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# Causes of (Un)Employment Among Young Mothers in Doornkop

## A Fuzzy-Set Analysis



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## List of abbreviations

CA	Capability Approach
CSDA	Centre for Social Development in Africa
CSG	Child Support Grant
FET	Further Education and Training
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SSA	Statistics South Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UJ	University of Johannesburg
ZAR	South Africa Rand

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

South Africa has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world. In 2013, the overall unemployment rate was 24.7 per cent (Statistics South Africa [SSA], 2013). Young<sup>1</sup> black mothers have a higher probability of being unemployed (SSA, 2013) and townships make no exception to this trend (Patel et al, 2012).

### *1.1 Unemployment trends*

Young people in general face a disadvantageous position in the labour market since work experience becomes increasingly important in South Africa (Dias & Posel, 2007). In 2013, the young population had an unemployment rate of 34.8 per cent compared to 14.9 per cent for the adult population (SSA, 2013). There are also racial differences in employment rates (Amoateng & Richter, 2003; Mkhize, 2006). The unemployment rate among black people was 28.2 per cent compared to 8.6 per cent among the white population in Gauteng in 2013 (SSA, 2013). White women generally earn more and are less likely to be unemployed than black women (Casale, 2004). But unemployment in South Africa also differs by gender, as the majority of the black unemployed people are young females (SSA, 2013). Additionally, the larger part of South African women attends low-skilled, low-paid and elementary jobs compared to men (Van der Westhuizen et al, 2007). Furthermore, being a mother is negatively correlated with employment (Van der Stoep, 2008). Therefore, being young, black and female in South Africa results in having an unfavourable position on the labour market. This statement is being supported by Sowden (2013), who found that young black mothers are likely to have low educational achievements and to be unemployed. Also Van der Westhuizen (2007) found that unemployment is highest among young black African women in South Africa, as 72.2 per cent of the black females aged between 15 and 24 was unemployed in 2005.

It is complex to compare (un)employment rates in different regions of Johannesburg, because employment is often not registered, as many people are informally employed (SSA, 2013). It is especially difficult to measure the (un)employment rate in townships as people are not always registered. In 2008, approximately 26 per cent of Soweto's inhabitants were informally employed, i.e. involved in non-registered small businesses or selling food or other supplies on the streets, compared to 23.3 per cent formally employed (Zeilig & Ceruti, 2008). However, in comparison to national levels, the unemployment rate is high in South African townships (Soskolne, 2003).

Because unemployment is common among young black mothers in South Africa and especially in a township setting (Patel et al, 2012), the focus of this study is on (un)employment among young mothers who live in a township. Doornkop was chosen as research field as it is one of the poorest wards in the city of Johannesburg with high levels of unemployment, which makes it

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<sup>1</sup> 'Young' refers to the age of 14 until 35 years old (National Youth Policy, 2008).

suitable to investigate factors that contribute to (un)employment (Patel et al, 2013). There is also a relatively large number of Child Support Grant (CSG)-beneficiaries in Doornkop (Patel et al, 2013), which indicates that there is a high number of unemployed or low-earning mothers as one of the requirements of receiving CSG is that the beneficiary earns below ZAR 2900 (South Africa Government Services, 2014).

Unemployment is problematic for young mothers in Doornkop, as they are often the main responsible person for a household with multiple children in need of care, living in a 'shack' or small house, with no co-parenting father (Patel et al, 2012). Living with relatives can give working opportunities for women as they can help with childcare (Van der Stoep, 2008), but it is unknown to what extent that occurs. Also, the CSG is mostly insufficient for the actual family structures of most female-headed households in Doornkop (Patel et al, 2012) and receiving a CSG does not have to exclude them from poverty (Wilson, 2006). Chant (2008) argues that women are more likely to be poor, as their position is disadvantageous because of their care tasks and discrimination on the labour market. Being employed gives mothers more satisfaction and physical well-being (Van Egeren & Barratt, 2003), while unemployment can cause family conflict and a higher probability of crime involvement (Caspi et al, 1998).

### *1.2 Contextual background*

Among other reasons, high unemployment rates in South Africa are related with differences in educational backgrounds (Amoateng & Richter, 2003). This can partly be explained by apartheid history, where high quality schools were free for white people while excluding other races from free high quality education (Bantu Education Act, 1953; Badsha & Harper, 2000). Although apartheid has been abolished since 1994, inequalities in the educational system remain as previous privileged generations, mostly white, are able to provide resources to educate their children (Graham, 2012). Therefore, a polarization between racial categories is maintained (Dastile, 2010). The White Paper on Education illustrates this:

When all South Africans won equal citizenship, their past was not erased. The complex legacies, good as well as bad, live on in the present. (Department of Education, 1995, p. 12)

Currently, there is a 'two tier' system where the poorest people can apply for fee exemptions at 'no fee'- primary and secondary schools (Branson, Lam & Zuze, 2012). Applicants are often black and coloured people (Spaull, 2013). These schools have a high pupil/teacher-ratio and knowledge of the average teacher is relatively low, which affects the quality of these schools. Rich pupils can benefit from the 'quality schools' where children receive better education, which increases their chances on the labour market (Spaull, 2013). Being poorly educated is becoming more problematic in South

Africa, as the South African economy is increasingly demanding high-skilled labour (Dias & Posel, 2007; Pauw et al, 2008).

The focus of this study lies on (un)employment among young black African mothers in Doornkop, which is an area in township Soweto that is situated in Gauteng. Doornkop is situated in the tenth most deprived (Patel et al, 2013), from all 109 wards in Johannesburg (De Wet et al, 2008). It is difficult to achieve a desired career when living in Doornkop: a township of about seven square kilometres with approximately 80.000 inhabitants (Social Innovations Centre, 2014). Informal interviews point out that working opportunities for mothers living in this area are often limited to non-registered low-yielding craft-work (2014). Women in Doornkop are likely to have three children or more (Patel et al, 2012), which makes it difficult to combine work and care (Agüero & Marks, 2008).

### *1.3 Significance of the study*

This study intends to explain (un)employment in relation to individual factors among young African mothers in Doornkop, from their own perspective. Maternal labour market participation is a widely discussed topic in Western literature on gender. However, there is limited literature on maternal labour market participation in developing countries. There is descriptive literature on the extent to which females in South Africa take part in the labour market (Van der Westhuizen et al, 2007; SSA, 2013), but little attention has been paid to an explanation for the poor labour market participation of black mothers. The explanation is often macro-oriented, such as lack of policies to encourage maternal labour market participation (Smit, 2011) or national labour market demands (Mandel & Semyonov, 2006). There are no in-depth studies on unemployment which take factors into account that are present specifically among women who live in a township-settlement when explaining unemployment. Their voices must be heard as they are the most appropriate persons to explain their experiences about being (un)employed.

Research on this subject is necessary because women in Doornkop are often the head of the household (Patel et al, 2012), which means that their unemployment affects the entire family. Also, children who grow up in poor households are likely to pass on poverty and disadvantaged social positions (Chant, 2006). More insight on this subject could support policymakers in developing a maternal employment strategy in townships that fits with the perspective of the target group and could also contribute to further research about maternal employment in other townships.

This study has an interdisciplinary approach, based on the assumption that unemployment is not only related to policy settings around labour market participation, but that it is also linked with personal circumstances and culture. This study therefore combines social and cultural orientations and also involves policy relating to maternal employment in townships.

#### *1.4 Overview*

This study will first review factors that influence maternal labour market participation. After that, the central research question will be discussed. This will be followed by the methodological section, where relevant concepts and research methods shall be explained. Then, the results based on quantitative and qualitative analysis will be discussed in relation to the theoretical framework. This thesis will end with a conclusion and recommendations.

## **2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter discusses possible causal factors for unemployment among young black South African mothers, living in a township. The factors, clustered in three categories, are not specifically targeted at young black African mothers living in Doornkop, but are certainly present among them.

### *2.1 Resources*

Amartya Sen, economist and philosopher awarded with the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences, conceptualizes ‘well-being’ in terms of capabilities, resources and functionings. He argues that income is not a suitable way to measure well-being, but that well-being is determined by what people are able to do. Sen’s theory states that people’s freedoms depend on their capabilities, which is about what a person is able to achieve, such as being in good health or having access to relationships with others (Sen, 1987). Sen distinguishes resources from capabilities, where resources can serve as means for capabilities to achieve certain functionings (Nussbaum & Sen, 1993). Functionings are activities that people can accomplish, such as labour market participation (Sen, 1987). Sen’s notion is that people’s achievements are not determined by resources, but that capabilities to use resources also influence achievements (Nussbaum & Sen, 1993). However, resources do make an important contribution to people’s well-being (Robeyns, 2003).

Scholars use the capability approach (CA) to both micro- and macro studies. The focus of studies using the CA differ, as the emphasis can be on ‘functionings’, or purely on ‘capabilities’ (Robeyns, 2006). Nussbaum and Sen (1993) argue that resources play an important role in the achievement on functionings. Sen’s CA is important for this study, as it has the potential to partly explain the achievement of employment. This is because participating on the labour market is an example of the concept ‘functionings’, and functionings are achieved by resources and capabilities. Education enables achieving certain functionings such as employment. Schools can be seen as resources that give people the capability to read and write, which can give the opportunity to function as an employee. Also the provision of public or private childcare can be seen as resources, as these are social arrangements that increase certain opportunities (Sen, 1999), such as employment.

Robeyns (2003) explains that the CA can be considered as a ‘framework of thought’, thus not a concrete theory that gives complete answers to all questions about, for example poverty and

(un)employment. There is not a certain list that predefines capabilities and resources (Sen, 2004). She argues that the use of the CA requires the use of additional literature, because it does not include concrete contextual factors. Therefore other literature will now be discussed to describe the resources 'education' and 'formal childcare', concentrated on South Africa.

#### *A: Education*

King and Hill (1997) found that female education was relatively low in poor developing countries. They also found that female attainment in tertiary education in Sub-Saharan Africa is low for girls compared to boys. This trend is changing in South Africa, as the educational attainment of women is growing since 1995, just as the female labour market participation, although they are over-representing the low-paid elementary sector (Van der Westhuizen et al, 2007)

Van Bercum (2013) found that there is a lack of public investment to encourage young people to attend higher education in South Africa, such as money for transport or internet and information nearby colleges and universities (Van Bercum, 2013). This eventually decreases their chances to enter the labour market as higher education is often too far from home to walk when living in a township (Letsaolo, 1999).

It is generally accepted that education increases job opportunities, especially in South Africa (Van der Westhuizen et al, 2007). Caspi et al (1998) looked at individual factors that could predict unemployment during the adolescent years. They focused on three types of capital: human-, social- and personal capital. They found that education improves labour market opportunities, as educated children generally had improved reading and language skills. Low-paid unskilled jobs are often fulfilled by people with low reading and language skills (Caspi et al, 1998).

However, Glewwe (2002) argues that cognitive skills have a more significant impact on employment than education, although it is plausible that people with high cognitive skills are more likely to attain many years of education. Buchmann and Hannum (2001) also argue that educational attainment does not always determine labour market participation. They refer to studies in Taiwan and Korea, where it was found that female education increased female employment in Taiwan, while this phenomenon did not occur in Korea. This variation is due to different labour market conditions, such as whether the male labour market supply is adequate enough (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001). Another macro-level determinant of labour market opportunities is social policy. Before 1994, South Africa used the education system to maintain racial inequalities (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001). Parents from black Africans are therefore often unable to provide resources for their children to attend school because the state did not allow them to build up educational capital during apartheid (Letsaolo, 1999), which decreased their chances on the labour market. People with poor parents are more likely to maintain intergenerational poverty and low school attainment. Educational attainment is dependent on the socio-economic status of family members. Hence, education decisions depend on family circumstances (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001).

Yet, studies have found that especially poor people in developing countries benefit from the opportunity to follow education, as it increases their employment opportunities above average (King & Hill, 1997). Also, because South Africa's labour market is increasingly demanding high-skilled labour, education is important for employment outcomes:

The South African economy's increasing demand for highly skilled labour, the continued mechanisation of its manufacturing sector and pursuit of global competitiveness means that lower skilled workers and those with poor education will continue to battle to find employment and as a result will have proportionally larger shares in unemployment (Van der Westhuizen et al, 2007, p. 24).

Van der Westhuizen et al. (2007) argue that young uneducated women are the most vulnerable participants on the South African labour market (Van der Westhuizen et al, 2007).

#### *B: Formal childcare*

Childcare is not only used to increase children's health and development, but it is also an important instrument to increase maternal labour market participation, as having children is expected to affect women's choices to work (Gornick et al, 1997; Kamerman, 2007). The provision of subsidized formal childcare is scarce in South Africa (Goldblatt, 2005). The state of South Africa considers the mother as the main responsible person for childcare and thus it assumes that women carry out this unpaid work. In SADC countries, childcare is mostly arranged by private organizations and non-governmental organisations (NGO's), that are often situated in urban areas. Therefore, people living in poor and rural areas experience difficulties in accessing childcare (Smit, 2011). Kamerman (2007) also states that childcare programs in Africa are largely private and early childcare is mostly seen as a luxury. Africa lags far behind compared to Europe, where most countries have a relatively large public provision of childcare (Kamerman, 2007). It is found that in industrialized countries, welfare states with high expenditures on public childcare increase female labour market participation (Mandel & Semyonov, 2006).

Childcare provision can be seen as a form of citizenship right (Goldblatt, 2005). South African women often cannot access this right due to financial constraints, which limits their capacities to work. Childcare in South Africa is destined for those with sufficient income, while many women are unemployed or working in low-paid irregular jobs (Casale, 2004). Del Boca and Vuri (2007) explain that a higher proportion of women would work if childcare was free and that decreased childcare costs increase the probability of maternal – part-time – employment. Increasing costs of childcare decreases the net wage of a woman, which possibly affects women's decision on labour market participation, as they could choose to stay at home to prevent childcare costs (Del Boca & Vuri, 2007). Del Boca and Vuri (2007) also found that in Italy, known for poor pre-primary school facilities for children under

three years old, similar to South Africa, mother's decisions to work are determined by childcare costs. Early childcare-enrolment rates in Italy are estimated at 6 per cent, whereas this is 95 per cent for children above three years old.

Smit (2011) argues that the high costs of private childcare and the absence of a publicly subsidized childcare scheme hinders parents to reconcile work and family. The reason why there is meagre attention to this subject is because there are other priorities such as health care, HIV/AIDS, housing and CSG (Smith, 2011). Also Kamerman (2007) argues that investments in childcare are often not seen as important as it is seen as a primary responsibility of the family and the community.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), where South Africa is a member of since 1994, already stated in 1939 that there was an increased need for childcare facilities, recognizing the growing amount of female labour market participation (Kamerman, 2007). The memo advocates for programs that cover a full working day which are free or subsidized (Kamerman, 2007). By its membership South Africa shows that it is willing to incorporate such recommendations, although it is not clear how South Africa has expressed this in policy. In 2008, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) prescribed that member states should create policies that enable men and women to reconcile work and family life, although there are no concrete guidelines how these countries should pursue that and there is no control over compliance with this objective (Smit, 2011).

## *2.2 Social support*

Sen's (1987) notion is that people's achievements are not only reflections of their resources. He argues that people differ in their ability to convert resources into capabilities and that this also depends on social and environmental factors (Robeyns, 2003). Therefore this paragraph discusses social factors that could influence labour market participation among young mothers.

### *A: Informal childcare*

Support from family and friends can also support female labour market participation (Wheelock & Jones, 2002). If the costs of formal childcare are high, the use of childcare provided by family or other household members is likely to increase (Lokshin, 2000). But informal childcare does not only occur because of economic considerations; people often want to keep their family members involved (Wheelock & Jones, 2002). Informal care must be considered as an important factor that enables work, which sometimes is preferred over formal care (Lewis & Giullari, 2005).

American studies found that African American families tend to have 'fictive kin networks', which means that they have strong relationships with other persons who are seen as relatives, but do not have any blood relations. Anglo Americans were less likely to have such connections (Schmeeckle & Sprecher, 2003). Schmeeckle and Sprecher (2003) argue that these fictive kin and also family members can provide support or assistance such as babysitting (Schmeeckle & Sprecher, 2003).

In South Africa, there is a long tradition of living with extended family members and although South Africa's social policy was largely based on a male breadwinner model (Patel & Hochfeld, 2011), women in Africa have a history of working as one income is often not sufficient to maintain a household (Seidman, 1993). Arpino et al (2010) argue that informal care by other relatives is common in countries where the provision of public childcare is meagre or where prices are high. They found evidence that informal care provided by grandparents affects maternal employment positively. Since public child care provision in South Africa is limited and privileged to women with a relatively high income (Casale, 2004), informal childcare could be an alternative to increase employment opportunities in this context. It is argued that in South Africa, care provided by family members is common:

Extended family is very important, because it is the catch-net of the urban poor. They give assistance without costs. They were the first support supplier in case of need (Posel & Devey, 2006, p. 41).

However, Posel and Devey (2006) recognize that extended family tiers have changed due to migrant labour patterns, as many family members in townships are living apart to find job opportunities in urban areas. Van Bercum (2013) found that in Doornkop (Soweto), the presence of parents, brothers and other family members in the household can serve as a supporting system for women and taking over childcare responsibilities can increase chances to achieve activities. Also Van der Stoep (2008) argues that co-residence of other relatives is a common phenomenon in Africa and that this provides labour opportunities for the biological mother as this family structure enables informal child-care possibilities. Alternative ways of informal childcare such as informal care provided by the community is also a common phenomenon in Africa (Adjei, 2012).

#### *B: Presence of the father*

Many black families in South Africa are characterized by the absence of the father (Holborn & Eddy, 2011), for example due to labour migration (Posel & Van der Stoep, 2008), but also because fathers often run off when they do not feel that they are able to be the main provider of their children and the children's mothers (Graham, 2012). Because women in townships often receive meagre support from the biological father, they carry a great care-task, which limits their labour market possibilities (Patel et al, 2012).

In South Africa, it is common for fathers to have multiple partners (Swartz & Bhana, 2009; Morrell & Richter, 2006). They often leave their partners when they feel like they failed in being the provider of the household and seek other girlfriends. Although they are not together with the biological mother of their children, they do feel a connection with their children (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Still, this does not imply that they are physically present. Some young fathers want to see their

child(ren), but this is only allowed when they pay *lobola*<sup>2</sup>. When lobola is paid, fathers have the right to see the child (Swartz & Bhana, 2009).

Morrell and Richter (2006) describe the stereotype South African father as a man who is not interested in his children and who is not present in the household most of the time. There is a public portrayal that these men are barely involved with domestic work and childcare (Richter & Smith, 2006). Paradoxically, men often desire to be a good father that can bear the financial burden of a family:

One reason why many fathers don't take up their fatherhood role is lack of resources. Poverty is the most important factor undermining the role of fatherhood and the involvement of fathers [...]. Fathers who are unable to meet what they consider to be a father's responsibility to provide for their family, are more likely to deny or flee the fatherhood role (Morrell, 2006, p. 20).

In Soweto, mothers hardly receive support from the father of their children (Morrell & Richter, 2006). Black women are more likely to be single parents when compared to whites and Indians (Wilson, 2006). Wilson (2006) argues that because of the image of South African men, many women do not take men seriously and intentionally choose to be a single mother. The man is often an object of suspicion because of his violent and harassing reputation (Lesejane, 2006). However, Richter (2006) argues that men are increasingly active in the life of their children and many men say that they want to be involved with their children.

Morrell and Richter (2006) argue that the South African fathers historically have been separated from their children as they were labour migrants. They took the role as a breadwinner, but to fulfil this role, they often migrated to urban areas where there the labour supply was higher than in rural areas (Ramphele and Richter, 2006). These labour migrant patterns are still present as the rural areas and the township often do not have enough working opportunities, which is also a reason why some fathers remain absent from the lives of their children (Wilson, 2006).

South Africa's government is not encouraging fatherhood, as there is no decent paternity leave. Morrell and Richter (2006) state that the South African legal system concerning fatherhood is therefore 'father-unfriendly'. Because of the meagre paternal rights, fathers are sometimes seen as a neglected group in South Africa (Hosking, 2006).

The presence of the father is an important issue when it comes to employment. Earlier studies point out that the presence of a partner who shares domestic work and childcare reduces stress for mothers and also enables women to choose for a working career instead of being a house worker (Silverstein, 1996). Presence of the father also affects the psychological well-being of a mother, as Cooper et al (1999) found in their study about post-partum depression among mothers in South Africa.

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<sup>2</sup> 'Lobola' refers to money that must be paid to the impregnated girl for indemnity or compensation.

This study points out that maternal depression is related to poor emotional and physical support from the father of the child(ren). Depression may hinder labour market participation among mothers, thus this form of support from the partner is important. It is also conceivable that being a single parent increases childcare responsibilities, which possibly undermines labour market opportunities.

### *2.3 Capability*

Sen (1987) argues that only the presence of resources is not sufficient to achieve goals, as resources only serve as means. The person also must be capable to use those resources and therefore capabilities and resources cannot be separated from each other when explaining achieving certain activities (Nussbaum & Sen, 1993), such as employment. Sen deliberately does not provide a fixed list with capabilities (Sen, 2004), but he does give several examples, such as self-esteem or being well-nourished (Sen, 1987). It is complex to include these capabilities in this study, as they are difficult to measure. For example, someone's clinical picture can differ from the actual clinical picture. It is also difficult to measure these capabilities on a scale, because it cannot be measured in a frequency. Yet, capabilities cannot be left out of consideration in this study, since capabilities are inseparable from resources (Sen, 1993; Van Wel et al, 2012). Women may have access to resources and social support, which encourages employment. However, when capabilities to use these aspects are absent, chances to achieve employment will decrease, as Sen argues that functionings can be achieved by an interplay between resources and capabilities (Sen, 1993).

Martha Nussbaum (2003) conducted a list of ten capabilities in order to give more clarity about what capabilities actually are, as she argues that Sen's CA was unclear regarding the description of capabilities. One of these ten capabilities is the capability to use senses, imagination and thought, for example, to produce works and events by one's own choice (Nussbaum, 2003). An important aspect of the ability to produce works and events by own choice could be motivation. Women often have multiple tasks, such as care-tasks, domestic work or being a breadwinner. They are therefore faced with choosing a certain role, which could be work-centred or home-centred, depending on *inter alia* their motivation. A positive work-attitude, such as a desire to combine (fulltime) work and childcare, can influence the choice to achieve employment.

### *Preference theory*

Hakim (1998) uses preference theory to explain women's work-behaviour, i.e. women's choices between paid and unpaid domestic and care-work. Hakim divides women into work-oriented, home or family-oriented or adaptive and argues that women's lifestyle preference is an important determinant for employment decisions (Hakim, 1998).

However, Vitali et al (2009) argue that entrance on the labour market by women does not necessarily mean that they are work-oriented, but that employment is also related to financial needs, despite women's preferences. They explain that also circumstances around the family life affects

working outcomes. Furthermore, unemployed women may say that they prefer being a homemaker to justify their status (Fagan, 2011), or to adapt what is realistic in their situation (Crompton & Harris, 1998). For example, mothers can be home-oriented due to constraints on choice, because they became a mother at an early age and that they did not intend to be a housewife (Procter & Padviel, 1999).

Procter and Padviel (1999) refer to Giddens' theory which implies that behaviour is not always the result of agency, but is also determined by the interplay with structure. Giddens argues that people are capable of steering their own actions but that this goes accompanied by structure (Giddens, 1984). He describes the interplay of structure and agency as follows:

Human social activities, like some self-reproducing items in nature, are recursive. That is to say, they are not brought into being by social actors but continually recreated by them via the very means whereby they express themselves as actors. In and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible (Giddens 1984, p. 2).

Also Fagan (2001) argues that structure has an impact on the decision to work, as she involves labour market policies on work-behaviour. A woman can argue that she works part-time by choice, but this decision might not be voluntary but shaped by contextual factors, such as whether there is a predominantly male breadwinner model in the country. Fagan (2001) also states that labour market participation is determined by economic conditions, which is applicable to the target group of this study as their circumstances of poverty and poor financial public support demands employment to maintain a household (Seidman, 1993).

However, Hakim does not exclude structural factors but argues that work attitudes are a key factor in work-behaviour (Hakim, 2002). Other studies also found evidence for the relation between work-orientation and work-behaviour (Vitali et al, 2009), but it can be questioned if these are causal relations. Most critics do not deny that there is a relation between preference and employment, but that preference is shaped by other factors. There is still a 'work-attitude', but critics argue that this is not the result of self-determining actors.

Hakim (2002) argues that the preference theory is applicable in all rich, modern societies, which means that it can be debatable if this theory is also applicable in South Africa. Modern social policies often emphasize on equal working opportunities for men and women, part-time job creation and often have economies with an expanded service sector, which enables women to find employment (Hakim, 2002). These factors are usually less developed in developing countries such as South Africa.

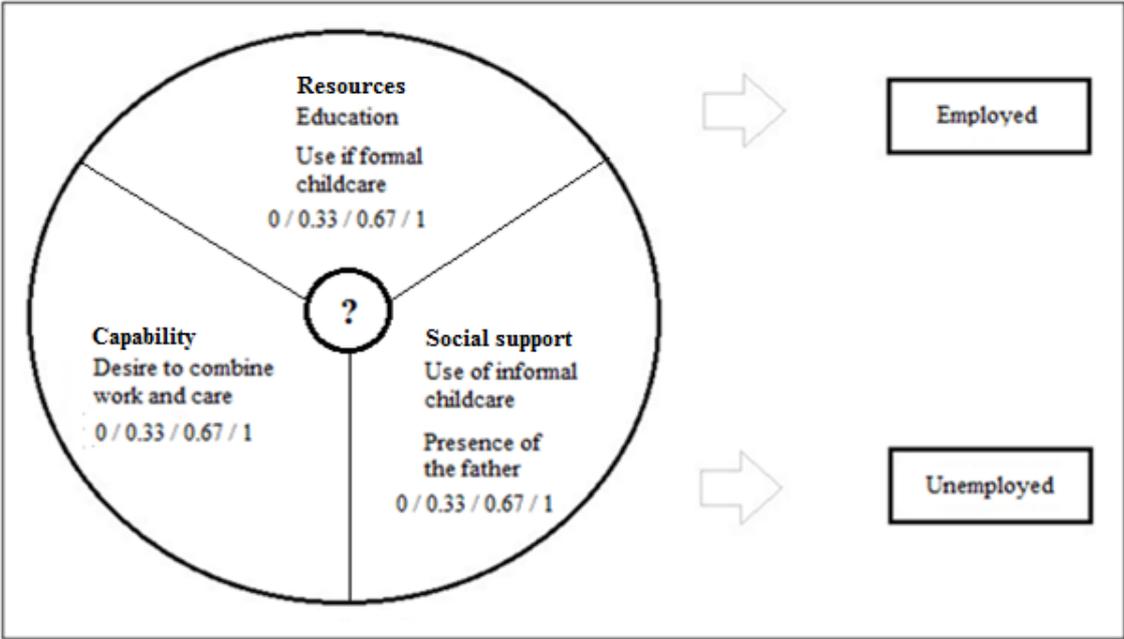
Desiring to be a mother and a wife does not necessarily exclude one from being employed (Hakim, 2002). Unemployment rates in South Africa do not indicate a traditional model where the women stays home to fulfil domestic work, as the unemployment rate for women in South Africa are almost as low as men. The unemployment rate for women in 2013 was 26.7 per cent compared to 21.7 for men in 2013 (SSA, 2013). Literature indicates that motherhood in predominantly black societies

gives a woman a powerful position, as this prescribes a strong woman with many care-responsibilities towards the family and the community. Mothering is seen as an honourable job and being a wife gives them a higher social status (Graham, 2012; Van Bercum, 2013). South African women often believe that their social status is being advanced by pregnancy and this improves their financial situation and sexual desirability, as they expect that there is a man who will financially care for the household (Sowden, 2013). Many mothers argue that care tasks can be performed better by women instead of men, which means that they accept their gendered role on that matter (Patel et al, 2012). However, current literature does not point out whether this desired role affects work-behaviour.

2.4 Research question

It is conceivable that multiple factors occur simultaneously and that unemployment among young black mothers is especially likely to occur when a certain configuration of factors is present (Ragin, 1987). This study is based on the assumption by Ragin (2000) that an outcome is caused by a configuration of multiple factors and not by one single factor or multiple factors independent from each other. Therefore, this study uses ‘comparative case study’ to investigate which configuration(s) of factors is counteracting and supportive for employment among young mothers. The research question is as follows: *Which pattern of resource-, support-, and capability-mechanisms promote or hinder labour market participation among young mothers in Doornkop?* The research question refers to the perception of these women on their own occupational status. Figure 1 shows the research question schematically. The question mark refers to the unexplored area, which is the pattern of factors that contribute to employment and unemployment.

Figure 1  
Configuration of Independent Variables



The research population ‘young black mothers’ refers to black South African mothers aged between 18 and 35 years old. This wide age range is deliberately chosen as informal interviews point out that the age of the young mothers in Doornkop varies widely. ‘Mothers’ refers to women who have the primary care responsibility for one or more children.

### 3. METHODS

This chapter will first explain the central concepts of this research and second operationalizes these concepts. The second paragraph explains how the data are gathered and analysed. The third paragraph discusses the sample, which is followed by a brief description of the content of the interview in the fourth paragraph. Paragraph five reviews the quality of the study. After that, paragraph six briefly discusses ethical concerns of this study.

#### 3.1 Conceptualization and operationalization

There are three categories of independent variables. The first is ‘resources’, which refers to ‘goods’ that make employment possible. This is indicated by the extent to which the respondents have attended and finished education. The South African education system is divided in ‘grades’, where grade 1 until 6 refers to primary school, grade 7 until 9 to junior secondary school and grade 10 until 12 includes senior secondary school. School is compulsory until grade 9, which permits pupils to enter Further Education and Training (FET), which is comparable to vocational training. After finishing grade 12 successfully, students will obtain their matric, which gives access to colleges and universities.

Also the use of formal childcare is an indicator for ‘resources’ in this study. Formal childcare usually consists of childcare facilities such as preschool or crèche, provided by the government or other organizations like non-governmental organisations (NGO’s). NGO’s are also included in this study because of the large share of private childcare organizations in South Africa’s childcare supply. Furthermore, both private and public childcare facilities enable women to reconcile work and care. Next to these facilities there is also ‘Aftercare’, which refers to childcare after compulsory school hours. Aftercare is left out of consideration because there was only one respondent who reported sending her child to Aftercare on a regular base.

Table 1  
*Operationalization of ‘Resources’*

<b>CATEGORY 1: RESOURCES</b>	
<b>Education (educ):</b> The extent to which education is completed	<b>Formal childcare (fchild):</b> The amount of time that the child is spending at preschool, crèche or primary school, i.e. the amount of time the child is not at home because of

			attending these schools.
<b>0</b>	Dropped out before grade 9 (finished grade 8 or lower)	<b>0</b>	At least one child is not attending (pre)school at all
<b>0.33</b>	Dropped out before matriculation (finished grade 9, 10 or 11)	<b>0.33</b>	At least one child is not attending (pre)school or crèche for 3 or 4 days
<b>0.67</b>	Obtained matric (finished grade 12)	<b>0.67</b>	At least one child is not attending (pre)school or crèche for 1 or 2 days.
<b>1</b>	Obtained matric and further education such as trainings, courses, FET and university degrees.	<b>1</b>	Child(ren) are/is at (pre)school or crèche fulltime
These boundaries reflect the pattern of school attainment among the respondents. Lower than grade 9 is chosen for the first category of '0', as school is compulsory until grade 9. The sample shows that there are people who drop out after compulsory school, but before matriculation, which is why this option is included in the '0.33' category. The majority of the respondents obtained their matric (0.67) or even more (1).		The emphasis lays on the extent to which the child is staying at home, because this affects job opportunities (Kamerman, 2007). Moreover, distinguishing boundaries between amount of (pre)school attendance is complex as some respondents have multiple children who do not all attend preschool, but for example only one. Clearly the number of children not attending (pre)school is irrelevant, as one 'stay-at-home'-child already limits working possibilities.	

The second category is 'social support', which refers to informal support that young mothers receive, as this enables them to work. Support is being provided when other household members or neighbours provide informal day-care for the children. Support also includes the extent to which the father is co-parenting, which means that the father is physically available to perform his parental role.

Table 2

*Operationalization of 'Social Support'*

<b>CATEGORY 2: SOCIAL SUPPORT</b>			
<b>Informal childcare (ichild):</b>		<b>Co-parenting father (presfa):</b>	
Extent of informal childcare during the week (Monday until Friday) that is provided by household members or others from the community who are not necessarily relatives, making labour possible.		Whether the biological father of the child(ren) is physically present to spend real time on care of his child(ren).	
<b>0</b>	Not using informal childcare or incidental. Incidental is 1, 2 or 3 times a	<b>0</b>	Father is always absent or only spends time with his child(ren) during the

	month in the weekends (outside working hours).		weekends
<b>0.33</b>	Using informal childcare for 1-2 days per week	<b>0.33</b>	Father is co-parenting for 1-2 days during the work week
<b>0.67</b>	Using informal childcare for 3-4 days per week	<b>0.67</b>	Father is co-parenting for 3-4 days during the work week
<b>1</b>	Using informal childcare 5 days a week	<b>1</b>	Father is co-parenting 5 days a week
Informal childcare during the weekends is irrelevant, because that does not contribute to their ability to work as there is only one respondent that incidentally works during the weekends; the rest is bound to regular working weeks.		Respondents explain that fathers who are not cohabiting often look after their children during the weekends. As almost all respondents do not work during the weekends, co-parenting during the weekend is not contributing to their ability to work and is therefore left out of consideration.	

The third category is ‘capability’, which refers to women’s work-attitude or -motivation, i.e. the women’s preference for paid work or childcare. This is about the extent to which mothers desire to be a fulltime mother, or whether that desire to combine mothering and employment.

Table 3

*Operationalization of ‘Capability’*

<b>CATEGORY 3: CAPABILITY</b>	
<b>Desire to combine work and care (descom):</b>	
The extent to which the mother desires to combine work and care, without actually act accordingly.	
<b>0</b>	Home-centred: prioritize staying home, caring for children and performing domestic tasks fulltime
<b>0.33</b>	Adaptive: prioritize staying home, desire to work 1-2 days next to domestic tasks and childcare
<b>0.67</b>	Adaptive: prioritize work, desire to work 3-4 days next to domestic tasks and childcare
<b>1</b>	Work-centred: prioritize work, desire fulltime work while having children
These boundaries reflect Hakim’s preference categorisation (Hakim, 2002). In this study, ‘adaptive’ is divided into two options as an adaptive orientation does not have to be one-sided.	

A four-point scale is deliberately chosen because it gives clear solutions about the extent to which a condition is present. For example, 0.5 on a three-point scale would give less clear solutions about the occurrence of a condition. The variables are summarized in the following scheme:

Table 4

*Summary of Independent Variables*

Category 1: Resources		Category 2: Social support		Category 3: Capability
Education	Formal childcare	Informal childcare	Presence of the father	Desire to combine work and care

The dependent variable involves ‘labour market participation’, i.e. involvement in paid work. In this study, only formal work is included. Formal work is registered work in a company and also paying income tax (SSA, 2013).

Table 5

*Operationalization of ‘Labour Market Participation’*

<b>Labour market participation (Imp):</b> Paid work at an employer on a formal structural base.	
<b>0</b>	Unemployed: no structural income or salary that is derived from an employer.
<b>1</b>	Employed: working at an employer on a formal base, which means that the worker owns a labour-contract with the employer and is working on a structural base, meaning a structural amounts of hours each month. Also temporary work that is performed on a structural base is included.
Informal employment, such as selling food or other supplies on the streets or other non-registered ‘black-market’ work, is excluded from being employed in this study. This is because informal work often provides an irregular income, with a lack of job security and therefore formal employment is more preferable for the target group.	

*3.2 Content of the interview*

The interviews were in-depth and semi-structured, which means that a general guide to structure the interview was compiled. The open-ended questions related to the described conditions or variables in the theoretical frame. Semi-structured interviews allow description and explanation of social phenomenon such as unemployment in terms of the meaning people give to it (Boeijs, 2010).

The interview started with an introduction of the research and its intentions, after which informed consent was obtained from the research participants (appendix 1). Then, the interview started with general questions about the characteristics of the respondent. The content of the interview was related to the described conditions in the theoretical frame (see appendix 2 and 3). The participants are asked about their educational background, to what extent they use (in)formal childcare, the presence of the father and their work preferences. Participants are also asked about how they think that these subject relate to their occupational status.

### 3.3 Data analyses

Comparative case studies according to the method of Charles Ragin is the most appropriate method to investigate configurations of factors contributing to an outcome (Ragin, 1987), such as (un)employment. Charles Ragin is a social scientist and innovative methodologist, known for his Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), also known as comparative case studies. QCA focuses on unravelling causal patterns instead of one causal variable (Ragin, 1987) and allows to use a small sample (Ragin, 2000).

In comparative case studies, the researcher decides whether a condition is present or absent. A way to elaborate comparative case study-method is to apply fuzzy-set methodology, which means that membership of a condition is extended to more than two options, as memberships are often partial (Ragin, 2000). Memberships can vary from fully in (1) to fully out (0) or somewhere in between (0.33 or 0.67). Using comparative case studies together with fuzzy set methodology allows quantitative and qualitative research in one single instrument, as the researcher uses a small number of cases to analyse them in-depth but also uses statistical methods to calculate significant patterns of conditions that lead to an outcome (Ragin, 2000).

Comparative case studies using fuzzy-set methodology prescribes that the causal conditions and outcomes are sorted in a data table, where the membership of conditions per case or participant are being valued in trichotomous terms or even more (Ragin, 2000). After that, a 'truth table' must be conducted in order to oversee which cases have the same pattern of conditions on the outcome and which conditions can be eliminated (Ragin, 1987). In this research, the FS/QCA software is used instead, which calculates the necessary and sufficient conditions for (un)employment.

In sum, the primary tool for this analyses is the FS/QCA-software for comparative case studies. This program allows inserting memberships varying between 0, 0.33, 0.67 and 1. The FS/QCA-software calculates which configuration of variables contributes to employment or unemployment and uses Boolean algebra to compute these significance patterns (Ragin, 2000).

NVivo is used to analyse the interviews systematically, as the program allows overseeing patterns of fragments in interviews (Richards, 1999). The interviews were recorded with a voice tape-recorder. After that, they were transcribed and imported into NVivo, where axial coding was applied (appendix 4). Axial coding means that fragments of the interviews are coded according to prescribed codes (Boeije, 2010). The codes correspond to the five conditions in the theoretical framework and the operationalization. Also other aspects are coded beforehand, such as work motivation, income and daily activities. There was room to create new codes if the interview revealed an important condition that was not part of the theory (Boeije, 2010). Also, intermediate evaluations are done to change boundaries of the conditions when they were not realistic enough. After all sixteen interviews were gathered, analysed and coded, the described conditions are valued 1, 0.67, 0.33 or 0, where 1 represents the presence and 0 represents the complete absence of the condition.

### *3.4 Sampling*

Respondents were recruited via the network of workers of Humana People to People (South Africa), as they are familiar with residents of Doornkop. In order to recruit respondents, two meetings were organised to give general information about the research and to note contact-details. After that, individual appointments were made to conduct the interviews at the Humana premises. Potential respondents were reached via general invitations (appendix 5), which were distributed by workers from Humana at preschools and home based care offices. Another method used to recruit respondents was to conduct short presentations about the research during the monthly ‘block meeting’ at Humana, where all inhabitants from Doornkop gather to discuss general developments in their residential block. Characteristics of the sample can be found in appendix 6.

The interviews were not attended by an interpreter, as all respondents indicated that this was not necessary. Their English was sufficient to achieve mutual understanding. One possible explanation for that is that English is the language of instruction from the fourth grade in South Africa. Furthermore, many schools use English as the language of instruction from the first grade (Taylor & Coetzee, 2013).

### *3.5 Quality of the study*

In this section the reliability, validity, representativeness and generalizability are discussed. Reliability refers to the extent to which the same results are being produced when the measurements are repeated (Rossi et al, 2004). Using qualitative interviews means that interpretations are done by the interviewer, which is not as objective as when only quantitative methods are used, where reliability is enhanced through standardization of variables (Boeije, 2010). However, NVivo allows for a highly systematic analysis of the interviews, as it prevents overrepresentation of certain conditions as the presence and absence of conditions are analysed in a systematic way and repeated several times. Also, fuzzy-set methodology increases reliability, because the FS/QCA-software computes the significant pattern of the conditions, which means that the same pattern will be revealed when repeating the analyses.

Another way to address the quality of the study is reporting on validity, which refers to the extent that the instrument measures what it aims to measure (Rossi et al, 2004). A qualitative approach is the most appropriate as the presence of conditions could be multi-interpretable, which makes the use of only a small survey unsuitable. For example, a mother could say that the non-cohabiting father of the child spends actual time with its child for three days a week, while this does not contribute to working opportunities when this only occurs when the mother is not working. This does not measure the aim of the research: exploring how mothers are supported or limited in working opportunities. The same issue arises with the use of informal childcare, which can also take place during non-working hours. These examples show that it is not appropriate to hand out a survey that asks how many days per week the father is spending actual time with his children. Validity is also enhanced by describing

questions that include the prescribed conditions beforehand, to ensure that the same issue is being measured in each interview.

The validity of the results could be debatable, as this study aims to reveal individual causes of (un)employment, while the FS/QCA-software actually only computes which conditions are present with (un)employment as an outcome, which could make actual causation questionable. However, all the respondents are asked to link their occupational status to the conditions, which allows checking whether the quantitative results actually explain causes of (un)employment.

It can be argued that the representativeness is at stake due to the composition of the sample, as the majority of the employed respondents is occupied in the social sector, while the study aims to represent 'employed mothers'. Unemployed people living in townships often seek employment in more urban areas (Posel & Devey, 2006), indicating that there are more employment opportunities elsewhere. There is a limited amount of jobs available in poor areas such as townships, and because of its associated problems, the demand for work in the social sector is higher than work in other sectors, as usually other companies are not established in townships. Thus, the sample can be regarded as representative as it corresponds to the labour circumstances in a township.

Generalizability is also an important aspect of the quality of the study. Generalizability is the extent to which the results of the study can be generalized to similar cases (Rossi et al, 2004). Generalizability is generally low when using comparative case studies, because a small sample is used and it is often applied in a specific situation. It is inappropriate to state that the results are applicable in every township in South Africa. However, the results of the study give strong indications for other townships and findings can still be used to inform policy. To test if the results also account for other areas, this study must be replicated in other townships.

### *3.6 Ethics*

The participants received an informed consent form before they were interviewed (appendix 1), which explains the goals of the study and allowed them to end the interview any time, without repercussion. The participants were also informed about ensuring their anonymity and confidentiality (Boeije, 2010).

Participants found the interviews therapeutic, as it gave them the opportunity to speak about their lives and it made them feel like they were counselled. Most women described the interview in a manner that it gave them the opportunity to think and to encourage them to enhance their situation, without being asked.

It was expected that the topic 'presence of the father' could make the participants emotional, which is why this sensitive topic is mentioned in the second half of the interview, when they feel more comfortable. However, all participants were open to talk about this and there was no barrier to discuss this topic.

#### 4. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

This section discusses the results, which are compared with the theoretical findings from chapter two. The quantified results are showed in table 6. They show to what extent the predefined conditions were present among the respondents (appendix 7).

Table 6  
Case Scores

	OUTCOME VARIABLE	CONDITION VARIABLES				
		Category 1: Resources		Category 2: Support		Category 3: Attitude
		Variable 1: Education	Variable 2: Use of formal childcare	Variable 3: Use of informal childcare	Variable 4: Presence of the father	Variable 5: Desire to combine work and care
<b>Memberships or scores→</b>	1 / 0	1 / 0.67 / 0.33 / 0	1 / 0.67 / 0.33 / 0	1 / 0.67 / 0.33 / 0	1 / 0.67 / 0.33 / 0	1 / 0.67 / 0.33 / 0
Case 1	1	1	1	0.33	0	1
Case 2	1	1	1	0	0	1
Case 3	1	1	0.67	0	0.67	1
Case 4	1	0.33	1	0	0	1
Case 5	1	1	1	0.33	0	0
Case 6	1	1	1	1	0	1
Case 7	1	0.67	1	0	1	1
Case 8	1	1	1	0	1	1
Case 9	0	0.67	1	1	0.67	1
Case 10	0	0	1	0	1	1
Case 11	0	0	0	0.33	0	1
Case 12	0	0.33	0	0	0	1
Case 13	0	0.67	1	0.67	0	0.33
Case 14	0	1	0	0.67	0.33	0.33
Case 15	0	0.67	0	0	1	0.67
Case 16	0	0.67	0	0	1	0.67

Data was inserted in the FS/QCA software, which computes the pattern that leads to (un)employment. This chapter first discusses the results for the employed outcome and second the unemployed outcome.

##### 4.1 Results employed

Table 7 shows the descriptive statistics for the employment output. This gives a first impression of the occurrence of the five variables among the employed sample. The table shows that the use of informal childcare and the presence of the father is limited under this group.

Table 7

*Descriptive Statistics, Employed Sample*

```
Data employed.dat: Descriptive Statistics
```

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum	N Cases	Missing
educ	0.875	0.2325941	0.33	1	8	0
fchild	0.95875	0.1091372	0.67	1	8	0
ichild	0.2075	0.3304069	0	1	8	0
presfa	0.33375	0.4412748	0	1	8	0
descom	0.875	0.3307189	0	1	8	0

'Educ' = education, 'fchild' = use of formal childcare, 'ichild' = use of informal childcare, 'presfa' = presence of the father and 'descom' = desire to combine work and care

Table 8 shows which pattern of conditions or variables leads to employment. Each row represents one possible path or solution to the outcome, which in this case is only one path. The conditions 'descom', 'fchild' and 'educ' indicate memberships of >0.5, where '~ichild' indicates a membership of <0.5. Conditions are necessary when they appear in multiple solutions, and thus it is not directly visible as table 8 shows that there is only one solution. The 'consistency' measures the degree to which membership in the solution is a subset of the outcome. The 'coverage' measures to what extent the empirical cases with this output are covered by the solution (Ragin, 2006). In this case, 54.25 per cent of the employed cases is explained by this path. The FS/QCA-software allows for a separate 'necessary conditions'-analysis, where the program computes consistency levels for each variable for the two possible outcomes. A variable can be considered as necessary when the consistency level is >0.90. This separate analysis shows that 'the use of formal childcare' is actually a necessary condition for the outcome 'employed' with a consistency level of 0.96. This means that the presence of education (matric or more) and a work-oriented attitude only is not sufficient for the employed-outcome, but that the use of formal childcare is a precondition in this sample. Yet, the presence of 'use of formal childcare' only is not sufficient to explain the employed-outcome.

Table 8

*Configuration: Employed Sample*

```
--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION ---
frequency cutoff: 1.000000
consistency cutoff: 0.875940
Assumptions:
```

	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
descom*~ichild*fchild*educ	0.542500	0.542500	0.929336
solution coverage:	0.542500		
solution consistency:			0.929336

The main conclusion from the fuzzy-set analysis in table 8 is that people wanting to combine work and care, having an education and relying on formal child care rather than informal child care are actually

employed. It is striking that employed women say that they do not rely on informal childcare, since literature points out that informal childcare is a commonly used substitute for formal childcare, especially in countries where formal childcare is often not financially adequate (Arpino et al, 2010). The data shows that the use of informal childcare is not common, but when it happens, it are mostly the grandmothers of the child(ren) who help out with childcare. Employed mothers argued that informal childcare support does not play a role in their ability to work:

I know my mom is there and that she will help me because she's my mom, but you have to stand up for yourself and do things for myself. I think that I could do my job without the help of my mother. [C., 28]

Although women explained that they are not reliant on informal childcare regarding work, they do not explain how they would manage childcare without familial support. They seem to have a sense of being a strong woman who is not dependent on anybody when it comes to employment:

Lately I have that stress that puts me to depression, so I told myself that I would overcome this and I did overcome that. So I told myself that I will raise my kids alone. With or without my family. [F., 33]

The importance of being independent is even more apparent when the women talk about the father(s) of their children. The fuzzy-set analysis shows that the presence of the father is not part of the sufficient conditions for the 'employed'-output, meaning that being employed can be explained without taking the presence of the father into account. Consistent with theoretical expectations (Wilson, 2006), women often bear the burden of a family on their own as the father(s) of their child(ren) is not cohabiting and/or co-parenting. Even when the employed mothers were still in a relationship with the father of the child(ren), they clearly spend the most time the most time on childcare. Employed respondents argued that they do not see a relationship between support from the father(s) of the child(ren) and their ability to work. Women reported a strong sense of being an independent woman:

Okay, the father of my child left me, but it didn't stop me being who I am, it didn't stop me to be a single parent, or to be what I want to reach in life. [O., 29].

Or, when asked about the relationship between the actual presence of the father and ability to work:

I don't depend on anyone. When I grew up I learned that I must do something for myself; not for someone else, because I don't want to depend on someone. Sometimes, maybe tomorrow, he will

disappear. Where would I be then? So every time, you have to make sure that you have to be ready for anything. So that is why I don't depend on anyone. [P., 30]

This is contrary to previous studies pointing out that co-parenting fathers relieve women from childcare, which should encourage female labour market participation (Silverstein, 1996). The interviews also point out that many employed women have a pessimistic view about men. Women reported doubts about the reliability of men and often see them as unstable persons. They confirm the stereotype South African man as described in the theory (Morrell & Richter, 2006):

I don't see men playing an important part to our lives. They are just package, you know. Take that package and throw it away and move on with your life [...]. So I told myself that, you know what, just leave me alone, I will raise these kids alone. That social grant will help me a lot to raise my kids and also my salary [will help]. You know [...], all men, they are the same. They don't tell the truth. I have tried for the father of my two kids, but I don't see a difference. Really, they are the same. [F., 33].

The variable that scores the highest and is also the necessary condition is 'the use of formal childcare'. All employed respondents make use of formal childcare and it is common to use this on a fulltime-base, indicating that employed women are reliant on formal childcare. Corresponding to the theory about the use of childcare in developing countries, these facilities are generally seen as means to educate children at an early age rather than being means to achieve employment (Smit, 2011):

So I think by taking him there, he learns how to take care of himself, how to pray, how to respect others besides his mother or his family. So it's for early development [O., 29]

The preschool teachers are preparing them for primary school [...]. Those who don't go to this school, they don't know those things. They stay at home, looking at their granny, they end up knowing only 'whatever'... At preschool, they are writing, doing 'whatever'... The teachers show them 'this is an apple' and 'this one is green'. [D., 32]

Also, women prefer formal childcare rather than informal childcare because of the educating aspect that is lacking in the home atmosphere. Although the income of these women is low, they still manage to pay for childcare-fees, which indicates that formal childcare is not only privileged to high income-families, as literature have pointed out (Casale, 2004). Although the respondents argue that the use of formal childcare is primarily for early child development, women also argue that formal childcare contributed to their ability to work. Another reason why women bring their children to childcare, is that they feel that the children are safe at schools as the streets or home-gardens are not safe because of the high number of child abuse cases.

Another variable that scores high in the fuzzy-set analysis is 'the desire to combine work and care'. In terms of capabilities, women are able to have a positive working attitude and to form an opinion about work-preference. Interviews pointed out that employed mothers prefer being a fulltime worker. All the respondents that were 'work-orientated', i.e. preferring a fulltime job, were also fulltime occupied, which corresponds to Hakim's (2002) theory about the similarity between job-preference and job-performance. The main reasons why women work is because it is necessary for them as there are no other sufficient resources to rely on, or because of their desire to maintain independence:

Sometimes, you know men, if he knows that you depend on him, then they don't do things right. If you are not independent, you always have to beg. He knows that you depend on him. Every time, he can treat you bad, and he will not apologize because he knows that you are the one that is *gonna* beg him. He can take advantage of you. So that is I don't want something like that. I don't depend on him. [P., 30]

Another reason why women work is because work is necessary in order to provide for themselves, their children and/or their family, as if there is no option but working. This means that the circumstances are important regarding work behaviour, which corresponds with Fagan's (2001) critique on Hakim. Also, when asked for fulltime or part-time work preference, fulltime work was the leading preference, because this gives them more money to meet their family needs. Employed women also argued that they did not want to sit at home as a housewife and desired to be a fulltime worker. This is often related to the partner or the father of the child(ren):

When a wife is a housewife, they start abuse the housewife. Insulting her: 'you are just sitting here, doing nothing, you are not working, just sitting here'. You know those men, they are not very nice. That's not the life that I would have want. Every time when you hear that you are useless, not doing anything; it's not nice. But if I was not going to work, I would sleep and do nothing. When you are not working, he [the man] starts cheating on you. I don't want that with my life. [D., 32]

Also education has high scores for the employed sample and is one of the conditions that leads to the employment outcome. Employed mothers generally have their matric and often they also obtained further education. All respondents reported that education is an important contributor to employment. Also when asked for the most encouraging factor for employment, women indicate that education plays an important role in their occupational status. Education is seen as the key to employment and employed mothers argue that it is hard to find a job without a matric in the time that they are living in:

Education is important. Because nowadays, without matric you cannot find work. You can go to university and study these things that you want to study. You can get any diploma's, but without

matric I won't get any [job]. They will tell me: 'you need matric certificate'. So matric certificate is something that can open doors for you. [C., 28]

Looking at these variables separately allows insight into their contribution to employment. However, the fuzzy-set analysis shows that it is particularly the configuration of being work-oriented, having education and using formal childcare that contributes to labour market participation.

#### 4.2 Results unemployed

Table 9 shows the descriptive statistics for the unemployment output. Compared to the descriptive statistics in table 7, the educational levels and the use of formal childcare is lower for the unemployed group. The desire to combine work and care is also lower, but still scores relatively high. The unemployed respondents have more co-parenting fathers than the employed group.

Table 9

*Descriptive Statistics, Unemployed Sample*

Data unemployed.dat: Descriptive Statistics						
Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum	N Cases	Missing
educ	0.50125	0.3343814	0	1	8	0
fchild	0.375	0.4841229	0	1	8	0
ichild	0.33375	0.373428	0	1	8	0
presfa	0.5	0.4412766	0	1	8	0
descom	0.75	0.2773986	0.33	1	8	0

'Educ' = education, 'fchild' = use of formal childcare, 'ichild' = use of informal childcare, 'presfa' = presence of the father and 'descom' = desire to combine work and care

Table 10 shows which pattern of conditions or variables leads to unemployment. The output of the fuzzy-set analysis shows four rows, i.e. four possible solutions that lead to 'unemployment'. The coverage levels for all the solutions are relatively low compared to the solution for employment, while consistency is the highest possible (1.0) for three solutions. This indicates that there are few empirical cases that share this particular combination of conditions. The output shows no necessary conditions as there are no conditions that appear in each solution and when separately tested, the FS/QCA does not compute any conditions that meet the requirement of a 0.9 consistency in order to be necessary.

Table 10

*Configurations: Unemployed Sample*

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--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION ---
frequency cutoff: 1.000000
consistency cutoff: 0.835000
Assumptions:

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	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
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descom*~presfa*~ichild*~fchild*~educ	0.167500	0.167500	1.000000
~descom*~presfa*ichild*~fchild*educ	0.083750	0.042500	1.000000
descom*presfa*~ichild*~fchild*educ	0.208750	0.167500	0.835000
descom*presfa*ichild*fchild*educ	0.083750	0.083750	1.000000
solution coverage: 0.502500			
solution consistency: 0.924138			

These results make it difficult to describe a main conclusion for the fuzzy-set analysis of the unemployed group, as there is no clear solution or path. Compared with the individual cases from table 7, the rows in table 10 only describe solutions for two empirical cases or less. Therefore it can be said that there is no particular path that stands out for the ‘unemployed’-outcome, unlike the ‘employed’-outcome.

The interviews and the descriptive statistics can give more information about causes of unemployment. Looking at the descriptive statistics of ‘education’, the average scores are lower for the unemployment group than the employment group, corresponding to the theory about the relation between education and job opportunities (Caspi et al, 1998). But still mothers often matriculated while being unemployed. All unemployed respondents indicated that they expected to be employed after school instead of being an unemployed mother. For the school drop-outs the situation was complicated, as they dropped out because there were no financial means to pay for school-fees, so they dropped out with the expectation to earn an income by working:

I dropped out because of the money, like buying uniforms and shoes... My mother didn't have the money to buy those things. And I decided to go to find work so that I could earn money and to support my family. [G., 30]

Unemployed mothers considered lack of further education as hindering factor for employment, as they argued that their chances on a job would increase if they had more education. Education is often identified when asked for the most limiting factor for getting employed:

I lost my hope because I knew that if you don't have education; there is nothing you can do. I saw that there was no future for me, because I did not have education. [I., 32]

I could have a job if I had [obtained'] extra training. At the moment I was thinking to go for this call-centre training to get a job. Because these days, jobs all want you to have training. My life would be stable if I had more education. [R., 30]

But the lack of education is often closely related to having meagre financial resources. All respondents argued that they desire additional education or finishing school, but lack of financial resources was the major problem. Furthermore, lack of money meant that they could not pay for transport to go to organizations to drop off their CV's or to have a job-interview. When asked for the most limiting factor for employment, three unemployed respondents answered that lack of money was the reason:

[...] Preparing our CV's , and maybe sometimes you don't have the money to go to the internet café, do those copies, do those 'whatever'. And actually catching a taxi and drop your CV's off, stuff like that, it's pretty much a problem of finances. [B., 21]

Another notable condition in the 'unemployed'-sample is 'desire to combine work and care'. Looking at the individual cases in table 6, there were no women that desired to be a housewife. Also women generally prefer to work for at least three or four times a week, even though they are unemployed. Their motivation to work is mostly money-oriented rather than that fulltime work gives the satisfaction as a worker, as the unemployed mothers argue that fulltime work gives them more means to provide for their family.

I want to be a fulltime worker. Because I need the money and I am thinking about my mother. I'm thinking about my children, my boyfriend and my mother. And then I want my own house. [G., 30].

Similar to employed mothers, work is mostly seen as a necessity but also as a way to achieve independence, as unemployed women also desire an independent status and therefore prefer to be a worker instead of a housewife. When the unemployed respondents got the opportunity to give their opinion about the male breadwinner-model, they argued that they prefer to work rather than staying at home. This was mostly related to their desire to be a financially independent woman:

[...] I want to have my own money. I don't like to ask, and ask, and ask, all the time. And the person [boyfriend] thinks that he can control you, because he's maintaining you [R. 30].

This finding indicates that Hakim's (2002) theory is rejected in this study, as work preferences are not expressed in actual job-behaviour, as their unemployment is unwanted.

Another finding is that the unemployed-group has more co-parenting fathers than the employed-group. This gives more support for the previous statement that the 'presence of the father' is

not part of the path that leads to employment. However, unemployed mothers do not see a link between support of the father of the child(ren) and job-opportunities. Also in this sample, the stereotype South African man according to Morell and Richter (2006) returns:

I don't know if it [paternal involvement] would help me with work because most men are a problem. Because I also have to look after him and also after the children. I don't trust a man with the children, because there are a lot of stories that I hear about the men... I don't want to get involved with such problems. [I., 32]

But regarding the use of formal childcare, there are remarkable differences between the two groups. Where the employed-group all use formal childcare, unemployed women often have at least one child fulltime at home. They are not satisfied with that situation, because respondents argued that they would prefer them to attend pre-school as this gives children early child development. They also explained that preschool is a safe environment for children, unlike home or the streets. Lack of financial means limits these mothers to bring their children to childcare facilities:

But because of the money I couldn't bring him to preschool. If I had the money I would have sent him. But I think I'm going to bring my youngest son to preschool when he turns one [year old]. But first I want a job. Only with a job I can do that. [L., 26]

Therefore it is difficult to say that the lack of formal childcare-use contributes to unemployment, as they clearly prefer to bring them to childcare but that they will first need a job in order to pay the school-fees. This shows that formal childcare is indeed not accessible to families with the lowest incomes (Casale, 2004). Women explained that use of childcare could increase their job opportunities, which is conceivable as it relieves them from their care-tasks:

I think it [work] would be easier [with preschool] because then I would be a free woman. I would be able to go where ever I want to go. It would make work easier. [R., 30]

Childcare after school, i.e. 'aftercare', is less common and all unemployed respondents explained that sending children to aftercare on a regular base was unnecessary as they were at home after schooling hours. Aftercare was not considered as important as preschool.

Also the use of informal childcare is meagre and comparable to the employed-group as the unemployed-group does not rely on family, friends or neighbours regarding childcare. However, it would be more logical if fewer unemployed women would make use of informal childcare than employed women as unemployed women usually spend more time at home, looking after the children. However, the scarce use of informal childcare does not necessarily mean that it is not important for employment opportunities:

When my mother was around, I left the children there and then I could go job-hunting. I could do many things then [R., 30]

If I would have someone who could ensure that she is in a safe place with a safe person, then I would attend whatever training or work that I have to do. [L., 26]

Unemployed mothers indicated that informal support could enhance their job opportunities. This shows that informal care is not a conventional way to combine work and care, but it sure is a desired way.

## **5. CONCLUSION**

This study aimed to reveal which pattern of resource-, support-, and capability-mechanisms promote and hinder labour market participation among young mothers in Doornkop according to their own perceptions. Fuzzy-set analysis shows that the particular configuration of having a matriculation or more and having a work-orientation, while relying on formal childcare leads to being employed in this study. This conclusion is supported by the content of the interviews, as mothers argued that education is the key to achieve employment and that formal childcare releases them from a fulltime care-burden, although this relief is not the main reason why they send their children to facilities such as preschool. Early child development is rather the main reason to use preschool. Also, employed women desire to be a fulltime worker as it gives them independence and money to provide for themselves and their families, as they do not want to be reliant on other people. Corresponding to the fuzzy-set analysis, the interviews also point out that a co-parenting father is not a contributor to the ability to work, as women indicate that they are able to combine fulltime work and care while being the main responsible carer for the child(ren).

Such clear pattern of conditions is not visible regarding unemployment. The fuzzy-set analysis shows multiple paths to unemployment, but these paths do not represent more than two cases. When looking at the individual scores, the cases indeed vary widely, which is why there are not one or two clear solutions that lead to unemployment. The biggest differences between the two groups are the use of formal childcare and the educational levels, although they still score relatively high on education. Research findings point out that the unemployed respondents prefer their children to attend childcare for early child development-purposes, but that it is not possible due to financial constraints. Also, women think that their working opportunities are limited because of their meagre educational background, but are willing to follow additional training. Again, the absence of financial means hinders these respondents to further develop their skills with more education. Central to work motivation is to provide for the family and to be independent, which corresponds to the employed

group. Also, unemployed women tend to be work-oriented, although this is not reflected by their occupational status.

## **6. RECOMMENDATIONS**

This final section discusses the limitations of this study, which form incentives for further research. The report ends with a policy recommendation.

### *6.1 Recommendations for further research*

This study leaves capabilities such as self-esteem, (mental) health and self-efficacy out of consideration when explaining (un)employment, which can be seen as a limitation of this study. This is because it is complex to quantify these factors; which is necessary in order to conduct the fuzzy-set methodology. It is for example difficult for a participant to rate their own self-esteem or mental health and to relate this to (un)employment. Further research could focus on the relation between these particular capabilities and employment. Studying these relations could be a useful adjustment to this study as it allows to discover if other capabilities also influence labour market participation.

Another limitation of this study is that the results do not have the potential to fully resolve the unemployment problem in poor areas in South Africa, as the problem is also macro-oriented. However, it does reveal the voices of these young mothers regarding their labour market participation and it shows the individual constraints they experience. Policies such as parental leave and maternity leave can encourage maternal employment, because it allows for a mother's long term labour market attachment as they still remain 'employed' while staying home for childcare (Gornick et al, 1997). Other macro-aspects that affect labour market participation are the current economic situation and the general part-time work demand with its associated conditions. In that case, mothers can choose to reduce working hours to take care of the children, while still participating in the labour market (Mandel & Semyonov, 2006). It is found that in countries that encourage part-time work, such as the Netherlands, female labour market participation is higher (Yerkes, 2011). In South Africa, the part-time labour demand is limited, as 89.4 per cent of employment vacancies in 2012 were fulltime positions (Muthethwa, 2012), although part-time work in lower skilled jobs will hardly contribute to earning a decent income in single parent households. Further research is necessary in order to see to what extent these macro-factors influence maternal employment.

Further research could also focus on the use of informal childcare. Theory implies that informal childcare is an important source for job opportunities (Wheelock & Jones, 2002), especially in developing countries where people often do not have means to pay for childcare fees (Lokshin, 2000). This is contradictive with the findings of this study. It could be useful to investigate this discrepancy more in-depth, as an informal supporting system has the potential to decrease the care-burden of mothers, which possibly enables mothers to return to the labour market.

## *6.2 Recommendation for policy practice*

To promote labour market participation, childcare must also be accessible for the lowest income groups, as unemployed mothers indicate that this will improve their job possibilities. Currently, the use of childcare is only possible when there are sufficient financial means, but subsidizing childcare facilities for unemployed mothers can encourage women to (re)enter the labour market. After all, this study shows that these unemployed mothers are part of a highly motivated workforce, as they have a strong desire to work instead of staying at home. Moreover, this study shows that also many matriculated women are unemployed. Thus, there is a group of motivated and educated women which is left unused, which means a loss of human capital. Subsidizing childcare facilities for this poor income group enables them to leave the home and to deploy their motivation and skills on the labour market.

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## **Appendix 1: Informed consent form**

### **Informed consent form**

Name of the participant: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Introduction**

My name is Maartje Boer, studying Social Policy and Interventions in the Netherlands. I am here in Doornkop to do my masterthesis, which is about employment and unemployment among young black African mothers in this area. With these interviews I want to explore what factors contribute or hinder labour market participation among young mothers in Doornkop. In this interview you are allowed to explain your current situation as a working or unemployed mother.

### **Information about the interviews**

- Participation is completely voluntary.
- Participation is completely anonymous.
- During the interview you can always decide to stop participating.
- When you eventually decide that your interview must not be used, then I will exclude the interview from the research.
- If applicable: the other person attending the interview helps to ensure that we interpret each other right and helps to translate to English when necessary.
- During the interview I would like to use a record-machine to tape our conversation in order to transcribe and analyse the interviews properly in a later stadium.
- Results of the interviews will be published on the website of Utrecht University. Your identity will be completely anonymous.

### **Other remarks**

You can ask me questions about the research any time you want. Even if there are questions at this stage, please ask me.

If you are still happy to participate, please sign this form. This informed consent is obligatory in order to prove that you are aware of the content and purposes of this research and that you agree with this.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 2: Interview with employed mother

- Introduction
- Explaining purpose of the research
- Obtaining informed consent

### Characteristics

First I would like to know a bit more about you. Can you please first tell me something about yourself? *Probing questions:*

- a. Name:
- b. Age:
- c. Nationality:
- d. Ethnic background:
- e. First mother language:
- f. Residential block:
- g. Marital status:
- h. Number of children taking care of:
- i. Household composition:

### Work characteristics

Let's talk about your work now.

- a. Could you tell me about the work that you do?
- b. For how many hours per week do you work?
- c. Do you consider your work to be on a regular or temporarily basis?

*Or: for what period do you have your contract?*

- d. Do you consider yourself to be formally or informally employed?

*Explanation: informal is self-employed or working in a small company with less than 5 employees, not paying income taxes. Formal work is registered work, working in a company with at least 5 employees, paying income-tax (SSA, 2013).*

- e. If you think about why you work, what would be your first thought?

*Probing question: satisfaction, necessity, having a daily activity, or other?*

*Probing question: are there any other reasons why you work?*

## Income

a. Can you estimate your total monthly income? Including money from work or grants and money received from other people:

0 – 400 ZAR	401 – 800 ZAR	801 – 1200 ZAR	1201 – 1600 ZAR	1601 ZAR or more
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b. Can you also say something about the composition of your income?

*Probing question: what part do you earn by your job and what parts are additional?*

c. Is it a steady income? Please explain.

*Probing question: do you earn the same amount every month? Please explain.*

---

We will now talk about different topics that might support you in your opportunity to work. First we will talk about the topics in general and then we will talk about how you think these topics relate to job opportunities.

### Category 1: resources

#### 1. Education

- a. Will you please tell me about the education and training that you had or that you are having?
- b. Which additional training would you like to do more if you could?  
*Or: tell me about your desires regarding other education or training.*
- c. What were your plans after you finished education?  
*Probing question: did you want to become a mother, a worker, or other.*
- d. Could you tell me about how you think that the education that you had has helped you with the current work that you do?  
*Or: do you think you would be able to do the work that you do without the education that you had? Please explain.*

#### 2. Public childcare

- a. Do you bring your child(ren) to public childcare or preschool?  
*Probing question: how many times?*
  - i. No, never: skip question 2b

- ii. Yes, once a week or more: skip question 2c
- b. Why do you bring your child(ren) to public childcare or preschool?
- c. Do you have reasons for not bringing your child(ren) to public childcare or preschool?  
*Probing question: please explain.*
- d. Do you think that bringing your child(ren) to public childcare or preschool helps you with being able to work?  
*Probing question: please explain.*

## Category 2: support

### 3. Informal childcare

- a. Can you tell me more about who else is involved with taking care of your child(ren)?  
*Probing question: family, neighbours, partner, community, or other services?*
- b. How often do these other people help out with childcare?  
*Probing question: average time per week?*
- c. Do you prefer bringing your child(ren) to public childcare or to family/neighbours/other?  
*Probing question: why?*
- d. Would you be able to do your job without the support of family/friends/other? And why (not)?  
*Or: explain if you think you would be able to do your job without the support of family/friends/other.*

### 4. Presence of the father

- a. Can you tell me something about the father(s) of the child(ren)?
- b. Tell me how the father(s) of the child(ren) is/are involved on a day to day basis.  
*Probing question: how is/are the father(s) as a parent?*  
*Probing question: how many days per week is/are he/they spending time with his child(ren) on average?*
- c. How would you describe your desired family situation?  
*Probing question: together with biological father as a couple, single parent, or other?*
- d. Please explain how you think that support from the father(s) in childcare helps you with being able to work.  
*Or: explain if you think you would be able to do your job without the support of the biological father(s).*

### Category 3: capability

5. Desire to combine work and care
  - a. What are your thoughts around being a mother and going to work?
  - b. Who do you think is the main income earner in your household?
  - c. Is that your most desired solution?
  - d. Do you see yourself mainly as the provider, carer, protector, or as anything else?  
*Probing question: please explain.*
  - e. How important is it to you to be a working mother?
  - f. Why is work (not) important to you?
  - g. Would you prefer to work part-time or fulltime?  
*Probing question: please explain.*
  - h. Please tell me about your most important task in the household.  
*Probing question: staying home to do domestic work and childcare, provide by working, or a combination?*

### Additional questions

- a. Are there any factors that helped you with working, that are not discussed in this interview?
- b. Would you like to make any other comments?  
*Or: are there any other issues that I did not cover but you wish to discuss?*

### Appendix 3: Interview with unemployed mother

- Introduction
- Explaining purpose of the research
- Obtaining informed consent

#### Characteristics

First I would like to know a bit more about you. Can you please first tell me something about yourself? *Probing questions:*

- a. Name:
- b. Age:
- c. Nationality:
- d. Ethnic background:
- e. First mother language:
- f. Residential block:
- g. Marital status:
- h. Number of children taking care of:
- i. Household composition:

#### Work

Let's talk about work now. Could you describe to me your experiences of not having to go to work?

*Probing question: can you tell me why you don't work?*

*Probing question: what do you do at home?*

(brief explanations are sufficient as the reasons for unemployment will be discussed in-depth later)

#### Income

a. Can you estimate your total monthly income? Including money from work or grants and money received from other people:

0 – 400 ZAR	401 – 800 ZAR	801 – 1200 ZAR	1201 – 1600 ZAR	1601 ZAR or more
-------------	---------------	----------------	-----------------	------------------

b. Can you also say something about the composition of your income?

*Probing question: what part do you earn by your job and what parts are additional?*

c. Is it a steady income? Please explain.

*Probing question: do you earn the same amount every month? Please explain.*

---

We will now talk about different topics that might have affected your chances of being employed. First we will talk about the topics in general and then we will talk about how you think these topics relate to job opportunities.

### **Category 1: resources**

#### 1. Education

- a. Will you please tell me about the education and training that you had or that you are having?
- b. Which additional training would you like to do more if you could?  
*Or: tell me about your desires regarding other education or training.*
- i. What were your plans after you finished education?  
*Probing question: did you wanted to become a mother, a worker, or other.*
- c. Do you think you could have a job if you had followed more education?  
*Probing question: how would you see yourself with your desired education?*

#### 2. Public childcare

- a. Do you bring your child(ren) to public childcare or preschool?  
*Probing question: how many times?*
  - i. No, never: skip question 2b
  - ii. Yes, once a week or more: skip question 2c
- b. Why do you bring your child(ren) to public childcare or preschool?
- c. Do you have reasons for not bringing your child(ren) to public childcare or preschool?  
*Probing question: please explain.*
- d. Could you tell me about how you think that public childcare or preschool could give you working opportunities?

## Category 2: support

### 3. Informal childcare

- a. Can you tell me more about who else is involved with taking care of your child(ren)?

*Probing question: family, neighbours, partner, community, or other services?*

- b. How often do these other people help out with childcare?

*Probing question: average time per week?*

- c. Do you prefer bringing your child(ren) to public childcare or to family/neighbours/other?

*Probing question: why?*

- d. Please tell me about how you think that the support of family/friends/other could give you working opportunities.

*Or: explain if you think you would be able to do get a job with more support of family/friends/other.*

### 4. Presence of the father

- a. Can you tell me something about the father(s) of the child(ren)?

- b. Tell me how the father(s) of the child(ren) is/are involved on a day to day basis.

*Probing question: how is/are the father(s) as a parent?*

*Probing question: how many days per week is/are he/they spending time with his child(ren) on average?*

- c. How would you describe your desired family situation?

*Probing question: together with biological father as a couple, single parent, or other?*

- d. Please explain how you think that support from the father(s) in childcare could help you with work.

*Probing question: explain if you think you could get a job without the support of the biological father(s).*

## Category 3: capability

### 5. Desire to combine work and care

- a. What are your thoughts around being a mother and going to work?

- b. Who do you think is the main income earner in your household?

- c. Is that your most desired solution?

- d. Do you see yourself mainly as the provider, carer, protector, or as anything else?

*Probing question: please explain.*

- e. How important is it to you to be a working mother?

f. Why is work (not) important to you?

g. Would you prefer to work part-time or fulltime?

*Probing question: please explain.*

h. Please tell me about your most important task in the household.

*Probing question: staying home to do domestic work and childcare, provide by working, or a combination?*

### **Additional questions**

a. Are there any other factors that you think that you think might be limiting your work opportunities, that are not discussed in this interview?

b. Would you like to make any other comments?

*Or: are there any other issues that I did not cover but you wish to discuss?*

## Appendix 4: NVivo code tree

Name	Sources	References
Demographics	16	19
Household composition	16	18
Work motivation	0	0
Being busy	4	6
Being independent	11	15
Necessity	11	20
Satisfaction	4	4
Learning	1	1
Help others	4	4
Work characteristics	0	0
Income	16	16
(in)formal work	8	8
Contract period	8	9
Occupation	8	12
Daily activities	7	7
1- Education	0	0
Obtained education	16	20
Current education (unfinished)	4	6
Desired additional education	16	20
Expectations after education	16	20
Link between education and (un)employment	15	24
2- Formal childcare	0	0
Use of Aftercare	13	19
Use of preschool or creche	16	22
Motivation for formal childcare	16	30
Link between formal childcare and (un)employment	14	17

Name	Sources	References
3- Informal childcare	0	0
Help from family	15	29
Help from friends	3	4
Childcare preference	15	23
Link between informal childcare and (un)employment	14	15
4- Presence of the father	0	0
Physical presence	16	37
Financial support	12	16
Desired family situation	14	22
Link between paternal involvement and (un)employment	14	16
5- Desire to combine work and care	0	0
Thoughts around combining work and care (U)	10	14
Experiences of combining work and care (E)	6	10
Work motivation	16	30
Main income earner	14	16
Preference for part-time or fulltime	14	14
Role description	15	24
Thoughts around male breadwinner model	14	17
Most encouraging factor for employment	5	5
Most limiting factor for employment	7	10
Other reasons for being (un)employed	12	23
Family issues	12	23
Additional comments	12	25
Comments about the interview	8	8

## Appendix 5: Meeting invitation

### **MEETING INVITATION**

*Employed and Unemployed Young Mothers:  
A Research Project*

#### **Who am I?**

My name is Maartje Boer and I am a student from The Netherlands, studying Social Policy and Interventions.

#### **What?**

For my research project about employment and unemployment I am looking for young mothers to have individual interviews about being employed or unemployed while being a mother.

This meeting is organized to give you information about the research project and to get to know each other. Feel free to join and after that you can decide whether you want to participate in the study.

#### **Target group:**

Mothers between 18 and 34 years old who are:

- Unemployed; or
- Employed in paid work

#### **When?**

Tuesday 18<sup>th</sup> 2014, 10:00

#### **Where?**

Humana

*Thank you!*

## Appendix 6: Demographics

Participant	Occupational status	Age	Home language	Relationship status	Number of children taking care of	Household composition including participant	Income
1 (A)	Employed, caregiver, coordinator and area leader	29	Zulu	Single mother	1, expecting second	5: parents, sister + own child	1201-1600
2 ©	Employed, community worker, working with orphans.	28	Swazi	Boyfriend	1	4: mother, nephew + own child	1201-1600
3 (D)	Employed, qualified social worker	32	Tswana	Boyfriend	1	7: mother, sister, brother, two siblings + own child	401-800
4 (F)	Employed, domestic worker	33	Venda	Single mother	3	5: grandmother + own three children	1601+
5 (J)	Employed, distributing flyers	32	Xhosa	Boyfriend	1	6: mother, brother, sister, child of died sister + own child	1601+
6 (O)	Employed, home-based caregiver	29	Swazi	Single mother	2	9: mother, sister and her three children, brother's daughter + own two children	1601+
7 (P)	Employed, home-based caregiver	30	Venda	Married	2	4: husband + own two kids	1601+
8 (Q)	Employed, home-based caregiver	29	Zulu	Cohabiting partners	1	3: boyfriend + own child	1601+
9 (B)	Unemployed	21	Zulu	Boyfriend	1	7: mother, three brothers, sister and own son	401-800
10 (G)	Unemployed	30	Xhosa	Cohabiting partners	2	4: boyfriend + own two children	401-800

<b>11 (H)</b>	Unemployed	30	Sotho	Married, living separate	7	9: brother, three children of died sister, child of other sister + own three children	401-800 801-1200
<b>12 (I)</b>	Unemployed	32	Sotho	Single mother	5	6: own five children	1201-1600
<b>13 (K)</b>	Unemployed	34	Zulu	Single mother	1	4: parents + own child	801-1200
<b>14 (L)</b>	Unemployed	26	Xhosa	Boyfriend	2	5: cousin and her child + own two children	401-800
<b>15 (N)</b>	Unemployed	33	Tswana	Cohabiting partners	3	5: boyfriend + own three children	801-1200
<b>16 (R)</b>	Unemployed	30	Zulu	Cohabiting partners	7	9: boyfriend + own seven children	0-400

## Appendix 7: Data, uncoded

Participant	LMP	Education	Formal childcare	Informal childcare	Presence of the father	Desire to combine work and care
1 (A)	1	Matric+	Fulltime at (pre)school or crèche	2x per week	0x per week	Prefers fulltime work
2 (C)	1	Matric+	Fulltime at (pre)school or crèche	Incidental	Weekends	Prefers fulltime work
3 (D)	1	Matric+	Child(ren) at home for 2 days	Incidental	3x per week	Prefers fulltime work
4 (F)	1	Grade 11	Fulltime at (pre)school or crèche	Incidental	0x per week	Prefers fulltime work
5 (J)	1	Matric+	Fulltime at (pre)school or crèche	1/2x per week	Weekends	Prefers staying home fulltime
6 (O)	1	Matric+	Fulltime at (pre)school or crèche	5x per week	Weekends	Prefers fulltime work
7 (P)	1	Matric	Fulltime at (pre)school or crèche	Incidental	7x per week	Prefers fulltime work
8 (Q)	1	Matric+	Fulltime at (pre)school or crèche	Incidental	7x per week	Prefers fulltime work
9 (B)	0	Matric	Fulltime at (pre)school or crèche	4/5x per week	3/4x per week	Prefers fulltime work
10 (G)	0	Grade 7	Fulltime at (pre)school or crèche	0x per week	7x per week	Prefers fulltime work
11 (H)	0	Grade 7	Child(ren) at home fulltime	1x per week	0x per week	Prefers fulltime work
12 (I)	0	Grade 11	Child(ren) at home fulltime	Incidental	0x per week	Prefers fulltime work
13 (K)	0	Matric	Fulltime at (pre)school or crèche	3x per week	0x per week	Prefers part-time work, prioritize staying home
14 (L)	0	Matric + FET certificate	Child(ren) at home fulltime	3x per week	1x per week	Prefers part-time work, prioritize

						staying home
15 (N)	0	Matric	Child(ren) at home fulltime	Incidental	7x per week	Prefers part-time work. prioritize work.
16 (R)	0	Matric	Child(ren) at home fulltime	Incidental	7	Prefers part-time work. prioritize work.