. The social support available is not specific to single mothers, however but single mothers can benefit from these programmes if they meet the other criteria set out in the policies and programmes.

3.3.5.1 Destitute Person's Programme

The destitute person's programme is guided by the National Policy on Destitute Persons which was developed in 1980 and revised in 2002. The policy recognises that not everyone in the society is able to provide for their needs and that, with the breakdown of the traditional extended family support system, there was need for government to step in and assist (GoB, 2002).

The aim of the policy is thus to ensure that government provides minimum assistance to genuine destitute persons to ensure their good health and welfare and to also systematically tackle poverty (GoB, 2002). The policy defines who the destitute person is and sets out the parameters for the assistance of these people. The programme targets individuals who are without assets; people with disabilities or chronic illnesses that make it difficult for them to provide for themselves; minor children without family support; and victims of natural disasters and temporary hardships (Mupedziswa & Ntseane, 2013).

The policy categorises the destitute persons as permanent and temporary destitute persons. Whereas the permanent destitute persons are seen as those who are completely dependent on outside resources and who cannot exit the programme, temporary destitute persons are expected to exit the programme after some time.

The benefits of this programme include the provision of a food basket; provision of a cash component as part of the package; exemption from payment of publicly provided services; provision of funeral expenses; and shelter for some eligible destitute persons (GoB, 2002).

Even though this programme was not deliberately designed to assist single mothers, some single mothers in low-income urban communities benefit from its provisions. The single mothers who can benefit from the destitute person's programme may be from all the four psychosocial stages of adolescence, early adulthood, middle adulthood and late adulthood, as the programme has no restrictions based on age. These single mothers, however, have to be able to satisfy the discussed requirements for benefiting from this programme. The social support available under the programme is that of *instrumental support* and, at times, *emotional, informational and appraisal support*.

3.3.5.2 National Policy on HIV and AIDS

The HIV and AIDS pandemic has been a big challenge for Botswana since the mid-1980s when the first case was identified in the country (Government of Botswana, 2012). The pandemic affected the socio-economic development of the country negatively, with the life expectancy dropping to a low of 45 years. The Botswana AIDS Impact Survey of 2008 estimates that the national HIV prevalence in 2008 was 17.6%. UNAIDS, on the other hand, estimated the national prevalence rate for people aged between 14 and 49 years to be 23.4% in 2011 (BIDPA, 2013). Like poverty and unemployment, HIV and AIDS have been found to have a strong gender bias, with women being more highly affected. The prevalence rate for women was estimated to be 20.4%, compared to that of men which was estimated to be 14.2% (Government of Botswana, 2012). Similarly, the HIV incidence for females was estimated at 3.5% in 2008, compared to 2.3% for males. Urban areas carry a larger share of Botswana's HIV and AIDS burden: 19.1% compared to 16.6% for urban villages and 17.1% for rural Botswana (Government of Botswana (GoB), 2012).

The National Policy on HIV and AIDS was first developed in 1992 and later revised in 1998 (GOB, 2012). This policy was reviewed again and a new policy; the revised national Policy on HIV and AIDS was put in place in 2012. The aim of this policy is to guide and provide general principles for the management of a national response to HIV and AIDS covering the broad areas of, prevention of HIV infection, HIV testing and care, treatment and support, discrimination and stigma, research and legislative and ethical considerations (GoB, 2012).

Social support is available for single mothers through this policy as it provides for care and treatment if one is infected with HIV and AIDS. Since the single mothers are of reproductive age, the policy provisions are of potential benefit to them. The social support available for single mothers under this policy is that of *instrumental support*, *emotional support* and *informational support*.

3.3.5.3 Orphan Care Programme

One of the effects of the HIV and AIDS pandemic in Botswana is the increase in the number of orphans and vulnerable children (BIDPA, 2013). This increase took a heavy toll on the family and its ability to absorb and provide for these children. It was estimated that 90% of female-headed households housed at least one orphaned or vulnerable child (BIDPA, 2013). A Short Term Plan of Action (STPA) for the Care of Orphans (1999-2003) was put in place to address this challenge. The STPA defines an orphan as a child under 18 years old who has lost both parents, if they were married, or one parent in the case of single-parent families. The STPA also defines a vulnerable child as a child less than 18 years who lives in an abusive environment; in a poverty-stricken family without access to basic services; in a child-headed household; with sick parents or guardians; or is infected with HIV/AIDS (BIDPA, 2013).

The benefits of this programme include a food basket and other items (such as a school uniform, clothing and a transportation allowance) and psychosocial support from government social workers (BIDPA, 2013). The programme is not means-tested.

The social support available for single mothers from this programme is *instrumental support* to single mothers raising children who are orphans and vulnerable children. *Informational and emotional support* is also available for the single mothers through the social welfare officers who administer this programme.

3.3.5.4 Vulnerable Group and School Feeding Programme

The vulnerable group feeding and the school feeding programmes were developed in order to supplement the nutrition that children and mothers got. The vulnerable group feeding programme was started in 1988 to provide take-home rations through health clinics to vulnerable children aged 6 to 60 months; to pregnant and lactating women; and to TB and leprosy patients from poor households (BIDPA, 2013).

The school feeding programme takes over the vulnerable group feeding programme and provides food in the form of at least one meal to all children attending public schools from primary until secondary level (Mupedziswa & Ntseane, 2013). Needy children and needy students furthermore are provided with school uniforms and transport assistance to and from school.

This programme extends and covers young people who are over the age of 18 but have been deemed needy; it provides for their support depending on their needs (BIDPA, 2013).

Like the orphans and vulnerable children programme, the social support available in the vulnerable group and school feeding programme is *instrumental support* to single mothers who are raising children who are deemed vulnerable. The vulnerable group feeding programme provides food rations

to all children and this food ration can be shared by families of single mothers. The school feeding programme avails food to children of single mothers and uniforms, at times. This programme therefore provides *instrumental support* to single mothers, even though it is not direct support. Adolescent single mothers and those in early adulthood can also benefit from the school feeding programme if they are needy.

3.3.5.5 Old Age Pension Scheme

The old age pensions scheme was started in 1996. It covers all people over the age of 65 years (BIDPA, 2013). The scheme was started in response to the increasing vulnerability of old people, which developed as a result of rural to urban migration which weakened the extended family and the role it played in supporting older members of the family (Mupedziswa & Ntseane, 2013).

The programme is universal and covers everyone regardless of socioeconomic status, place of location or even if they are beneficiaries of the other social assistance programmes (Mupedziswa & Ntseane, 2013). Single mothers who are aged 65 years and above can benefit from this programme. *Instrumental support* through the money availed in this programme can benefit single mothers in the stage of late adulthood.

3.3.5.6 Ipelegeng Public Works Program

The Ipelegeng Public Works Programme started off as a temporary drought relief programme which was put in place to mitigate the effects of drought on the people in the rural areas. The origins of this programme can be traced as far back as 1965 when the government had to feed more than 50% of its population due to severe drought (Bar-on, 2002). Due to recurring droughts in Botswana, this programme has always been on and off and it only catered for people in the rural areas. In 2008, Ipelegeng was made permanent and extended to cover both rural and urban areas (BIDPA, 2013).

Ipelegeng is a labour intensive public works programme and any Motswana aged 18 years and older may apply. It mostly targets unskilled and semi-skilled labour to carry out development works in the country with the objective of providing short-term employment support (Mupedziswa & Ntseane, 2013). There has been a demand for this programme throughout the country with the exception of Gaborone, which made it difficult for it to be self-targeting as originally planned (BIDPA, 2013). Recruitment is now carried out by the Village or Ward Development Committees. Those working under this programme work for 6 hours a day for 20 or 22 days per month and are paid P480 while the supervisors are paid P560 per month (BIDPA, 2013).

The programme can benefit all the single mothers across the various life stages. The programs therefore avails *instrumental support* to single mothers who are able to work.

3.3.5.7 Community Home-Based Care Programme

The Community Home-based Care Programme was started in 1995 in response to the HIV and AIDS pandemic and its challenges. The programme was started in order to lessen the burden of care that the hospitals were battling with at the time. The hospitals were overwhelmed by the number of patients that needed to be hospitalised, so this programme offered relief as it provided for the care of patients at their homes. The programme now covers patients with other chronic illness (BIDPA, 2013). The patients enrolled in this programme benefit from clinical medical assistance and a food basket that is aimed at meeting their nutritional needs (BIDPA, 2013).

The social support available for single mothers from this programme is that of *instrumental support*, *informational support* and *emotional support*. The informational and emotional support is available from the social welfare officers who administer this programme.

3.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter was focused on social support from the micro and macrosystems available to single mothers in low-income urban communities. As highlighted, the programmes and services provided do not necessarily target single mothers, but single mothers in low-income urban communities can benefit from these programmes directly or indirectly through members of their households.

Social support is vital in mitigating the effects of stress on single mothers. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, living in a low-income community can make single mothers susceptible to potential stressors brought about by the place of residence or neighbourhood, parenthood, poverty, crime levels and exposure to crime and illness and death. To counter these potential stressors there is need for emotional support, instrumental support, informational and appraisal support for single mothers as highlighted in the previous chapter. This chapter therefore focussed on the social support provided to single mothers in low income urban communities of Botswana given the social support needs identified earlier. From the literature it appears that different types of social support are available to single mothers at the micro and macrosystem levels. The limitation found in the literature is that it could not help us understand whether the social support that is provided meets the needs of the single mothers in the low-income urban areas.

Chapter Four

VIEWS OF SINGLE MOTHERS IN A LOW-INCOME COMMUNITY ON THEIR SOCIAL SUPPORT NEEDS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters laid a foundation for the presentation of the findings of this study. Chapter one presented the problem statement; the aim and objectives of the study; as well as the research method that was employed in the collection of data for this study. Chapters two and three were focused on exploring relevant literature. Chapter two focused specifically on the potential stressors and social support needs of single mothers in low-income urban communities. The chapter presented the theoretical perspective that was used in this study, which is the ecological systems perspective. It also presented the potential stressors for single mothers in low-income communities. The chapter highlighted the social support needs of single mothers and went further to explain the reciprocal nature of social support and how social support can act as a stress buffer.

Chapter three on the other hand, discussed the social support available for single mothers in low-income urban communities. It looked at the available social support from two systems of an ecological system: the micro system and the macro system. The discussion was centred on the availability of the social support and its usefulness based on the different life stages of these mothers as conceptualised by Erik Erikson (1959).

Chapter four builds upon the foundation laid by these chapters to present the findings of the research and a discussion of the implications of these findings based on existing literature. The chapter thus addresses the third objective of the study, which was to investigate the views of single mothers in a low-income urban community on their social support needs. The chapter provides an overview of the research design and methodology; presents findings of the study in two sections; an overview of demographic information of the participants; and presentation and discussion of emerging issues from the empirical investigation. An overview of the study area will be presented first to bring an understanding of where the study was conducted.

4.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The following section comprises a discussion of the research methodology used in this study. The research approach, research design, tools used, pilot study, sampling and data analysis process are discussed.

4.2.1 Research Approaches

As discussed in Chapter one, a combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches was utilized for the study. The quantitative approach was used to answer questions, explain and establish relationships (De Vos et al., 2011), while a qualitative research approach was aimed at describing and understanding phenomena from the participants' point of view (De Vos et al., 2011). The two research approaches were thus used together to address the four objectives of this study.

4.2.2 Research Design

Exploratory and descriptive research designs were used in this study, as highlighted in Chapter 1. According to Barbie (2010) the exploratory research design is mostly used in social research to explore a topic, especially when a researcher explores a new topic or the subject is relatively new. Since the topic under investigation has not been researched that much in Botswana, the researcher used the exploratory research design to be able to explore the subject matter and gain a deeper understanding of this social issue. The descriptive research design is used mainly to describe situations and events and it is useful in describing specific characteristics of a population (Barbie, 2010). The descriptive research design was therefore chosen to enable the researcher to describe the situation and characteristics of the sample. A combination of exploratory and descriptive research designs were used to meet the research goal.

Like many other exploratory and descriptive studies the study was cross sectional. A cross-sectional study, according to Barbie (2010), is a study aimed at observing a sample, a population or phenomenon at one point in time. This is in contrast to longitudinal studies which are undertaken over an extended length of time (Barbie, 2010).

4.2.3 Development of the Interview Schedule

As noted in Chapter one a semi-structured interview schedule was used to collect data from the study participants. This interview schedule was developed from the literature discussed in Chapters two and three thereby utilising the deductive reasoning approach (De Vos et al., 2011). Neuman (2006), quoted in De Vos et al. (2011:48) defines deductive reasoning as an approach where "the researcher starts with abstract concepts and then moves towards concrete empirical evidence" which is what was done with this study. The interview schedule was developed in English and later translated into Setswana as one of the languages that were used in the interviews.

4.2.4 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted following the development of the interview schedule. De Vos et al. (2011) state that a pilot study is essential to identify any errors in the interview guide and to have these rectified. The pilot study was undertaken in this study to check for ambiguity in the questions,

to ensure that the translated interview schedule could be understood in the way it was intended and to determine the general feasibility of the interview schedule for the data to be collected. The issues arising from the pilot study were addressed and the interview schedule was corrected and adjusted accordingly.

4.2.5 Sampling

A non-probability sampling method of purposive sampling was used in this study. This method relies of the judgment of the researcher to select a sample that is composed of the elements that best present the characteristics of the study population (De Vos et al., 2011). The method is thus also known as judgmental sampling. The limitation identified with this sampling method is that it can lead to researcher bias (De Vos et al., 2011). To address this, De Vos et al. (2011) recommend that a preselection criterion for selection of the study participants be set. In this study the pre-selection criterion that was set required that participants had to have been residents of a low-income urban community for more than 12 months; had to be single mothers; be 18 years and above; and be able to speak English and / or Setswana.

To select the sample for the study, the researcher adhered to the set criteria and 20 single mothers who lived in a low-income community in an urban area were interviewed. As explained in Chapter one the number of participants was arrived at according to the criteria set for selecting the number of participants in a qualitative study, which are *sufficiency* and *saturation* (De Vos et al., 2011). The number of participants interviewed represents a range of the single mothers in the low-income urban community (sufficiency). The researcher stopped with the twentieth participant because no new information was coming out of the interviews; instead the same information was being repeated (saturation).

4.2.6 Data Collection

As mentioned before, a semi-structured interview schedule was used to gather data from the participants in the study. Interviewing was used as a data collection method. De Vos et al. (2011) explain that interviewing is a method for collecting information through which the researcher obtains information from the participant in direct exchange with the participant. A one-to-one interview guided by the developed semi-structured interview schedule was conducted by the researcher with all 20 participants. The semi-structured one-to-one interviews were used in order to gain a detailed picture of the participants' perceptions (De Vos et al., 2011) of their social support needs. Informed consent was obtained from the participants using the form that was developed (see Annexure 1). As the participants did not consent to the use of a voice recorder, which the researcher had planned to use, the researcher took notes during the interviews.

4.2.7 Data Processing, Analysis and Interpretation

After the empirical study was done, data collected in Setswana were translated back to English and data processing, analysis and interpretation were undertaken as described in Chapter one. Monette et al. (2008), as quoted in De Vos et al. (2011), point out that quantitative data analysis is the process of assembling, classifying, tabulating and summarising numerical data to derive meaning from it. De Vos (2011) further highlights that data analysis in quantitative studies does not produce answers; the interpretation of data and results rather is where the answers are found. For a relatively small sample size such as the one in this study, De Vos et al. (2011) recommend the use of calculators to manually undertake the statistical analyses. Manual calculation of the quantitative data was done in this study in line with this recommendation.

Qualitative data analysis, involves reducing the amount of raw data collected, sifting "significance from trivia, identifying significant patterns and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal" (De Vos et al., 2011). The researcher employed the data analysis procedure recommended by De Vos et al. (2011) to analyse the collected qualitative data. In line with this procedure the researcher did the following:

4.2.7.1 Preparing and Organising the Data

The researcher planned and prepared for recording the data. Since the voice recorder was not used, the researcher carried copies of the interview schedule on which the participants' responses were recorded. Data collection and preliminary analyses were undertaken. Preliminary analyses were done in the field during data collection and at the end of the day after data collection. Grbich (2004), as quoted in De Vos et al. (2011), says that data collection and preliminary data analysis involves checking the data to see what has been collected; identifying ideas that need to be followed up; and questioning where the information already collected is leading. Management of the collected data was undertaken. This involved organising the data, translating it from Setswana to English and ensuring that all the field notes were complete. The data was typed as it had been written by hand. This gave the researcher an opportunity to become immersed in the data in and to get insight into what was coming emerging from the interviews (De Vos et al., 2011). The last step undertaken in the preparation and organisation of the data was that of reading and writing memos. After the data had been organized, the researcher read it several times in order to make sense of it and took notes of what was emerging from the data.

4.2.7.2 Reducing the Data

Three steps were carried out to reduce the data: categories were generated and data coded; emergent understandings were tested; and alternative explanations were sought. Then interpretation and

development of typologies was done. To generate categories, salient themes, recurring ideas and patterns of beliefs that connected participants were noted (De Vos et al., 2011). The data were broken up into broad categories and then into small manageable themes. To do this the data were coded in order to identify and develop the emerging categories and themes. Then emergent understandings were tested and alternative explanations were sought. The last step was interpreting and developing typologies. Interpretation involves making sense of the data through a combination of personal views and social science constructs; while, in developing typologies, the researcher begins to make conceptual linkages between phenomena (De Vos et al., 2011). The researcher in this study used a combination of social science constructs and personal views as highlighted by De Vos et al. (2011) for interpreting the data.

4.2.7.3 Visualising, Representing and Displaying the Data

The last step undertaken was that of presenting the findings of the study. To do this, the researcher utilised tables and figures to create a visual image of the information. Findings are also presented in written form for explaining and linking the different concepts.

4.2.8 Data Verification

To verify the data, the researcher utilised the common criteria for assessing the truth value of qualitative studies in social science (De Vos et al., 2011). The criteria developed by Lincoln and Guba (1999) quoted in De Vos et al. (2011), which consists of four constructs that qualitative research should satisfy, namely credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability (De Vos et al., 2011), was used. To ensure *credibility* in this study, criteria for the selection of the people who were to be interviewed was developed, as described in sampling, above, and the participants were accurately described in the presentation of the identifying information of the participants interviewed (Chapter 4). *Transferability* was safeguarded in this study, through the documentation of the steps taken during data collection; the theoretical framework used; and the accurate recording of the findings of the study. To enhance the *dependability* of this study, supervision and peer examination were used to assess whether the research plan and implementation were logical and well documented. To ensure the *conformability* of the study, the researcher used the auditing trail strategy described by De Vos et al. (2011) and all the steps undertaken in the conduct of the study were recorded. The researcher's supervisor monitored the steps undertaken in the research process and the documentation of these, thus fulfilling the role of the auditor in this study as outlined in greater detail in Chapter one.

4.3 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY AREA

An overview of the study area is presented to precede the presentation of the findings of the study. This is necessary as an understanding of the study area will assist in understanding the results of the investigation.

4.3.1 Socio-Economic Profile of Botswana

As mentioned above, the study was undertaken in old Naledi which is a low-income community in Gaborone, Botswana. Botswana is a land locked-country with an estimated population of 2 024 904 in 2011(Statistics Botswana, 2014). It borders on South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Botswana covers an area of 581 730 square kilometres, which is about the size of France in Europe or Kenya in Africa. The country's economy has steadily improved over the years, from a country which was classified as poor when it attained independence to a country which is now classified as an upper middle-income country. The country's economic resource has been the discovery, mining and good management of minerals, diamonds in particular (Siphambe, 2004). The country's economy relies mainly on mineral revenue which has contributed between one third and half to the GDP since 1980 (Poteete, 2009). Even though the sector is still a major contributor to the GDP, its contribution has, gone down, however, with the sector now contributing 20 percent followed by trade, hotels and restaurants at 15.2 percent; general government at 15.0 percent; and banks, insurance and business services at 14.5 percent (Statistics Botswana, 2012).

4.3.2 Socio-economic Profile of Gaborone

Gaborone City located in the south-eastern part of Botswana is the capital city of Botswana (Molebatsi, 1996). The population has grown from 3 800 in 1964 to 133 468 in 1991 (Molebatsi, 1996); in 2011, the population of the city was estimated at 231 592 (CSO, 2014). The population residing in Gaborone comprises 11% of the national population, second to Kweneng East with 12.7% (Gwebu, Baakile & Mphetolang, 2014). Gaborone was established as the capital town of Botswana in 1963 following a decision to move the administrative function of the post-colonial government from Mafikeng (Molebatsi, 1996). Gaborone was thus established as an administrative capital of the country and the people who lived in it were mostly government officials and those who worked for them. The economic base of Gaborone has therefore been reliant on jobs created by government for the administration of the country. With the drive of government, the city has been able over time to attract Multinational Corporations whose headquarters are in Gaborone (Kent & Ikgopoleng, 2011). In 2005/2006 the biggest employers in Gaborone were public administration and education and financial and business services at 23.7% and 19.3% respectively (Kent & Ikgopoleng, 2011).

4.3.3 Socio-economic Profile of Old Naledi

Old Naledi is a low-income community covering an area of 115 hectares, situated in the south-eastern part of Gaborone (Gwebu, 2003). Old Naledi was established originally as a squatter's camp for the labourers from the rural areas who had come to construct the city and it was tolerated on that basis (Kent & Ikgopoleng, 2011). As Gaborone grew, so did the number of people who came from the rural areas in search of better opportunities. Most of these people settled in Old Naledi (Kent & Ikgopoleng, 2011) and their stay was no longer temporary. The area of Old Naledi had originally been zoned as an industrial site but by 1971 it was estimated that 25% of the population in Gaborone lived in Old Naledi (Gwebu, 2003). The people who occupied Old Naledi had self-allocated plots. The government made efforts to move these people out of this site; those efforts were unsuccessful, however, and the government subsequently made a decision to re-designate the land in Old Naledi from industrial to residential (Gwebu, 2003).

Since the occupation of Old Naledi was unplanned, the plot sizes were not regulated; the plot boundaries were not standard; and there was no social development in the area. In the 1970s, the government undertook a social and economic survey of the peri-urban areas including Old Naledi (Gwebu, 2003). This survey led to the development of the planning document for Old Naledi in 1976 (Gwebu 2003; Kalabamu, 2004). Since then, a number of upgrades have been undertaken in Old Naledi. The first upgrade involved the 'rationalisation and regulation of plot boundaries, construction of earth roads, storm water drains, communal water stand pipes, two schools, a health clinic, a community centre, a police station and the provision of other basic services" (Kalabamu, 2004:23). Next, all major roads in Old Naledi were tarred, followed by the provision of street lighting (Kalabamu, 2004).

Despite all these efforts to upgrade Old Naledi, the place is still besieged with problems of congestion; lack of access to water; lack of access to sanitation facilities; and challenges concerning solid waste disposal (Gwebu, 2003); as well as poverty and unregulated selling of alcohol in the homesteads (Mazonde, 1996).

4.4 RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

The findings of the empirical study are presented in the following sections. These cover the presentation and discussion of the profile of the participants; and the presentation and discussion of the main findings of the investigation presented according to the main themes that have been identified. The interpretation of the study findings will be discussed in comparison with existing literature.

4.5 PROFILE OF THE PARTICIPANTS

The following sections present and discuss the profile of the study participants.

4.5.1 Identifying Information Concerning the Participants

The participants were asked for some demographic and socio-economic information which was important for the identification and understanding of the single mothers who were interviewed. The participants were asked about their age, relationship status, level of education and their length of stay in Old Naledi. Table 4.1 below summarises the responses of the participants to the different identifying questions asked. These factors are discussed and analysed in the order in which they were asked.

Table 4.1: Identifying Information concerning the Participants

Participant No	Age	Relationship status	Length of stay in Old Naledi	Educational background
1	24	Partnership	1 year	Tertiary
2	33	Partnership	10 yrs	Junior Certificate
3	34	Partnership	10	Junior Certificate
4	29	Partnership	Born here	Junior Certificate
5	27	Partnership	10	Junior Certificate
6	34	Partnership	Born here	Tertiary
7	34	Partnership	15	Junior Certificate
8	26	None - never married	1	Primary Education
9	26	Partnership	Born here	Junior Certificate
10	23	Partnership	1	Junior Certificate
11	38	Partnership	Born here	Junior Certificate
12	32	Partnership	Born here	Junior Certificate
13	29	None - never married	Born here	Junior Certificate
14	46	None- never married	Born here	Junior Certificate
15	22	Partnership	5	Junior Certificate
16	29	Partnership	9	Junior Certificate
17	42	Partnership	17	Primary Education
18	27	Partnership	3	Junior Certificate
19	34	Partnership	Born here	Junior Certificate
20	36	None- never married	1	Junior Certificate

 $\overline{N=20}$

4.5.2 Age

The participants were asked to state their age. Figure 4.1 below shows the ages of these participants as grouped.

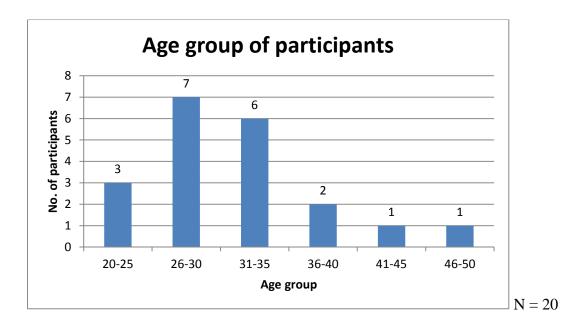


Figure 4.1: Age of Participants

The majority of participants who were interviewed fell between the ages of 26 and 35 years as shown in Figure 4.1. Seven (7) single mothers were aged between 26 and 30, six (6) between 31 and 35, three (3) between 20 and 25, two (2) between 36 and 40 while there was one single mother in each of the age groups 41 to 45 and 46 to 50. The majority of the mothers interviewed therefore were in the intimacy versus isolation life stage (Erik Erikson, 1959), which is also termed the young adulthood stage and is estimated to be around the ages of 20 and the mid 30s (Lefrancois, 1993). This group was followed by the generativity versus stagnation age group, which is also known as the middle adulthood age group. As anticipated, the single mothers interviewed ranged across different life stages and were therefore tackling different developmental tasks, as discussed in Chapter two.

4.5.3 Relationship Status

The participants were asked to state whether they were in a relationship with a partner and if they were not, whether they had ever married, were divorced, legally separated or widowed.

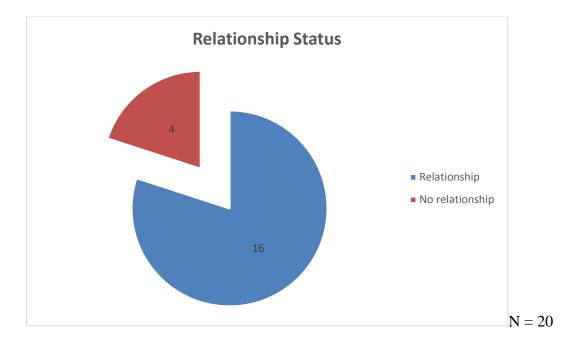


Figure 4.2: Relationship Status

Figure 4.2 shows that the majority of the single mothers interviewed were in a relationship with a partner; 16 of the participants indicated that they were in a relationship, while four (4) of the participants said that they were not in a relationship and, as shown in Table 4.1 above, that they had never been married. The relationship status of the participants is in line with changing nuptial patterns noted in Botswana where there is a decline in marriages and an increase in cohabitation and the proportion of children born out of wedlock (Mookodi, 2000; Dintwa, 2010; Kubanji, 2014).

4.5.4 Educational Background

The participants were asked about their educational background. Figure 4.3 presents their responses.

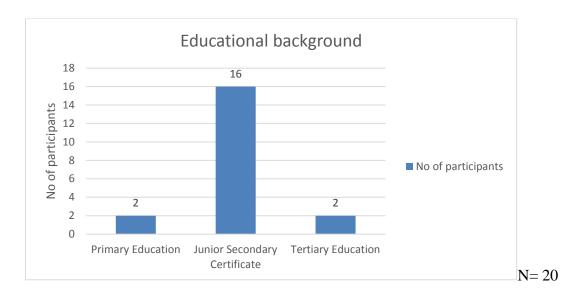


Figure 4.3: Educational Background of Participants

Figure 4.3 indicates that the majority (16 participants) had undergone schooling until the junior secondary school certificate; those that had undergone schooling until the tertiary education level and primary school level were tied at two (2) participants each. The level of education for the participants was investigated because it has been found that education plays a key role in the probability of securing employment and it generally tends to leverage factors related to the economic development of individuals and nations (Malema, 2014; Rakgoasi 2014). In 2006, 35 percent of secondary school graduates were unemployed in Botswana (Rakgoasi, 2014). During the 2009/2010 Botswana Core Welfare (Poverty) survey, Statistics Botswana (2011) found that the labour force that had attained secondary education presented the highest unemployment rate of 24.4 percent in Botswana. The 2011 national population census revealed that "the majority (81,191) of the currently unemployed were women, with 41.3 percent having completed junior secondary school only" (Malepa & Komane, 2014). Based on the previous trends, the participants who were interviewed were highly likely to being unemployed as most of them were junior secondary school graduates.

4.5.5 Length of Stay in Old Naledi

The participants were asked to state how long they had been staying in Old Naledi. This question was one of the criteria used to select participants, as discussed in Chapter one and required that participants should have stayed in Old Naledi for one year or more.

Table 4.2: Length of Stay in Old Naledi

Length of stay	Number of years
1-5years	6
6-10 years	4
11-15years	1
16 years and more	9
Total	20

N = 20

Table 4.2 indicates that half of the participants (10) had lived in Old Naledi for 10 years or less, while another half (10) had lived there for more than 10 years. Of those that had been living there for more than 10 years, eight (8) had been born and grew up in Old Naledi, as indicated in Table 4.1. MacDonald, Shidrick, Webster and Simpson (2003) have stated that people who live in poor neighbourhoods over a long period of time end up getting used to the place and accept it as normal, and therefore see no need to move. The length of stay in Old Naledi was used as one of the criteria set to select the study sample. The absence from the sample population of single mothers who lived in Old Naledi for less than a year is explained by the fact that one of the criteria for selection required that participants should have stayed in Old Naledi for a year or more.

4.5.6 Economic Circumstances

Participants were further asked about their economic circumstances, covering their employment status, source of income and their monthly income, if any. Figure 4.4 presents the findings.

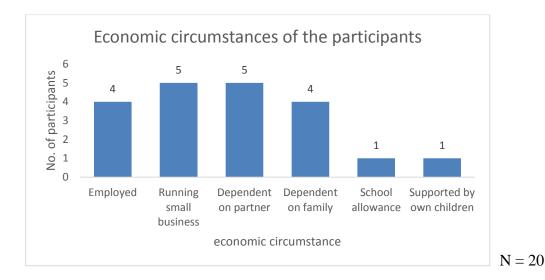


Figure 4.4: Economic Circumstances of the Participants

Figure 4.4 shows that only four (4) of the 20 single mothers who were interviewed were employed. The sources of income for other participants who were not employed were as follows: five (5) were self-employed, running small businesses as vendors; five (5) were not working and depended on their partners, four (4) were not working but depended on the family for a livelihood; one (1) was supporting herself through a school allowance while one (1) other single mother was not working but was supported by her children. Two (2) of the four (4) mothers who were employed were employed full time, while two (2) were working on a part-time basis. As depicted in Figure 4.4, ten (10) participants were dependent either on their partner or on family, while the remaining ten (10) relied on their businesses, work or a school allowance for economic survival. As indicated under section 4.5.4 (on education), there was a high likelihood that participants would be unemployed and this turned out to be true, as ten (10) participants, which was half of the sample population, were unemployed. Unemployment in Botswana has been identified as the primary determinant of poverty, even though there are other factors that contribute to the high poverty rates in the country (Jefferis & Kelly, 2009; Malema, 2014). The lack of employment amongst half of the participants interviewed, their low education and their place of residence predispose them to poverty, which can have a negative bearing on the single mothers and their children.

4.5.7 Monthly Income of the Single Mothers and their Families

The single mothers were asked to state their monthly income and those who were not employed were asked to state the income of those that were providing for them and their families. Five (5) participants stated that their income was between P500 and P1000 (approximately US\$50-US\$100); ten (10) had an income of between P1001 and P2500 (approximately US\$100-US\$250); two (2) received between P2501 and P5000 (US\$250-US\$500); and three (3) participants had no idea of what the income of their households was. These findings show that the majority of the participants had a household

income which was between P1001 and P2500 (US\$100-US\$250), followed by those who had an income of between P500 and P1000 (US\$50-US\$100). The 2009/2010 Botswana Core Welfare Indicators Survey found that the national household disposable income was P5304 (US\$ 530) (Statistics Botswana, 2013). The findings of the study show that most participants had an income which was less than the mean national disposable household income; almost one third of the mean disposable income for cities and towns which was recorded to be at P7899.64 (which is approximately US\$789) (Statistics Botswana, 2013). This means that most of the participants had a disposable income which was very low compared with the average household in Gaborone. The low disposable income means that the households have less to spend on their needs.

4.5.8 Household Composition

Questions which sought to understand the living conditions of the study participants were also asked. These questions concerned the number of people with whom the single mother was staying; the number of children they had; and if they were staying with these children.

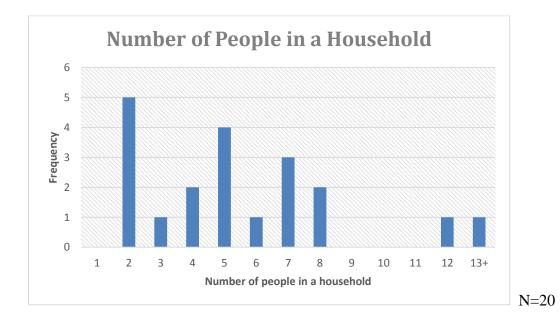


Figure 4.5: Number of People in a Household

Figure 4.5 shows that the majority of participants (five (5)) had households of two (2) people each; four (4) participants had households of five (5) people each; three (3) participants had households of seven (7) people each; while two (2) participants had four (4) people each; and two (2) participants had eight (8) people each. One (1) participant had a household of three (3) people, another participant had six (6) in her household and the last one (1) had a household of 12 people. The last participant had the largest household comprising of 22 members. The Household and Income Expenditure Survey of 2002/2003 found that the average household size in Botswana was 4.14 persons in 2002/03

(Central Statistics Office, 2004). The average household size of the participants who were interviewed was 5.9 persons, which means that the household size was higher than the national average. The type of house and size were not covered in this study; it would therefore be difficult to conclude whether this average household size could lead to overcrowding or not at the household level.

4.5.9 Number of Children for Each Mother

The majority of the single mothers had one (1) or two (2) children; seven (7) had one (1) child while eight (8) had two (2). Four (4) single mothers had three (3) children each, followed by one (1) who had five (5) children. Most of the single mothers were living with their children (11), followed by five (5) who lived with one or more children while others were living elsewhere. Those who did not live with their children fulltime had them visiting during school holidays were three (3), and there was one (1) mother who was not living with her children. Only three (3) of the twenty single mothers interviewed therefore were not living with their children on a full-time basis, nine (9) were living with their own children only, while eight (8) were living with their children and other children of their relatives. The average number of children for the participants were two (2) children, which was almost the same as the national average number of children per household which was 1.86 between 2003 and 2004 (Central Statistics Office, 2004). The number was higher than the average number of children for cities, however, which was found to be 1.25 (Central Statistics Office, 2004). The average number of children that the single mothers had is nearly the same as the national average, which means that when it comes to birth control and reproductive decisions, the situation of single mothers was not that different from that of other people

4.6 POTENTIAL STRESSORS

Stress is defined as "a relationship between a person and their environment that is appraised as taxing or exceeding a person's resources and endangering his or her well-being" (Folkman, 1984:840). Wheaton defines stressors (chronic, life event and daily hassles) as "conditions of threat, demands, or structural constraints that, by their very occurrence or existence, call into question the operating integrity of the organism" (Wheaton, 1999: 177). A stressor is therefore defined as a stimulus which can be a chronic life event or a daily hassle; physical or psychological (Wheaton, 1999). According to the stress theory, people encounter stress in their everyday existence. This stress can be negative or positive depending on how one appraises it (Crum, Salovey & Achor, 2013). Negative stress occurs when the individuals appraise the situation that they are facing as more than that which they can handle, given their resources or capabilities, while positive stress arises when individuals believe that they have personal and environmental resources to counter it (Germain & Gitterman, 1996). Positive

stress is called a challenge and is often accompanied by feelings of self-competence, self-direction, relatedness and zest (Germain & Gitterman, 1996).

There are situations that can expose single mothers living in low income communities to negative stress. These include their places of residence; their economic wellbeing; and their social support. The potential stressors that single mothers living in low-income urban communities are likely to encounter were discussed in Chapter two. The single mothers were asked about these potential stressors which include the place of residence or neighbourhood, parenthood, poverty, crime and criminal activities and illness and death during the interviews. The findings which are discussed in the following sections reflect how single mothers appraised these stressors. For most of them the potential stressors were indeed confirmed as stressors while some single mothers did not appraise these potential stressors as such; instead, these participants even had positive experiences related to the identified stressors, as is highlighted in the findings.

4.6.1 Place of Residence or Neighbourhood

According to the ecological systems theory, the habitat can interfere with the basic functioning of an individual, family or community (Germain & Gitterman, 1996). Habitat refers to the place where the single mothers in this study were residing – a low-income community in an urban area. As discussed in Chapter one, the poor tend to be concentrated in low-income communities because they cannot afford to stay in other places (Broussard et al., 2012). The single mothers interviewed in this study were asked why they chose to stay in Old Naledi. They gave various reasons that are summarised in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Reasons why Single Mothers Chose to Stay in Old Naledi

Reason for staying in Old Naledi	Frequency
Low rentals	3
Staying with someone (a family member, partner or friend)	8
Home, I was born here	8
I just chose it, it's like any other place	1
Total	20

N = 20

4.6.1.1 Reasons why Single Mothers Chose to Stay in Old Naledi

The following reasons given by the participants for why they chose to stay in Old Naledi will be discussed.

It is Home

When interviewed, eight (8) single mothers indicated that they are staying in Old Naledi because it is where they were born and raised. These findings indicate that almost half of the participants have not been able to move from the neighbourhood where they were born. A number of studies which have been undertaken have tried to explain why it is difficult for people who were born in or who grew up in poor neighbourhoods to move. One of these studies was by Musterd, Qstendorf and De Vos (2005), who said that poor neighbourhoods are stigmatised because of poverty, which creates a challenge for upward mobility, participation and integration for the residents. They also found out that poor neighbourhoods are characterised by substandard facilities and institutions which could further disadvantage residents and inhibit their developmental potential (Musterd et al., 2005). MacDonald, Shidrick, Webster and Simpson (2003), however, explained that people who lived for a long time in poor neighbourhoods eventually accepted their growing up experiences as normal and this, coupled with their familiarity with the place and their inclusion in strong, supportive family and social networks, means that most of them will find no reason to move. Though the two studies cited were carried out in the Western world, their logic can be used to explain why the single mothers born in Old Naledi never moved.

Staying with Someone

Four (4) of the single mothers stayed in Old Naledi because they were living with a family member, two (2) were staying there because that was where their contact point was staying when they arrived in Gaborone. The other two (2) single mothers were staying in Old Naledi with their partners. The finding indicates that sharing of accommodation is significant among the single mothers in Old Naledi, something which Gwebu (2003) said was common, especially for new arrivals in urban settings. The people who would have migrated to an urban place, according to Gwebu (2003), would temporarily share accommodation with someone they knew while still consolidating themselves and then move out to find their own places. It seems that this trend is changing, however, as the sharing of accommodation is now shifting from being temporary to becoming permanent (Gwebu, 2003). Some of the participants came to stay with their friends and family members but it seemed that even years after coming to Old Naledi the single mothers were still living with these people, which could mean that the arrangement had become becoming more of a permanent feature than a temporary situation. Gwebu (2003), in his study, found that renting out and sharing accommodation were becoming strategies for meeting the financing of accommodation in Old Naledi. Given the low income of the single mothers, some of them may be sharing so as to be able to finance their accommodation.

Low Rentals

Three (3) participants indicated that they chose to stay in Old Naledi because of its cheap rental prices. Low income neighbourhoods are largely populated by people who have low educational levels, who are working in low-income jobs and are therefore economically challenged (Broussard et al., 2012). As demonstrated by the demographic information of the participants, most of them had a disposable income that was lower than the national average, their educational attainment levels that were affected by unemployment in Botswana and some of them depended on other people for survival. The cost of accommodation could therefore be a significant consideration for single mothers in Old Naledi given the factors pointed out by Mazonde (1996), who said that people stayed in Old Naledi when they could not afford to pay the relatively higher prices of accommodation in Gaborone.

Like other Places

One (1) participant chose to live in Old Naledi because she liked it and believed that Old Naledi is like any other place in Gaborone. In a study carried out in England by MacDonald et al. (2005), it was found that most of the participants who had lived permanently in a poor neighbourhood had very limited experience of other places besides their neighbourhood. Without wider exposure it was difficult for the participants to compare their neighbourhoods with other areas and perceive the full division of class inequality between their places and other areas (MacDonald et al., 2005). Many reasons could explain why the one participant felt that Old Naledi was like any other place; the one above from England demonstrates that there are instances when individuals in low-income communities would perceive their areas to be same as any other.

4.6.1.2 Single Mothers' Experiences of Staying in Old Naledi

The participants were asked about their experiences of staying in Old Naledi, a low-income urban community. The participants had had varying experiences; some had positive experiences while others had negative experiences. Table 4.4 summarises the positive responses from the participants.

Table 4.4: Neighbourhood as a Stressor (Positive Experiences)

Theme: Neighbourhood as a Stressor					
Sub-theme	Category	Excerpts from participants' Responses			
Staying in Old Naledi	Positive	"Life in Old Naledi is ok, things are easy here, you can find ways of surviving easily in this place." (Botshelo jwa Old Naledi bo siame fela, dilo di motlhofo, o kgona go bona ditsela tsa go itshetsa motlhofo gone mo) "It is a fine place; life in this area is cheap. You can get cheap things in Old Naledi." (go siame hela, botshelo ja teng bo cheap. O kgona go bona dilo tse di cheap mo Old Naledi) Accommodation is cheap, food, relish are cheap in Old Naledi. It is a relaxed place. (Accommodation e cheap, dijo le dishabo di cheap. Ke lefelo lele iketlileng)			

Positive Experiences

Table 4.4 above presents the responses of the single mothers who were interviewed about their experience of staying in Old Naledi. Slightly less than half of the participants gave positive responses and indicated that staying in Old Naledi was just fine as it had its own benefits. The benefit cited by most participants who had a positive experience was that life in Old Naledi was relatively *cheap*, as the facilities, services and consumables were cheap in Old Naledi. The central theme that was emerging from the people who had positive experiences of staying in Old Naledi was the relatively *cheap availability of resources and consumables* in the area. Given the income of these participants and their socio-economic situation, the issue of affordability was central to their decision making. Small and Newman (2001) point out that people do not randomly distribute across neighbourhoods, that there are observable and unobservable characteristics that come into play. They cite the example that parents with low education are more likely to live in poor neighbourhoods and more likely to have children who drop out of high school. The single mothers who chose to stay in Old Naledi also had factors that influenced their decisions and, based on these, they may have found staying in the place a positive experience as the place assisted them to meet their needs.

Negative Experiences

Other participants narrated negative experiences of Old Naledi. More than half the participants interviewed indicated that their experiences were negative. Table 4.5 below presents the responses of these participants.

Table 4.5: Neighbourhood as a Stressor (Negative Experiences)

Theme: Neighb	Theme: Neighbourhood as a Stressor				
Sub-theme	Categories	Some Narratives			
Staying in Old Naledi	Negative	"They is a <u>lack of jobs</u> and a lot of <u>alcohol abuse</u> " (ga gona ditiro e bile go nowa bojalwa thata)			
		"The place has many challenges such as <u>neighbours who</u> <u>are not friendly</u> ; you <u>cannot ask for help from a neighbour here.</u> " (Lefelo le le na the digwetlho tse dintsi, baagisanyi ga ba thusanye)			
		"The place is really <u>not good for the</u> health of children because of <u>dirty water</u> that comes out of sewage drains that is always flowing which children play with." (lefelo le ga le a siamela botsogo ja bana ka gore metsi a a leswe a di-draine a nna hela a elela e be bana ba tshameka ka one)			
		"Old Naledi is ok the problem is the <u>high criminal</u> <u>activities</u> especially theft" (Old Naledi o siame hela, bothata ke borukutlhi bogolo thata ja bogodu)			
		"The problem is that there are too many shebeens, the people do not behave properly, the children who grow up here are naughty and that is why I am raising my children at the home village." (Bothata ke gore go na le dishabeni tse dintsi, batho ba teng ga bana botho, bana baba goletseng fano ke matlhalenyana ke sone se ke godisetsang bame ko gae)			

Slightly more than half the participants gave negative responses and indicated that there were many challenges in staying in Old Naledi. The participants cited challenges that made their experiences negative such as *high crime rate*, *noise pollution* and too *many shebeens* or *drinking places*. The challenges listed by the participants as contributing to their negative experience of staying in Old Naledi are present in most low-income communities where the crime rate is high; drug and alcohol abuse is high; there is a lack of jobs and there is disorganisation in the area (Wilson, 1987; Small & Newman, 2001; Turney & Harknett, 2011; Broussard et al., 2012).

Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson (2002) listed five factors which they said were associated with whether individuals would be satisfied with their neighbourhoods. These are individual resources; neighbourhood resources and reputation; exposure to problems; attachment or social interaction; and neighbourhood expectations. The experiences of the single mothers living in Old Naledi and highlighted in Tables 4.4 and 4.5 were based mostly on the factors listed above. While these factors led to positive experiences for some single mothers, they led to negative experiences for others.

4.6.1.3 Challenges Experienced by Single Mothers Living in Old Naledi

Participants furthermore were asked about the challenges they faced as single mothers living in Old Naledi in order to explore the neighbourhood further as a cause of stress. The participants were asked

about three challenges that were indicated as challenges in the literature that was reviewed (Mazonde, 1996; Gwebu, 2003). Participants were asked if they experienced the challenges of overcrowding, poor sanitation and high crime levels and criminal activities. Table 4.6 presents the responses of the participants.

Table 4.6: Challenges Experienced by Single Mothers in Old Naledi

Challenges	Yes	No	Improved	Total
Overcrowding	11	8	1	20
Poor sanitation	10	9	1	20
Crime and criminal activities	16		4	20

N = 20

Overcrowding

Overcrowding was identified as a challenge by eleven (11) participants, while eight (8) said it was not. One participant thought the situation had improved, compared to how it used to be. The findings are in line with the study conducted in 2002 which sought to investigate the profiles, dynamics and dimensions of environmental problems at Old Naledi and found that the residents of Old Naledi complained of congestion, which was a result of too many people and structures. In that study the residents felt that the congestion hindered the provision of water, security and other services needed for that area (Gwebu, 2003: 417).

Poor Sanitation

Ten (10) participants said sanitation was a challenge, while nine (9) said it was not. One said it had improved. The sanitation challenges of Old Naledi are noted by Gwebu (2003), who pointed out that the refuse collection system for Old Naledi was challenged as more waste was generated than could be cleared off. In this study the residents of Old Naledi pointed out that the city council was irregular in collecting solid refuse which made the garbage collection system ineffective. The study also pointed out that the liquid waste disposal was another challenge (Gwebu, 2003).

Crime and Criminal Activities

In response to being questioned about crime and criminal activities, 16 participants indicated that it was a challenge, while four (4) said the situation had improved, even though it was still there. All the participants therefore felt that crime and criminal activities were a challenge in Old Naledi, albeit to differing degrees. These results correspond with existing literature which has shown that crime is a challenge in low-income communities (Wilson, 1987; Small & Newman, 2001; MacDonald et al., 2005).

Other

Other challenges that the participants identified but which had not been listed were those of teenage pregnancy, noise pollution, too many shebeens or drinking halls and sharing of boyfriends. Asked which challenge they found most disturbing the majority of the participants (11) said that crime and criminal activities in Old Naledi were the most disturbing, followed by poor sanitation, which was identified by four (4) participants, and overcrowding, identified by two (2) participants. One (1) participant said that all three were a challenge while the last one (1) said all of them had improved.

4.6.2 Parenthood as a Stressor

Parenthood has been identified as a potential stressor for single mothers living in low-income neighbourhoods (Broussard et al., 2012; Mitlin, 2007). Participants were therefore asked questions pertaining to their experiences as parents living in Old Naledi and the support they received as parents.

4.6.2.1 Child Care Support

Participants were asked about who helped them to take care of their children. Table 4.6 below shows that all the single mothers interviewed had some support in taking care of their children. Their support came from family, partners and from other, older children.

Table 4.7: Child Care Support

Support system	Frequency
Family	7
Parents and boyfriend (not the father of the child)	1
Father of the children	2
Father of the child or children and family	9
Another child	1
Total	20

 $\overline{N} = 20$

Table 4.7 shows that the majority, which included nine (9) participants, had child care support from the *father of their children and their families*, seven (7) participants had child care support from their *families only*, two (2) had child care support from the *father of their children* only, while one (1) participant had child care support from her *parents and her boyfriend* who was not the father of the children; another single mother had child care support from the *older child*. The findings show that the fathers of children played a significant role in the provision of child care support to the single mothers, as 55% of the single mothers indicated that they had some support from the fathers. The family was another major source of support for the single mothers when it came to child care.

The findings of this study are in contrast to the findings of a study by Lindblad-Goldberg and Dukes (1985), which reported that the participants frequently listed more female than male network members as their social network. The same result was also found in a study carried out by Keating-Lefler et al. (2004), in which the five (5) women interviewed discussed the positive support they received from their family networks and highlighted that they mostly got support with child care from the female members of the family. In the current study, however, more than half of the participants indicated that the father of the children was the primary source of support, with family members assisting here and there.

The findings of this study indicate that more single mothers have child care support from their partners, which is contrary to the picture that has been painted of single mothers struggling on their own with support from their families only when it came to the care of children (Lindblad-Goldberg & Dukes, 1985; Ceballo & McLoyd, 2002; Broussard et al., 2012). Mookodi and Fuh (2004) point out that the old-style feminism painted a picture in which men were seen as the problem, as lazy, promiscuous, violent and irresponsible drunkards, while women were seen as hard-working, reliable and trustworthy. In Botswana, different studies that have been conducted have found that the care and support of children is primarily in the hands of women and that female-headed households mostly have been affected by poverty (Mookodi, 1999; Seleka, Siphambe, Ntseane, Mbere, Kerapeletse & Sharp, 2007; BIDPA, 2013), which could have further exacerbated this perception of men. However, Townsend (1997) offers an alternative view in his study of men, migration and households in Botswana and points out that men in Botswana are involved in the caring and supporting of children in different ways. He emphasised that using residential households to assess the number of femaleheaded households is an inadequate, and misleading, unit of analysis as domestic arrangements are fluid and adaptable. He advanced that going beyond the residential household reveals that men in Botswana are related to female households as brothers, sons-in-law, maternal uncles, biological, and social fathers. Men play a significant part in child support care in Botswana through these roles. Mookodi and Fuh (2004) advocates that the study of men's alleged lack of support for children should be studied in the context of the significance of cultural practices as well as the changing context of women and men over the course of life.

4.6.2.2 Raising Children in Old Naledi

The participants were asked about their experiences in raising children in Old Naledi. Some participants had positive experiences while most had negative experiences, as depicted in Tables 4.8 and 4.9. Table 4.8 presents some of the excerpts from the few single mothers who had positive experiences in raising their children in Old Naledi.

Table 4.8: Raising Children in Old Naledi (Positive Experiences)

Parenthood as a Stressor		
Sub-theme	Category	Excerpts from the participants
Raising children in Old	Positive	"There is <u>nothing wrong</u> in raising kids in Old
Naledi		Naledi, they are well disciplined. I have a strict routine for them and they have less contact with friends and so they are well behaved." (Ga gona bothata bope hela ka go godisetsa bana mo Old Naledi, ba siame hela, bana le botho. Nna ke gore ke gagagmatsa molao, ga ba nne lebaka le ditsala. Ke sone se o bonang maitsholo a bone a siame jaana)
		"One child grew up in Serowe, four grew up in Old Naledi and they grew up well. It all depends on the home environment, it depends on what type of home the child is being brought up in" (Yo mongwe mo go bongwanake o goletse ko Serowe, ba bangwe ba ba four ke bone ba goletseng mo Old Naledi. Tota go tswa hela mo lelapeng le ngwana a golelang mo go lone)

Positive Experiences

Only two of the single mothers indicated that there was nothing wrong with raising children in Old Naledi. The trend revealed in their narratives was that their children had turned out well and were well behaved despite growing up in Old Naledi. This they attributed to the way they had raised their children, which included strict supervision and less contact with friends, as well as a better home environment. The methods and techniques employed by single mothers in low-income communities is said to consist of mostly restrictive, controlling and harsh disciplinary methods (Ceballo & McLoyd, 2002; Byrnes & Miller, 2012). While some have labelled these methods of parenting as ineffective (Byrnes & Miller, 2012), some have pointed out that these methods, though restrictive, are protective and beneficial to children in poor neighbourhoods (Jarett, 2000, quoted in Ceballo & McLoyd, 2002).

Table 4.9: Raising Children in Old Naledi (Negative Experiences)

Theme: Parenthood as a Stressor			
Sub-theme	Category	Narrative	
Raising Children in Old Naledi	Negative Experiences	"The place is <u>not conducive for</u> children especially those of school going age as it is too noisy." (Lefelo le, ga le a siamela bana bogolojang ba ba tsenang dikolo ka gore go modumo)	
		"You <u>cannot raise a child</u> in Old Naledi. The problem in this place is the general behaviour of children in this place, the children use a lot of foul language. (Ga o kake wa godisetse bana mo Old Naledi. Mathata a golo kwano ke gore bana ga ba itshole sentle, ba a rogana, ga bana botho)	
		"The children who are raised in Old Naledi are <u>not</u> well behaved that is why my children are not here. I stay here because I do not have a choice as this is their father's home." (Bana ba ba golelang mo Old Naledi ga ba na maitseo ke sone se o bonang bame ba seyo gone fa. Ke nna mono hela ka gore ga gona gore ke ka reng ka gore go lo fa ke kwa ga bone rrabo)	
		"The problem with raising children in Old Naledi is that most children end up on the wrong side, they drop out of school and they learn unruly behaviours from the older children." (Mathata a go godisesa bana mo Old Naledi ke gore ba felela ba dule mo tseleng, ba tswa mo dikolong gape ba ithuta mekgwa e e maswe mo go ba batona)	

Negative Experiences

The majority of the single mothers (18 participants) felt strongly that raising children in Old Naledi was a challenge. They felt that raising children in Old Naledi was not good for to varying reasons. The trend evolving from their experiences as presented in Table 4.9 is that children raised in Old Naledi *did not behave in an acceptable manner*; they used foul language and displayed signs of deviant behaviour. Some of the negative things included that the children were likely to *fall on the wrong side of the law* and to *drop out of school*. The participants attributed this to factors in the environment which made it *not conducive for raising children*. The other factors were *peer pressure*, learnt behaviour from their surroundings and lack of guidance of some children from their parents.

The experiences of the single mothers who were interviewed were in line with existing literature and studies which show that children who grow up in low-income communities are more likely to be affected by juvenile delinquency, teenage pregnancy, dropping out of school, and low academic achievement than children who grow up in more affluent communities (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klevanov & Sealand, 1993; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000, Quillian, 2003).

4.6.2.3 Challenges with Raising Children in Old Naledi

To further explore the issue of parenthood as a stressor, participants were probed regarding what the most challenging thing about raising their children in Old Naledi was. Table 4.10 presents the responses of the participants.

Table 4.10: Challenges with Raising Children in Old Naledi

Theme: Parenthood as a Stressor				
Sub-theme	Category	Narratives		
Challenges with raising	Guiding and disciplining	"Most women are <u>unable to guide and discipline</u> a boy child when he reaches teenage hood."		
Children in Old Naledi	Children	(Bontsi ja basadi ga ba kgone go kgalemela le go tsenya bana ba basimane mo tseleng bogolo thata fa ba setse ba nna di teenagers)		
		"Guidance and disciplining the children		
		Even if a parent can try to raise her children well and discipline them accordingly they end up meeting up with children from other homes where the children are not brought up well." (Le fa o kare o godisa ngwana sentle e bile o a mo kgalemela ba felela ba kopana le ban aba malwapa a go senang molao teng)		
	Negative Peer Influence from friends	"Other parents do not monitor their children and as such children end up <u>learning wrong behaviours</u> from the streets." (Batsadi ba bangwe ga ba godise bana ba bone sentle ka jalo bana ba felela ba tsere mekgwa ee maswe mo di straateng)		
		"Children are <u>negatively influenced by their peers</u> during play time." (Bana ba rutwa maitshwaro a a sa siamang ke ba bangwe fa ba ntse ba tshameka mmogo)		
	Lack of money for essentials	"Lack of money for clothes, and food." (Bothata jo ke nang le bone ke letlhoko la madi gore ke ka ba rekela dijo le diaparo)		
		"The biggest challenge is my child needs a lot of things that I on my own am <u>unable to provide</u> ." (Bothata jo botona jo ke nang le jone ke gore ngwana o batla dilo tse dintsi tse ke sa kgoneng go di mo fa ke le nosi)		
	Negative Influence of the	"The <u>unruly behaviour</u> and actions of people in Old Naledi which I fear will spill over to my children."		
	environment	(Maitshwaro a batho ba Old Naledi a a sa nnang sentle a ke tshogelang gore a tlaa felela a tsene mo go bo ngwanake)		
		"I have never raised my children in Old Naledi. Children brought up in this area <u>do not behave well.</u> Their behaviour is not pleasing at all." (Ga ke ise ke ko ke godisetse bongwanake mo Old Naledi. Bana ba ba golelang mono ga ba itshware sentle. Ga bana botho gotlhelele)		

Guiding and Disciplining Children

The biggest challenge for most of the single mothers who were interviewed had to do with *guiding* and influencing the behaviour of their children, as shown in Table 4.10. Research shows that children brought up in low-income communities are most likely to be affected by social problems and display deviant behaviour revealed in teenage pregnancy, dropping out of school, and engaging in criminal activities (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klevanov & Sealand, 1993; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000;

Quillian, 2003; Balogi, 2004). Guidance and disciplining of children therefore is crucial for children growing up in low-income communities. Balogi (2004) explains that the family is primarily responsible for the socialisation of children and young people through inculcation of correct values and striking a balance between prohibition and permissiveness. She points out that failure to strike this balance could result in youth deviance. Even though this study's scope was not to explain the causes of the single mothers' difficulties with guiding and disciplining their children, Balogi (2004) says that this could be due to the multiple tasks that single parents have to contend with, including those of monitoring and controlling desperate young people while at the same time dealing with their own poverty and unemployment. The single mothers in this study attributed their challenges with disciplining and guiding their children to the negative influence of their environment and their children's peers.

Negative Peer Influence of Friends

The other challenges faced by single mothers which made parenthood a stressor for them is that their children faced the *negative influence of their peers*. A quarter of the single mothers indicated that their children *learnt the wrong things* from their friends, mostly during playtime. Negative peer influence has been found to be a factor in influencing the behaviour of children in low-income communities (Small & Newman, 2001). The findings of this study are therefore similar to what has been found in other studies (Wilson, 1987; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov & Sealand, 1993; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Quillian, 2003).

Lack of Money for Essentials

The participants indicated that one of the challenges they faced while raising children in a low-income community is the lack of money to buy essentials for their children. The single mothers said that they lacked money to buy clothes and food and to generally provide for their children. Most of the participants were unemployed and depended on others (either their family or the father of the children) to provide for them and their families. This situation could expose single mothers to poverty-related stress which Wadsworth and Santiago said is much more than worries about finances but also includes worries about hunger, violence, illness and accidents. They added that living without what one needs is linked to compromised physical and mental health of individuals living in poverty (Wadsworth & Santiago, 2008).

Negative Influence from the Environment

Some of the mother mentioned the negative influence of the environment on their children. They indicated that their children *learnt wrong things from adults* who did not behave well and were at times on the wrong side of the law. Due to the negative influence of the environment observed by

some mothers, some of them had *decided not to raise their children in Old Naled*i out of fear that the environment would influence the behaviour of their children negatively. Like negative peer influence, the challenge of a negative influence from the environment has also been recorded in other studies (Wilson, 1987; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov & Sealand, 1993; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Quillian, 2003). A scarcity of positive role models in the community could also affect children negatively (Small & Newman, 2001).

4.6.3 Poverty as a Stressor

Poverty has been identified as a common feature of low-income urban neighbourhoods (Wilson, 1987; Stack, 1997; Mitlin, 2005). This is attributed to the high number of people with low educational achievement, unemployed people, and people working in low-income jobs who tend to reside in these areas (Wilson, 1987; Broussard et al., 2012). Female-headed households in Botswana are one of the groups that are highly affected by poverty (BIDPA, 2013). Single mothers staying in Old Naledi therefore are highly likely to be poor, given the disadvantage associated with staying in low-income urban communities. As discussed in Chapter two, poverty has been identified as a potential stressor for single mothers residing in such communities. Participants were thus asked how the poverty in Old Naledi affected them. The participants reported that the poverty affected them emotionally and materially, although a few of them, as presented in Table 4.11, said that poverty did not affect them in any way.

Table 4.11: Effects of Poverty on Single Mothers

Theme: Poverty	as a Stressor	
Sub-theme	Category	Narrative
Effect of Poverty on Single Mothers	Emotional	"It affects me emotionally because I see people who are suffering but I am unable to help them." (E a nkama ka gore ke bona batho ba sokola mme go sena gore ke ka ba thusa jang)
		"It affects me emotionally because I see other people suffering and I wonder what I would do if it was me." (Le a nkama ka gore ke bona ka fa batho ba bangwe ba sotlegang ka teng e be ke ipotsa gore fa e ne e lenna ke kabo ke dira jang tota)
		"It affects me because I see children who are needy who do not go to school and this breaks my heart." (Le a nkama ka gore ke bona bana ba ba tlhokang ba ba tlholeng ba tsena le fa e le sekolo tota, selo se se nkutlwisa botlhoko hela thata)
		"It affects me because we cannot even think of what to do to get ourselves out of this situation. We are just looking onto our parents and depend on boyfriends who now own us." (Go a nkama ka gore ga re sa tlhole re kgona le go ikakanyetsa gore re ka tswa jang mo seemong se. Re labile batsadi le di-boyfriend tse di setseng di re owna jaanong)
	Material	"Poverty affects me because <u>I live in poverty</u> but there <u>is no one to assist</u> me with my children so that I can go find a job." (Lehuma le nkama ka gore ke tshelela mo go lone mme ga go na ope yoo nthusang ka bana gore ke ye go batla tiro)
		"It affects me because we are <u>unable to get jobs</u> and find ways of sustaining ourselves even though we would like to take care of ourselves." (Le nkama ka gore ga re kgone go bona ditiro le ditsela tse re ka itshetsang ka tsone ntswa re batla go iperekela le go itirela)
		"It affects me because I <u>cannot find a job</u> . Others <u>lack accommodation and are overcrowded</u> in very small houses." (Le nkama ka gore ga ke kgone go bona tiro. Ba bangwe ga bana accommodation, ban ne mo musukeng ba le bantsi)
	It does not affect me	"There is no poverty in Old Naledi and as such it does not affect me in any way." (Ga gona lehuma mo Old Naledi ka jalo ga nkake kare ke a amega ka tsela epe)
		"Poverty is not a problem, the only problem here is the unruly behaviour of the people in Old Naledi." (Bothata ga se lehuma, bothata jo bo teng hela ke maitshwaro a batho mo Old Naledi)

4.6.3.1 Emotional Effect

Close to a quarter of the participants said that poverty affected them emotionally. Wadsworth and Santiago (2008: 399) explained that "much of the risk for compromised physical and mental health of individuals living in poverty can be traced to the stress borne of living without what one needs." The single mothers' statements about how poverty affected them captured in Table 4.11 shows that the participants have appraised the situation as taxing and as exceeding their ability to address it. According to stress theory, this gives rise to stress among individuals (Folkman & Lazarus, 1988; Broussard et al., 2012). The ecological systems theory explains this situation as a conflict between the person and their environment which can lead to stress (Germain & Gitterman, 1996). Wadsworth and Santiago (2008) also added that poverty-related stress was connected to a variety of psychological problems such as depression, anxiety and attention difficulties. The trend emerging from the participants' responses was that the poverty affected them indirectly in that they saw *other people suffering* and in need, but were *unable to assist* them, which evoked a sense of helplessness as the participants themselves did not have the means to assist. This situation affected the participants psychologically.

4.6.3.2 Material Effect

The majority of the participants indicated that poverty affected them materially. Bastos et al. (2009), in their study of women and poverty, listed five areas in which poverty manifests itself among women; these are through lack of economic resources; unemployment; low educational attainment, if any; low social involvement; and more time spent on family and private life. Broussard et al., (2012) added that poverty for single mothers included worries related to work and unemployment, housing, lack of financial resources and food insecurity. From these studies it is evident that poverty tends to affect individuals through lack of or inadequate material and / or financial resources. In the present study, the trend that was noted was that the participants emphasised the *lack of jobs* as having the more serious effect. This was because participants envisioned that they would be able to get the financial resources they need to buy the material resources that they needed once they got jobs. Those who were working and running small businesses regretted the insufficiency of the money that they made at the end of the month, saying it was not enough to meet their needs and they therefore hoped for better-paying jobs.

4.6.3.3 No Effect

Close to a quarter of the participants said that there was no poverty in Old Naledi and, as such, poverty did not affect them. One participant did note that there was poverty in Old Naledi but said that this poverty did not affect her in any way. The participants who were interviewed, although residing in the same area, were different in that some of them were living in family homes which they owned,

while others were renting those who own the houses. Differences therefore occur in terms of those who have more and those who do not have much, which, in turn, could result in the difference in the lived experiences of these single mothers. Segal (2007) sought to understand why Americans were not distressed by the poverty and inequality rampant in one of the richest countries in the world. She concluded that the major reason was because the people could not relate with those living in poverty; they lacked personal experience of poverty and that is the reason why most of them believe that every individual should be responsible for his or her own wellbeing and why they did not support the government assistance programmes for needy people. To address this, Segal (2008) proposed three steps: exposure to those living in poverty; explanation to understand the difference between those who have and those who do not; and experience through imagining what life must be like for an individual living in poverty. She pointed out that these steps were especially important for policy makers who were now more and more distant from the people for whom they were developing policies (Segal, 2008). This study was conducted from the assumption that all people would be affected by poverty in Old Naledi; therefore the scope of the study did not go beyond exploring how poverty affected single mothers in the area. As such it is not possible to explain why some single mothers were not affected by poverty in Old Naledi.

4.6.4 Crime and Criminal Activities as Stressors

The single mothers who were interviewed were asked how crime and criminal activities in Old Naledi affected them. Table 4.12 shows their responses. These are discussed in the sub-sections that follow.

Table 4.12: Effects of Crime and Criminal Activities on Single Mothers

Theme: Crime	and Crimin	al Activities as Stressors
Sub-theme	Category	Excerpts from the Participants
Effects of Crime and Criminal	Emotional	"People fight in the streets in front of our yards and traumatise our children." (Batho ba lwela hela ha pele ga bana, mo go felelang go ba tshositse)
Activities		"People fight in the streets, they throw stones at each other and the police are called in to calm the situation and stop the fights. This scares me and scares the children." (Batho ba a lwa, ba ngatana ka matlapa, go bo go bidiwa mapodise. Ba a ntshosa, gape go tshosa bana)
		"The thieves once grabbed and ran off with a bag from a lady I know. This <u>really affected me</u> and now I am always careful with how I carry my bag and my other stuff." (Magodu ba kile ba phamolole mme yo ke mo itseng beke. Se se ne sa nkama hela thata ka gore ke nna ke le kelethoko ka ha ke tshwarang dilo tsame ka teng)
		"They fight in the streets, others flee into our houses, they run through our yards; we live in fear." (Ba lwelwa mo ditseleng, ba siela mo mantlong a rona gape ba ralala malapa a rona; re tshelela mo letshogong)
		"We are not free, the windows in our houses are not only closed but are further tied up, even during the day; you cannot leave them open." (Ga re a phuthologa. Defensetere di nna hela di bofilwe, le motshegare tota)
	Material	"There is a lot of criminal activity in this place, we are also affected as they break into our houses and steal our belongings which sets us back." (Borukhutlhi bo bontsi mo lefelong le. Le rona bo a re ama bogolo thata ka gore ba thuba matlo a rona ba bo ba re utswela mo go busetsang ko marago)
		"The thieves can <u>break into our house</u> when we are not there and we never know who did it and as such we never recover our things."
		"Criminals <u>break into our houses</u> . Even in our small business they can come and <u>take the stuff</u> we are selling, <u>they steal</u> and this sets our efforts back." (Magodu ba thuba matlo a rona. Le tsone dilonyana tse re di rekisang tse ba kgona go tla ba di tsaya, ba a utswa b abo ba busetsa maitekonyana a ronako morago)
		"In the mornings you <u>cannot walk alone</u> because the thieves <u>will search you</u> and <u>take your stuff</u> especially cellphones and handbags. You need to be with another person or getting a combi." (Mo maphakeleng ga o kake wa phakela ka gore batho ba a searcha, ba tseela batho diphone le di beke. Go bata o tsamaya o patilwe ke ba bangwe kana o pagama combi)

4.6.4.1 Emotional Effects

More than half of the participants indicated that crime and criminal activities affect them emotionally. The major trend coming out of the participants' responses is that crime, especially violent crime, made them *live in fear for their safety* and that of their children.

The explicit message that emerges from the participants is that they are *not free to move around* as the crime in Old Naledi makes them fear for their safety and that of their belongings. They have to take extra precautions to protect themselves and their property, as highlighted in their responses. Some of these precautions can unfortunately disadvantage these single mothers further, as in having to use public transport when walking would be more economical.

A study that sought to assess the predictors of and conclusions about fear of crime in Gaborone with emphasis on the relationship between gender, victimisation, and environment, in part, found that all three factors were indeed useful in explaining the fear of crime in Gaborone (Johnson, 2006). The study found that females were more likely than males to be fearful of crime and that being a victim of crime was also positively correlated with fear of crime (Johnson, 2006). The likelihood of being afraid of crime in Gaborone was also found to increase with the decreasing level of the community status; that is, respondents from lower-class communities were more likely to be fearful of crime than their counterparts in middle and upper class communities (Johnson, 2006). These two factors studied by Johnson (2006) are also common among the respondents of the current study as the participants are female and live in a low-income community in Gaborone, a factor that was found to make people more likely to be fearful of crime. The third factor, that of victimisation, was not studied, but some respondents alluded to being victims or having some in their close social network being victims of crime which, therefore, increased their fear of crime.

4.6.4.2 Material Effects

More than a quarter of the participants expressed how the crime and criminal activities in Old Naledi affected them materially. They mentioned that *their belongings were at times stolen* which then set them back. These goods were stolen from their homes and at times from their small businesses. According to Statistics Botswana (2015), theft was the most common criminal offence at 21.5% of all the offences committed. Theft commonly includes theft of vehicles; stealing from a dwelling or a person; interfering with postal matters; stealing goods in transit; and handling stolen property (Statistics Botswana, 2015). Theft is a common criminal offence in Botswana, which explains why the single mothers in Old Naledi would be affected by this type of criminal offense.

4.6.5 Illness and Death as Stressors

All the participants had experienced either illness, death of a close family member, or both. Sixteen (16) had experienced death of a close family member while four (4) had not lost a family member. Fourteen had experienced long illness of a close family member and six (6) had experienced a short illness. Seven (7) of the twenty single mothers who were interviewed said that they had experienced both short illness and death while five (5) experienced short illness and death of a close family member. All of them were affected in one way or another through taking care of their sick family members and, for some, their death.

Table 4.13: Effects of Illness and Death on Single Mothers

Theme: Illness and Death as Stressors				
Sub-theme	Responses	Narrative		
		Frequency		
Effects of Illness and Death on Single Mothers	Emotional	"It really affected me because <u>she suffered</u> a lot during her illness, we had expected her to get better and to help us as a family but unfortunately <u>she passed on.</u> " (Go nkamile ka gore o ne a sokodisitswe ke bolwetse ka jalo re ne re solofetse gore o tlaa nna botoka a bo are thusa mo lapeng mme ka bomadimabe a bo a tlhokafala)		
		"It really affected me because I was still young, so <u>I became</u> hopeless as I was close to her." (Go nkamile ka gore ke ne ke santse ke le monnyenyane. Ke ne ka nna hopeless ka gore re ne re le close)		
		"It really affected me because the family had kept the illness from me and so, when I found out, it affected my school performance." (Go nkamile ka gore batho ba mo lapeng ba ne ba ntobetse ka bolwetse. Fa ke sena go utlwa go ne ga ama tiro yame ya sekolo)		
		"It affected me emotionally and financially. My business was affected, we used to go to the hospital time and again, I <u>lost</u> weight due to stress." (Go ne ga nkama mo maikutlong le ka madi ka gore re ne re nna hela re ile sepatela kgapetsa kgapetsa. Ke ne ka bopama ke stress)		
	Material	"I was really emotionally affected. No one was there to help me with my children after the loss of my mother." (Ke ne ke amegile tota ka gore fa mme a sena go tlhokofala go ne so sena ope yo o nthusang ka bana)		
		"It really affected me, especially financially, as I had to now provide for the family by myself. I was then helped by my children as they grew older." (Di nkamile ka gore ke ne ka tshwanelwa ke gore ke tlhokomela lelwapa ke le nosi.Ke tsile ka tla ka thusiwa ke bana ba ntse ba gola jaana)		
		"It affected me because she was the one who provided for us and so this affected our way of life." (Go nkamile ka gore ke ene a neng a re tlhokomela)		
		"It affected me because these were the people who were taking care of us and now there is no one supporting us." (Go nkamile ka gore batho ba ke bone ba neng ba re tlhokomela jaanong re nosi fela)		

4.6.5.1 Emotional Effects

The participants were all affected by the illness and death of their family members. The single mothers indicated that they were affected emotionally, as shown in Table 4.13. As discussed in Chapter two, Botswana is one of the countries that have been highly hit by the HIV and AIDS pandemic (Do et al., 2010). At its worst, the HIV and AIDS pandemic put a strain on hospitals and health facilities in Botswana and forced the country to think of alternative ways of caring for the ill. The home-based

care of patients was seen as a way of providing care and support to patients at home in order to relieve the overburdened health facilities (Ndaba-Mbata & Seloilwe, 2000). This arrangement forced families to take responsibility for their chronic and terminally ill relatives (Ndaba-Mbata & Seloilwe, 2000). At the home front this burden of care was relegated to women within the families (Smith, 2010). It is therefore not surprising that all the participants indicated that they, at one point, had to look after a sick relative. In their responses the participants expressed that they were emotionally affected as some of their *family members passed on* after being sick, *crashing their hopes of the person getting better*; some lost their primary source of social support, which left them psychologically affected, while some indicated that their families had *kept them in the dark* about the illness of their family members and when they found it they were *hurt and emotionally wounded* even though they knew that the families were trying to protect them.

4.6.5.2 Material Effects

The single mothers were affected materially, as shown in Table 4.13. Long illness and death are part of the potential stressors that single mothers have faced; for some of them, the passing on of a family member meant that their lives were changed, as explained by participants who, after losing their mother, had no one to assist them with taking care of their children and as such could not look for a job. Some lost family members on whom they depended for financial and material support and were therefore, left without this support. One mentioned that she found it difficult to look for a job as she and her sibling had to take care of her brother, and then her sister, who became ill, one after another. This is how she described her situation "We ended up being the ones taking care of the them, my mother was just not able to which then made it difficult for me to look for a job" (Go ne ga nkama ka gore e ne ya nna rona ba re helelang re oka, mme a sa kgone; mo go nene ga helela e le gore le go bata tiro go a pala.). As demonstrated by her case, illness and death of a family member can affect the financial income of single mothers; it can affect them emotionally and can in the long run induce negative stress. The impact of HIV and AIDS on families has been recognised and acknowledged by the government of Botswana, who responded with various programmes to support family members infected and affected by HIV and AIDS (Government of Botswana, 2012b).

Neighbourhood, parenthood, poverty, crime and criminal activities, as well as illness and death, were confirmed as stressors by the single mothers who were interviewed. The stressors are most likely to result in stress which could be chronic if there is no intervention. Given these factors, the social support needs and social support available to single mothers were explored, as social support has been identified as a potential stress buffer (Cohen & Wills, 1985) and so its availability can aid single mothers staying in low income communities to face their stressors and the resulting stress.

4.7 SOCIAL SUPPORT NEEDS OF SINGLE MOTHERS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT AVAILABLE IN LOW-INCOME URBAN COMMUNITIES

The ecological systems perspective was used in getting to understand the social support needs of single mothers interviewed in Old Naledi. The inter-related systems articulated by Bronfenbrenner (1977), as discussed in Chapter two were used to understand the needs of single mothers at all levels. The study therefore focussed on understanding their social support needs at the microsystem and the macrosystem levels, as well as the social support that is available at these levels and what needs to be provided, improved or changed. The exploration of this was based on the four components of social support as advanced by House (1981) of emotional support, instrumental support, informational support and appraisal support.

The following section presents and discusses the findings on the social support needs and social support available at the different systems, starting from the microsystems level.

4.7.1 Microsystem

The microsystems level, as explained in Chapter two, is focussed on the relations between the single mothers and their immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

4.7.1.1 Emotional Support Needs

To understand the emotional needs of single mothers in low-income communities, participants were asked what their emotional support needs were. Figure 4.6 presents the answers given by the participants.

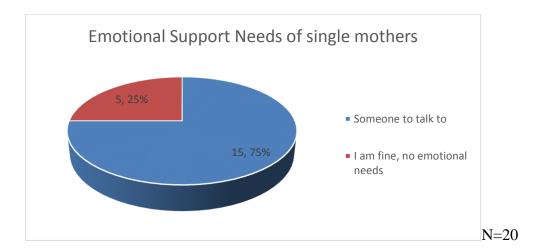


Figure 4.6: Emotional Support Needs of Single Mothers

Three quarters of the participants indicated that they sometimes needed someone to talk to, someone who could encourage them and support them emotionally. Another quarter said that they were fine; that they did not need any emotional support. According to Finfgeld-Connett (2005), emotional needs

arise from psychological distress. This may explain why the participants identified an emotional need for someone to talk to. Keating-Lefler et al. (2004) said that, even though single mothers need emotional support they rarely asked for support in this regard; because of this, they received less emotional and psychological support. Stack (1997) and Nelson (2000) found that poor single mothers are often reluctant to ask for support for fear of the burden of reciprocity; that if they asked for support they should also be able to provide support to the person who assisted them. Due to limited resources, the mothers then find it easier to make do without asking for support.

4.7.1.2 Emotional Support Available at the Microsystems Level

Participants were asked how family, friends and neighbours as components of the microsystem provided for their emotional support needs. Table 4.14 presents the responses of the participants.

Table 4.14: Emotional Support Available at the Microsystems Level

Theme: Social Support available at the Microsystem Level				
Sub- theme	Category	Narratives		
Emotional	Family	"My partner helps when I have emotional problems.		
Support		When it is about the relationship, <u>I talk to my sister.</u> "		
available		(Ke bua le monna wame fa go tsena ko tsa maikutlo, fa e le ka dikgang tsa di relationship ke bua le nkgonne wa mosadi)		
		"I <u>talk to my older sister</u> when I have relationship problems, my <u>mother also advises.</u> " (Ke bua le nkgonne fa kena le mathata a tsa di relationship)		
		"I am able to talk to my father's brother and his wife. They are the ones that provided emotional support to us during our father's passing. I am also able to talk to my mother and sister." (Ke kgona go bua le rrangwane le mosadi wa gagwe. Ke bone ba ba neng ba re tshegeditse ka nako ya loso la ga ntate)		
		"I am able to talk to my older brother and my mother when I have relationship problems." (Fa kena le mathata bogolo jang a banna ke bua le nkgonne wa monna ka na le mme)		
	Friends	"I do not talk to friends because when you confide in a friend you make your problems worse off. Friends just laugh at you without assisting you." (Ga ke bue le ditsala, ka gore ga o mmolelelela o oketsa mathata; ditsala di go ja setshego di sa go thuse)		
		"I do not have friends, friends can mess things up for you. You cannot trust them; they can laugh at you behind your back." (Ga kena ditsala; ditsala di kgona go go tlhakatlhakanyetsa. Ga di tshephege, di go ja setshego)		
		"I have no friends to talk to. I do not want to end up in unnecessary conflicts." (Ga kena ditsala, ga ke bate dikgogakgogano tse di sa tlhokafaleng)		
		"I do not have friends, friends are stressful." (Ga kena ditsala; ditsala di tsenya stress.)		
		"Friends do not want to see friends prosper, they will betray you and laugh at you." (Ditsala ga di ratelane botshelo, ba go ja direthe; ba go tshega.)		
	Neighbours	"We <u>do not have close relations</u> as I do not want to end up in the <u>midst of conflicts</u> ." (ga rena botsalano jo bo tseneletseng ka gore ga ke bate dikgang tse di tshesane)		
		"My neighbours are my cousins who I am able to talk to for emotional support" (Di neighboura tsame ke bo ntsalake ba ke kgonang go bua le bone fa kena le mathata)		
		"I completely <u>do not relate with them in that way</u> . I can talk to them <u>but not on serious issues</u> ." (Tota gotlhelele ga ke tsalane le bone ka tsela ee ntseng jalo. Ee ke ka bua le bone mme e seng ka sepe se serious)		

		"There is an <u>older woman</u> who is my neighbour that <u>I am</u> <u>able to talk to.</u> " (Gona le mme yo mongwe, ke mme yo mogolwane ke ene ke a te ke bue le ene)
	Social Groups	"The members are able to provide emotional support to each other during difficult times such as death of a family members." (Maloko a kgona go thusana bogolo that ka dinako tse di thata tse di tshwanang bo leso la mogwe wa losika)
		"Church provides <u>emotional support</u> and keeps me on the <u>right track.</u> " (Kereke e a nthusa; e nthusa gore ke seka ka tswa mo tseleng)
		"I was able to interact with people and meet other needy people which helped me emotionally." (Ke ne ka kgona go kopana le go buisanya le batho ba bangwe ba ba tlhokang mo go neng ga nthusa hela thata mo go tsa maikutlo)
		"It does provide <u>emotional support</u> but it has <u>not provided</u> <u>for me as yet.</u> " (Ba kgona go thusa mme nna le gale ga ba ise ba nthuse)
		"I am <u>no longer active</u> in the group." (Ga ke sa thole ke le active mo groupong malatsi a)

Emotional Support Provided by Family

Almost all the participants interviewed (19) said that they depended on their family members for emotional support; only one (1) participant indicated that she does not rely on any family member for emotional support; instead the family relies on her for emotional support. According to the participants, emotional support provided by family members is through *talking to them* and *encouraging them*, especially when they are feeling overwhelmed or stressed.

The findings of this study are in line with what Keating-Lefler et al. (2004) found in their study in which all the women engaged in a focus group discussion gave examples of the positive social support they received from family, especially from female family members. The trend that became apparent was that the single mothers were able to talk to different members of their families, including male members, for emotional support. Their family members were not confined to nuclear family members but included extended family members as well.

Emotional Support Provided by Friends

A quarter of the interviewed participants indicated that they did get emotional support from their friends; they were able *to talk to them* when they faced challenges and when they needed someone to talk to. The remaining three quarters said that they do not get any emotional support from their friends because some *do not have friends*, others *do not confide* in them, and others do not trust them enough to involve them in their lives to that extent. Turney and Harknett (2010) point out that it may be difficult for individuals residing in low-income communities to develop supportive relationships with non-relatives as these relationships may take long to develop because of the lack of trust found in

neighbourhoods with high crime rates. Sampson (1988) indicated that neighbourhood-based friendship ties are positively associated with time spent in one's neighbourhood. So, for those families that have stayed for a long time in the neighbourhood, there is a high likelihood for supportive friendship with non-relatives to develop. Lack of trust and belief that friends can do right by them is the trend that is observed in the findings of this study. Most of the reasons advanced by the participants concerning why they do not get emotional support from friends include that they do not have friends or that they do not have a relationship with friends that can facilitate emotional support.

Emotional Support Provided by Neighbours

The participants were further asked how their neighbours provided emotional support to them. In response, one third of the participants said that they *get emotional support* from neighbours as they were *able to talk to them* and *confide in them*. The other two thirds said that they did not get any emotional support from their neighbours as they did not talk to them, while some said they *did not confide* in them even though they did talk. These participants explained that they were not close enough with their neighbours to confide in them; for others it was an issue of trust. They did not feel that they could trust their neighbours with their challenges. So, as with friends, the issue of trust was a determinant in whether the single mothers could talk to and get emotional support from their neighbours. The issue expressed by the participants of lack of trust in their friends and neighbours has been found to exist among black people with a lower income status (Lindbland-Goldberg & Dukes, 1985). This lack of trust has been characterized as being overly protective as a defence against disappointment (Lindblad-Goldberg & Dukes, 1985).

Emotional Support Provided by Social Groups

Two fifths of the participants said that their social groups provided them with emotional support; some said that, even though they had not yet benefited from the emotional support their groups provided, it was available; one was no longer active in the social group and as such did not get any emotional support, while the question was not applicable to close to half of the participants as they did not belong to any social group.

Those that had benefited from their membership of these social groups indicated that the support they got was through interacting with other members and support provided during emotionally taxing periods such as bereavement in the family, as narrated in Table 4.14. Joseph and Chatters (1988) identified a number of factors which may predict whether one will receive assistance from the church. These include church membership and church attendance (Joseph & Chatters, 1988), which are indicators of involvement and integration within the church. This finding by Joseph and Chatters (1988) could be true for most social groups, as one should usually be a member to receive support from such.

Close to half of the participants were not members of social groups, and therefore *did not get emotional support* from these groups. One of the social groups that members belonged to were burial societies which, according to Ntseane and Mupedziswa (2013), rendered support in the form of financial contributions as well as physical labour during funerals, and psychosocial support and other essential services to allow the family time to grieve for their loved one with dignity. The emotional support provided by social groups, especially during difficult times such as death of a family member, may help single mothers to deal with the stressor of the death of a loved one.

4.7.1.3 Instrumental Support Needs

Figure 4.7 depicts the instrumental support needs of the participants which were indicated when asked about their instrumental support needs.

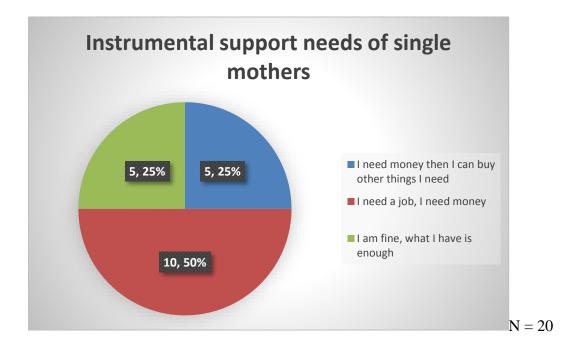


Figure 4.7: Instrumental Support Needs of Single Mothers

Half of the participants indicated that they needed jobs so that they could have money and provide for their other needs; a quarter said that they needed money to be able to buy other things they needed, while the last quarter indicated that they were fine and did not need any instrumental support as what they had was enough for them and their families. From the data it is clear that the majority of the single mothers needed money so as to meet other instrumental needs. This majority is made up of those who needed a job to get money and those who needed money to buy other things, which makes a combined total of seventy-five percent (75%) of the participants. Finfgeld-Connett (2005) explained that instrumental needs include tangible goods, transportation services and financial support. Instrumental support often addresses the consequences of poverty. Female-headed households in

Botswana has been identified as one of the groups that have been affected seriously by poverty (BIDPA, 2013). Low-income neighbourhoods have also been found to be positively associated with poverty, crime, low educational attainment and high rates of unemployment (Turney & Harknett, 2010; Small & Newman, 2001). There is therefore need for instrumental support for single mothers to contend with the stressors that arise from residing in low-income urban area, parenthood, illness and death in Old Naledi.

4.7.1.4 Instrumental Support Available at the Microsystems Level

The participants were asked how their families provided in their need for instrumental support. Table 4.15 presents the findings of this study with regard to this question.

Table 4.15: Instrumental Support Available at the Microsystems Level

Theme: Social	Theme: Social Support available at the Microsystem		
Sub-theme	Category	Narratives	
Instrumental Support Available	Family	"Father of the child provides material support; my siblings also help here and there." (Rraagwe bongwanake ke ene a nthusang, bana ba ga mme banthusa hale le hale)	
		My older brother gives me <u>financial support</u> as well as my partner and my cousins." (Nkgonne wa monna o nthusa ka madi, le partnara yame le di counsine tsame)	
		"My parents take care of big things such <u>as accommodation</u> , <u>water</u> , <u>electricity plus other home needs</u> . They also <u>buy clothes</u> for the child and for me it's my partner." (Batsadi bame ba mphile boroko, ba duelela metsi le motlakase le tse dingwe tsa lelapa. Ke bone gape ba rekelang ngwanake diaparo nna ke rekela ke boyfriend yame)	
		"The father of the children provide for our material needs. My mother also helps. We also have a mutual aid society for the family in which we are able to borrow from when the need arises." (Rraagwe bana ke ene a thusang. Mme le ene o a thusa. Re na le motshelo o le one o thusang ka go re a adima fa re thaeletswe.)	
	Friends	"I have people that are part of our mutual aid societies but I do not regard them as my friends." (Ke na le ba ke tsenelelang metshelo le bone mme ga se ditsala tsame)	
		"There are people that I am a part of that we help each other through different mutual aid societies." (Ke na le batho ba re thusanang ka metshelo)	
		"My friend can help me with <u>transport money</u> when I don't have it." (Tsala yame e kgona go nkadima madi a transport ga ke sena nao)	
		"Friends at work <u>can assist me financially.</u> " (Ditsala tsame tsa ko tirong I kgona go nthusa ka madi)	
	Neighbours	"There is a neighbour who helps me and I help her as well." (Go na le mme wa moagisanyi yo re thusanang)	

	"We do not help each other that way." (Ga re thusane ka tsela eo) "We are able to help each other with food stuff when one runs out." (Re kgona go thusana ka dijo ha yo mongwe a tlhaeletswe) "We don't help each other this way." Ga re thusanye ka tsela e" "We are able to assist each other by borrowing money from one another." (Re kgona go thusana ka go adimana madi)
Social Groups	"They can also provide <u>instrumental support</u> for those who are <u>needy</u> . So, if I need, I can also get this assistance." (Bakgona go thusa batho b aba tlhokang. Gakena le letlhoko le nna bakanthusa) "The church helped with <u>financial aid</u> during the time of <u>our</u>
	bereavement." (Kereke e ne ya re thusa nako ya re na le leso) "Can get a bit of support from it in terms of finances. They can also provide support during funerals." (Ee, ba kgona go re thus aka madinyana. Gape ba a thusa fa lena le mathata a tshwanang bo loso jaana)

Instrumental Support Provided by Family

More than two thirds of the participants indicated that they got instrumental support from one or more people in their families. Less than one third said that they did not get any instrumental support from their family members as they were the ones providing instrumental support to their families. The theme emerging from the participants' narratives is that the family members provide for their accommodation, food, child care and other material needs. The fathers of the children also played a significant role in providing for instrumental needs, according to most of the participants. In a study by Keating-Lefler et al (2004) it was found that tangible or instrumental support for single mothers was provided by family members. In this study, the fathers of the children played a significant role in the provision of instrumental support to their families. This is contrary to other studies that have found that single mothers received little support, if any, from the fathers of their children and therefore had to rely on themselves for the provision of material resources to their families, at times with the help of the female members of their families (Lindblad-Goldberg & Dukes, 1985; Ceballo & McLoyd, 2002; Broussard et al., 2012).

Instrumental Support Provided by Friends

Participants were asked how their friends provided in their need of instrumental support. The participants mentioned that the support provided by their friends was *mostly financial* and this financial support came *through mutual aid societies* that they had joined, and some *through lending each other money* when needed. Slightly more than half of the participants said that they received such instrumental support from their friends while slightly less than half of the participants indicated that they did not get any instrumental support from their friends. This finding resonates with the findings from the question about the emotional support they received from friends, with most

participants preferring support from their family members. Even those who indicated that they received support from their friends through their mutual aid societies felt that, though they were members, they could not define those members as their friends. The provision of social support to non-kin has been found to be influenced by factors such as residential stability (Turney & Harknett, 2010). This is because it takes time to develop trusting relationships among people in poor, dangerous communities; if people are always moving in and moving away, the formation of these relationships may be challenged (Turney & Harknett, 2010). This shows that a facilitative relationship between the provider and the giver must be in place for provision of social support to happen and to be acceptable to those who receive it.

Instrumental Support Provided by Neighbours

Participants were further asked about the instrumental support provided by their neighbours. Sixteen (16) participants said that they do not get any instrumental support from their neighbours as they did not relate with them in a way that could facilitate that support. Only four (4) participants said that they received instrumental support from their neighbours. The support they received was *financial aid* in the form of *lending each other money* and with *foodstuff* when one has run out of something. The issue of an effective and facilitative relationship being present for the provision and acceptance of social support among people in poor communities as highlighted by Turney and Harknett (2010) could explain why the participants did not receive instrumental support from their neighbours. The theme that emerged from the participants' narratives is that they *did not relate* with their neighbours in a way that could facilitate the provision and acceptance of instrumental support. The other influencing factor, even though not mentioned by the participants, is that the participants *may have been reluctant to ask and receive instrumental* support for fear of the burden of reciprocity, which would erquire that they would have to assist their neighbours in the same way (Stack, 1997; Nelson, 2000).

Instrumental Support Provided by Social Groups

Participants said that social groups were able to provide instrumental support to their members, especially in their time of need such as during bereavement in the family. More than a quarter of the participants pointed out that they received instrumental support from their social groups in the form of *financial aid;* one fifth indicated that their social groups *had not yet provided* them with instrumental support, and the question *was not applicable to close to half of the participants* who did not belong in any social group. Unlike the instrumental support provided by family, friends and neighbours, the instrumental support available from the social groups was provided mostly when there was need. Such support thus was not provided all the time. The theme emerging from these findings is that, even though some of the participants had not yet received instrumental support from

their social groups, they knew that instrumental support was available and that they would be provided with that support if they needed it. According to Ntseane and Mupedziswa (2013), social groups and societies almost always have member-nominated management committees who oversee the financial assets, facilitate fund-raising activities and maintain contact with key stakeholders. These social groups provide support through the leadership according to member-defined needs (Ntseane & Mupedziswa, 2013).

4.7.1.5 Informational and Appraisal Support Needs

Figure 4.8 presents the responses of single mothers when they were asked what their informational and appraisal support needs were.

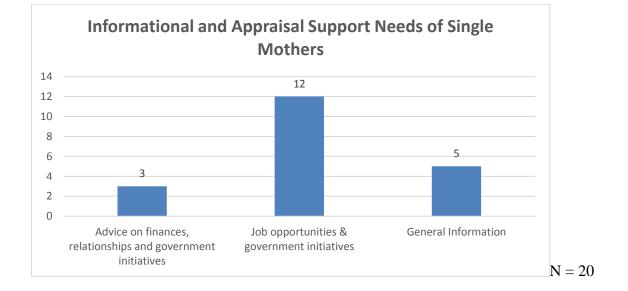


Figure 4.8: Informational and Appraisal Support Needs of Single Mothers

The majority of the participants, twelve (12) single mothers, indicated that they needed information on job opportunities and on government initiatives aimed at empowering citizens; three (3) participants needed information and advice on finances, relationships and government initiatives; and five (5) participants needed general information that could be useful to them. House (1981) pointed out that informational and appraisal support are the most difficult to define and distinguish from other types of social support. Informational support is concerned with the provision of information that the individual can use to cope with personal and environmental problems (House, 1981). Appraisal support, like informational support, involves the provision of information to the individual but for purposes of self-evaluation or social comparison (House, 1981). The information and appraisal support needed by the participants was congruent with the instrumental support needs identified earlier by the participants, by which they indicated that they needed jobs and financial resources to sustain themselves. The information they needed could assist them to address their instrumental support needs.

4.7.1.6 Informational and Appraisal Support Provided at the Microsystem level

The participants were asked how their families, friends, neighbours and social groups provided in their informational and appraisal support needs. Table 4.16 presents the responses of the participants in this regard.

Table 4.16: Informational and Appraisal Support Available at the Microsystems Level

Theme: Social Support available at the Microsystem			
Sub-theme	Category	Narratives	
Informational and Appraisal Support available	Family	"Sister gives me information on financial management and o relationships." (nkgonne wa mosadi o mpha information ka tsa madi ka di relationship) "My uncle and my uncle's wife provide me with informational appraisal support." (Rrangwane le mosadi wa gagwe ke bone b mphang information)	
		"Older siblings, mother, nephews and nieces provide informational and appraisal support." (Masika a me ka bontsi; bo nkgonne, mme, bontsalake ba mpha information le yone eo e e botlhokwa go itshekatsheka)	
	Friends	"Work friends and colleagues provide informational support which I need." (Ditsala tsa ko tirong di mpha information e ke e tlhokang)	
		"My friends <u>provide information on relationships</u> and appraisal support." (Ditsala tsame di mpha information ka di relationship le information e ke e tlhokang go itshekatsheka)	
		"My friends <u>provide general information</u> that is in the public domain." (Ditsala tsame di mpha information e e itseweng ke mongwe le mongwe)	
	Neighbours	"I have one neighbour who also informs me about current stuff." (Go na le moagisanyi a le one yo o mphang information ka dilo tse di diragalang)	
		"Neighbours <u>provide general information."</u> (Baagisanyi ba mpha information ee ka itseweng ke mongwe le mongwe"	
		"They <u>do not because we don't talk</u> that much." (Ga ba mphe information epe ka gore tota ga re nke re buisana, ke bo dumelang hela)	
	Social Groups	"They provide <u>information on new youth programmes."</u> (Ba mpha information ka mananeo a banana a masha)	
		"It helps by <u>providing information</u> that is church related." (E nthusa ka go mpha information le dikgakololo tse di tswang mo kerekeng)	
		"They provide <u>information on new developments</u> in the community." (Ba mpha information ka ditlhabololo tse disha tsa fa re nnang teng)	

Informational and Appraisal Support Provided by the Family

The majority of the participants said that their families provided in their informational and appraisal support needs. The central theme emerging is that single mothers *relied on different family members* for different informational and appraisal support. When it concerned *information on relationships*, the mothers got their informational support from their mothers and their sisters; others provided information on *financial management* and several opportunities. Appraisal support was given by their mothers and other family members such as *their uncles*, *sister-in-law and wives of their uncles*. In a

study carried out by Keating-Lefler et al. (2004), the participants expressed a consistent and constant need for informational and appraisal need. They needed information which was necessary for the care and support of their children (Keating Lefler et al., 2004). In this study however, the participants indicated that they have informational and appraisal need on specific things but did acknowledge that they received this social support from their family members.

Informational and Appraisal Support Provided by Friends

Regarding informational and appraisal support provided by their friends, two fifths of the participants said that their friends provided them with this support, especially with information on relationships, different opportunities and information on how they can improve their livelihood in general. One fifth said that their friends provided them with general information that was in the public domain and appraisal support. Two fifths of the participants, on the other hand, pointed out that they did not have informational or appraisal support from their friends, as most of them said they did not have friends. Unlike with emotional support, where only a quarter of the participants said they received emotional support from a friend, with informational support three fifths of the participants were more accepting of receiving information and appraisal support from their friends. This could be because informational and appraisal support as clarified by House (1981) deals with the transmission of information and does not involve the effect in emotional support or the aid seen in instrumental support.

Informational and Appraisal support provided by neighbours

Asked how their neighbours provide informational and appraisal support, the majority, which was more than half of the participants, said they did not get that support from their neighbours, mainly because of the nature of their relationship with their neighbours. Most of them indicated that the *type of relationship they had* with their neighbours *did not facilitate* the *type of interaction* in which informational and appraisal support can be given. Less than a quarter of the participants said that they got support regarding *general information* that was in the public domain from their neighbours; the remaining participants said they got both informational and appraisal support from their neighbours. This interaction was made possible by the relationship they had with their neighbours; one indicated that her neighbours were her cousins and so it was easy for her to communicate with them on a lot of issues while one participant was able to talk and get informational and appraisal support from her neighbour because her neighbour was an elderly lady whom she could trust and talk to. The relationship between the participants and their neighbours who were potential social support providers was the key to the provision of social support without which this interaction could not be possible (Turney & Harknett, 2010).

Informational and Appraisal Support Provided by Social Groups

The participants indicated that social groups provided them with informational and appraisal support. One third of the participants indicated that their social groups provided them with informational and appraisal support that was *in line with the mission of the group*. Those in the *youth groups* got most information on *youth programmes* and initiatives aimed at empowering young people while those in the *church groups* got information and appraisal support based on *church-related matters*. A quarter of the participants said that they did not get informational and appraisal support from their social groups. Close to half of the participants said that they did not belong to any social group, thus the question was not applicable to them. In their study of the church as a source of social support Taylor and Chatters (1988) stated that members of the church are able to support members materially, spiritually, emotionally, and informationally. The social groups provided informational and appraisal support in the areas that were in line with the mandate of the group.

4.7.2 Macrosystems

On the social support provided at the macro systems level focus was on the support provided by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and that provided by government. The following discussion will present the participants responses on the social support they get from the macro level.

4.7.2.1 Social Support Provided to Single Mothers by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Participants were asked if they received any social support from NGOs. Figure 4.9 presents the responses of the participants.

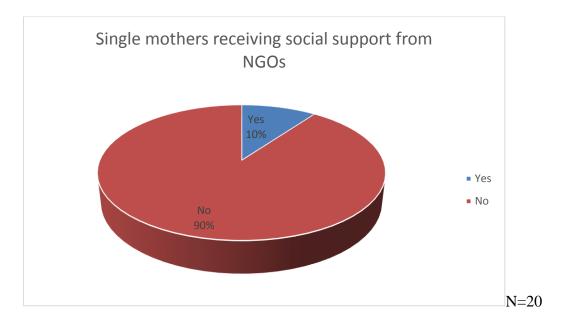


Figure 4.9: Single Mothers Receiving Social Support from NGOs

A large majority of ninety percent (18 single mothers) said that they did not receive any support from any NGO, while ten percent (2 single mothers) said that they had once received social support from an NGO. Various NGOs in Botswana focus on different issues including gender and development, child and youth development, human rights, environmental sustainability, agriculture and disability issues (Vision Council, 2009). Some of them are affiliated to the Botswana Council of NGOs, which is a national umbrella organisation for NGOs (Vision Council, 2009). Over recent years the vibrancy and the effectiveness of NGOs in fulfilling their mandate has been compromised by different factors, including the lack of funds which, according to Lekorwe and Mpabanga (2007) has rendered them weak. They point out that factors such as limited financial resources, lack of trained and skilled human resources and lack of strategic planning has negatively impacted on the effective management of NGOs in Botswana (Lekorwe & Mbapanga, 2007). The high dependency on external donor funding has also rendered most NGOs unsustainable and some of the organisations have had to close down when the donors ceased funding them (Lekorwe & Mpabanga, 2007). The ineffective management of NGOs and the challenges alluded to above could be some of the things contributing to the lack of provision of social support to a needy community and group of people such as single mothers in Old Naledi.

4.7.2.2 Social Support received by Single Mothers from NGOs

The two single mothers who said they received support from NGOs were asked about the social support available from these organisations. One participant said that she only received informational support from the organisation she interacted with, while the other one received emotional support which was provided through counselling sessions, instrumental support when she was given clothes for her and her children, and informational and appraisal support.

4.7.2.3 Social Support Provided by Government

The social support provided by government was explored to gain an understanding of whether the single mothers benefited from this support, their experiences of it and views on what else was needed from government. This section presents the related findings.

4.7.2.4 Knowledge of the Social Support Provided by Government

Participants were asked if they knew of the government programmes listed in Table 4.17 and whether they had benefited from these programmes and initiatives. Their responses are presented in the table.

Table 4.17: Knowledge of Social Support Provided by Government

Program	Knowledge of	No
		knowledge
Destitute persons' programme	19	1
HIV and AIDS-related services	20	0
Orphan care programme	20	0
Vulnerable group and school feeding programme	20	0
Old age pension scheme	20	0
Ipelegeng Public Works programme	20	0
Community Home-based care	20	0
Back to school programme for school-going children	20	0

N = 20

Knowledge of Government Social Assistance Programmes and Initiatives

In response to the question that sought to explore whether participants knew about the various social assistance programmes and initiatives developed and administered by government, almost all the participants acknowledged that they knew about these assistance programmes. All the participants knew of the HIV and AIDS-related services offered by government, the orphan care programme, the vulnerable group and the school feeding programmes, the old age pension scheme, Ipelegeng Public Works programme, Community Home-based care and back to school programmes for school-going children Nineteen participants out of the 20 knew of the destitute persons programme.

The other initiatives that the participants knew were the poverty eradication initiatives and the exemption from paying school fees for families in need. The poverty eradication initiative is aimed at improving the livelihoods of citizens by addressing poverty in a holistic manner (Government of Botswana, 2012). Poverty eradication guidelines and packages have been developed to aid in this endeavour (Government of Botswana, 2012). Exemption from paying school fees is given for families who are seen to be destitute according to the Destitute Persons Policy (2002). Families with an income

less than P2000, approximately US\$ 200, have also been exempted from paying school fees in government schools

Botswana has been named as one of the few countries in Africa that fully funds its social protection programmes from its own resources (Botswana Institute of Development Policy Analysis (BIDPA), 2013: ix). The country has developed comprehensive social protection and labour programmes which can be categorised as depicted in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: Social Protection and Labour Programmes in Botswana

Programme	Components
Pension and Other Insurance	Public Officers Pension Fund
	Non-Contributory Public Plan
Active Labour Markets	National Internship Programme
programme	Apprentice Programme
	Youth Development Fund
	Youth Empowerment Scheme
Social Safety Nets	Cash and Near Cash
	Orphan CareDestitute PersonsOld Age PensionIn-kind Food Transfers
	 Vulnerable Group Feeding Programme Primary School Feeding Programme Secondary School Feeding Programme Public Works / Ipelegeng Poverty Eradication Initiative (APP)
Sponsorship or Scholarship	Tertiary education in and outside the country

(Botswana Institute of Development Policy Analysis (BIDPA), 2013)

From the classification provided by BIDPA (2013), this study concerned itself more with the programmes and initiatives under the social safety nets. The participants knew about these programmes and initiatives, which could indicate that government efforts to inform and educate the people are effective.

4.7.2.5 Single Mothers Benefiting from the Government Social Assistance Programs and Initiatives

According to BIDPA (2013), Botswana spent around 4.4 percent of its GDP or P5, 347 million on social protection during the 2012/13 fiscal year. The level of expenditure on social government should be evident on the ground. To explore this, participants were asked whether they or any member of

their family had or were benefiting from any of the social programmes provided by government. Their responses are captured in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19: Single Mothers Benefiting from Social Support Provided by Government

Programme	Benefitting	Not benefitting
Destitute persons' programme	1	19
HIV and AIDS-related services	2	18
Orphan care programme	4	16
Vulnerable group and school feeding programme	11	9
Old age pension scheme	3	17
Ipelegeng Public Works programme	2	18
Community Home-based care	0	20
Back to school programme for school-going children	0	20

 $\overline{N} = 20$

The results recorded in Table 4.19 show that most of the single mothers (11) and their families had benefited from the vulnerable group and school feeding programme: four (4) single mothers had benefited from the orphan care programme; three (3) from the old age pension scheme; two (2) from the Ipelegeng Public Works Programme; two (2) from HIV and AIDS-related services; and one (1) from the destitute persons' programme. No one had benefited from the back to school and the community-home based care programmes. Four (5) single mothers indicated that they and their family had benefited from other government initiatives. Four (4) had benefited from exemption from paying school fees, and one (1) had benefited from the poverty eradication initiatives.

A majority of the single mothers benefited from the *vulnerable feeding scheme*, which could have been possible because the programme is not means tested; instead supplementary feeding is given to all children under five years of age when they go for their monthly health monitoring visits and the school feeding programme for both primary and secondary school is available to all students regardless of whether poor or not. Seleka et al. (2007) cautions that most social safety nets in Botswana are not necessarily targeted at the poor, therefore the standard methodology that assumes that the programmes are targeted at the poor should be interpreted with care. As most of the participants were mothers it is understandable that most of them would have benefited from the vulnerable group and school feeding programmes.

This group was followed by the single mothers who benefited from the *orphan care programme*. The number of families that had benefited from this programme was one fifth of the participants interviewed. BIDPA (2013) points out that the definition used for orphans and vulnerable children in

Botswana is quite narrow and leaves out a lot of children who could be benefiting from this programme. Three (3) participants and their families had benefited from the *old age pension scheme*. Like the school feeding programme, the old age pension scheme is an inclusive programme that caters for all people regardless of their economic status. Since the sample population interviewed was more youthful, this could be the reason why they and their families had not benefited from this programme.

Only two participants had benefited from the *Ipelegeng Public Works Programme*, which was odd given the high unemployment rate of the participants interviewed. The Ipelegeng Programme is a public works, labour intensive programme which targets adults who are 18 years and above. The objective of the programme is to provide short-term employment to unskilled and semi-skilled labour (Ntseane & Mupedziswa, 2013). Since the participants are in need of work, are not skilled and are 18 years and above, the expectation is that a programme such as Ipelegeng would be able to assist them as it was designed for this target group. It has been reported that, whereas there is a demand for the programme in rural areas, there has been an excess supply of slots in Gaborone (BIDPA, 2013). The low pay of the programme of P480 per month (approximately US\$50) could be contributing to the low uptake of the programme by the participants.

Two had benefited from the *HIV and AIDS-related services*. The HIV and AIDS-related services were defined broadly to encompass services aimed at prevention of HIV infection, HIV testing and care; treatment and support; discrimination and stigma; and research and legislative and ethical considerations as outlined in National Policy on HIV and AIDS (GoB, 2012). Due to the stigma attached to the HIV and AIDS pandemic, the participants may have withheld information on benefiting from these programmes.

Only one participant indicated that they had benefited from the *Destitute Person Programme*. As outlined in the National Policy for Destitute Persons (GOB, 2002) the aim of the programme is to ensure that government provides minimum assistance to the genuine destitute persons to safeguard their good health and welfare and to also systematically tackle poverty. Concern has been raised since 2008 about the increasing number of people who were benefiting from this programme, as the programme could have produced a latent effect of dependency among beneficiaries who were not graduating from the programme, as had been hoped (BIDPA, 2013). The government decided in 2009 that "able bodied" destitute persons who were benefiting under this programme would be transferred to the Ipelegeng Public Works Programme and that, going forward, the programme would target individuals who were not able to work for themselves (BIDPA, 2013). A number of people were thus transferred from this programme to the Ipelegeng Public Works Programme. This policy direction

could explain why the single mothers who are unemployed and dependent on other people were not benefiting from the Destitute Persons programme.

None of the participants or their families had benefited from the *Community Home-based Care* (*CHBC*) programme and the Back to School Programme. The CHBC programme was meant to allow HIV-positive persons with full-blown AIDS and other terminally ill diseases an opportunity to have enhanced nutrition and care in their homes so that they would have dignity to the end (BIDPA, 2013). The families providing care for the patients were to be assisted with funds ranging from P200 to P1500 to provide for the needs of the patient (BIDPA, 2013). Even though all the participants had indicated that they had experienced long illnesses and death in their families, none of them had benefited from this programme. Seleka et al. (2007) found that CHBC benefitted non-poor people more. This, they assumed, could have been due to the lack of adequate information regarding this programme, or that potential beneficiaries did not enrol in it due to a number of other factors (Seleka et al., 2007).

The *Back to School Programme* targeted school-going children who could have dropped out of school for any reason to enable them to go back to resume their studies. This programme is especially beneficial for adolescent mothers who may have had to drop out of school due to pregnancy (Molosiwa & Meswela, 2012). As discussed in Chapter three the Botswana Education Act (1978) section 34 states that a pupil who becomes pregnant while still at school has to be withdrawn from school and return one calendar year after cessation of pregnancy, subject to the written approval of the Minister. Administrative changes that have been made but have not been incorporated into the law yet allow the girl-child to return to her former school after having been certified fit by a medical doctor (Molosiwa & Meswela, 2012). None of the single mothers interviewed or their families had benefited from this programme.

4.7.2.6 Single Mothers' Experiences of the Social Support Provided by Government

The single mothers were asked about their experience with the support they got from government. Most of the participants acknowledged the government efforts, saying that the government has really assisted them or those in need. In emphasising that what the government was doing was helpful, the participants said the following;

The government is <u>really helping</u>, it is trying. If it wasn't for the government we <u>would be</u> <u>really struggling</u>. (Puso e a thusa, e a leka tota, fa e ne e se ka yone re kabo re tshwaragane le bothata.)

The assistance I received in exemption for paying for my child's school fees <u>was helpful</u>. (Thuso e ke e boneng ya gore ke seka ka duelela ngwana school fees e nthusitse fela thata.)

The support is <u>essential</u> in that it provides food and money we need as a family. (Thuso ya teng e botlhokwa ka gore e re fa dijo le madi a re a tlhokang mo lapeng.)

The Ipelegeng program is <u>really helpful</u> especially that it is <u>difficult to secure jobs.</u> (Lenaneo la Ipelegeng le botlhokwa bogolo that aka gore ga gona ditiro malatsi ano.)

HIV and AIDS-related services are also <u>helpful</u> as the <u>medication is given for free.</u> (Mananeo a mogare a a thusa ka gore melemo e hiwa mahala.)

The theme emanating from these narratives is that the government assistance is essential, helpful and has assisted the participants with their social support needs. The findings of this study echoes the sentiments expressed by the respondents in the study carried out by Seleka et al. (2007) that recorded respondents being of the opinion that the objectives of most social safety nets in general were being met. Though the participants were appreciative of the efforts rendered by government, they also made suggestions regarding areas that needed to be improved. These include increasing the amount of money paid in the Ipelegeng Public Works Programme and improving the speed and efficiency with which government processes their requests for assistance.

4.7.2.7 Other Forms of Social Support that can be Provided by Government

The participants were asked whether there was anything else that the government could do to assist them as single mothers living in Old Naledi. All the participants had ideas and suggestions on how government social assistance programmes could be improved and strengthened and on programmes that could be developed and implemented to help them as single mothers in Old Naledi. The participants provided suggestions regarding the improvement or implementation of programmes and the creation of new programmes and job opportunities that could benefit them.

Table 4.20: Social Support that can be Provided by Government

Theme: Social Support Provided by Government		
Sub-theme	Category	Narratives
Sub-theme Social Support that can be Provided by Government	Implementation	"The government should speed up the implementation of programs." (puso e tshwanetse go hehogele thuso ya mananeo) "They should speed up delivery of services to the people". (Ba tshwanetse ba hehogela go tisa maneneo mo bathong) "We have been waiting for reply from the offices responsible but to date they have not done anything, not even assessments." (Re sala re emetse phetolo mo bodireding le gompieno ga re ise re e bone, le fa e le di-assessment tota ga di ise di dirwe) "The Poverty Eradication Initiatives must be implemented well so that they can benefit us." (Mananeo
	Improvement	a nyeletso lehuma a tshwanetse a tlhoafalelwa a dirwa ka botlalo gore a re tswele mosola) "Government employees do not do their job well, they must be trained so that they can do their job satisfactorily." (Babereki ga ba dire tiro ka bonokopila, ba tshwanetse ba trainiwa gore ba dire tiro ya bone sentle) "They need to improve the reach of the programmes
	of Programmes	because we as a family have not benefited. There are poverty eradication initiatives, but even in those we have not received any assistance." (Ba tshwanetse ba atolosa maneneo ka gore rona mo lapeng ga re ise re ke re thuswe ke puso. Gompieno gatwe go na le maneneo a nyeletso lehuma mme le one re ntse ga re ise re bone thuso ep emo go one)
	New Initiatives	The Children should be given a social grant just like the elderly people." (Bana a ba phakisiwe hela jaaka bagodi ba tlhola ba phakisiwa kgwedi le kgwedi) "The govt can specifically provide me with assistance to go back to school, I need someone to look after my child when I go to school or to work. They should provide more child care support to us." (Goromente o ka nthusa gore ke boele sekolong. Ke tlhoka y o ka ntshalelang le ngwana ga ke boela sekolong kana key a go batla tiro) "Government can help with child care support. Creating jobs and assisting us to secure these. There is also need to improve the work security for those who work as maids or home helpers." (Puso e ka thusa ka tlhokomelo ya bana. Ba ka thama le mebereko e be ba re thusa gore re e bone. Ba tshwanetse gape ba thokahatsa dipaka tsa meberoko ya batho ba ba berekang mo dijarateng) "The government needs to develop programs that can assist us young people without school qualifications". (Goromente o tshwanetse a thama mananeo a a thusang rona banana ba ba senang ditlankana)

Implementation of Programmes and Initiatives

The participants stated that there is need to implement the existing programmes in an effective and efficient manner. To improve *efficiency*, the participants recommended that the government should ensure *speedy implementation* of its programmes and initiatives. To address the *effectiveness* of the government programmes and initiatives, the participants said that the government must *implement* its programmes and initiatives *properly*. The participants said that there is need for government employees responsible for implementation of the programmes to do so properly and that these employees should be trained so that they can be equipped to deliver the services to the people properly. In the study carried out by Seleka et al. (2007), implementing capacity was also highlighted as an area that needed to be improved in order to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of providing social safety to the public. The capacity to implement was said to be hampered by shortage of staff and the heavy workload of social workers (Seleka et al., 2007).

Improvement of the Programmes

The central theme emerging from responses regarding the improvement of programmes is that there is a need to improve the *targeting* to ensure that *deserving individuals* benefit. The participants said that the programmes and initiatives could be reviewed so that they could benefit them as well. Challenges associated with poor targeting of some government social assistance programmes have been noted in existing literature (Seleka et al., 2007; Botswana Institute of Development and Policy Analysis, 2013). Seleka et al. (2007) found that 20% of the beneficiaries interviewed in their study felt that the social safety nets did not always target the right people. Key respondents in that study confirmed this and highlighted that there was a lot of political interference in the registration of potential beneficiaries which at times resulted in registering individuals who were not eligible (Seleka et al., 2007). The study also found that the social support nets in place had a combined coverage ratio of 19 percent, which meant that 81 percent of deserving households were not covered. The need to improve reach and coverage of government assistance programmes and initiatives is therefore crucial.

New initiatives

New initiatives were also proposed by the participants. These they felt could help them and improve their welfare and that of their families. Some of the *new initiatives* proposed, as presented in Table 4.20, are that the government should *assist single mothers with child care* support which could be in the form of a *social grant* or it could be *child care services* so that they would be able to find jobs. The single mothers also suggested that government should *create more job opportunities* and address the high unemployment rate, as well as develop new programmes that could assist young people like them who lack certain qualifications.

Other issues recommended by the participants were that government should *improve working conditions* of low income earners' especially for home helpers or housemaids. They also suggested that government should address the issue of *land ownership* which is an impediment to them benefiting from some programmes. Enforcement of maintenance court orders was also highlighted as an area that government needed to improve.

4.8 SPECIAL SOCIAL SUPPORT FOR SINGLE MOTHERS

Participants were asked to suggest a special form of social support that could be provided to single mothers in Old Naledi. Table 4.21 presents their responses.

Table 4.21: Special Social Support for Single Mothers in Old Naledi

Theme: Special Social Support for Single Mothers			
Sub-theme	Category	Narratives	
Emotional	Guidance and advice	"A program to assist single mothers and to give them guidance and advice." (Lenaneo le le ka fang bomme ba ba sa nyalwang dikgakololo)	
		"A program to <u>advise</u> single mothers on how to help their children and how to raise them properly." (Lenaneo le le ka gakololang bomme ba ba sa nyalwang ka fa b aka thusang ban aba bone ka teng le ka fa ba ka ba godisang sentle ka teng)	
Instrumental	Child care support	"They should give single mothers money to help raise their children. They will need to assess to determine who should benefit." (Ba tshwanetse ba fa bomme b aba nyalwang dithuso tsa madi gore ba kgone go godisa bana. Ba ka assess go bona gore ke bo mang ba ba ka qualifying)	
		"A grant for needy single mothers. The grant can be used by the parents to assist their children." (Lenaneo le le ka thusang bomme ba ba sa nywalwang mme ba tlhoka ka madi. Madi a teng a ka dirisawa ke bomme ba teng go tlamela bana ka one)	
		"They should help us to <u>pay for school fees</u> , <u>child care</u> <u>support</u> and providing school uniform." (Ba tshwanetse gore thusa go duela school fees, le dithuso hela tsa go godisa bana le go re thusa ka di-uniform tsa sekolo)	
	Job creation	"The government can assist single mothers to find jobs." (Puso e tshwanetse ya thisa bomme ba ba sa nywalwang gore ba bone ditiro)	
		"Creating jobs that can sustain us. They can also create initiative or programs for young people." (Ka go thama mebereko ee ka re tshetsang. Gape b aka dira maneneo a banana)	
		"Help us <u>find jobs</u> , even part time jobs for single mothers." (Ba ka re thusa gore re bone mebereko le ha e le ya part time)	
Informational and Appraisal		"Need to provide more information to the people on government initiatives and job opportunities so that people are aware of them." (Ba tshwanetse ba re fa information ka mananeo a puso le ka ditirogore re nne re itse)	

4.8.1 Emotional Support

The participants stated that they would like to have a special programme to provide them with *guidance and advice*. Some said that the advice and guidance could focus on *how to raise children properly*. As discussed in Chapter two emotional support involves the provision of empathy, love, trust and care (House, 1981; Thoits, 1995; Keating-Lefler et al., 2004). Emotional support therefore goes beyond just the provision of information; it also requires an emotional impact with this support. Three quarters of the participants had indicated that they needed someone to talk to when asked what

their emotional support needs were. Given the potential benefits that accrue due to emotional support such as boosting self-esteem, making one feeling valued, cared for and accepted, provision of social support to single mothers who need it is essential. The participants indicated that one of their stressors with regard to parenthood concerned guiding and disciplining their children. Their need for emotional support that could enhance their ability to perform this role is one that should be met at all levels from the micro system to the macro system.

4.8.2 Instrumental Support

The majority of the participants suggested that programmes that provided instrumental support should be put in place. These were to address the two *broad areas of child care support* and *job creation*. Under child care the participants advocated for the provision of a *social grant* to assist the single mothers with the *care and nurturing of their children*. With regard to *job creation*, the participants highlighted the need for the government to *assist them to find jobs* and to create jobs that can help sustain them and their families. The two issues of child care support and job opportunities presented by participants are linked in that some participants were unable to work because they did not have anyone to help them look after their children when they went to work. But the participants also highlighted that they needed jobs in order to provide for their children. Broussard et al. (2012) found that the absence of safe, reliable, affordable care hinders low-income mothers' sustained participation in the workforce. It is important for single mothers to work so that they can earn their own money and be able to address stressors such as poverty and its related effects. Instrumental support should therefore be availed to single mothers in low-income urban communities.

4.8.3 Informational and Appraisal Support

A tenth of the participants said that they needed informational and appraisal support. The informational support they needed was provision of information on *government initiatives* and *job opportunities*. The provision of informational support to single mothers is important as it can ensure the effective use of the available support from non-governmental organisations and government programmes and initiatives. Appraisal support is also necessary as it could enable participants to evaluate themselves and how they are progressing in different areas of their lives.

4.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented and discussed the findings on the *social support needs* of single mothers using the four ecological systems advanced by Bronfenbrenner (1977). At the microsystems level the single mothers indicated their emotional need as needing someone that they could talk to from time to time. Their instrumental needs were articulated as the need for jobs so that they could earn money to provide for their families. The participants identified their informational and appraisal needs as the

need for information on job opportunities and government assistance programmes and initiatives, which was in line with their instrumental support needs.

The findings of the study indicate that the social support available for single mothers at the *microsystem level* came from their families, followed by neighbours and friends and that the single mothers were able to receive this social support from these people. For emotional support, the single mothers relied more on their families and had reservations in getting that support from friends and neighbours. The same result was also found with regard to instrumental and informational and appraisal support. The reasons for the single mothers not getting much support from their friends and neighbours were because they did not have friends and that they did not relate with their neighbours in a way that could facilitate this support. As for emotional support, most single mothers felt that they could not trust their friends with their personal information because they believed that this information could be used to demean them. Participants also received social support from social groups that provided them with emotional, instrumental and informational and appraisal support. Close to half of the participants did not belong to any social group, however, and as such did not benefit from the social support provided at this level.

At the *macro level*, a large majority of the respondents (90%) indicated that they did not receive any support from NGOs. The findings therefore show that NGOs were the least relevant in terms of provision of social support to the interviewed single mothers. Regarding social support provided by government, the single mothers had knowledge of the social assistance programmes and initiatives of government and most them had benefited from them, either directly or indirectly through a family member. The single mothers commended the support they got from government and provided suggestions on how the provision of the social support could be improved. The participants indicated that there is a need to improve the implementation of government programmes and initiatives, and a need to improve the programmes to ensure a wider reach. New initiatives that could assist single mothers were also proposed and these included the provision of child care support in the form of a grant or child care services so that the mothers could find jobs knowing their children were taken care of; the creation of job opportunities; improving the working conditions of low-income earners; and enforcement of maintenance court orders. In the end, participants suggested special programmes that could be put in place to support single mothers living in low-income communities.

These programmes would address the four social support needs of emotional support, instrumental support and informational and appraisal support. Under emotional support, participants suggested that single mothers should be assisted with advice and guidance, especially on how to raise children properly. For instrumental support participants suggested that they be assisted with child care support

and job creation. For instrumental and informational needs, participants suggested that information on government initiatives and job opportunities should be availed to single mothers in Old Naledi.

Chapter Five

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Rapid urbanisation has been documented in many African countries including Botswana (Mosha, 1996; Hope, 1998; Gwebu, 2012). The migration of people from the rural areas to the urban areas has been cited as one of the major contributors to this rapid urbanisation (Hope, 1998). Urbanisation has brought with it challenges such as urban poverty, which were not that common before. Poverty in the urban areas has been on the rise in Botswana (Statistics Botswana, 2011). Female-headed households have been identified as one of the groups that have been affected by poverty in Botswana (BIDPA, 2008). The manifestations of urban poverty and the coping mechanism of people affected by it have not been studied as much as rural poverty in Botswana. This study was therefore undertaken for this reason and from the need to contribute to knowledge regarding the social support needs of single mothers in low-income communities, using the Old Naledi community in Gaborone, Botswana as a reference point. The aim of this study thus was to gain a deeper understanding of the social support needs of single mothers in low-income urban communities. The findings of this study, which are limited to the specific sampled population, serve as an account of the views of the single mothers living in such low-income areas and can be used to inform family interventions in low-income urban communities in Botswana.

To achieve the aim of the study, four objectives were developed and these were addressed throughout the study. Objective one, which was to explain the potential stressors experienced by single mothers in low-income urban communities and their social support needs, was addressed in Chapter two in which the potential stressors and social support needs of single mothers living in low-income urban communities were explained. The ecological systems perspective, the lifespan theory and the social support theory were used to explain these needs and stressors. In Chapter three, objective two, which was to describe the social support available for single mothers in low-income urban communities from an ecological systems perspective, was addressed. This chapter focused on describing and exploring the social support provided to single mothers in low-income urban communities at present. Social support provided at the different ecological systems of micro- and macrosystem levels were explored. The literature review reported in Chapters two and three presented the basis for the empirical study which was conducted and the findings were discussed in Chapter four. This chapter thus addressed the objective three of the study, which was to investigate the views of single mothers in a low-income urban community regarding their stressors and social support needs.

Following on what has been discussed in the preceding chapters, this chapter, Chapter five addresses the remaining objective, which is to draw conclusions and make recommendations for further research and future social work practice with single mothers living in low-income urban communities. Conclusions from the study were drawn and recommendations made from the information gathered through the literature review and the empirical investigation. These conclusions and recommendation will be discussed in line with the objectives of the study and the themes investigated. The conclusions will be discussed and this discussion will be followed by the corresponding recommendations as per the outline presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Conclusions and Recommendations from the Study

Objectives	Conclusions and Recommendation
Objective 1	Profile of the participants
	Stressors
To explain the potential stressors	Place of residence or Neighbourhood
experienced by single mothers in low- income urban communities and their social	Parenthood
support needs.	Poverty
	Overcrowding
	Crime levels and exposure to violence
	Illness and death
	Social Support Needs
	Emotional support needs
	Instrumental support needs
	Informational and appraisal support needs
Objective 2 To describe the social support available for	Social support provided at the microsystems level
single mothers in low-income urban	Family
communities from an ecological systems	Friends
perspective	Neighbours
	Social Groups
	Social support provided at the macrosystems level
	Non-Governmental Organisations
	Government
Objective 3	Microsystems level
To investigate the views of single mothers in	-Family
a low-income urban community on their <i>stressors</i> and social support needs	-Friends
stressors and social support needs	- Neighbours
	-Social Groups
	Macro-systems level
	- Non-Governmental-Organisations
	- Government

5.2 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusions and recommendations are based on the empirical findings of the study. The presentation of the conclusions and recommendations follow the same outline as that presented in Chapter four. The section will thus cover conclusions regarding the profile of the participants using

their identifying information; stressors experienced by single mothers living in low-income communities; social support available for single mothers; and social support needs of single mothers in low-income communities. The recommendations will be presented following the conclusions for each section. This is to allow for ease of flow of ideas and understanding.

5.3 PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS

The participants who were interviewed were aged between 20 and 50 years, with the majority between 26 and 35 years of age. Most of them were in a relationship even though they were not married. The majority had reached junior secondary educational level and had stayed in Old Naledi for more than one year. Half of the participants had stayed in Old Naledi for more than 10 years. Half of the participants were unemployed and depended on their families and partners for economic sustenance, while the remaining half was either employed in low-income jobs or running low-income businesses. The majority of the participants had a monthly household income ranging from P500 to P2500 (US\$50 to US\$250), which was below the national average. Their households comprised an average of 5.9 persons, which was higher than the national average of 4.1.4 persons, and they had an average of two children per participant, which is almost the same as the national average of 1.86 children.

From this description it can be concluded that the single mothers living in the low-income community of Old Naledi who were interviewed were young adults with low educational levels, who had been living in Old Naledi for more than a year. They were either unemployed, working in low-income jobs or running low-income businesses. The high number of people in their households depended on a monthly household income that ranged between P500 and P2500 (US\$ 50-US\$250). These single mothers an average of two children who mostly were living with them.

5.4 STRESSORS EXPERIENCED BY SINGLE MOTHERS LIVING IN LOW-INCOME URBAN COMMUNITIES

Six stressors were identified and discussed in the previous chapters. These stressors were the place of residence or neighbourhood of the single mothers, parenthood, poverty, overcrowding, crime and criminal activities, and illness and death. The conclusions reached regarding these stressors are discussed below and recommendations are made.

5.4.1 Place of Residence or Neighbourhood as a Stressor

The majority of the participants were living in Old Naledi because it was their home or because they were staying with someone. Their experiences of Old Naledi were varied, with most participants reporting negative experiences of the place. Their negative experiences included the lack of job opportunities; high crime rates and criminal activities; lots of drinking places (shebeens); and the

unruly behaviour of the people in Old Naledi. Some participants reported positive experiences which were centred on the cheap low of commodities and the affordability of things in Old Naledi. Challenges experienced by single mothers included overcrowding; poor sanitation; crime and criminal activities; lots of drinking places and associated noise.

It can be concluded that Old Naledi as a place of residence is a stressor for the single mothers as it exposes them to the negative experiences listed by the participants.

It can also be concluded that there is low upward mobility from the low-income to middle- and higher-income areas, as demonstrated by the number of people born in Old Naledi who are still staying there. The five factors identified by Parkes et al. (2002) regarding why individuals would be satisfied with their neighbourhoods could have a bearing on why these single mothers were not inclined to move from this neighbourhood. These factors are individual resources; neighbourhood resources and reputation; exposure to problems; attachment or social interaction; and neighbourhood expectations. Individual resources seem to be a superseding factor over neighbourhood resources and reputation, as well as exposure to problems, as the participants continued to stay despite the lack of neighbourhood resources, the bad reputation of the place and the exposure to crime that accompanied living in this area. It can thus be concluded that, for people who stay in Old Naledi, issues of affordability and social interaction (as most were living with their families and friends) play a significant role in deciding whether to stay or leave an area.

5.4.1.1 Challenges faced by single mothers in relation to their environment

The biggest challenge identified by the single mothers in relation to their environment was that of crime and criminal activity, which the majority of the single mothers said, was a challenge. The other challenges concerned overcrowding and poor sanitation.

It can be concluded that crime and criminal activities present a challenge for single mothers staying in low-income urban communities.

5.4.1.2 Recommendations

Based on these conclusions, it is recommended that interventions should be instituted at all levels (from the microsystems level to the macrosystems level) to address the negative attributes of the environment in Old Naledi.

At the *microsystems* level, single mothers should be encouraged to use the available opportunities to develop their skills and enhance their chances of getting jobs and improving their standard of living. Families and friends should assist the single mothers through the provision of emotional and instrumental support to enable these mothers to develop themselves and to find meaningful employment to provide for themselves and their families.

Social workers and other community development practitioners should work with the single mothers, their families and the community to build on the positive factors identified by participants so that the positive attributes in Old Naledi are not lost and the negative aspects of the place are addressed. This intervention should be aimed at ensuring that the place of residence or the environment that the single mothers reside in enhances their livelihood and their social welfare.

At the *mesosytems level*, social workers should facilitate the interaction of different stakeholders in the community to address the negative factors of the high crime rate, the unregulated drinking places and noise emanating from them by involving the community leadership; different community organizations and groups; and the community itself to make the place safe and enhance the fit of the single mothers and their families in their environment.

At the *macrosystems level*, policies and laws should be put in place and enforced so as to address the high crime rate and the criminal activities in the area and to regulate the many drinking places found in the area. Noise pollution can also be addressed through the intervention of the police and enforcement of laws and regulations on the opening and closing times of the drinking places. Government should also continue its endeavours to reduce congestion in Old Naledi and provide social services.

Social workers in the community should advocate for the implementation and development of policies and programmes to improve the environment in Old Naledi.

Social workers, community development workers, NGOs and government should also increase efforts to develop the skills of the single mothers in order to improve their chances of getting jobs and to help them grow their businesses.

5.4.2 Parenthood as a Stressor

Single mothers in Old Naledi stated that they had child care support from their families, friends and their other children. Among those who provided them with child care support were the fathers of their children, even though they were not married. The single mothers' experiences in raising children in Old Naledi were mostly negative. The participants felt strongly that raising children in Old Naledi was a challenge as the environment had a negative influence on the children. The most challenging aspect about raising children in Old Naledi was identified as that of guiding and disciplining the children and negative peer pressure from the friends.

It can be concluded that families and fathers provide child care support to single mothers. Fathers provide social support, even though they are not married to the single mothers. It can also be concluded that single mothers in low-income urban communities face challenges while raising their

children in such environments, and that single mothers felt challenged in guiding and disciplining their children.

5.4.2.1 Recommendations

It is recommended that family members and fathers who provide child care support to single mothers should be encouraged to continue doing this.

Social workers should work with the single mothers and develop interventions that can equip single mothers with what they need to do to raise their children properly and help them overcome the negativity developed by their environment such as negative peer influence and lack of positive role models.

In addressing the challenges of parenthood in low-income communities, social workers should approach intervention from a holistic angle. Social workers can provide psycho-social interventions with single mothers and individual members of their families (at an individual level), then extend intervention to the family level. They can further facilitate interventions at the community and national level to help address the challenges experienced by single mothers, taking into account that the different ecological system has a bearing on the outcome of how the single mothers raise their children.

5.4.3 Poverty as a Stressor

Poverty is a challenge in Old Naledi and has been confirmed as a stressor in interviews with single mothers. The majority of the single mothers indicated that poverty affected them materially, while close to a quarter of them said poverty affected them emotionally. Those who were affected materially ascribed it to the lack of jobs while who that were affected emotionally said poverty affected them indirectly when they witnessed other people suffering and in need while being unable to assist them. Because they could not help these people due to their own lack of means, these single mothers said that they felt helpless and the situation then affected them emotionally. However, close to a quarter of the participants denied that there was poverty in Old Naledi; as such it did not affect them.

Based on these findings, it is concluded that poverty had an emotional and material effect on the single mothers, but that some single mothers in Old Naledi were not affected by poverty.

5.4.3.1 Recommendations

It is recommended that social workers should provide emotional support to single mothers in order to help them cope with the negative stress brought about by witnessing poverty in their communities.

Social workers, community leadership and the national leadership should intensify efforts aimed at alleviating poverty in low-income urban communities.

Instrumental support should be provided according to their needs for families that are in need. To this end social workers need to conduct appropriate assessments to ascertain the need of each family and assist them accordingly.

5.4.4 Crime and Criminal Activities as Stressors

Participants indicated that crime and criminal activities affected them emotionally and materially. More than a half of the participants indicated that crime and criminal activities affected them emotionally; others were affected materially. Those who were affected emotionally indicated that they lived in fear for their safety and the safety of their children. Those who were affected materially said that their belongings were at times stolen from their homes and from their businesses which always set them back economically.

It can therefore be concluded that crime and criminal activities had a negative effect on the single mothers' lives. It is also concluded that crime and criminal activities affected the single mothers emotionally and materially.

5.4.4.1 Recommendations

It is recommended that the police, social workers, community leadership and the community should work together to address the crime and criminal activities found in Old Naledi to help make the place safe for all its people, especially the single mothers.

5.4.5 Illness and Death

All the participants had experienced long illness and / or death of a family member. The single mothers indicated that illness and death of a family member had affected them emotionally and materially. Participants were affected emotionally when family members became ill and later passed on as they had harboured the hope that they would get better. Some lost their sources of social support through illness and death while others were not told about the illness of a family member and were affected emotionally when they found out. Illness and death of family members also affected single mothers materially: the illness or death of a family member who was a source of instrumental support for them added further strain to their lives because they had to do without that support.

From these findings it can be concluded that illness and death are a reality for single mothers living in Old Naledi and that illness and death of a family member affected single mothers emotionally and materially.

5.4.5.1 Recommendations

It is recommended that health workers in low-income communities provide awareness campaigns in the communities to educate people about various illnesses and the precautions people should take to protect themselves against these. Provision of information would hopefully assist members of the community to make decisions that promote their health and wellbeing and reduce morbidity and mortality rates in these areas.

A further recommendation is for social workers to assist single mothers to cope better and to find different ways of doing things after the death of a family member.

5.5 SOCIAL SUPPORT NEEDS OF SINGLE MOTHERS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT AVAILABLE AT THE MICROSYSTEMS LEVEL

The study explored the social support needs of single mothers and social support available to single mothers in low-income areas. The needs that were focused on were emotional support needs, instrumental support needs and informational and appraisal support needs.

5.5.1 Emotional Support Needs

Three quarters of the single mothers identified their emotional support needs as the need to talk to someone, someone who could encourage them and support them emotionally, especially when they felt stressed or overwhelmed. One quarter of the participants reported did not have any emotional support need.

5.5.1.1 Emotional Support Available for Single Mothers at the Microsystems level

Almost all the single mothers received emotional support from different members of their *families*. This was given to them through talking to them and encouraging them when they felt overwhelmed. While three quarters of the single mothers received no emotional support from their *friends*, one quarter of the participants did get emotional support from friends. The reasons for not getting emotional support included that they did not have friends or did not trust their friends enough to confide in them. Support from friends came through talking about the difficulties they were facing or when they needed someone to talk to. One third of the participants received emotional support from their neighbours while two thirds did not received any emotional support. The single mothers who received emotional support were able to talk to their neighbours and confide in them. The majority who did not get emotional support from their neighbours said this was because the relationship was not close enough to allow for that type of interaction and that they did not trust the neighbours with their issues. Close to half of the participants did not belong to any social group and therefore did not get emotional support through this avenue. Two fifths of those who belonged to social groups had received emotional support from the group, while one fifth was yet to get this support.

The conclusion is that single mothers have emotional support needs and that families are the biggest providers of emotional support to single mothers at the microsystems level. It can also be concluded that most single mothers do not get emotional support from friends and neighbours due to lack of

trust and the absence of relationships that allow for the provision and acceptance of this social support. The other conclusion that can be drawn is that a significant number of single mothers did not belong to social groups and so did not have access to this emotional support. Those who belonged to social groups received this emotional support or knew that they could get it should they ever need it.

5.5.1.2 Recommendations

Families should be encouraged to keep supporting each other by providing emotional support to single mothers, especially when in need.

Single mothers should be encouraged to join social groups so that they could have such emotional support provided by these groups.

5.5.2 Instrumental Support Needs of Single Mothers

Three quarters of the single mothers identified their instrumental support needs as the need for jobs and the need for money to provide for themselves and their families. A quarter of the single mothers said that they did not have any instrumental support need.

5.5.2.1 Instrumental Support Available for Single Mothers at the Microsystems level

More than two thirds of the single mothers who were interviewed relied on instrumental support from their *family* members. This took the form of accommodation, food, child care and other material support. A significant number of fathers provided instrumental support to single mothers. Less than one third received no instrumental support from their families as they were the ones providing this support.

Slightly more than half of the participants received instrumental support from their *friends*. This mostly concerned financial aid which came through mutual aid societies and through lending each other money. Less than half did not get instrumental support from their friends because they did not have the kind of relationships that allowed for the provision and acceptance of instrumental support.

The majority of the participants did not get instrumental support from their *neighbours*. The few that had instrumental support received it in the form of financial aid by lending each other money and assisting each other with food stuff when there was a need. The reason why the majority did not receive support from their neighbours was because the single mothers did not have close relations with their neighbours, which would have allowed for provision and acceptance of instrumental support.

Slightly more than half the participants belonged to a social group while less than half did not. Two fifths of the participants got instrumental support from social groups in the form of financial aid given when a member is going through challenges such as death of a family member. Close to one fifth had not had not yet received instrumental support from their social groups, but they knew that was

available, should they ever need it. Unlike support from family, friend and neighbours, the instrumental support provided by social groups is provided when need arises, which happens once in a while and is therefore not provided all the time.

Based on these findings it is concluded that single mothers in Old Naledi have instrumental support needs in the form of jobs and money to provide for their families. It is also concluded that most single mothers received their instrumental support from their families, followed by friends, then from neighbours. It is also concluded that social groups would be a good source of instrumental support for single mothers if all of them were to become members of these.

5.5.2.2 Recommendations

There is need to assist single mothers in their instrumental support needs, especially with jobs and financial aid.

The community leadership, social workers and other stakeholders should encourage single mothers to join social groups so that they can have access to the social support that these groups offer.

5.5.3 Informational and Appraisal Support Needs

All the single mothers indicated that they have informational and appraisal support needs. These needs were identified as the need for information about job opportunities and government initiatives aimed at empowering citizens, information on financial management, relationships and any general information that may be useful to them.

5.5.3.1 Informational and Appraisal Support Available to Single Mothers at the Microsystems Level

The majority of the single mothers said that their *families* provided in their informational and appraisal support needs. Different family members provided information on relationships, financial management and other useful information.

Three fifths of the single mothers said that they got informational and appraisal support regarding information on relationships; different opportunities; information on how they could improve their livelihoods; and general information in the public domain from their *friends*. Two fifths of the participants did not get any informational and appraisal support from friends. Unlike with emotional support, where only a quarter of the single mothers were supported, three fifths of the participants, therefore more than half, received informational and appraisal support .

The majority (more than half) of the participants did not get informational and appraisal support from their *neighbours*, while less than half of the participants got this support from their neighbours. The informational and appraisal support they received concerned current information and information from the public domain. The majority who did not get informational and appraisal support from their

neighbours indicated that this was because their relationship with them did not facilitate that type of interaction.

One third of the single mothers indicated that their *social groups* provided informational and appraisal support. The informational and appraisal support provided was in line with the mandate of the group – youth groups provide information on youth-related matters whereas church groups provided information on church-related matters. A few who belonged to social groups had not yet received any informational or appraisal support from these groups. Close to half of the single mothers did not belong to any social group and therefore did not get this support.

From these findings it can be concluded that all the single mothers had informational and appraisal support needs which is needed for improving their welfare. The single mothers got most of their informational and appraisal support from their families and their friends and not from their neighbours. It can also be concluded that social groups are necessary for providing informational and appraisal support to single mothers regarding specific issues related to the mandates of those groups.

5.5.3.2 Recommendations

Informational and appraisal support should be provided to all single mothers on various topics depending on the needs of the mothers.

Single mothers should be encouraged to seek information from relevant bodies in order to meet their informational needs.

The community leadership, social workers and other stakeholders should encourage single mothers to join social groups in order to benefit from the support provided by these groups. The single mothers could join groups that would allow their needs to be met.

5.6 SOCIAL SUPPORT NEEDS OF SINGLE MOTHERS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT AVAILABLE AT THE MACROSYSTEMS LEVEL

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the social support available to single mothers, the study also explored the social support available to single mothers at the macrosystems level. The focus of this study was on the social support provided by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and that provided by government.

5.6.1 Single Mothers Receiving Social Support from NGOs

The single mothers, with the exception of two (2), did not get support from NGOs. The reason for this low provision of social support to single mothers by NGOs could be linked to the lack of vibrancy and effectiveness of NGOs in fulfilling their mandate that has been observed in the NGO sector in

Botswana (Lekorwe & Mpabanga, 2007). These factos have compromised the NGOs and rendered them weak and unable to fulfill their mandate (Lekorwe & Mpabanga, 2007).

5.6.1.1 Social Support Provided by NGOs

One of the two single mothers who had received support from NGOs indicated that this was informational support from the organisation with which she had interacted, while the other one received emotional support provided through counselling sessions, instrumental support when she was given clothes for her and her children, and informational and appraisal support.

It can therefore be concluded that almost all of the single mothers did not get social support from the NGOs.

5.6.1.2 Recommendations

NGOs should provide social support to single mothers in low-income urban communities as there is a need for their services, given the stressors that the single mothers have to contend with in that environment. Different NGOs should provide different services to single mothers to augment the social support these mothers receive from the microsystems level.

5.6.2 Social Support Provided by Government

The study explored the social support provided by government and whether single mothers benefited from this. The study also explored the experiences and views of single mothers on the social support provided by government.

5.6.2.1 Knowledge of Social Support provided by Government

The participants almost invariably knew of the social assistance programmes and initiatives provided by government. All of them knew of the HIV and AIDS-related services offered, the orphan care, vulnerable group and school feeding programmes, the old age pension scheme, the Ipelegeng Public Works Programme, community home-based care, and the back to school programme for school-going children; nineteen of the 20 participants knew of the destitute persons programme. Other initiatives that the participants knew were the poverty eradication initiatives and exemption from paying school fees for families in need.

From these findings it can be concluded that single mothers are aware of the social assistance programmes and initiatives provided by government,

5.6.2.2 Single Mothers benefitting from Social Support Provided by Government

Single mothers had benefitted from most of the government social assistance programmes and initiatives. Most of the single mothers and their families had benefited from the vulnerable group and school feeding programme, followed by the orphan care programme, the old age pension scheme, the

Ipelegeng Public Works Programme, HIV and AIDS-related services and the destitute persons' programme. No one had benefited from the back to school and the community home-based care programmes. Some had benefited from other government initiatives such as the exemption from paying school fees and the poverty eradication initiatives.

It can be concluded that single mothers and their families generally did not benefit from the social assistance programmes and initiatives provided by government as less than one quarter of the participants had benefited from each of the programmes investigated, with the exception of the vulnerable group and school feeding programme in connection with which slightly more than half of the participants benefited.

5.6.2.3 Recommendations

It is recommended that social workers should work closely with single mothers to help them identify the programmes and initiatives for which they could qualify and to assist them to enrol in these programmes.

5.6.2.4 Single Mothers' Experiences of the Social Support Provided by Government

The single mothers reported positive experiences regarding the social support provided by government. They found the support essential, helpful and necessary for them and other people who have been less fortunate in life. The participants indicated, however, that the support could be improved by expediting the speed and efficiency with which government officials' process their requests for assistance and by increasing the amount of money paid in the Ipelegeng Public Works Programme.

It is as such concluded that the social assistance programmes and initiatives put in place by government are necessary as they help certain quarters within the broader society, including some single mothers and their families, to address their social support needs.

5.6.2.5 Recommendations

Government should continue providing this assistance to people who are in need.

There is need to review some of the programmes, such as the Ipelegeng Public Works Programme, by improving conditions and payment and ensuring that the programmes are attractive to young, single mothers.

5.6.2.6 Other forms of Social Support that can be provided to Single Mothers by Government

The single mothers did not only suggest new initiatives that could be put in place to assist them, but also made suggestions on how the current initiatives could be implemented so that these initiatives would be beneficial to them.

To enhance the *implementation of programmes and initiatives* the participants stated that the existing programmes need to be implemented in an effective and efficient manner. To do this, participants suggested that government should ensure speedy implementation of its programs and initiatives and should also implement programmes and initiatives properly.

According to the participants, programmes and initiatives could be improved by improving the targeting mechanism and ensuring that deserving individuals benefit. The participants said that the programmes and initiatives should be reviewed so that they can benefit them as single mothers.

The participants further suggested new initiatives that could be put in place to assist them as single mothers in a low- income community. The proposed initiatives include assisting single mothers through child care support which could be in the form of a social grant or child care services that would enable them to go and find jobs. The single mothers also suggested that government should create more job opportunities and address the high unemployment rate, as well as develop new programmes that could assist young mothers like themselves who lack certain qualifications.

In conclusion, there is need to implement government programmes and initiatives in an effective and efficient manner and to ensure that such programmes and initiatives benefit people who really need assistance. It can also be concluded that new programmes and initiatives need to be put in place to assist single mothers in low- income urban communities. These initiatives would include the provision of child care services to single mothers depending on their level of need. There is also need for the government to create more employment opportunities for single mothers, especially for young, single mothers

5.6.2.7 Recommendations

It is recommended that government put measures in place that will ensure that service delivery to single mothers and their families is rendered in an effective and efficient manner.

There is need for government to review its programmes, and whom they target, and to ensure that they target the right people, namely those who are really in need of social assistance.

It is recommended that government should provide single mothers in low-income areas with child care support to enable them to look for jobs and to be able to provide for their children.

5.6.3 Special Support for Single Mothers in Low-income Urban Communities

The participants made suggestions regarding areas in which they needed *emotional support*. They indicated that they would like to have a special programme to provide them with guidance and advice. Others suggested that the guidance and advice should focus on how to raise children properly. This would address their need for assistance when it comes to guiding and disciplining their children.

Relating to *instrumental support*, the majority of the participants suggested that programmes that focus on child care support and job creation should be put in place to assist them. Under child care, the participants specifically wanted to be provided with a social grant to assist them to take care of their children. Regarding job creation, the single mothers emphasised the need for government to create more jobs and assist them in finding these jobs so that they could provide for themselves and their families.

Under *informational and appraisal support*, the participants suggested that they should be provided with information on government initiatives and job opportunities.

From these findings it is concluded that there is a need for emotional, instrumental, informational and appraisal support for single mothers in low-income urban areas.

5.6.3.1 Recommendations

Social Workers must provide single mothers with emotional support, especially through guidance and advice on child care and other important issues that can help single mothers overcome their stressors and the challenges brought about by their environments.

It is further recommended that social workers and other community development workers should provide informational support to single mothers on government initiatives and opportunities that can enhance the wellbeing of the single mothers and their families.

5.7 FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research is necessary to gain a comprehensive understanding of the social support needs of single mothers, the social support available to them and the social support provided to single mothers in low-income communities. It is also necessary for understanding various aspects such as why the situation is as it is, why a group that is faced with many stressors and is disadvantaged by their socioeconomic profile seems to be receiving limited support, especially from the macrosystems level, the NGOs and the government. It is therefore recommended that further research be conducted with the following aims;

- To assess the level of involvement of fathers in the caring of children in low-income urban areas and how this support can be sustained even after the father is no longer in a relationship with the mother;
- To understand why there is a high number of unmarried couples in low-income urban communities;

- To gain deeper understanding of why single mothers do not receive social support from their friends and neighbours in low-income urban communities and to determine what can be done to bridge the gap; if necessary.
- To explore reasons for and gain deeper understanding of why single mothers are not members
 of social groups when they could benefit from them, by investigating challenges or
 impediments that make it difficult for them to join social groups;
- To explore why single mothers have not received social support from NGOs;
- To explore the role of NGOs in social support provision in Botswana;
- To determine why few single mothers benefit from the social assistance programmes provided by government and to determine whether the programme design prevents single mothers from benefiting or whether single mothers do not apply for assistance under these programmes and initiatives;
- To explore the challenges faced by single mothers who are raising children in low-income urban communities, including factors that influence children's behaviour in low-income communities and how these can be countered in order to provide proper guidance and support to single mothers;
- To study the feasibility of providing single mothers with child care support, the economic implications and sustainability thereof, and to determine how that can be done (administrative and implementation implications);
- To review the government programmes and initiatives that are in place and their capacity to assist single mothers in low-income urban communities to deal with their stressors and social support needs.

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ANNEXTURE 1

INFORMED CONSENT FORM



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY ANNEXURE 1: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

SOCIAL SUPPORT NEEDS OF SINGLE MOTHERS IN A LOW INCOME URBAN COMMUNITY

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Onneetse K. Makhumalo (M in Social Work), from the Social Work Department at Stellenbosch University. The results of this study will become part of thesis. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a single mother living in a low income urban community.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of the social support needs of single mothers in a low income urban community in Botswana.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

To be interviewed using a semi structured interview schedule. The interview will be conducted in either English or Setswana depending on what you will prefer. You need not indicate your name or particulars during this interview. If you consent, a voice recorded will be used during the interview. An interview schedule will be completed during the interview conducted by the student researcher.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

The study will aim to bring no harm to any of the study participants. There may be inconveniences caused to the study participants in that the participants will have to make time to be interviewed. To manage this, the interview schedule will be precise and ask only questions that are necessary.

Any uncertainties or discomforts that may be experienced during the interview can be discussed at any time during the interview.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

The results of the study will assist the society to gain a deeper understanding of the social support needs of single mothers in a low income urban community in Botswana. The study will bring to fore the voices of single mothers and as such could influence family interventions within low income urban communities. The study results can also be used for social service provision and policy making.

The study participants will not directly benefit from this study except through the interventions mentioned above.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

No payment in any form will be received for participating in this study.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of coding where each questionnaire will be numbered. All questionnaires will be managed, analysed, processed and kept in a safe place by the student researcher during use; afterwards it will be kept safe in a locked cabinet in the Department of Social Work.

Recorded information will be only be used by the student researcher to analyse and process the data collected and they will be erased once this is done. As the study participant you have the right to review and edit the tapes.

In the event that the study results are published no information that could directly link participants to the study will be published. The participants will remain anonymous.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so such as when you have answered only a few questions which are not that significant for the study purpose.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Professor S. Green (Supervisor), Department of Social Work, University of Stellenbosch, telephone number; (0027) 21 808 2070, email address: sqreen@sun.ac.za.

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

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 subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

The information above was described to me the participant by Onneetse K. Makhumalo in English or Setswana and I am in command of this language or it was satisfactorily translated to me. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this	study. I have been given a copy of this form.	
	_Name of Subject/Participant	
Name of Legal Representative (if applicab	_ e)	
Subject/Participant or Legal Representation	Signature re Date	of

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

Investigator	 Date		-
		Signature	of
in English or Setswana and no tr	anslator was used.		
[He/she] was encouraged and g	iven ample time to ask me any q	uestions. This conversation was co	onducted
subject/participant] and/or [his/	her] representative	[name of the represe	entative].
I declare that I explained the i	nformation given in this docume	nt to [<i>nam</i>	ne of the

ANNEXTURE 1 (B) INFORMED CONSENT FORM (SETSWANA



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY ANNEXURE 1: TUMELO YA GO TSAYA KAROLO MO DIPATLISISONG

MATLHOKO A BOMME BA BA NANG LE BANA MME BA SA NYALWA MO MAFELONG A A ITSHOLELO TLASE MO DITOROPONG

O kopiwa go tsaya karolo mo dipatlisisong tse, tse di diriwang ke OnneetseK. Makhumalo (Moithuti wa di Masters tsa Boipelego), ko Unibesithing ya Stellenbosch ko South Africa. Maduo a dipatlisiso tse a tla nna karolo nngwe ya pampiri e moithuti a tshwanetseng go e kwala ko bofelelong ja dithuto tsa gagwe. O tlhophilwe go nna mongwe wa batho ba ba tla a tsayang karolo mo dipatlisisong tse ka gore o mme yo o nang le bana mme a sa nyalwa, mme e bile o nna mo lefelong lele itsholelo tlase mo toropong.

10. MAIKEMISETSO A DIPATLISISO

Maikemisetso a dipatlisiso tse ke go leka go batlisisa gore re kgone go tlhaloganya mo go tseneletseng ka matlhoko a bomme b aba sa nyalwang ba na le bana mo mahelong a a itsholelo tlase mo ditoropong mo Botswana.

11. TSAMAISO

Fa o dumela go tsaya karolo mo dipatlisisong tse, re tlaa kopa gore o dire tse di latelang;

O botsolotswe go setswe morago lenaneo potsoloso. Potsoloso e tlaa dirwa ka setswana kana ka sekgoa go tswa fela gore wena o tlhopha teme efe. Ga o tlamege go bua leina la gago le fa e le go bua sepe se se ka dirisiwang go go amanya le dipatlisiso tse. Fa o dumela sekapa mantswe se tlaa dirisiwa mo potsolotsong e. Moithuti o tlaa tlatsa lenaneo potsoloso fa puisanyo kana potsolotso e ntse e tsweletse.

12. DILO TSE DI KA LE TSENYANG MO DIPHATSENG KANA TSA SEKA TSA LE TSAYA SENTLE

Dipatlisiso tse ga di na maikaelelo a go utlwisa ope botlhoko le fa e le go golafatsa ope yoo tla tsayang karolo mo go tsone. Mo go direng dipatlisiso tse, go ka nna le dikgoreletso tse di ka bakiwang ke gore batsaya karolo ba tshwanetse ba nna le nako ya go ka botsolotswa. Go itebaganya le kgwetlho e, lenaneo potsoloso le tlaa a nna boripana mme e bile le botse dipotso tse di tlhokegang fela.

Fa gona le sepe se le ka nnang le dipelaelo kana ditlhobaelo ka sone fa dipotsoloso di ntse di tsweletse di ka buisanngwa nako nngwe le nngwe mo potsolosong e.

13. DILO TSE DI KA SOLOGELANG MOLEMO BATSAYA KAROLO LE/ GONGWE SECHABA KA KAKARETSO

Maduo a dipatlisiso tse a tlaa thusa gore sechaba se tlhaloganye mo go tseneletseng ka matlhoko a bomme ba ba nang le bana mme bas a nyalwa e bile ba nna mo mafelong a a itsholelo tlase mo ditoropong mo Botswana. Dipatlisiso tse, go na le kgonagalo ya gore di dire gore mantswe a bomme ba, a utlwale ka jalo a tlhotlheletse ka fa go tsamaisiwang ka teng mananeo a a itebagantse le go thusa malapa a a nnang mo mafelong a itsholelo ee ko tlase mo ditoropong. Maduo a dipatlisiso tse a ka dirisiwa gape mo ditogamaanong tsa, tsa boipelego.

14. DUTUELO TSA GO TSAYA KAROLO MO DIPATLISISONG TSE

Ga gona ope yo o tlaa duelelwang go tsaya karolo mo dipatlisisong tse.

15. BO-SEPHIRI

Tsotlhe tse go tlaa buisanngwang ka tsone mabapi le dipatlisiso tse mme di ka dirisiwa go go amanya le dipatlisiso tse di tlaa a nna sephiri, mme di ka bolelelwa mongwe ope fela fa o dumalana kana fa e le gore go a tlamega kafa molaong. Sephiri se, se tlaa tlhokomelwa ka go dirisa dinomoro mo mananeo potsolosong. Mananeo potsoloso a a tlaa dirisiwa go kanoka se go buisantsweng ka sone mme a bewe fa go tlhokomelesegileng teng ke moithuti, morago di ye go beiwa mo kobotong ee lotlelwang ko lephateng la tsa Boipelego, ko Unibesithing ya Stellenbosch.

Dipuisanyo tse di gatisitsweng ka sekapa mantswe di tlaa dirisiwa ke moithuti go tlhomamisa le go seka seka mme morago ga se, di phimolwe. Jaaka motsaya karolo o na le tshwanelo ya go reetsa dipuisanyo tse di gatisitsweng tse le go di baakanya fa go tlhokega.

Fa e le gore maduo a dipatlisiso tse a tlaa gatisiwa, ga gona sepe se e leng gore se ka go amanya le dipatlisiso tse, se se tlaa gatisiwang. Batsaya karolo ba tlaa a nna sephiri ka nako tsotlhe.

16. GO TSAYA KAROLO LE GO TSWA MO GO TSEYENG KAROLO MO DIPATLISISONG TSE

O ka itlhophela gore a o tlaa tsaya karolo mo dipatlisisong tse kana nnyaa. Ga o ithaopa go tsaya karolo go mo tsone, o ka emisa go nna karolo ya tsone nako nngwe le nngwe go sena ditlamorago dipe. O ka nna gape wa se arabe dipotso dipe fela tse o sa batleng go di araba mme wa tswelela ka go tsaya karolo mo dipatlisisong tse. Mmatlisisi o ka go ntsha mo dipatlisisong tse fa gona le mabaka a a mo tlamang go dira jalo, jaaka fa e le gore o arabile dipotso tse di dinnye tse di ka sekeng di fe boleng mo dipatlisisong.

17. ITSHUPO YA BABATLISISI

Fa o na le diphotso kana matshwenyego ape ka dipatlisiso tse, o ka itshwaraganya le Professor S. Green (Mookamedi), Lephata la tsa Boipelego, Unibesithi ya Stellenbosch, nomoro ya mogala; (0027) 21 808 2070, email address: sgreen@sun.ac.za.

DITSHWANELO TSA BATSAYA KAROLO MO DIPATLISISONG

O ka emisa go tsaya karolo mo dipatlisisong tse nako nngwe le nngwe go sena ditlamorago dipe. Ka go tsaya karolo mo dipatlisisong tse, ga o ithole dtshwanelo tsa gago tsa ka fa semolaong, kana dithuso dipe tse o neng o ka di bona. Fa o na le dipotso mabapi le ditshwanelo tsa gago o ka itshwaraganya le Mme Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] Lephata la Dipatlisiso mo Unibesithing ya Stellenbosch

MONWANA WA MOTSAYA KAROLO KANA YO O MO EMETSENG

Tsotlhe tse di mo pampiring e ke di tlhaloseditswe ke Onneetse K. Makhumalo ka setswana kana ka sekgoa mme e bile ke itse teme e, kana e ranotswe sentle gore ke e tlhologanye. Ke ne ke filwe sebaka sa go botsa dipotso e bile dipotso tse di arabilwe ka fa go intumedisitseng.

Ka jalo ke dumela go ithaopa go tsaya karolo mo	dipatlisisong tse. Ke filwe moriti wa pampiri e.
Leina la motsaya karolo	

Leina la moemedi (fa ale teng)	
Monwana wa motsaya karolo kana moemedi wa gag	zwe Letsatsi
MONWANA WA MMA	TLISISI
Ke ikana fa ke tlhaloseditse	(leina la motsaya karolo kana moemedi wa gagwe)
tsotlhe tse di teng mo pampiring e. O ne a rotloediwa a b	oa a fiwa nako ya go botsa dipotso. Puisanyo ya rona
e ne e dirwa ka setswana kana sekgoa, ga gona morano	di oo dirisitsweng.
Monwana wa Mmatlisisi	Letsatsi

ANNEXTURE 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Social Support Needs of Single Mothers in Low-Income Urban Communities

All the information recorded in this questionnaire will be regarded as confidential

Date of Interview:)	nespondent ne	D:
Date of lifter view.				
L: Identifying infor	mation			
l.1 Age:				
1.2 Are you current	tly in a relationship	with a partner? _		
f no to 1.2 have yo	u;			
a) Never been marr	ried b) Di	vorced c) lo	egally separated	_
d) Widowed				
1.3 How long have	you been staying i	n Old Naledi?		
1.4 What is your hig	ghest educational	qualification?		
Qualification	Primary Education	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary	Tertiary
Response				
2. Economic Circun	nstances			
2.1 Are you employ	ved?	Yes	1	No
2.2. If no, what is yo	our source of inco	me?		
2.3 What is your mo	onthly income?			
P500- P1000	P1000-P2500	P2500-P5000	P5000-P10000	Above P10 000
3. Household Com	oosition			
3.1 How many peop		with?		
out now many peop	pic are you staying	5 WICH:		

3.3. Are your childre	en staying with you? Yes_	No	Sometimes
4: Potential Stresso	rs		
4.1 Place of Residen	nce or Neighbourhood		
4.1.1 Why did you cl	hoose to stay in Old Naled	?ik	
4.1.2 What are your	experiences of staying in	Old Naledi?	
4.1.3 Which of the fo	ollowing challenges are yo	ou experiencing v	vith your living conditions?
Challenges	Yes	No	
Overcrowding			
Poor sanitation			
Exposure to crime			
Other (specify)			
4.2 Parenthood 4.2.1 Who helps you	u to take care of your child	dren?	
4.2.2 What are your	experiences of raising ch	ildren in Old Nale	di?
4.2.3 What is the mo	ost challenging thing abou	ut raising children	as a single mother in Old Naledi?

4.3 Poverty

4.3.1 In what ways does the poverty in Old Naledi affect you?

	
4.4 Crime and criminal activities	
4.4.1 In what ways does the crime in Old Naledi affect you?	
4.5 Illness and Death4.5.1 How often have you experienced long illness or death in your family?	
4.5.2 How did it affect you?	_
5: Social support needs of single mothers and social support available in low community	 income urban
5.1 Microsystems	
5.1.1 Emotional support	
5.1.1.1 What are your emotional needs?	
5.1.1.2 How do the following people provide for your emotional needs?	
a) Family	
b)	 Friends
c) Neighbours	

5.1.2 Instrumental support	
5.1.2.1 What are your instrumental (material and financial) needs?	
5.1.2.2 How do the following people provide for your instrumental needs?	
a) Family	
b) Friends	
c) Neighbours	
5.1.3 Informational and appraisal support	
5.1.3.1 What are your informational (advice, guidance, suggestions) and appraisal (information self-evaluation) support needs?	needed for
5.1.3.2 How do the following people provide for your informational and appraisal support needs	5?
a) Family	
b) Friends	
c) Neighbours	

5. 2 Mesosystems

5.2.1 Community support systems	
5.2.1.1 To which community social group do you belong? (If answer is none, move to	5.2.1.3)
5.2.1.2 What support do these social groups provide you with?	
5.3 Macro systems	-
5.3.1 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)	
5.3.1.1 Do you get any support from any NGO? (If answer is no, move to 5.3.1.5)	
Yes No	
5.3.1.2 Which NGOs do you get this support from?	
5.3.1.3 What kind of support do you get from this NGO or NGOs?	-
a) Emotional support	
b) Instrumental support	-
c) Informational and appraisal support	-
5.3.1.4 In what ways can these NGOs render more support to you and your family?	-

-		5.3.1.	5 What
support should NGOs provide to single mothers in	Old Naledi?		
5.3.2 Government Services			
5.3.2.1 (a) Of which of the following assistance proor disadvantaged people do you know?	rograms that gover	nment has in place fo	r needy
b) And which ones are you and your family benefit			_
Programmes	Know about	Benefitting from	_
Destitute persons' program			
HIV and AIDS related services			4
Orphan care program			_
Vulnerable group and school feeding program			
Old age pension scheme Ipelegeng Public Works program			-
Community Home based care			
Back to school program for school going children			-
Other (specify)			
5.3.2.2 In general how do you experience the suppo	ort you get from the	programs you are ben	efitting
from with regards to;			
a) Emotional support			
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
b) Instrumental support			
c) Informational and appraisal support			

5.3.2.3 What more do you think can be provided by government to support you as a sir in Old Naledi?	igle mothe
6. General	<u>-</u>
6.1 What special form of support should be given to single mothers in low income urban comm	unities?
6.2 Who should provide this support?	
6.3 Do you have anything else you want to add?	

Thank you for taking the time to assist me with this interview. Your contribution is appreciated and will make a valuable contribution towards this study.

ANNEXTURE 2 (B)

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (SETSWANA)

LENANEO POTSOLOTSO

MATLHOKO A BOMME BA BA NANG LE BANA MME BA SA NYALWA MO MAFELONG A A ITSHOLELO TLASE MO DITOROPONG

Tsotlhe tse go buisanngwang ka tsone le tse di kwadilweng mo lenaneo potsolotsong le di tlaa a tswarwa ka matsetseleko le go boloka bosephiri jwa tsone.

Mmatlisisi: Onnee	tse K. Makhumalo	Nomoro ya	n motsaya karolo: _	
Letsatsi la potsolo	tso:			
1: Identifying info	rmation			
1.1 Dingwaga:				
1.2 (a) A o mo bots	salanong le mongw	ve wa rre mo bogo	mpienong?	
1.2 (b) Fa karabo e	le nnyaa mo potso	ong e e fa godimo	а;	
b) Le kgaogenc) Le nna mod) O motlhola	mafelong a a farol	ngoganyeng mme le i	 se le kgaoganngwe	ka fa molaong
1.4 O eme fa kae n	no dithutong tsa ga	ago?		
Qualification	Primary Education	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary	Tertiary
Response				
2. Economic Circu 2.1. A o a bereka?		Ee e go tsenyetsang r		Nnyaa
2.2. Fa Karabo e le	illiyaa, ke elig se s	e go tserryetsarig r	ilaui a itsiletso:	
2.3 Madi a o a am pereko)	ogelang ka kgwed	i ke bokae? (a aka	retsa le a a tswang	ko mafelong a e
P500- P1000	P1000-P2500	P2500-P5000	P5000-P10000	Above P10 000

3. Household Composition

3.1 O nna le batho ba le	e kae?		
3.2. O na le bana ba le l	kae?		
3.3. A o nna le bone mo	lapeng? Ee	Nnnyaa	Fa gongwe
4: Potential Stressors			
4.1 Place of Residence	or Neighbourho	od	
4.1.1 Ke eng o tlhophile	go nna mo Old	Naledi?	
4.1.2 Maitemogelo a ga	go ka go nna mo	o Old Naledi ke eng	;?
	I	e dife tse o di item	ogetseng ka bonno jwa gago
Dikgwetlho	Ee	Nnyaa	
Mosuke/ Go pitlhagana			
Kgopho ya metsi a a			
leswe le go tsewa ga			
matlakala mo go sa			
itumediseng			
Borukutlhi			
Table Aller and the Property of the Property o			
Tse dingwe (di nankole)			
4.2 Parenthood 4.2.1 Ke mang yoo go tl	nusang go tlhoko	omela bana ba gago	o?
4.2.2 Maitemogelo a ga	go ka go godise	tse bana mo Old Na	aledi ke eng?

4.2.3 Ke eng se o bonang e le kgwetlho e tona ka go godisa bana o le mme yo o sa nyalwang mo Old
Naledi?

4.3 Poverty
4.3.1 Letlhoko kana lehuma la mo Old Naledi le go ama ka ditsela dife?

4.4 Crime and criminal activities
4.4.1 Borukutlhi le go tlola molao mo Old Naledi di go ama ka ditsela dife?
4.5 Illness and Death
4.5.1 A o kile wa oka ka lebaka le le telele kana wa nna le leso mo lapeng la gago? Ga kae?
4.5.2 Gone ga go ama jang?
5: Social support needs of single mothers and social support available in low income urban community
5.1 Microsystems
5.1.1 Emotional support
5.1.1.1 Letlhoko la gago mo go tsa maikutlo ke eng?
5.1.1.2 Batho ba ba lateleng ba go thusa jang go itebaganya le letlhoko la gago la tsa maikutlo?
Ba lelwapa

Ditsala	
Baagisanyi	
5.1.2 Instrumental support	
Tshegetso ya tsa madi le dingwe tse di tlhokegang	
5.1.2.1 Matlhoko a gago a tsa madi, dijo, diaporo le tse dingwe tse di tlhokegang mo gae ke afe?	
5.1.2.2 Batho ba ba latelang ba go thusa jang go itegabanya le matlhoko a gago a tsa madi, dijo, diapatse dingwe tse di tlhokegang mo gae?	aro le
Ba lelwapa	
Ditsala	
Baagisanyi	
5.1.3 Informational and appraisal support 5.1.3.1 Matlhoko a gago a tsa dikitso le dikgakolo ka kakaretso le dikgakololo tse di botlhokw	va gr
itshekatsheka ke afe?	——

5.1.3.2 Batho ba ba latelang ba go thusa jang go tlamelo matlhoko a gago a tsa dikitso le dikgakololo?

Ba	lelwapa
Ditsala	
Baagisanyi	_
5.2. Social Groups	_
5.2.1. O leloko la mokgatlho ofe? (Fa karabo e le ope, yak o potso 5.2.1.3)	
5.2.2 Mekgatlho e e go thusa jang?	_
a) Tshegetso ya tsa maikutlo	
b) Tshegetso ya matlhoko ya tsa dijo, diaparo, madi le tse dingwe tse o di tlhokang m	— no lapeng?
c) Tshegetso ya tsa dikitso le dikgakololo, le dikitso tse di tlhokegang go itshekatshek	_ a?
5.3 Macro systems	_
5.3.1 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)	
Makgotla a a ikemetseng ka nosi	
5.3.1.1 A go na le nngwe thuso eo e bonang mo makgotleng a a ikemetseng ka nosi le nnyaa, ya ko 5.3.1.5)	? (Ha karabo e
Ee Nnyaa	_

5.3.1.2 Ke lefe lekgotla le le ikemetseng ka nosi le o bonang thuso mo go lone?
5.3.1.3 Ke thuso efe e o e bonang mo magotleng a a ikemetseng ka nosi? a) Tshegetso ya tsa maikutlo
b) Thuso ya tsa madi, dijo, diaparo le tse dingwe tse o di tlhokang mo lapeng
c) Thuso ya tsa dikitso, dikitsiso le dikgalolo, le dikgakololo tse di botlhokwa go itshekatsheka.
5.3.1.4 Makgotla a aa ikemetseng ka nosi a ka go thusa gape jang wena le ba lelwapa la gago?
5.3.1.5 Ke thuso efe e makgotla a a ikemetseng ka nosi a tshwanetseng go e fa bomme ba ba sa nyalwang ba na le bana mo Old Naledi?

5.3.2 Government Services

Ditirelo le dithuso tse di tswang mo pusong

- 5.3.2.1 (a) Mo mananeong a a latelang a, a puso ke a fe a o a itseng?
- (b) Ke a fe a wena le ba lelwapa la gago le bonang thuso mo go one?

Maneneo	Ke a a itse		bona go one	
Destitute persons' program		1110	go one	
Maneneo a batlhoki				
HIV and AIDS related services				
Maneneo a mogare wa HIV and AIDS				
Orphan care program				
Maneneo a ban aba masiela				
Vulnerable group and school feeding program				
Maneneo a dijo tsa bana ba sekolo le b aba iseng ba tsene sekolo				
Old age pension scheme				
Mananeo a kamogediso ya bogodi				
Ipelegeng Public Works program				
Community Home based care				

Throkomelelo ya balwetse mo malapeng		
Back to school program for school going children		
Maneneo a go busetsa bana ba sekolo ba ba neng		
ba tlogetse sekolo, mo sekolong gape		
5.3.2.2 Ka kakaretso o itemogetse eng ka thuso e o o	e bonang mo pusong	mabapi le tse di latelang;
a) Thuso le tshegetso ya tsa maikutlo		
		(b)
Thuso le tshegetso ya tsa madi, dijo, diaparo le tse d	lingwe tse di tlhokega	ang mo lapeng
		(c)
Thuso ya dikitso, dikitsiso le dikgakololo		
N=1		
d) Thuso ya dikitsiso tse di botlhokwa go itshekatshe	ека	
5.3.2.3 Ke eng gape se se dirwang ke puso go go thu Old Naledi?	ısa o le mme yo o naı	ng le bana a sa nyalwa mo
6. General		
6.1 Ke thuso e fe e e kgethegileng e e tshwanetseng go	fiwa bomme ba ba na	ng le bana ba sa nyalwa mo
ditoropong?		
6.3 Ke mang yo o tshwanetseng go ntsha thuso e?		

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6.3 A gona le sengwe se o batlang go tlatsa ka sone?

		_
Ke lebogela thuso le nako ya gago.		