

SINGLE MOTHERS AND FAMILY FORMATION IN SUURBRAAK: A MIXED METHODS STUDY

By

Collette Jansen van Rensburg



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Supervisors:

Mr. J.H. Vorster

Prof. A.S. Kritzinger

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Mothers from the coloured population in South Africa are often single, raising children without the assistance of a spouse or partner, yet research on their family structures is scarce despite the financial and other challenges such single mother families often face. This thesis aims to explore the single mother family in the village of Suurbraak, South Africa.

Two main themes associated with single motherhood are explored: the household structures Suurbraak single mothers occupy and what the origin of single motherhood within the village could be. A mixed methods research design is utilised, implementing both qualitative and quantitative research strategies to explore the stated aims. More specifically, an exploratory sequential design comprising three stages is implemented: participant observation, followed by in-depth semi-structured interviews and finally administering a survey.

The findings emphasise that single mothers across all marital statuses and ages typically occupy various forms of the extended household structure and very rarely reside in a household with only their children. They often form part of female-headed and multi-generational households, often comprising multiple family units per household. The origin of single motherhood is mostly due to a disconnection between the perceptions of mothers (particularly prerequisites for marriage), and the options available within their environment. Two broad antecedents of single motherhood are identified: a lack of opportunities to fulfil their prerequisites for marriage or cohabitation appear to exist with singlehood often being represented as more ideal than marriage or cohabitation; and circumstances independent of their ideals which could further inhibit marriage or cohabitation.

While the study yields insights into the manifestation of single motherhood and single mothers' household formation amongst coloured women in a rural community, Suurbraak, there is a need to study it also in other contexts in order to develop a more generalized understanding.

OPSOMMING

'n Groot aantal moeders uit die bruin gemeenskap is enkellopend en sorg vir hul kinders sonder die hulp van 'n eggenoot of lewensmaat. Tog bestaan daar 'n gebrek aan navorsing oor hierdie onderwerp, ten spyte van die groot finansiële en ander uitdagings wat hierdie moeders ervaar. Hierdie tesis bestudeer die voorkoms van enkelmoedersgesinne in die landelike nedersetting, Suurbraak, Suid-Afrika.

Twee temas wat verband hou met enkelmoederskap word ondersoek: die aard van die huishoudingstrukture waarin enkelmoeders woonagtig is en die redes vir enkelouerskap. Die studie maak gebruik van 'n gemengde-metodesbenadering waarin beide kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe navorsingstrategieë gebruik word. 'n Verkennende-opeenvolgende ontwerp wat drie fases insluit, is gebruik: deelnemende waarneming, gevolg deur in-diepte semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude en 'n opname.

Die bevindinge beklemtoon dat enkelmoeders oor huwelikstatus en ouderdomsgroepe heen in verskeie tipes uitgebreide huishoudingstrukture woon en selde uitsluitlik met hul kinders 'n huishouding vorm. Hulle vorm dikwels deel van multi-generasie huishoudings met vroue aan die hoof wat uit meervoudige gesins-eenhede bestaan. Die kontradiksie tussen die persepsies van moeders (spesifiek rondom hul vereistes vir huwelik- of lewensmaats) en die opsies beskikbaar aan hulle binne hul omgewing word geïdentifiseer as hooforsaak van enkelmoedersgesinseenhede. Twee breë redes vir enkelmoederskap is geïdentifiseer: eerstens word 'n gebrek aan geleenthede om voorvereistes vir huwelik- of lewensmaats te vervul ervaar - met die gevolg dat enkelskap as meer ideaal as die huwelik of kohabitasie beskou word; en tweedens bestaan daar omstandighede onafhanklik van hul ideale wat huwelik of kohabitasie verder kan inhibeer.

Terwyl die studie insigte verskaf oor die manifestering van enkelmoederskap en enkelmoeders se huishoudingstrukture in 'n landelike lae-inkomste gemeenskap, is dit noodsaaklik om verdere navorsing in ander kontekste te doen ten einde 'n meer veralgemeenbare begrip van die enkelmoedersgesin te ontwikkel.

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Suurbraak is a unique village which not only formed the basis of this study, but also had (and still has) a significant impact on my personal development and worldview. The inhabitants of Suurbraak taught me what it meant to truly share with others, how people who support each other can survive the most challenging of times, and what it meant to be part of something greater than an individual. This rekindled my realisation of the importance of continually broadening one's horizons – something which appears all too easy to forget. It is impossible to complete a project such as this without instrumental support and there are a number of parties who deserve recognition for their part in its completion.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CSG	Child support grant
EA	Economically active
FPL	Food poverty line
LBPL	Lower-bound poverty line
NEA	Not-economically active
SES	Socio-economic status
SMAM	Singulate mean age at marriage
SPSS	Statistics package for the social sciences
UBPL	Upper-bound poverty line
UIF	Unemployment insurance fund

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Family sociologists should take the lead in burying the ideology of “the family” and in rebuilding a social environment in which diverse family forms can sustain themselves with dignity and mutual respect (Stacey 1993:547).

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Family formats are far more diverse than typically represented within current scholarly work (Stacey 1993:547). Much emphasis is still on the nuclear family, yet many South Africans live in alternative family structures (Steyn 1995). These alternative structures are therefore in dire need of exploration within family focused research domains (Gittens 1985 in Steyn 1995; Kalule-Sabiti 1995).

1.2 BACKGROUND

The institution of the family, more specifically the nuclear family¹, has been thought to be a building block of (especially Western) society. A nuclear family, with the active participation of two parents in child-raising practices, has long been assumed to be the ideal and the norm amongst policy makers, and functioned in many cases as the basis for research conducted on the family (Maclin 1980:905). The nuclear familial structure has gained its popularity as basic family unit, particularly within the context of industrial societies, probably by “Parsons and Bales (1955), who indicated that the emergence of the nuclear family as an independent entity during the Industrial Revolution also led to its so-called structural isolation” (Steyn 1995:170).

The development and spread of the nuclear family structure is thus thought to have developed during the industrial revolution, as it created “a set of influences (the social forces of industrialisation and urbanisation) which influenced every known society, with the result that family systems widely separated and diverse societies all began converging on the nuclear structure” (Goode 1963:1 in Steyn 1995: 170-171). At least in the northern hemisphere, the nuclear family structure thus gained the status of ideal family type, as more and more people

¹ The nuclear family is defined as a “legal, lifelong, sexually exclusive marriage between one man and one woman, with children, where the male is the primary provider and ultimate authority” (Maclin 1980:905).

started to “consider certain characteristics of the nuclear family as applicable and relevant” (Goode 1963:1 in Steyn 1995: 170-171).

As the nuclear family has for a long time been categorised as the ideal and basic family unit, it comes as no surprise that the nuclear family structure has enjoyed an over-emphasis in industrial societies in past research (Steyn 1995:169). This happened to the detriment of family structures alternative to the nuclear family, as these structures have not enjoyed the same attention as the nuclear family and have not been fully recognised in scholarly work, regardless of the substantial degree in which they occur (Steyn 1995:169).

Due to the persistent difference between the ideal of the nuclear family and the actual family structures that occur, “there has been an increasing demand for research to determine the various concrete types of family structure which actually appear in society” (Gittens 1985 in Steyn 1995:171). Not only was this deemed applicable and especially true for population groups within Africa for which “there is a general lack of scientific literature about the nature of household and family structure” (Kalule-Sabiti 1995:2). Although there is recognition that in South Africa “the family structures which actually occur in reality are far more diverse and nuanced than the nuclear family” (Steyn 1995:199), the nuclear familial structure is held as the ideal by most of its population – including the majority of whites, coloureds, Indians and some black communities (Steyn 1995:195; Steyn 1996:148; Steyn 1994:48; Kalule-Sabiti 1995:9).

The variation in family structure amongst South Africans is well represented by findings reported by Statistics South Africa. Even though a two-parent nuclear family structure would entail by definition the prevalence of both parents in a child’s living arrangement, Stats SA (2013:25) has found that in 2012 only 36.4% of children younger than five lived with both their biological parents. In contrast, a much bigger percentage of South African children younger than five lived with only one of their biological parents (44.5%), with the remaining proportion living with neither of their biological parents (Stats SA 2013:25). Thus it could be concluded that the single-parent family (whether in extended or single households) represents the most prevalent family structure occupied amongst children younger than five.

It has also been found that the high prevalence of the single-parent family was not due to single-father families as much as it was the consequence of single-mother families. Of the 44.5% of children younger than five living in a single-parent family, only 2% lived with their biological fathers only, while the remaining 42.5% were living in single-mother families

(Stats SA 2013:25). Thus, even though the single-parent family represents the majority of family structures of children younger than five, the single-mother family is by far the most prevalent. Therefore, the single-mother family represents the most likely structure to be occupied by South African children younger than five. The high prevalence of single-mother families should, however, not be mistaken to be a new emerging phenomenon, as these trends showed no change over time from 2002 until 2012 (Stats SA 2013:26).

The high prevalence of single-mother families can be attributed, according to the same 2013 report by Stats SA, mostly to mothers of children younger than five being never-married. When the marital status of the mothers of children younger than five years of age was considered, it was found that only “about half of mothers who were living with their young biological children were [occupying a two-parent nuclear family] by being either legally married (31.1%) or living together with their partners as married (18.3%)” (Stats SA 2013:37), while almost half of the mothers (48.4%) were never-married, and only a small minority (2.2%) were either divorced, widowed or separated (Stats SA 2013:37).

Not only do these findings again establish the high prevalence of motherhood outside of marriage or cohabitation (unlike what is vital to the two-parent nuclear family), but they also shed some light on the predominant role of childbearing outside or prior to marriage as the main cause of single motherhood rather than the loss of a spouse due to divorce, separation or death. It can therefore be inferred that, at least for mothers of those children between the ages zero and four, the two-parent nuclear family is employed to the same extent as the single-mother family and that the nuclear family should therefore not be assumed to be the dominant family structure over and above the single-mother family within South African society.

In order to contribute to the body of knowledge on the prevalence of the single-mother family as competing family structure to the nuclear family in South Africa, this study aims at exploring various aspects of the single-mother family structure.

1.3 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Given the lack of knowledge on the single-mother family structure in coloured communities, this study attempts to contribute to existing knowledge of single-mother families. The study focuses specifically on the families of single mothers and their households. The term ‘single’ specifically refers to a person who is not married nor cohabitates, while mothers included in the operant definition of ‘single mother’ are those who specifically have dependent

(biological or adopted) children who form part of her household. The research question underlying this study essentially comprises two parts.

The first question the study aims to answer is: ‘What household structures do single mothers typically occupy?’ This part of the research question thus aims to uncover and explore the various household structures that single-mother families occupy. Here the difference in family structure and household structure should be noted. Considering that structure can be defined as “the number of positions (not the number of individuals) present in a group” (Lee 1977:83 in Steyn 1995:177), family structure then refers to the number of positions present in a familial group, where “family members need to be related by blood or associated by marriage and adoption” (United Nations 1995 in Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008:79). In the case of the single-mother family structure, this term then refers to only the mother and child(ren) unit, where the positions occupied then entail a two-position unit (an individual being either a mother or a child) and where these individuals are related either by blood or adoption.

In addition to family members, household members do not necessarily have to be family members, but rather refer to the group of people that pool their resources and for the most part share a dwelling (Goldstein, Rasbash, Browne, Woodhouse and Poulain 2000; Fako 1996; Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008; Hammel and Laslett 1974). The household structures a family occupies will then refer to “the number of different categories of individuals of which a [household, as defined previously] is composed” (Lee 1977:83 in Steyn 1995:177). This can for instance either include the mother and her child(ren) living alone in a household or the mother and her child(ren) living in a household together with other individuals. This part of the research question will thus investigate the nature of the various living arrangements that single mothers occupy.

The second question will address the origin of single motherhood. In this regard the study will firstly aim to answer the question: “How do single mothers explain and construct their status?” This part of the research question will consider the perceptions, beliefs and attitudes of single mothers towards single motherhood as it enables a first-hand account of possible reasons as to their status as such, as well as give insight into the way in which mothers possibly construct their status due to their perceptions, beliefs and attitudes towards single motherhood. It should be noted here, however, that the origin of singlehood amongst mothers is gendered in nature and thus essentially involves a relational dynamic between mothers and

male stakeholders (fathers, partners, etc.). Even though it could potentially contribute to the understanding of the origin of single motherhood if males' perspectives, beliefs and values were also included in this study, inclusion thereof would broaden the scope of this study beyond what was deemed appropriate for a master's thesis. Including the male perspective is therefore rather recommended for further study within a new research project, as this thesis specifically focuses on the role of female perceptions, beliefs and attitudes in the origin of single motherhood. In addition to considering single mothers' perceptions, beliefs and attitudes towards single motherhood as explanation of their status as such, the study also aims to uncover other factors that might play a role in establishing their single mother status. This part of the question does not attribute reasons as to the occurrence of single motherhood to a specific factor, but rather functions to be supplementary to the perceptions, beliefs and attitudes of single mothers in explaining the occurrence of single motherhood.

The research questions are explored in the village of Suurbraak. An in-depth discussion of Suurbraak as setting as well as the reasons for this will now be discussed.

1.4 SUURBRAAK AS THE RESEARCH SETTING

Suurbraak is a rural village situated within the Swellendam Municipal district of the Western Cape Province in South Africa. Suurbraak has a predominantly coloured population typified by a low socio-economic status (SES) (Raubenheimer, Vorster, Muller, and Rossouw 1996).

This village proved an appropriate setting to explore single-mother families for several reasons. In the first instance, the coloured population, in addition to the black South African population, was found to have the highest prevalence of single motherhood in comparison to the other population groups in South Africa (including the white, Asian and Indian population). This was substantiated by findings suggesting that in 2012 in South Africa, mothers of children younger than five were far more likely to be never-married if they were from either the black population (53% of mothers of children younger than five being never-married) or the coloured population (39% of mothers of children younger than five being never-married) than their counterparts from other population groups in South Africa, as they were classified during apartheid and this is still applied in population analysis to this day (Stats SA 2013:38). Mothers from the coloured or black population were far more likely in relative terms to be single than their Indian/Asian or white counterparts (only 9% and 8% respectively being never-married) (Stats SA 2013:38).

It comes as no surprise then that the alternative – the nuclear family – shows trends in line with these findings. While by far the majority of mothers with children younger than five was occupying a nuclear family (being either legally married or cohabitating) if they were classified as being either part of the white (92% of these mothers being married or cohabitating) or Asian / Indian (88% of these mothers being married or cohabitating) population, the nuclear family was occupied to a much lesser extent by the black (45% of these mothers being married or cohabitating) and coloured (59% of these mothers being married or cohabitating) population (Stats SA 2013:38). The single-mother family thus seemed much more prevalent amongst the black and coloured population than amongst any of the other population groups in South Africa.

Not only was the coloured population found to be one of the population groups with the highest prevalence of single motherhood, but through a review of the literature it became apparent that there is a lack of scientific literature on the single mother family for the coloured community of South Africa. While some studies have focused on the living arrangements of black, Indian, and white population groups, the existing literature on the coloured community is almost non-existent.

The predominantly coloured village of Suurbraak showed a high prevalence of single mother families. This was reflected particularly well in an analysis of data from a survey conducted in Suurbraak in 1996 (Raubenheimer et al 1996). The analysis showed that approximately a third (33%) of all women with children never got married, with the occurrence of never-married mothers (excluding those cohabitating) being especially prevalent for mothers between the ages 20 to 29, with 82% and 75% of women with children between 20-24 and 25-29 being never-married respectively (Raubenheimer et al 1996:10).

In addition, cohabitation of mothers between 20 and 29 was also found to be much less prevalent, relative to the proportion of never-married mothers within this age group (Raubenheimer et al 1996:10), indicating that the high percentage of never-married mothers were mainly single mothers, not living with a partner in union either by marriage or cohabitation. To a lesser extent than mothers being never-married, widowhood proved to also make out a substantial contributor to single motherhood, but was only apparent for mothers 45 years of age and older. In addition, separation and divorce did not prove to make a significant contribution towards single motherhood (Raubenheimer et al 1996:16).

Suurbraak's demographic profile, being predominantly coloured, as well as having a high prevalence of singlehood amongst mothers, thus indicates this village as a promising setting to investigate the single mother family amongst the coloured population. This setting specifically serves to anchor the research study demographically (i.e. as an investigation of the single-mother family especially amongst the poor, rural and coloured population of specifically Suurbraak). Accordingly, the findings of this research study will only aim at being applicable to the characteristic boundaries as set by a rural, coloured village with low SES in South Africa.

In essence this study will explore single motherhood amongst the coloured, rural and poor village of Suurbraak, specifically aiming at investigating the single-mother family in terms of the household structures occupied by single mothers, as well as the origin of this phenomenon (both according to mothers' perceptions and other factors). This study makes a modest effort to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on family and household formation in addition to other meaningful benefits in such exploration.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The quest to contribute to the body of knowledge on single mother families amongst the coloured population can have various benefits. In the first instance this study found relevance in its attempt to extend the conceptualisation of the family within the South African society and to give recognition and contribute to the knowledge and understanding of family structures other than the nuclear family. As Stacey (1993:547) suggests (at least in the USA): "Family sociologists should take the lead in burying the ideology of "the family" and in rebuilding a social environment in which diverse family forms can sustain themselves with dignity and mutual respect". This study thus contributes to the recognition of the single-mother family as a prominent familial structure to be researched and be given the opportunity to feature in academic literature as a respected structure in addition to the nuclear family structure currently dominating academic discourse.

Secondly, it has been proposed that issues such as family size and composition, demographic and socio-economic characteristics, timing of family events such as marriage and childbearing, selection of spouse, and actual and ideal age at first marriage "are of great value to socio-economic and physical planners" (Seetheram and Duza 1976 in Kalule-Sabiti 1995:2). Knowing the needs and the nature of circumstances of a particular population can

assist such parties in planning sufficiently to provide public services as needed. The need for sufficient assistance is especially important given that single-mother families have typically been labelled as a vulnerable group in society. Scholars have based this notion on both financial insecurity as well as other social and health circumstances that are typically found to be more prevalent amongst-single mother families.

Firstly, it has been suggested that increased poverty rates are found among single-mother families. In the United States it was found in 2002 that children were five times more likely to be poor if they lived in father-absent homes (U.S. Census Bureau 2003) than children in married-couple families, and that when poor families in general were considered, single-mother families were also more likely to report material hardship than those poor two-parent families (Beverly 2001:147). Similar findings were made in South Africa (Edin and Kefalas 2005:3). It should be noted, however, that even though a correlation was found between single motherhood and poverty, the direction of this correlation is debatable. It is questionable whether mothers are poor *because* they are single mothers, or whether poorer women are more prone to *being* single mothers.

Investigating the manifestation of single-parent families is not only relevant due to their potential vulnerability arising from poverty. Further relevance is found in previous research linking fatherless families to poor social circumstances and the health of children growing up within them as well as the particularly challenging circumstances these children are typically subjected to (Edin and Kefalas 2005; Matthews, Curtin and MacDorman 2000:1; Gaudino, James, Jenkins and Rochat 1999; O'Connor, Davies, Dunn and Golding 2000). Mostly findings situated within the western context held that effects of fatherless families on children included the impact it had on factors such as infant mortality rates (infant mortality rates being higher among infants of single mothers) (e.g. Matthews, Curtin and MacDorman 2000:1; Gaudino, James, Jenkins, Rochat 1999:253) and health of infants (the health of children of single mothers being worse than that of those of two-parent families) (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1995; O'Connor, Davies, Dunn and Golding 2000:3; Harknett 2005:1; Strauss and Knight 1999:1278); incarceration or delinquency of children (children growing up in father-absent households being more likely to be: incarcerated, violent, aggressive, abusing drugs or having an early or teen pregnancy) (Harper and McLanahan 2004:380; Barber 2004:343; Griffin, Botvin, Scheier, Diaz and Miller 2000:174; Lang and Zagorsky 2001; McLanahan and Sandefur 1994 in Lerman 2002:1; Edin and Kefalas 2005:3; Teachman 2004:86; Ellis, Bates, Dodge, Fergusson, Horwood, Pettit and

Woodward 2003:801); emotional and physical neglect or abuse of children (children from single-mother families being at higher risk of child abuse) (Lippman 2004: xvii; Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics 1997; Sedlak and Broadhurst 1996), and the degree of children's achievement (children from single-parent families being more prone to poor academic achievement, having less involved parents in the school activities and lagging behind in health, social and emotional development, and emotional and cognitive achievement) (Holborn and Eddy 2011:2; Nord and West 2001; Wertheimer and Croan 2003; McBride, Schoppe-Sullivan and Ho 2005:201; Edin and Kefalas 2005:3; Lang and Zagorsky 2001; McLanahan and Sandefur 1994 in Lerman 2002:1).

The impact of single motherhood is not limited to children being subjected to it, but also impacted on the health of mothers themselves. This included a heightened chance to experience a bout of depression, higher levels of stress, fewer contacts with family and friends, less involvement with church or social groups, and less overall social support (Cairney and Boyle 2003:445). It should be noted that these possible effects of single motherhood on mothers and children from these families are mostly informed by western literature and do not necessarily speak to South African society, as men may place financial strain upon their families rather than alleviating it (Kennedy and Peter 1992, in Richter 2006:55). Again, if potential fathers are arguably a bigger risk to commit emotional or physical harm to children or mothers, these effects would be countered and could be expected to be even more profound in two-parent families.

However, given the possible vulnerability of not only children from-single-mother families, but also the mothers themselves, the importance of sufficient information on single-mother families to inform not only socio-economic and physical planners (as previously mentioned), but also policy making for entities "charged with policymaking decisions relative to family" (Seetheram and Duza 19976 in Kalule-Sabiti 1995:2) is emphasised. In order to assist mothers in a way which would minimise the already challenging lifestyle of single motherhood in poor communities, it becomes important to have an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon and its implications.

1.6 COMPOSITION OF THESIS

Chapter 2 presents a literature review of similar studies and their findings and identifies and discusses a particular theoretical framework which is applied in this study. As the research

question was epistemologically explored from a critical realist perspective, this theoretical model argues for the interplay between the role of the structural environment and the socially constructed ideas and perceptions of the study population in order to explore possible underlying reasons for the manifestation of the particular family patterns and household structures of single mothers. Existing literature and theory were discussed according to these two categories.

Chapter 3 explicates the research methods utilised in this study. In order to explore the aims of the study, it was necessary to take a critical realist perspective, as these aims required both a realist and constructivist perspective on reality. While some aims were more focused on the actual structure of the environment, others were more concerned with the construction of reality by its agents. A mixed-methods approach – the combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods – was subsequently used in this study to investigate each aim in a manner best suited thereto.

An in-depth discussion of findings, as well as their grounding within the theory is provided in Chapter 4, while an overall discussion of the main findings of the study, their relevance, and implications will conclude the thesis in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into two parts, each discussing the literature pertaining to a specific part of the research question. The first section gives an overview of the literature regarding the household structures of single mothers. The second part explores possible explanations of single motherhood by considering mothers' perceptions, beliefs and attitudes towards single motherhood, as well as other factors that may be relevant in establishing single motherhood. These possible explanations were guided by a theoretical framework deemed to be of particular relevance to this study and is presented in this section.

2.2 SECTION 1: HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES OF SINGLE MOTHERS

The aim of this section is to explore the literature on the household structures single mothers occupy. However, prior to exploring the household structures of single mothers, it is critical to understand what exactly the term 'household' refers to.

2.2.1 CONCEPTUALIZING THE HOUSEHOLD

Care should be taken to distinguish the meaning of 'household' from the meaning of 'family':

While often household and family are used as equivalent terms, they are not interchangeable, because whereas family members need to be related by blood or associated by marriage and adoption, members of households are not necessarily family members (United Nations 1995 in Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008:79).

This definition identifies relatedness by blood, marriage, or adoption as prerequisites for forming a 'family', yet scholarly agreement on these prerequisites is not unanimous when family is defined. Haralambos (1980) defined the family as a unit which "includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually co-habiting adults" (Haralambos 1980:326 in Fako 1996:2), elevating the nuclear family as the universal definition of the family. This definition proved to be very limiting, in that the nuclear family was not "universal nor a

prerequisite in many societies; it is only one of a number of possible combinations of elementary dyadic relationships clustered around the fundamental mother-child unit” (Eickelpasch 1974 in Fako 1996:3). Family therefore needs to be defined “broadly enough so as to avoid elevating the nuclear family to the position of moral norm against which all other family types are measured” (Ziehl 2001:41).

According to Fako (1996:3), Trost (1988) addressed the limitation encountered in Haralambos’s (1980) understanding of family, arguing that “if a group consists of at least one parent-child unit and/or at least one spousal unit, the group is a family. The parent-child unit is defined as one parent and one child related to each other and the spousal unit is defined as two adults cohabiting (maritally or extra-maritally)” (Fako 1996:3). Characteristics other than the relational component were identified as prerequisites for the concept of ‘family’, including cohabitation, shared living spaces, joint financial planning, shared household inputs, relational commitment, perception of family, psychological interdependence, exercising intergenerational authority and the degree of contact between members (Fako 1996:3).

In addition to the previously discussed definition of the family, Ziehl (2001:41) recommended a more abstract description of the family in order to allow for the concept to be more inclusive. She defined the family as a social institution comprising two components: an ideological component [i.e. “a set of ideas about marriage, procreation, and residence” (Ziehl 2001:41)] and a concrete component [i.e. “the actual domestic arrangements (households) which people reside in” (Ziehl 2001:41)]. Ziehl’s (2001:41) definition thus allowed the concept to correspond to the meaning given to it within a study population, rather than imposing a narrow boundary thereon. Reiss (1971:26 in Steyn 1996:147) additionally deemed the family to require a close-knit structure which stimulated nurturing socialisation.

For the purpose of this research study, family is regarded as a social institution with prerequisite kinship ties [clustered around a parent-child (adopted or blood-related) unit, a spousal unit (married or unmarried) or a unit of siblings without parents], cohabitation and shared kitchen, a joint financial arrangement, shared household work, intention to remain together, self-perception as a family, psychological interdependence, arbitrary intergenerational authority and contact between members.

Contrary to the ‘family’, members of a ‘household’ do not need to share kinship ties (Goldstein, Rasbash, Browne, Woodhouse and Poulain 2000:374; Fako 1996:4). The

definition of a household is rather based on the sharing of resources between its members (Fako 1996; Stats SA (1996) in Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008:79) where members form an economic unit, pooling resources for common consumption (Fako 1996:4). A shared dwelling was also considered by some scholars to be a prerequisite to defining households (Goldstein et al 2000:374; Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008:79; Hammel and Laslett 1974:76), while others argued for the opposite (Central Statistics Office 1977, 1982 in Fako 1996:4).

Proponents of the inclusion of a shared dwelling in the definition of a household held that this was in itself a resource being shared, in addition to normal daily survival functions (e.g. sleeping, eating, recreation, childbearing) and thus central to its definition (Stats SA (1996) in Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008:79; Hammel and Laslett 1974:76). Fako (1996) disagreed with this view in that households could in fact be partial households, as members may be geographically separated yet make regular economic and social contributions in spite thereof. Households typically have “a basic core around which the other segments revolve..., [the] core unit [being] situated at the place of primary residence” (Fako 1996:4). The notion of the household being reliant on shared resources and dwelling can be countered by the identification of members thereof as such (Fako 1996:4), including individuals who do “not always correspond with the physical structure” (Fako 1996:4).

For the purposes of this study a more fluid definition of the household is applied: ‘Household’ here refers to those members (family or non-family) sharing core resources and a physical living space. Those who pooled their resources, however, but did not necessarily share the dwelling were also included. In this study it was deemed more important to explore the idea of individuals being part of multiple households at once, than being represented in a single household at a specific time. Those who shared a dwelling without pooling resources are excluded from this definition. As a dwelling is considered a resource, individuals were only excluded from the household if separate rent was paid and no other resources are pooled. Finally, household members “may not necessarily be members of the same family unit” (Fako 1996:4), thus the single mother’s family unit is thus not necessarily her household unit.

2.2.2 SINGLE MOTHERHOOD AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

A family-developmental framework (i.e. the cycle of life events such as being born, marriage, having children, children leaving the home, a spouse dying or getting divorced or separated)

is a natural part of our social existence (Ziehl 2001:42). These phases are not necessarily sequential, but each relates to a particular household structure. The variety of household structures occupied during a lifetime is referred to as the domestic lifecycle (inferred from Ziehl 2001:42).

When applied to single motherhood, it was evident that these females followed a family-developmental framework demarcated by life events where childbearing occurred prior to marriage or after separation (by an individual's choice or mortality). Given the cause of the mother's single status, she would follow a specific family-developmental framework, and domestic lifecycle coupled with those life events. A mother could conceivably go through the following chronological stages: 1) Individual is born, 2) she has her first child 3) she gets married 4) she gets divorced or separated or her spouse passes away, 5) her child(ren) leave(s) her home. In the second and fourth stages, the mother will be single, possibly with a dependent child, and occupy a specific household structure yet the prevalence of these stages varied according to individuals' socio-demographic characteristics, such as age and race.

2.2.2.1 MARITAL STATUS AND SINGLE MOTHERHOOD

Limited previous studies exploring South African single mothers' marital status resulting from never being married, divorcing or separating could be identified, but statistics on marital trends of women falling in an age range of possible motherhood aided therein. Within the South African setting, Palamuleni deemed the ages of 15 to 49 years to be a woman's childbearing years (Palamuleni 2010:49), thus indicating 15 as the minimum age of possible motherhood. Motherhood, however, does not necessarily stop at the age of 49, as she may yet be legally responsible for children under the age of 18. South African law permits lawful marriage of women at the age of 18 and above, setting the minimum age for marriageability (Palamuleni 2010:52). The data of females 15 years and older were therefore considered in exploring the status of motherhood and marriage.

Palamuleni (2010:53) indicated that marriage in South Africa was more likely to be dissolved as a result of a spouse's death than divorce. This argument was supported by the 2001 census which found that among single women of possible motherhood age, most have never been married, fewer were widowed and the minority was divorced or separated (Stats SA 2004:29). In this context, the typical family-developmental framework of single mothers was expected to follow a sequence where motherhood primarily occurred outside of marriage. To fully understand the impact of marriage, divorce, separation, and death on single mothers'

family development, the aforementioned trends and the relationship of the possible reasons for single motherhood needed to be further examined.

The large proportion of never-married South African women of possible motherhood age was not a result of declining marriage rates, but due to a delay in marriage compared to traditional societies (Palamuleni 2010:52). Late marriage was underpinned by two trends: a high mean age at first marriage, as well as an inverse relationship between age and the proportion of the population remaining never-married (Palamuleni 2010). Mhongo and Budlender (2013:182) however emphasised that delays and declines in marriage rates were not new phenomena.

South African women typically marry between the ages of 25 and 30 years (Palamuleni 2010:52). However, an increased proportion of never married women between 20-29 years of age (from 1996 to 2007), and an increase in age at first marriage based on singulate mean age at marriage² (SMAM) from 28 years in 1996 and 2001 to 30 years in 2007, “may imply that... women in South Africa are postponing the onset of marriage” (Palamuleni 2010:52), thus resulting in late marriage. This increase in SMAM was also observed among coloured women over the same period (Palamuleni 2010:53). Among African and coloured women SMAM was found to be above the age of 27, in contrast to the Asian and white groups with a mean of between 24-27 years (Palamuleni 2010:53).

Although later marriage is especially prevalent amongst the coloured and black population of South Africa, a large proportion of the whole South African black and coloured population was found to be never married at all ages (Palamuleni 2010:49). In addition to the trend of later marriage, many women were still never married in all age groups. It could thus be deduced that increasing numbers of women have never been married, but that most of those who do, do so at a later age.

In the period 1996 to 2007 “the proportion of women widowed has slightly increased for all age groups in the childbearing period with the exception of age groups 20-29 where it has remained constant, [with the highest increase observed in age group 45-49]” (Palamuleni 2010:62). White and Asian females of possible motherhood age appeared to be more likely to be widowed (11.4%), whereas the coloured population group (8.2%) was the least likely to be widowed (Palamuleni 2010:62) in 2007. A decrease in the divorce rate between 1996 and 2008 was detected within the South African population, especially among women with

² In short, “SMAM refers to the mean number of years spent in the single (never married) state by those in the hypothetical cohort who marry by age 50” (Hajnal, 1953 in Palamuleni 2010:49).

children (Ziehl 2014: no pagination). It can consequently be expected that divorce will contribute to single motherhood to a diminishing degree. Mhongo and Budlender (2013), cautions on the unquestioning acceptance of the validity of findings and apparent trends (such as an increase in widowhood), especially among the black population, due to various constraints (e.g. a lack of available data in certain South African regions over periods ranging from apartheid until the recent past; linguistic misinterpretation relating to the meaning of marriage amongst some population groups; and inconsistent time intervals between censuses). Marital status trends in South Africa therefore need to be interpreted with caution.

These trends relate to the family developmental framework of single mothers. Family developmental frameworks occur with a domestic lifecycle defining the household structures individuals occupy during their lifetime. The domestic lifecycle will now be explored and contextualized.

2.2.3 THE DOMESTIC LIFECYCLES OF SINGLE MOTHERS

This section discusses the composition of household structures during each of the three identified single motherhood phases according to general trends of household structure among single mothers and the three causes of single motherhood. First, the various possible household structures across the domestic lifecycle of individuals are identified, followed by an elaboration on the occupancy of different structures by single mothers in different phases and causes of single motherhood.

2.2.3.1 AN IDENTIFICATION OF VARIOUS HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES

“[Household] structure refers to the number of positions (not the number of individuals) present in a [household]. The structure of a [household] is thus the number of different categories of individuals of which a [household] is composed” (Lee 1977:83 in Steyn 1995:177). These structures were typically determined in relation to a designated head or acting head of the household (Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008:80), although consensus on which household member represents the head may at times be problematic. According to the 2004 General Household Survey nine relationship types could exist in a household, including: the head / acting head, and his / her spouse, children, siblings, parents, grandparents, grandchildren, other relatives, and non-relatives (Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008:80).

These relationships could yield eight possible household types, including: single-person; couple only; couple and biological, adopted, and stepchildren; couple, their children and other relatives; single-parent and child; single-parent, child, and other relatives; non-related persons and the head and other relatives (Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008:80). Household types could further be categorised as structures which include: the solitary household, no-family households, the nuclear family, a multiple family household, an extended family household, or an extended household (Simkins 1986:19; Hammel and Laslett 1974; Angel and Tienda 1982).

Nuclear families consist of two parents and their unmarried children, if any were conceived and are living with them (Hammel and Laslett 1974:86), but Simkins (1986:19) argued that single mothers with their children could also be deemed to be nuclear families. Single-mother families such as the latter were often referred to as female-headed households, yet this was misleading as women can and do head households where a male partner is present. The South African census of 2011 allowed the classification of married or cohabitating women as the head of a household, illustrating this point (Stats SA 2011)³. Even though single-mother families may constitute nuclear families, such as “where the [spouse] has died, leaving the [mother] surviving, or if one has deserted the other, providing always that at least one unmarried child of the union is present with the [mother]” (Hammel and Laslett 1974:86), for this study those who remained alone with her unmarried and dependent child(ren) were not deemed to form part of a nuclear structure.

In terms of classification as nuclear household, this study distinguishes between two-parent family households (i.e. nuclear households) and single-mother households which rather refer to household structures occupied only by a single mother and her child(ren).

A further household structure is the extended household. According to Hammel and Laslett (1974) a household is extended if any person live in the household who is not a direct part of the household’s nuclear family. Extensions include “any person who is kin or an affine of the [nuclear family]... however distant the relationship” (Hammel and Laslett 1974:93). Different possible extended households can be identified. Using the nuclear family as basis, ‘extended households’ firstly comprise a nuclear family and any other “non-nuclear” household members (Angel and Tienda 1982:1362). An unrelated person may thus extend the household. Secondly, ‘extended family households’ represent households extended by the

³ On-line data analysis of the census 2011 was executed by the author of this study.

presence of a relative of either spouse outside the nuclear core, who is not part of his or her own nuclear family (Hammel and Laslett 1974:87). Thirdly, ‘multiple family households’ “...comprise all forms of [households] which include two or more [nuclear families] connected by kinship or by marriage. Such units can themselves be simple or extended...” (Hammel and Laslett 1974:93).

“A secondary unit, [that is a constituent unit] that does not contain the head of the whole household...” (Hammel and Laslett 1974:93) thus became an extension of the household. “Such a secondary unit can include offspring of the head's parents other than the head himself [or herself], i.e. his [or her] resident unmarried brothers or sisters, and the presence of such persons keeps this secondary unit in being if one or the other of the head's parents dies” (Hammel and Laslett 1974:93). More specifically, “if conjugal family units within households of the multiple kind are all disposed laterally, as when married brothers and/or sisters live together, the overall arrangement is the one often referred to as the *'fraternal joint family'* household (Hammel and Laslett 1974:94). Single mothers could thus conceivably form part of multiple types of extended households, depending on their relationship to the core family structure.

2.2.3.2 HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES OCCUPIED BY SINGLE MOTHERS

In South Africa, the single-mother and extended households – specifically being multigenerational, female headed and with additional members – are the household structures most likely to be occupied by single mothers with children (Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008:95; Simkins 1986; Steyn 1995:183). Steyn (1995) found the multigenerational female-headed household to be most prevalent of the three extended types, followed by the mother and child(ren) household and lastly the multigenerational female-headed and additional member household specifically in the coloured population of South Africa (Steyn 1995:183).

Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti (2008:93-94) found that for the general population 50% of South African female-headed households were extended in 2004, whereas 46% were extended among the coloured population. This prevalence further supported the extended household's importance (Ziehl 2014: no pagination). Various forms of extended households can be occupied by single mothers. South African single mothers often form extensions of the mother's parents' household (Maconachie 1989 and Preston-Whyte 1978 in Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008:98; Pauw 1953 in Steyn 1995:174), as confirmed by Steyn (1995:199) with special reference to the coloured population, stating that “the incidence of the

multigenerational family is of such an order that it may be seen as a legitimate structure”. Steyn (1995:174) further noted that many of these multigenerational households were female headed (i.e. matrifocal-multigenerational), especially among the lower SES coloured population.

As household structures occupied by single mothers can be explored according to the phase of the domestic lifecycle they find themselves in, these household structures, as previously mentioned, can be explored according to three phases: those occupied by mothers who have never been married, those occupied by those who were divorced or separated, and those occupied by widowed mothers. Literature specifically exploring the domestic lifecycle according to the marital status of single mothers in the coloured population is, however, lacking.

2.2.4 FAMILY PATTERNS

Ziehl (2001:42) suggested that this “series of household structures which mark off the different phases of the domestic lifecycle” represented the family pattern (Ziehl 2001; Ziehl 2002; Ziehl 2003). Depending on the nature of the domestic lifecycle, the type of household structures, as well as the order within which they appear, will likely differ between individuals, leading to various types of family patterns. Ziehl (2003:332; 2002:37-38; 2001:42) distinguished between two ideal-typical types of family patterns, based on the types of household structures that were found within the series: the nuclear family pattern, and the extended family pattern.

“A distinguishing feature of the nuclear family pattern is the rule that upon marriage a couple sets up an independent household” (Kertzer 1991 in Ziehl 2002:37). Five stages in the domestic lifecycle of the nuclear family pattern were identified, with three household types associated with the stages. The nuclear family pattern implied that the individual is born as dependant of two parents (nuclear household), enters a union with a partner (couple household), they have children (nuclear household), their children leave the home (couple household), and eventually one partner dies (single person household) (Ziehl 2001:42).

“A distinguishing feature of the extended family pattern is that upon marriage the couple joins the household of one of the spouses” (Ziehl 2002:38). For the extended-family pattern an individual is born into a three-generational family household, the individual’s grandparents die (nuclear family household type), the individual marries (extended family

household type), the individual's parents (in-law) die (nuclear family), and lastly the extended household type remains until the individual dies (Ziehl 2002:38).

These two family patterns are only based on two ideal types of the domestic lifecycle (Ziehl 2002:37) and variations on the domestic lifecycles and household structures occupied by individuals may occur. The family-developmental framework of single mothers, and the household structures they typically occupy, forms the basis of a typical domestic lifecycle. However, as is the case with the domestic lifecycle of single mothers according to their marital status, literature on the family pattern that single mothers are likely to follow within the rural coloured community specifically is severely limited.

2.3 SECTION 2: THE ORIGIN OF SINGLE MOTHERHOOD

The origin of single motherhood is explored in this section by drawing on Joubert's theory of social reality. Joubert (1995) postulates that social reality – being the world of our everyday experience – consists of the interaction between behaviour, beliefs, and circumstances. In his model, Joubert (1995) suggests that each of these three factors separately exerts a continuous and vicarious influence on the others. He emphasises that none of the three are considered to play a primary, definitive, or decisive role, superior to the others (Joubert 1995:168).

Single-motherhood status (a consequence of an individual's behaviour) would likely be the result of the interplay between their circumstances and their beliefs, impacting on the choices they make. To develop sufficient understanding of Joubert's (1995) conceptualisation of social reality, circumstances and beliefs need to be defined. Circumstances are mostly self-explanatory, however Joubert (1995:171) specifically identifies cultural, economic and domestic circumstances as primary indicators of the overarching factor. Beliefs on the other hand represent a more complex concept and therefore require a more substantial explanation.

Values (factors deemed to be desirable behaviour, attitudes and social practices), norms (patterns of expected behaviour governed by certain sets of rules in a particular society), and standards (a measurement of quality of life and achievements in thought, action, and circumstances) are identified as categories of beliefs (Joubert 1995:167-168). Standards are “dependent on the availability, access and utilization of resources- and of individual ability” (Joubert 1995:168). In essence values are “either accepted or rejected” (Steyn 1996:146), norms are conformed to or not, and standards are pursued and trusted, or not (Joubert 1995: 167-168).

Steyn (1996:146) argues that “since values are the most general of principles and constitute broad guidelines for behaviour, the question of the nature of the relationship between values and actual behaviour within the context of social reality is extremely important”. Even though norms and standards form categorical parts of beliefs, Steyn (1996:146) argues for values to be a better determinant of behaviour. Joubert (1995), however, cautions against assuming the strength of the relationship between values and behaviour.

According to Joubert (1995:170) past positivistic empirical research simply found that respondents seemed to believe in certain values which corresponded with their patterns of behaviour, other beliefs, and circumstances. Humanistic social scientists (drawing on realism rather than positivism), furthermore identify values as moral principles that are mostly embraced, but are applied to a lesser extent in decisions and behaviour. Social scientists are hesitant to ascribe certain behaviour to values, as the effect of values on behaviour is uncertain (Joubert 1995:171). Due to the contradictory positions on values as a category of beliefs and their consequent impact on behaviour, the potential impact of values received special attention in this study.

Joubert (1995:171) argues that values are frequently subordinate to preferences and disapprovals, interests, established practises, and situational demands in determining behaviour. Individuals may therefore behave in a manner which does not correspond to the dominant value system and their “strategies and interests” may thus have been more relevant (Touraine (1977) in Joubert 1995:172). Joubert (1995:171) further argues that the relation of values to behaviour is found in rationalisation and justification of an individual’s actions. Caution is taken not to assume that a definite positive relationship exists between behaviour and values. Thus, even though many single mothers do not marry before they bear children, this behaviour did not necessarily imply that marriage is not valued prior to motherhood. The relationship between values and circumstances is more certain. Joubert (1995:171) simply explains that value orientations can mostly be accounted for by various cultural, economic and domestic circumstances.

Although the extent to which the three categories of Joubert’s (1995) theory of social reality influence each other can be debated and scrutinized, interaction between these three parts are assumed to be important for this study. As behaviour is deemed a product of the interaction between circumstances and beliefs it is necessary to explore mothers’ behaviour in terms of these two categories.

Circumstances, in this study, are deemed to include structural environmental factors such as economic circumstances (SES and financial support); domestic circumstances (social support); the cultural milieu; and structural-demographic elements. This category is viewed from a realist ontological perspective, where realism refers to a belief about the nature of reality, proposing that “there is a real world that exists independently of our perceptions, theories, and constructions” (Creswell and Clark 2011:45). In addition, mothers’ beliefs can affect their living arrangements through behaviour stemming from perceptions, values, norms, and standards. This is conceptualised within a social constructivist epistemology of the nature of reality, where “our understanding of the world is inevitably of our own perspective and standpoint” (Creswell and Clark 2011:45).

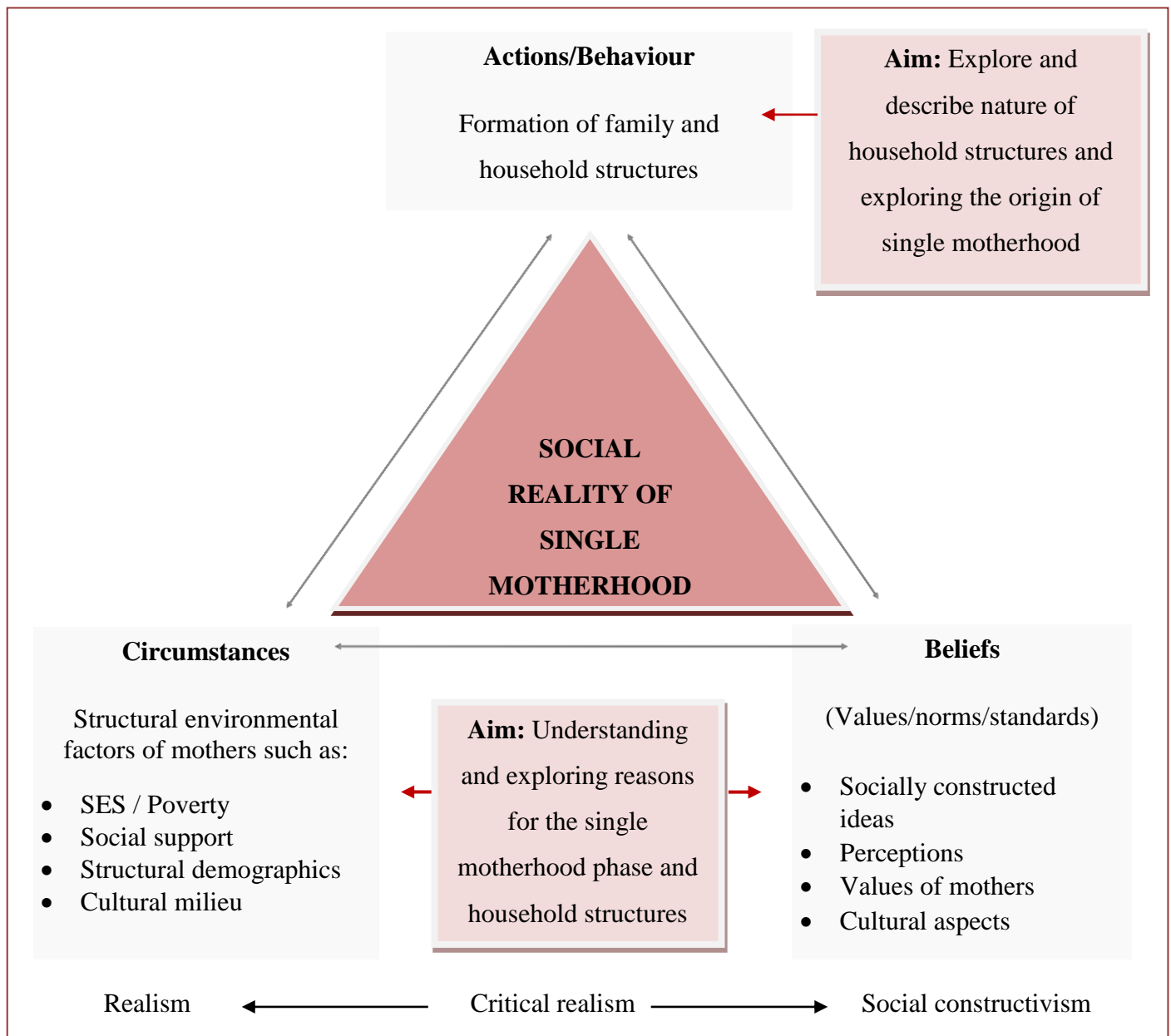
Drawing on realist ontology and constructivist epistemology, the application of Joubert’s (1995) theory of social reality represents a critical realist epistemological approach to the study of phenomena within society based on people’s circumstances, beliefs, and behaviour within this particular context [i.e. an ontological stance where realist ontology is integrated with a constructivist epistemology (Maxwell and Mittapalli in Press in Creswell and Clark 2011:45)]. In this study it is argued that mothers’ living arrangements are the result of the interplay between their socially constructed beliefs and the structural environment in which they find themselves. The structural environment presents options (or lack thereof, especially in the case of poverty), which further impacts on their beliefs (including ideas, perceptions, and values) as well. Mothers’ behaviour is thus argued to be a product of their ideas, perceptions and values with regards to the environment. *Figure 2.1* illustrates Joubert’s (1995) theory of social reality and its application to the research question.

Joubert’s (1995) theory of social reality is supported by other researchers. The role of belief systems, and by extension social constructivism, in determining behaviour is substantiated by Haralambos, Holborn and Heald (2008:2-3) and Settles, Pratt-Hyatt and Buchanan (2008:454), who postulate that behaviour is a product of individuals’ internalisation of socialised norms (a subcategory of beliefs) regarding various aspects of life.

Mannheim (in Coombs, 1966) postulates that these beliefs originate within the concept of total ideology where individuals base their thoughts on what appear to be a self-evident truth derived from the social setting within a specific time and space. These self-evident truths form the basis of individuals’ belief systems and opinions and are formed within the social body of knowledge and the ideological system of their environment (Coombs, 1966: 230).

Figure 2.1. Joubert's theory of social reality applied to the research question

(Adapted from Joubert 1995)



Bourdieu (1977:72), on the other hand, argues that the environment shape our minds and subjective realities, which informs behaviour. Bourdieu (1977: 72) explains the subjective reality by means of the concept of the habitus where reality is socially constructed and the consequence of the experienced environment in the form of the social. In this sense, what individuals believe to be true, including their attitudes and values, is an understanding of reality within their frame of reference. Bourdieu (1977:72) further argues that a vicarious effect exists between the environment and our minds and subjective realities, thus supporting Joubert's (1995) conceptualisation of environment and our belief systems being interrelated. Bourdieu's (1977) idea of the habitus demonstrates that not only the objective reality

(structural and demographic factors), but subjective and meaningful individual perceptions also needs to be considered.

Based on the theories discussed, exploring the mother's structural environment which provides (or limits) options, and beliefs systems - and ultimately her subjective reality - is critical. The interaction between the structural environment and the beliefs of mothers furthermore warranted investigation to gain a better understanding of the process as a whole. Accordingly, the next section discusses those structural environmental factors mothers typically encounter as well as various relevant elements of their belief systems that can affect the prevalence of single motherhood, in terms of available literature. Some factors are not exclusive to the 'structural environmental' or the 'beliefs of mothers' category. In such cases, the factor is only discussed once. Environmental factors included: the role of poverty and various structural-demographic factors. Factors associated with mothers' belief systems includes: beliefs associated with financial and social support systems, as well as beliefs situated within a cultural milieu, such as ideas about marriage and childbearing.

2.3.1 THE STRUCTURAL ENVIRONMENT AND SINGLE MOTHERHOOD

The role of poverty as a socio-economic factor, as well as structural-demographic factors – including male-female ratios – are explored in this section.

2.3.1.1 POVERTY AND THE STRUCTURAL ENVIRONMENT

The literature review explored the reported correlation of various factors with the social and structural environment of single mothers, - such as race, educational level, and location. From the literature it emerged that SES represented a prominent explanatory component within the theoretical basis of studies regarding single motherhood. This justified exploration of the possible impact of SES on mothers' beliefs and behaviours in family and household formation.

This section predominantly focused on populations within a low SES environment, and thus those living in poverty, because it suited the context within which theory was applied and findings were interpreted. Defining poverty was critical prior to investigating its prevalence and effects.

2.3.1.1.1 DEFINING POVERTY

Two schools of thought exist on the definition and measurement of poverty: poverty defined according to financial indicators (i.e. having insufficient income to address basic needs), as opposed to a broader definition focusing on individual capabilities related to being healthy, well-fed, clothed, and shelter (Klasen 2000:33-34; May 1998 in Triegaardt 2005:251). The broader definition incorporates capabilities which may not be attainable through financial means alone (Klasen 2000:33). In this sense poverty represents “the inability of individuals to achieve a minimal level of capabilities to function” (Klasen 2000:35).

Stats SA established three national poverty lines according to which poverty was measured in South Africa in 2012 (based on the purely financial definition). These included: the food poverty line (FPL), lower-bound poverty line (LBPL) and upper-bound poverty line (UBPL) (Stats SA 2014:7). FPL, set at R321 per month in 2011, represented the amount below which an individual would be unable to provide an adequate diet. LBPL (R443 per month) included non-food items in monthly purchases, but required the sacrifice of certain food items. UBPL (R620 per month) showed the minimum required to obtain adequate food and non-food resources (Stats SA 2014: 8). Such measurement of poverty is limited in that it only considers poverty in terms of access to money.

A general challenge identified was that such measurement did not allow for the differentiation of financial security that might exist within one household. While one unit within the household might be financially secure, another unit might be defined as poor. This was furthermore based on the assumption that income was shared within the household which may obscure elements of poverty (Bradshaw, Finch, Kemp, Mayhew and Williams 2003; Millar, 2003 in Gardiner and Millar 2006:355); however, fully addressing this challenge was deemed to be beyond the scope of this thesis.

As previously mentioned, the broader definition incorporated money and individual capability to provide shelter, clothing, food, and healthcare as determinants of wealth (Klasen 2000:33). For this research study, utilising the broader definition enabled the exploration of the manifestation of extended households as survival strategy of single mothers. More specifically, it could be argued that social capital is another important means of survival, not only to obtain financial support, but also shared resources such as shelter, food and emotional support (which may further contribute to mental health), as is explored in later sections. The broad definition of poverty was consequently utilised in this study.

2.3.1.1.2 POVERTY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Poverty is a global phenomenon, also “[permeating] the fabric of South African society” (Triegaardt 2005:251). The importance of exploring the dimension of poverty within South Africa is immediately apparent, considering the high degree of unemployment in the country. It has been argued that “South Africa has been experiencing one of the highest reported unemployment rates in the world” (Klasen and Woolard 2008:12). The Quarterly Labour Force Survey estimated South Africa to have an unemployment rate of around 25% in 2014 across people aged between 15 and 64 years (Stats SA 2014:v).

Considering the high unemployment rates, it is not surprising that a substantial proportion of South Africans are considered poor. Stats SA (2014:12) indicated that in 2011, 45.5% of the South African population lived in poverty, of which 20.2% were living in extreme poverty. Approximately a third (32.9%) of all households lived below the UBPL in 2011. However, a significant reduction in the proportion of poor South African households occurred between 2006 and 2011 (Stats SA 2014:12-40).

In South Africa, poverty seems to be closely related to other demographic factors such as race, geographic region, gender, and the urban/rural divide. Differences in SES in South Africa can be partly understood within and explained by the legacy of apartheid (Klasen and Woolard 2008:11-12). The apartheid system resulted in “discriminatory access to employment...prohibitions and restrictions on formal and informal economic activities,... [and] residential and workplace restrictions (pass laws)” (Klasen and Woolard 2008:11-12) according to race and ethnicity.

Apartheid thus caused racial differences in terms of SES and certain areas to have prominent racial population groups. These patterns remain as previously disadvantaged groups continue to struggle to uplift their whole racial populations into higher socio-economic strata.

2.3.1.1.3 POVERTY AND GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

In South Africa, rural areas were found to be far more likely to play host to poverty than urban areas (Stats SA 2014:33). Unemployment was also found to be far higher in rural than urban areas, even compared to other developing nations, shedding light on the manifestation of poverty (Klasen and Woolard 2008:12).

Regional differences in poverty levels were also noted, with the provinces of Western Cape (24.7% living in poverty) and Gauteng (22.9% living in poverty) having the lowest incidence

of poverty and poverty incidence rates being the highest in Limpopo (63.8% living in poverty) in 2011 (Stats SA 2014:31). Findings regarding unemployment rates and household poverty followed the same distributive trend (Stats SA 2014: xiii, 45).

2.3.1.1.4 POVERTY AND RACE

Significant differences were found between the incidences of poverty among various population groups by Stats SA in 2014. In 2011 the black South African population showed the highest incidence rate of poverty, the coloured population had the second highest incidence rate, followed by the Asian/Indian population and finally - the population group that was least likely to be poor - the white population group (Stats 2014:27-28). Unemployment rates and household poverty demonstrated similar patterns (Klasen and Woolard 2008:14; Stats SA 2014:41), while gender differences were also identified with larger proportions of women across population groups being unemployed (Stats SA 2014: xiii).

2.3.1.1.5 POVERTY, RACE, LOCATION AND SUURBRAAK

According to the above trends, Suurbraak is expected to be characterised by poverty and unemployment rates higher than those among the white or Asian/Indian South African population, yet lower than those among the black South African population. Also, even though Suurbraak is situated within a province less prone to poverty than other regions within South Africa, its rural status points towards expectancy of a high frequency of financially insecure inhabitants. This, together with the feminization of poverty across population groups, is indicative of poverty amongst Suurbraak females.

Having discussed the close relationship between poverty and other socio-demographic indicators, it was also necessary to explore more fully the relationship between the prevalence of poverty and single motherhood in particular.

2.3.1.1.6 POVERTY AND SINGLE MOTHERHOOD

A relationship between low SES and single motherhood has been well documented (Bloom, Bennett and Miller 1993:22; Honig (1974), Ross and Sawhill (1975), Sawhill et al. (1975), Hoffman and Holmes (1976) in Wilson and Neckerman 1986:253; Bane 1986:209). Family structure was found to be a critical element in “explaining contemporary poverty” (Bane 1986:209), especially given that “women living alone or with children are disproportionately represented among the poor” (Bane 1986:209). This was shown to be the case both abroad

and domestically (Bloom et al. 1993:22; Stats SA 2014:41). Stats SA (2014:41) reported that in 2011, 43.9% of female-headed households were poor, in comparison to only 25.7% of male-headed households. “Female-headed families are not only likely to be in poverty; they are also more likely than male-headed families to be persistently poor” (Wilson and Neckerman 1986:241). However, it should be noted that in spite of this, it appears that the incidence of poverty has been declining in recent years (Stats SA 2014: 41).

Although single motherhood was found to be closely related to poverty, it would be inappropriate to assume the existence of causality. Four possible reasons exist for the apparent correlation between single motherhood and poverty: it could be coincidental correlation, poverty may result from single motherhood, single motherhood may be a consequence of poverty, or a vicarious causal relationship may exist. The possible causal relationships offer unique possibilities to examine various aspects of the relationship between single motherhood and poverty, especially since past research found both causal paths to be relevant in this relationship (e.g. Bane 1986). Bane (1986: 228) for instance found “event-caused poverty [to be important amongst the White population, while] falling into poverty because of an earnings or needs changes after becoming a female household head is also important”.

Bane (1986:228) additionally found that amongst the black population in her study “falling into or back into poverty [in] a female household head is surprisingly common”. Despite this finding, Bane (1986: 220) also cautioned on theorising unidirectional causality in that “an analysis of the composition of the poor demonstrates a dramatic increase in the poor who are members of female-headed and single-person households, but also shows that the ‘feminization of poverty’ is due at least as much... to changes in relative poverty rates of various household composition types as to changes in the family structure composition of the population. This finding raises the interesting question of how much poverty follows family structure events and how much exist[s] before the family structure change” (Bane 1986:228). Bane’s (1986: 210) findings showed that poverty ensued in a minority (20%) of cases after household changes.

To declare that single motherhood causes poverty is risky. A study in the USA found that women who were already poor were more prone to *becoming* single mothers as motherhood enriched the meaning in their lives (Edin and Kefalas 2005). On the other hand, the idea that single motherhood causes more severe poverty was also brought into question as this study

found that in a significant number of cases women did not marry or cohabitate for the reason that men presented themselves as a financial liability to the family due to chronic unemployment or using family funds for their own purposes, thereby putting more financial strain onto the already struggling wife and children. This was also confirmed by Kennedy and Peters (1992), who argued that “despite the importance of men’s financial contribution, children are not invariably better off in male-headed households, as men’s decisions about income distribution do not always benefit children” (Kennedy and Peters in Richter 2006:55). It should thus also be taken into account that mothers might be under even more financial strain should they allow a husband or partner into the household who does not contribute financially to the unit or exercises an unreasonable dependency on the already scarce resources of the family.

Poverty, it could be argued, would only be alleviated for mothers in cases where they found a husband who contributed financially to the household, but marriages or cohabitation with a financially dependent husband are likely to leave mothers in an even worse financial state than they would otherwise be in. Mothers settled in extended households, for example, may consequently find more social and financial support within such a structure than when living with a dependent husband or cohabiting partner. Even though it has been argued that single mothers and their children are more prone to be subjected to challenging circumstances, it must be acknowledged that the idea is debatable and should thus be treated with caution. This supports a reciprocal model of causality between single motherhood and poverty.

2.3.1.2 STRUCTURAL-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Structural-demographic factors refer to the options available to women given their environment. The availability of marriageable men was of particular interest in this regard as the (un)availability of possible spouses represents a possible reason for single motherhood. It has been argued that the absence of suitable males attributed to single motherhood by seriously affecting the marriage chances of young women, raising the average age of marriage, increasing the number of children born outside of marriage, as well as increasing the number of women bearing children by more than one man (Colclough and McCarthy 1980 in Fako 1996:6).

Previous studies found a correlation between sex-ratio and marriage, as a higher population of men to women yielded higher prevalence of marriage (Lichter et al. 2002: 241) while the trend may be reversed if an imbalance in the ratio manifested (Edin 2000:2; Maclin

1980:906). South Africa's general population showed a slight difference in the ratio of women (48.7%) to men (51.3%) (Stats SA 2012:19). Although the same trend was observed in the Western Cape, the Overberg district showed a slightly higher population of women than men (Stats SA 2012:39).

Sex-ratio imbalances may arise from rising incarceration rates (Edin 2000:2; Maclin 1980:906), migrant labour, better work and educational opportunities elsewhere (Fako 1996:7), as well as geographical isolation, which could inhibit women from meeting potential partners (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:585). Flaendorp and Landman (2007), however, argued that even though Suurbraak is quite isolated geographically, the inhabitants are not location-bound. The inhabitants do not see themselves as a people removed from civilization. Most have family in bigger cities, and visit them often. Many young people move to bigger towns or cities for better work opportunities, but do not break their ties with Suurbraak, still visiting during holidays (Flaendorp and Landman 2007:182). Apart from the role of the structural environment - more specifically poverty and sex-age ratio imbalances - in the prevalence of single motherhood, mothers' beliefs and perceptions on the prevalence of their status as such were also explored.

2.3.2 BELIEFS AND NON-MARRIAGE AND COHABITATION

As previously discussed, the structural environment in conjunction with mothers' perceptions ultimately directs their household and family formation. This section discusses mothers' beliefs and perceptions as a possible influential aspect of their behaviour as their subjective interpretation of reality (rather than reality itself) will likely guide their actions (Edin and Kefalas 2005:184). It was expected that mothers' perceptions on factors related to marriage, cohabitation, and other alternative household formations, would ultimately direct these aspects of their life, which could further affect the prevalence of either single motherhood families or two-parent families.

A number of factors were identified to direct single mothers' beliefs about viable family structures within their environmental base. These factors are divided into two categories: support and cultural considerations. These categories are not mutually exclusive, as support gained within the family or household structure is also embedded in the cultural environment within which these support structures are formed; however, they are discussed separately for convenience.

2.3.2.1 SUPPORT: ACCESS TO FINANCIAL AND SOCIAL RESOURCES

Ross (1995) deconstructed marital status into four dimensions presumed to be associated therewith: “[S]ocial integration, social support, economic well-being, and emotional support” (Ross (1995) in Walker 2000:597). The dimensions were expected to manifest in the two-parent family, while “those who had a non-marital partner and who had the benefits that come with partnership were as well off as those who were married” (Ross 1995 in Walker 2000:597), implying that comparable support existed between marriage and cohabitation. The supportive function of marriage or cohabitation in comparison to those dimensions amongst single-parent families is discussed according to the financial and socially supportive roles while social integration and emotional support are integrated to form part of the social supportive role expected to be more readily available within marriage, while financial support is discussed separately.

If the family and household structure within which a mother settles is considered a survival strategy, the perceived financial or social supportive benefits of the various household and family formations may direct her behaviour, which could affect the manifestation of household types. Although they are expected to seek out maximum support, a lack of available options may further affect single mothers’ behaviour. Thus even though a mother might find it more beneficial to be living in a two-parent household, this option might not be available and thus compel her to settle in a household perceived to be less beneficial. This behaviour can be expected to be based on a perception of the best *available* option to maximize financial and social support.

2.3.2.1.1 SUPPORT: FINANCIAL RESOURCES

Marriage rates have been argued to be influenced by SES, for instance the “... ‘gains to trade’ model of marriage implies that recent marriage trends can best be understood in the context of changing labor market opportunities, which are expressed in the comparative employment and earnings of men and women at the local or regional level” (Brien, 1997 in Lichter, McLaughlin and Ribar 2002:232). From the literature, it appears that there is no agreement on whether marriage rates are positively or negatively related to poverty.

Economic independence theories claim that “those women with greater economic independence will delay marriage” (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:583). In terms of these theories an “improvement of women’s economic independence... has made marriage less attractive to them” (Palamuleni 2010:56). This appears to be applicable to the South African

context, as the country has witnessed rapid socio-economic advances, and improvements in women's status in society which may have affected attitudes towards marital concerns (Palamuleni 2010: 48). Manting (1996:54) found that participation in the labour market has diminished the perception that marriage represents economic security and independence. This view has been called into question, citing weak evidence (Oppenheimer (1994) in Edin 2000:1).

According to this view, women from higher economic strata should be less likely to marry than those from lower SES backgrounds, due to economic independence. For the poor, however, marriage may provide economic security while serving as an escape from chronic poverty and long-term reliance on welfare (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:583; Timmer and Orbuch 2001:178). Lerman (2002:3) indeed found that among the poor, "material hardship was substantially lower among married couple families with children than among other families with children, including those with at least two potential earners". In addition, financial strain was found to be one of the most prominent struggles for single parents, often leading to poorer living standards and a change in lifestyle (Steyn 1994:48).

Edin and Kefalas (2005) criticised the economic independence theory, arguing that "most studies find that women who earn higher wages – both in general and relative to men – do not marry less. In fact, among disadvantaged populations, women with higher earnings are *more*, not less, likely to marry" (Edin and Kefalas 2005:199), thus calling into question the validity of earlier findings and propositions.

Although "time trends show that a decline in marriage has roughly coincided with increases in women's employment and earnings [(as theorized by the economic independence theories)]...analysis drawing on individual-level data show no such relationship" (Edin 2000:1). It was even found that women who are more highly educated, earn more, and with better jobs were more likely to get married (especially compared to women with few skills) (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:583; Bennett, Bloom and Craig (1990) and Lichter et al (1992) in Edin 2000:1). Furthermore, "research shows that lower parental income encourages young adults (15-19 years old) to leave the parental home to marry, but not older young adults (ages 25-29)" (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:584).

A conceivable reason for higher rates of marriage among women from higher SES backgrounds was that "employment also may increase women's access to economically attractive men in the workplace and may enhance their economic attractiveness as potential

marital partners” (Oppenheimer (1998) and South and Lloyd (1995) in McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:583).

On the other hand, a serious concern is that the prospective spouses of low-income women and men are themselves too poor or too limited in their earnings capacities to contribute significantly to the family’s resources (Edin 2000 in Lerman 2002:1). Financial support outside of marriage or cohabitation may, in some cases, render marriage or cohabitation unnecessary or even unfeasible. Alternatives exist for single mothers to increase income, given the measure of social support and social structures in their environment (Walker 2000:598). Alternative support systems include: the support from family, friends and community members; financial support gained or the lack of financial strain within alternative household structures; and financial support from social assistance grants.

To suggest that poor women will marry for economic stability has therefore not been shown to be universally applicable. Kim Gandy, president of the National Organization for Women, passionately expressed the faultiness of the assumption raised by those suggesting marriage will offer financial security to poor women when she said: “to say that the path to economic stability for poor women is marriage is an outrage” (Toner (2002) in Lerman 2002:1).

This study focused on non-marriage amongst mothers living in poverty, and, although the economic independence theories may serve as basis for women’s independence from men, it was unlikely to prove valuable in the context of Suurbraak. The focus was thus rather on the role of alternative support systems to the poor as a possible cause of non-marriage or non-cohabitation amongst mothers living in poverty.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM OTHERS

Measuring family income in isolation neglects other sources of economic gain. Single mothers can (and do) get most of the financial assistance they need from family, friends or other community members (Lerman 2002:12; Hao 1996:272). The potential gain of resources from these parties may therefore impact upon poverty and income for single mothers. These alternative sources of economic benefit may consequently negate the benefits of marriage or cohabitation for single mothers (Lerman 2002:2).

ALTERNATIVE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES

Single mothers can settle within various household formations. The selection of household structure may hold certain implications in terms of economic support. Single-mother

household structures would not necessarily lend more financial *support* to mothers than a two-parent household; however, it may alleviate financial strain caused by lazy, spendthrift, or unemployed partners (Edin and Kefalas 2005:81; Gatley (1987) and Snyman (1986) in Steyn 1994:48). A single-mother household structure may thus be more financially secure than sharing the resources with an economically inactive partner.

Extended household structures seem to be prevalent among single mothers within certain communities. Poor households appear to be especially likely to be extended (e.g. Gardiner and Millar 2006:358-363). Given that single mothers are often extensively represented in lower SES strata (Angel and Tienda 1982:1377; Gardiner and Millar 2006:366), it is expected that single-mother families, mostly situated within the poorest strata, are likely to be part of extended household structures.

Extended households seemed to offer poor, single mothers protection against financial strain in the absence of a husband or father (Gardiner and Millar 2006:355; Tienda and Ortega (1980), in press in Angel and Tienda 1982:1377; Savage, Adair and Freidman in Jayakody, Chatters and Taylor 1993:262), thus functioning as a means of economic support (Angel and Tienda 1982:1380). Extension of households allowed for a division of labour which saw households enjoying greater flexibility in their economic and domestic roles, thereby allowing for a more functional household to manifest (Angel and Tienda 1982:1379). Financial and functional support in extended households could consequently be sufficient to “limit the advantages of marriage associated with economies of scale in household production, with the division of labour and risk sharing among adults” (Lerman 2002:2).

Resource sharing among members of an extended household represented another means of support. Such sharing enabled those who would not otherwise have adequate resources for survival. In this instance, “individuals are assumed to maximize a utility function subject to a budget constraint that considers the incomes available to that individual in the various possible household arrangements” (Klasen and Woolard 2008:9). Economic gain is often created via a pooling of resources within the household, which affects the well-being and access to economic resources of household members (Angel and Tienda 1982:1360; Gardiner and Millar 2006:352). “By compensating for the inadequate earnings of the primary earner, the income contributions of other [household] members may attenuate economic hardship and lead to decreased economic inequality at the household level” (Burawoy 1976 in Angel and Tienda 1982:1361).

In the absence of a male breadwinner, secondary earners can make a valuable contribution to household income (Angel and Tienda 1982:1370-1371). Gardiner and Millar (2006:355) appropriately stated that “lone parents can never be two-earner families but they can be two- (or more) earner households...” Several studies supported the existence and practice of resource sharing as a function of support in extended households (Angel and Tienda 1982:1370-1371; Klasen and Woolard 2008:15; Gardiner and Millar 2006:358-363; Sweet (1973) in Angel and Tienda 1982:1363). Klasen and Woolard (2008:15) found that in 2004, 62% of unemployed persons in the USA depended on another household member or absent household member for access to an income, and Gardiner and Millar (2006:358-363) found that in the UK, the presence of other adults in the households of especially low-paid employees made “almost as big a contribution to poverty avoidance as partners, with 30 per cent of the low paid escaping poverty due to the impact of others’ income...” Angel and Tienda (1982:1379) supported the idea that extension may stem from a desire to augment economic resources, given that extension decreased with the full-time employment of the household head (Angel and Tienda 1982:1379).

These sources of financial assistance were in some instances so sufficient that financial strain was no longer considered a challenge for single mothers in comparison to married couples (McAdoo (1980) in Jayakody, Chatters and Taylor 1993:262). It has furthermore been suggested that kinship (i.e. a sense of belonging to a particular community or family) would reduce the challenge posed by single motherhood (McAdoo (1980) in Jayakody, Chatters and Taylor 1993:262), thereby it could arguably make marriage less attractive. In these instances it could be argued that extended households not only functioned as a means of survival in single motherhood, but that they might even promote and possibly stimulate the manifestation of single-mother families, where extended households were found as a trustworthy alternative to the two-parent household.

The financial benefits can, however, come at a cost such as a loss of privacy as well as being bound to the location of that household, and thereby facing limited options for employment (Klasen and Woolard 2008:9). This casts a measure of doubt on the viability of extended households as a sustainable alternative to the two-parent family.

Even though an association between economic well-being and the support an extended household might lend for single mothers was identified, Lerman (2002) sceptically argued that “marriage is a more stable living arrangement than is cohabitation or single parenthood”

(Lerman 2002:5). Lerman (2002) argued that “it is unclear whether specialization or risk-sharing mechanisms work as well” (Lerman 2002:5) for single parents in extended households as for married couple households. Angel and Tienda (1982:1370-1371) also suggested that “extension does not appear to be a generally effective means for combating poverty”. The focus was rather on the alleviation of the harsher aspects of poverty than sustainable development (Angel and Tienda 1982:1370-1371). The supposed financial security imposed by extended household formation was also brought into question by Klasen and Woolard (2008:1) who suggested that “the presence of unemployed members pulls many households supporting them into poverty”, thereby negating to some extent the economically uplifting effect and raising household risk of becoming deprived. This may be mitigated by the selection of new household members on the basis of their potential contribution to the household’s domestic or market workload, thus shielding the household from resource deprivation (Angel and Tienda 1982:1367). Even so, “non-nuclear members are probably helped more by joining households headed by relatives rather than the reverse” (Angel and Tienda 1982:1368).

Extension to single mother families not only occurred *within* households, but also by means of support systems *between* households. Support (including cash flow as well as other goods and services) within as well as between households can “deepen our understanding of the ways families make efficient and flexible use of limited resources” (Angel and Tienda 1982:1381). Support systems are therefore not contained in closed systems within one household. As it happened within households, resources were also shared between households. “The fluidity of household boundaries in South Africa is also a topic examined by anthropologists and sociologists who find that shifting household boundaries and resource sharing within and between these fluid households are a critical strategy for survival for the poor” (Du Toit and Neves (2006) in Klasen and Woolard 2008:7). Klasen and Woolard (2008:14) supported this notion, stating that in 2004, “slightly over 50% of the unemployed lived in households where someone is employed; while another 11% of the unemployed lived in households which received remittances from an absent household member”. Accordingly, single mothers may therefore be attached to one household for support, while drawing on other households to further improve access to resources.

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE GRANTS

In some instances, social assistance grants – government financial support to children – have been argued to promote single motherhood. Such grants, such as the welfare system in the United States of America, have been argued by some to discourage single mothers to get married, encourage non-marital childbearing and subsequently promote single motherhood (Lichter, McLaughlin, and Ribar (1997) in Lichter et al 2002:241; Bloom, Bennett and Miller 1993:16; McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:583; Murray (1984) in Edin 2000:114; Wilson and Neckerman 1986:247), while the same conclusion was explored, but not as readily proven, to be the case with South Africa's child support grant (CSG).

In the USA financial benefit and mothers' independence, as well as stigmatization of women dependent on welfare, were identified as possible reasons as to the inverse relationship between welfare and marriage rates. Welfare might result in a reluctance to marry amongst mothers as such grants may be more rewarding than the support offered by marriage (Ellwood and Bane (1985) in Bennett, Bloom and Craig 1989; Murray (1984) and Becker (1991) in Edin 2000:114). A similar argument, holding that financial benefits "made single mothers more independent and better able to support them outside of marriage" (Moffitt (2002) in Gibson-Davis, Edin and McLanahan 2005:1303), was made about the government benefits available to unmarried mothers in the 1960s to 1970 in the USA. In addition, McLanahan (1985:874) argued that the welfare system had "produced a generation of youth whose attitudes and behaviour are inconsistent with the American work ethic and with community norms in general" (McLanahan 1985:874), thus promoting unemployment amongst welfare recipients and possibly inhibiting community norms such as mothers pursuing financial support from a spouse.

In some cases a stigma might be attached to women collecting welfare as women drawing such grants might be perceived negatively, based on assumptions about underlying traits (e.g. not being self-sufficient or being overly dependent) (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:583). Male perceptions of women relying on welfare might thus further affect marital status of these women (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:583). The view that welfare receipt has an inhibiting effect on marriage has been contested (Edin 2000:2; McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:589), as some previous studies found either no encouraging effects between single mothers' marriage rates and state grants (Cutright (1973) and Ellwood and Bane (1984) in Wilson and Neckerman 1986:249; Graefe and Lichter (2008) in Gibson-Davis 2011:266), or results were inconclusive (Wilson and Neckerman 1986:248).

Single mothers were furthermore found to be more open to contraceptive use, resistant to further pregnancy, and less likely to bear more children when receiving welfare grants (Placek and Hendershot (1974) in Wilson and Neckerman 1986:249). This seemingly suggested that welfare inhibited women from bearing children and thus did not promote single motherhood. Edin and Kefalas (2005:5) similarly questioned the impact of women's economic independence, as well as expansion of welfare, as being sufficiently explanatory of the divergence between marriage and childbearing. No consensus has thus been reached on whether social assistance, such as the American welfare system, stimulated single motherhood rates, with both supportive and refuting arguments having been developed.

Given the Western focus of the cited research, it was necessary to examine the effects of social assistance grants within the South African context. Government in South Africa contributed to reducing the cost of living in an attempt to combat poverty, by “[providing] a regular income to South Africa’s most vulnerable households” through social assistance grants (National Treasury 2013:84). By 2013, social grants contributed to the monthly income of nearly 16.1 million beneficiaries (National Treasury 2013:81-84). While “more than half of all households benefit from social assistance, [for] 22 percent of households social grants are the main source of income, [contributing] R113 billion to the income of low-income households in 2013/14” (National Treasury 2013:84).

These grants include the Old Age Grant, the War Veteran’s Grant, the Disability Grant, the Foster Care Grant, the Care Dependency Grant, and the Child Support Grant (CSG), all of which varied in size (National Treasury 2013:84). Of the various grants listed, the CSG gives by far the least amount of money to recipients. The CSG paid R290 per child per month in 2014 and was relatively low compared to others (e.g. Foster Care Grant of R800 and the Disability Grant of R1260 per month) (National Treasury 2013:84).⁴

Seekings (2009) found that the majority of African women between the ages of 20-59 received social grants (many lived in households receiving multiple grants), which represented a critical source of support to unmarried and unemployed mothers. Women accounted for most disability and child support grants (Seekings 2009: 433-434). Mothers were thus supported directly from the receipt of social grants, but also indirectly from resource sharing with beneficiaries in extended households.

⁴ The monetary value of the CSG is set at R350 for 2016/17, while the Foster Care Grant is set at R890 and the Disability Grant at R1505 (National Treasury and South African Revenue Service 2016:2).

The CSG was established in 1998, aiming to support poor children, especially from previously disadvantaged groups and in rural areas in an attempt to alleviate poverty (Makiwane 2010:194; Triegaardt 2005:249). “[T]he objectives of support were to contribute to the costs of raising children; redistribute income over the lifecycle; influence the birth rate; provide a degree of equity in taxation; relieve child poverty; enable parents to care for children independently of the labour market; boost low earnings; reduce demands for a minimum wage; increase incentives to work; and relieve unemployment or low income traps” (Triegaardt 2005:252). The CSG directly impacted on the financial support of mothers in poverty, as they were eligible for grants of R280 per child, if earning less than R2800 per month (National Treasury 2013:82), thereby alleviating financial strain on caregivers of children in need. Such support (and the economic independence it could represent) may empower mothers to not engage in marriage as a matter of necessity, and was thus important to be examined as such.

The CSG has expanded tremendously from 5.7 million recipients in 2004/05 to over 10 million in 2011 (Stats SA 2014:20; National Treasury 2013:84). In 2012 “about 60% of young children received the Child Support Grant” (Stats SA 2014:1), primarily a result of an extension of the age bracket of eligible children to 18 years (Stats SA 2014:20), illustrating the contribution the CSG made in aiding financial support to many children and consequently their mothers (or caregivers). Disproportionate distribution amongst single mothers and two-parent families was identified: a greater proportion of CSG recipients were children (younger than age five) of never-married mothers (73%) (Stats SA 2014:1; Stats SA 2013:33), while “children [younger than age five] living with both parents were less likely to receive a Child Support Grant” (Stats SA 2014:5; Stats SA 2013:33). These findings do not determine that the CSG *caused* single motherhood, but demonstrated that single mothers are more dependent on this grant.

Seekings (2009) maintained that even though many women “are living in non-marital arrangements of one kind or another” (Seekings 2009:432), the figures did “not show conclusively that marriage rates are declining over time” (Seekings 2009:432). This argument disputed the notion of an inverse relationship between marriage rates and social grants and emphasised the modest value of the CSG (Seekings 2009: 433-434). This view was supported by Mhongo and Budlender (2013:189) who stated that arguments on “access to grants as a cause of low rates of marriage would need to take into account the low monetary value of the government grants. In particular, the very low value of the child support grant, which would

be most common for women of marriageable age, would not ensure ‘independence’ in any strong sense of the word” (Mhongo and Budlender 2013:189). The CSG is more modest than Disability or Old Age Grants, casting doubt on the potential emancipating effect thereof (Seekings 2009:433-434).

Furthermore, no evidence was found that the CSG promoted teenage childbearing (Makiwane 2010:202; Makiwane, Desmond, Richter and Udjo 2006:2), thus “there are no grounds to believe that young South African girls are deliberately having children in order to access welfare benefits” (Makiwane, Desmond, Richter and Udjo 2006:2). “Women aged 35 and older are more likely to be direct beneficiaries of the grant...” (Makiwane 2010:199), thus older caregivers were more likely to be beneficiaries of the CSG than younger women (Makiwane 2010:199; Makiwane et al 2006:13). Case, Hosegood and Lund (2005:469) found that in the Umkhanyakude District of KwaZulu-Natal, a community with a relatively low SES, older mothers disproportionately applied for social grants, refuting the notion that teenagers bore children to qualify for such grants. Women in their child bearing prime years thus did not constitute the greatest proportion of beneficiaries of the CSG, contradicting expected ploys of fertility amongst young, unmarried women as a means to get access to the CSG.

South African research on the influence of the state’s social assistance grants policies on the marriage behaviour of mothers did not conclusively demonstrate a correlation between social assistance receipt and marriage rates. It was therefore expected that the CSG will most probably not have an effect on mothers’ decisions to remain unmarried in the South African context, prompting examination of other possible explanations.

2.3.2.1.2 SUPPORT: SOCIAL RESOURCES

Within the nuclear family (be it a married or cohabitating couple) responsibility for child rearing is shared between mother and partner. The partner offers support, often making the mother reliant on the father in childrearing and emotional support. A parent’s absence in the household compromises support due to “limited human resources, less potential for emotional support within the household, and reduced possibilities for assistance with various household and child care tasks” (Smith 1980:75), which may overload the single parent, and cause loneliness, stigmatization and marginalization (Steyn 1994:48). Mothers losing such support may thus need to find it in other places.

Single mothers can overcome the challenges of social isolation and lack of social support by entering an extended household (Angel and Tienda 1982:1380). This provides the single mother with “internal support and practical assistance that is not present in the average single-parent household” (Smith 1980:75). Both single and married mothers have been reported to receive emotional and childrearing support from extensive kin networks (McAdoo 1980 in Jayakody, Chatters and Taylor 1993:262).

Emotional and childrearing support sources other than the spouse are not exclusive to single mothers, although it is more extensive than for married mothers (McAdoo 1980 in Jayakody, Chatters and Taylor 1993:263). Extended living arrangements not only contribute support to the mother; in some instances mothers enter extended households to support an elder (Steyn 1996:148). Single mothers may thus enter an extended household due to the “desirability of maintaining a strong kinship network and responsibility towards grandparents” (Steyn 1996:148).

Mothers can also overcome a lack of social support through social networks *outside* the household. Many studies indicated that single mothers have less time for social activities and participation in the community, and could experience “difficulties coordinating a social life and parenting responsibilities” (Richards and Schmiede 1993:280). Single mothers are thus expected to struggle to form social support networks outside their households due to time constraints while dealing with the role demands of single motherhood.

Extended households inherently provide mothers with opportunity for social interaction, based on the more extensive contact with various parties external to the household itself (Maclin 1980:906; Smith 1980:78), providing further childrearing and emotional support. Such social relations may not always be positive; Flaendorp and Landman (2007) found that inhabitants of Suurbraak are not always willing to get involved with others in need of assistance. Regardless, a degree of trust, care, bonding and friendships still exists amongst much of the population (Flaendorp and Landman 2007:182). This indicated a varying degree of social support from outside the household.

Steyn (1994:48) found that single mothers experienced social and emotional support positively enough to serve as substitute for the same support from a spouse or partner. According to Ross (1995 in Walker 2000:597), “social attachment is a better predictor of well-being than is marital status” and may consequently diminish the perceived utility of marriage or cohabitation, compared to the extended household. Alternative means of support

may even pose a *more viable* option than marriage: a potential spouse may cause more emotional strain in a household or not contribute to emotional support in childrearing practices at all. This again raises the question of what type of person a mother would deem to be marriageable.

2.3.2.2 CULTURAL BELIEFS AND PERCEPTIONS

Perceptions and beliefs inform our experience of reality, as these are subjective attributes inherent to each individual. These perceptions and beliefs can vicariously impact on our behaviour and were argued to be borne from culture (among other factors). Friedman (2011:188) supported this argument, stating that “the sociology of perception emphasizes that perception is a culturally constructed process, and seeks to identify the *perceptual conventions*, *perceptual traditions*, *perceptual norms*, and processes of *perceptual enculturation* associated with membership in different perceptual communities”. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966:5), the only way to understand an individual is to take into account the particular social context in which he/she was shaped. Friedman (2011:188-189) argued that the effect of culture on perception has been preliminarily established and that the focus should rather be on the manifestation of this influence.

Our experience of reality also informs the meaning we attach to certain events or artefacts, which is further affected by culture. Our meaningful experience of life aids in the construction of our identities and is affected by culture, prompting consideration of the emergence of meaning in different contexts (Timmer and Orbuch 2001:178). Meaning as derivative of context informs our understanding of past events and expectations for the future (Timmer and Orbuch 2001:178). The construction of meaning is conceived as a process involving memory, analysis, introspection, and subsequent reactions and behaviour (Harvey, Weber and Orbuch 1990 in Timmer and Orbuch 2001:178). “Symbolic [interactionism] (with its focus on meanings, roles, and expectations)” (Maclin 1980:916), provides a good basis for examining the role of culture in the construction of meaning and identity.

This argument was extended to single motherhood, as it is likely that single mothers’ beliefs and perceptions can manifest as a consequence of their cultural background and the accompanying meaning they attach to events and artefacts (among other factors). Drawing on symbolic interactionism can assist in understanding perceptions and cultural factors as determinants of the single mothers’ status quo in terms of marriage, the perceived role of women within the family, as well as the impact of expectations (by the women themselves

and by their relatives, friends, and the community) regarding childrearing, family formations, and gender roles.

Cultural background has been argued to influence living arrangements (Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti 2008:75). More specifically, “the meanings of marriage represent a narrative or psychological reality that may or may not be related to a more objective, historical reality” (Timmer and Orbuch 2001:178). The meaning of marital status forms part of a cognitive conceptualisation allowing an understanding and evaluation of marital relationships (Timmer and Orbuch 2001:178).

Marriage or cohabitation does not occur randomly, but relies on a process of selection (Liefbroer in Manting 1996:55). Culture and individual socialisation can affect this selection process, as “cultural explanations of marriage suggest that family background, attitudes toward women’s roles, and beliefs about marriage influence women’s decisions to marry” (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:583). Community norms, within a cultural milieu, and associated ideals regarding considerations of marriage, may affect patterns of single parenthood, cohabitation or marriage. This is further reinforced by a process (especially in a low SES environment) where socialisation agents (including female kin, family, parents, neighbours, religion, experiences of the individual and community norms) lead to women developing specific attitudes and beliefs prompting a decision to not get married (Liefbroer in Manting 1996:58).

Culturally based perceptions and beliefs of single mothers regarding marriage, its relation to childbearing, and ideals regarding family and household structure may thus impact on single motherhood.

2.3.2.2.1 PERCEPTIONS AND BELIEFS REGARDING MARRIAGE

Perceptions and beliefs regarding marriage, family, and household structure are related to culture. The beliefs and perceptions which were found to impact on the prevalence of single motherhood included mother’s beliefs and perceptions on: late marriage, marriageable men (including men’s trustworthiness, SES and expected gender roles), religious grounds for marriage, love and romanticism as prerequisites, and marriage and childbearing as follow-up stages in the family-developmental framework.

LATE MARRIAGE

Marriage, and thus the nuclear family in general remains the ideal for which many women from the white and coloured population of South Africa strive (Steyn 1996:148; Steyn 1995:195). Young adult women, however, may have certain attitudes to marriage, prompting their unmarried status and consequent late marriage (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:584; Gibson-Davis 2011:275). Late marriage is thus a relevant predictor of single motherhood which warranted investigation.

“Women’s expectations and beliefs about women’s roles [in families], the importance of marriage, [family] and education, and appropriate or accepted timing of marriage” (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:584) influence the timing of marriage and could potentially lead to later marriages. While some “mothers are waiting longer to marry until they have achieved the economic prerequisites of marriage” (Gibson-Davis 2011:266), other “young women who believe that traditional roles are most important are more likely to marry at younger ages” (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:584). These attitudes and beliefs were argued to have originated from the experiences of young women in their family of origin, and may have resulted in perceptions which led to the assumption of greater or lesser caution regarding marriage (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:584).

MARRIAGEABLE PARTNERS: THE MALE MARRIAGEABLE POOL THEORY

As individuals, people develop certain criteria they wish their partners to conform to and which may affect selection of such a partner. In the case of such conscious selection, sufficient numbers of (willing) men for each mother to conceivably find a partner, may not guarantee selection, and such criteria may influence their decisions and thus inhibit marriage. The proposition is that there exists a pool of potential candidates, each with unique characteristics, from which women can choose a partner; however, their selection criteria will determine the extent of restriction on the size of this marriageable pool, according to the male marriageable pool argument (Edin and Kefalas 2005:199). Not only might discrepancies in the sex-age ratios of a population then result in the unavailability of marriageable men and accordingly inhibit marriage (as was discussed previously), but critical selection of a partner can thus also explain the restriction on marriage rates of low SES women to some extent.

Certain factors were identified in the literature to constitute indicators of male marriageability. In the first instance, the behaviour of men towards women can be a determining factor in mothers’ contemplation of marriage or cohabitation. Some

unacceptable behaviour could disqualify potential partners from selection for such a relationship. Examples of such behaviour are denying or questioning fatherhood of a child in unplanned pregnancy or being unfaithful earlier in their relationship. Infidelity leads to pity in the community, constituting socially conditioned grounds for rejection (Edin 2000:11; Steyn 1996:148).

A number of other factors related to men's behaviour and trustworthiness were also found to impact on men's marriageability. Certain men could place financial strain on the household, by being "lazy, spendthrift boyfriend[s]" (Edin and Kefalas 2005:81) or unemployed (Gatley (1987) and Snyman (1986) in Steyn 1994:48), and thus using resources needed for childrearing. Drug abuse, alcohol abuse and alcoholism (Edin and Kefalas 2005:81; Steyn 1994:48), criminal behaviour and consequent incarceration (Edin and Kefalas 2005:81), and intimate violence and abusive relationships (Edin and Kefalas 2005:81; Steyn 1994:48) are cited as further undesirable behaviours and prompted relief at their absence from the household (Steyn 1994:48).

Mistrust in men could result from women's own or observed life experiences of these behaviours, with the consequence that "mothers... [wanted] to get established economically prior to marriage because men had failed them in the past" (Edin 2000:9). Edin (2000) found that mothers cohabitating with their partner in many cases ensured they could exercise power over their partner in case of non-compliance with set rules, in order to protect themselves. They either lived with the mother's parents or had a lease on the house in the woman's name. "Mothers [thus] had the power to evict fathers if they interfered with child rearing or tried to take control over financial decision making" (Edin 2000:8). Similarly, single mothers most frequently indicated that they enjoyed the control or power they had over their own lives, in lieu of a male partner (Edin 2000:9). A short supply of men and scepticism in their motives could thus promote the prominence of single motherhood (Edin and Kefalas 2005:130); however, in some instances the behaviour of men was perceived as so severe, that "though [women] hope for marriage and often hold it as a central goal, most are at least somewhat sceptical that it can be achieved" (Edin and Kefalas 2005:130).

Furthermore, financial means has been identified as a critical factor in the decision to enter marriage or cohabitation (note the earlier discussion of men placing financial strain on households). Areas with a high degree of unemployment, declining earnings and low male education levels, were found to have small pools of marriageable men, thereby further

supporting the connection between poverty and single motherhood (McLaughlin and Lichter 1997:583; Timmer and Orbuch 2001:178; Edin 2000:2; Maclin 1980:906). In many cases women were socially discouraged from getting married to poorer men (despite feelings of love or romantic attachment), given their friends' and families' perception that "such a marriage would collapse under economic strain" (Edin 2000:7). According to Edin (2000), "economic factors have four dimensions. Though the total earnings a father can generate are clearly the most important dimension for mothers, so is the regularity of those earnings, the effort men expended finding and keeping work, and the source of his income" (Edin 2000:5).

One strategy to overcome poor financial circumstances is by marriage into a higher socio-economic class (Edin 2000:7-8). Marriage ties the mother to the social status of her partner, and thus promotes her own (Edin 2000:2-8). Upward mobility through marriage is thus deemed a solution to financial difficulty and represents an idealised vision for some women who may face ridicule at the hand of marrying within her social class (Edin 2000:8). Accordingly, if women perceive themselves as poor, societal pressures may inhibit marriage by forming attitudes regarding men's marriageability.

Additionally, in a financial sense, affordability affects the decision to marry: adequate resources to establish an independent household and an acceptable lifestyle promote marriage (Edin 2000:14). Steyn (1996:148) supported this notion, as privacy was regarded as a prerequisite for the nuclear family, implying the requirement of independence from other family members. Even so, many households include extensions of grandparents in nuclear households in the coloured community (Steyn 1996:148). Financial stability of men has been considered to be so important in marriageability, that unemployment may be the key driving factor behind rising single motherhood among poor black women (Wilson and Neckerman 1986:242). Edin and Kefalas (2005:199) criticised this argument, as it relied heavily on unemployment as indicator of marriageability, while numerous other factors could impact thereon. Although of significant importance, unemployment should be considered in conjunction with financial security of men, as indicators of marriageability.

Lastly, the expectations regarding gender roles further affect the marriageability of a partner. Suitable men are expected to match the role expectations of the single mother to be considered as potential partner, moving away from more traditional views of such roles. Women were found to progressively seek more equality in the household, having greater say, rather than being assigned a role as nurturer (Edin 2000:121). Mothers also want to be

employed in order to contribute to the family budget, and seek partners who would accept this ambition and thus allow a balance of power through economic establishment (Edin 2000:122).

Mothers' past experiences explained much of this shift from more traditional roles. In many cases, traditional roles were found to imply subservience and dependence, often imposed by men who had caused them much pain (Edin 2000:122). Edin (2000:122) found the "experience of breakup and divorce and the result in financial hardship and emotional pain fundamentally transformed these women's relational views". Steyn (1996:148) similarly reported the South African male and female, white and coloured population to express a desire to discard traditional sex-roles and move to equality in decision making. Steyn (1996:148) also found that women wished for shared responsibility and inputs in all areas of the households operations (e.g. economic activities and household tasks). Steyn (1996:148) further identified the ability to provide emotional safety in terms of a strong family unit, mutual understanding, and maturity, morality and altruism as defining factors of the marriageable man within this South African context.

In sum, male marriageability constitutes the trustworthiness of men, their financial contribution to their families and their fulfilment of desired roles within the family. Ultimately, it could be argued that singlehood might then be prominent if "good, decent, trustworthy men are in short supply" (Edin and Kefalas 2005:130), those available are financially insecure or do not tolerate equal gender-roles and do not behave altruistically.

RELIGIOUS GROUNDS FOR MARRIAGE

Religion can affect belief systems and thus behaviour, hence justifying its inclusion as a potential underlying factor of women's decision to marry. Religion was observed to have a contradictory effect on marriage, on the one hand stimulating and on the other inhibiting marriage rates. In the United States, Edin (2000:8) found that women with strong moral (religious) convictions, would resist marrying men "whose economic situation would, in their view, practically guarantee eventual marital dissolution" (Edin 2000:8). Divorce as a morally unacceptable act and expected consequence of household financial difficulty thus has an inhibiting effect on marriage. Steyn (1996:148) found that among white and coloured South Africans the permanency of marriage was an important consideration, mostly for religious reasons. In this case, respondents emphasised that under intolerable conditions, divorce was

acceptable (Steyn 1996:148), which may reduce the inhibiting effect of difficult financial conditions (in combination with the intolerance of divorce) on marriage rates.

Religion furthermore resulted in marriage being “the only acceptable form of shared life within Christianity”, promoting the manifestation thereof among women with such religious affiliation (Liefbroer (1991*b*) in Manting 1996:58). Religion can therefore be argued to inhibit marriage for fear of divorce, yet promoting it as a desirable model of cohabitation, although an “increasing acceptance of unmarried persons living together” (Maclin 1980:907), may negate the promoting effect.

LOVE AND ROMANTICISM AS A PREREQUISITE TO MARRIAGE

In a culture which values romantic ideas and love between partners as a consideration for marriage, romantic feelings or love for a partner may become a prerequisite for marriage. It appeared that mothers’ experience of love and romantic feelings received little attention in the literature, yet Steyn (1996:148) found that mutual love and respect was an important prerequisite for marriage, provided it was accompanied by open and honest two-way communication. Furthermore, “the impact of a pregnancy on the probability of marriage may vary depending on the couple’s commitment to the relationship” (Manning 1993:841). Mutual love, respect, good communication and commitment might thus be prerequisites of marriage amongst single mothers.

DISCONNECTION BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND CHILDBEARING

For many women, marriage and childbearing were not considered to necessarily be consecutive stages of life (Edin and Kefalas 2005:6; Fako 1996:7). Reasons for this phenomenon included: the variation in meaning attached to marriage and childbearing respectively, and as a value system supporting premarital childbearing.

Childbearing is an important aspect of a woman’s life across contextual settings: it represents a basis for identity and meaning, a rite of passage, and an indicator of social status (Edin and Kefalas 2005:6; Fako 1996:7; Pia du Pradal (1983) in Fako 1996:7). Marriage, on the other hand, is often perceived as a luxury, something to aspire to, but not necessarily achievable (Edin and Kefalas 2005:6). This does not imply that mothers do not attribute value to marriage, as despite the decline of the practical significance thereof, the symbolic significance of marriage has grown (Edin and Kefalas 2005:201). Marriage is further often built on principles of permanence and being sanctity, requiring high measures of commitment

in order to overcome threats thereto. Most people are unwilling to make a promise in this regard if they feel they may not be able to keep it (Edin and Kefalas 2005:136).

In addition to the different meanings attached to marriage and childbearing, individual value systems also play a key role in the two. Sexual behaviour is not limited to adulthood and parenthood is not limited to marriage. This manifestation is supported by “socio-cultural beliefs and values that reinforce and sometimes encourage unwed” parenthood (Fako 1996:7). The same implication was found for the South African population, in that variation in sexual mores could affect premarital childbearing in the country (Simkins 1986 in Ziehl 2001:38).

2.4 CONCLUSION: CHAPTER 2

This chapter aimed at providing a context and framework within which the research question could be investigated. Accordingly, literature and the theoretical context were explored in an attempt to understand the domestic lifecycle, household structures and family patterns of single mothers, as well as the reasons for single motherhood. Single mothers were considered to follow a family-developmental framework in which childbearing often preceded marriage, marriage never occurred during the lifecycle, or when it did it was usually at a late age. Single mothers also followed a domestic lifecycle within which household structures occupied during single motherhood generally consisted of the single mother household or varying types of the extended household, and not the ideal types of family patterns (including the nuclear family pattern and the extended family pattern) mentioned in the literature.

Both the structural environment and the beliefs and perceptions of mothers were identified as factors which could lead to single motherhood. Poverty was an important variable in the occurrence of single motherhood, as mothers found it financially more rewarding to remain single or unnecessary to marry due to the support they gained from family, friends, community members, and alternative households, than would have been the case with a partner. Emotional and social support constraints were similarly overcome by means of other social support from these parties.

Dominant patterns and similarities amongst the research population, more generally referred to as “culture”, were argued to form part of the foundation of mothers’ beliefs and perceptions which informed ideals around marriage. “Culture” was applied as a category of explanation for the prevalence of singlehood; however, it is important to note that although

dominant patterns can be distinguished, it is dynamic and variations can be detected within a seemingly homogeneous group. Certain sets of beliefs were identified as possible causes of non-marriage: the marriageability of men (based on their trustworthiness, financial status, and gender roles), as well as the role of religion, romanticism and the connection between marriage and childbearing were considered as possible influences on the prevalence of single motherhood. In some instances, the ideals that mothers had about marriage and opportunities to realise them did not correspond, causing mothers to remain unmarried and by extension supporting single motherhood.

The next chapter discusses the methodological approach employed in this study to explore the household structures of single mothers, their perceptions on their status quo as singles, other possible factors contributing to the prevalence of single motherhood, as well as their reflections on ideal family structure and their prospects of achieving this.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHOD

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter commences with the provision of background on the sociology of the family and the use of methods of investigation historically applied within the field, especially in the South African context. This is followed by a discussion on the research strategy and methods used to conduct the research. A mixed methods approach was utilised. Following this, more information is provided on how the study was conducted, giving a detailed discussion of living in the field and the different aspects to doing fieldwork as I, the researcher, observed and experienced it. Next, each phase of the research method is discussed in terms of the measurement instrument, sampling design and method, data collection and fieldwork practice, data capturing and processing, and the accompanying challenges and sources of error accompanied with each phase. Lastly the data analysis is discussed as applied within the mixed methods framework.

3.2 SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH STRATEGIES

It appears that much of the research on family sociology in South Africa has historically been racially biased. Steyn (1994:45) held that in the early the 1900s, research on the family life of South Africans was mostly focused on the black and white population groups. She furthermore pointed out the research amongst these two population groups was done from different paradigms for each group. Research on white family life was typically more quantitative in nature in the fields of sociology and psychology, while the black family life was typically studied from a more qualitative perspective within the field of anthropology (Steyn 1994:45). Steyn argued that a lack of research on other racial population groups such as the coloured population existed, and emphasized the divergence of research methods used amongst various racial population groups within South Africa.

Different research methods are typically associated with different ontological paradigms. Qualitative approaches are typically associated with constructivism⁵, whereas quantitative

⁵ A constructivist epistemology refers to a belief about the nature and scope of knowledge contesting “our understanding of the world is inevitably a construction of our own perspectives and standpoint” (Creswell & Clark 2011:45).

approaches are typically associated with realism⁶ (Creswell and Clark 2011:40). The white and black population groups in South Africa were thus historically considered from two different ontological frameworks: the white group was predominantly studied in terms of realist ontology, while the black group was mostly studied from a constructivist epistemology. It should be noted that each paradigm has its own merit and both are necessary to explore various aspects of the family research domain. “Survey data, of course, can teach us a great deal, but surveys, though they have meticulously tabulated [trends], have led us to a dead end when it comes to fully understanding the forces behind it” (Edin and Kefalas 2005:5). Both qualitative and quantitative data are thus necessary to develop our knowledge about the South African family domain.

Family sociology in South Africa has thus far not only been limited in knowledge owing to its exclusion of racial groups, such as the coloured population, also in its knowledge of the groups that *have* been researched, due to the restricted use of research methods and accompanying ontological paradigms. It becomes useful to explore a society within all of these paradigms to develop a holistic understanding as such. It can therefore be argued that South African society can benefit from such all-inclusive family research.

Qualitative research was found to be especially under-represented in family sociology in general, leading to the body of social science evidence rarely being “based on the perspectives and life experiences of the women who are its subjects” (Edin and Kefalas 2005:5). This was found to be the case specifically in work on marriage attitude among low-SES women, “[which] suffers from a lack of up-to-date qualitative work” (Edin 2000:2). While quantitative research is better represented, Steyn (1996) concluded, based on Adams’ (1988), Skolnick’s (1992) and Miller’s (1993) academic work that “major criticism came to the fore about ‘various researchers’ interpretations that developed in the course of the debate on the state of family life in western society... [What] researchers read into the statistical trends is thus based more on their own systems of family values than on the values in respect of the family held by members of the researched population” (Steyn 1996: 144).

Quantitative research does have a function in the development of knowledge in family sociology; however, qualitative research is of utmost importance if these findings are to be understood in the specific context of the study population and interpreted accordingly, to

⁶Realism refers to a belief about the nature of reality, contesting “there is a real world that exists independently of our perceptions, theories, and constructions” (Creswell & Clark 2011:45).

minimize ideological partiality created because of a lack of understanding of said context by the researchers. As Steyn (1996:144) argued, it is important “to take the views and values the population holds on the relevant issues into account”, to explore the family life of the research population.

3.3 MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

One possible solution to the shortcomings associated with each individual research method (qualitative and quantitative) and their related ontological paradigms (realism and constructivism) is found in the application of mixed methods research⁷, supported by a critical realist ontology⁸. The application of mixed methods research is considered to draw on the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Critical realism “is a philosophical perspective that validates and supports key aspects of both quantitative and qualitative approaches. While identifying some specific limitations of each, critical realism...can constitute a productive stance for mixed methods research and facilitate collaboration between quantitative and qualitative researchers” (Creswell and Clark 2011:45), even though the critical realist perspective, together with the mixed method approach, “recognizes that different paradigms give rise to contradictory ideas and contested arguments... [and reflects] different ways of knowing about and valuing the social world” (Creswell and Clark 2011:45). Creswell and Clark (2011:45) contend that “multiple paradigms may be used in mixed methods research; researchers must simply be explicit in their use”.

Mixed methods thus enable the researcher to investigate a research problem from a critical realist ontology, minimizing the impact of each method and paradigm’s shortcomings, and enabling the researcher to approach the research problem from a holistic worldview. The utility of this method of research becomes apparent in cases where an “all-encompassing worldview” (Creswell and Clark 2011:46) might be the best way to approach the study, thereby enabling the researcher to “adopt a pluralistic stance of gathering all types of data to best answer the research question” (Creswell and Clark 2011:46).

⁷ “Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches... for the purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration” (Johnson et al 2007 in Creswell & Clark 2011:4).

⁸ Critical realism refers to an ontological stance where realist ontology is integrated with a constructivist epistemology (Maxwell & Mittapalli in Press in Creswell & Clark 2011:45).

Previous South African family studies typically employed either qualitative or quantitative methods; however, in an attempt to widen the scope of application of family sociology both these methods were employed in the course of this study and a mixed methods research design was used to investigate the research questions. This design presented an opportunity to explore the subject broadly and in depth in light of the lack of family research conducted within the low socio-economic, rural, coloured community. This contributed to a more holistic understanding of this domain (the critical realist ontology in this case). Mixed methods furthermore enabled the researcher to explore different aspects of the research question in the most applicable and sufficient way.

When the research questions were considered, it became clear that certain parts of the question required a more quantitative approach to investigation, while others required a more qualitative approach. Those elements concerned with the structural layout and characteristics of the research population, such as exploring the typical household structures of single mothers or exploring the socio-economic and socio-demographic characteristics and context of the research population, required a quantitative approach. A quantitative approach was also applied to make generalisations about those themes addressed in the qualitative part of the study. Qualitative methods allow for limited (if any) generalization and scope, if these themes are explored within a quantitative way, the scope of qualitative findings can be uncovered (Babbie and Mouton 2001). The quantitative method was thus applied in order to firstly explore questions regarding structural elements, secondly to help build a socio-demographic and socio-economic milieu within which findings are to be understood and framed, and lastly to act in a complimentary capacity in order to make generalizations about themes found within qualitative research.

A qualitative strategy was used to answer questions concerned with the subjective views of the research population. These methods were used to explore research aims concerning single mothers' perceptions on the reasons for their status as such, as well as in an attempt to explore single mothers' reflections on ideal family structure and their prospects of achieving this. The themes identified here were also used to inform the quantitative part, i.e. the survey, for the next phase of the study. The qualitative and quantitative methods applied in this study followed a research design called 'exploratory sequential design'⁹, combining this design

⁹ "The Exploratory sequential design... uses sequential timing... The exploratory design begins with and prioritizes the collection and analysis of qualitative data in the first phase. Building from the exploratory results,

with certain characteristics of the ‘convergent parallel design’¹⁰. The research design is discussed in the following section.

3.3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

An exploratory sequential design was implemented, in that the design followed sequential timing starting off with qualitative data collection, followed by quantitative data collection. More precisely, the research was conducted in three stages: a qualitative explorative or pilot phase consisting of participant observation, a qualitative phase consisting of in-depth interviews, and lastly a quantitative phase consisting of a socio-economic survey. Also, as is typical of the exploratory sequential design, the collection and analysis of qualitative data were prioritized while the quantitative phase functioned to test and generalize the initial findings of the qualitative phase. Some quantitative data were analysed separately in order to answer a different aspect of the question (such as the exploration of structural elements, building a socio-demographic profile and exploring the socio-economic milieu, as previously discussed), only combining the findings in the end.

3.4 CONDUCTING FIELDWORK

In qualitative social research it is important to recognize the researcher’s influence on the research setting. One needs to take into account the researcher’s own views and characteristics and the influence this might have on the research participants as well as the way information is collected and interpreted. Therefore it was deemed necessary to reflect on my experiences and how it might have impacted on the research setting and observations.

During all three stages of data gathering, which lasted eight months and started on the 29th of March 2011, I lived in the village of Suurbraak. A fellow student – who also conducted his research in the same village – and I conducted a preliminary visit to Suurbraak to explore the field or domain for the particular studies. Soon after our arrival, we found a house to rent for the remainder of our stay in the middle of the village, which proved valuable in attaining rapport and facilitating observation. The presence of a fellow student proved to be invaluable

the researcher conducts a second, quantitative phase to test or generalize the initial findings. The researcher then interprets how the quantitative results build on the initial qualitative results” (Creswell & Clark 2011:71).

¹⁰ “The Convergent parallel design... occurs when the researcher uses concurrent timing to implement the quantitative and qualitative strands during the same phase of the research process, prioritizing the methods equally, and keeps the strands independent during analysis and then mixes the results during the overall interpretation” (Creswell & Clark 2011:70-71).

during this phase. As it is an enormous task to familiarize oneself with the field and find appropriate informants, the co-student and I could often exchange information that we gathered and inform each other if one happened to find an informant who could also be helpful within the other's study.

It sometimes so happened that we would observe different relevant phenomena within the field, and could share these observations with each other. This contributed to our knowledge about the field. Being two students exploring the field turned out to be truly beneficial as it gave us the opportunity to explore a wider area of the field through observation and participants, and gave both the opportunity to reflect on ideas by speaking to someone who could relate to the field and research. During this time, it became apparent that living in the field not only had an impact on me as observer and researcher, but that I in turn might have affected the research population I was studying. More specifically, it became apparent that my white, 'middle class', metropolitan background, then living within a mostly coloured, lower income rural village, most likely had an impact not only on myself but likely also on the way my research population viewed me. The next two sections will in the first instance discuss how this experience impacted on me, followed by the possible influence my own characteristics had on the way the research population perceived me.

3.4.1 ACCULTURATION

Living in the field gave me a rich insight and understanding of the study population and environment, which could not have been otherwise obtained. A survey or in-depth interviews in isolation would not have yielded such meaningful results. This point is substantiated if it is considered how living in 'the field' challenged and enriched my own understandings and views.

I came to realise over the eight months I lived there, that I was quite naive as to the conditions, culture, and environment I would be living in, and the experience would later affect my personal worldview significantly. The experience of living in a community vastly different from my middle class upbringing certainly had a great impact and brought about a great change in my previously held ideas, beliefs, and understanding of the world. I realised that the concepts and categories that I used and took for granted had gained a more grounded and deeper meaning for me. These concepts include, for example, 'family', 'poverty' (and all the facets associated therewith) as well as a 'sense of community' and 'rurality', just to

mention a few. Living in the field gave me the opportunity to gain insight, and ultimately practise *verstehen*¹¹ within my research population.

Except for the way in which living in the field changed my understanding of previously, seemingly, foreign concepts, it also gave me the *verstehen* of how these concepts sometimes seemed to relate. I for instance quickly came to see poverty on a daily basis, observing how this influenced people's ways of doing and also their ideas and perceptions. Within this environment typically characterized by poverty, the notion of 'a sense of community' and its apparent link with poverty also became apparent. Initially I felt accepted in the community, only to realize later on that I still remained an outsider. In spite of this, I experienced a 'sense of community' which I have not experienced in other milieus I have been exposed to.

It became apparent that the community members in Suurbraak looked after each other, even if there was often conflict between them, demonstrating a strong sense of community. I came to experience and live this notion to such a degree, that I found it challenging to adapt to the weaker sense of community I was welcomed back within my own social environment. To get to experience and understand these concepts (such as 'sense of community' and 'poverty' as mentioned previously), however, did not come easily. The initial warm welcome was followed by the realization that one remained an outsider. It was only after this realization had been processed that I could get to really understand and appreciate the environment of the study population.

3.4.2 POTENTIAL INFLUENCE ON THE RESEARCH POPULATION

When my colleague and I first arrived in Suurbraak, as previously mentioned, I felt accepted and was welcomed with warmth and hospitality. It later became apparent that my own characteristics did act as a barrier in certain ways, at the beginning more so than later on. I discovered incongruities between what Suurbraak inhabitants would tell me in the early stages of the research, compared to their later statements. Many of these discrepancies might be due to an acceptance bias.

¹¹Verstehen refers to "the German term instead of its English equivalent, which is "understanding". Understanding is a general term approximating the German 'Begreifen' and does not convey the specific meaning intended by the term 'Verstehen', which implies a particular kind of understanding, applicable primarily to human behaviour. Understanding is synonymous with comprehension, and Lundberg is perfectly right when he asserts (in Foundations of Sociology [New York: Macmillan Co., 1939], p. 51) that "understanding is the end at which all methods aim, rather than a method in itself". In this sense "understanding" is the goal of all sciences. Verstehen, on the other hand, is viewed by its proponents as a method by means of which we can explain human behaviour" (Abel 1948:211).

Having my own, relatively different socio-demographic profile, I allowed respondents to construct their own framework of what I would most likely be like, such as what my values, beliefs and standpoints in life would be. This might have altered the way they responded to the conversations we had, giving answers they would have thought would be acceptable to me. Given that I was particularly interested in the single mothers of Suurbraak, this problem of acceptability might have arisen partly due to the fact that I was living with a male partner. This might have given the impression that I have a preference for the nuclear family, or that I held no reservations regarding premarital cohabitation (thus speaking to my operant value system).

I attempted to manage this effect by exercising extreme care to never employ judgmental language regarding family structure or push the idea of an alternative such as the nuclear family as being more acceptable or admirable. In my conversations I tried to make it as clear as possible that I am not there to judge, but only to understand. I also tried to target this problem by having conversations in a very informal atmosphere, such as while casually visiting respondents.

Even though the in-depth interviews were more formal, a lot of conversations with community members took place over the period I lived there while having a cup of tea, informally visiting, sitting around the fireplace, or while driving in the car. These settings promoted a friendly and secure setting for sensitive conversations, ultimately casting the relationships more as friendships, than those of a researcher and respondents. This seemed to have worked well, in that women later on spoke much more freely and openly about research topics. As could be often expected in qualitative research strategies, I felt that information was often provided to me on the basis of a friend-relationship more than a researcher-respondent relationship, as this social relationship developed between some villagers and myself. In spite of some relationships becoming quite close during my stay in Suurbraak, I made my status as researcher clear and no participant was unaware of my role as researcher.

3.4.3 OTHER CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED LIVING IN THE FIELD

A number of other challenges also became very prevalent while living in the field. These included appeals for assistance by villagers, overcoming potential bias as a result of cliques, time constraints and issues conflicting with my own value and belief system.

Appeals for assistance required continuous attention throughout the period that I was living in the field, often taking the form of inhabitants looking to borrow money, food or transport to nearby towns. This could possibly be explained by practices of sharing that I observed during my stay in Suurbraak. Suurbraak inhabitants would often tell me that poverty would result in them sometimes not having enough resources to get by with. In such instances other community members would provide for them, when they had the means to do so. There is an apparent expectation between community members that a mutual provision of resources is to be maintained, given that one community member can afford assistance to another in a time of need. It could be argued that because I was perceived as a person with more resources than most locals (including a car), I was expected to provide in their time of need.

Another challenge was that cliques existed within the community, and special care had to be taken not to be too closely associated with any one of these, as this would risk bias in who would be prepared to speak to me and what they might unveil in my presence if it were thought that I supported a specific social, religious or political group. Special care, therefore, had to be taken not to be perceived as uninvolved, or as being part of or favouring a perceived opposing group.

I also observed a difference in the everyday boundaries set out for social and private time - I had to adapt to very little privacy or time spent without villagers visiting me without prior notice. This made writing up observations and analysing data throughout my stay challenging and limited the availability of reflection time. I consequently had to manage my time and set stricter boundaries during my stay in the field, even though it remained a challenge throughout. This challenge was somewhat offset by the insights and assistance I gained in forming personal connections with the locals.

Lastly, it was more difficult to be impartial at all times, for some issues challenged and were in conflict with my identity and my own set of values and beliefs. It rapidly became apparent that I, as new-comer to the village, was under close observation by the villagers. For the sake of data quality, I consequently needed to put much effort into fulfilling my role as researcher - understanding conflicting views - rather than exposing my own preferences. Even though this was challenging at times, it is a skill developed from necessity in a short period of time.

3.5 THE FIRST PHASE: PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

The first stage of the study was participant observation and lasted three months. The aim of this stage was to present myself with a better understanding of the context and to

- assist in determining context-specific dimensions for the stages to follow
- gain an insider's perspective on the community and environment
- become familiar with the site; and also
- establish rapport with community members.

During this phase, a significant change in the openness of individuals regarding their lives and a growing willingness to share more about themselves was witnessed. This phase of the study functioned as a valuable platform to develop conceptual guidelines for the phases to come.

Living in the field, observing the community and participating in everyday activities and conversations with community members provided a foundational understanding of and insight into the context specific dimensions relevant to this particular community. Unstructured interviews with individuals identified as key informants were also conducted in order to develop greater understanding of Suurbraak and its inhabitants. Eight unstructured interviews were conducted with key informants including political figures, nurses, teachers, religious figures and the local social worker. Lastly, daily informal conversations with inhabitants, as well as observations on family structures provided rich data specifically related to the research questions.

The data gathered in this phase informed the two phases that followed, in that it allowed the construction of better informed and more applicable response items in the development of the semi-structured interview schedule as well as the survey questionnaire. It should, however, be noted that this first phase overlapped with the other two phases, as causal observations continued throughout the duration of the study.

3.6 THE SECOND PHASE: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured interviews were conducted as primary method of data collection, in order to explore the role of single mothers' perceptions, attitudes and beliefs in explaining their living arrangements.

3.6.1 THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix A) consisting of an initial 44 items was developed for this phase of the study and covered five specific themes. To allow for flexibility and richer qualitative data to be collected, the interview schedule was adapted throughout the course of each interview as other relevant themes came to the fore. A conversational style was utilised in the interview and questions were not necessarily followed strictly according to the schedule; themes were explored as they developed in conversation with the respondent.

Five main themes were explored during the interview. A conversational style of interviewing was adopted and as such no particular sequence of questioning was followed. This resulted in the themes overlapping where a topic of particular relevance conversationally emerged during discussion of another. The interview started off with a life history which covered background information on the respondent, such as marital status, whether they had children, their age, their age at the birth of their children, where they were from, changes in family and household structure throughout their lives, and who they lived with at that moment. The remaining four themes included: their understanding of family structure focusing on perceptions, attitudes and beliefs; support for mothers in childrearing; perceptions of structural-demographic factors that could constrict mothers' options; and finally a concluding question asking if there was anything else they would like to add.

The aim of the interview was to understand participants' context, available options regarding household structure and support for childrearing, as well as the underlying reasons for their current circumstances. To understand current circumstances the interview also explored participants' perceptions, attitudes and beliefs regarding childbearing, marriage, and gender relations. It furthermore aimed to understand how non-marriage and non-cohabitation came about by exploring the alternative household structures that were being modelled instead of the two-parent household model, and why women found themselves in these household structures. The interview questions consequently explored the current household structure as well as the understanding women had regarding various aspects that might contribute to the current structure.

3.6.2 SAMPLING

Participants were selected by means of snowball sampling and to some extent convenience sampling, as an informant identified relevant potential participants. Living in the field further promoted the identification of potential participants, who were approached to participate in the study. No predetermined number of participants was specified; interviews were rather conducted until data saturation was reached.

Specific selection criteria were placed on which individuals would be allowed to form part of the sample population. Participants were restricted to married and unmarried women with children. The sample included mothers with both dependent and independent children. If their children were already independent they reflected back during the interviews on the specific time when their children were still dependent. The majority of participants were unmarried women, including never-married mothers, widows, as well as divorced mothers. Married mothers were also interviewed in order to establish comparable data to understand the unique character of single mothers' circumstances. This allowed comparison between unmarried and married women raising children in a two-parent family. Participants were between the ages of 20 and 60, and were permanent inhabitants of Suurbraak. No males were included in the sample, as this study only focused on understanding single motherhood from the female perspective. As previously mentioned this decision was made as including males' views would fall beyond the scope of this study and its intended contributions.

3.6.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND FIELDWORK PRACTICE

A total of 24 face-to-face, semi-structured interviews were conducted by the researcher. These interviews were conducted at participants' own homes, or that of the researcher, depending on which option suited the participant best. Introductions were done firstly, after which the potential participant was informed about what the study was about and then asked if they would be interested to participate therein. Participants were then informed of their right not to answer any questions they did not wish to, as well as their right to refuse complete participation in the study and to withdraw participation at any time. The confidentiality of the conversation was also ensured. After the study was explained to the participant, they were also given a consent form which they could read for themselves if they wished to do so and were asked to sign in order to give consent to participate in the study (Appendix C). No potential participant refused to participate, though in one instance a

participant refused to explicate on a certain topic. This emphasises the sensitivity of the topics explored during these interviews.

The rapport established during the first stage and by living in the village during the time of the interviews, was of great value in promoting willing and open communication on sensitive topics. The conversations were recorded with the permission of the participant for later transcription. The reason for recording the interview was explained to the participant and permission was granted in each case. It did not seem to have influenced the participants' responses and they seemed at ease with the idea of being recorded. Interviews were conducted during the period of August 2011 and September 2011, each lasting between 30 to 90 minutes.

3.6.4 QUALITATIVE DATA CAPTURING AND PROCESSING

All the recorded interviews were transcribed and in cases where interviews were interrupted and later continued, or conducted over a number of occasions, transcripts were combined to form one continuous case capturing the whole of the recorded interview, rather than its parts alone. Next, data were organised according to various stages of the study. In-depth semi-structured interviews with the participants were separated from those unstructured interviews conducted with informants during the first stage. A final category of collected data included field notes on everyday observations and conversations with Suurbraak inhabitants.

3.6.5 CHALLENGES, SHORTCOMINGS AND SOURCES OF ERROR

The characteristics of me as the researcher and the potential impact that I might have had on the expectancy bias have already been discussed. This potential was realised to some degree, as certain inconsistencies emerged during the course of the interviews. In some cases participants offered different details during the course of the interview. In these cases, I probed the subject further in order to understand and explore the inconsistency and obtain a more truthful answer.

Inconsistencies in responses could have been due to participants being unsure and reluctant to share personal information with someone they did not know very well. However, they became more at ease as the interview progressed. Another possible implication was that participants had not always thought through the topics explored during the interviews and only made sense thereof during the course of the interview or the researcher's probing. This

was confirmed by the fact that in many cases participants thanked me for listening and allowing them to discuss topics they otherwise never did, claiming that it was good to talk about it. In this sense, it can be argued that in some instances participants never had the opportunity to make sense of their beliefs, attitudes, ideas and perceptions on some of the topics and never explicitly thought and spoke about the relevant topics.

Lastly, discrepancies may also have been due to the fact that participants felt shy or hesitant to tell the truth, but later on failed to reconcile earlier statements with later ones or they might have forgotten what they had initially said. This was likely mitigated by the rapport established between the participant and I and might have varied during the course of the interview. Regardless of the reason for the apparent contradictions, the researcher at all times ensured that an answer was as valid as possible through probing.

Another source of possible error in the reliability of participants' accounts should also be taken into account, especially for those mothers whose children are not dependent anymore and were only reflecting back on their life at the time when their children were still dependent. Because there might be quite a time lapse between now and then, memory decay could possibly occur and weaken the reliability of what they hold to be true at the time of the interview.

3.7 THE THIRD PHASE: QUANTITATIVE SURVEY

The last phase of data collection consisted of a survey intended to inform the researcher on the structural environment, socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the research population, to define the household structures of single mothers, as well as to develop generalizations on some of the findings made in the qualitative phases.

3.7.1 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

A multi-purpose questionnaire combining various context specific indicators was used (Appendix B). These indicators were identified to serve this study as well as that of my fellow student. The questions included in this questionnaire were a combination of those included in a survey previously used in Suurbraak in 1996, referred to as the Datadesk survey (Raubenheimer, Vorster, Muller and Rossouw 1996); another survey previously used in Avian Park in Worcester (Heineken, Vorster and Du Plessis 2011); and context specific questions based on qualitative work done by the researcher and fellow student.

The most relevant items contained in the Datadesk 1996 and Avian Park 2011 questionnaires were included in this questionnaire (within reasonable limits in length) with some elements overlapping the two studies. The survey drew on a more complicated design than those typically used in self-administered surveys. This in addition to potentially low literacy levels required the services of trained fieldworkers prompting respondents on items and capturing their responses appropriately.

The final questionnaire comprised seven sections (139 items) across the two studies, each exploring a different aspect relevant to the sample population. These sections included:

- Section A: General household characteristics
- Section B: The genogram, socio-demographics and living arrangements
- Section C: Financial dynamics
- Sections D and E: Food security and farming
- Section F: Social capital and social cohesion
- Section G: Single motherhood

It should be noted here that because the survey was constructed to fulfil the needs of my own study and that of my fellow student, many items included in the survey were not applicable to my study. For my study section B (the genogram, socio-demographics and living arrangements); section F (social capital and social cohesion) and section G (single motherhood) were predominantly utilized; while some questions from section A (general household characteristics) and section C (financial dynamics) were also used. Section D and Section E mostly featured in assisting my fellow student in his research study (see Appendix B for the full survey questionnaire). Specific questions used from each section and how they were utilized within the analysis of my study is indicated in the findings chapter.

It is also worth mentioning that the lengthy survey (139 items) could have been taxing on respondents, which might have influenced their capacity to answer questions towards the end on the interview thoughtfully. This is the result of a multi-purpose questionnaire, however the core benefit was realised in overcoming resource and time constraints.

3.7.2 PREPARATION BEFORE CONDUCTING THE SURVEY

After the questionnaire was constructed, a pilot study was conducted to identify and address issues regarding validity and structure before applying it to the sample. This pilot study was conducted in Stanford, a small town in the Overberg region, with a similar socio-economic

environment. My fellow researcher and I piloted the questionnaire on 10 households, after which alterations to the questionnaire were made according to shortcomings that became apparent during these interviews. After the pilot study, the training of fieldworkers was conducted. A co-student and I acted as the fieldworker trainers. After explaining to fieldworkers how to properly conduct the interviews for the survey and how to use the questionnaire in detail, they had to practice applying the questionnaire to themselves and on us (my co-student and I). Once we were satisfied that all fieldworkers were conducting the interview in a proper manner and according to ethical standards, data collection could commence.

Eight fieldworkers, between ages 18 to 23, of which five were female and three male, were trained over the course of three days. The fieldworkers were all from a small village, close to Suurbraak, called Buffeljagsrivier. The fieldworkers were recruited by the Swellendam Municipality. The requirements were that all fieldworkers had to speak Afrikaans – the primary language of the research population – and that they all had at least matric. Buffeljagsrivier inhabitants proved to be ideally suited as fieldworkers, as they were from the same cultural, socio-economic, and ethnic background as those of Suurbraak. Training was conducted in the municipal office in Buffeljagsrivier, which Swellendam Municipality was polite enough to offer the use of for that period of time.

The first day of training consisted of explaining the project, informing fieldworkers what was expected of them during the course of the fieldwork, and working through the employment contract. The questionnaire was also introduced. During the remainder of the training, each question on the questionnaire was thoroughly explained to the fieldworkers, how to record responses, the protocol for conducting such interviews was explained and practiced, ethics was thoroughly discussed, and finally fieldworkers practiced in pairs of two to conduct the interview. After these three days, the fieldworkers felt fairly confident to conduct the survey in the field. Fieldworkers were paid R150 per day, including the days they trained.

3.7.3 SAMPLING

A hard copy of a land-use map of Suurbraak was obtained from Urban Dynamics. Suurbraak was divided into nine different areas identified to represent different zones in the village according to its inhabitants. A stratified sample (Babbie and Mouton 2001) was then selected, proportionate to the size of each area. Starting at a random point in each area, a systematic

selection (Babbie and Mouton 2001) was followed. The area comprised a total of 600 dwellings and 200 were consequently included in the sample.

When fieldwork was conducted according to these identified dwellings, it emerged that many of these dwellings were permanently vacant or holiday homes. The map also turned out to be inaccurate at certain places and informal housing was not always recorded thereon. This led to a re-examination of the sample and was altered to adjust for these factors. Accounting for vacant homes, inaccurate land-use indicators, and informal housing, a total of 465 occupied dwellings could be identified. Of these, 155 dwellings (a third) were selected for the sample according to the same sampling method.

In seven cases, households refused to participate in the survey. In these cases the next-door dwellings were selected. In 31% of the cases fieldworkers had to make appointments to conduct the survey at a different time.

3.7.4 FIELDWORK

Data were collected over three days: from 6 to 8 October 2011. Each fieldworker conducted seven interviews per day, on average. The Swellendam Municipality allowed use of the community centre in Suurbraak as a base during fieldwork. Fieldworkers were jointly managed by both researchers: while one was assigning dwellings to fieldworkers, dropping them off at and picking them up from the sampled dwellings, the other one was checking completed questionnaires for quality and discussing possible errors with fieldworkers at the community centre where the base was. Where mistakes or incomplete information was identified, fieldworkers were sent back to the dwelling to correct the questionnaire. One fieldworker was found to be incapable of conducting surveys according to the specified standards and committed fraudulent practices, and was subsequently dismissed.

Fieldworkers conducted face-to-face interviews with the person in the household identified by its members to be the most knowledgeable about household affairs. Before the interviews (based on the questionnaire) began, the fieldworkers were required to explain the purpose of the study, state that all information would be held confidential, and to inform respondents of their right not to participate or to refuse to answer any particular questions they felt uncomfortable with (Appendix C). Respondents who agreed to these terms signed a consent form indicating their acceptance of the relevant conditions.

The conclusion of data collection for the survey also marked the end of our stay in the field. To end our fieldwork and say our goodbyes, we organised a farewell occasion with the fieldworkers and went on to say goodbye and thank all of the Suurbraak inhabitants we came to know and who had shared this journey with us.

3.7.5 QUANTITATIVE DATA CAPTURING AND PROCESSING

Data from the survey were entered into Statistics Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The data were cleaned to identify and correct any coding and data-entry errors. Data-cleaning involved various actions, including:

- Coded data were checked to ensure that capturing was accurate and correct. In cases where errors were apparent, the data were checked against the original hard copy of the relevant questionnaire and corrected accordingly. Missing values were assigned in cases where corrections were impossible.
- Variables were checked for invalid codes (i.e. values falling outside the valid code range for each variable)
- Internal consistency was also checked. For example, if a series of questions were only asked of respondents with a certain characteristic (e.g. age, gender or work status), then it was verified that legitimate codes were entered only for those respondents qualifying according to required characteristics, and “not applicable” was assigned to those respondents that do not hold the set of prescribed criteria for the set of questions. The data were also checked for logical inconsistencies.

3.7.6 MIXED METHODS DATA ANALYSES

Qualitative and quantitative data analysis did not occur simultaneously: qualitative data were analysed before the quantitative part of the study began. In order to explore the subjective realities of single mothers, as was the aim with the qualitative data, a grounded theory approach was used, allowing the creation and development of theory, rather than testing existing hypotheses. For this reason analytical induction was used to analyse the captured data in the qualitative phase. Relevant categories and themes were identified and constructed as they became apparent in the interviews. The analysis of qualitative data mainly focused on exploring the origin of single motherhood across eight prominent themes, including: the relationship between marriage and motherhood; the availability of prospective partners when

‘marriageable’ characteristics of prospective partners are considered; mothers’ views on the sufficiency of support found without a partner; the negative experiences of mothers in the past keeping them from committing to a partner again; later marriage viewed as more ideal and often subsequent to child bearing; the role of religious beliefs amongst mothers in non-marriage; mothers’ perceptions on the ‘freedoms’ related to not being married or cohabitating; and mothers’ views on how their children restrain them from having a partner.

Upon initial analysis of the qualitative data it emerged that certain categories and themes were strongly related to characteristics of mothers, i.e. whether mothers have previously been married (thus being divorced or widowed). Categorization of the respondents’ perceptions and attitudes, according to their specific life experiences in terms of marital status yielded meaningful results. Single mothers who were divorced, separated, or widowed, displayed different perceptual reasons for their family structure, than those who had never cohabitated or been married. For those mothers who had cohabitated or been married before, perceptions of family formation were framed specifically in comparison to a previous part of her life experiences (i.e. singlehood as opposed to when they were part of a two-parent union). Single mothers who had experienced life in such a two-parent union, displayed different conceptualisations (or subjective realities) than did never-married women, based on their individual family developmental frameworks. Themes were extracted and data were analysed based on the distinction between these two categories. Apart from the qualitative results being used independently to form part of the findings, after qualitative data had been gathered and analysed, it was also used to inform some elements of the quantitative survey.

The quantitative data were primarily analysed to produce descriptive information. Data were analysed using SPSS to describe the household structures of single mothers, to describe context specific characteristics of the research environment, to generalize some of the categories and themes explored in the qualitative phase, and to describe how these perceptions compared to those Suurbraak inhabitants who were not single mothers.

To explore the context specific characteristics of the environment, descriptive statistical analysis, most often frequency distributions, were utilized. In some instances frequency distribution was performed on the entire sample (not utilizing filters to only include specific individuals). This included frequency distribution analysis indicating: the language (question A1); race (question B3); the resources coming from outside the households (questions B40 and B41); the degree to which respondents feel other Suurbraak inhabitants are willing to

help them in their time of need (question F1A); and the importance of practices such as foraging, hunting, fishing and subsistence farming in inhabitants' survival (questions E1 to E12 and E16) (see Appendix B for questions as indicated). In other instances, new variables were created from the survey data, while filters were set to only include individuals with certain characteristics into the calculations.

The proportion of mothers of marital age according to their marital status was determined by first identifying which individuals are mothers. This was done by including all women indicating either their age or they 'can't remember' at question B11 (Appendix B). A variable was created from these data indicating whether a woman is a mother or not. 'Marital status' (question B9) categories were also collapsed to form only two categories: single (including never-married; divorced, separated or widowed) and non-single (including married or cohabitating). Only individuals considered to be of marriageable age are taken into account when determining marriage rate. Marriageable age here excludes individuals younger than or within school-going age. At age 17 just over a quarter (26%) do not attend school anymore. After age 17 the percentage attending school declines until age 21, at which age no respondent attends school anymore. Seventeen years of age is subsequently used as cut-off for inclusion in marital status data, to avoid over-representing the percentage of the population who are never-married, and only compare it to the part of the population most likely to enter marriage. Hence only mothers 17 years or older were included in the calculation of marital status.

To determine the percentage of mothers with dependent children who are single, it was first determined which children were dependent. A variable indicating 'dependent children' was created using age (question B2) and educational status (question B20) (Appendix B). All children younger than school-going age and those younger than 18 who are still attending school were considered 'dependent children'. Those children not attending school (n=9; only between ages 15 to 18) are assumed to have left school early to pursue some form of productive venture (i.e. employment or childrearing) and are thus categorized as independent from caregivers. It is realised that this is an imperfect definition of dependency as it is possible that these children may yet be dependent on caregivers in reality. However there are no other indicators in the questionnaire to determine dependency. Using the data obtained through question B5 in the questionnaire, it was determined which mothers have 'dependent' children.

To determine the percentage of mothers who were either single or non-single at the time they had their first child, another filter was used to only include ‘mothers’ (the variable created as explained previously) in the calculations. To determine whether a mother was single or not at the time of her first child, her ‘age at the first time she cohabitated or married’ (question B10) in addition to her ‘age at the first time she had a child’ (question B11) were used to calculate whether she was single or not at the time of her first child. If her age at the first time she had a child was less than her age at the first time she married or cohabitated, she was considered single at the time of her first child and vice versa. In the cases where ‘I don’t know’ were recorded or where their age at the first time having a child and were married or cohabitated were equal, these cases were dropped from calculations.

To determine the proportions of dependent children living with only their mother, only their father, neither parent, or both parents, a variable was firstly created indicating which living arrangement a child occupies using data from questions B5 and B6 (Appendix B). A filter was then set to only include dependent children to determine the percentage of these children living with either one of the four arrangements as specified in the variable. In addition a filter was used to include those children living only with their mothers (as a category created within the variable indicating the living arrangements of children). Question B8 (Appendix B) is used to determine the percentage of these children who have never lived with their living father; have sometimes lived with their living fathers; or have a father who had passed away.

Another variable was created to indicate the income levels of each individual according to the total combined earnings of all household members. To determine the per capita household income the sum of all the household monetary resources were divided by the number of household members. Thus all individuals in the household were deemed to have access to the same amount of income. Income included the following sources: employment (question B29); social assistance grants (questions B32 to B38); private maintenance (question B39); regular payments or financial contributions from someone outside the household (question B40); as well as any other source of financial resources (question B42). These values were grouped into seven categories based on monthly per capita household income level. These seven categories comprised: below FPL (R321); above FPL but below LBPL (R443); above LBPL but below UBPL (R620); above UBPL (between R621 and R999); R1000- R1999; R2000-R2999; and > R3000 as per categories proposed by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA 2014: 8).

To explore the socio-economic conditions, the population is divided into two main categories, broadly based on the definitions as per the United Nations (n.d.): the ‘economically active’ (EA) part and the ‘not-economically active’ (NEA) part. A new variable was created to indicate whether the individual is either EA or NEA using questions B2, B25, B26 and B30. For purposes of this study, 15 years of age was deemed the youngest at which a person may legally enter employment in South Africa and therefore be EA. The EA population comprises everyone (15 years and older) who are involved in, or looking to, generate income and participate in business through their own business or employment. The NEA proportion comprises everyone who is either too young to work (i.e. younger than 15), or of legal age to be employed (15 years and older) but not participating in income generating activities, nor seeking opportunity to do so.

The EA category was further divided into two groups: employed and unemployed persons. Based on the values attributed to each individual being either EA or NEA, a new variable was created in which each individual who were classified as EA was furthermore sub-categorized as either being employed or unemployed. In addition to using a filter to only include those cases labeled as EA, the data of questions B25 and B30 were utilized to calculate whether the individual were either employed or unemployed. Those who indicated being currently employed or otherwise earning money were deemed to be employed while those who were not engaged as such but seeking opportunity to be or awaiting a job were deemed unemployed.

A variable indicating whether a mother with a dependent child is single or not was also created. This variable was created using the variable pertaining to the presence of dependent children, and categorising these mothers according to their collapsed (single and non-single) marital status categories.

To explore the domestic lifecycle of mothers, again only mothers with dependent children at the time of the study were considered. Analysis of single mothers with dependent children was done according to three separate categories: firstly all single mothers were considered; then only never-married mothers; followed by divorced and widowed mothers.

In order to explore the domestic lifecycle of single mothers, two variables were created. A variable pertaining to the household structure (categorized according to the conceptualization discussed in chapter 2) based on the genograms (see page 5 of the questionnaire) as well as

question B4 (the relationships of household members to each other). Another variable was created to indicate the type of extended household occupied for those cases where an extended household was indeed occupied. Again, the genograms and question B4 were used to label each extended household with its applicable type.

To explore the household structures of all single mothers with dependent children the relationship between their marital status (question B9) was compared to the household structures they occupied.

This was followed by an exploration of the relationship between mothers living in extended households and their household members. Using the genogram and question B4, a variable was created to reflect the relationship of the mother to all her household members.

Extended household types were explored in terms of: ‘number of generations’ (using a variable created from data gained through the genograms); ‘the relationship between mothers and their household members for each type’; ‘the number of family units’ (a variable created by utilizing data from the genogram and question B4); and ‘the typical household size’ (using a variable derived from the ‘person number’ column in the questionnaire).

As part of the exploration of the domestic lifecycle, the household structures of divorced and widowed single mothers with dependent children were explored. This was based on the household structure; the extended household types; the relationship of mothers with household members; the number of family units; the household sizes; and the number of generations in the households. Because very few cases could be included in this category, the frequencies rather than proportions were explored.

The origin of single motherhood in Suurbraak was also explored through the use of questions F1D; G1; G2A; G2B; G2C; G2D; G2E; G2F; G2G; G3B (Appendix B). It should be noted that only 19 cases could be included for consideration of the data gleaned from section G, as there were only 19 single mothers with dependent children who answered these questions (the whole questionnaire was only answered by the respondent, and only in these 19 cases the respondent met the criteria mentioned). Other questions included related to household data, specifically questions C25, C26, and C8.

Gender and age-gender ratios were also calculated at the individual level, taking into account all cases captured within the survey, based on question B1 (Appendix B). Age brackets were

established using four-year intervals for the population pyramid. Only individuals 15 years old and older were included, as the youngest single mother was 16 years old.

In order to explore the relationship between mothers' marital status and the attainment of grants, a variable was created to indicate whether the person is a recipient of a grant or not (based on questions B32-B38).

To determine which parents contribute to the livelihood of children only living with their mothers, a variable indicating specifically which parent(s) the child resides with was derived from data on questions B5 and B6.

Quantitative data analysis was furthermore conducted on data derived from the online databases of Census 2011 data, as provided on Statistics South Africa's website (<http://interactive.statssa.gov.za/superweb/login.do>). This analysis was instrumental in developing a broader picture of the contextual factors surrounding Suurbraak and its inhabitants. It furthermore assisted in supplementing existing research, which was found to be severely limited at times. Specific data regarding the household structures of the coloured community in particular, as well as to the scope of sex-ratios in the surrounding area was investigated. This analysis was specifically performed on data from Ward Three (including the villages of Buffeljagsrivier, Malgas and Suurbraak) in the Swellendam municipal district.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results and findings of the study and consists of three sections. The first provides a broad overview of the research population, the second section delves into the household structures occupied by single mothers, and the third section discusses the reasons as to single motherhood amongst the research populations. In sum these sections cover the two research questions in depth.

4.2 SECTION ONE: CONTEXTUALISING THE RESEARCH SETTING

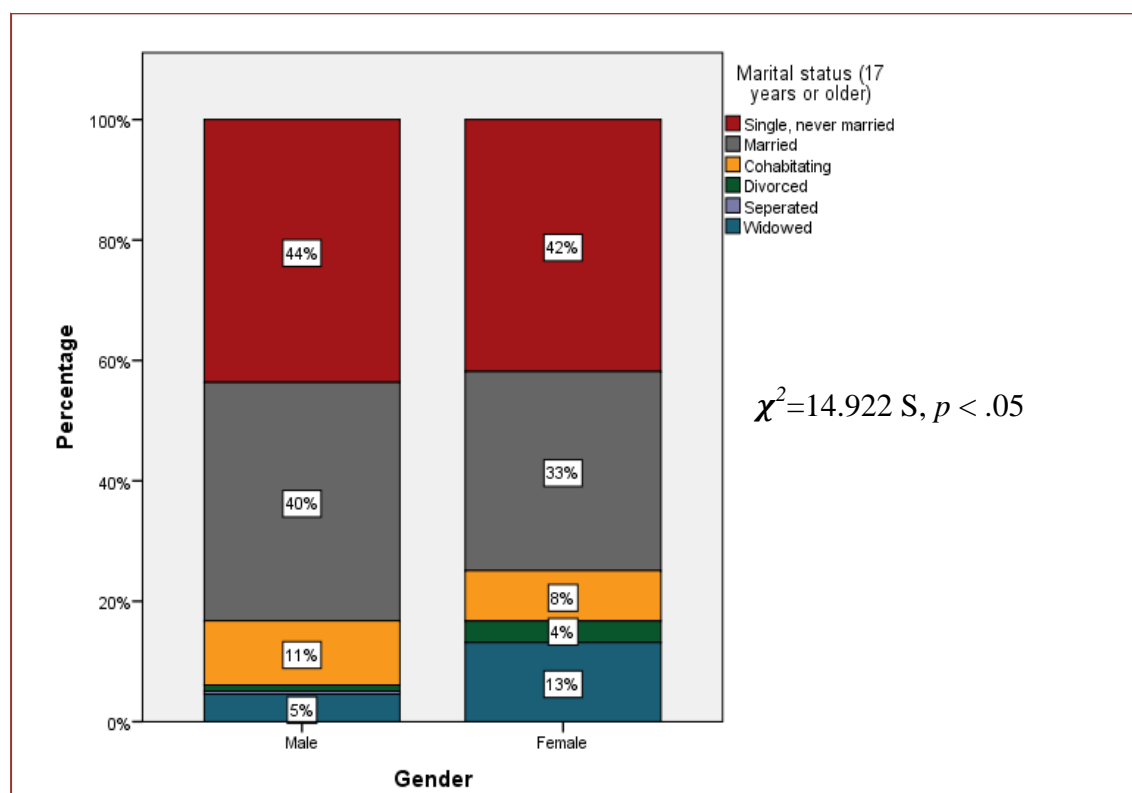
This section sketches a background within which the research questions are explored and interpreted. Firstly, an overview of the socio-demographic profile of Suurbraak is provided, including a discussion on elements such as race, language, age, gender, and marital status.

This is followed by a discussion on the prevalence of single mother families in Suurbraak, and concludes with a discussion on poverty within Suurbraak.

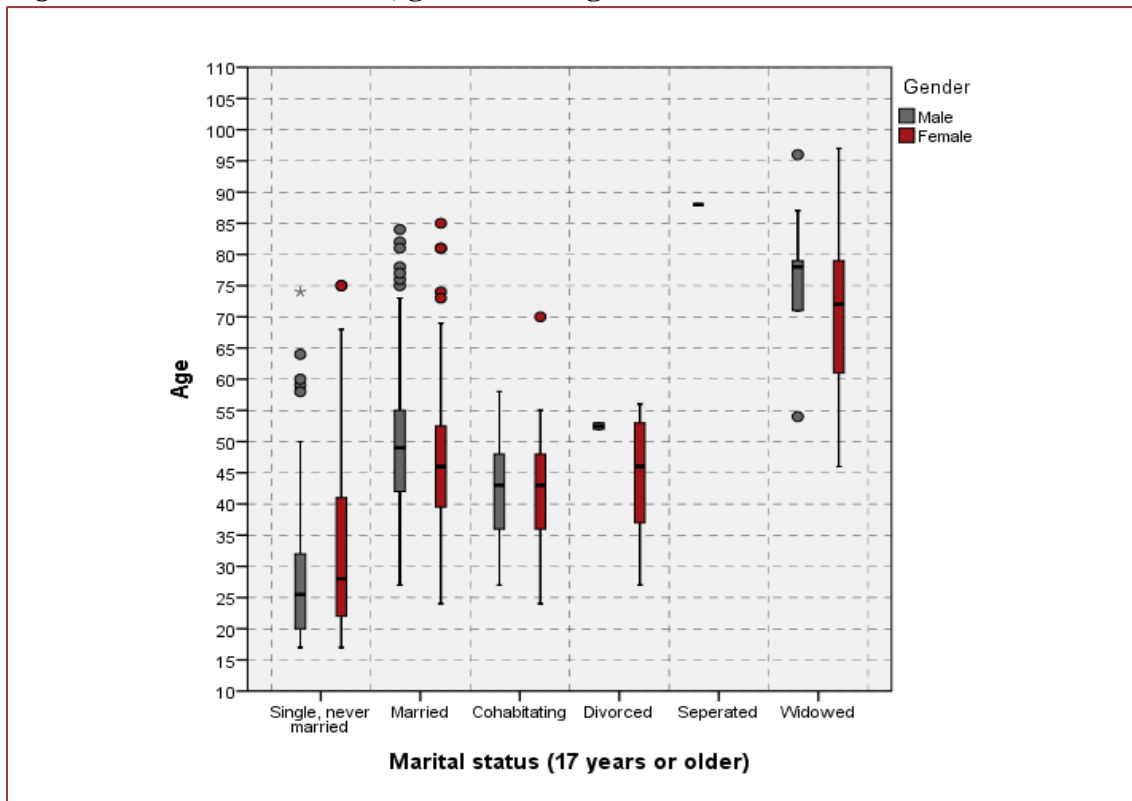
4.2.1 THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF SUURBRAAK

Suurbraak is a rural village situated in Ward Three of the Swellendam municipal district of the Western Cape Province in South Africa. Its inhabitants are predominantly coloured (99% of respondents classify themselves as such) and Afrikaans speaking (98% of respondents indicate Afrikaans as their home language). The majority (55%) of mothers of marriageable age (17 years and older) in Suurbraak are single: 43% are never-married; 36% are married; 9% are cohabitating; 9% are widowed; 3% are divorced; and 0.2% are separated. Variations in marital status are found to be more strongly related to age than gender (*Figures 4.1 and 4.2*).

Figure 4.1. Gender and marital status

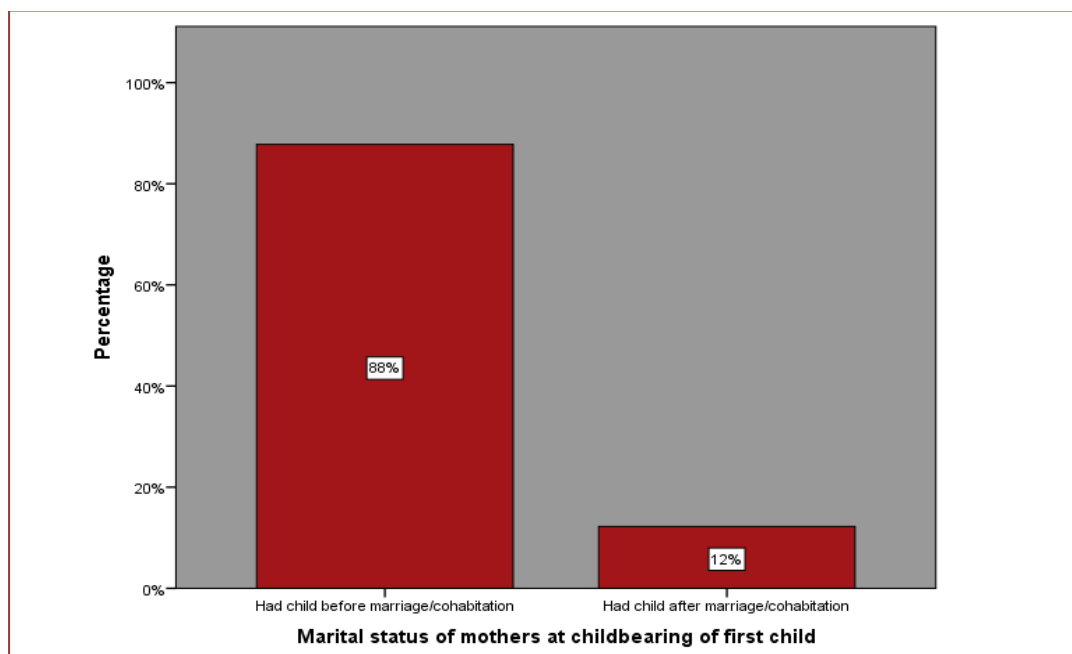


The difference in marital status between women and men is mainly attributed to women having a greater life expectancy and widowhood is therefore more prevalent amongst them. Comparisons of the median age across gender and marital status show that those who are in cohabitating and marital relationships are significantly older than those who are single (*Figure 4.2*). It also appears that men marry at a later age than women.

Figure 4.2. Marital status, gender and age

4.2.2 SINGLE MOTHERHOOD IN SUURBRAAK

Half of mothers with dependent children in Suurbraak ($n=125$) are single. The gravity of this phenomenon is more pronounced when considering the marital status of all mothers with the birth of their first child. *Figure 4.3* below shows that an overwhelming proportion of mothers

Figure 4.3. Mothers' marital status at birth of first child

(88%) were single with the birth of their first child. Childbearing within a two-parent nuclear family is thus very rare amongst first time mothers, while bearing children outside the confines of a nuclear family appears to be the norm¹². *Table 4.1* below demonstrates the living arrangements of dependent children highlighting that dependent children often do not grow up within nuclear families.

Table 4.1.

With which parent do dependent children share a household?

Parent sharing a household with child	%
Mother and father	48
Only mother	45
Neither mother nor father	6
Only father	1
Total %	100
N¹³ (valid cases)	213
Missing N¹⁴	8

The majority of children who live with their mother (73%) have never lived with their fathers although they are still alive (*Table 4.2*). Mothers in general seem to share a household with their children, while fathers are seemingly less often part of these households.

4.2.3 ECONOMIC STATUS AND INCOME

Levels and sources of income are of special relevance to this study and are explored below. The availability of monetary resources in households¹⁵ (in terms of various poverty lines and

¹² This data includes all cases where mothers have indicated their age at first childbearing *and* their age at first time marriage or cohabitation. Cases where data were incomplete (n=24) are excluded as are cases where 'age at first marriage or cohabitation' and 'age of first child' was equal (n=9) (it is impossible in these cases to know which came first). Although mothers might have cohabitated or got married at an age younger than when they bore their first child, this marital status could have been discontinued at this time. Those cohabitating or being married at the time they had their first child might be over-exaggerated and might in fact have been single at the time they had their child. However, the data effectively show the high proportion of singlehood at the time mothers bear their first child and they may even be under-represented.

¹³ All totals exclude missing cases.

¹⁴ Missing values refer to cases where respondents did not provide an answer to a question that was applicable to the respondent.

¹⁵ Only the income of households which gave accurate data were used to calculate household income. Households with members who either refused to disclose their income or did not know what the income of a member was are excluded from these calculations. If all members earning money at the time of the survey did not indicate their earnings, the data were considered inadequate and misleading. The following calculations thus

income ranges) is presented in *Table 4.3*. The relative monetary resources available to each member can be calculated by dividing the sum of household monetary resources by the number of members¹⁶. One must, however, be careful to assume that household members share income equally among all members (if at all); however, the pooling of resources within households is a persistent theme reported throughout the study.

Table 4.2.

Fathers previously part of children's¹⁷ households

Has the child ever lived with his/her father?	%
No, never, father is still alive	73
Yes, sometimes, father is still alive	19
Father passed away	8
Total %	100
N	85
Missing N	10

Forty-four percent of the study population are living in households where the household income per capita is below the UBPL, with 20% living in severe poverty (i.e. below the FPL with less monetary resources than required to provide each member with enough food to eat for a month). Poverty in Suurbraak is more prevalent than in the Western Cape generally (yet not necessarily than in South Africa as a whole), confirming Klasen and Woolard's (2008) and Statistics South Africa's findings on the high prevalence of poverty amongst the rural and coloured communities in South Africa.

Poverty and unemployment or low levels of economic activity often go hand-in-hand, and Suurbraak is no exception. *Figure 4.4* below illustrates the ratios of EA and employed (27%), EA but unemployed (15%), and NEA (58%) inhabitants. Sixty-four percent of the EA population are employed (and earn between R400 and R16 000 per month) while 36% are unemployed - the unemployment rate of Suurbraak seemingly exceeds the national unemployment rate as per the Quarterly Labour Force Survey of 2014. Employment in Suurbraak is highly dependent on seasonal work with 20% of the EA generally and 32% of

only include the households of which all its members' financial incomes were disclosed. 50 out of 155 households (32%) were excluded as a result.

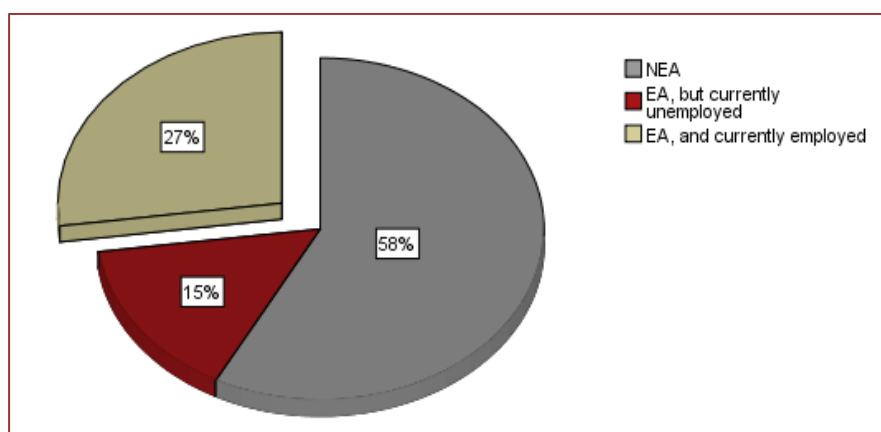
¹⁶ This calculation included *all* the monetary resources of all household members: the income of those who were employed at the time of the survey; grants received by members; private maintenance received (e.g. from an ex-partner); regular payments or financial contributions from someone outside the household; as well as any other source of financial resources received by a household member.

¹⁷ Specifically children living with only their mothers.

Table 4.3.***Income level of Suurbraak inhabitants¹⁸***

Income level per person in household	% individuals living within income level categories
Below FPL (< R321) ¹⁹	20
Below LBPL (< R443)	10
Below UBPL (< R620)	14
Above UBPL (> R621) but < R999	30
R1000-R1999	19
R2000-R2999	5
>R3000	2
Total %	100
N	432

the unemployed specifically being seasonal workers. Unemployment levels are thus seasonally dependent and expected to vary between different months of the year with different seasonal agricultural cycles.

Figure 4.4. The EA and NEA proportion of the population

High unemployment is potentially further compounded by the high dependency resulting from the large NEA proportion of the population. Employment status appears to be gender-specific. A significantly larger percentage of EA men (75%) than women (53%) from Suurbraak are employed (*Table 4.4*). Their employment was mostly in agriculture; government, local authority or armed forces; and other sectors (e.g. retail, transport etc.).

¹⁸ Calculated per person according to their household income.

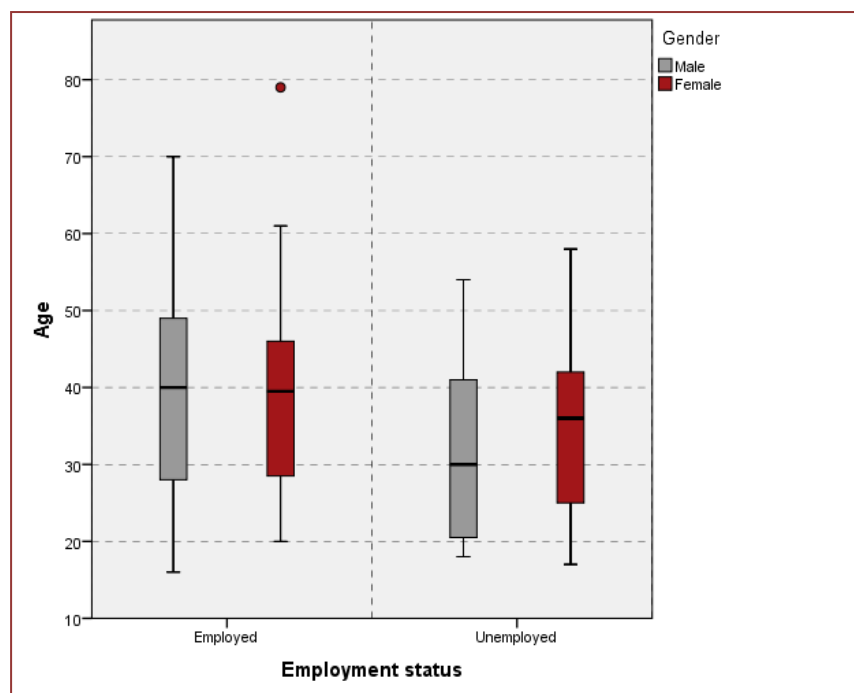
¹⁹ FPL, UBPL and LBPL were obtained from Statistics SA (2014:8).

Table 4.4.*EA population according to employment status and gender*

	Gender	
	Male	Female
Employed	75%	53%
Unemployed	25%	47%
Total %	100%	100%
N	139	129
Missing N	1	

$$\chi^2=14.223 \text{ S, } p < .001$$

Figure 4.5 below furthermore illustrates that in addition to the relationship between gender and employment status, age also plays a role. Across gender, younger inhabitants of Suurbraak are underrepresented in the employed category. Men are also employed from a younger age than women, and remain such until an older age.

Figure 4.5. Employment status according to gender and age

In the face of high unemployment rates and a large NEA proportion of the population, the pooling of resources could play a vital role in the distribution of money from those who are employed to also provide for those who do not have a work. It becomes apparent, however, that this is not always an option, as many households (32%) have no employed members (see Table 4.5). It therefore becomes important to explore the alternative (non-employment)

means by which many Suurbraak inhabitants obtain financial and other means to their survival.

Table 4.5.

Persons per household receiving income from employment

Persons per household receiving an income from employment	%
0	32
1	35
2	23
3	8
4	2
Total %	100
N	155

While unemployment and economic dependency can arguably be associated with poverty, the association should not be assumed. Employment is critical in generating household income, and given the high levels of economic inactivity and unemployment in Suurbraak, inhabitants

Table 4.6.

Monetary resources for the NEA and EA unemployed

Source of monetary and other resources		% NEA receiving	% EA unemployed receiving
Grants and UIF	Old Age Grant	17	0
	Disability Grant	11	5
	Child Support Grant (as attributed to the child's main caregiver)	7	37
	Care Dependency Grant	0.3	0
	UIF (Unemployment Insurance Fund)	0.3	0
Other Sources	Private maintenance from partner or ex-partner not living in the household	5	0
	Regular other (non- monetary) contributions from outside the household	4	3
	Regular monetary contributions from outside the household	1	2

turn to the state or each other for supplementary income (which might alleviate poverty). In the face of unemployment and many NEA individuals, grants, unemployment insurance fund (UIF) and other monetary and non-monetary sources of income become paramount to survival.

Although the majority is not generating an income, most NEA (see *Table 4.6*) and unemployed (see *Table 4.6*) respondents report receiving some form of monetary or other resources. In line with the age specific prevalence of the NEA population, the greatest contribution of resources originated from grants, especially the Old Age, Disability and (to a lesser extent) CSG. The NEA population also reportedly receives support in the form of private maintenance and resources from individuals outside their household. In addition, the unemployed obtain income from the CSG to a great degree and to a lesser degree the Old Age and Disability Grants, as well as (monetary and non-monetary) contributions from outside the household. Even a few of the employed inhabitants (5%) receive non-monetary resources from outside the household and 10% have children who are beneficiaries of the CSG, while 2% receive a further Disability Grant.

Table 4.7.

The number of grants and employment insurance received by households

Number of grants received per household	%
1	40
2	35
3	11
4	10
5	3
6	1
Total %	100
N	118

The importance of grants as a means of obtaining monetary resources by Suurbraak inhabitants is further emphasised when considering the percentage of households receiving them. Seventy-six percent of Suurbraak households receive some grant or another. As *Table 4.7* shows, these households receive anything from one to six grants each. *Table 4.8* below

also illustrates the types of grants and combinations which are received by different households. Given that the CSG, care dependency grant and foster care grant are all only given to children, it becomes clear from *Table 4.8* that more than half (61.5%) of households that receive grants have children who depend thereon as a means of obtaining financial resources.

Table 4.8.

Types of grants and employment insurance received by households

Type of grant(s) received by household	%
Child Support	24
Child Support and Disability	17
Child Support and Old Age	15
Child Support, Old age, Disability	2
Child Support and UIF	1
Care Dependency and Old Age	0.5
Care Dependency	1
Foster Care	1
Disability	11
Old Age	27
Old Age and Disability	0.5
Total %	100
N	118

Apart from grants and employment, other resources aiding in the alleviation of the effects of poverty are also available. Resources from outside the household typically come in the form of support (donations, generally food) and a large proportion consider Suurbraak's inhabitants to be willing to help in their time of need. In some instances, households also employ other practices to aid in survival, such as foraging, hunting, fishing from the river and subsistence farming including the cultivation of fruit, vegetables, and staples as well as rearing poultry and livestock. For example, all households living below the UBPL who have their own vegetable gardens respond that it is very important when asked: "How important is the cultivation of your own vegetables to have enough food to eat every month"?²⁰ While an important source of support, additional resources are difficult to include in the calculation of

²⁰ Hoe belangrik is die kweek van jou eie groente om genoeg kos op die tafel te sit elke maand?

poverty levels, and their effect thereon is thus difficult to measure. These resources could be precarious in supply and are not necessarily as reliable as grants and employment in providing assistance.

Suurbraak inhabitants typically live in poverty, mostly due to high unemployment, exacerbated periodically due to the seasonal nature of work in the area. Inhabitants' income is often supplemented by monetary assistance in the form of grants and UIF as well as other, non-monetary, resources. Although this may alleviate the impact of poverty, many inhabitants live below the poverty line with some even living in severe poverty.

4.3 SECTION TWO: HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES

This section explores the household structures occupied during the various phases of mothers' domestic lifecycle (specifically those mothers who were single with dependent children at the time of the study). Only those phases of their domestic lifecycle where they find themselves as being a mother with a dependent child would be explored. Ultimately, the focus here falls firmly on the characteristic family patterns followed by these mothers. The section explores the family developmental framework related to single-motherhood phases, followed by the actual household structures occupied by them during the relevant phases, and finally presents an interpretation of these findings in exploration of the nature of the family pattern of single mothers.

4.3.1 THE FAMILY DEVELOPMENTAL FRAMEWORK

The single mother finds herself within a phase of her family developmental framework where she is either never-married, or has been married but is divorced, separated or widowed. Such a family developmental framework necessarily involves mothers bearing children out of wedlock (sometimes followed by marriage), or rearing children in a married home and subsequently getting divorced, separated or widowed.

Considering only those Suurbraak mothers who have never cohabitated or who have never been married when they had their first child (n=122) [88% of all mothers], the following family developmental framework is found to apply:

- Almost half (45%) of mothers single at the time of first time childbirth were still never-married at the time of the survey, while 55% married or cohabitated sometime after childbearing.
- Of those who formed a two-parent family subsequent to childbearing (55%): 81% were still married or cohabitating, while 6% were divorced and 13% were widowed.

In a few instances (12%) single mothers were married at the time of their first child, but became single after marriage due to divorce, separation or being widowed. Of this group (n=17):

- 59% remained married or cohabitating at the time of the survey,
- 12% were divorced and
- 29% were widowed.

This demonstrates, amongst this small group, the fluidity in the marital status of mothers during their lifespan as various phases of the family developmental framework are realised; furthermore demonstrating that not all mothers follow the same family developmental framework. While the vast majority of mothers are single when becoming a mother for the first time, those who do marry can become single due to divorce, separation or widowhood. A large percentage (41%) of those few who are married at the time of their first child's birth find themselves divorced or widowed later in life. Divorce, separation or widowhood only occur at a later age in mothers' lives (most probably when children are already independent). Considering only mothers with dependent children, the proportion of those being single due to divorce, separation or widowhood is expected to be much smaller.

The vast majority (93%) of mothers with dependent children are single when bearing their first child (only seven respondents indicate being married at the time of bearing their first child), while only half of those mothers with dependent children are single (not cohabitating with/married to a partner or husband), the others being either married (79%) or cohabitating (21%). The more even distribution of married and single mothers within this phase (compared to the high proportion never-married at the birth of their first child), can be attributed to age – a significant proportion (48%) marry subsequent to childbearing. If only mothers with dependent children are accounted for, at the time of the study 44 % of those single at the birth of their first child, marry or cohabit after of whom the majority (90%) of mothers remain married or cohabitating at the time of the survey, with 8% who are

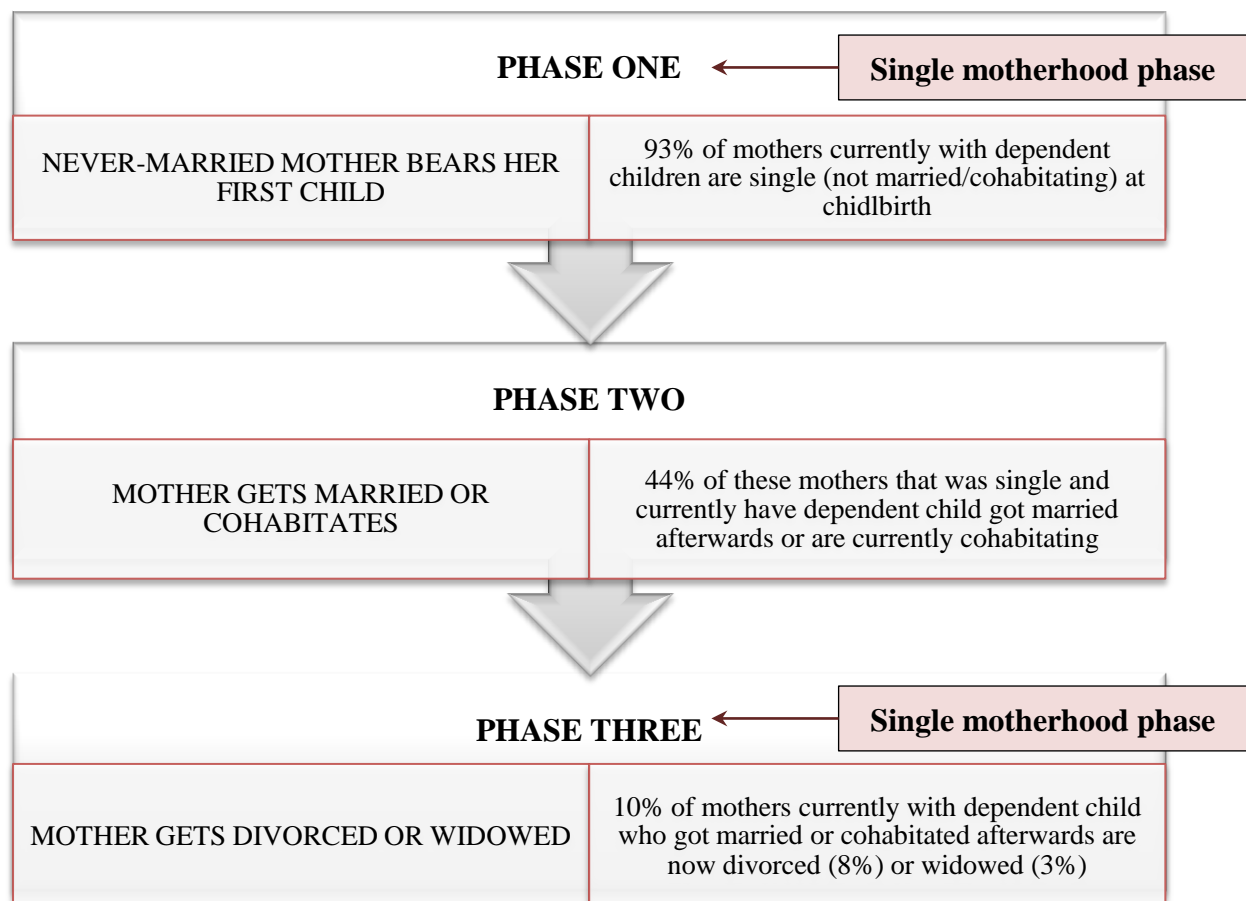
divorced and 3% widowed – 56% yet remaining never-married at the time of the study. The number of mothers married when bearing their first child is so small that no significant contribution to singlehood can be expected to arise from the group (only one mother who was not single at the time she had her first child became single after childbearing).

From this it could be established that two potential patterns of the family developmental framework exist in the phases characterized by single motherhood amongst mothers with dependent children:

Pattern A: The mother is single from the start of motherhood, in some instances marries, but then in some cases divorces or is widowed (*Figure 4.6*).

Pattern B: Very few ($n=7$) mothers are married at the birth of her child, but subsequently become single following divorce (*Figure 4.7*).

Figure 4.6. Family developmental framework pattern of initially single mothers

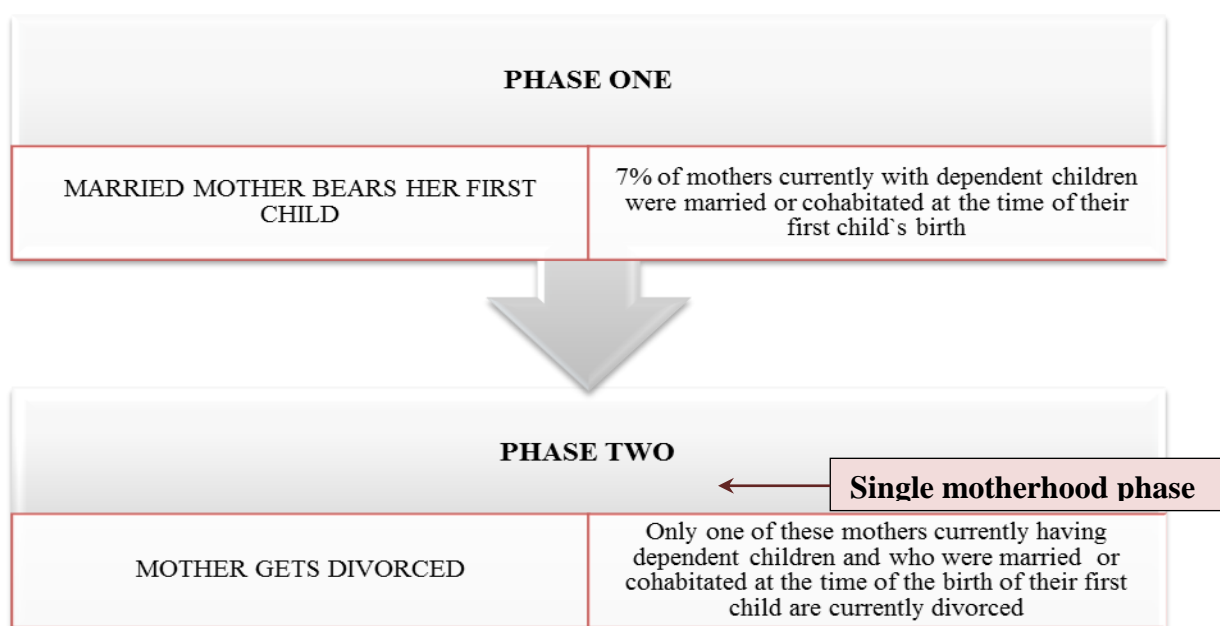


The first phase of pattern A is identified as the phase most commonly occupied by single mothers with dependent children across the two identified patterns, further confirmed by a general analysis of their marital status. *Table 4.9* addresses the prevalence of the marital

status categories associated with the various single-mother phases of the family developmental framework amongst the study population.²¹

Table 4.9 below effectively illustrates that the largest percentage of single mothers with dependent children have never been married (87%), while the second largest percentage are single due to divorce, with only 2% being widowed. Most single mothers are thus in the phase of their developmental framework after childbearing but before marriage. This is

Figure 4.7. Family developmental framework pattern of initially married mothers



followed by the second largest percentage of single mothers being in a phase after marriage and subsequent to divorce. Supportive of national trends as suggested by Palamuleni's (2010:49) findings on 2007 data, single mothers are thus more likely to be never-married than widowed or separated.

According to Stats SA (2004) the largest proportion of single women of age of possible motherhood are those who have never been married. Additionally, Stats SA (2004) and Palamuleni (2010) found widowhood to be more prevalent than divorce amongst single women of this age and the South African population as a whole. This is not the case in

²¹ Note that calculations only included mothers who have dependent children with whom they shared a household. In three instances (n=3) single mothers did have children 18 years of age and younger living elsewhere to whom they contributed financially or otherwise, but the data do not provide information on the nature of these children's living arrangements. Even though the mothers do contribute to the children, the children might be living elsewhere with their father, thus deeming the mother not to fulfil the extent of the functions of a single mother living with her children, while these children might then rather primarily be raised by a single father elsewhere. Therefore these cases are not included in the analysis of single mothers with dependent children.

Table 4.9***The marital status of single mothers with dependent children²²***

Marital status	%
Single, never married	87
Divorced	11
Widowed	2
Total %	100
N	63

Suurbraak as single mothers appear more likely to be divorced than widowed, in contrast to the findings of Stats SA (2004) and Palamuleni (2010). The operant definition of a ‘mother’ may have impacted on these results: in the case of Palamuleni (2010) and Stats SA (2004) not only mothers with dependent children, but also older segments of the population within older age brackets who are consequently more likely to be widowed, were included. Palamuleni (2010) did find the coloured population group to be the least likely to be widowed, which may also explain the very low incidence of widowhood amongst the study population of this analysis. The household structures of single mothers will now be discussed according to their relevance within the various phases of singlehood within the domestic lifecycle.

4.3.2 THE DOMESTIC LIFECYCLE

The household structures occurring in the three possible stages of the domestic lifecycle within which single motherhood is prevalent are discussed according to the three identified stages within the family developmental framework within which single motherhood might occur: those bearing a child whilst being never-married; those being divorced or separated; and those who are widowed.²³

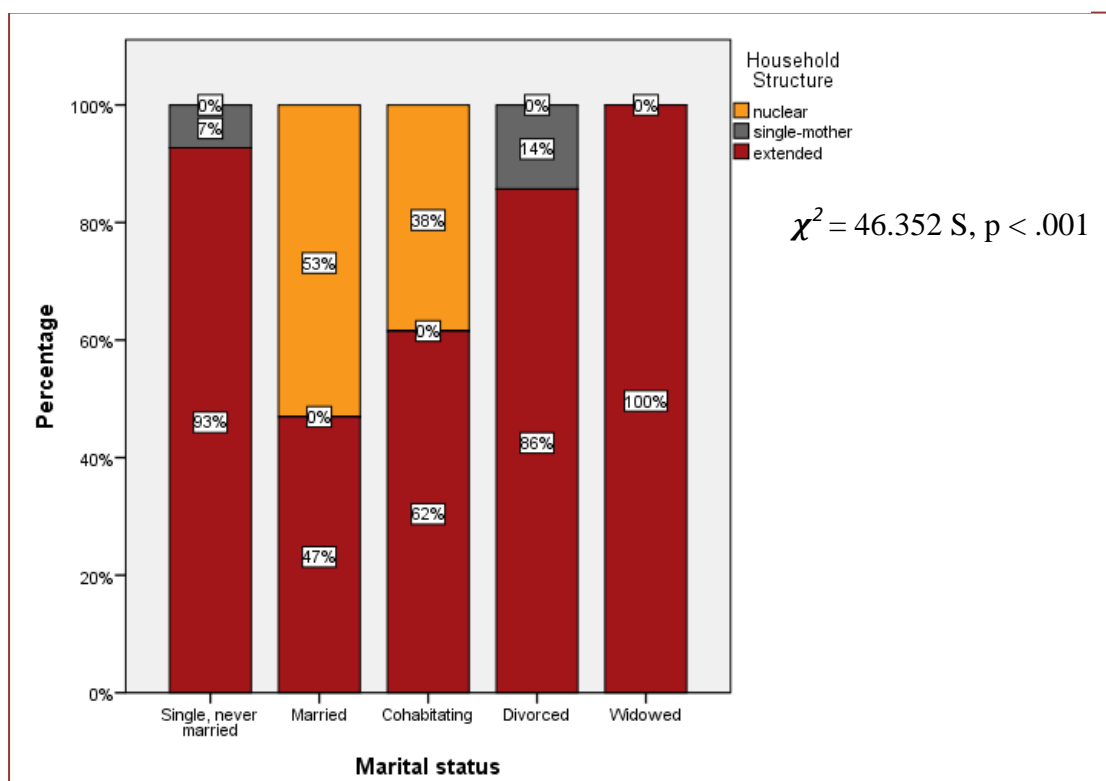
²² Mothers who did not share a household with a male partner (either a husband or a cohabitating partner) and are thus categorized as being a single mother, did in 6 instances indicate to be either married or cohabitating at the time. The reason as to this is unclear. It might be a recording error by fieldworkers, or alternatively it might question the relevancy of marital status as an adequate predictor of singlehood amongst mothers (considering household composition as indicator). While mothers are living alone with their dependent children, and thus constitute to be living outside the confines of the nuclear two-parent family, they might have a husband living elsewhere or define their “cohabitating partners” as such without them truly forming part of their household. This might then bring into question the precise understanding that respondents have of the concept “cohabitating partner” as well as the validity of marriage to ensure a mother raising her dependent child with a partner living with her in the same household. These six cases are consequently excluded from calculations further on.

²³ Note that for the sake of simplicity those who are single due to divorce are collapsed as one category regardless of whether divorced after being married or single at the time of their first birth.

4.3.2.1 HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES OF SINGLE MOTHERS WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The household structures of mothers with dependent children seem to vary with marital status. *Figure 4.8* below gives an overview of the various household structures occupied by mothers across marital status. The extended household prevails amongst single mothers irrespective of whether they are married/cohabitating at some stage. The overwhelming majority of Suurbraak single mothers with dependent children reside in extended household structures (92%) and a mere 8% reside in single-mother households. The extended household is not exclusively occupied by single mothers: approximately half (47%) of married mothers and just more than half (52%) of cohabitating mothers also live in extended households, while the rest live in nuclear households. This is in line with the findings of Ziehl (2014) and Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti (2008), emphasizing the importance of the extended household among the South African population.

Figure 4.8. Household structures of mothers with dependent children



Of all Suurbraak single mothers with dependent children residing in extended households:

- Most (72%) reside in multi-familial households²⁴
- 19% reside in extended family households²⁵
- 7% reside in fraternal joint family households²⁶
- Only 2% reside in extended households consisting of the mother, her child(ren), and non-related members.

Mothers in extended households reside mostly with familial relations, i.e. in household structures comprising members which form a separate family unit. The second largest percentage reside with a relative who does not form part of a separate family unit (e.g. a single mother residing only with her mother). The smallest percentage of mothers residing with relatives share a household with siblings who in some instances have their own spouses and children.

While extended households are the most prevalent structure occupied by single mothers generally, *Table 4.10* and *Figure 4.8* illustrate that divorced mothers appear to be the least likely to reside in extended households. The single-mother household is therefore more prevalent after marriage and subsequent divorce, and conceivably among women of an older age than those typically never-married. These trends are further discussed in greater detail according to each marital status category.

Table 4.10

Household structures according to marital status of single mothers

Household structure	Marital status %		
	Never-married	Divorced	Widowed
Single-mother	7	14	0
Extended	93	86	100
Total %	100	100	100
N	55	7	1

²⁴ As discussed previously, the multi-familial household refers to a household consisting of two or more family units, where a unit consists of two or more persons.

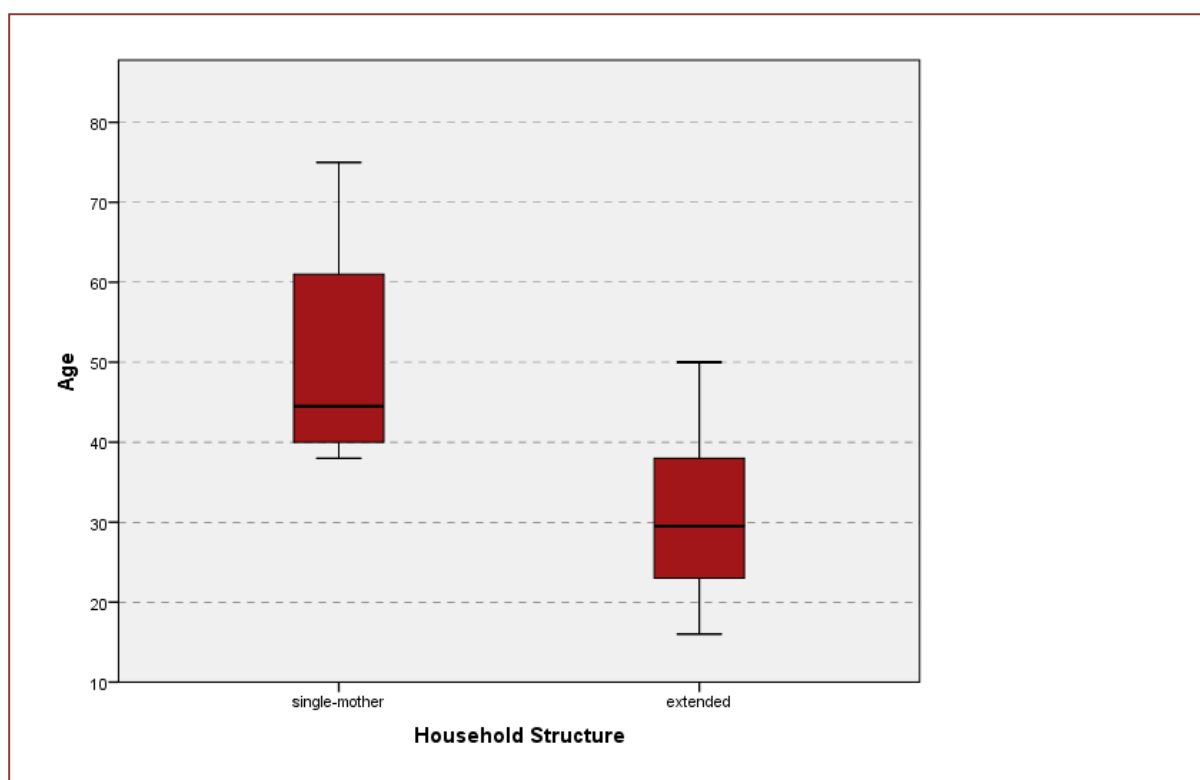
²⁵ The extended family household refers to a household which consists of a family unit (consisting of more than one person) as well as other family members who do not form part of their own family unit (e.g. a mother and her children – one family unit – sharing a household with her mother – not part of another family unit).

²⁶ The fraternal joint family household refers to a household where siblings (each with their own family unit) share a household.

4.3.2.2 HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES OF NEVER-MARRIED SINGLE MOTHERS

It is rare for never-married mothers to live on their own with their dependent children (single-mother households) – only four cases are reported and only among older women (*Figure 4.9*). Those living in extended households tend to be younger (50% younger than 30 and 75% younger than 38).

Figure 4.9. Household structures of never-married single mothers by age



Never-married mothers residing in extended households are found to mostly reside with the following relations: siblings; both parents; mother only; other relatives; and (to a lesser extent) with one or both grandparents (*Table 4.11*). Mothers rarely share a household with only one type of relation - most often they share a household with various relations.

Never-married mothers are found to typically reside in three types of extended households: 71% reside in multi-familial households; 22% in extended family households; and 8% the fraternal joint family. *Figure 4.10* illustrates that the type of extended household occupied by never-married single mothers appears to be age-dependent.

Those mothers living in fraternal joint family households are typically of a more advanced age than those living in multi-familial and extended family households. Mothers of more advanced age occupy multi-familial households rather than the extended family household.

Beyond age specific characteristics, each type of extended household structure occupied by never-married mothers seemingly has unique attributes.

Table 4.11.

Never-married mothers sharing a household with particular groups

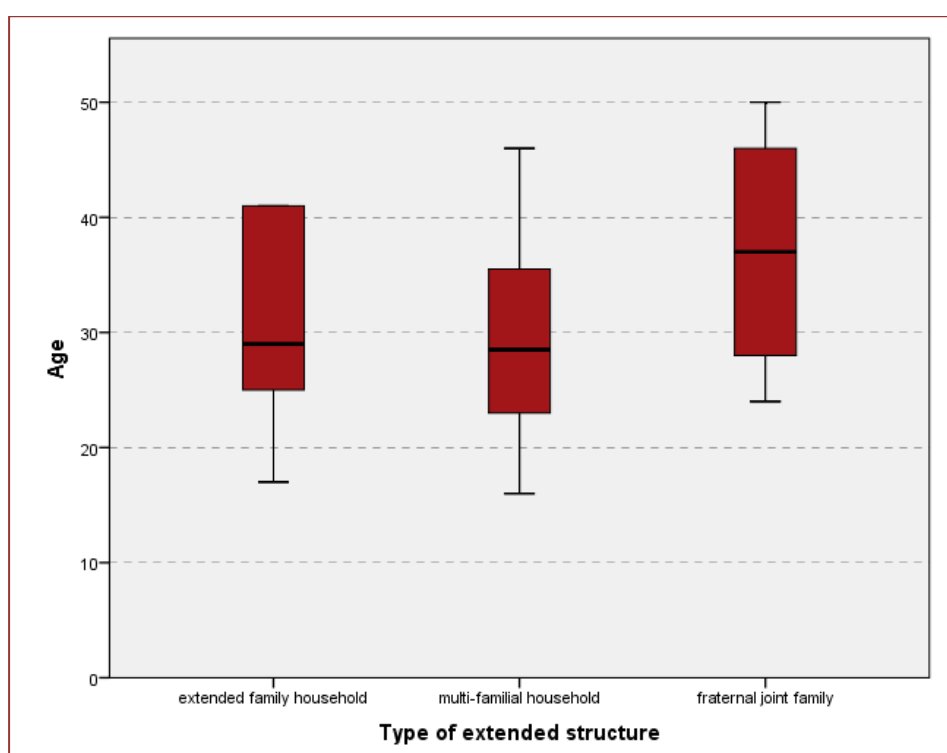
Relation to mother	%
Siblings	71
Other relatives	47
Both parents	41
Only mother	35
Grandparents	12
Aunts/uncles	6
Only father	4
Cousins	2
Non-relatives	2
N	51

Although only four mothers live in fraternal joint family households - too little to draw any meaningful conclusions - it should be noted that, as per the operant definition, these mothers reside with their siblings and other relatives (which include either the sibling's children or their spouses) in all four cases. These households comprise five to seven members and only two generations: the mother and her siblings as well as the mother's child(ren). In three of these cases this type of household structure has two family units per household, while the remaining household has three.

Those living in the extended family household (22% of all never-married single mothers with dependent children) report to be living with only their mother (63% of respondents) or only other relatives (38% of the time). Only three mothers live with other relatives, thus representing a group too small to draw meaningful conclusions from. Respondents living with only their mothers form female-headed matrifocal multi-generational households (n=5) consisting of three generations (the single mother, her child(ren) and the single mother's mother). This is consistent with the findings of Steyn (1995), Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti (2008), and Simkins (1986) where multigenerational and female-headed households were found to be highly prevalent amongst single mothers; as well as the findings of Maconachie (1989) and Preston-Whyte (1978) in Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti (2008), and Pauw (1953) in

Steyn (1995) specifically indicating the high incidence of South African single mothers residing with their parents. These findings are specifically supportive of Steyn (1995) citing the high occurrence of the matrifocal multigenerational households amongst the lower SES coloured population. The multi-familial household is furthermore the most varied in its composition of all types of extended households. These variations are described in *Table 4.12* below.

Figure 4.10. Extended household types never-married mothers occupy by age



Mothers in multi-familial households (constituting 71% of all never-married single mothers) furthermore primarily live with their parents and siblings, and secondarily with only their mother and siblings (*Table 4.12*). The matrifocal multigenerational household emerges as an important household structure here. In contrast to the matrifocal multigenerational household structure found within the extended family household type, the single mother's own mother also forms her own family with her other children (the single-mother's siblings) within the household, lending to it properties of a multi-familial household.

The multi-familial household contains on average (mean) three different family units, ranging between two to six family units. The average household size of the multi-familial household is seven members, though ranging from four and up to eleven members. Most of these households comprise (77%) three generations, with the remaining 23% having four generations.

In essence, while extended households typically comprise unique relationship types between the mother and other household members, in both extended family and multi-familial households mothers reside with their own mother but in the absence of their father. Matrifocal multi-generational households are thus occupied in both these structures and are

Table 4.12.

Relationship of mothers to multi-familial household members

Relationship of mother to household members	%
Both her parents and siblings	26
Her mother and siblings	18
Both her parents, siblings and other relatives	13
Her mother, other relatives and siblings	8
Both her parents and other relatives	5
Both her parents, siblings, grandparents and other relatives	5
Both parents	2.5
Other relatives and non-relatives	2.5
Her mother, other relatives, siblings and grandparents	2.5
Her mother, other relatives, siblings, grandparents and aunts/uncles	2.5
Both her parents, siblings and grandparents	2.5
Siblings and other relatives	2.5
Grandparent(s) and aunts/uncles	2.5
Aunts/uncles, cousins and other relatives	2.5
Her father and other relatives	2.5
Her mother, grandparents and siblings	2.5
Total %	100
N	39

very prevalent amongst never-married mothers with dependent children. The multi-familial household furthermore comprises the largest numbers of generations per household compared to any other extended household type, as well as the widest range in household size and amount of family units of all extended household types, as is depicted in *Figure 4.11*, *Figure 4.12* and *Figure 4.13* below.

Figure 4.11. Generations per extended household type

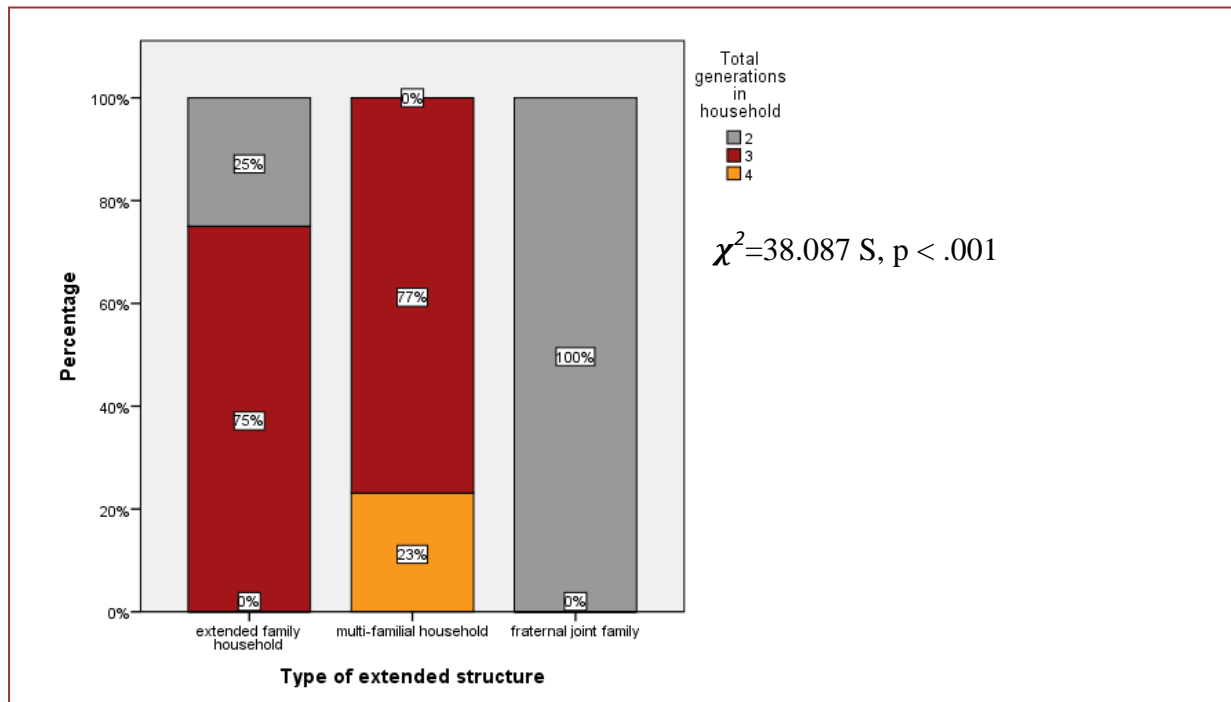


Figure 4.12. Household sizes of extended household types

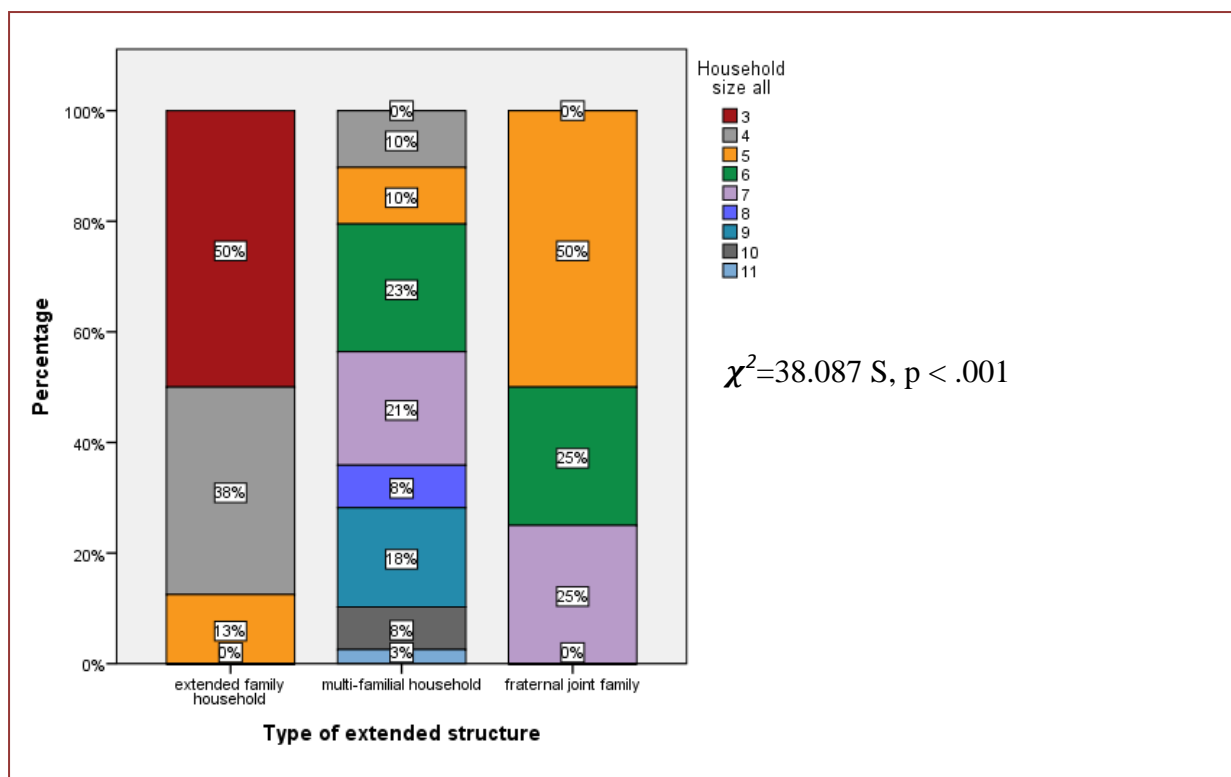
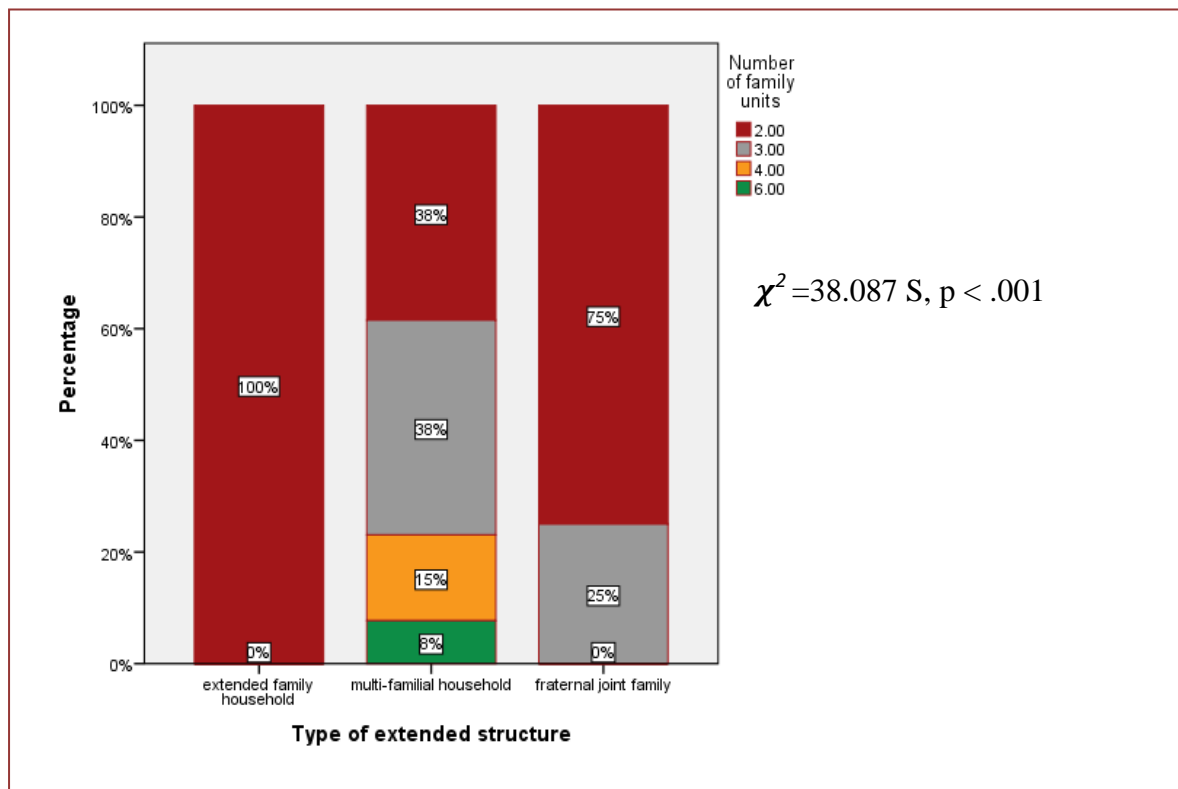


Figure 4.13. Number of family units per extended household type

The smallest number of generations per household is found in fraternal joint family households, while a quarter of the extended family households also only comprise two generations. Extended family households furthermore include households of the smallest sizes compared to any other extended household type and also comprise only two family units across households. The type of extended household structure and the generations prevalent within the household structures show a statistically significant relationship ($p < .001$). A statistically significant relationship ($p < .01$) is also found between household size and the type of extended household structure. No statistically significant relationship ($p > .05$) exists between the number of family units per household and the type of extended household structure.

4.3.2.3 HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES OF DIVORCED AND WIDOWED SINGLE MOTHERS

Very few single mothers are divorced or widowed. Because only seven cases of divorced mothers and one widowed mother living with her dependent child are recorded from the sample, no statistically meaningful conclusions can be drawn regarding their household structures. Examining these cases in greater depth yields noteworthy findings, discussed below.

In six of the cases divorced mothers live in extended households, while the remaining mother lives in a single-mother household. While five of those living in extended households occupy multi-familial households, only one lives with non-relatives of the mother or her child(ren). The one household where the mother only lives with non-related persons has a household size of five members; comprising two family units and three generations. In addition, the multi-familial household occupied by divorced mothers ranges between six and nine members, with an average (mode and median) of eight members per household. Four of these households have between six and eight members, with the remaining one household having nine members. These households furthermore consist of two or three family units each: however, four comprise three family units. All these households span three to four generations; with four spanning three generations and the remaining household having four.

Mothers living within the multi-familial household typically share a household with either both her parents or only her mother; her siblings; her aunts and uncles or other relatives. The combination of relatives mothers share their household with specifically include: other relatives; their mother and siblings; both their parents, their siblings and aunts/uncles; as well as both their parents and other relatives. While divorced mothers sometimes share their household with other relatives, they also report forming matrifocal multi-generational households, similar to never-married mothers. The one widowed mother in the sample lives within a multi-familial extended household, with only her mother and other relatives. The household comprises six members in three family units and spans four generations.

Overall, the multi-familial household structure emerges as the only prevalent extended structure amongst single mothers with dependent children across all marital status categories. The extended family and fraternal joint family households are only prevalent amongst never-married single mothers. The extended household consisting of the mother, her child(ren) and only non-related members is only prevalent amongst divorced mothers. Single mothers of various marital statuses thus typically reside in various extended household structures according to their marital status. However, no significant ($\chi^2=10.412$ NS, $p > .05$) relationship between the marital status of a single mother living in an extended household ($n=58$) and the type of extended household structure they reside within exists.

4.3.3 THE FAMILY PATTERN

As previously discussed, two possible family developmental frameworks can be identified: those of mothers who are single at the time of bearing their first child; and those who become

single subsequent to motherhood. The number of mothers who become single subsequent to motherhood are deemed far too small ($n=7$) to draw any meaningful conclusion on their family patterns, hence the focus here lies with those who are single at the time their first child is born. *Table 4.13* accordingly illustrates the domestic lifecycle of those mothers with dependent children who are never-married and non-cohabitating at the time of birth of their first child ($n=88$).

Table 4.13.

Domestic lifecycle of mothers single at initial childbearing

Phase of the domestic lifecycle	Most prevalent household structures	
Never-married and non-cohabitating female becomes a mother <i>(includes all those who remain never-married at time of survey)</i>	Extended (94%) (prevalent at all ages) Or Single-mother (6%) (prevalent at older age) <i>Note: N=49</i>	Single motherhood phase
Mother marries <i>(includes those who got married or cohabitated subsequent to childbearing and are still married or cohabitating)</i>	Extended (51%) Or Nuclear (49%) <i>Note: N=35</i>	
Mother divorces <i>(includes those who were married after childbearing but subsequently were divorced and remain divorced at time of survey)</i>	Extended (67%) Or Single-mother (33%) <i>Note: N= 3</i>	Single motherhood phase
Or Mother is widowed <i>(include those who got married after childbearing but subsequently became widowed and remain widowed at time of survey)</i>	Extended (100%) <i>Note: N= 1</i>	Single motherhood phase

As discussed previously, 93% of mothers with dependent children are single at the time when they first become a mother. Within this group, 56% remain never-married at the time of the survey and mostly reside in extended households with only the minority occupying single-

mother households, but only at an older age. Single mothers are thus expected to generally occupy an extended household structure at the time of their first child. Some of these mothers (44%) do get married or cohabitate, in which case they are equally likely to reside in the extended or nuclear household structure. Eight percent of those who do marry subsequently divorce, in which case either the single-mother or nuclear household is occupied. This is also the phase where the single-mother household most commonly occurs. Because divorce only transpires later in life (and never-married mothers occupying single-mother households are shown to be of more advanced age), the single-mother household can be expected to only be occupied later in single mothers' lives.

In very few instances mothers who marry subsequent to childbirth become widowed while having a dependent child. In the one instance where this did occur, the extended household is adopted. Those mothers who are single at the time of initial childbirth thus follow a domestic lifecycle which often entails initially living in an extended household, and remaining in such households for the time they have dependent children, only rarely occupying single-mother households later in life. Nearly half of these mothers do get married. In such cases the extended household is followed either by a nuclear household or (in as many instances) continue occupation of the extended household. In a few instances this is followed by mothers residing in either the single-mother household; however, the extended household remains prevalent even after divorce or widowhood. The family pattern of mothers who are single at the time they first become a mother and who currently have dependent children thus consists of various sequential phases characterized by the occupation of the extended household, which is in some instances replaced with the nuclear or single-mother household.

Those mothers who are married or cohabitating when first becoming mothers for the most part also reside in the extended household, only living in the nuclear household in limited instances. In the case of divorce these mothers seem to reside only in extended households. It thus holds that these mothers have a family pattern characterized by occupation of extended households (exclusively so in cases of divorce) and sometimes the nuclear household.

For the phase of the domestic lifecycle where mothers have dependent children, their domestic lifecycle is characterized by the occupation of either the extended, single-mother, or nuclear household structures. Single mothers from Suurbraak with dependent children do not adhere to either one of the two ideal-typical types of family patterns (the nuclear family pattern and the extended family pattern) as discussed by Ziehl (2003; 2002; 2001). Instead, a

unique family pattern consisting of a combination of sequential phases including various combinations of the extended, nuclear and single-mother household types emerges as the apparent norm.

4.4 SECTION THREE: THE ORIGIN OF SINGLE MOTHERHOOD

Seven core themes emerge from data analysis which aid in understanding the prevalence of single motherhood. These seven themes are: mothers' perceptions of marriage as a prerequisite to motherhood; the availability of prospective partners; the role of previous experiences of mothers; the influence of mothers marrying later in life; the role of religious factors; mothers' need for freedom as inhibitor to marriage or cohabitation; and the role of children posing as a restraint to mothers getting married or cohabitating.

4.4.1 MARRIAGE AS PREREQUISITE TO MOTHERHOOD

Mothers' perceptions on whether marriage is a prerequisite to childbearing is argued to inform their status as being single or married. In this study it was argued that if mothers find no need for marriage or cohabitation as a prerequisite for motherhood, the reason for their status as such could simply be that they do not subscribe to the belief system in which the two-parent family is deemed to be relevant or desirable and single motherhood can be considered an ideal by these mothers.

In line with Steyn (1995, 1996) who argues that the nuclear family is the ideal amongst the coloured South African community, mothers exhibiting all forms of marital status are typically of the opinion that motherhood in conjunction with marriage would be the ideal. Some argue that one has to get married before childbearing, while others simply state that when you fall pregnant or have a child the ideal would be to get married. One mother reiterated her aversion against childrearing outside of marriage saying that:

*You don't want to marry the man, but then you give him another child, and it doesn't work that way. Marry the guy when you have his first child.*²⁷

While all mothers do not necessarily ridicule childbearing before marriage, their idealization of the two-parent family is reflected in their desire to have a husband. One participant holds

²⁷ "Jy wil nie met die man trou nie, maar dan gee jy vir hom nog 'n babatjie en dit werk mos nou nie so nie. Trou met die man as jy jou eerste kind het".

that “when I have my husband and my children, it would be the perfect family”²⁸; another explains that “[she] misses a husband, definitely”²⁹, stating that she “would have preferred to have a partner”³⁰; while yet another participant explains that she came to realize after she had children that:

*Actually I think that one should get married before you have children. Like I have sons now, at this stage I think it would have been better if I first thought of marriage and then [had children].*³¹

According to some participants marriage and childbearing are related due to tradition and moral conviction. One mother explains how she believes marriage to be a prerequisite to childbearing because “you also want your child to have a father, like our parents are married”³², while another expresses her moral conviction that when you have a child, you *have to* get married. Thus marriage is deemed to be the ideal once you become a mother, even though it does not necessarily have to precede childbearing.

Marriage, specifically, is sought in many cases, rather than cohabitation. One participant emphasises the importance of *marriage* after childbearing to the detriment of cohabitation when she states that:

*Epecially when you have children together, you can't just live together forever. You have to get married. Especially when you have two, three, four children with the man.*³³

Another mother further explains that she will “get married yes, but not live together [with a partner]”.³⁴ Even though cohabitation would present mothers with the opportunity to have a two-parent family, it is not idealized the way marriage is. This might be as a result of the meaning mothers typically attribute to marriage as opposed to cohabitation. Firstly, some mothers hold the moral conviction that cohabitation is wrong and are thus unwilling to cohabit. One mother says that: “No, I do not believe in living together”.³⁵ Another

²⁸ “As ek my man en my kinders het, sal dit die perfekte gesin wees”.

²⁹ “[Sy] mis ’n man, definitief”.

³⁰ “sou dit verkies het met ’n maat”.

³¹ “Eintlik dink ek ’n mens moet eintlik trou voor die kinders kom. Soos ek het nou op die stadium seuns, dink ek dit sou meer net reg gewees het as ek eers gedink het aan trou en dan...”

³² “Jy wil ook hê ’n kind moet ’n pa hê, soos onse ouers is dan getroud”.

³³ “veral as jy kinders saam het, jy kan nie net vir ewig wil saam bly nie. Jy moet trou veral as julle twee, drie, vier kinders by die man het”.

³⁴ “trou ja, maar nie saam woon nie”

³⁵ “nee, ek glo nie aan saam woon nie”

participant explains, however, that it is the older generation who does not want to cohabit, while “the majority of the youngsters first live together before they get married”.³⁶

Marriage is preferred by many participants due to the security it offers the woman. One mother explains that when you cohabit “you don’t know where you stand”³⁷ with the partner. Another states that when you find a good man you should get married, otherwise she is “scared he leaves me”³⁸, further explaining that marriage “ties”³⁹ it and that he can “easily leave”⁴⁰ otherwise. Other participants emphasise the importance of being “tied down”⁴¹ within marriage, but then explain the freedom that cohabitation might pose to mothers. One widowed participant explains the difference between marriage and cohabitation by saying:

*When you are not married you can walk out. Even if you have children, you can leave. If the man doesn’t want to talk correctly and you are not married, then you can leave. Like in my case: I couldn’t just leave, because I was married.*⁴²

Cohabitation is thus viewed as acceptable by some mothers, yet frowned upon or seen as an insecure arrangement by others.

Even though marriage (or cohabitation in some instances) and childbearing (i.e. nuclear family formation) are typically idealised by Suurbraak mothers, in some instances marriage is not necessarily seen as a prerequisite to childbearing or childrearing and these mothers would rather remain unmarried. One married mother says she never wanted to get married or have any children when she was younger and that she did not even think about it, while another never-married mother feels no desire to get married or cohabit. Another widowed participant also does not deem marriage to be an important part of childbearing, stating that she didn’t really want to get married and that “[marriage] doesn’t really matter”.⁴³ This supports Edin and Kefalas (2005) and Fako’s (1996) findings that for many women marriage and childbearing are not considered to necessarily be consecutive stages of life. It furthermore supports Fako (1996) and Simkins’s (1986 in Ziehl, 2001) argument that the

³⁶ “die meerderheid van die mense sal ek sê van onse jong mense bly eerste saam voor hulle trou”

³⁷ “jy weet nie waar jy staan nie”

³⁸ “bang hy los my”

³⁹ “vas, maak”

⁴⁰ “maklik wegloop”

⁴¹ “vas wees”

⁴² “As jy nie getroud is nie kan jy uitloop. Selfs al het jy kinders, dan kan jy loop. As die man mos nou nie wil reg sê nie en jy’s nie getroud nie dan kan jy stap. Soos in my geval, ek kon nie net geloop het nie, want ek was mos nou getroud”.

⁴³ “[trou] maak nie eintlik saak nie”

manifestation of single motherhood is enhanced by cultural belief and value systems and the accompanying variation in sexual mores.

Despite the nuclear family formation generally being idealised, a few exceptions are observed amongst the study population. This observation of mothers' views on the relationship between marriage and childbearing is well reflected in that 84% (n=19)⁴⁴ of single mothers with dependent children report that they would feel either unhappy or very unhappy if their daughter were to fall pregnant while single - the vast majority of single mothers thus harbour a negative connotation to childbearing outside wedlock or cohabitation. None of these mothers report that they would be happy in such a case, while some (11%) do indicate a neutral attitude (stating that "it would not really matter to them"). The remaining 5% are unsure about how they would feel.

For the most part, a belief amongst mothers that marriage or cohabitation is not considered a prerequisite to childbearing and childrearing can be eliminated as a general explanation for the occurrence of single motherhood amongst the mothers of Suurbraak. For the majority of single mothers who hold the two-parent family as their ideal, other factors should be explored as causes of their status as such.

4.4.2 THE AVAILABILITY OF PROSPECTIVE PARTNERS

Two factors are considered to play a role in the availability of prospective partners. Firstly, the actual availability of men within the accessible domain of mothers directly affects their access to potential partners, given mothers' current circumstances. To explore the relationship between access to men and mothers' singlehood, structural environmental indicators (such as their physical access to a pool of potential partners and the sex-age ratio of men and women within this pool) is considered.

Secondly, the availability of prospective partners is affected by the willingness of both men and women to marry or cohabitate. It is readily indicated by mothers that, despite their willingness to get married, certain conditions are attached to their perception of characteristics of potential partners who would be deemed suitable. The subjective criteria mothers set for potential partners thus act as a filter within the pool of potential partners and

⁴⁴ Only 19 responses to Section G of the questionnaire (Appendix B) were included for analysis here. These were the only cases where the household representative was a single mother (with one or more dependent children) and where responses could consequently be deemed to represent the views of single mothers specifically (as opposed to other family members such as married household heads).

provide further ground for the exploration of the prevalence of single motherhood. The availability of men is thus further contingent on their *marriageability* according to mothers' criteria.

The following sections firstly define the pool in which men as potential partners to Suurbraak mothers can be found. Secondly the availability of men generally is explored, while in the third instance the availability of marriageable men specifically is explored.

4.4.2.1 MOTHERS' ACCESS TO POTENTIAL PARTNERS

Suurbraak is geographically situated within comfortable driving distance of Buffeljagsrivier, Barrydale, and Swellendam within the Western Cape. However, Suurbraak inhabitants mostly live in poverty and often do not own a car or bicycle. While only 15% of Suurbraak households own a bicycle, 28% own a motor vehicle. Alternative public transport (buses / taxis) is available, but requires the purchase of a ticket, which may be unaffordable to mothers with little financial resources. A modern alternative to contacting individuals from outside the village is via online platforms. These platforms, however, see very little use amongst Suurbraak inhabitants. It is therefore argued that Suurbraak has limited access to communities and people outside its immediate surrounds, resulting in an experience of geographic isolation by its residents.

Due to this geographical isolation, mothers may have a diminished chance of meeting men outside the village and its surrounds. A lack of transport might further inhibit mothers' opportunities to leave the village for visits to other towns or even cities which could function as a networking platform to meet potential partners. "I would say transport"⁴⁵, one mother cited as the reason she does not have sufficient opportunity to go out and meet potential partners. Although communication can transcend geographic distance through online platforms, low income and the possible low access to internet can inhibit this means of meeting potential partners. While mothers may yet meet partners from areas further removed, the scope of this study is necessarily limited to the availability of men specifically in Suurbraak and to a lesser extent its surrounds (i.e. only towns in the same municipal district), due to this geographic isolation. In line with McLaughlin and Lichter's (1997) finding, geographical isolation might inhibit women to meet potential partners, which might in turn exacerbate sex-ratio imbalances. Accordingly, the next section considers mothers' access to men in light of the ratio between females and males within these constraints, where a

⁴⁵ "Ek sal nou sê vervoer".

shortage of accessible men (compared to their ratio with females) might cause mothers to remain single.

4.4.2.2 AGE-SEX RATIOS: A SHORTAGE OF MEN

Women often report there to be fewer men than women in Suurbraak. One mother explains: “There are much fewer men than women in this town, hey.”⁴⁶, while another states: “Here are too many women for each male. It’s true”.⁴⁷ Women’s suspicions are confirmed through analysis of data from Suurbraak and its surrounds. In Suurbraak women outnumber men, with 54% of the Suurbraak population being female and 46% being male. These ratios vary, with the gender difference being more pronounced in certain age groups.

Special attention is given to the age-sex ratio of women between the ages of 15 and 44. This is due to the vast majority (82%) of single mothers with dependent children falling within the category between ages 16 and 44, while 94% of all mothers furthermore report bearing their first child between the ages of 15 and 29 - indicating that non-marriage during this period may also lead to single motherhood. It should not be assumed that the ratio of women to men within the same age category would effectively explain the non-occurrence of marriage. Women’s perceptions of marriageable age categories are taken into account by considering the ratio of men considered of marriageable age to the women most likely to be single mothers.

4.4.2.2.1 AGE OF THE PROSPECTIVE MAN

*Then it should be an older man, older than I am.*⁴⁸

The age of a potential partner seems to be a key factor in mothers’ consideration of marriage to such an individual. One mother’s main observation when asked how she would like to live in 5 years’ time refers to the age of the potential spouse she would like to have. She states:

*I always tell the children: if I want a man then he shouldn’t be young, he shouldn’t be old, he has to be just right.*⁴⁹

Mothers typically express a preference for having a husband older than themselves. Several mothers hold that for a man to be marriageable he needs to be older than themselves, and the

⁴⁶ “Hier is baie minder mans as vrouens in die dorp hoor”.

⁴⁷ “Hier is te veel vrouemense vir elke man. Dit is so”.

⁴⁸ “Dan moet dit ’n ouerige man wees, ouer as ek”.

⁴⁹ “Ek sê altyd vir die kinders, as ek nou ’n man wil hê dan hy moet nie jonk wees nie, hy moet nie oud wees nie, hy moet net reg wees”.

preference is further supported by the observation that women have in many cases mothered children with men of more advanced age than themselves.

Various reasons for this phenomenon are presented. Firstly, a lack of male role models in girls' homes is cited as one possible origin of this phenomenon. One participant explains why, in her opinion, so many teenage girls fall pregnant by older men:

I think in our homes we don't have fathers that are role models anymore. ... [I] noticed with my children - in my children, with me and my children - I noticed again that everyone wants to belong somewhere. Now you miss that father figure and now you get the big guy - what he gives you. He will give you money, if you smoke he will give you cigarettes, or you get chocolate, and he cares about you. Whether he is honest and means well, or is using the situation, you don't know. You are veiled. You think here is someone that cares.⁵⁰

The absence of good male role models leaves girls vulnerable to, presumably mostly older, men who are able to provide them with things they desire but which are otherwise unobtainable. Some respondents blame men for abusing the vulnerability of younger girls while others place the onus on the women who choose to date them. One respondent explains:

Because I think [men] abuse or exploit the situation a bit. Because for me it is, they can get something out of it more easily... it's exploitation. I see the situation and I see someone is vulnerable and then I use that person and I go for that thing.⁵¹

On the other hand, another male respondent cites the scarce resources that women often obtain from their involvement with an older man and how women's pursuit thereof motivates dating older men:

The girls usually like the older men. Because he has a job; that is the first thing the women usually look at. Because he can take her out, dress her, those types of things.

⁵⁰ "Ek dink in ons huise het ons nie meer pappas wat 'n rolmodel is nie... [Ek] het toe nogals agtergekom, in my kinders, met my en my kinders het ek agtergekom, weereens almal wil behoort. Nou het jy daai vermissing van 'n vaderfiguur en nou kry jy die groot man, hy aan jou bied, hy gaan jou geld gee, as jy rook kry jy sigarette of jy kry sjokolade, en hy gee vir jou om. Of hy eerlik is en dit goed bedoel en of hy die situasie buit, weet jy nie. Jy is versluier. Jy dink hier is iemand wat omgee".

⁵¹ "Want ek dink [mans] misbruik [of buit] bietjie die situasie uit. Want vir my is dit ... hulle kan makliker iets daaruit kry... Jy weet dis nou 'n uitbuiting. Ek sien die situasie en ek sien iemand is weerloos en dan misbruik ek dan daardie persoon en ek gaan vir daardie dinge".

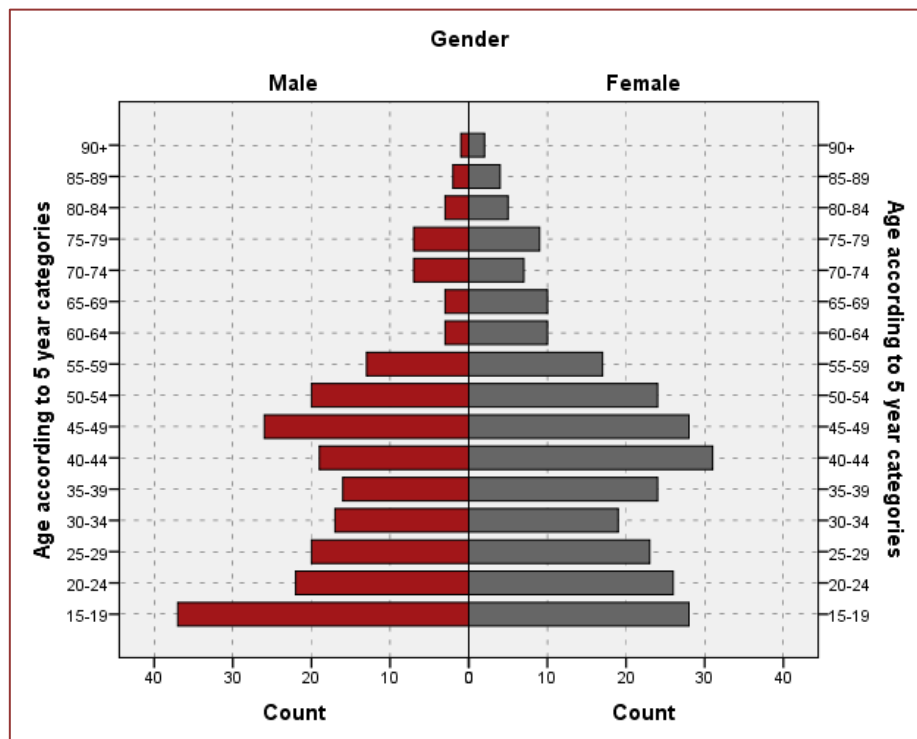
*He can provide so that there is something to eat every evening... Almost like they say: Money goes from hand to hand, and women go from man to man.*⁵²

Women's pursuit of financial resources is thus perceived by some to compel them to seek relationships within which this can be provided. Both perspectives highlight the motivation material hardship amongst young girls provide for dating and bearing children of older men. One participant summarizes it well, stating:

*I think our younger generation loves money. Maybe they don't get as much or as easily in the home, but you get smoke-things or so [from older men]. It is older men that have something to offer.*⁵³

The preference of women for older potential partners can thus exacerbate rates of singlehood if a lack of such potential candidates exists within the accessible population, irrespective of the reason underlying this preference.

Figure 4.14. Population pyramid of the Suurbraak population⁵⁴



⁵² "...Die meisies kyk ook gewoonlik vir die ou man. Want hy het 'n werk, dis die eerste ding wat die vroumense gewoonlik kyk, want hulle kan vir haar neem, aantrek, sulke tipe dingetjies. Hy kan vir haar sorg dat daar elke aand iets op die tafel is. Amper soos hulle sê: *Money goes from hand to hand, and women go from man to man*".

⁵³ "Ek dink ons jongmense is lief vir geld. Miskien kry jy nie in die huis soveel of so maklik nie, maar jy kry dan dalk rookgoed of so... Dis ouer mans wat iets het om te bied".

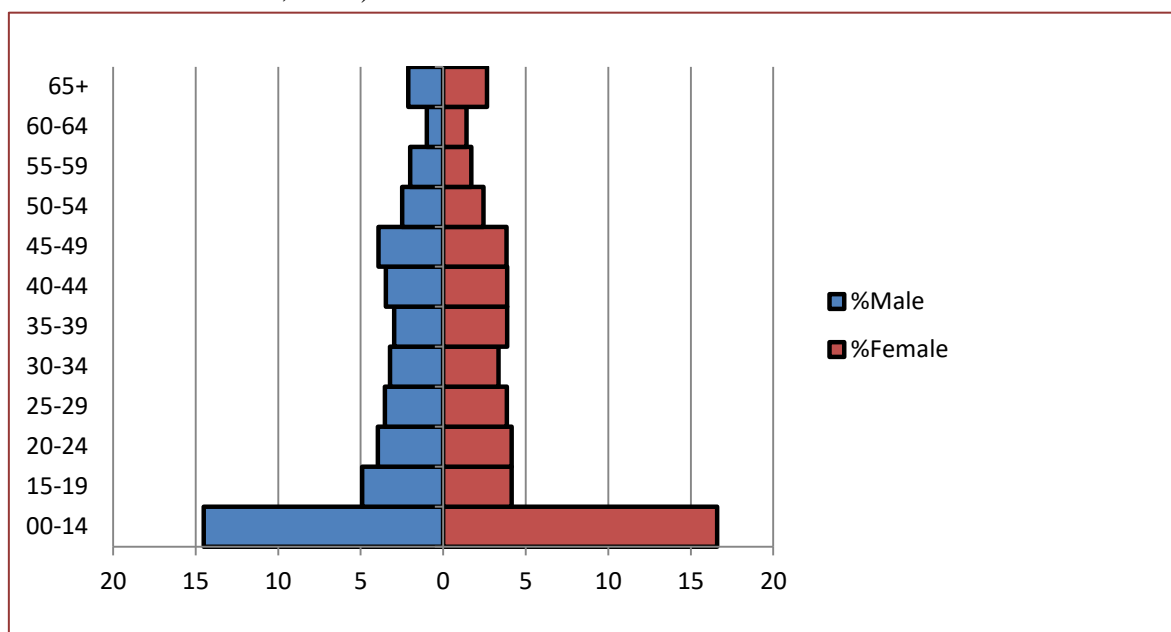
⁵⁴ Figure 4.14 only indicates age categories from age 15, as the youngest single mothers with a dependent child were recorded to be 16 whereas the oldest age recorded is 75.

The population pyramid (showing proportions according to gender across age groups of 5 year intervals) presenting age-sex ratios of men and women in Suurbraak (*Figure 4.14*) can be interpreted when taking into consideration the stated preference of women for slightly older partners. The age categories with the highest incidence of single motherhood and men who are deemed to be of marriageable age are specifically considered.

A greater percentage of women (54%) than men (46%) inhabit Suurbraak. This is in line with the sex-ratios found in the Overberg district specifically where, according to Stats SA (2012), a slightly higher population of women than men are found. The proportional differences in age seem to be more pronounced in certain cohorts relevant to my study. Even though females are overrepresented at age 60 and older, a general, if slight, trend also seemingly exists in that women outnumber men across younger age categories. Considering the pool of men available in Suurbraak, a shortage of men – whether from older categories or those corresponding to single mothers - can conceivably exist and contribute to the prevalence of singlehood amongst mothers.

Stats SA provides a wealth of census data from 2011 online, which was further analysed in terms of the age-sex ratios of the surrounding areas. The population pyramid in *Figure 4.15* indicates the sex-age ratios of the coloured population of Ward Three (Buffeljagsrivier, Malagas and Suurbraak) (Swellendam Municipality: final IDP review of 2014/15).

Figure 4.15. Population pyramid of the coloured population from ward three
(Statistics South Africa, 2011)



The broader municipal area clearly demonstrates similar patterns of population numbers, where women generally (if slightly) outnumber men across age categories (except in the case of 15-19 year olds). Women are thus disproportionately represented in Suurbraak and its surrounds, indicating a possible lack of potentially accessible male partners and possibly one antecedent of single motherhood. Sex-ratio imbalances where a smaller proportion of men to women prevail might then also in Suurbraak inhibit the prevalence of marriage, supporting the findings of Lichter et al (2002), Edin (2000) and Maclin (1980).

While the actual number of potentially accessible men may be limited, there are other factors which may further impact on their selection as partners (their marriageability). Men and mothers' willingness to marry or cohabitate is one such factor which is now discussed.

4.4.2.3 WOMENS' PERCEPTION OF MEN'S WILLINGNESS TO MARRY OR COHABITATE

*Today's men do not want to get married.*⁵⁵

The above is a view typically reported by single mothers to explain why they think single motherhood is so prevalent in Suurbraak. Some support is afforded to mothers' claims given that 40% of all men above 17 years of age in Suurbraak are married. Such apparent unwillingness is in some instances mentioned in relation to cohabitation amongst partners. One participant explains that "a lot of men in Suurbraak only make promises, but they never get married"⁵⁶, while another states that: "I do not know if they are scared of marriage, but they just want to cohabitate forever"⁵⁷. Her aversion to this trend is, however, made clear as she states that:

*But you cannot only live together forever. If you really love the girl, then you would want to marry her someday. But it doesn't look like today's older people want to get married, they just want to live together.*⁵⁸

This could promote the prevalence of unmarried, but cohabitating partners (with 11% of all Suurbraak men above 17 years of age cohabitating). Alternatively men are seen as reluctant to marry the mothers of their children and deem to make empty promises of marriage and

⁵⁵ "Die manne van vandag wil nie trou nie".

⁵⁶ "baie mans belowe net in Suurbraak, maar hulle kom nooit tot trou nie"

⁵⁷ "Ek weet nie of hulle bang is vir trou nie, maar hulle wil net saam bly vir ewig".

⁵⁸ "Maar jy kan ook nie net saam bly vir ewig en altyd nie. As jy regtig lief is vir die meisie dan gaan jy darem met haar wil trou eendag. Maar lyk my nie vandag se groter ouerige mense, hulle wil nie trou nie, hulle wil net saam bly".

commitment, only to walk out on their families. Some never-married mothers explain how they did not choose to be single, but that they are left with no other option due to the fathers choosing not to be with them. Men are often perceived to not want to be tied down, to avoid responsibility, or to be too immature to take responsibility. One mother explains the reaction of her child's father to the news of her pregnancy:

*He was not supportive. He is a mommy's boy and I think he was not yet mature enough to accept and process the news.*⁵⁹

A few married participants explain that men are often unwilling to commit to the mothers of their children, while women want them to stay. One mother tells how she feared the same fate for herself:

*I thought he (her husband and the father of her child) was maybe going to leave me because he had to continue his school career and I was sitting at home, because there are many young men who do that today. They impregnate the woman and then they walk away.*⁶⁰

Some men go as far as to deny their paternity to their child(ren) altogether, deserting the mother with their child(ren).

Men's perceived unwillingness or failure to accept responsibility for their families may leave mothers with no choice of marriage or cohabitation. These mothers consequently have their situation imposed upon them. In other instances mothers' singlehood is not due to men's doing, but the consequence of their own choices within environmental constraints.

4.4.2.4 THE AVAILABILITY OF MARRIAGEABLE MEN

Mothers often state that they would consider marriage or cohabitation with a "good man". Sixty-eight percent of mothers with dependent children indicated that they either agree or strongly agree that single mothers are often better parents than two-parent families. This illustrates the importance of finding a "good" partner as prerequisite to marriage and their perception that singlehood can be more lucrative compared to living with a partner who does not satisfy the prescribed characteristics of a "good man". The majority of mothers are thus of

⁵⁹ "Hy was nie ondersteunend nie. Hy is 'n *mama's boy* en ek dink hy was nog nie opgewasse nie, nie om die nuus te aanvaar en te verwerk nie".

⁶⁰ "Ek het gedink hy (haar man en pa van haar kind) gaan nou miskien vir my los, omdat hy moet nou verder gaan met sy skoolloopbaan en ek sit nou by die huis, want daar is baie jong manne wat dit vandag doen. Maak die dame swanger en dan loop hulle, stap hulle weg".

the opinion that they are better off alone than with male partners who do not fulfil their perceived duties.

The availability of “good” partners locally, as defined by respondents, is questionable. While some mothers are of the opinion that “some [men] are good, and others are not”⁶¹; others feel that there are very few good men in Suurbraak; while yet others feel that there are good men but very little opportunity to meet them. Mothers establish certain criteria that reflect their idea of what a “good man” is. These criteria include: providing financial and emotional support; treating women with respect; being religious; providing love and companionship within the union; setting a good example for the children and not being from Suurbraak

Supporting the findings of Colclough and McCarthy (1980) in Fako (1996), mothers are arguably more prone to remain single in the absence of a suitable male. This further applies and confirms the interaction between perception and the options available in the structural environment of individuals as suggested by Joubert (1995). While mothers hold certain beliefs regarding the important prerequisite characteristics of a potential partner, the social and structural environment do not necessarily present them with options conforming thereto (i.e. partners who meet these criteria).

Ultimately it can be suggested that mothers consider the viability of settling with a partner in terms of the gains (according to their perception of what exactly would be deemed viable) if they were to remain single as opposed to forming a two-parent household. Suurbraak arguably does not often present potential partners considered to be viable options highlighting an environmental factor (a lack of potentially viable partners within their structural and social environment) which could inhibit them from forming two-parent households. These prerequisites to marriage or cohabitation and the access of mothers to men meeting them are discussed in more detail, accounting for those environmental factors which may affect the need for such partners.

4.4.2.4.1 SUPPORT

Mothers often comment that a marriageable man “needs to be supportive”.⁶² One woman tells of how, before she had children, she said that “one day I really want to marry someone who is supportive”.⁶³ Married mothers are often considered to have an easier time raising their

⁶¹ “som [mans] is goed, en som is nie goed nie”

⁶² “moet ondersteunend wees”.

⁶³ “Ek sal eendag baie graag wil trou met iemand wat ondersteunend is”.

children, as “they had support from their husbands”.⁶⁴ Another mother supports the view that when you have children, “you will think about marriage with a man for the sake of support”.⁶⁵ When contemplating marriage, the measure of support it offers is often a central theme. As indicated above, support, for the purposes of this study, can be classified into two categories: financial and emotional.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Financial difficulty is often cited as one of the greatest challenges faced in childrearing. One single mother states the hardest thing is that “there are certain times that [she] cannot give [her child] what [she] really wants to. Then there is a lack of money”.⁶⁶ Financial shortages compromise (for instance) their ability to procure school requisites, pay school fees, buy food, buy school shoes and clothes, and pay medical bills for their children, while having to provide for themselves.

Single mothers typically are of the opinion that these financial strains are exacerbated by the fact that they are single and that married women are better off, stating for instance: “It is much easier for them, because if they need something they can get it much easier”⁶⁷ and “they have the men that bring in the money”.⁶⁸ Married mothers are also seen to struggle in some cases, as no significant difference was detected between the percentage of single mothers living in households living below the UBPL and those who are married or cohabitating. Although single mothers often perceive marriage to be financially more secure than singlehood, this opinion is conditional.

Marriage to the ideal, a “*good man*”, is emphasised as the core element of the ideal of marriage. Reinforcing Edin’s (2000) finding that financial means of a partner is an important prerequisite for marriageability, Suurbraak mothers maintain that only a ‘good man’⁶⁹, including men who, amongst other things, are employed, can financially support their family and men who have access to resources such as their own house, would in their opinion ease the burden of childrearing.

⁶⁴ “Hulle het mos nou ondersteuning van hulle mans gehad waarmee hulle getroud is”.

⁶⁵ “Sal jy nou dink aan trou met die man meer vir ondersteuning...”

⁶⁶ “Daar is sekere tye dan kan [sy] nou nie vir [haar kind] gee wat [sy] nou graag wil gee nie. Dan is daar nou ’n tekort aan die geld”.

⁶⁷ “Dit was vir hulle baie makliker. Want as hulle nou iets nodig gehad het, kon hulle dit baie makliker bekom.”

⁶⁸ “Hulle het dan nou die manne wat geld inbring”.

⁶⁹ “goeie man”

Mothers, for example, state that if they are to marry, the man needs to “have a good job”⁷⁰, and be “a good husband”⁷¹ that “can work for his wife and children”⁷², so he can “look after his children”.⁷³ One participant takes the importance of financial support even further, stating that “if [a man] maybe earns a lot of money, then [women would] marry him for the money”.⁷⁴ A cohabitating mother emphasises the importance of financial support, explaining that “when he gets money he gives it to me. He doesn’t use it out there on the street and then he comes to me with nothing. He brings it and then we plan it ourselves”.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the importance of owning a house is emphasised. One mother for instance states:

*I always tell the children, if I would like a husband... then he has to own a house, because that is my desire.*⁷⁶

Mothers typically report a desire that the couple has to have their own place to live, not having to share it with anyone other than their children. Men, therefore, “need to own a house”⁷⁷ if they are to be considered for marriage. One single mother indicates that if she is to marry, “he needs to own a house, because that is my desire, and then we have to get married and he has to put a house on my name immediately, so that my children and I can live there”.⁷⁸ This may further serve as basis for mothers who opt to cohabit but are yet to be married. One such participant explains how “life is too expensive to get married”, and that she and her partner cannot afford a house of their own and therefore cannot get married. Two core elements seem to affect a mother’s need for a man to own a house as a prerequisite to marriage: firstly, mothers seem to equate the ability to own a house with financial security, and secondly not sharing a dwelling with others appears to satisfy a need for privacy.

The general importance single mothers in Suurbraak attach to the need for a husband who is able to financially contribute to the household or to own assets such as a house if he is to be considered marriageable, is well substantiated in mothers’ responses when asked how important they consider them (mother and spouse) “owning a house”; “their partner having a

⁷⁰ “’n goeie werk hê”

⁷¹ “’n goeie man”

⁷² “kan werk vir sy vrou en sy kinders”

⁷³ “om te sorg vir sy kinders”

⁷⁴ “As hy miskien ‘n klomp geld verdien,... dan trou [vroue] vir die geld”.

⁷⁵ “As hy geld kry kom gee hy dit vir my. Hy gebruik dit nie daar buite op die straat en dan kom hy hier met niks aan nie. Hy bring dit, en dan beplan ons dit self”.

⁷⁶ “Ek sê altyd vir die kinders, as ek nou ’n man wil hê... dan moet hy ’n huis besit, want dit is my verlange.”

⁷⁷ “moet... ’n huis besit”

⁷⁸ “...moet hy ’n huis besit, want dit is my verlange en dan moet ons trou en hy moet sommer onmiddellik ’n huis op my naam sit. Dat ek en my kinders kan bly daar”

job” or “their partner having quite a lot of money to look after them and their children conveniently” if they were to move in with them. The vast majority of single mothers with dependent children indicate these concerns to be very important when choosing a partner, with 90% of these mothers reporting it to be either important or very important for their partner to have enough money if they were to marry him; all (100%) mothers finding it important for the partner to have a job; and 74% of mothers finding it important for the couple to have their own house before they are to form a two-parent household.

Marriage alone thus cannot guarantee the support mothers seek; marriage to the *ideal man* is seen as the key concern. The idea that financial barriers can be overcome through marriage to a financially supportive partner, and the importance of a potential partner to fulfil such a role if he is to be considered marriageable, is reflected in the mothers’ perceptions of the ideal roles of women and men within the family and childrearing.

Women’s views on gender roles vary from the conservative (men are providers and women caretakers) to the more liberal (both men and women provide financial resources and share household tasks). Mothers citing more liberal views on gender roles conform to Steyn’s (1996) finding that the South African male and female, - specifically the white and coloured population - express a desire to discard traditional sex-roles and move to equality in decision making, and that women wish for shared responsibility and inputs in all areas of household operations. Notwithstanding these views, all mothers feel that a marriageable man needs to contribute to the family financially. No respondent believes that a woman should be the breadwinner while the man fulfils some other function, although men’s roles are not limited to that of breadwinner alone. Mothers thus tend to harbour a perception that men have the role of financial provider within the family and should be capable of conforming to this expectation if he is to be considered marriageable.

While a potential partner’s financial contribution is valued, men’s idealised financial contributions to the family are more than often incongruent with the (perceived) behaviour of available men - thus rendering some to feel marriage or cohabitation would not pose a proper solution to financial strain and that the partner would not be willing or able to fulfil his role as the financially supportive family member. This discredits men as potential spouses and generates a reputation of men being financially burdensome which is often related to high unemployment rates amongst men. Men’s unemployment and status as financial burden on the household as causes of single motherhood support Edin and Kefalas (2005), Gatley

(1987), and Snyman's (1986 in Steyn, 1994) findings that singlehood amongst mothers may alleviate financial strain caused by lazy, spendthrift, or unemployed partners.

Men often subject their families to financial insecurity by frivolously spending money crucial to the provision of basic needs. A divorced mother explains:

There were many times that I did not have money, because like [my ex-husband] that works away from home maybe brings home a thousand rand. Maybe we go to the shop, in Swellendam, then he rents transport, then the transport has to be paid from that thousand rand and he wants his pocket money. He has to buy food and clothes for the children from that money and I have to keep bread money for the week until he returns. I have a little bit of bread money, but then he asks it until it is also finished between Friday and Sunday or Monday when he leaves again.⁷⁹

Men's frivolous expenditure is also often linked to the use of alcohol and drugs. One woman explains that her ex-husband "didn't give me money. He will give me money, but then he asks for the money back in the end to buy drugs etc."⁸⁰ Substance abuse appears to be rife among Suurbraak men and promoting financial insecurity, as one woman expresses her doubt over some men's attitudes to responsibility:

Monday to Friday [the men] work, weekends [they] come and drink everything out or spend it all. Except for being clothed, [the men] have nothing. Someone could have had a car by now, someone could have already had a house, but the young men I say have nothing else to do; now [the young men] drink out all [their] money.⁸¹

Some men are cast as irresponsible and not being 'future-oriented', possibly motivating mothers to rather remain single to ensure financial security, or avoid financial insecurity. Being single enables mothers to control their financial resources, thus minimising the financial burden of frivolous spending on the family. While not having more money, one divorcee notes how she can plan her expenses better without the presence of a frivolous man.

⁷⁹ "...daar was baie tye wat ek nie geld gehad het nie, want soos[my vorige man] wat nou uitwerk, hy bring nou miskien vir my 'n duisend rand huis toe, nê. Nou gaan ons miskien winkel toe, Swellendam toe, dan huur hy 'n ryding, dan moet die ryding betaal word van daai duisend rand en hy wil hom sakgeld hê, hy moet kos koop, hy moet klere koop vir die kinders van daai geld en ek moet vir my broodgeld hou vir die week totdat hy terug kom, en so. Ek het bietjie broodgeld, maar dan vra hy dit op tussen die Vrydag tot die Sondag of Maandag wat hy weer weggaan".

⁸⁰ "...nie vir my geld gegee nie. Hy sal gee, maar dan vra hy dit weer op die ou end terug vir drugs en so aan".

⁸¹ "Maandag tot Vrydag werk [die mans], naweke kom [hulle] dan drink ons als uit of ons spend alles, behalwe dat ek aangetrek is, [die mans] kom aan niks. Iemand kon al 'n kar gehad het, iemand kon al 'n huis gehad het, maar die jong mans sê ek het niks anders om te doen nie, nou drink [die mans] maar [sy] geld uit nou".

Control of financial resources can afford mothers more security without a husband who spends it on non-essentials. Men have the potential to be perceived as a financial asset in two-parent families, but in some instances pose a financial liability. As one mother explains: “Not all of the men give their money to the women”.⁸² These mothers perceive their control over finances to be more beneficial, without the interference of husbands’ perceived frivolous spending habits which might cast them into even more severe poverty. As such, men leaching onto mothers’ financial resources might pose one reason as to why mothers remain single.

In addition to men posing as a burden by choice, the inability or reluctance of some men to contribute to the household financially, due to unemployment, may place further strain on already scarce resources. Being in a relationship with an unemployed partner is seen to put mothers in a worse financial position. As one never-married single mother indicates:

*There are things that I can sometimes give that [married mothers] can’t, especially if the one does not work and the other one does. They also struggle.*⁸³

One divorced mother further explains that she is better off without her ex-husband as he is paid less than her and can therefore not contribute much to the household income; while another recalls her ex-husband not working much and not contributing financially.

In addition, a shortage of work in the area compromises one’s ability to find work. Some men are, however, purportedly too lazy to work. The reason for unemployment is often not considered; rather its manifestation impacts negatively on mothers’ perception of potential partners’ marriageability.

Unemployment amongst Suurbraak men emerges as a key factor in their ability to make financial contributions to the family, with 51% of them (18 years and older) currently being unemployed. More specifically, the marital status of unemployed men does indeed seem to indicate unemployed males to be more often single than their married counterparts – as could be observed in *Table 4.14* below.⁸⁴

⁸² “Dis nie al die mans wat hulle geld vir die vrouens gee nie”.

⁸³ “Daar is dinge wat ek partykeer kan gee wat [getroude moeders] nie kan nie. Veral as die een nie werk nie en die een werk. Hulle sukkel ook maar”.

⁸⁴ Note that overall, if all EA males are considered (n=138; missing=2), most (44%) are single and never married, followed by the second largest proportion being married (41%), followed by those who are cohabitating (13%), those divorced (1%) and those widowed (1%).

Table 4.14.***Marital status of EA males***

Marital status of EA men	Employment status		
	Employed	Unemployed	Total
Single, never married	40%	55%	43%
Married	46%	24%	41%
Cohabiting	13%	15%	13%
Divorced	1%	3%	2%
Widowed	0%	3%	1%
Total %	100%	100%	100%
N	104	33	137
Missing N	3		

$$\chi^2=8.109 \text{ NS, } p > .05$$

While the greatest percentage of unemployed men are never-married, the greatest percentage of employed men are married. Despite the striking percentage of males being single according to their employment status compared to those who are non-single, no statistically significant relationship between marital status and employment status of EA males exists. The large percentage of single EA males concentrated amongst the unemployed might confirm mothers' unwillingness to marry an unemployed male and also emphasise the high unemployment rate amongst single (and thus available) men (with 32% of EA single men being unemployed). These findings support Edin's (2000 in Lerman, 2002) position that prospective spouses of low-income women are themselves too poor or too limited in their earning capacities to contribute significantly to the family's resources.

Apart from unemployment and the frivolous spending habits inhibiting men's ability to provide in mothers' financial needs, their requirement of a potential partner to have his own house may be met in another manner. Government funded housing could help resolve this challenge; however, participants cite this as improbable due to existing backlogs. One participant explains how she has been "waiting for 14 years for a house" and still remains on the waiting list.

In essence, while mothers hold financial contribution of a partner as a prerequisite for a "good", marriageable man, this prerequisite in many instances seems to be unattainable due

to the frivolous spending habits as well as the high unemployment rate amongst available men. A shortage of government funded housing (which would help to overcome economic strain and provide potential male partners with a house in order to satisfy this prerequisite), further inhibits males from being perceived as more appealing. If a partner who meets these prerequisites could be found, marriage is deemed a more viable option than being single. It can therefore be argued that single motherhood is to some extent enhanced by a lack of options, given their expectation of financial support from a potential partner.

EMOTIONAL SUPPORT

Marriageable men are required to be not only financially, but also emotionally supportive. Emotional support often entails men's contribution to discipline as a part of childrearing. One participant is of the opinion that a married mother has things easier because men can be stricter than women. Another participant tells how she finds it hard to discipline her children and thus wishes for a male partner to assist:

*If only there were a father now and just someone that can enforce some authority. He doesn't have to be rude or tough, he should just be a father. Because just sometimes when mommy bear's voice is too soft, then there is that something that is needed.*⁸⁵

Another form of emotional support is found in men's compliance with a woman's idea of ideal gender roles. In addition to contributing financially, men are required to show interest in the child. One mother perceives men to only contribute financially, while being disinterested in the events surrounding their children, whereas women take responsibility for an overwhelming number of other tasks. This mother expresses the following ideal state: "When I go to a school function or a meeting he should come with me. He also has to contribute. He should look after her a bit and so, yes"⁸⁶. Another participant supports this view, in that she:

Definitely think the man should have another role [over and above just contributing money]. I think he needs to communicate and speak to his child more often and be more interested in what he does. You know, the man is very disinterested. They are not that interested in how the child is doing at school, for instance. They will ask if the child has passed, but they will not for instance ask if he has done his homework and so

⁸⁵ "As daar darem nou net 'n pappa was en net iemand wat gesag bietjie afdwing. Hy hoef glad nie onbeskof of hard te wees nie, hy moet net pappa wees, want net somtyds as mammabeer se stemmetjie nou te sag praat, dan is daar net daai iets wat kort somtyds".

⁸⁶ "As ek na 'n skoolfunksie of vergadering toe gaan moet hy darem ook saamkom. Hy moet ook bydra. Hy moet bietjie na haar kyk en so, ja".

*forth. The mother will do that more: did you get any work to study, you should work hard, encourage the child.*⁸⁷

Men are also expected to be role models, “especially for the boys”⁸⁸, and to care about their children and give them love. Emotional support in this sense has the potential to augment the financial support which men can offer mothers.

4.4.2.4.2 RESPECTFUL BEHAVIOUR OF MEN

Suurbraak mothers cite respectful behaviour among men as a prerequisite to marriage. Factors typically linked to disrespectful behaviour (i.e. which would preclude one from being perceived as a “good man”), and which discourage marriage amongst mothers, include: the abuse of substances; men being unfaithful to their partner; and men being abusive towards the mother.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE

*In Suurbraak people are never going to control alcohol, alcohol will control people.*⁸⁹

Substance abuse, especially alcohol consumption, is cited as a common characteristic of men otherwise deemed marriageable. In line with the findings of Edin and Kefalas (2005) and Steyn (1994), some mothers ideally wish to marry a man who does not drink or, in some cases, smoke at all. Mothers generally tolerate alcohol consumption, but drunkenness and drinking are too often regarded as undesirable, as one participant emphasizes.

*[He should] not drink himself drunk. Sometimes men only drink to cool down, not to get drunk. Then it is fine. Then it works.*⁹⁰

Another married mother explains the importance of the frequency of alcohol consumption:

He [her husband] was a nice-timer. Only drank a beer or so, but not every weekend or maybe every end of the month or so. No. Months, almost years go by before he decides

⁸⁷ “Ek dink die man moet defintief ’n ander rol hê [bo en behalwe net geld bydra]. Ek dink hy moet meer met sy kind kommunikeer en gesels en meer belangstel in wat die kind doen. Jy weet, die man stel min belang. Hulle stel min belang soos in hoe die kind vaar op skool. Hulle sal vra het die kind geslaag, maar hulle sal byvoorbeeld nie vra het jy jou huiswerk gedoen en so nie. Die ma sal nou meer daar: het julle nie leerwerk gekry nie, julle moet hard werk en so, die kind bemoedig”.

⁸⁸ “veral vir die seuns”

⁸⁹ “In Suurbraak gaan mense nooit alkohol kan beheer nie, alkohol gaan mense beheer”.

⁹⁰ “[Hy moet] nie dronk drink nie. Partykeer drink mans mos net om af te koel. Nie om dronk te raak nie, dan is dit okay. Dan werk dit”.

*he is going to have a beer or so. That's okay, but I do not feel up to having a husband who drinks every end of the month or every weekend.*⁹¹

Mothers typically have these preferences as alcohol seemingly drives provocation and potentially has a damaging effect on relationships. Firstly, alcohol is explained as having a financial damaging effect on a family. For instance, a husband who drinks will spend money on alcohol, which should rather be used for childrearing. "Automatically, the child suffers because of it"⁹².

Alcohol abuse purportedly also causes strained emotional circumstances within families. One consequence thereof is that the couple "do not respect each other"⁹³. Those who abuse alcohol is seen to fight with their families as a result, with one respondent explaining that drunken men "beat their wives and so on"⁹⁴; while another observes that "when [her ex-husband] was sober he was a good man, but when he got drunk..."⁹⁵ implying that he became abusive. Participants further link alcohol to "promiscuity", "sexual abuse", "physical fights" and "murder". As one mother puts it:

*Wine makes you promiscuous. You did something; I have to sort you out. He is the cause of trouble also. You pay to go to prison, to commit murder, to rape. Because your girl doesn't want to agree to sex now, now I will get her.*⁹⁶

Alcohol is often condemned, with one participant stating that "alcohol is evil"⁹⁷, while another explains that "people just don't want to realize that alcohol is something that destroys"⁹⁸. Numerous respondents cite alcohol as a big problem in Suurbraak. Even those not directly exposed to its destructive effects, are aware of the consequences of alcohol abuse. One participant explains that although she does not perceive alcohol induced abuse to be

⁹¹ "Hy [haar man] was 'n nice-timer, net gedrink 'n biertjie hier of so, maar nog nie elke naweek of miskien elke end maand of so nie. Nee. Daar gaan maande amper jare verby voor hy sal besluit hy gaan nou weer 'n biertjie vat of so. Dis okay, maar ek sien nie kans vir 'n man wat elke einde van die maand of elke naweek drink nie".

⁹² "Automaties ly die kind mos dan nou daaronder".

⁹³ "...gaan nie mekaar respekteer nie".

⁹⁴ "slaan hulle vrouens en so"

⁹⁵ "As [haar gewese man] nugter gewees het was hy 'n goeie man, maar as hy dronk was..."

⁹⁶ "Wyn laat jou mos losbandig wees. Jy het iets gedoen, ek moet jou gou uitsort. Hy's die oorsaak van moeilikheid ook. Jy betaal om tronk toe te gaan, om moord te pleeg, om te verkrag. Want jou goosy wil nou net nie instem vir seks nie, nou gaan ek haar kry".

⁹⁷ "Drank is "'n euwel".

⁹⁸ "Mense wil net nie besef dat alkohol is 'n vernietigende ding nie"

common, she “did hear a while back of an assault”⁹⁹ caused by it. One participant suggests the following reason for the adverse effects of alcohol:

*In Suurbraak people are never going to control alcohol, alcohol will control people. We did not grow up with wine; other people grew up with cabinets full of wine. So they know how to drink wine, but we that only the other day...*¹⁰⁰

Participants describe men’s alcohol abuse as a “huge problem in Suurbraak”, even “one of Suurbraak’s greatest problems”¹⁰¹. It comes as no surprise that mothers often find themselves being single and remaining as such for fear of finding themselves with a husband who abuses alcohol. When asked if she thinks there are still marriageable men left who do not abuse alcohol, one mother comments as follows:

*Oh, that is why I do not want to look forward to it anymore. Because if you bump your head once, you would not want to bump your head again.*¹⁰²

Alcohol abuse and its subsequent disrespectful, sometimes abusive behaviour, and potential financial strain thereof, can thus inhibit marriage amongst mothers. Although mothers often refer to alcohol as a problem in Suurbraak, survey data reveals that only 3% of household representatives see alcohol as a problem in their household. People generally may not wish to admit to this problem, which possibly results in it being underreported. This unwillingness to acknowledge alcohol as a problem within the community is specifically highlighted by one participant who says “people just don’t want to accept it”. Although quantitative data suggests otherwise, the contribution of alcohol abuse to single motherhood should not be underestimated – a far greater alcohol problem may yet prevail in Suurbraak.

INFIDELITY

Infidelity is cited as a further cause of singlehood: women do not want to commit to a partner who would cheat on them, but reality often thwarts this ideal. One mother explains that “the men, you see, many men they go from one girl to the next. You cannot do that. Now you

⁹⁹ “So rukkie terug... gehoor van ’n aanranding”.

¹⁰⁰ “In Suurbraak gaan mense nooit alkohol kan beheer nie, alkohol gaan mense beheer. Ons is nie mense wat grootgeword het met wyn nie, ander mense het grootgeword met kabinette vol wyn, so hulle weet hoe om wyn te drink, maar ons wat nou die dag...”.

¹⁰¹ “...’n groot probleem in Suurbraak.”, selfs “een van Suurbraak se grootste probleme”.

¹⁰² “O, dit is daar wat ek nie meer wil uitsien daarna nie. Want as jy al klaar jou kop gestamp het, gaan jy nie weer jou kop wil stamp nie”.

have a child with the one girl and then again a child with another”¹⁰³ and therefore women “choose not to get married when it goes like that”¹⁰⁴ while another states that the men from Suurbraak “get around a lot and like the women a lot”¹⁰⁵. One mother explains one reason for women giving men children:

*So that the man won't leave her. But then in the end you make the child and then he is here with me also. He is not married to you, now he only has the children with you, while he is with me too... You have to marry him. You cannot only have children. Then the man leaves you, then he takes another woman and you are left behind with the children.*¹⁰⁶

One divorced mother counters that marriage is no buffer against cheating, saying of her ex-husband: “In the end when he worked away from home, he got a girlfriend”¹⁰⁷. Men are, unsurprisingly, labelled “women-hunters”¹⁰⁸, a frequently cited reason for a breach in trust between partners and the consequent failure of their relationships. One participant relates: “The man lied to me and he never spoke the truth. And I trusted him”¹⁰⁹. Some participants highlight a link between cheating and alcohol abuse, holding that unfaithfulness is often the result of men being under the influence of alcohol.

In support of Edin (2000) and Steyn (1996) citing infidelity as a possible reason for singlehood, the value placed on faithfulness, and mothers’ perception (and past experiences thereof) that available men are often unfaithful can thus further encourage singlehood amongst mothers.

DOMESTIC ABUSE

Respectful treatment of women typically also entails that “a man [that] does not beat his wife”¹¹⁰. Mothers emphasise that a marriageable man will not be guilty of such abuse.

¹⁰³ “Nou sien ek nêe, die man, kyk, baie mans gaan van die een meisie na die ander meisie toe. En jy kan nie so nie. Nou maak ek by die een meisie ’n kind en ek maak by die ander meisie”.

¹⁰⁴ “...kies om nie te trou nie as dit so gaan nie”.

¹⁰⁵ “... is baie rondgaande, baie lief vir vrouemense en so”.

¹⁰⁶ “Dat die man nie moet gaan nie. Maar nou op die ou ende maak jy die babatjie en dan is hy nou nog hier by my ook. Hy’s nie getroud met jou nie, nou maak hy net die kindertjies hier by jou en dan is hy nou nog hier by my ook... Jy moet trou. Jy kan nie net kinders kry nie. Dan los die man vir jou net so, dan vat hy vir hom ’n ander vrou dan sit jy met die kindertjies”.

¹⁰⁷ “En op die ou end toe hy gaan uitwerk toe kry hy mos nou ’n girlfriend”.

¹⁰⁸ “vroue-jagter”

¹⁰⁹ “Die man het my belieg en bedrieg en hy het nooit die waarheid gepraat saam met my nie. En ek het hom vertrou”.

¹¹⁰ “’n Man wat nie sy hande ophig vir ’n vrou nie”.

However, this often does not correspond to their social environment supporting the findings of Edin and Kefalas (2005) and Steyn (1994).

A number of mothers cite men physically abusing them and their children as a reason for leaving them. Physical abuse generally refers to men beating the women, but other forms also exist: One woman was reportedly stabbed in her eye with scissors; yet another tells how she “was thrown in the eye with a beer bottle. They stitched it up”¹¹¹. The same woman continues, saying: “and here he hit me with the iron; ... he has also beaten me with the broom before, [so that] I fainted [and] felt pins and needles. When I went to the doctor afterwards, he told me I could have been paralyzed if he had beaten me just a bit higher up. The spinal cord, I could have been paralyzed”¹¹².

Jealousy among men, and its relation to physical abuse, is cited as further cause for singlehood, as one participant explains: “The man was just a bit jealous, and I couldn’t speak to my friends. When they were gone he beat me”¹¹³.

While the incidence of physical abuse seems to be abundant and cited as a leading cause of divorce and mothers leaving their partners before marriage, not all mothers seem to fully agree that it is unacceptable. The following statement seemingly reflects at least one mother’s doubt in the unacceptability of physical abuse, possibly hinting that some women might be deserving of such abuse because they appear to provoke the man:

*You know, it seems to me that some women are addicted to getting beaten. Because they scold their partners until they get beaten. It’s terrible. We witnessed one weekend a girl rekindling old conflict. The man cheated on her with another woman and then she had to bring up old conflict again. She did not stop yelling until he had given her a beating.*¹¹⁴

The view that physical abuse is acceptable when a woman is ‘asking for it’ is rare. The typical response amongst mothers being that if a man is abusive she is better off alone thus

¹¹¹ “My oog was afgegooi gewees, met die bierbottel. Hulle het hom gestitch”.

¹¹² “En hier met die strykster het hy my gekap. En hy het my al ’n slag met die besemstok geslaan, flou, dat ek gevoel het hier kom die naalde steek so. Toe ek dokter toe gaan daarna, toe sê hy vir my ek kon verlam gewees het as hy net ’n bietjie hoër op geslaan het. Die ‘spinal cord’ mos nou, ek kan verlam gewees het.”

¹¹³ “Die man was net bietjie jaloers en ek kon nie met my vriende gepraat het nie, dan as die vriende weg is dan slaan hy my”.

¹¹⁴ “...weet jy, dit like my party vroumense is verslaaf aan pak kry. Want hulle skel nou oor dinge tot hulle pak kry. Dis verskriklik. Ons het een naweek gewitness ’n meisie wat ou koeie uit die sloot uit grawe. Die mannetjie het nou gejol met ’n ander vrou, en toe moet sy nou ou koeie uit die sloot uit grawe. Sy het nie opgehou gil voor hy haar nie ’n pak gegee het nie”.

leading to dissolved marriages and relationships, and consequently singlehood amongst mothers.

4.4.2.4.3 RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION OF THE MAN

Being “converted”¹¹⁵ is often cited as a characteristic of a marriageable man. One divorced participant reflects that any potential future partner needs to be converted, as she perceives this to be central to happy marriages. Another single mother says: “He definitely needs to worship the Lord in my opinion”¹¹⁶. However, while some mothers with dependent children report the religious orientation of a partner to be important (16%) if she is to marry him, the majority of single mothers do not find it important (79%) or are unsure of its importance (5%).

Being converted is a term typically associated within a religious context, referring to those who have found God, or as one participant explains: “If you are converted, you are in the church.”¹¹⁷ When the word “converted” is explored to understand its meaning more fully, participants elaborate on the *behaviour* of those who are converted as the core of the meaning of the term: Those who are converted typically do not “drink or smoke” anymore. One participant explains: “...If you are converted you are not part of the worldly things anymore. They do not abuse alcohol”¹¹⁸.

Mothers who seek a converted man could thus be setting this prerequisite to limit the chances of forming a relationship with someone who abuses alcohol or other substances. The behaviour expected of converted men may thus be a distinguishing factor of marriageability. When asked why she wants a man who is converted, one woman says: “I don’t want someone who is crazy and so on”¹¹⁹. From these statements, it is clear that conversion status may directly and indirectly affect impressions of marriageability and consequently mothers’ willingness to enter into relationships with available men.

¹¹⁵ “bekeerd”

¹¹⁶ “Hy moet defnintief die Here dien na my mening...”

¹¹⁷ “As jy bekeer is, is jy mos nou in die kerk”.

¹¹⁸ “... as jy mos nou bekeer is jy nie meer in die wêreld se dinge nie. Hulle misbruik nie drank nie”.

¹¹⁹ “Ek wil nie iemand hê wat mal kop is en daai nie”.

4.4.2.4.4 LOVE AND COMPANIONSHIP

*If I were to marry again, then the man has to love me and love my children. I will marry like that, but otherwise I will not.*¹²⁰

Love, romanticism and friendship are seen as crucial factors in a lasting relationship. Mothers emphasise that if they are to get married, there needs to be love between them and the prospective partner, lending support to Steyn's (1996) finding. While some participants typically hold that "the man needs to love [them] a lot"¹²¹, others focus on the mutual element to this love. One participant emphasises that a prospective partner "needs to love [her] a lot"¹²², because she will "accept him just the way he is"¹²³. The importance of romantic love between partners is emphasised in that some mothers report remaining unmarried due to not having found love yet. The importance of love between the mother and her partner is confirmed as a prerequisite by the vast majority of single mothers with dependent children: 95% of these mothers indicate it to be either important or very important if they were to marry or cohabitate; only 5% of these mothers do not share enthusiasm for love as a prerequisite to marriage, reporting it not to be important.

Mothers express a need for companionship between her and a partner if marriage is contemplated. Friendship allows one to become acquainted with a potential partner, which, as one mother explains, is important:

*...you should know the man a few years to marry him. You cannot just take a man and then you do not know him. You should be careful.*¹²⁴

The importance of knowing each other well if a mother is to wed or cohabitate is well illustrated in that the vast majority (94%) of single mothers with dependent children indicate this factor to be either important or very important as a prerequisite to marriage or cohabitation. One participant expresses doubt in the prevalence of friendship between partners:

I have noticed that often within our community, man and woman do not speak to each other. That, I have noticed a lot, is missing. They are just married, but there are few

¹²⁰ "As ek nou miskien weer moet trou, dan sal die man vir my moet liefhê, en my kinders moet liefhê. So sal ek trou dan, maar andersins sal ek nie".

¹²¹ "...die man moet baie lief wees vir [hulle]".

¹²² "moet vir [haar] baie lief wees"

¹²³ "sal vir hom aanvaar net soos hy is"

¹²⁴ "...jy moet darem die man 'n paar jaar ken om te trou. Jy kan nie net 'n man vat dan ken jy hom nie. Jy moet versigtig wees".

*things they share. Friendship lacks. See, you should stay friends, but it isn't there anymore.*¹²⁵

Although communication and friendship are important factors in marriage, mothers seem to view this as a rare occurrence between married couples, resulting in little hope of obtaining such companionship prior to marriage.

Love, on the part of a potential partner, for the mother's child(ren) is also frequently mentioned as a prerequisite of their acceptability. As one woman states: "He will respect me with my children. And my child, that love has to be there between him and my children"¹²⁶. Another concludes that a partner should not "spurn"¹²⁷ her child, "otherwise he will spurn me also. He should accept us both"¹²⁸; while others indicate that a partner should care about the child(ren), be there for them and accept them in the family and home. Some mothers hint at previous experiences with partners not accepting their children. One mother states:

*I am finished with men. Not finished with them, but I mean a man that doesn't care about your children, I cannot put up with a man like that.*¹²⁹

This statement demonstrates the undesirable nature of men not loving or accepting women's children. A scarcity of men who are prepared to offer this may thus contribute to the prevalence of singlehood amongst mothers, in addition to a lack of partners who could offer mothers love and companionship.

4.4.2.4.5 NON-LOCALITY

*To be honest, I will not marry someone who lives here.*¹³⁰

A minority of mothers would prefer prospective partners to be from Suurbraak (5%), whereas the vast majority either do not deem this to be important (90%) or are unsure about its importance (5%).

¹²⁵ "Wat ek nou al opgelet het baie kere in ons gemeenskappie, is: man en vrou praat nie eintlik met mekaar nie. Daai, ek het dit nou al baie opgemerk, dit ontbreek. Hulle is nou net getroud, maar daar is min dinge wat hulle deel. Vriendskap verbreek. Kyk, jy bly mos vriende, maar dit is nie meer daar nie".

¹²⁶ "hy sal my respekteer met my kinders. En my kind, daai liefde moet daar darem wees tussen hom en my kinders".

¹²⁷ "verstoot"

¹²⁸ "Anderste gaan hy my ook verstoot. Hy moet ons altwee aanvaar".

¹²⁹ "Ek is klaar met die mans. Nie klaar met die mans nie, maar ek meen 'n man wat nie omgee vir jou kinders nie, ek kan nie met so man sit nie".

¹³⁰ "Om eerlik te wees sal ek nie met iemand trou wat hierso bly nie".

In the first instance it is perceived that a partner from Suurbraak may restrict women's opportunity to live elsewhere in future, as one mother explains:

I know that if I marry a guy from here, then I have to stay here, in Suurbraak, because we are both from Suurbraak, and maybe I don't want to stay here some day when I'm older... I have already grown up here, and then he maybe wants to stay here because he grew up here and I don't want to stay here. That is why I would rather take a guy from another town. Then I would not want to stay in my town but he would not want to stay in his town either. We can decide where we want to go live.¹³¹

Outward (geographic) mobility is thus more likely if a partner is from elsewhere. Secondly, another participant states that Suurbraak “is the wrong place to look for a husband”¹³² and that “here you should come with your heart and not with your head”¹³³ - implying that rationally it is inadvisable to seek a local husband, but the choice to live there should be purely out of love for the village. Accordingly, mothers' reluctance to marry a person from Suurbraak might arguably be linked to the discontinuity of their perception of a suitable partner and a lack of Suurbraak men possessing these attributes, as has been described throughout this paper. Mothers' SES can further preclude them from meeting people from outside Suurbraak, as this may limit their chances of procuring transport out of town. Mothers' chances of meeting non-local partners consequently diminish which may inhibit marriage or cohabitation and thus enhance singlehood.

4.4.2.4.6 EXAMPLE SET BY THE PARTNER

Potential partners can influence children, as they represent a father figure. The example set by the partner thus needs to be respected by the children, otherwise mothers often refrain from marriage. A divorced mother explains the importance thereof as follows: “It was better when we got divorced. He was not really a good example for the children”. Another emphasises the importance of respectability in the eyes of her children. One mother further explains the possible consequences of dating someone who sets a bad example: “[The children] will lose

¹³¹ “ek weet nou, as ek met 'n outjie hier gaan trou, dan moet ek hier bly ook, hier in Suurbraak, want ons altwee is van Suurbraak, en miskien wil ek nie eendag as ek groot raak hier bly nie... Ek het klaar hier groot geraak, en dan wil hy nou miskien weer hier bly want hy het hier grootgeraak en ek wil nie hier bly nie. Dis daarom dat ek sal lievers 'n outjie vat op 'n ander dorp. Dan gaan ek nie op my plek wil bly nie, maar hy gaan nie in sy plek wil bly nie. Ons kan besluit in watter plek ons wil gaan bly”.

¹³² “is die verkeerde plek vir man soek”.

¹³³ “Hier moet jy kom met jou hart, jy moet nie kom met jou kop nie”.

respect if I have someone again and he does the same again”¹³⁴. Another refrains from getting married, fearing her children will lose respect because her previous husband had a destructive impact in their family. Women may thus refrain from marriage, as they are apprehensive of losing the respect of their children.

4.4.3 ALTERNATIVE SUPPORT SYSTEMS

While traditionally cast in the role of provider, men are not the only source of material and emotional support available to women. Considering the inability of men to provide for mothers’ financial and emotional needs, alternative support structures may be more reliable and viable. Accordingly, the existence of viable alternative support structures can stimulate rates of single motherhood. Some mothers meet the demands they face without additional support (i.e. they represent their own support system), while others receive support from sources external to the household or from within an extended household.

4.4.3.1 MOTHERS COPING ALONE

Mothers often express confidence in their own ability to rear her children alone, without the help from a husband. They can therefore represent a sustainable support structure for their families, independent of support from a spouse, other household members or sources external to the household. One never-married mother expresses doubt in a husband’s ability to be able to do more than she already could, while one divorced mother explains how she realised after her divorce that she has the ability to raise her children by herself. Marriage also does not necessarily alleviate the additional burdens of raising children. One mother explains that:

*See, often the woman is married then she has to raise the children alone, because the man is not always there.*¹³⁵

Marriage therefore does not ensure support. Mothers’ confidence in their capacity to support a family on their own may thus further promote single status.

Mothers’ ability to support their family financially without a cohabitating partner or husband is highlighted when considering the economic activity and employment status of single

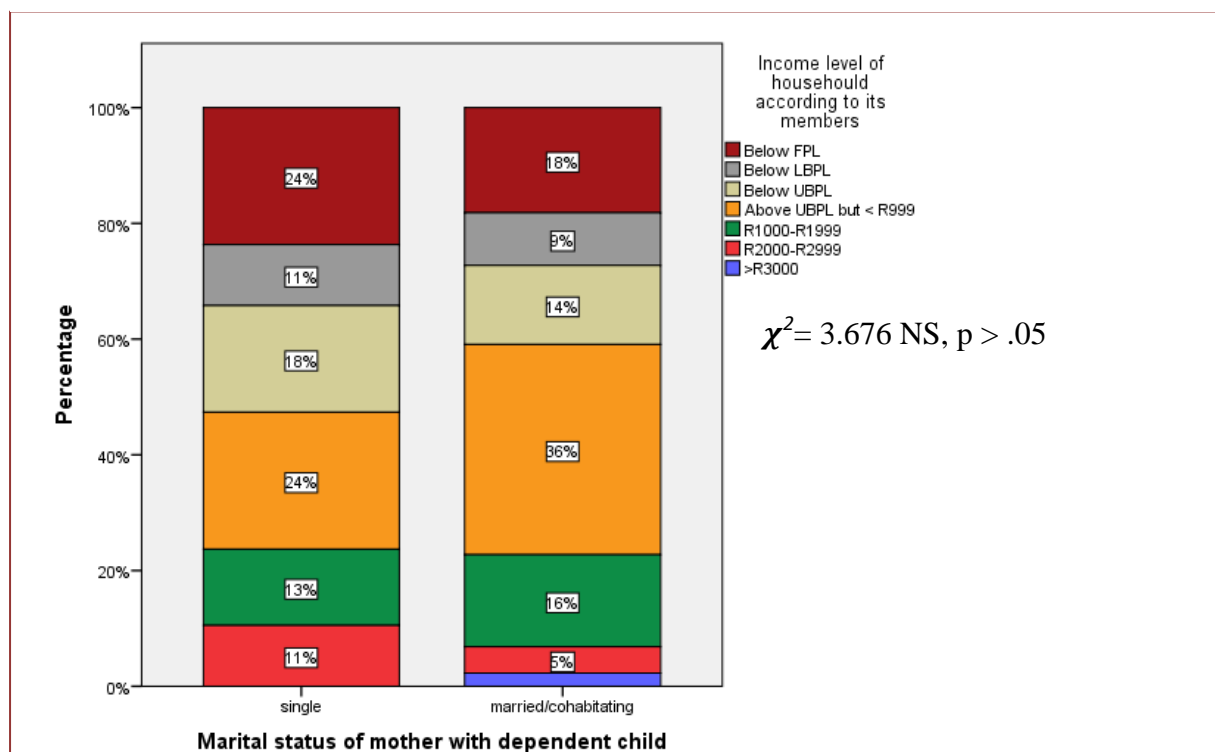
¹³⁴ “[Die kinderes] sal hulle respek verloor as ek weer ’n persoon het en hy gaan nou weer dieselfde doen”.

¹³⁵ “Kyk, baie kere dan is die vrou getroud dan moet sy nou alleen die kinders grootmaak, want die man is nie altyd daar nie”.

mothers with dependent children. The majority (73%) of mothers with dependent children are EA. A statistically significant relationship ($p < 0.01$) is found between mothers' marital status and being EA. A far higher percentage of single mothers are EA (86%) than non-single mothers (61%). Of the EA, 57% of single and 51% of non-single mothers with dependent children are employed. No statistically significant relationship exists ($p > 0.05$) between the marital and employment status of mothers with dependent children. Single mothers are generally EA and employed, possibly due to the necessity of finding work, and may therefore be more capable of financially supporting themselves without the support of a male partner. Married or cohabitating mothers appear more likely to be dependent on their partner's income, having no source of personal income and may be less able to support themselves if they were to be alone.

This finding is in contrast to Edin and Kefalas (2005) and Bennett, Bloom and Craig (1990) arguing that mothers' marital status do not affect their employment status, but in line with the economic independence theories as suggested by McLaughlin and Lichter (1997), Palamuleni (2010) and Manting (1996), in that single mothers with dependent children in Suurbraak are less likely to get married when they generate an income in comparison with their married counterparts who are more likely to be unemployed. Financial independence amongst single mothers may consequently contribute to them remaining single.

Figure 4.16. Financial security of single vs. non-single mothers



The financial burden of single mothers' households compared to their married counterparts reinforces singlehood as a legitimate alternative to marriage or cohabitation. In contrast to the findings of Bane (1986), Bloom et al (1993), Statistics South Africa (2014), and Wilson and Neckerman (1986) that female headed households are more prone to poverty than those headed by a male, single mothers are almost equally likely to reside in poverty than their married or cohabitating counterparts, as per *Figure 4.16* above. *Figure 4.16* illustrates the income levels of single vs. non-single mothers.

Fairly similar patterns are observed in the relative income per household member between single and non-single mothers, as is illustrated in *Figure 4.16*. No statistically significant relationship ($p > 0.05$) was found between marital status and income levels.¹³⁶ Single mothers with dependent children in Suurbraak can therefore generally be expected to have as much financial resources available as their non-single counterparts. This stands in contrast to Lerman (2002) finding financial hardship to be substantially less amongst married families with children than other families with children. It furthermore contradicts McLaughlin and Lichter (1997) and Timmer and Orbuch (2001) who claim that marriage could serve as an escape from poverty. This finding also supports Toner's (2002 in Lerman, 2002:1) statement that "to say that the path to economic stability for poor women is marriage is an outrage". While not disproving the notion that single motherhood causes poverty; these findings do reject the proposition that single motherhood enhances poverty, specifically within the context of Suurbraak. This finding thus questions Bane's (1986) proposition that a relationship between poverty and single motherhood exists. If marital status bears no significant likelihood that the mother will be financially more secure if she were to wed or cohabitate, remaining single represents an alternative equally secure (or insecure) to the one she would reside in otherwise.

4.4.3.2 SUPPORT SYSTEMS FROM OUTSIDE HOUSEHOLD

Support in childrearing is often found external to members of the household or a partner. If such support can be of sufficient magnitude, it may eliminate the need for a husband's support (and thus marriage) as a means of survival. This could inhibit marriage amongst mothers who seek the support it could provide, promoting the prevalence of single motherhood.

¹³⁶ Only the income of those participants working at the time of the survey was considered. Fluctuations due to seasonal work and other factors during the year may translate into greater household income during other months of the year.

Walker's (2000) proposition that social support and social structures in the environment may augment mothers' income is supported in that mothers purportedly gain support in childrearing from various external sources, such as: social assistance projects or grants; parents; friends; family; the father of the child; God; neighbours; boyfriends; and their colleagues. This support comes in the form of food, clothes, money, disciplining the children, emotional support, the provision of employment to the mother, and minding the children while the mother works.

Firstly, social assistance projects provide children's clothing, while state hospitals provide free medical care for children. Social assistance grants furthermore contribute financial resources. NEA mothers as well as unemployed single mothers are especially inclined to receive grants - with 86 % of either themselves or their dependent children receiving grants. More specifically, NEA single mothers report receiving three types of grants and funding: the majority (88%) report having children who receive CSGs, 13% of these mothers receive Disability Grants; and another 13% report to be recipients of UIF. In addition, the majority (76%) of unemployed but EA single mothers also report to have children who receive CSGs.

Unemployed single mothers are not the only ones benefiting from the grant system. Even employed single mothers with dependent children in some instances (36% of employed mothers) have children living with them who receive CSGs which might also aid them financially. CSGs, among others, may consequently serve as a safety net for both employed and unemployed single mothers and arguably diminish the role of a partner as financial provider. The small monetary value of such grants brings their viability as alternative source of income into question.

Grant contributions are not limited to single mothers. Married or cohabitating mothers also report to be grant beneficiaries in many instances - with the majority (57%) also receiving the CSG, 11% receiving the Disability Grant, 2% being a beneficiary of the Private Maintenance Grant and another 2% receiving the Old Age Grant. No statistically significant relationship is found ($X^2 = 0.014$ NS, $p > .05$) between the marital status of single mothers and whether they receive a grant. This stands in contrast to national trends represented by Stats SA (2014) and Stats SA (2013) where a disproportionate distribution amongst single mothers and two parent families who receive the CSG is found, with single mother families being more likely to receive such a grant.

While grants may thus aid single mothers and might pose an alternative to the two-parent family, it is unlikely that receiving such grants will in itself inhibit marriage as receiving a grant is equally likely amongst single and non-single mothers. This result does not substantiate findings suggesting that welfare contributes to the prevalence of single motherhood as was found in western countries such as the USA by authors such as: Bloom, Bennett and Miller (1993), McLaughlin and Lichter (1997), and Wilson and Neckerman (1986) among others. Findings in Suurbraak are rather in line with studies contesting the role of state grants in the western countries on the prevalence of single motherhood as was argued by Edin (2000), Cutright (1973), and Edin and Kefalas (2005). The results furthermore support authors such as Seekings (2009), Mhongo and Budlender (2013), Makiwane (2010), and Makiwane, Desmond, Richter and Udjo (2006) who oppose the idea that in South Africa the CSG enhances single motherhood.

Secondly, family members external to mothers' households (such as parents, cousins, brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles) contribute by giving money and food; assisting in disciplining children; giving emotional support; and minding children while mothers work. A symbiotic relationship also exists in some instances, for example between a mother and her sister. One mother explains that although she lives alone with her children, she and her sister share money and responsibility for their children. Not only does a two-way flow of resources and support manifest, single mothers also sometimes form such relationships with other households, to the extent that their own household boundaries become perforated in that they occupy one household (defined according to the sharing of resources between members) across two separate dwellings.

Non-related persons such as friends, colleagues, neighbours and boyfriends also assist in childrearing by providing resources such as clothes, food, money and emotional support. A similar mutual relationship sometimes occurs between mothers and friends living in other households, where, as one mother states: "We help each other out"¹³⁷.

Non-monetary contributions, and monetary contributions to a lesser extent, from people outside single mothers' households, are frequent occurrences in Suurbraak. While few single mothers (only 13% of NEA mothers receiving financial contributions) receive monetary contributions, some of the NEA (60%) but none of the EA single mothers receive non-monetary contributions from people outside their household. Non-monetary contributions

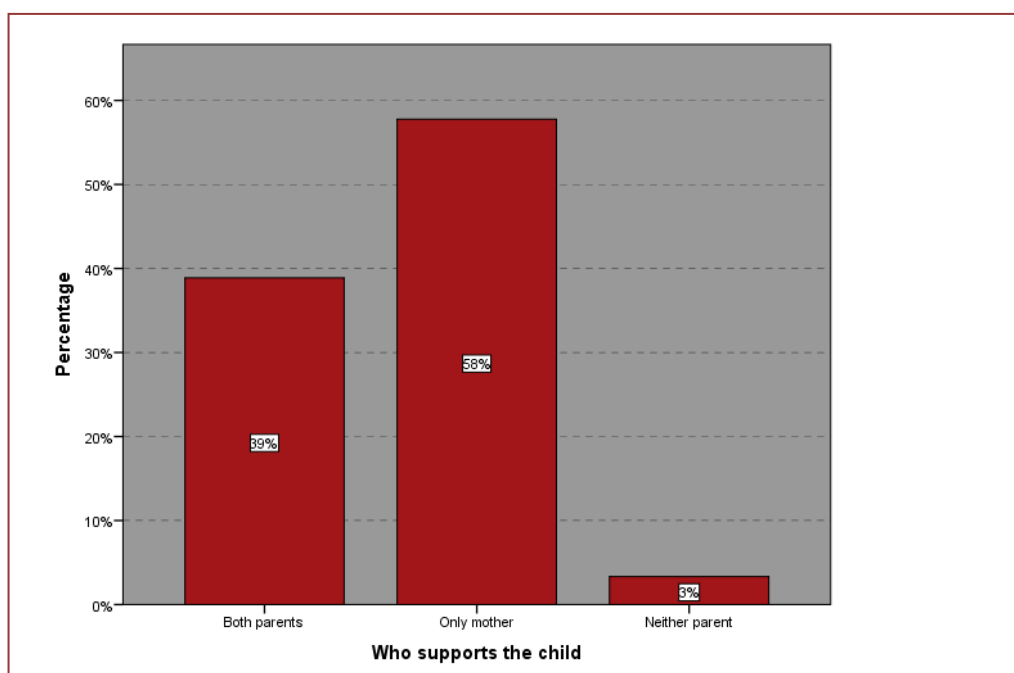
¹³⁷ "ons help mekaar uit"

could arguably alleviate Suurbraak single mothers' needs in the absence of a second breadwinner, especially if these contributions outweigh the contributions of a potential partner. Considering the potential burden a partner might impose (as previously discussed), these support structures might be a legitimate substitute.

Thirdly, fathers of children external to the mother's household may also contribute financially. In some cases this is in the form of child support. *Figure 4.17* below shows the degree to which dependent children living with only their mothers (i.e. without their fathers) receive support from their fathers.

While a substantial percentage of children are supported by their fathers in conjunction with their mothers, in most cases children living only with their mothers are also only supported by her. Fathers contribute to the upbringing of their child in 39% of cases, despite not living with them. In instances where fathers do make such a contribution, the potential contribution of another cohabitating partner or husband may be redundant and thus inhibit marriage amongst mothers.

Figure 4.17. Parents supporting children living only with their mother



Lastly, finding support within religion is also reported as a means of emotional support and stimulates hope and emotional strength. Some mothers for instance indicate that God is a source of support to them in obtaining the financial and other means necessary to rear their children, as one single mother responds to being asked who supports her in childrearing:

“The Lord also helps me, the Lord reveals his hand”¹³⁸, while another explains: “The Lord gives us the strength to raise our children. Even if the finances are not there, the Lord sends us a piece of bread. Every day a piece of bread to eat”¹³⁹.

Given that support from sources outside the relationship could exceed the partner’s potential contribution, external support may well be a viable alternative. If support represents an important consideration in a mother’s decision to marry, marriage may be deemed redundant. This finding confirms the arguments of Lerman (2002) and Hao (1996), who suggested that single mothers can and do obtain most of the financial assistance they need from family, friends and community members, which Lerman (2002) suggests might negate the benefits of marriage or cohabitation for single mothers.

4.4.3.3 EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS AS ALTERNATIVE SUPPORT SYSTEM

Some mothers indicate that they receive sufficient support from within their households and do not need a husband. Additionally, household extension purportedly allows even greater measures of support.

In such an extended household, support is typically provided by the mother’s parents, grandparents and siblings (notably sisters). Members of such households lend support to mothers by contributing financially and otherwise to mother and child. Support from household members is confirmed, as mothers are reported to be the main caregiver for 77% of dependent children living only with their mothers in extended households. Yet 19% of these children report to have their grandmother as their main caregiver, 1% their grandfather, and another 3% other family members. 28% of these children are also reported to have other household members than their main caregiver or parents contributing financially and in other ways to their upbringing. In line with the findings of Gardiner and Millar (2006), Angel and Tienda (1982), Smith (1980), and Steyn (1994), the extended household appears to offer single mothers protection against financial and other strain in the absence of a husband or cohabitating partner.

Support from extended households is not limited to single mothers; married mothers also report living in extended households in order to ensure financial security for their families.

¹³⁸ “die Here help my ook, die Here openbaar sy hand”

¹³⁹ “Die Here gee mos vir ons krag om onse kinders groot te maak. Al is die finansies nie daar nie, die Here stuur vir ons ’n stukkie brood in. Elke dag ’n stukkie brood om te eet”.

Household members provide mothers with money, food, shoes, clothes and payment of school fees, when needed. One participant for instance explains:

*Raising [the children] was okay. My parents (with whom the mother lived) supported me a lot. Later on they gave me money.*¹⁴⁰

Yet another mother explains:

*My mother (whom she shares a house with) gives plenty to my child, buys things for my child. If I do not work and the child needs something for school, then she buys it. She supports me a lot. I would not have coped alone.*¹⁴¹

Confirming findings by Angel and Tienda (1982), support is not limited to hand-outs and financial contributions, but also extends to arrangements similar to those typically present in two-parent nuclear family households where specific roles are assigned in household operation. Lerman's (2002:2) finding that the financial and functional support in extended households is sufficient enough to "limit the advantages of marriage associated with economies of scale in household production, with the division of labour and risk sharing among adults", is supported in Suurbraak as extended household members can effectively usurp the supportive role of a husband and represent a sufficient alternative support system to the mother. The extended household could thus arguably provide the same supportive function as a two-parent nuclear family.

One way in which extended households imitate the functioning of nuclear households (ideally one where the husband should contribute financially and otherwise to the household), is in the pooling of resources, confirming findings by Angle and Tienda (1982), Gardiner and Millar (2006), and Klasen and Woolard (2008). Mothers in some cases obtain financial resources by pooling their own with that of other household members' funds (similar to two-parent households), sharing the money between household members as needed. One mother for instance explains:

*We throw all the money together. If I maybe got paid first, I will buy things for the house and so on.*¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ "Maar die grootmaak [van die kinders] was oraait. My ma-hulle het my baie geondersteun. Later van tyd het hulle geld gegee".

¹⁴¹ "My ma gee baie vir my kind, koop vir my kind. As ek nie werk nie en die kind kort iets vir die skool, dan koop sy dit. Sy ondersteun my baie. Ek sou nie alleen kon cope nie".

The extended household further imitates the nuclear household in the division of labour and sharing of tasks between members. Mothers typically explain how, while one household member goes to work, another remains at home minding the children and performing other household chores. One mother indicates:

*When I go to work, they [her mother and father] look after the children. Or if I maybe go somewhere, to Cape Town or wherever, then they look after them.*¹⁴³

A number of mothers cite entering such extended households with their sisters, sharing responsibility for childrearing between them (e.g. taking turns watching the children when the other is working, sharing responsibility for children and sharing money). One describes how her sister does household tasks and looks after the children, while she and her mother (who also lives with them) provide the money. Another mother explains how she and her mother stayed at home with the children while her father went to work away from home. She explains how, while her father went away, she “always helped [her mother] in the house”¹⁴⁴. She states: “I was her right hand in the house... Then she always bought me things and gave me food”¹⁴⁵. She further emphasises the important supportive role this plays as: “And now that my parents are gone, it is difficult and tough”¹⁴⁶.

Extended households are not exempt from the effects of migrant labour systems, where men are employed elsewhere and send remittances. In these cases it is often the mother (and not a male breadwinner) who works far away from home and sends remittances to the rest of the household (including their children). Some mothers cited their work in Cape Town and sending money back to their parents in Suurbraak who mind their child(ren). Mothers thus assume the traditional role of a husband in the migrant labour system, and extended household members the role of the mother. This arrangement emphasises the idea that households operate outside of their defined boundaries and are not restricted to those sharing dwellings, as mothers still actively contribute to the household and are therefore household members. This emphasises the notions of Klasen and Woolard (2008), who emphasised the importance of fluid household boundaries in the survival of the poor.

¹⁴² “Ons gooi die geld bymekaar. As ek nou miskien eerste ge-pay het sal ek nou goeijies koop vir die huis en so aan”

¹⁴³ “As ek gaan werk kyk hulle [haar ma en pa] na die kinders. Of as ek miskien iewers gaan, Kaapstad of *wherever* waarnatoe, dan sal hulle kyk na hulle”

¹⁴⁴ “het haar [ma] altyd gehelp in die huis”.

¹⁴⁵ “...ek was haar regterhand in die huis. Dan het sy vir my altyd gekoop en gelaat eet en so aan”

¹⁴⁶ “En nou wat my ouers weg is, nou gaan dit maar druk en swaar saam”.

The extended household provides mothers with support other than material resources and childrearing as well. Mothers cite the following as particular additional forms of support they receive from extended household members: aid in disciplining children, cooking for them, loving their children, doing the washing, giving them and their children acceptance, providing them with freedom (as opposed to oppression), washing and changing diapers, minding children when they go out, emotional support, looking after the children when they are crying and the mother needs sleep (for example when the baby has colic), and care for the mother after she has had a caesarean during childbirth.

One mother summarizes the essence of the arrangements found within extended households:

*We help each other. We share.*¹⁴⁷

In some instances mothers find the general support received from extended households to be a sufficient, or even superior, substitute for the two-parent nuclear family structure. One never-married mother explains that she does not miss a man's support as her family provides her with enough, while others describe living with their parents as very nice, since they have very little responsibility as a result. One such mother explains:

*My mother looks after the child when I go out. And I enjoy staying here. If I want to, I can sleep a bit later and so on... They do not pressure me if I sit at home to go and work, if I do not have a job. [When staying] with other people you have to go to work to pay rent. They understand if I do not work.*¹⁴⁸

For a number of single mothers, the extended household remains a superior alternative to the two-parent nuclear family household. A widowed mother explains that she is happier unmarried and living with her mother, as she feels financially more secure than she was with her husband, since he did not have a good job. A never-married mother further states that she and her child living with her parents is a better option, despite the father asking her to marry him. She explains:

With a new born baby it is a bit uncomfortable to live somewhere else. My mother will support me more than anywhere else. I would not be able to lie down and the diapers

¹⁴⁷ "Ons help maar mekaar. Ons deel".

¹⁴⁸ "My ma kyk na die kind wanneer ek uitgaan, en ek bly lekker. Ek kan as ek nou wil laat slaap en so. Hulle druk nie vir my as ek by die huis sit om te gaan werk nie, as ek nie werk het nie. [As jy woon] by ander mense moet jy gaan werk om board te betaal. Hulle verstaan as ek nie werk nie".

*and everything is washed. I would have to do it myself. That is why I thought I would not have it as easy somewhere else as I have it here at my house. Therefore this was my best option.*¹⁴⁹

Some married mothers even share the high regard for extended households. One explains how she feels that single mothers are financially better off than her, because they can work while their mothers look after their children. Another married mother explains that although she finds better financial support with her husband than formerly living in an extended household, she has received better support in other aspects of childrearing while living with her mother.

As was also reported by Klasen and Woolard (2008), regardless of the benefits, living in extended households comes at a price. Mothers often cite the following challenges: A lack of privacy; conflict regarding aspects such as the children, money and food - often intergenerational (between the single mother and her own mother, e.g. when the grandmother adopts child raising practices without giving the mother a chance to play her role) but also among those of the same age (such as fights between cousins living in the same household); alcohol abuse within the household; a lack of autonomy; feeling dependent on others; sensitivity to being a burden (e.g. by leaning on those already in financial difficulty which might manifest as feelings of guilt); and over-crowdedness.

Mothers often express a preference for living on their own (forming a single-mother household), in light of the aforementioned challenges. Their options are limited due to a shortage of houses and a perceived inability to cope alone. Among the reasons for struggling to cope alone they cite a shortage of financial resources and support in childrearing which inhibits the formation of single-mother households. Each of the extended, single-mother and nuclear family households thus presents its own set of challenges and benefits which inform the decisions mothers make regarding their living arrangements. Ultimately, 42% of mothers with dependent children are of the opinion that a husband or cohabitating partner is redundant if you live with other family members, yet the majority do not agree with this sentiment.

Respondents questioning the viability of the extended household as a sufficient alternative to the two-parent family highlight the scepticism raised by Lerman (2002), Angel and Tienda

¹⁴⁹ “Met ’n pap babatjie is dit bietjie ongemaklik om êrens anders te woon. My ma sal my meer bystaan as êrens anders. Ek gaan nie kan lê en die doeke en goed hang nie. Ek gaan self dit moet doen. Dis die dat ek gedink het ek gaan dit nie so maklik hê soos ek dit het hier by my eie huis nie. So hierdie was my beste opsie”.

(1982), and Klasen and Woolard (2008) as to whether the extended household can truly effectively replace the nuclear family. Mothers' perception of the viability of the extended household as alternative (at least in terms of financial gain) is confirmed when comparing the actual financial benefits of the extended household to those married or cohabitating mothers occupy. *Table 4.15* below illustrates that more than half (57%) of single mothers with dependent children living in extended households are still living in households with a combined income of below the UBPL per person.

Very few single mothers live alone. However, of the four who do, only one lives below the UBPL while the other two fall above it, casting doubt on whether they can effectively occupy a single-mother household. Mothers with dependent children living in the nuclear family household are almost equally likely (42% of these mothers) to be living below the UBPL, compared to those in extended households. This is highlighted in the percentage (19%) living below the FPL and thus in extreme poverty, as per *Table 4.16* below.

Table 4.15.

Income level of single mothers by household structure

Household income level	Household Structure		Total
	Single-mother	Extended	
Below FPL	0%	27%	24%
Below LBPL	0%	12%	11%
Below UBPL	25%	18%	18%
Above UBPL but < R999	25%	24%	24%
R1000-R1999	50%	9%	13%
R2000-R2999	0%	12%	11%
Total %	100%	100%	100%
N	4	34	38
Missing N	25		

$$\chi^2 = 6.720 \text{ NS, } p > .05$$

Non-single mothers also often reside in extended households and are also just as likely to be living in poverty- with 39% of them living below the UBPL. No statistically significant relationship between the household income of single mothers residing in the extended household and that of non-single mothers (regardless of household structure) exists ($p > .05$).

The extended household therefore provides little promise of a better financial situation. The extended household is just as financially secure (or insecure) as the alternative to single mothers if they were to wed or cohabitate - thus presenting an equal alternative to single mothers who may not expect marriage to be a viable option out of poverty, supporting the findings of McAdoo (1980) in Jayakody, Chatters and Taylor (1993). If it is considered that financial and emotional support is established as an important prerequisite for mothers to wed, that mothers often deem available men unfit to fulfil this role and that nuclear families are no more financially secure than extended households, the extended household might present as a viable alternative for single mothers.

Table 4.16.

Income level of non-single mothers by household structure

Household income level	Household Structure		Total
	Nuclear	Extended	
Below FPL	19%	17%	18%
Below LBPL	8%	11%	9%
Below UBPL	15%	11%	14%
Above UBPL but < R999	31%	44%	36%
R1000-R1999	15%	17%	16%
R2000-R2999	8%	0%	5%
>R3000	4%	0%	2%
Total %	100%	100%	100%
N	26	18	44
Missing N	18		

$$\chi^2 = 2.953 \text{ NS, } p > .05$$

Single mothers' perceptions of the benefits and challenges of household types, as well as the actual benefits (or lack thereof) which could be objectively determined, may inhibit marriage in that the extended household can sufficiently substitute the need for a male partner, making marriage less attractive. This rings especially true for mothers who experience challenging circumstances within relationships with previous partners and who struggle to find partners who satisfy their demands or meet the requirements for marriageability.

4.4.3.4 LENDING SUPPORT TO OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

Finally, support systems may also affect marriage or cohabitation amongst mothers through a commitment to living with, and supporting, another family member. One never-married mother explains how she is living with her mother to look after her: the mother was blinded in an incident where her ex-husband stabbed her in the eye with a pair of scissors. She feels obligated to look after her mother and believes that marriage would necessitate leaving home, resulting in her single status. She also experiences difficulty in meeting potential partners, as she is unable to leave her child alone with her mother if she goes out, thereby limiting her opportunities to meet eligible men.

Other single mothers reiterate this perceived obligation to look after other family members and how this restricts them from getting married. They feel committed to looking after their elderly parents, as one mother explains:

*Because I felt that my parents care about me a lot and they are old and I feel like living with them to look after them.*¹⁵⁰

In line with Steyn's (1996) findings, single mothers in Suurbraak often live in extended households to look after and support parents. This can also be true for people other than parents, as one never-married mother even lives with her ill cousin for the same reason. Mothers are motivated to enter extended households on the basis of both receiving and providing support, which could arguably promote their single status.

4.4.4 PREVIOUS EXPERIENCES OF MOTHERS

Hurtful past experiences with ex-partners often emerge as a reason for mothers being hesitant to get involved in a relationships or get married.

Examples of hurtful past experiences have been discussed e.g. cheating, substance abuse and domestic violence. However, mothers report further reasons for the failure of past relationships and their subsequent single status. General poor quality relationships and partners undergoing changes also lead to their collapse and thus mothers' single status.

¹⁵⁰ "Omdat ek het gevoel my ouers gee baie om vir my en hulle is oud en ek voel om by hulle te kom bly om na hulle te kom kyk".

Although she would be financially better off if she remained with her ex-partner and children's father, one mother indicated that a relationship of bad quality is not worth the financial gain. The quality of this relationship determines her decisions as:

*It is no use being financially strong and in the relationship there are many things that are not right, or things that I cannot live with or wouldn't have been able to live with.*¹⁵¹

Apart from the poor quality of a relationship, sudden changes for the worse among men are also frequently identified as negative events women are exposed to which result in the termination of their relationship. Participants typically state that "he suddenly changed his ways"¹⁵², or tell how their perception of him changed after childbearing, explaining that "only then you see it is not the right man"¹⁵³.

Changes in men and relationships occur not only after childbearing but also after marriage, which is further cited as a cause of breakdowns in relationships. One divorced participant explains: "His attitude towards the woman changes; we argue a lot, something we never did when we were young, when we dated. And he scolds the children"¹⁵⁴. Such a change in behaviour, and mothers' intolerance thereof, is consequently deemed a contributing factor to single motherhood in Suurbraak.

The effects of painful past experiences are not limited to the time at which they occur. Such experiences are often reported as the reason for mothers remaining single. These experiences raise caution and unwillingness on the part of mothers to commit to potential partners in mothers. These mothers fear a similarly painful experience in future. This applies to never-married and divorced mothers alike. One divorced single mother explains that she will never marry again "because the reason is I was hurt too much, you see?"¹⁵⁵ Another divorced mother similarly explains her hesitance to marry again, stating: "I don't want to get hurt again and I also don't want my children to get hurt again"¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵¹ "dit baat mos nou nie mens staan finansiële sterk en die verhouding, daar is 'n klomp goed wat nie reg is nie, of wat ek nie mee kan saamleef nie of sou saamgeleef het nie".

¹⁵² "Hy het skielik net verander van manier".

¹⁵³ "Dan sien jy dit is nie die regte man nie".

¹⁵⁴ "Hom gesindheid verander teenoor die vrou. Ons skel baie wat ons nooit gedoen het toe ons jonk gewees het, uitgegaan het saam met mekaar nie. En hy raas op die kinders".

¹⁵⁵ "want rede is ek het te seer gekry, sien jy?"

¹⁵⁶ "Ek wil nie weer seerkry nie en ek wil ook nie hê my kinders moet seerkry nie".

One never-married mother recounts the effects of her past hurtful experience with an ex-boyfriend:

Yes, I have met men in the last while, but I just don't know. Like I told [my friend], it's almost like: I send them back myself. Then she told me now the other day: 'You got hurt too much, that's why. You now compare all the men with that and now you keep them like that'. Then I said: 'So how can you know it is 'the one'? Then she said: 'You have to go through it yourself, but you shouldn't compare [your ex-boyfriend] to every other man'.¹⁵⁷

Mothers thus become wary of relationships and marriage, as painful past experiences raise fears that subsequent relationships will result in similarly painful circumstances. They therefore refrain from getting involved with potential partners leading to mothers being single and remaining so.

4.4.5 LATER MARRIAGE

Many mothers remain unmarried after childbearing as they feel “I was too young”¹⁵⁸ to get married to the father of the child. Age of childbearing could thus delay or inhibit marriage.

Teenage pregnancy is a common occurrence in Suurbraak: only 3% of all single mothers with dependent children participating in the study are below the age of 18, however 23% of single mothers with children are younger than 18 at the time of bearing their first child. Sustained singlehood amongst these mothers may not be due to their being below legal age of marriage, however initial singlehood at the onset of childbearing can.

This is not the only effect age can have on mothers' single status. Mothers often cite a more advanced age as suitable or ideal for marriage – when asked about the ideal age for marriage, one mother says: “You should probably be 40, from 30 onwards you can get married”¹⁵⁹. Age therefore seemingly affects readiness to commit to a husband. In line with Gibson-Davis (2011) who argues that “mothers are waiting longer to marry until they have achieved the economic prerequisites of marriage”, a single mother explains:

¹⁵⁷ “Ja, ek het al mans ontmoet in die afgelope tyd, maar net ek weet nie. Soos ek vir [my vriendin] ook gesê het, dis amper soos 'n: ek stuur hulle self terug. Toe sê sy nou eendag vir my: 'Jy het te seergekry, dit is hoekom. Jy vergelyk nou al die mans met daai en nou hou jy hulle so'. Toe sê ek: 'Nou hoe kan jy weet dit is nou die een'? Toe sê sy: 'Jy moet nou maar self daar deur gaan, maar jy moet nie [jou ex-ou] vergelyk met elke man nie’”.

¹⁵⁸ “Ek was te jonk”.

¹⁵⁹ “Jy moet seker maar 40, hier van 30 af kan 'n mens trou”.

*Then you think better and see better. You have seen a lot of things that happen by then. You can be open-minded and stand on your own two feet... many get married when they do not have parents anymore and they are experiencing a tough time, then they do it for support. But in the end it doesn't work out. If something breaks or you split, then you know you can stand on your own feet... Many can't handle the pressure. Then they are too young.*¹⁶⁰

Qualitative data on the women's perception of an ideal age for marriage and its impact on marriage trends are supported as mothers are often single at the beginning of their motherhood, but do get married when older. Although mothers generally do not marry or cohabit before childbearing, marriage or cohabitation (and thus the nuclear family) is often entered into later in their lives. This becomes obvious when mothers' *current* marital statuses (including all women who have had a child before) are compared to their marital status at the time of their first child bearing.

Table 4.17.

A comparison of mothers' age at birth of first child versus their age at first time marriage/cohabitation

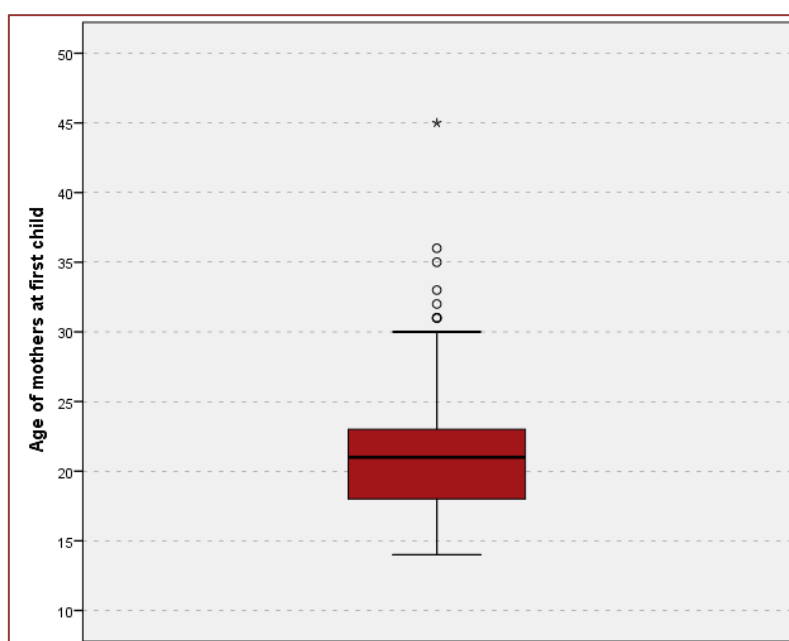
		Age at first marriage or cohabitation	Age at first childbirth
Mean Age (in years)		27	21
Median Age (in years)		24	21
Percentiles	25	21	18
	50	24	21
	75	31	23
N		105	173

Almost ninety percent (88%) of mothers have their children before entering marriage or cohabitation, yet only 35% of mothers were never-married at the time of the survey. Far more mothers report to be in a nuclear family or to have been in one previously, than those who report such at the time they had their first child (only 12%).

¹⁶⁰ "Dan dink jy beter en jy sien beter. Jy't nou al baie dinge gesien wat gebeur. Jy kan oopkop wees, en op jou eie bene staan... En baie trou nou miskien as hulle nou nie meer ouers het nie en hulle begin swaar kry, dan doen hulle dit ook maar vir hulp. Maar op die ou end werk dit ook maar nie uit nie. As iets breek of uitmekaar uit gaan, dan weet jy, jy kan op jou eie bene staan... Baie kan nie die *pressure* vat nie. Dan is hulle te jonk".

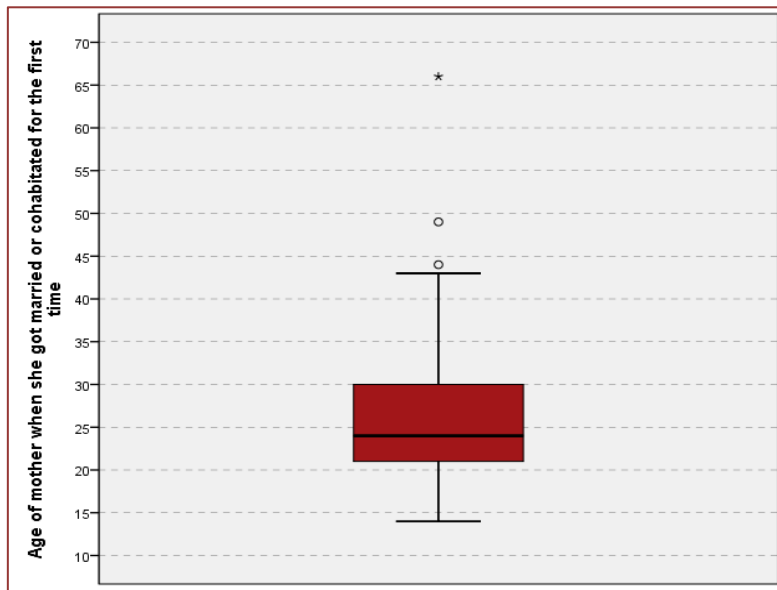
This notion is further substantiated given the differences in mothers' age when bearing their first child and when they enter marriage or cohabitation for the first time. *Table 4.17* above illustrates the central tendencies of the age at which mothers cohabit or marry for the first time (calculated only taking into account those mothers who indicated that they *have* married or cohabitated before and indicated an age accordingly) and the age at which they indicated to have borne their first child (again calculated taking into account only those mothers who have borne children and indicated their age at first childbirth).

Figure 4.18. Age at which mothers have their first child



The age range over which mothers form a nuclear family for the first time is broader than that for bearing a child for the first time. *Figure 4.18* and *4.19* demonstrate these age distributions.

The distribution of the ages at which mothers first form a nuclear family is more positively skewed than the more evenly distributed ages amongst the population according to when they first bear a child. Relative to the age range of initial childbearing, the age range for the formation of a nuclear family for the first time tends to be slightly more positively skewed. Many mothers thus bear children before marriage, but marry subsequent to bearing their first child; those who do get married often do so not long after childbearing. This tendency to only marry at an age older than the age of initial childbearing substantially impacts on the prevalence of single motherhood.

Figure 4.19. Age at which mothers form a nuclear family for the first time

Men apparently share the opinion that marriage as an option should be age-bound. One mother explains how she had her first child at 14, but when, at the age of 22, she wanted to marry the father “he felt we were too young”¹⁶¹. This perception in combination with motherhood at ages earlier than deemed appropriate for marriage could then contribute to the prevalence of mothers being unmarried (especially at ages below that deemed suitable for marriage).

While marriage is deemed more appropriate at a more advanced age, being too old is also not considered ideal. One never-married participant explains how she felt that she also had to start thinking of getting married because she “is now a nice (mature) age and so on”¹⁶². Yet another 50 year old never-married mother doubts whether she will marry anymore as she feels “too old to get married”¹⁶³.

In line with McLaughlin and Lichter (1997) who report women to have an appropriate or accepted timing of marriage which might lead to later marriage, to some extent this establishes an ideal age-band for marriage. Single motherhood could thus be promoted in mothers who feel either too young or too old to commit to a marriage. Considering the phenomenon of teenage motherhood, the discontinuity between their age of childbearing and perceived ideal age of marriage and the established phenomenon of later marriage or cohabitation (relative to childbearing age) may contribute to the high prevalence of single

¹⁶¹ “Hy het gevoel ons is te jonk”.

¹⁶² “is nou ’n mooi ouderdom en so”

¹⁶³ “te oud vir trou”

motherhood in Suurbraak. Findings in Suurbraak thus confirm those of McLaughlin and Lichter (1997) and Gibson-Davis (2011) who report that certain attitudes to marriage among women might prompt their unmarried status and consequently postpone marriage.

4.4.6 RELIGIOUS CONSIDERATIONS

*If I think [about it]: I wanted to get married or be married for many reasons, but the Lord for some reason or another never allowed it to happen, something always transpired.*¹⁶⁴

Religious considerations could affect women's willingness to get married in two ways. Firstly, some mothers demonstrate an external locus of control¹⁶⁵ towards significant life events, specifically attitudes towards marriage. Mothers often perceive their fate to be married to be in the hands of God rather than within their own control. Many mothers believe that God will not only tell them when it is their time to marry, but also send the right husband to them. One single mother explains that if she is to marry "[then] he needs to be from God, otherwise he won't stay with [her]"¹⁶⁶. Mothers readily ascribe their single status to the will of God and believe that God determines when the time is right for them to marry. One single mother explains:

*Over the years you learn; I would also have liked to be married already, but you also learn that things don't always work out the way you wanted or planned it. If I think: I wanted to get married or be married for many reasons, but the Lord for some reason or another never allowed it to happen, something always transpired. But today, if I look back, then I understand it better. Because I know I wasn't ready for marriage. I had another idea of marriage and I know today I will be more subdued. But then I had a will of my own, so I knew it wouldn't work. So yes, then a lot of the times you understand why He answered, but did not provide.*¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ "As ek dink [daaroor]: ek wou al om baie redes trou of getroud wees, maar die Here het om die een of ander rede nooit toegelaat dat dit gebeur het nie. Daar het iets voorgeval".

¹⁶⁵ External locus of control is derived from Rotter's (1966: 1) theory explaining that if an individual perceives and interprets significant events in his/her life as the result of "some action of his own but not being entirely contingent upon his action, [in our culture then typically perceived as the result of luck, chance, fate, as under control of powerful others, or as unpredictable because of the great complexity of the forces surrounding him-], ... we have labelled this a belief in *external control*"]".

¹⁶⁶ "... hy moet [dan] van die Here af wees, anders gaan hy nie by [haar] bly nie"

¹⁶⁷ "Oor die jare leer mens mos maar, ek sou nou al graag wou getroud gewees het, maar mens leer ook dinge werk nie altyd uit soos jy dit wil hê nie of beplan het nie. As ek dink ek wou al om baie redes trou of getroud wees, maar die Here het om die een of ander rede nooit toegelaat dat dit gebeur het nie. Daar het iets voorgeval.

When asked whether she ever wanted to get married, another single mother explains: “I have that desire, but we wait on the Lord’s call”¹⁶⁸. God’s will is thus often cited as the basis for singlehood. This is not the case in general, as all single mothers experience a sense of responsibility for the events in their own lives. While 74% of single mothers fully agree that they are responsible for the way their life turns out, the remaining 26% agree to an extent, but not fully.

Supporting the findings of Liefbroer (1991b) in Manting (1996), in some instances mothers’ religion promotes marriage. One married mother explains how religious convictions compelled her to get married to her then boyfriend with whom she was cohabitating at the time:

*I was converted. I just felt that I was living a whore-life. And how can I serve the Lord and we live together. So it was either breaking up or getting married. And then I felt that I love this man... And then I asked the Lord: ‘Lord if this is my husband then let us get married’. And God helped us that we are married now. I felt that it is all in God’s framework now.*¹⁶⁹

Religious beliefs and values can thus to some extent explain the prevalence of mothers’ single status, but also stimulate marriage rates and so promote a two-parent family amongst Suurbraak inhabitants.

4.4.7 MOTHERS’ NEED FOR FREEDOM

*The best thing is that I can do as I please, and that is much better for me.*¹⁷⁰

Freedom to do as they please is cited as an important factor in explaining mothers’ singlehood. Some mothers expect that a marriageable man should grant them freedom to do the things they hold dear and not prescribe “do’s and don’ts”¹⁷¹, while others emphasise the freedom to do as they please as a core benefit of singlehood. Some mothers enjoy not having

Maar vandag as ek terugkyk, dan verstaan ek beter. Want ek weet ek was nog nie trou reg nie. Ek het bietjie ’n ander ding in my kop gehad van trou en ek weet vandag sal ek meer onderdanig wees. Maar toe het ek ’n willetjie van my eie gehad, so ek’t geweet dit sal nie deug nie. So ja, dan verstaan jy baie keer waarom Hy geantwoord het, maar nie gegee het nie.”

¹⁶⁸ “Ek het daai begeertes. Maar ons wag maar op die Here se roep”.

¹⁶⁹ “Ek was bekeer gewees nê. Dat ek het net gevoel ek leef in ’n hoer-lewe. En hoe kan ek die Here dien en ek woon saam. So dis nou of los of trou. En toe voel ek ek is nou lief vir hierdie man... En toe het ek die Here gevra: ‘Here as die my man is laat ons trou’. En God het ons gehelp dat ons die knoop nou deurhaak. Ek het gevoel dis nou als in God se raamwerk”.

¹⁷⁰ “Die beste ding is dat ek kan maak soos ek wil en dit is vir my baie beter”.

¹⁷¹ “moenies en moets”

a partner as they “have [their] free time, [they] can do what [they] want to”¹⁷²; that it suits them that the boyfriend goes home again after visiting them because “it’s nice, now [she] has [her] space”¹⁷³ and she “likes doing her own thing”¹⁷⁴; one mother in particular explains that:

*If I were married, if I would have to think about that: some women have to get up at night to make coffee or pass this or that, but not me. When I have finished washing myself and have eaten I can go to sleep. There are no other things I still have to do... I can go to sleep whenever I want to and I can go as I please.*¹⁷⁵

The freedom to do as they please is seen by some mothers as far better than marriage would be. One mother even compared the restrictions of marriage to a “leash being put on”¹⁷⁶.

In this manner the freedom offered by singlehood can promote non-marriage or non-cohabitation amongst mothers and thus single motherhood. Mothers who fail to find a partner who grants them the freedom they desire, or deem freedom more important than the potential restraints of marriage may consequently refrain from forming a two-parent family.

4.4.8 CHILDREN AS RESTRAINT

Single mothers often explain how having children inhibit their ability to form lasting relationships with men which may eventually lead to marriage or cohabitation. Children are often reported to be possessive of their mothers and persuade their mothers to refrain from dating or marriage, as one mother illustrates:

*They (her children) were very possessive. I still tell them today, that they have kept me from having even a friend, and now I am alone. Someday I [will] sit alone, then [they will] walk out with [their] friends. You thought twice before getting involved...*¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² “het [hulle] eie vrye tyd, [hulle] kan doen wat [hulle] wil”.

¹⁷³ “Dis lekker, [sy]t nou [haar] ruimte”.

¹⁷⁴ “hou van [haar] eie ding doen”.

¹⁷⁵ “As ek getroud gewees het, as ek nou nog moet dink daaraan, party vrouens moet in die nagte opstaan vir koffie maak of daai aangee en daai, maar nie ek nie. As ek my klaar gewas het en klaar geëet het, dan gaan ek slaap. Daar is nie nou nog ek moet dit doen, dit moet gedoen word nie... Ek kan gaan slaap wanneer ek wil en ek kan loop wannner ek wil”.

¹⁷⁶ “aan die halsbandjie gesit word”

¹⁷⁷ “Hulle was baie besittlik. Ek sê vir hulle vandag nog hulle het my gekeer om even ’n vriend te hê, en nou is ek alleen. Eendag sit ek alleen, dan stap [hulle] met [hulle] vriende uit. Jy’t twee keer gedink om betrokke te raak...”

Some children purportedly explicitly state that their mothers should remain single. One mother recounts:

*I once made a joke and said that I was going to get a boyfriend again. And then they (her children) said: No, leave that mommy!*¹⁷⁸

while another divorced mother explains:

*[The children] tell me: Mommy, mommy should not get a husband!*¹⁷⁹

While many children reject the idea of their mothers being married or in a relationship, some mothers indicate that their children wish for them to marry their father.

Children are furthermore reported to be time- and attention-consuming, thus limiting the available space for a potential partner inhibiting eventual cohabitation or marriage, as one mother explains:

*I have focused on my children a lot. It is two girls. I told myself: I should just wait a while, because I just need to get them on their feet, get them going...*¹⁸⁰

Another explains that her children, as her first priority, kept her from getting married and consequently led to her being single:

*I would have liked to get married to my children's father. But I have been alone for so long now, and I feel happy and fine. And we are still friends and so on, but I feel it completely escaped me to still think about relationships and marriage. I have actually focused more on the children.*¹⁸¹

Therefore mothers often remain single in order to keep their children happy and are presented with fewer opportunities to meet potential partners due to the time-constraint imposed by childrearing. Children are prioritised above meeting and spending time on a partner. Children, as a personal and internal factor, thus promote singlehood, as opposed to other external factors.

¹⁷⁸ “Ek het eendag ’n grap gemaak en gesê ek gaan maar weer vir my ’n kêrel kry, en toe sê hulle: ‘Nee los mamma!’”

¹⁷⁹ “[Die kinders] sê vir my: ‘Mammie, mammie moet nou nie ’n man vat nie!’”

¹⁸⁰ “Ek’t nou nogals baie op my kinders gefokus. Dis twee meisiekinders. Ek’t vir myself gesê: ek moet net bietjie aanhou, want ek moet hulle net bietjie op hulle voete kry, aan die gang kry...”

¹⁸¹ “Ek sal graag met my kinders se pa wou trou. Maar ek is nou al so lank alleen, en ek voel gelukkig en ek voel okay. En ons is nog vriende en so, maar ek voel dit het heeltemal van my af gewyk om nog te dink aan verhoudings en trou. Ek het eintlik meer gefokus op die kinders”.

4.5 CONCLUSION: CHAPTER 4

This chapter provides an in-depth discussion of Suurbraak, focusing on the local socio-demographic factors, the manifestation of single motherhood, and residents' economic status and income. This is followed by a discussion on Suurbraak's single mothers' observed family-developmental frameworks, domestic lifecycles, and family patterns. Finally, the chapter delves into those factors which were identified as having the potential to stimulate the prevalence of single motherhood in Suurbraak and their observed effect thereon. The core findings which emerged from the study are presented in summarised format in *Table 4.18* below. The following chapter will provide a summary and interpretation of the findings as presented in this chapter, explicate on the limitations and implications of this study, and finally present recommendations for further study related hereto.

Table 4.18.
Perceptual and circumstantial factors affecting single motherhood

	<u>Beliefs</u> <i>Mothers' prerequisites for marriage or cohabitation</i>	<u>Circumstances</u> <i>Structural environmental factors mothers experience</i>
Financial considerations	<p>Men need to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be employed • Contribute financially to the family • Own a house 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty among Suurbraak men <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ High unemployment rates ▪ Work shortages ▪ Men's irresponsible expenditure • Government housing shortages • Geographical isolation inhibits meeting financially secure partners • Older men: more resources, but sex-ratio imbalances more prevalent • Alternative support: lending mothers financial support, sometimes substituting male partners effectively
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Older men are more attractive • Marriage only at an older age (but not too old) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sex-ratio imbalances emphasised in older age groups (substantially fewer men than women) • Older men more attractive possibly due to lack of good role models in households (high incidence of fatherless families and disrespectful behaviour in males)
Non-locality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men should not be from Suurbraak 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Geographical isolation: difficulty traveling elsewhere to meet potential partners mostly due to budget constraints
Disrespectful behaviour	<p>Men should:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be faithful • Not abuse substances • Not be physically abusive • Set a good example for children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevalence of alcohol abuse • Abusive behaviour of men • Unfaithfulness amongst men • Lack of healthy male role models
Love and friendship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men should love the mother and her child • Friendship must exist between the couple 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of friendship amongst couples cited • Past experiences: partners did not care for mothers' children

Religious considerations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men should be 'converted' (especially not use alcohol) God will make it happen at the right time (attitude towards an external locus of control) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prevalence of alcohol abuse in Suurbraak
Emotional support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men need to be emotionally supportive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alternative support structures available often capable of fulfilling emotional supportive role of a partner: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Household members in extended household structures People not external to household: parents, friends, family, the child's father, God, neighbours, boyfriends, and colleagues
	<i>Women's other (non-prerequisite) perceptions contributing to single motherhood</i>	
Past experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mothers often choose to remain single due to negative past experiences with ex-partners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men's negative behaviour: unfaithfulness, abuse, alcohol abuse, setting a bad example, and exploiting resources.
Mothers lending support to others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mothers remain single to look after an old or disabled relative 	
Freedom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marriage can restrain mothers' freedom 	
Unwillingness of men to marry / cohabit		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men cited as reluctant to marry the mothers of their children. Men cited to make empty promises of marriage and commitment, only to walk out on their families Men often perceived to not want to be tied down, avoid responsibility, or as too immature to take responsibility
Children as restraint		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children being time- and attention-consuming, limiting the space for a potential partner and cohabitation or marriage Children often reported to be possessive of their mothers, persuading mothers to refrain from dating or marriage

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to explore the prevalence of single motherhood in the Afrikaans, coloured, rural, poverty-stricken village of Suurbraak. More specifically, this study explored the household structures occupied by single mothers and explored possible factors that might explain the origin of single motherhood in this particular village. In light of the data explored and discussed in the preceding chapters, the main findings are presented in this final chapter. Some limitations were encountered during the course of this study and specific recommendations can be made, as is discussed in the rest of this chapter.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

The following sections present the key conclusions emerging from the study according to the two research objectives as identified in Chapter 1.

5.2.1 EXPLORING THE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES OF SINGLE MOTHERS IN SUURBRAAK

This study arrived at certain key findings regarding the household structures occupied by single mothers living in Suurbraak. While most Suurbraak mothers are single when bearing their first child, many form nuclear families some time later by means of marriage or cohabitation. A relatively small proportion of Suurbraak mothers are divorced or widowed (thus re-entering a single-mother phase). In line with national South African trends, never marrying is the primary antecedent of singlehood among mothers. The most prevailing family-developmental framework amongst Suurbraak single mothers thus typically follow a pattern where they are first time mothers while single, in many instances followed by marriage or cohabitation, after which a few divorce or separate or become widowed.

Regardless of mothers' current occupant phase, the extended household prevails as the dominant structure occupied by the vast majority of single mothers. Only in very few instances do mothers occupy single-mother households, and then exclusively at an older age. The majority of those residing in extended households occupy a multi-familial household,

and to a far lesser extent an extended family or fraternal-joint family household. These households typically entail mother and child sharing a household with relations such as siblings, one or both of her parents, their grandparents or other relatives.

Multi-familial households typically entail mother and child living with one or both of her parents, as well as her siblings; or relatively often with her parents, siblings and other relatives. On average these households contain three family units per household. The extended family household is typically occupied by the mother, her child and her mother, thereby forming female-headed, matrifocal, multi-generational households consisting of three generations – confirming similar findings from previous research on single mothers' household structures.

Ultimately, single mothers in Suurbraak do not follow a family pattern identified as ideal types by Ziehl (2001, 2002). Suurbraak mothers typically form neither the ('ideal') independent nuclear household prior to bearing their first child (a prerequisite of the nuclear family pattern) nor the extended family pattern (which also implies marriage before childbearing as well as the formation of the nuclear family as an integral part of the mother's domestic lifecycle). The extended household is thus occupied by mothers at any stage of their domestic lifecycle, not following either ideal type.

5.2.2 EXPLORING THE ORIGIN OF SINGLE MOTHERHOOD IN SUURBRAAK

In an attempt to explain the prevalence of single motherhood amongst the study population, Joubert's triadic model of social reality (the vicarious interaction between beliefs, circumstances and behaviour as the constituents of social reality) was utilised as a theoretical basis for explaining the role of the environment as well as mothers' beliefs as the two core contributing factors to the explored phenomenon. Mixed methods research (i.e. both qualitative and quantitative research methods) was implemented in order to explore the role of these two factors in the origin of single motherhood (the behaviour of the research subjects). Quantitative data aided in depicting mothers' circumstances, while qualitative data shed light on mothers' beliefs and values, uncovering how they might lead to single motherhood. By combining these two sets of data a holistic understanding of the prevalence of single motherhood was developed.

The survey (which primarily aided in the exploration of mothers' circumstances) revealed factors such as sex-ratio imbalances to potentially affect mothers' ability to find a partner and

that most men are either in precarious employment (mainly seasonal) and do not live on their own/ have their own dwelling. It furthermore substantiated qualitative findings indicating that mothers often lived in a socially and financially supportive environment as a result of their extended household structures. These extended household structures thus had the potential to substitute the function of a male partner, thus conceivably promoting singlehood amongst mothers. In light of such significant environmental factors, the potential room for a relationship between mothers' beliefs (especially their values) and their behaviour seemed less obvious.

The impact of mothers' values on their behaviour in terms of marriage or cohabitation (and thus singlehood) was questioned in light of their (qualitative) claims that the two-parent nuclear family represented an ideal. The majority of single mothers held the two-parent family as their ideal, yet many of them were single, contrary to what would be expected of them if their behaviour was determined by values alone. This resonates Joubert's caution that humanists often argued that despite values being embraced as moral principles, they less often applied to the individual's choices and behaviour in particular situations.

While the reciprocal relationship between circumstances and behaviour could not account for all possible factors leading to singlehood amongst mothers, their beliefs in conjunction with these circumstances could explain this more effectively. This highlighted the combined effect of these beliefs (especially values) and circumstances in understanding single motherhood. The qualitative data revealed mothers' underlying beliefs pertaining to certain prerequisites for entering marriage or cohabitation (as was quantitatively substantiated), including potential partners' financial capabilities; more advanced age; non-locality; respectful behaviour toward her and her child(ren); religious stance; and ability to be emotionally supportive (see *Table 4.18* for more examples).

The potential partners available locally often failed to live up to these prerequisites (e.g. unemployment and poverty were rife in mothers' environment, hence their prerequisite for financial security was difficult to comply with). This highlights the importance of alternative support structures, as could be found in the extended household structure acting as a buffer against financial and emotional challenges faced in singlehood. Another example was found in mothers' preference for a partner not hailing from Suurbraak. Their circumstances often did not permit travel outside the village with sufficient frequency to meet potential partners

elsewhere, creating another conflict between their ideals and the (limited) opportunities within their environment.

The apparent disparity between what mothers deemed to be prerequisites to marriage and the availability of men meeting them was exacerbated by their perceptions of their environment. One example of such a prerequisite was the requirement of a potential partner to be emotionally supportive and respectful towards the mother: mothers' past experiences with men who did not meet this requirement (in some cases to the point of abuse) could provoke an expectation that men within their environment would generally do the same. In these instances mothers' decisions to remain single might be influenced by their beliefs and perceived circumstances (if not objective circumstances).

The continuous interaction between what mothers valued and what was (seemingly) available within their environment played a fundamental role in determining their behaviour, arguably more so than their environment or beliefs in isolation. Joubert's theory of social reality thus represented a heuristic framework in exploring and understanding the prevalence of singlehood amongst Suurbraak mothers: the roles of both the environment in Suurbraak and mothers' beliefs were accounted for in determining their single status and the suggested interaction between behaviour, beliefs and circumstances was substantiated, while recognising the relevance of the humanistic caution on the less obvious relationship between behaviour and values.

5.3 LIMITATIONS

The study was specifically limited to the village of Suurbraak (a small, rural, relatively isolated town, mired in poverty) by design. While the findings may have broader validity, it might be inappropriate to draw generalisations regarding the South African single mother population or the coloured population specifically (especially in an urban context) from these findings. In some instances sampling was of such a nature that categorised respondent groups (n-values) were possibly too small to extract significant information relating to a broader population group. One example is the size of the single mother population living in single-mother households. Because the study used the whole of Suurbraak's population as its sampling frame and not only single mothers, these single mothers formed a relatively small part of the survey sample. Generalizability was potentially jeopardized in these instances. Qualitative data yielded more tangible insights into single-mother households than the limited

information the survey could provide. The aim of qualitative research is not to establish generalizability and could consequently not address this limitation.

Even though this study makes reference to the fluidity of households, quantitative data collection does not fully address the nature and understanding of the concept of the households as it is understood by respondents. The survey questionnaire reported on those who were identified as forming part of the household; however, the restrictions placed on who were identified as such by respondents were not explored (e.g. people not sharing the dwelling may have been included). It was determined that the level of complexity in both the survey and the interview was already of such magnitude that further complicating the definition of household constitution would have been unfeasible. The sheer number of factors included for exploration in this study further compounded this complexity and the scope became difficult to manage.

During qualitative interviews, mothers sometimes reported to have been living elsewhere and sending back remittances at some stage of their family developmental framework (thus not living with the household but contributing to its function), yet there is no way to verify if anyone doing so was included as household members. Single mothers who did not share a dwelling with the household but occupied an important financially supportive function to the household could potentially have been overlooked and not reported as a household member. In these instances single motherhood and mothers' living arrangements may be underrepresented, compromising generalizability as to the fluidity of households.

The focus of the study was rather to understand the prevalence of singlehood amongst mothers in terms of factors following childbearing; however, the origin of motherhood among the single was not specifically explored (i.e. factors which may promote pregnancy while single were not investigated). This study thus was limited in not shedding light on the high incidence of single women becoming pregnant, which could potentially have shed even more light on the research questions.

The qualitative data collection methods utilised – interviews and population observation – may have created opportunity for participants to be influenced by the researcher's own characteristics and lifestyle, possibly creating an acceptance bias, influencing their responses during interviews. A discrepancy in the responses of participants was noted over time, emphasising this possibility. Consequently, it is impossible to know which of two (or more) contradicting responses were truthful (if any). This made the validity of some data

questionable. Respondents may also have had an effect on my own thought processes as researcher, potentially influencing the way I analysed and interpreted data.

A further potential limitation may have occurred in unconscious bias on my part as researcher. I acknowledged my particular upbringing and history at the outset; however, my experiences of life were vastly different from those of the respondents I dealt with. Although living in the field afforded me a unique and meaningful experience of the environment within which respondents lived, I cannot claim to fully understand their experience thereof. Qualitative data and the meaning underlying the statements made by respondents were subject to my interpretation and it is unlikely that the significance of respondents' experienced reality can ever be fully appreciated by an outsider to their particular frame of reference. Despite taking all reasonable steps to maintain scientific objectivity and remain unbiased in the course of completing fieldwork, it is not impossible that a false or incorrect impression of participants' circumstances may have arisen.

The prevalence of single motherhood was predominantly explored from women's perspectives. Despite yielding valuable insights into the origin of singlehood amongst mothers from the female perspective, men were not consulted on reasons for not entering marriage or cohabitation. The study may therefore be biased to the perceptions of women and not consider the role that men's beliefs might play on the phenomenon. This study was further limited in only exploring mother's perceptions on their singlehood status but not necessarily the origin thereof. The role of the underlying culture in Suurbraak was thus not explored in order to understand the causes of perceptions which might lead to singlehood.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the limitations encountered in this study, and the potential value in further exploring the phenomenon of single motherhood in South Africa, some recommendations are made for further research within this domain.

Future studies would certainly benefit from the utilisation of approaches which maximise generalizability. One could test the application of these findings to the broader coloured population or among single mothers in South Africa generally. Taking into account the severe lack of literature on single motherhood amongst the coloured population in South Africa, a study into singlehood amongst the urban coloured population – in contrast to rural Suurbraak

– could broaden the understanding of single motherhood, provide a platform for comparison between urban and rural contexts, and enhance generalizability.

Larger probability samples of single mothers can be included in future studies, rather opting for pure quantitative methods. This study has highlighted a number of patterns which could inform the track such quantitative studies may take while such a survey would yield statistically more significant results specifically applied to single mothers. This may prove especially meaningful in evaluating the relevance and significance of these patterns and drawing conclusions on a broader spectrum of the South African population, specifically providing deeper insights into the single-mother household structures of which a very low incidence rate was recorded within this study's sample.

Future surveys measuring household structure and trends on single motherhood should be designed in such a manner as to account for the fluidity of households. The meaning underlying the concept of 'the household' should thus be explored in-depth and well defined, and the boundaries deemed to exist clearly explained to respondents during fieldwork. This would enable expansion of the scope of single mothers in relation to households and exploration of the role of fluid household boundaries as survival strategy.

As Suurbraak single mothers did not typically follow an ideal type of family pattern as per relevant literature, their family pattern generally involved the individual being born dependent of either one or both parents (nuclear or single-mother household); she has children (extended household); she marries (nuclear or extended household); she is widowed or divorced (extended or single mother household); which can thus be operationalized as legitimate family pattern. This family pattern can subsequently be tested for its prevalence and generalizability in the broader coloured and / or South African population.

Findings suggested that the very few mothers occupying single-mother families were typically of a more advanced age, therefore a study into what distinguished these mothers from those residing in extended households could be conducted. As this household structure in particular was very scarcely represented in Suurbraak, a study into its broader prevalence and the reasons for this within the broader coloured community could determine its significance in a more general context.

A study into the stage of origin of single motherhood, specifically the phase before childbirth where single women fell pregnant, could provide meaningful insights into the manifestation

and prevalence of single motherhood. A study exploring the reasons why single women in the coloured population became pregnant (e.g. exploring if pregnancies were planned or unplanned), would be invaluable. The male perspective on marriage or cohabitation could enhance those female perspectives presented in this study and afford an opportunity for a comparison between gender views and shed yet more light on the manifestation of single motherhood in Suurbraak specifically and the broader society in general.

The perceptions promoting singlehood can furthermore be studied in terms of the impact of the broader cultural environment on underlying norms and beliefs. Exploring the role of the dominant culture within the community in the formation of perceptions amongst mothers regarding the desirability of marriage and cohabitation could further contribute to the understanding of perceptions explored in this study.

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APPENDIX A – SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW



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Die semi-gestruktureerde onderhoudskedule

Onderhoud nommer:

Datum:

 /

Goeiedag. Ek is Collette Varney. Ek doen tans navorsing vir my meestersgraad by Universiteit Stellenbosch. My navorsing gaan oor die woonreëlings van enkelma's. Soos jy weet is baie ma's deesdae enkelouers. Kan ek asseblief met jou 'n onderhoud oor die saak voer? Dit sal 'n uur na 'n uur en 'n half neem. Jy is glad nie verplig om deel te neem nie, en indien jy instem om wel deel te neem, kan jy enige tyd besluit jy wil nie aangaan nie of sekere vrae nie beantwoord nie. Om deel te neem en vrae te beantwoord is dus totaal jou eie keuse. Alles wat jy met my deel is net tussen my en jou, met ander woorde vertroulik. Ek sal niks wat jy vir my vertel aan enige iemand anders vertel, of dit so in my verslag skryf dat iemand jou kan herken nie. Jou deelname sal baie waardeer word, maar jy sal nie vergoeding daarvoor kry nie. Sal jy belangstel om deel te neem? Sal jy omgee as ek die gesprek opneem sodat ek kan onthou wat jy gesê het wanneer ek my verslag skryf? Onthou, ek sal nie jou naam neerskryf as jy dit nie wil hê nie.

Die onderhoudskedule bestaan uit 5 temas:

Tema 1: Inleidende vrae

Tema 2: Persepsies, houdings en wat geglo word oor gesin en huishoudingstrukture

Tema 3: Ondersteuning vir die ma en die kind se grootmaak

Tema 4: Ma se persepsie van die potensiële struktureel-demografiese inhiberende faktore op haar keuses.

Tema 5: Afsluitingsvrae

Tema 1: Inleidende vrae (Om die respondent se konteks te ondersoek deur 'n lewensgeskiedenis-benadering te neem)

- Kan jy dalk vir my vertel hoe lank woon jy al in Suurbraak?
- Hoe oud is jy nou?
- Hoeveel kinders het jy?
- Kan jy my dalk vertel wanneer jy jou kind(ers) gehad het? (Hoe oud was jy, hoe oud is die kinders nou of hoe lank gelede was dit...)
- As jy nou terugdink aan voor jy 'n kind gehad het, wie het almal saam met jou in 'n huis gewoon?
- Wat was vir jou die lekkerste en slegste aspekte van die huishouding?
- Wat was jou oorwegings om 'n kind(ers) te hê?
- Hoe het jou lewe verander toe jy 'n kind gehad het?
- Hoe het jou woonreëlins verander sedert jy jou eerste kind gehad het? Bly jy nog in dieselfde huis, en so voorts?

Aanspoor vrae:

Hoekom sê jy so?

Vertel my meer van...

Hoekom dink jy is dit so?

Wat bedoel jy daarmee?

Wat het jy toe gedoen?

Watter effek dink jy het.... op jou gehad?

Verstaan ek reg...

Bedoel jy...?

Hoekom het jou woonreëlins verander?

Tema 2: Persepsies, houdings en wat geglo word oor gesin en huishoudingstrukture

Om aan te beweeg na 'n ander onderwerp...

- As jy nou terugdink aan voor jy 'n kind gehad het, hoe het jy gedink wil jy graag eendag woon as jy 'n kind het?
- Wat is vir jou 'n gesin? Soos jy bly, is dit 'n gesin?
- Kan 'n mens 'n gesin wees sonder 'n man?
- As jy kon kies, hoe sou jy graag wou woon? Soos jy nou woon, of anders?

- Wat dink jy sal dit vir jou moontlik maak om te woon soos jy graag wou?
- Dink jy, jy sal dit bereik in die toekoms om te woon soos jy wil?
- Saam met wie dink jy sal jy woon in 5 jaar?
- Deesdae trou baie vrouens nie meer nie. Het jy al ooit oorweeg om te trou of saam te woon as 'n paartjie?
- Baie ma's in Suurbraak woon met hul kinders, maar sonder die pa. Hoekom dink jy is daar so baie enkelma's?
- Dink jy enkelma's verkies dit om sonder 'n man te wees of nie?
- Sal jy verkies om 'n man by jou te hê?
- Wat dink jy is die voordele en nadele om 'n pa vir die kinders in die huis te hê?
- Onder watter omstandighede sal jy daaraan dink om 'n man of pa vir die kinders in die huis te hê?
- Wat maak dit vir jou onmoontlik om 'n man of pa vir die kinders in die huis te hê?
- Dink jy jy sal ooit trou in die toekoms?
- Dink jy mans en vroue het verskillende rolle in die gesin? Wat is hul rolle?
- Saam met wie woon meeste van jou familie en vriende?
- Hoeveel ander enkelma's ken jy omtrent?
- Saam met wie woon hierdie kennisse gewoonlik?
- Watter nadele en voordele dink jy is daar aan die huishoudings waarin jy nou woon as jy dit vergelyk met ander mense se huishoudings?
- Hoe dink jy voel jou ouers, vriende en ander lede van jou portuurgroep oor trou en saam woon?
- Hoekom dink jy trou vrouens wat wel getroud is?

Aanspoor vrae:

Hoekom dink jy is dit so?

Hoekom sê jy so?

Wat bedoel jy daarmee?

Verstaan ek reg...?

Bedoel jy...?

Vertel my meer van...

Tema 3: Ondersteuning vir die ma en die kind se grootmaak

Van die os op die jas...

- Wat sal dit vir jou makliker maak om jou kinders groot te maak?
- Wie dink jy ondersteun jou die meeste met die grootmaak van jou kind?
- Op watter manier dink jy ondersteun sommige van die wat saam met jou woon jou die meeste?
- Deel jy en die mense by wie jy bly julle geld of kos?
- Ondersteun mense wat nie saam met jou in die huis bly nie, jou ook met die grootmaak van jou kind in sommige opsigte?
- As jy dink aan ander vrouens wat ook kinders het, maar wat saam met 'n man woon of getroud is, dink jy hulle kry meer ondersteuning om met die kinders te help as wat jy kry?
- Sou jy graag ook 'n man wou gehad het om jou te help om die kind groot te maak?
- Hoe dink jy word enkelma's in Suurbraak oor die algemeen ondersteun deur ander mense in die gemeenskap?

Aanspoor vrae:

Op watter manier sal jy sê ondersteun...

Hoe ondersteun...jou finansiële?

Hoe ondersteun ... jou emosioneel?

Hoekom sê jy so?

Hoekom dink jy is dit so?

Wat bedoel jy daarmee?

Verstaan ek reg...

Bedoel jy...?

Tema 4: Ma se persepsie van die potensiële struktureel-demografiese inhiberende faktore op haar keuses.

Nog 'n laaste paar vrae...

- Dink jy, jy het baie opsies aangaande die woonreëlins waarin jy jou kind grootmaak?
- Wat dink jy is jou opsies aangaande die woonreëlins waarin jy jou kind grootmaak?
- Watter dinge dink jy keer dat jy beter opsies het?

- Indien jy sou oorweeg om met 'n man te trou of saam te woon, hoe sal jy graag wil hê moet die man wees?

Aanspoor vrae:

Hoekom sê jy so?

Vertel my meer van...

Hoekom dink jy is dit so?

Wat bedoel jy daarmee?

Verstaan ek reg...

Bedoel jy...?

Tema 5: Afsluitingsvrae

Is daar nog enigiets wat jy graag ook nog vir my wou vertel? Baie dankie dat jy bereid was om deel te neem aan my studie en die tyd wat jy opgeoffer het. Ek waardeer dit baie. Ek verseker jou weereens dat enigiets wat jy aan my vertel het konfidensieel is en dat ek dus vir niemand mag vertel of jou naam mag gebruik in my verslag nie. Indien jy aan nog iets dink wat jy graag met my sou wou deel is jy welkom om met my te kom praat.

APPENDIX B – SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE



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SUURBRAAK: SOSIAAL-EKONOMIESE OPNAME
September-Oktober 2011

Vraelysnommer			
Deel van Suurbraak			

Veldwerker naam		
Koördineerder naam		

Inligting oor besoek(e):

EERSTE BESOEK	d	D	m	m	j	j	Tyd	Respons
Datum					1	1		
TWEEDE BESOEK	d	D	m	m	j	j	Tyd	Respons
Datum					1	1		
DERDE BESOEK	d	D	m	m	j	j	Tyd	Respons
Datum					1	1		

Kodes vir besoeke:

Respons:

1. Vraelys voltooi
2. Respondent nie by huis maar het afspraak gemaak
3. Respondent(e) by huis maar nie beskikbaar en het afspraak gemaak
4. Huishouding respondent weier om onderhoud te voer

Ander, spesifiseer:

TOESTEMMING OM DEEL TE NEEM AAN NAVORSING

Goeie dag! My naam is _____. Ek is van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch en ons is besig met 'n studie oor lewensbestaan en woonreëlins in Suurbraak.

Kan u asb. vir my sê wie in hierdie huis die meeste weet van ander lede van die huishouding? (Die respondent)

Die inligting gaan gebruik word om 'n profiel van die inwoners saam te stel. Uit hierdie profiel sal dit moontlik wees om behoeftes te identifiseer. Baie van die vrae wat ons vra gaan oor al die mense wat deel is van julle huishouding, amper soos die Sensus.

Die opname sal omtrent 'n halfuur duur.

Alles wat u of enige ander lid van die huishouding vir my gaan vertel sal vertroulik hanteer word en julle name sal nêrens neergeskryf of genoem/bekend gemaak word nie.

Deelname aan hierdie opname is vrywillig en u kan enige tyd die onderhoud staak of weier om van die vrae te beantwoord.

Gee u toestemming om voort te gaan met die opname? *(Veldwerker, dui aan respondent se antwoord. Indien NEE bedank die respondent hoflik en verdaag)*

JA _____

NEE _____

AFDELING A: ALGEMENE HUISHOUDING KENMERKE**A1. Watter taal word die meeste deur julle in die huis gepraat?**

1. Afrikaans
2. IsiXhosa
3. Engels
4. Ander, spesifiseer _____

A2. (Veldwerker vul self in) In watter tipe woonplek woon die huishouding? (Indien meer as 1 woonplek, dui meer as 1 aan).

1. Huis of baksteenstruktuur op 'n losstaande erf
2. Dorps-/ meent-/ skakelhuis (simpleks, dupleks, tripleks) ("townhouse")
3. Huis/woonstel/kamer in agterplaas
4. Informele woning/ "shack" in agterplaas (ingesluit 'n "wendy" huis in agterplaas)
5. Informele woning/ "shack" NIE in agterplaas
6. Kamer/woonstel nie in agterplaas maar wel op 'n erf wat met ander wonings gedeel word
7. Karavaan of tent
8. Ander, spesifiseer _____

A3. Hoeveel vertrekke is hier in die huis? Behalwe die slaapkamers, in watter ander vertrekke slaap daar mense?

Tipe vertrek	Aantal	Behalwe slaapkamers, slaap mense hier? 1. Ja 2. Nee
A. Eenvertrekhuus		
B. Slaapkamer		X
C. Kombuis		
D. Woonkamer/voorhuis		
E. Badkamer		
F. Eetkamer		
G. Werkkamer/studeerkamer		
H. Buitekamer (vas aan huis)		
I. Garage		
J. Ander, spesifiseer		

A4. Besit die huishouding die woning en die grond waarop dit staan?

1. Ja, besit huis en grond
2. Ja, besit huis en nie grond
3. Nee, woning word gehuur (gaan na A6)
4. Nee, woon hier verniet (bv. pas huis vir eienaar op, werkgewer se huis) (gaan na A6)
5. Ander, spesifiseer _____

A5. Indien X ja gesê het, hoe het julle hierdie huis gekry?

1. Gesin het die huis gebou
2. Huis geërf by familie
3. HOP (RDP) huis van regering/munisipaliteit gekry
4. Huis van die Raad gekoop (voor 1998)
5. Huis gekoop by ander persoon
6. Ander _____

A6. Voel jy jou huis het te veel mense in?

1. Ja
2. Nee

A7. Wat is die hooftipe toiletfasiliteit wat julle gebruik?

1. Spoeltoilet op erf/ in huis
2. Chemiese toilet
3. Puttoilet op erf
4. Gemeenskaplike toilet nie op erf
5. Geen

A8. Word die toilet met ander huishoudings gedeel?

1. Ja
2. Nee

A9. Watter bad/wasgeriewe is hier in die huis?

1. Bad met lopende water
2. Stort met lopende water
3. Stort en bad met lopende water
4. Ingeboude bad sonder lopende water
5. Ingeboude stort sonder lopende water
6. Los bad/waskom
7. Geen bad/wasfasiliteite
8. Ander _____

	Belangrikste energiebron (gebruik die meeste)	Tweede belangrikste energiebron
A10a. Watter tipe bron van energie gebruik julle vir kosmaak		
A10b. Watter tipe bron van energie gebruik julle vir beligting		
0. Nie van toepassing	2. Gas	4. Hout
1. Elektrisiteit	3. Paraffien	5. Steenkool
		6. Kerse
		7. Ander, spesifiseer

AFDELING B: KENMERKE VAN LEDE VAN HUISHOUDING:

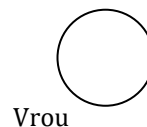
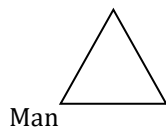
Die vrae in hierdie afdeling geld vir alle lede van die huishouding.

- **Respondent** is die persoon wat die meeste weet van die huishouding se geldsake en van die ander lede van die huishouding.
- Dui die **Respondent** aan met **R** op die genogram.
- Elke persoon in die huishouding kry 'n **nommer**. Die **Respondent is nommer 1** (persoonskode) op die genogram en in die "grid".
- Skryf die **name, geslag en ouderdom** neer van die lede van die huishouding langs hulle persoonskode nommers op die **NAAMKAART** en gebruik dit om Afdeling B te voltooi.

Wie is almal lede van die huishouding? INGESLUIT:

- Almal wat deur die week hier woon en gedeeltelik afhanklik is / bydraes maak tot hierdie huishouding.
- Afhanklike kinders wat elders skoolgaan en huis toe kom oor naweke en/of vakansies en afhanklik van die huishouding is.
- Afhanklike kinders wat op die straat woon en somtyds huis toe kom.
- Studente wat elders studeer en huis toe kom oor naweke en/of vakansies en afhanklik van die huishouding is.
- Mense wat elders werk en gereeld huis toe kom (een keer per maand of meer) en wat bydraes maak tot hierdie huishouding, bv. man werk op 'n ander plek en het nie 'n ander huishouding elders ook nie.
- Mense wat elders werk soek en wat nog afhanklik is van hierdie huishouding.

TEKEN DIE GENOGRAM HIER:



Socio-demografiese eienskappe en woonreëlings

	B1.	B2.	B3.	B4.	B5.	B6.	B7.
	Almal	Almal	Almal	Almal	Kinders 0-18	Kinders 0-18	Kinders 0-18
Persoon nommer	Dui elke persoon se geslag aan.	Hoe oud is elke persoon?	Ras	Verwantskap met respondent	As die <i>ma</i> nou deel is van hierdie huishouding, dui haar persoonnommer aan teenoor die kind se persoonnommer.	As die <i>pa</i> nou deel is van hierdie huishouding, dui sy persoonnommer aan teenoor die kind se persoonnommer.	Het kind X nog altyd saam met haar/sy geboorte <u>ma</u> in dieselfde huishouding gewoon?
Respondent is 1	1. <i>Man</i> 2. <i>Vrou</i>	<i>Dui ouderdom met laaste verjaardag aan (kinders jonger as 1 word met 0 aangedui)</i> <i>-1 Weet nie</i> <i>-2 wil nie sê nie</i>	1. Kleurling 2. Swart 3. Indiër 4. Wit	0. Respondent 1. Eggenoot/leuensmaat 2. Ouer 3. Skoonouer 4. Dogter/seun 5. Aangename/stiefkind 6. Oupa/Ouma ook grootjie 7. Kleinkind ook agterkleinkind 8. Broer/suster 9. Skoondogter/seun 10. Skoonsuster/swaer 11. Ander familie 12. Nie-verwante persoon	As sy nie deel is van hierdie huishouding nie, dui 0 teenoor die kind se persoon nommer aan. (bv as persoon 2 se kinders se persoonsonommers 6 en 7 is, dui 2 teenoor 6 en 7 aan)	As hy nie deel is van hierdie huishouding nie, dui 0 teenoor die kind se persoonnommer aan (bv. as persoon 2 se kinders se persoonsonommers 6 en 7 is, dui 2 teenoor 6 en 7 aan)	1. Ja, altyd 2. Ja, soms, ma leef nog 3. Nee, nooit, ma leef nog 4. Ma oorlede
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	B8. Kinders 0-18	B9. Almal 16 jaar of ouer	B10. Almal 16 jaar of ouer	B11. Vroue 12 jaar of ouer	B12. Vroue 12 jaar of ouer	B13. Vroue met kinders
Persoon nommer	Het kind X nog altyd saam met haar/sy geboorte pa in dieselfde huishouding gewoon?	Huwelikstatus 1. Enkel en was nog nie getroud nie 2. Getroud 3. Woon saam met metgesel 4. Geskei 5. Uitmekeer (nie geskei nie) 6. Weduwee/ wewenaar	Hoe oud was X toe hy/sy vir die eerste keer getrou of saam met 'n metgesel/partner gebly het? 1. Nog nooit getroud gewees of saam gewoon nie -1. Kan nie onthou nie	Hoe oud was X toe sy vir die eerste keer 'n kind gehad het? 0. Nog nooit 'n kind gehad nie -1. Kan nie onthou nie/ weet nie	Hoe oud was X toe sy vir die laaste keer 'n kind gehad het? 0. Nog nooit 'n kind gehad nie -1. Kan nie onthou nie/ weet nie	Het sy enige kinders 18 jaar oud of jonger wat elders woon? (dis nie koshuis kinders nie) 0. Nee 1. Ja -1. Sy weet nie/wil nie antwoord nie
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Versorging van kinders

	B14.	B15.	B16.	B17.	B18.	B19.	
Per- soon nom- mer Respon- dent is 1	Vroue met kinders wat elders woon	Kinders 0-18	Kinders 0-18	Kinders 0-18	Kinders 0-18	Kinders 0-18	
	Maak vrou X enige bydrae vir die kind(ers)?	Ondersteun/maak albei ouers van kind X 'n bydrae tot daardie kind (nie net geld nie)?	Wie sorg hoofsaaklik vir die dag-tot-dag behoeftes van elke kind?	Wat is die verwantskap tussen die hoofversorger en die kind na wie sy/hy omsien?	Maak ander mense wat in die huis woon, uitsluitlik ouers en hoofversorgers soos reeds genoem, ook 'n bydrae tot die kind se grootmaak, finansieel asook op ander maniere?	Maak ander mense (uitsluitlik ouers), wat nie deel vorm van die huishouding nie, 'n bydrae tot die kind se grootmaak, finansieel asook op ander maniere?	
	0. Nee	1. Ja	Dui hoofversorger aan met 1 in die eerste kolom en al die persone vir wie sy/hy sorg met 1 in die tweede kolom teenoor daardie persone se nommer.	0. Kyk na hom/haarself 1. Ma 2. Pa 3. Ouma 4. Oupa 5. Suster 6. Broer 7. Ander familielid 8. Ander nie-familie 9. Pleegouer	1. Ja 0. Nee -1. ek weet nie		
	1. Ja, finansieel	2. Nee, net ma, pa is oorlede	Dui tweede versorger aan met 2 in die eerste kolom en al die persone vir wie sy/hy sorg met 2 in die tweede kolom teenoor daardie persone se nommer.				
	2. Ja, ander	3. Nee, net pa, ma is oorlede	Dui aan 0 vir diegene wat na hulleself kyk, en nie vir ander sorg nie.				
	3. Ja, finansieel en ander	4. Nee, net ma, pa is onbekend/geen kontak met hom	Versorger Afhanklike				
		5. Nee, net pa, geen kontak met ma nie					
		6. Nee, ma en pa leef, maar hulle en die kind het geen kontak nie					
		7. Nee, een ouer leef, maar het geen kontak met die kind nie					
		8. Nvt, ma en pa oorlede					
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Opleidingspeil

	B20.	B21.	B22.	B23.	B24.
	Almal	Die 15jr + ouer	Die op skool	7 jaar en ouer, nie op skool/opleiding	7 tot 17 jaar, nie op skool
Per- soon nom- mer	Is persoon X tans op crèche, skool, aandskool, volwasse skoolopleiding, kollege of universiteit?	Kan persoon X lees en skryf?	Huidige graad/ standerd?	Wat is persoon X se hoogste standerd/graad/ tersiêre opleiding voltooi?	Hoekom woon persoon X nie meer skool by nie?
R is 1		1. Ja 2. Nee	0. Gr R 1. Gr 1/SubA 2. Gr2/SubB 3. Gr3/St1 4. Gr4/St2 5. Gr5/St3 6. Gr6/St4 7. Gr7/St5 8. Gr8/St6 9. Gr9/St7 10. Gr10/St8 11. Gr11/St9 12. Gr12/St10 13. Weet nie	0. Geen/ Gr R 1. Gr 1/SubA 2. Gr2/SubB 4. Gr4/St2 6. Gr6/St4 8. Gr8/St6 10. Gr10/St8 12. Gr12/St10 13. Diploma/ander naskools sonder matriek 14. Diploma met matriek 15. Graad met matriek 16. Skool vir leerders met spesiale behoeftes 17. Leerderskap (sonder matriek) 18. Leerderskap (met matriek) 19. Weet nie	1. Matriek voltooi 2. Nie genoeg geld nie, ook nie vir vervoer/verblyf 3. Moet gesinslede versorg/ ouers wil nie hé nie 4. Wil nie meer nie 5. Swangerskap/ouerskap 6. Werk tans 7. Geskors/ probleme by skool 8. Nie geskikte skool vir gestremde Ander, spesifiseer
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Werksgeskiedenis

	B25.	B26.	B27.	B28.	B29.	B30.
Per- soon- nom- mer	15 jaar + ouer	15jr + wat werk	15jr + wat werk (en wat voorheen gewerk het)	15jr + wat werk	15jr + wat werk	15 jaar of ouer, doen nie betaalde werk
	Het X tans 'n werk of doen X tans iets om geld te verdien? (ingesluit eie besigheid)	Indien ja, het X 'n: 1. gereelde betaalde werk vir een werkgever 2. gereelde betaalde werk vir verskeie werkgevers gedurende dieselfde maand 3. Seisoen werk 4. Tydelike werk/los werkies/"odd jobs" 5. werk vir haarself/ homself (bv. Huiswinkel/ "mobile") Ander, spesifiseer, asook kombinasies van bogenoemde	Wat is X se hoofberoep? Bv huiswerker, plaaswerker, onderwyser, tuinwerker, straatverkoper, huiswinkelwerker	In watter sektor? 1. Landbou 2. Bou/Konstruksie 3. Onderwys 4. Toerisme 5. Staat/Plaaslike owerheid/Polisie/ Gevangenis 6. Industrie (nie landbou) 7. Ander, spesifiseer, asook kombinasies van bg.	Wat verdien X gemiddeld per maand? (geld wat sy/hy uitkry) -1. Weet nie -2. Weier	As X nie tans betaalde werk doen nie, hoekom nie? 1. Het werk gekry, maar begin later 2. Fisies gestrem/benadeel/siekte 3. Pensioenaris / afgetree en verkies om nie te werk nie 4. Tuisteskepper en verkies om nie te werk nie 5. Skolier/student 6. Seisoenswerker (bv skeerder/vrugte ens) 7. Kontrakwerker bv mynwerker rus vlg kontrak 8. Het onafhanklike inkomste en hoof nie te werk nie 9. Dink dat sy/hy te oud/te jonk is 10. Kan geen werk kry nie 11. Kan nie geskikte werk kry nie (onvoldoende salaris, plek, toestande) Ander, spesifiseer
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Werklooses **Inkomste: Staatstoelaes**

	B31. Vir alle tydelike werkers (bv Seisoen- werk, los werkes)	B32. Almal	B33. Almal	B34. Almal	B35. Almal	B36. Almal
Per- soon- nom- mer <i>R is 1</i>	In watter maande het X gewerk vanaf Oktober 2010? 1. Oktober 2. November 3. Desember 4. Januarie 5. Februarie 6. Maart 7. April 8. Mei 9. Junie 10. Julie 11. Augustus 12. September 13. Weet nie	Ouderdoms- toelaag van staat af. (Oudstryders- toelaag ook) Dui die maandelikse bedrag aan vir elke persoon wat dit kry. Skryf in 0 vir ALMAL wat dit nie kry nie.	Ongeskikt- heidstoelaag van die staat af. Dui die maandelikse bedrag aan vir elke persoon wat dit kry. Skryf in 0 vir diegene wat dit nie kry nie.	Oppassers- toelaag (Grant in Aid) van die staat af. Dui die maandelikse bedrag aan vir elke persoon wat dit kry. Skryf in 0 vir diegene wat dit nie kry nie.	Sorgafhanklik- heidstoelaag (Care Dependency Grant) van die staat af. Dui die maandelikse bedrag aan teenoor die volwasse ontvanger. Skryf in 0 vir diegene wat dit nie kry nie.	Werkloosheids- versekering van staat af (UIF). Dui die maandelikse bedrag aan vir elke persoon wat dit kry. Skryf in 0 vir diegene wat dit nie kry nie.
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Inkomste: Staatstoelaes

	B37.	B38.	B39.	B40.	B41.
	Almal	Almal	Almal	Almal	Almal
Per-soon nom-mer <i>R is 1</i>	Kinderondersteunings-toelaag (Child Support Grant) van staat af. Dui die maandelikse bedrag aan teenoor volwassene wat dit kry. Skryf in 0 vir die wat dit nie kry nie.	Pleegsorg-toelaag van staat af. Dui die maandelikse bedrag aan vir volwassene wat dit kry. Skryf in 0 vir diegene wat dit nie kry nie.	Privaat onderhoud (Pa / ma / eks-man/vrou stuur geld vir kinders en/of eks-man/vrou). <i>(Veldwerker: werk uit die maandelikse bedrag)</i> Dui die maandelikse bedrag aan vir elke persoon (die kind) wat dit ontvang. Skryf in 0 vir diegene wat dit nie kry nie.	Gereelde betalings/geldelike bydraes (elke maand of elke tweede maand) van mense wat nie deel is van julle huishouding nie (bv. kind wat elders woon stuur elke maand 'n bedrag geld: uitgesluit privaat onderhoud). Dui die maandelikse bedrag aan vir elke persoon wat dit kry. Skryf in 0 vir diegene wat dit nie kry nie. <i>(Veldwerker: indien elke tweede maand, werk die maandelikse bedrag uit).</i>	Is hier enige iemand wat op gereelde basis ander goed (m.a.w. <u>NIE</u> geld nie, maar goed soos klere, kos, ens.) kry van mense wat nie deel is van julle huishouding nie? Dui aan vir elke persoon. 1. Ja, kos 2. Ja, klere 3. Ja, kos en klere 4. Ja, ander 5. Ja, kos klere & ander 6. Nee
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	B42.	B43.	B44.	B45.	B46.	B47.
	Almal	Almal	Almal	Almal	Die wat goedere gestuur het	Almal
Per- soon nom- mer	Behalwe vir al die inkomstes wat u reeds genoem het, is hier enige iemand wat nog 'n ander bron(ne) van inkomste het?	Is hier enige iemand wat op die oomblik 'n siekte en/of besering het? 1. Nee 2. Besering (bv. as gevolg van geweld, motorongeluk, geweskoot, aanranding, geslanery, ens.) 3. Asma 4. Epilepsie 5. Kanker 6. TB of ernstige hoest met bloederigheid 7. Depressie / ander "geestes" siekte 8. Diabetes 9. Hoë bloeddruk 10. MIV/VIGS 11. Ander seksueel oordraagbare siekte 12. Hartsiekte Ander siekte en/of besering, ingesluit kombinasies, spesifiseer	Is iemand van die huishouding gestremd? Dui aan tipe: 1. Visueel 2. Gehoor 3. Fisies 4. Intellektueel 5. Psigiatries	Het enige een van julle die afgelope 12 maande gereeld geld of goedere aan iemand buite julle huishouding gestuur? (bv. stuur geld, klere, ens. aan ander mense) 1. Ja, geld 2. Ja, geld en goedere 3. Ja, net goedere, nie geld nie 4. Nee 5. Weet nie	Aan wie het jy die goedere gestuur en wat het jy gestuur? Dui verband aan met enkele woorde (bv. Ma, tannie, suster, kind, vriend)	Het X 'n bank of spaarrekening (ingesluit 'n poskantoor spaarrekening)? 1. Ja 2. Nee 3. Weet nie
R is 1	Skrif neer die bron(ne) van inkomste en die totale maandelikse bedrag teenoor die persoon se nommer. <i>Veldwerker: hier moet jy "invra"/probe: bv. bak koek en verkoop dit, verkoop groente wat hulle uit groentetuin kry, maak sweetpakke, verkoop van kreef, vis ens. Indien 'n ongereelde bron van inkomste, vra die bedrag wat hulle verlede maand verdien het. Indien meer as een ander bron van inkomste, skryf almal neer teenoor die persoon se nommer.</i>					
	Bron	Totale bedrag			Verband	Bron
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	B48.		B49.		B50.		B51.	
	Almal	15 jaar of ouer	15 jaar of ouer	15 jaar of ouer	15 jaar of ouer	Almal		
Per- soon- nom- mer	Wie besluit watter tipes kos vir die huishouding gekoop word?	Wie is hoofsaaklik verantwoordelik vir die voorbereiding van kos in die huis?	Wie besluit hoeveel geld daar op kos gespandeer word?	Wie in die huishouding neem die belangrikste besluite oor hoe die HUISHOUDING se geld bestuur word?				
<i>R is 1</i>	Dui 0 aan vir diegene wat nie besluite oor besluite oor die tipes kos neem nie. Dui 1 aan vir die persoon wat alleen daarvoor besluit (niemand anders nie). Dui aan 2 as meer as een persoon saam besluit, teenoor elke persoon wat besluit. (Dit sal bv. onmoontlik wees om 1 teenoor 'n persoon te hê en 'n 2 teenoor 'n ander persoon se nommer).	Dui 0 aan vir diegene wat nie besluite oor die voorberei van kos neem nie. Dui 1 aan vir die persoon wat alleen daarvoor besluit (niemand anders nie). Dui aan 2 as meer as een persoon saam besluit, teenoor elke persoon wat besluit. (Dit sal bv. onmoontlik wees om 1 teenoor 'n persoon te hê en 'n 2 teenoor 'n ander persoon se nommer).	Dui 0 aan vir diegene wat besluite oor geld neem nie. Dui 1 aan vir die persoon wat alleen daarvoor besluit (niemand anders nie). Dui aan 2 as meer as een persoon saam besluit, teenoor elke persoon wat besluit. (Dit sal bv. onmoontlik wees om 1 teenoor 'n persoon te hê en 'n 2 teenoor 'n ander persoon se nommer).	Dui 0 aan vir diegene wat nie besluite oor besluite oor die tipes kos neem nie. Dui 1 aan vir die persoon wat alleen daarvoor besluit (niemand anders nie). Dui aan 2 as meer as een persoon saam besluit, teenoor elke persoon wat besluit. (Dit sal bv. onmoontlik wees om 1 teenoor 'n persoon te hê en 'n 2 teenoor 'n ander persoon se nommer).				
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Afdeling C: Finansiële Dinamika

C1. Koop julle ooit hampers/ "food packages"?

1. Nee
2. Ja, een keer elke week tot twee weke
3. Ja, een keer elke drie tot vier weke
4. Ja, een keer elke twee of meer maande

C2. Gebeur dit ooit dat daar nie genoeg geld is om krag te koop nie?

1. Ja
2. Nee (Gaan na vraag C4.)
3. Ons het nie krag nie (Gaan na vraag C4.)

C3. Hoe baie gebeur dit?

1. Selde (een of twee dae in die laaste vier weke)
2. Somtyds (drie tot tien dae in die laaste vier weke)
3. Dikwels (meer as tien dae in die laaste vier weke)

C4. Wat is die grootste uitgawe wat julle het? (bv. kos, klere, huur, huis goed)

A.

<p>C5. Is die huishouding agter met waterbetalings?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ja 2. Nee 3. weier/weet nie
<p>C6. Maak jou huishouding ooit skuld?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ja 2. Nee (Gaan na vraag C9) 3. Weier/weet nie (Gaan na vraag C9) <p>C7. Het jou huishouding sekere tye van die jaar meer skuld as ander tye?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ons het nooit skuld nie 2. Nee, altyd min of meer dieselfde 3. Weet nie <p>Ja, Spesifiseer wanneer:</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 40px; width: 100%;"></div>
<p>C8. Voel u dat enige iemand in die huis te veel geld uitgee op drank/'n dop of dwelms?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ja 2. Nee 3. Nie van toepassing – niemand drink alkohol/ drank of vat dwelms nie 4. Weier/wil nie sê nie/weet nie
<p>C9. Versamel / gaan haal een van julle hout uit die bos?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ja, amper elke dag 2. Ja, een keer 'n week of meer 3. Ja, een keer elke twee tot vier weke 4. Minder as een keer elke twee maande 5. Nee, koop hout 6. Nee

<p>C10. Kry julle soms kos deur vis te vang, te jag vir ystervarke, bokke (maw vleis uit die veld/rivier)?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ja, amper elke dag 2. Ja, een keer 'n week 3. Ja, een keer elke twee tot vier weke 4. Minder as een keer elke twee maande 5. Nee

<p>C11. Besit die huishouding enige ander huise (uitsluitende hierdie huis)? Veldwerker: maak seker dat dit nie reeds aangedui is nie</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ja 2. Nee (Gaan na vraag C14.) 	<p>C12. Hoeveel huise besit die huishouding (uitsluitende hierdie huis)? Slegs huise, moenie kaal of landbou grond sonder huise insluit nie</p> <p>Aantal _____</p>
<p>C13. Wat gebeur met hierdie ander huis(e)? (verwys hier na huis anders as die huis waarin hul tans bly)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Word verhuur 2. Mens woon gratis daarin 3. Staan leeg <p>Ander (spesifiseer): _____</p>	<p>C14. Besit die huishouding enige ander nie-beboude grond? Veldwerker: maak seker dat dit nie reeds aangedui is nie-</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ja 2. Nee (Gaan na vraag C17.)
<p>C15. Hoeveel stukke nie-beboude grond besit die huishouding?</p> <p>Aantal _____</p>	<p>C16. Wat gebeur met hierdie grond?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Word verhuur 2. Plant groente/vrugte/weiding vir vee 3. Laat vee daarop loop 4. Laat dit leeg staan <p>Ander (spesifiseer, insluitende kombinasies van bo): _____</p>

Watter van die volgende items het julle wat werk?			
C17.	Wasmasjien	1. Ja	2. Nee
C18.	Elektriese oond/stoof	1. Ja	2. Nee
C19.	Radio / hi-fi	1. Ja	2. Nee
C20.	TV	1. Ja	2. Nee
C21.	Yskas	1. Ja	2. Nee
C22.	Telefoon (landlyn)	1. Ja	2. Nee
C23.	Selfoon	1. Ja	2. Nee
C24.	Naaldwerkmasjien	1. Ja	2. Nee
C25.	Fiets	1. Ja	2. Nee
C26.	Motor/Bakkie/Trekker/ motorfiets	1. Ja	2. Nee

Afdeling D: Voedselsekuriteit

D1.	Vanaf Oktober 2010, het jou huishouding ooit nie genoeg kos gehad om te eet nie?	
1. Ja		
2. Nee (Gaan na Vraag D4)		
3. Weier/weet nie (Gaan na Vraag D4)		
D2.	In watter maande vanaf Oktober laas jaar het jou huishouding nie genoeg kos gehad om te eet nie? Merk per maand	
1. Oktober	8. Mei	
2. November	9. Junie	
3. Desember	10. Julie	
4. Januarie	11. Augustus	
5. Februarie	12. September	
6. Maart	13. Weet nie	
7. April		
D3.	In hierdie maande, hoekom het julle nie genoeg kos gehad om tee et nie? Merk een of meer opsies van toepassing	
1. Het nie werk gehad nie/genoeg werk gehad		
2. Moes skuld betaal		
3. Het nie uitgekom met geld nie		
4. Weier/weet nie		
Ander, Spesifiseer		

D4. Vanaf Oktober 2010, was jy ooit bekommerd dat jou huishouding nie genoeg gaan hê om te eet nie? 0. Nee (Gaan na D5) → 1. Onseker/weier (gaan na D5) → 2. Ja ↓	D5. Vanaf Oktober 2010, moes jy of enige ander lede van die huishouding 'n kleiner maaltyd eet as wat jy gevoel het jynodig het, omdat daar nie genoeg kos was nie? 0. Nee (Gaan na D8) → 1. Onseker/weier (gaan na D8) → 2. Ja ↓	D6. Vanaf Oktober 2010, moes jy of enige ander lede van die huishouding minder maaltye per dag eet omdat daar nie genoeg kos was nie? 0. Nee (Gaan na D9) → 1. Onseker/weier (gaan na D9) → 2. Ja ↓
D4A.	D5A.	D6A.
Hoe dikwels het dit gebeur? 1. Nie baie nie: Een of twee keer in die laaste jaar 2. Soms: Drie of vier keer in die laaste jaar 3. Dikwels: Elke maand of twee maande	Hoe dikwels het dit gebeur? 1. Nie baie nie: Een of twee keer in die laaste jaar 2. Soms: Drie of vier keer in die laaste jaar 3. Dikwels: Elke maand of twee maande	Hoe dikwels het dit gebeur? 1. Nie baie nie: Een of twee keer in die laaste jaar 2. Soms: Drie of vier keer in die laaste jaar 3. Dikwels: Elke maand of twee maande
D7.	D8.	D9.
Vanaf Oktober 2010, was daar ooit geen kos van enige aard om te eet in die huishouding nie, as gevolg van 'n tekort aan geld? 0. Nee (Gaan na D10) → 1. Onseker/weier (gaan na D10) → 2. Ja ↓	Vanaf Oktober 2010, moes jy of enige ander lede van die huishouding honger gaan slaap omdat daar nie genoeg kos was om te eet nie? 0. Nee (Gaan na D11) → 1. Onseker/weier (gaan na D11) → 2. Ja ↓	Vanaf Oktober 2010, moes jy of enige ander lede van die huishouding 'n hele dag en nag sonder kos bly omdat daar nie genoeg kos was nie? 0. Nee (Gaan na D12) → 1. Onseker/weier (gaan na D12) → 2. Ja ↓
D7A.	D8A.	D9A.
Hoe dikwels het dit gebeur? 1. Nie baie nie: Een of twee keer in die laaste jaar 2. Soms: Drie of vier keer in die laaste jaar 3. Dikwels: Elke maand of twee maande	Hoe dikwels het dit gebeur? 1. Nie baie nie: Een of twee keer in die laaste jaar 2. Soms: Drie of vier keer in die laaste jaar 3. Dikwels: Elke maand of twee maande	Hoe dikwels het dit gebeur? 1. Nie baie nie: Een of twee keer in die laaste jaar 2. Soms: Drie of vier keer in die laaste jaar 3. Dikwels: Elke maand of twee maande

As Respondent la gesê het vir enige van die bogenoemde vrae.				
Toe jy of die ander lede van jou huishouding nie genoeg gehad het om te eet nie, hoe dikwels het enige van julle:				
D10.	D11.	D12.	D13.	
Kos geleen, of geld geleen om kos te koop?	Kos op die boek/ skuld gekoop?	Afhanklik gewees van hulp van familie of vriende buite die huishouding vir kos?	Dinge moes verkoop om kos te koop?	
0. Nooit 1. Een of twee keer in die laaste jaar 2. Drie of vier keer in die laaste jaar 3. Eenkeer elke twee maande 4. Elke maand	0. Nooit 1. Een of twee keer in die laaste jaar 2. Drie of vier keer in die laaste jaar 3. Eenkeer elke twee maande 4. Elke maand	0. Nooit 1. Een of twee keer in die laaste jaar 2. Drie of vier keer in die laaste jaar 3. Eenkeer elke twee maande 4. Elke maand	0. Nooit 1. Een of twee keer in die laaste jaar 2. Drie of vier keer in die laaste jaar 3. Eenkeer elke twee maande 4. Elke maand	

D14.	As julle dalk soms sukkel om met julle geld uit te kom, wie is die eerste persoon of organisasie na wie julle toe gaan vir hulp?
0. Nie van toepassing – kom altyd uit met ons geld 1. Familie (buite huishouding) 2. Bure, vriende of ander nie-familie lede van Suurbraak 3. Kerk of ander geloofsgebaseerde organisasie 4. Gemeenskapsgebaseerde organisasie / Nie-regeringsorganisasie 5. Departement van Maatskaplike Dienste en Armoedeverligting 6. Koop kos op skuld by winkel (koop op die boek) 7. Maak 'n lening Ander, spesifiseer (insluitende kombinasies van bg.) _____	

Afdeling E: Boerdery

E1.	Besit enige iemand in hierdie huishousing lewende hawe (bv. hoenders, beeste, skape)?
1. Ja 2. Nee (Gaan na vraag E9.)	

Indien julle hier diere/vee het, watter soort en hoeveel het julle? Slag julle van hierdie diere? Verkoop julle van die vleis en produkte soos eiers?				
Type diere	A. Aantal	B. Hoe gereeld slag julle? 0. Nooit 1. Maandeliks 2. Paar keer in jaar 3. Een keer per jaar of minder	C. Verkoop julle van die vleis/diere/produkte? 1. Ja 2. Nee	D. As jy nog nie dit genoem het nie, hoeveel geld maak jy elke jaar met die verkoop van X?
E2. Skape				R
E3. Bokke				R
E4. Varke				R
E5. Beeste/koeie				R
E6. Perde/donkies		X	X	X
E7. Hoenders				R
E8. Ander pluimvee				R

E9. Bewerk enige van julle grond (insluitent groente tuine by die huis)? (bv. groente, weiding vir vee, of saai boedery)? (Indien nee, gaan na Afdeling F)
1. Ja, groentetuin by die huis 2. Ja, op 'n ander stukkie grond 3. Ja, Groente tuin en op 'n ander stukkie grond 4. Nee (Gaan na vraag afdeling F)

Type grond werk	A. Plant julle X? 1. Ja 2. Nee	B. Plant julle X elke jaar? 1. Ja 2. Nee	C. Verkoop julle X? 1. Ja 2. Nee	D. As jy nog nie dit genoem het nie, Hoeveel geld maak jy elke jaar met die verkoop van X?
E10. Groente/vrugte				R

E11. Saaiboedery bv. graan/koring					R
E12. Weiding vir vee bv. Haver/koring/lusern/gars					R

E13. Wie bewerk die grond? Merk al die opsies wat van toepassing is

1. Ek (respondent)
 2. My vrou
 3. My man
 4. My ouer(s)
 5. My kind(ers)
 6. My kleinkinders
- Ander (spesifiseer) _____

E14. Op wie se grond plant jy?

1. Ons (lede van huishouding) eie grond
2. Op ander familie grond
3. Op iemand anders (nie familie) se grond
4. Op my eie/familie en iemand anders se grond

E15. Ruil jy ooit jou produkte wat jy van die grond af kry met ander mense se produkte?

1. Ja, elke keer as ek oes
 2. Ja, somtyds
 3. Nee
- Ander, Spesifiseer _____

E16. Hoe belangrik is die kweek van jou eie groente om genoeg kos op die tafel te sit elke maand?

1. Baie belangrik
2. Belangrik
3. Nie so belangrik nie
4. Glad nie belangrik nie

AFDELING F: SOSIALE KAPITAAL EN SOSIALE KOHESIE

F1.	Sê asseblief of jy met die volgende saamstem of verskil. Sê of jy sterk saamstem, saamstem, nie heeltemal saamstem nie, glad nie saamstem nie	1. Stem Sterksaam 2. Stemsam 3. Stem nie heeltemal saam nie 4. Stem glad nie saam nie 5. Weet nie
A.	Die meeste mense in Suurbraak is gewillig om te help wanneer 'n mens hulp nodig het.	
B.	As 'n mens nie genoeg kos het in Suurbraak om te eet nie, mense is gewillig om te hulp	
C.	Die mense hier trek 'n mens af as jy vooruit wil gaan.	
D.	Ek is verantwoordelik vir hoe my lewe uitdraai.	
F2.	Sal jy graag enige iets in jou lewe wil verander?	
	1. Ja 2. Nee (gaan na vraag F4) 3. Ek weet nie (gaan na vraag F4)	
F3.	Watter ding sal jy die graagste wil verander?	
	A.	
F4.	Indien daar byvoorbeeld 'n probleem met water in Suurbraak sou wees, wat is die kans dat mense sal saamwerk om die probleem te help oplos? Sou jy sê definitief, tot 'n mate, nie somer nie, glad nie?	1. Definitief 2. Tot 'n mate 3. Nie somer nie 4. Glad nie
F5.	As 'n Suurbraaker 'n besigheid begin, dink jy die gemeenskap sal die besigheid ondersteun?	1. Definitief 2. Tot 'n mate 3. Nie somer nie 4. Glad nie
F6.	Oor die algemeen, hoe gelukkig sou jy sê is jy?	1. Baie gelukkig 2. Tot 'n mate gelukkig 3. Tussen in 4. Tot 'n mate ongelukkig 5. Baie ongelukkig
F7.	Dit is dikwels moeilik vir mense om te gaan stem. Het jy in die laaste verkiesing gestem?	1. Ja 2. Nee 3. Ek kan nie onthou nie

F8. Voel jy dat jy die mag het om belangrike besluite te maak wat jou lewe kan verander? Sê asb of dit:

1. Totaal en al onmoontlik
2. Meestal onmoontlik
3. Soms, soms nie/tussen in
4. Meestal in staat
5. Heeltemal in staat

AFDELING G: ENKEL MOEDERSKAP

G1: Verbeel jou, jy het 'n dogter wat 20 jaar oud is. Sy kom nou by die huis aan en vertel vir jou dat sy verwag en besluit het om die kind te hou. Sy is nie getroud nie en woon ook nie saam met 'n maat nie. Hoe sal jy voel? Sê of jy baie bly sal wees, nogals goed sal voel, sleg sal voel, baie sleg sal voel en of dit nie regtig vir jou sal saak maak nie.

1. Ek sal baie bly wees
2. Ek sal nogals goed voel
3. Dit sal nie regtig vir my saak maak nie
4. Ek sal sleg voel
5. Ek sal baie sleg voel
6. Ek weet nie hoe ek sal voel nie/ weier

Dit hang af. Spesifiseer: _____

G2: Ek gaan vir jou 'n storie vertel en dan moet jy asseblief vir my vertel hoe jy dinge sou oorweeg het as jy nou die persoon was.

Monique is 'n 25-jarige vrou. Sy het pas gehoor sy verwag Japie (30 jaar) se kind. Monique gaan die kind hou. Sy en Japie bly nie saam nie. Sy bly by haar ouers en Japie by sy suster. Beide van hulle doen seisoenswerk op plase. Hulle moet nou besluit of hulle saam wil woon of nie. Hoe belangrik dink jy moet die volgende oorwegings vir Monique en Japie wees in hulle besluit om saam te woon? As jy (die respondent) 'n vrou is, hoe belangrike dink jy moet die oorwegings vir Monique wees. En as jy (die respondent) 'n man is, hoe belangrike dink jy moet die oorwegings vir Japie wees?

Sê asb of dit glad nie belangrik is nie, nie belangrik is nie, belangrik is of baie belangrik is.

	Glad nie belangrik nie	Nie belangrik nie	Belangrik	Baie belangrik	Weet nie
A. Ons moet ons eie huis hê.					
B. My maat moet 'n werk hê.					
C. My maat moet redelik baie geld hê om gerieflik na my en my kinders te kyk.					
D. Die maat moet bekeer wees.					
E. Ek en die maat moet lief wees vir mekaar.					
F. Ons moet mekaar goed ken.					
G. Die maat moet nie van Suurbraak wees nie.					
H. Die maat moet my mooi help by die huis.					
I. Enige ander oorwegings wat jy dink hulle belangrik behoort te vind?					

G3: Sê asseblief hoe sterk jy saamstem of verskil met die volgende stellings:

	Stem glad nie saam nie	Stem nie regtig saam nie	Stem nogal saam	Stem ten volle saam	Weet nie
A. In die huise wat ek ken, is kinders beter af as die ma en pa saam bly as waar die pa afwesig is.					
B. 'n Mens het nie albei ouers nodig om kinders groot te maak nie, om familie te hê wat saam met jou bly is genoeg.					
C. Enkel ma's is baie keer beter ouers aswat beide ouers daar is					

Baie dankie vir u tyd en waardevolle bydrae tot die studie. Hierdie gegewens gaan nou verwerk word om 'n profiel van Suurbraak saam te stel. Dit sal min of meer 4 maande duur om die verslag gereed te kry. Nogmaals dankie, en onthou u naam sal nêrens

VELDWERKER EVALUASIE

- Ek verklaar hiermee dat ek al die vrae in die vraelys gevra het soos dit hier uiteengesit is en soos ek opgelei is om te doen.
- Die vraelys is ten volle deur my nagegaan.

Naam en van	
Datum	
Handtekening	

Antwoord asb. die volgende vrae:

In watter taal(e) is die onderhoud gedoen?	1. Afrikaans 2. Engels 3. Xhosa 4. Xhosa & Engels Ander, spesifiseer
Het die respondent die vrae in die vraelys verstaan?	1. Ja, altyd 2. Ja, meeste van die tyd 3. Nee

KWALITEITSKONTROLE:

Enige ander opmerkings oor spesifieke vrae of die kwaliteit van die data wat ingesamel is?

APPENDIX C – INFORMED CONSENT



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CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Kinders en trou: 'n Verkenning van Enkelskap van Ma's van Suurbraak.

Goeie dag. My naam is Collette Varney. Ek doen tans navorsing om te kwalifiseer vir 'n meesters graad in Sosiologie by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. Vir my tesis doen ek navorsing om beter te verstaan hoe enkel ma's in Suurbraak woonreëlings oorweeg, saam met wie enkel ma's woon en hoekom, sowel as die persepsies wat enkel ma's hou oor alternatiewe reëlings.

Indien jy sou instem om deel te neem aan die studie, sal ek 'n onderhoud met jou voer waarin ek jou sal vra om verskeie aspekte van jou lewensreëlings, soos by wie jy tans woon, hoe jy daarvoor voel en wat jou oorwegings was om hier te woon, te bespreek. Ek sal vir jou vrae vra en indien jy gemaklik voel om dit te beantwoord, kan jy jou antwoorde aan my gee.

Sommige vrae mag dalk vir jou ongemaklik wees om te antwoord of daar mag dalk onderwerpe wees waaroor jy nie wil praat nie. In daardie geval hoef jy glad nie die vrae te beantwoord nie. Moet dus glad nie geforseer voel om enige vrae te beantwoord, of selfs enigsins deel te neem aan die studie, indien jy nie gemaklik voel daarmee nie.

Deur egter wel deel te neem aan die studie stel jy vir my in staat om 'n stem vir die enkel ma's van Suurbraak te wees en 'n verslag saam te stel waarbinne die lewensreëlings van enkel ma's van Suurbraak beter verstaan kan word. Dit kan potensieel deur amptelike organisasies gebruik word om beleide te beïnvloed.

Deelname aan die studie is egter vrywillig, en geen betaling sal voorsien word aan deelnemers nie. Ek kan ook nie belowe dat jy enige voordeel sal trek uit deelname uit nie.

Ek kan jou egter verseker dat enige iets wat jy vir my sê heeltemal konfidensieel is. Niks wat jy dus vir my sê mag ek vir enige iemand anders vertel nie. Wanneer ek my verslag skryf, sal daar ook geen name genoem word nie. Ek sal dus die verslag so skryf dat niemand jou sal kan identifiseer nie. Dus sal niemand enigstens kan weet wat jy vir my gesê het nie, en mag ek ook nie aan enigiemand vertel wat jy vir my sê nie. Indien jy egter sou wou hê dat ek wel jou naam gebruik wanneer ek my verslag skryf, mag jy dit ook so aan my stel.

Jy is heeltemal vry om te kies of jy aan die studie sou wou deelneem. Indien jy instem, kan jy steeds enige tyd onttrek vir watter rede ookal. Jy is in geen manier geforseer om deel te neem nie. Die gesprek sal so om en by 'n uur na 'n uur en 'n half neem. Indien jy nie nou tyd het nie en wel bereid sal wees om deel te neem aan die studie, kan ons gerus 'n afspraak maak vir 'n tyd wat jy wel beskikbaar is.

Indien jy enige vrae of bekommernisse het oor die navorsing voel vry om die volgende mense te skakel: Collette Varney by 072 170 1900; of my studieleiers Jan Vorster by 021 808 2420; of prof . A.S. Kritzinger by 021 808 2420.

Indien jy enige vrae het oor jou regte as 'n navorsings subjek, kontak asseblief vir Me. Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] by die Afdeling vir Navorsingsontwikkeling.

Die inligting hierbo was aan my, _____ (naam van respondent) beskryf deur Collette Varney in Afrikaansen ek, respondent, is taalvaardig in hierdie taal, of dit was aan my vertaal sodat ek dit verstaan. Ek, die respondent, was die geleentheid gegee om vrae te vra en die vrae was bevredigend beantwoord.

Ek gee hiermee inwilliging vrywilliglik om deel te neem in die onderhoud. Ek is 'n kopie van die vorm gegee.

Naam van Respondent

Handtekening van Respondent

Ek verklaar dat ek die inligting in hierdie dokument aan _____ [naam van respondent] verduidelik het. Hy/sy was aangemoedig en genoeg tyd gegee om my enige vrae te vra.

Handtekening van navorser

Datum