

8/22/2014

The relation between family, education, employment status, Child Support Grant receipt and emotional well- being for young mothers in South Africa



Universiteit Utrecht

Sara Slijper

STUDENT NUMBER: 4193210

SUPERVISOR: TRUDIE KNIJN

SECOND READER: DOROTA LEPIANKA

SA SUPERVISORS:

JACQUELINE MOODLEY & ZOHEB KHAN

Abstract

This study explores the resources and capability sets of young mothers in South Africa. More specifically, what is the relation between family, education, employment, the Child Support Grant (CSG) and emotional well-being? South Africa is a country with increasing female unemployment rates and female CSG take up rates. Poverty has become a gender phenomenon and aside from a deprivation of income, young mothers are also deprived from human capabilities. This research has included the capability approach to create a better understanding of human development and explore the actual freedom in choice for young mothers. The capability approach shows that the type of family, the level of education, CSG receipt and employment status can facilitate or deprive young mother's quality of life. It is important to reflect on a young mother's emotional well-being, because each person can desire a different lifestyle. Hence, there is not one ideal outcome when referring to the quality of life. However, emotional well-being can reflect on whether or not young mothers are living the life they want to live. Yet, mothers might be part of a cooperative conflict whereby they will not pursue their individual well-being, but the cooperative well-being of the family. Conflicting with what they want to achieve. An explanatory research has been done to explore the relation between the different resources and emotional well-being. The quantitative research is based on questionnaires from the National Income Dynamic Study (NIDS). The qualitative part of the research included 12 semi-structured interviews with young mothers (aged 25-30). The NIDS explores the resources and capability sets of young mothers, whereas the semi-structured interviews provide in-depth information.

Both qualitative and quantitative findings show that the type of family structure does not reflect on the emotional well-being of young mothers. However, the employment status and CSG receipt does reflect on the emotional well-being of young mothers. Even though, education was not significantly related to emotional well-being in the quantitative analysis, the interviews have shown that education can be described as a facilitating factor for employment which can lead to an increase in emotional well-being. Young mothers did not experience a cooperative conflict according to the qualitative data, because they described their situation as the responsibility of a mother.

Further research is required to create a better understanding of family and a young mother's capability set. In addition, action has to be undertaken to increase the involvement of young mothers within the community.

Acknowledgements

This research has been made possible, because of the support of many people. First, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Trudie Knijn for giving me this opportunity to do my research in South Africa and providing me with feedback. I would also like to thank my supervisors in South Africa. Jacqueline Moodley for helping me with the NIDS data and providing me with feedback. Zoheb Khan for providing me with new insights for my study. I would like to thank Dr. Moreblessing Thandeke and Prof. Eleanor Ross for the nice chats at the office. I also thank the rest of the staff at the CSDA and Prof. Dr. Leila Patel for making us feel at home. In addition, my gratefulness goes out to the NGO Humana: People to People, for helping me with finding respondents. I want to thank all the social workers for telling me their stories. I also thank the young mothers I have interviewed for their openness. I would like to thank my fellow students for making this experience even more special. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for their support during my research.

Sara Slijper

Contents

Abstract.....	1
Acknowledgements.....	2
List of abbreviations	5
List of figures and tables.....	6
1. Introduction	7
1.1. Significance of the Study and problem statement	8
1.2. Overview.....	9
2. Theoretical Framework.....	10
2.1. Contextual background	10
2.1.1. Challenges to women’s education	10
2.1.2. The disrupted family life	10
2.1.3. The feminization of the labor force in South Africa	11
2.1.4. The South African Child Support Grant.....	12
2.2. Emotional Well-being.....	14
2.3. The Capability Approach	15
2.3.1. Sen’s Capability Approach.....	15
2.3.2. The Cooperative Conflict	17
2.4. The capability approach for young mothers	18
2.4.1. Family	19
2.4.2. Education	20
2.4.3. Child Support Grant	20
2.4.4. Employment.....	21
2.5. Conclusion	21
3. Research question	23
4. Methodology.....	24
4.1. Operationalization of Concepts	24
4.2. Explanatory Research Design	28
4.3. Data collection and analyses	28
4.4. Contextual conditions: Doornkop, Soweto.....	29
4.5. Validity and reliability	30
4.6. Ethics	30
5. Results	31

5.1 Quantitative findings.....	31
5.1.1 Profile of respondents	31
5.1.2 Resources and the capability set of young mothers	35
5.1.3. The outcome variable of emotional well-being	37
5.1.4. Analyses of interaction between resources and outcomes	38
5.2. Qualitative findings.....	44
5.2.1. Profile of respondents	44
5.2.2. Young mothers' capabilities and resources	45
5.2.3. The relationship between emotional well-being and a mother's capability set.....	47
5.2.4. Motherhood: A cooperative conflict?.....	48
6. Conclusion	50
References	52
Appendices	58
Appendix 1: Semi-structured interview	58
Appendix 2: Nvivo Tree	67
Appendix 3: Qualitative Analytical Framework	69
Appendix 4: Informed Consent Form for a Qualitative Research on Mothers	71
Appendix 4: The profile of the respondents in Doornkop	73

List of abbreviations

CES-D 10	Center for Epidemiologic Studies Short Depression Scale
CSDA	Centre of Social Development in Africa
CSG	Child Support Grant
FET	Further Education Training
FGT line	Foster-Greer-Thorbecke line
GEM	Girls Education Movement
GET	General Education Training
HPP	Humana People to People
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIDS	National Income Dynamics Study
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
USD	United States Dollars
VIF	Variance Inflation Factor
ZAR	South African Rand

List of figures and tables

Figures

<i>Figure 1. The influential factors of young mothers' emotional well-being</i>	pp. 19
<i>Figure 2. The distribution of women aged 25-30</i>	pp. 31
<i>Figure 3. The population group of women aged 25 to 30</i>	pp. 31
<i>Figure 4. Geotype for women aged 25-30</i>	pp. 32
<i>Figure 5. Marital status of women aged 25-30</i>	pp. 32
<i>Figure 6. Number of children given birth to</i>	pp. 33
<i>Figure 7. Children living with their mother</i>	pp. 33
<i>Figure 8. Main caregivers within family</i>	pp. 33
<i>Figure 9. Education level of young mothers</i>	pp. 36
<i>Figure 10. Education level of young mothers</i>	pp. 36
<i>Figure 11. Employment status of young mothers</i>	pp. 36
<i>Figure 12. The relationships between young mothers' emotional well-being</i>	pp. 41

Tables

<i>Table 1. Poverty line of young mothers</i>	pp. 34
<i>Table 2. The distribution of types of family structures for young mothers</i>	pp. 35
<i>Table 3. Depression scale distribution of young mothers</i>	pp. 37
<i>Table 4. Correlations for depression score and input variables</i>	pp. 40
<i>Table 5. Multiple regression analysis between emotional well-being and employment, CSG, education and family structure</i>	pp. 42

1. Introduction

‘New trends are emerging in the profile of the poor in South Africa: rising urban poverty, an increasing proportion of the poor living in households with low educational levels, and an increase in the gendered nature of employment, including higher unemployment levels for women than for men.’
(Leibbrandt et al., 2010).

Poverty strikes many South African families and has become a gendered phenomenon. This is referred to as the feminization of poverty implying a decrease in the development of women’s capabilities (Nussbaum, 1997; Nussbaum, 2002). According to Statistics South Africa (2014), 27.5% of the women in South Africa are unemployed¹ and 23.8 % are unemployed men. There are high national rates of female unemployment, because women with lower levels of skills and education are not absorbed in the labour market (Casale & Posel, 2005). Three out of every five unemployed persons had education qualifications below the matric level (Stats SA, 2013). Aside from the female unemployment rates, the gendered nature of employment reflects on women having lower paid jobs and their inability to be employed because of their care burden for children leading to a higher risk of becoming impoverished (Budlender & Lund, 2011). Women face different restrictions on their choices and opportunities compared to men (Fukuda-Parr, 1999). Consequently, women experience poverty differently because of asymmetrical social positions due to differences in social and economic needs that lead to inequality of access to resources, services and opportunities (Chant, 2008; Patel et al., 2013). In addition, young mothers endure a higher risk of becoming impoverished, because their role as caregivers generally leads to them bearing the greatest responsibility for coping with poverty with limited resources and meeting the care needs of their families and households (Patel et al., 2013). The deprivation in capabilities and income for young mothers has led to them having lower education qualifications and experiencing a higher risk in unemployment. Both life-events decrease the chance of young mothers being able to provide for their families. Hence, young mothers struggle with combining care and financial burdens within the family (Ritchie, 1982). In addition, empirical research has shown that time and energy constraints have been particularly binding for poorer women, because of conflicting demands of caring and providing for the family (Kabeer, 1999).

The double burden can deprive young mothers from their opportunities and freedom to choose defined as human poverty. The freedom to choose is referred to as capabilities, including being able to have a job and being able to provide, being a mother, being in education or receiving support from a government grant, being healthy, being part of the community and being supported. Thus, poverty entails not only the

¹ Employment = work to generate income, unpaid work including volunteer work and domestic work for own final household consumption, and child labor (StatSA, 2014).

lack of basic necessities, but also excludes young mothers from the basic opportunities and choices that make human development possible (Norton, 1998).

Yet, family should not solely be seen as a burden, because family can also play a facilitating role. Family can offer young mothers financial, emotional and physical support. These types of support can create opportunities and choices giving young mothers the freedom to develop themselves apart from taking care of their family. Aside from family support, social grants have been introduced in South Africa, such as the Child Support Grant (CSG), to increase combined human capabilities of deprived members. However, grants do not push people into functioning, because the choice is still theirs to make (Nussbaum, 2002). Research has shown contradictory theories on development of capabilities of mothers, because some assume women in receipt of CSG to be more engaged with their children (Patel et al., 2012) and others suggest the income stability can alleviate women from their domestic duties and can create an incentive for women to hold a job (Williams, 2007, Patel et al., 2013).

Women are given unequal human capabilities (Nussbaum, 2002). All these factors can affect a young mother's emotional well-being. Emotional well-being, or subjective well-being, includes global judgments of life satisfaction, from happiness to depression (Diener et al., 2009). A lack in education, family support, employment and receiving CSG can lead to a hindrance in developing capabilities. This hindrance can be referred to as 'unfreedoms'. The presumption is that young mothers experience their 'unfreedoms' negatively affecting their emotional well-being. This study hopes to create a better understanding of the factors which enable young mothers to develop themselves and how this reflects on their emotional well-being.

1.1. Significance of the Study and problem statement

This study aims to explore the relation between family, education, employment status, CSG receipt and emotional well-being. This study is of scientific relevance, because it contributes to previous social development research on families. There has been a lot of literature on women and their double burden, however, not much research has been done on young mothers in relation to their families in South Africa. It is of importance to fill up the literature gap between young mothers and the role of family in the development of their capabilities for future family related studies. A lot of research in South Africa has been concerned with the CSG (Vorster & de Waal, 2008; Patel et al., 2012; South Africa Department of Social Development et al., 2012). It has been shown that CSG alone does not push young mothers into functioning. Therefore it is of importance to reflect on family and CSG in relation to young mothers, because well-focused support can give young mothers the ability to do what they want to do, from

employment to care. In addition, this study reflects on whether or not the different factors have an effect on the emotional well-being. By including emotional well-being, this study can reflect on the effects of the (un)freedom of choice on young mothers.

This study is a combination of quantitative and qualitative data adding to the significance of the study. The study generates numerical data from quantitative research and non-numerical data from qualitative data. The qualitative aspect of the study builds on the quantitative data and adds the role of family support for young mothers and detailed views on the different social factors.

The study is of interdisciplinary character, because it combines Sen's capability approach from sociology and social development disciplines and emotional well-being from psychology. Social development studies show that mothers experience a high sense of responsibility towards others (Sen, 1987). Mothers own emotional well-being exists out of several factors. A mother's agency can be overshadowed by the social rules and obligations within the family. This is referred to as the cooperative conflict and is important to take into account when referring to young mothers and their emotional well-being in relation to their resources and capabilities in context with their family obligations.

1.2. Overview

Chapter two is dedicated to the contextual background and the capability approach and its cooperative conflict as the theoretical framework of this study, incorporating the resources and capability sets. Chapter three elaborates on the research question. Chapter four describes the research methodology of the study based on an explanatory research design from quantitative to qualitative research. Chapter five provides detail of the quantitative and qualitative data. Chapter six outlines a discussion and conclusion.

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first part of this chapter describes the contextual background to create better understanding of young mothers in South Africa and their day to day challenges. The second part aims to explain emotional well-being. The third part focuses on the theoretical framework based on the capability approach and the cooperative conflict of Sen (1990; 1999). The fourth part is aimed to apply the capability approach to young mothers in South Africa.

2.1. Contextual background

2.1.1. Challenges to women's education

Education empowers women, increases human development and can diminish poverty (UNICEF, 2006). Therefore it is of great importance to create a safe environment for girls to be educated. However, in practice, there are three structural and social challenges to women's education. The first challenge is gender inequality. South Africa is to a large extent a patriarchal society. Women endure higher risks when it comes to violence and HIV infections. Even though, the country has evolved over time, rather focusing on educational attainment female disempowerment has led to women being socialized as caregivers within in the household. The second challenge is the impact of HIV/AIDS. Girls often drop out of school to care for their family members. The third challenge is a girl's safety and security. Various school are not child or girl friendly for many reasons. For instance, some schools are located far from home exposing girls to potential harm and/or teenage pregnancies. In 2003, the intervention Girls Education Movement (GEM) was introduced to overcome these challenges in South Africa. Yet, this intervention needs more time to reduce the number of drop outs, because poverty has left its trace in the South African society. Structural and social changes have to occur to reduce the number of female drop outs for future young mothers.

2.1.2. The disrupted family life

Over the past decades, South Africa has undergone many social, economic and political changes. Still, South Africa is struggling, because of its legacy of colonialism, land dispossession, the migrant labor system and apartheid. *'One of the country's victims has been the South African family as they have become under threat because of their inability to play an effective role in terms of socialization, nurturing, care and protection (Department of Social Development, 2011).'*

Family life has become disrupted in South Africa for many reasons. There are many grandparents- and child-headed households due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Richter & Morell, 2006). There is a high rate of families with absent fathers. Some social scientists relate the absence of fathers to the apartheid and the migrant labour systems. History has, also, shown polygamy in isiZulu culture, if resources permit it men could marry more women (Hunter, 2006). Polygamy was mainly possible, because men were burdened with the financial aspects of the family rather than the care aspect. Hunter (2006) assumes the denial of paternity emerged from men's disempowerment to provide the family with financial means.

In a large part of the poor population, marriage rates have been declining and become a less dominant normative factor for starting a family, which have made families increasingly unsettled (Denis & Ntsimane, 2006). In addition, the majority of women have children in South Africa, with a large number of women being unmarried and having successive children from different fathers (Budlender & Lund, 2011). In case of present stepfathers these rarely play a meaningful role in the lives of the children from previous relationships (Denis & Ntsimane, 2006). This combination of factors has led to an increase in the likelihood of African children having female single parents. Most of the South African family structures are based on extended households with absent fathers, where only one third of the 12.7 million households conform to the 'nuclear norm' of Western culture (Budlender & Lund, 2011). The disruption of family life has played an important part in the gendered nature of poverty, because mainly women are double burdened.

However, aside from referring to family as a burden for young mothers, family is responsible for raising children and offering care and support to older generations (Abela & Walker, 2014, pp. 12). Family support is important, because family members can prevent stress and reduce the effects stress can have on the emotional well-being and functioning of young mothers (Thompson, 1995). '*Family support is the key way of enhancing the development, welfare and safety of children and young people* (Gilligan, 2000, pp. 28).' Thus, family support can enable young mothers' abilities.

2.1.3. The feminization of the labor force in South Africa

There is an increase in labor force in South Africa, yet, labor supply has been quite stable. Consequently, unemployment rates for both genders have increased (Casale & Posel, 2002). Still the opportunity for women to be employed tend to be more insecure compared to men. "*It seems that the continued feminization of the labor force in South Africa is associated with rising levels of female unemployment and a feminization of low-paid insecure forms of employment* (Casale & Posel, 2002)." Young mothers can be in a role conflict, because they have to obtain the demands of provider and

caregiver (Casper et al., 2002). As research in Kwazulu-Natal has shown that household size can have a significant effect on the unemployment of women, because larger households require more domestic duties depriving mothers from employment (Dinkelman, 2004).

2.1.4. The South African Child Support Grant

‘Before 1994, South Africa was described as a vulnerable country with high unemployment rates, a low socio-economic status, poor social cohesion, poor health outcome and lacking essential services (Sheriff et al., 2010).’ After the democratization, the government introduced social grants to empower the otherwise marginalized households by enabling them to participate in systems of social reciprocity (Neves et al., 2009). One of these introduced grants was the CSG which nowadays shares one of the highest coverage rates of 11 million children in South Africa (BBC News, 2013; SASSA, 2013). The grant was implemented in 1998 and has as primary objective to provide primary caregivers with a cash transfer to ensure support of the child (Budlender & Lund, 2011).

The grant is publicly funded, means-tested and its eligibility criteria have been adjusted throughout the years. When CSG was introduced children younger than seven years old could receive the grant, where nowadays is extended to children to eighteen years old. The threshold is based on an income based means test. Since 2014, married primary caregivers are eligible if the threshold does not exceed ZAR72,000 per year². Single primary caregivers are eligible if the threshold does not exceed ZAR36,000 per year³. The income based means-test has increased throughout time, because in 2012 single primary caregivers were supposed to have a threshold which did not exceed ZAR33,600 per year and married primary caregivers’ threshold could not exceed ZAR 67,200⁴ (South Africa Department of Social Development et al., 2012). Even though the threshold is increasing, massive changes have not occurred, which makes the inclusion of a large sector of the population of poor children in South Africa possible (Patel & Hochfeld, 2011).

The grant is gender neutral, because the grant is paid to the primary caregiver instead of the biological parent. Even though, the CSG is gender neutral, 96% of the grant recipients are women letting them bear the burden of mitigating the effects poverty has on their families (Patel et al., 2013; Leibbrandt & Woolard, 2010; Vorster & De Waal, 2008). In addition, these women receiving CSG are mostly black South Africans with lower education qualifications, unemployed and mainly living in larger households compared to non-recipients (Delany et al., 2008). The financial burden of mothers has been alleviated partly by the CSG, however, the implementation of the grant has not explicitly reduced the care burden,

² ZAR 72,000 = USD 6902,81 or monthly ZAR 6,000 = USD 575,23

³ ZAR 36,000 = USD 3451,41 or monthly ZAR 3,000 = USD 287,62

⁴ ZAR 33,600 = USD 3220,48 and ZAR 67,200 = USD 6440,95

but has contributed to the immediate well-being and dependency of the primary caregivers (Patel et al., 2013). Thus, the CSG is a means of support for people with little likelihood of financial means to provide for their family, in a context of high unemployment. The CSG has lifted people out of severe poverty, but not exiting from poverty entirely.

2.2. Emotional Well-being

Throughout the world, the importance of reflecting on emotional well-being in social science is increasing (Diener, 2000). Emotional well-being can also be referred to as subjective well-being focusing on people's cognitive and affective evaluations of their lives, from happiness to depression. Thus, what is considered to be a good life? Previous researchers have shown that income is related to happiness, however, it is an imperfect predictor of happiness (Kingdon & Knight, 2003). Evidence has been accumulated showing that many life circumstances correlate with emotional well-being. Emotional well-being is determined by different social, economic and environmental factors. The different factors within this research include education, employment, family and CSG. What is considered as the good life can differ among people. This research relates its measurement of emotional well-being to what a young mothers feels over time. Emotional well-being reflects on whether or not young mothers are satisfied or discouraged with their lives. The type of relations between variables and emotional well-being depends on culture. According to Diener (2000) there are two types of cultures; individualistic and collectivist. Individualistic cultures stress the importance of individual satisfaction, whereas in collectivist cultures people are more willing to sacrifice their desires for the greater good. Young mothers can be described as individuals, however, they might choose to sacrifice certain opportunities for the greater good within the family. Thus, young mothers can also be described as part of the collectivist culture. Sacrificing future dreams can take its toll on emotional well-being, but can increase it as well. For instance, an unemployed young mother actually wants to care for her child at home, instead of providing financial resources to her family. This can positively reflect on her emotional well-being, because her 'doing' does correspond with what she wants to be doing. Yet, it can also be the case that this unemployed young mother wants to provide for her family financially and is unable to do so, showing a struggle negatively reflecting on her emotional well-being. In practice, though, these distinctions are not clear cut. Therefore other-driven choices can have both a positive or negative impact on a young mother's emotional well-being.

So, emotional well-being reflects on the perceived quality of life. Research has become increasingly involved with reflecting on emotional well-being. Although, well-being research was initially developed for psychological purposes, it has important implications for research in wider domains (Lucas & Diener, 2008, pp. 481). It is important for a country to reflect on subjective measurements of emotional well-being for future policy decisions to increase the quality of life.

2.3. The Capability Approach

This paragraph describes the capability approach of Sen (1999) and the cooperative conflict (Sen, 1990) to create a better understanding of deprived young mothers in South Africa and to reflect on human development. *‘Human development is about removing the obstacles to what a person can do in life, obstacles such as a lack of access to resources, and improving human lives by expanding the range of things that a person can be and do (Fukuda-Parr, 2003).’* Deprived young mothers not only face a lack in basic necessities, but they are excluded from basic opportunities and choices that makes human development possible (Norton, 1998). This denial in opportunities and freedoms is referred to as human poverty and can affect a young mother’s emotional well-being. Therefore it is important to look at the capability approach of Sen to reveal young mothers’ ability to choose. It has to be noted upfront, that the capability approach is not a theory that can explain poverty, inequality or emotional well-being. Instead, it provides a tool and a framework within which to conceptualize and evaluate these phenomena (Robeyns, 2003). The main focus of the capability approach is on the potential people have to develop themselves and if they are able to do what they want to do (Sen, 1990).

2.3.1. Sen’s Capability Approach

Sen’s capability approach (1999) was introduced to create a better understanding of the quality of life, where before researchers mainly focused on economic development. The approach emphasizes the difference between means and ends, and between capabilities and achieved functionings. The means to achieve are defined as instruments to reach the goal of increased well-being and development, or in other words resources. Resources are the means mothers have to achieve certain freedoms. Resources do not necessarily reflect on the freedom young mothers have to make choices, but reflect on the assets they have. Resources are the capability inputs and can entail income or non-market goods and services. People can be deprived of resources, but that does not necessarily imply a limitation in their freedom of choice (Sen, 1999). The freedom of choice is based on a combination of resources and capabilities. Therefore, the capability approach is not only about resources, but also about how resources enable women to function or increase their opportunities, or capabilities (Nussbaum, 2002). Capabilities refer to the various combinations of potential people have, or the freedom, to achieve certain functionings. Functionings are the actual freedom people have ‘to do and be’ (Sen, 1999). Functionings include achievements as working, being a mother, caring for a child and being educated. The chosen combination of functionings is referred to as the capability set: what people are really able to do and be (Sen, 1999).

Achieved functionings can lead to new opportunities within the capability set. For instance, a young mother becomes employed enabling her to make new choices, e.g. providing for her family.

Yet, the capability approach does not force people into functioning in the end the choice is theirs (Nussbaum, 2003). People differ in their ability to convert resources into capabilities or functionings. The capability approach focuses on whether a person has the freedom to choose his/her ultimate functionings. Different people need different amounts and different kinds of resources to reach the same levels of actual freedom (Nussbaum, 2003; Robeyns, 2005). Hence knowing the resources of a person is not sufficient enough for knowing the outcome. It is necessary to know more about the different social circumstances of young mothers. The capability approach emphasizes the individual heterogeneity of people (Sen, 1999).

People have a bounded social choice due to personal, social and environmental conversion factors. Individual conversion factors are of great importance reflecting on the degree in which a person can transform a resource or capability into a functioning. Thus, conversion factors represent how much functioning a person can retrieve from a good or service (Robeyns, 2005). Personal conversion factors are internal to a person, social conversion factors are factors from the society in which a person lives and environmental conversion factors are related to the physical environment. For instance, young mothers are women (personal), living with certain gender roles (social) in South Africa (environmental). These different factors for young mothers could lead to a different capability set compared to men living in South Africa. It is necessary to look at the social norms, power relations, gender role division and traditions that form women's preferences and influences their freedom of choice (Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 1990). These different conversion factors of resources can lead to different facilitating and depriving factors for young mothers to transform resources into a capability set (Nussbaum, 2002). For instance, the type of gender division within the family can lead to young mothers looking after the children and doing domestic duties being unable to maintain a job. Therefore, it can be questioned whether or not young mothers are able to make genuine choices, because of unequal freedoms within the family.

Facilitating factors enable young mothers to transform resources into functioning, where depriving factors can constrain young mothers from what they want to do and be. For instance, on the one hand, young mothers can refer to family as a facilitating factor enabling them to take care of their children while family members can fulfil the financial role. On the other hand, family can be considered as a depriving factor constraining them from being educated, because they have to provide for the family. In practice, young mothers can experience a combination of facilitating and depriving factors.

2.3.2. The Cooperative Conflict

'One's own development co-exists with a variety of identities. Our understanding of our interests, well-being, obligations, objectives and legitimate behaviour is influenced by the various - and sometimes conflicting - influences of these diverse identities (Sen, 1987).' Young mothers are part of many identities, aside from being mothers, sisters and wives, they are community members, providers, etc. By including the cooperative conflict, the capability approach can create a better understanding of the challenges young mothers face when referring to the actual freedom to choose.

Researchers have suggested that instead of solely considering family in terms of ties of affection, family should be described as an entity which engages in bargaining with other family members based on ties of affection (Desai, 1992). For that reason Sen (1990) introduced the term 'cooperative conflict' which reflects on family relations. Many aspects of the conflict of interest within a family have to be viewed against the background of pervasive cooperative behavior (Sen, 1987). In economic terms the cooperative conflict entails a bargaining system of mutual gains within the family. The cooperative conflict entails a trade-off in agency, or the capacity to make choices, among family members. Women have been described as passive dependents in the past, therefore having your own agency is an important goal for women within the family (Nussbaum, 2003). Yet, a mother's agency can differ from a woman's agency, because young mothers are caregivers as well. Young mothers can face a conflict between their own agency and their family's agency leading to a pursuit of a cooperative well-being instead of an individual well-being. Thus, a trade off in her own agency takes place for a higher achieved well-being for the entire family. This could lead to restrained decision-making on the young mother's behalf.

Consequently, young mothers' emotional well-being can be affected by their restricted choice and agency through the cooperative conflict. To reflect on whether or not the choices young mothers make are genuine, this research takes into account the emotional well-being. Emotional well-being is according to Nussbaum (2003) one of the basic capabilities. By including emotional well-being, the capability approach can be used to reflect on whether or not young mothers have the ability to make real choices or whether they experience a burden. Thus, by taking emotional well-being into account when referring to the capability set of young mothers, the researcher can reflect on whether or not their doings and beings correspond with what the young mothers want to do and be. Therefore emotional well-being can be described as a proxy for genuine choices of young mothers. Yet, if a young mother pursues a cooperative well-being it does not necessarily entail a diminished individual emotional well-being. Even though young mothers do not make choices based on individual goals it does not necessarily entail a decrease in

emotional well-being. Therefore genuine choices should be seen as choices which do not restrict women negatively and affect their emotional well-being.

2.4. The capability approach for young mothers

This research reflects on the emotional well-being of young mothers by taking into account their freedom of choice in their resources and capabilities. The different resources are family, education, CSG and employment. These different resources can be considered as part of the capability set as well, because young mothers' doings and beings can be influenced by the support they receive, their education level, the ability to provide for their family and gain work experience. In practice, resources and capabilities can overlap. The freedom of choice and the actual achieved functionings of young mothers depend on the different individual conversion factors and the cooperative conflict. For example, it is important to take capabilities into account when referring to emotional well-being of young mothers. Young mothers might be part of a cooperative conflict, in which resources and capabilities are divided among the family members. Young mothers can also be faced with unequal human capabilities within the family, because of different conversion factors concerning culture, gender norms and environment.

Thus, this research looks at whether or not family, education, employment and CSG are facilitating or depriving factors for young mother's emotional well-being. These different resources and capability sets can be positively or negatively related to emotional well-being. In addition, the educational background and family can affect the employment status and CSG receipt. Figure 1 reflects on the possible relationships between the outcome emotional well-being and the different inputs of family, education, CSG and employment. The different combinations of the resources and capabilities mentioned can have different effects on a young mother's emotional well-being.

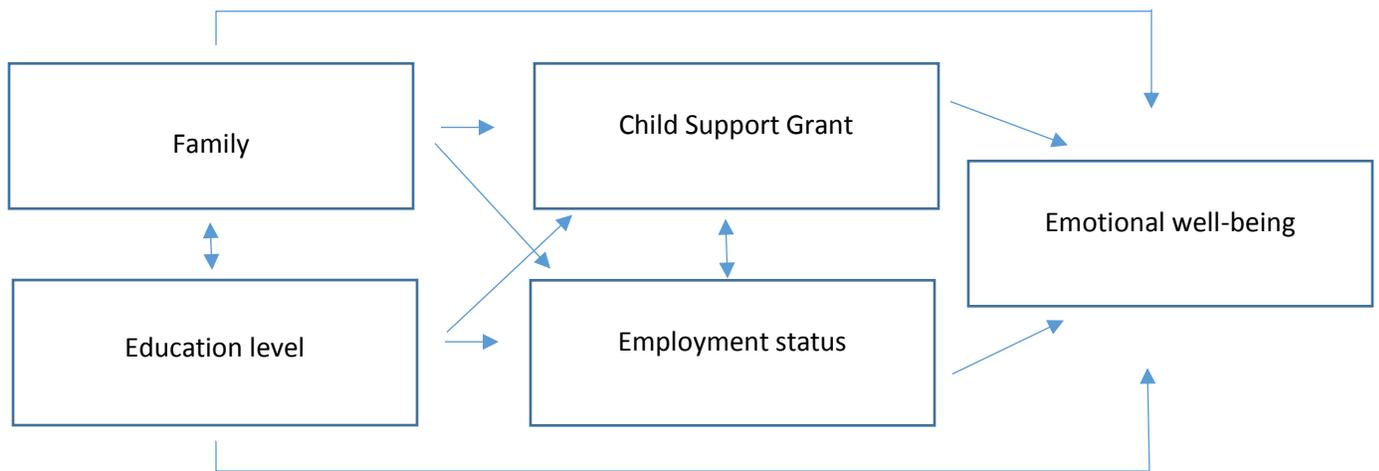


Figure 1. The influential factors of young mothers' emotional well-being

2.4.1. Family

Family can play an important part in a young mother's life and can be described as a resource enabling or depriving young mothers from their capabilities. Young mothers might experience a cooperative conflict, because of bargaining taking place within the family. Family members' capability sets are shown to be interdependent, because a person's freedom is critically affected by the resources the family has at its disposal. (Lewis & Giullari, 2006). The agency and capability set of young mothers are dependent on the role distribution within the family.

The type of family structure and family support can have different effects on young mothers' capabilities. For instance, extended families structures can relieve the care burden of young mothers, but that just depends on the cooperative rules within the household and the level of gender equality (Bertrand et al., 2003). Young mothers can live in different types of networks, for instance, double-, skipped-, extended-, and multiple generation families. The people within the network can be described as the nodes of the structural network. Aside from the structural characteristics based on nodes, one must look at the social ties between the family members. These ties can vary in density, because family members can have a different type of relationship with each other. As the ties of the network become stronger, the likelihood of family support increases as well. However, when the ties are weak within the family, the likelihood of family support decreases.

Thus, family can support young mothers, where they can also suppress them. Family support has the ability to enhance the development, welfare and safety of young mothers (Abela & Walker, 2014, pp. 28).

Young mothers can receive three types of support within the family; financial, physical and emotional support. Financial support is about other family members providing the family with monetary funds. For instance, a father provides an income for his family enabling the young mother to be the caregiver at home. Emotional support can relieve stress and reduce the toll stress can have on the emotional well-being, functionings and health (Thompson, 1995). Emotional support takes place via affection and conversation. For instance, young mothers can alleviate stress by expressing themselves via conversation with their own mother. Young mothers can be physically supported by getting help in the household with domestic work or getting support in finding a job or going into education. Thus, family can play a facilitating or depriving factor in a young mother's life. Family can push women into functioning via support or family can deprive young mothers from functioning and agency. In addition, family support can be most effective when combined with other resources, because social support cannot make up for a lack in resources, such as a low income or long-term unemployment (Thompson, 1995).

2.4.2. Education

The possibility of getting a job is likely to increase when young mothers are better qualified. A higher educational qualification is likely to contribute to increases the likelihood of having a job and earning an independent income. Higher educational qualifications can improve a young mother's future status in her family and the labor market, enhancing her freedom of choice and reducing her level of stress (Adato et al., 2000). Education can both be a resource and a capability. To be educated creates a whole new range of other capabilities and creates a new capability set. Thus, education can be described as a facilitating factor enabling mothers to be autonomous and independent by increasing the chance of employment. However, education can also be described as a depriving factor. Through education, young mothers are provided with different opportunities, but in practice, are unable to reach these opportunities themselves (Unterhalter, 2003). In addition, young mothers can lack the resources to become educated depriving them from a different capability set.

2.4.3. Child Support Grant

If we turn to literature on poverty and the capability approach, income was described as a bad indicator to reflect on the quality of life. However, income can function as a resource adequate to achieve a specified set of capabilities. Sen does not deny the fact that deprivation in terms of a person's capabilities could also imply a relative deprivation in terms of income, but he questions whether a higher income implies a bigger freedom to choose (Kingdon & Knight, 2003). The CSG can be described as a facilitating factor of a young mother's capabilities as it enables mothers to provide for the children within

the family. The CSG partially alleviates a young mother's financial burden. Receiving CSG can also be considered to be a depriving factor, because the cash transfer program makes young mothers dependent on the state. In addition, the CSG is speculated to decrease the incentive for women to be employed making them passive dependents (Goldblatt, 2005). The inability to receive the CSG, because of missing ID documents can deprive young mothers from supporting their children which negatively affects her emotional well-being.

2.4.4. Employment

Employment can be seen as a resource enabling young mothers to provide for their family and as a capability leading to a different freedom in choice. Whether or not a young mother can be employed is also related to her educational qualification and family. Employment can be seen as a facilitating factor as it enables young mothers to provide for their families and improves work experience. It can also be a depriving factor, because employment decreases the amount of time mothers can be with their children. The double burden young mothers are confronted with can have an effect on their emotional well-being. In addition, having a bigger risk of becoming unemployed reduces the emotional well-being, because it deprives mothers from providing for the family and increases stress.

2.5. Conclusion

Sen's capability approach has shown the importance of a young mother's being and doings and her freedom of choice. The capability approach takes into account the resources, the means to achieve, and the capability set, the ability to achieve. According to Sen, resources do not push people into functioning. The acknowledgement of human diversity shows that each person with the same amount of resources can have a different capability set. Individual conversion factors can lead to a different kind of capability set. In addition, resources and capabilities can be referred to as facilitating or depriving factors that influence a young mother's quality of life. Within this study the different depriving and facilitating factors are family, education, CSG and employment. This research believes these combination of factors can have an effect on each other and on emotional well-being. Young mothers deprived of all these factors are expected to have a low emotional well-being. This study focuses on the combination of resources and capabilities as depriving and facilitating factors. Young mothers' freedom to choose can be restricted, because of a cooperative conflict. Young mothers are part of a family which engages in bargaining with other family members. Young mothers own agency can experience a conflict between pursuing their own agency and their family's agency. Young mothers might have a trade-off in her own agency to achieve a cooperate well-being. Therefore it can be the case that young mothers' doings and

beings do not correspond with who they want to be and what they want to achieve. For that reason, it can be questioned whether or not young mothers are able to make genuine choices, because of unequal freedoms within the family. Young mothers might experience a double burden struggling to provide and care for the family. By including emotional well-being the capability approach can be used to reflect on whether or not young mothers have the ability to make real choices or whether they experience a burden.

3. Research question

This study focuses on young mothers with low income levels living in South Africa. The study aims to explore the relation between family, education, CSG and employment has an effect on the emotional well-being of young mothers.

This study is two folded:

1. To provide a quantitative analysis to explore the resources and capabilities of young mothers and their emotional well-being.
2. To provide a qualitative analysis to collect in-depth information about the resources and capabilities of young mothers and their emotional well-being.

Therefore the main research question is:

What is the relationship between family, education, employment, CSG and a young mother's emotional well-being?

Family, education, CSG and employment status are the independent variables of the study. These independent variables could influence the emotional well-being of young mothers. Several objectives have been established to provide an answer to the main research question.

The objectives of this study are:

1. To explore the profile of young mothers aged 25-30 in South Africa.
2. To explore young mothers' resources and capability sets.
3. To explore young mothers' emotional well-being in relation to family, education, employment and CSG receipt.
4. To find out whether or not young mothers experience the cooperative conflict.
5. To explore associations between the quantitative study and qualitative study.

4. Methodology

This chapter illustrates the methodology used within this study and aims to explain the reasoning for the chosen data collection methods. Firstly, the main concepts used in the introduction and the theoretical framework are operationalized. Secondly, the explanatory research design is explained. Thirdly, the technique of gathering data is explained. Fourthly, the contextual conditions are described. Fifthly, the ethics and the limitations are elaborately discussed.

4.1. Operationalization of Concepts

This study makes use of an explanatory research design based on mixed-methods, dividing the results into a quantitative and qualitative section. Therefore it is of importance to operationalize the main concepts for both quantitative and qualitative purposes.

Young mothers

The definition of ‘young’ involves an age limit and within this study the population sample is comprised of young mothers aged 25 to 30. According to Erikson’s stages of human development before the age of 25, adolescents struggle with their identity. From the age of 25 and older, the dangers accompanying youth has dissolved into care and support responsibilities (Erikson, 1963). During that time of adulthood one is focused on relationships and around that time generally start a family. The capability approach is of particular importance in Erikson’s case as young mothers have to consider their future and to develop their capabilities. The age limit of 30 has been set, because these mothers are still young and can change their capability set. Young mothers are in a simultaneous state of dependency and autonomy, because they are in a cooperate environment called the family.

Low income levels

The focus of this study is on young mothers with low income levels, because they are actively trying to shape their present and future lives, but struggle with their conversion factors and the cooperative conflict. The quantitative part of the study focuses on the Foster-Greer-Thorbecke line to operationalize the poverty line based on the monthly individual income. This poverty line is commonly used by economists in South Africa. The poverty line is based on an upper- (ZAR924) and lower- (ZAR502) bound, because it looks at the extent of poverty (Hoogeveen & Ösler, 2005). In addition, the quantitative analysis refers to CSG receipt and non-receipt among young mothers from 2012 from

SASSA. The researcher has to focus on the income-based means test from 2012, because the quantitative dataset is based on information provided in 2012.

The qualitative interviews are based on the CSG income-based means test from 2014 from SASSA. Within the interviews a reference has been made to income levels (Appendix 1). Respondents could select a box reflecting on their income levels. These boxes have been created, because income is considered to be a sensitive topic. Young mothers can be apprehensive to share their monthly income and by creating different boxes it creates a level of assurance and confidentiality reducing nonresponse. By reducing nonresponse it increases the accuracy of responses to the income questions. These different levels are below the means test income. However, in some cases the income can exceed the criteria, because of the extra income of the CSG. Without the CSG income, young mothers are below the income—based means test. The researcher wanted to reflect on the level of poverty.

Family structure

Family is referred to as the coinciding family members within this study. Yet, the study does not exclude non-family members living in the same dwelling, because a tradeoff system in capabilities can still take place between all members within the dwelling. In addition, it has to be noted that because of the migrant system, family members send remittances to their family living elsewhere. Thus, one should not solely look at households i.e. eating from the same pot, because one might overlook intra-family dynamics of providing for family living elsewhere (Green Paper, 2011). Both quantitative and qualitative analyses within this study refer to family as coinciding in the same household, where the qualitative analysis does not exclude possible remittances.

The operationalization of the family structures is based on the generation structures created by the researcher;

1. Single generation family, where all members are of the same generation as; and directly related to the head of the family.

Young mothers cannot be part of a single generation family, because their child is not part of the same generation. Unless the young mother does not eat from the same pot as her child.

2. Double generation family, where all members are the same generation as the head of the family and are directly related PLUS children OR parents

The nuclear family is an example of a double generation family, because father, mother and child(ren) live together. Yet, double generation does not necessarily imply a nuclear family, because a young mother can live with her sister and child(ren) as well.

3. Multiple generation family where some members are the same generation as family head and directly related to & children & parents/grandparents OR

Some members same generation as family and directly related PLUS children PLUS grandchildren/ great-grandchildren.

4. Skipped generation family, where some members are the same generation as head of the family and directly related PLUS grandchildren OR

Some members are same generation as head of the family and directly related PLUS grandparents

5. Extended family; where this is described as everyone else.

Family support

Family support can play an important part in the development of young mothers' capabilities. The role of family support has been included within the qualitative part of the study, because the quantitative study does not take into account the role of support aside from financial means. Family support has been divided into three categories: financial support, emotional support and physical support. Financial support is based on providing an income for the household via monetary funds. Emotional support is based on showing affection and participating in conversation (Vaux, 1985). Physical support reflects on helping out in the household, for instance with cooking, cleaning, washing, buying groceries and ironing. Physical support can also take place by helping young mothers with finding a job or being in education. Thus, physical support can be via domestic duties, employment and education. All types of support enable young mothers to develop themselves.

Employment

Employment within this study is measured in two different ways. Within the NIDS dataset employment is based on being employed, not economically active, unemployed strict and unemployed discouraged. These three types of unemployment have been merged into one category of unemployment, because all imply unemployment. Within the qualitative studies young mothers explain their occupation status. It is more than just referring to being employed or not, because the interviews reflect on what they are able to do and how much time they spent on doing this. For instance, young mothers do not consider voluntary work as real employment, because they get paid a stipend. However, they work every day of the week and can provide for their family, because of this stipend. Thus, employment has not been strictly categorized within the qualitative aspect of the study.

Education

Education can be divided into primary, secondary and tertiary education. Children can go to grade 0, or grade-R from the age of four. Grades 1 to 9 are compulsory and referred to as General Education and Training (GET). Primary school is from grade 1 to 7 and secondary school is partly compulsory from grades 8 to 9 and the grades 10 to 12 are non-compulsory. Further Education Training (FET) is another option, mostly for people with no matriculation certificate. People need a matriculation certificate to be able to go to tertiary education, such as universities and technical colleges. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses refer to the different school grades. In addition, both study refer to education below and above matriculation.

Emotional well-being

This study has made use of an emotional well-being scale introduced by the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Short Depression Scale (CES-D 10). The quantitative study has focused on all the questions referring to emotional well-being. The CES-D 10 assesses a continuum from depression to happiness (Wood et al., 2010). It is not a predictor of depression, but is has to be seen as a continuum of a depression score. Thus, it does not have a diagnostic purpose, but is aimed to provide information for research related to emotional well-being.

The CES-D 10 is based on a list of behavior and emotions and the person have to indicate how often it happened the past week. Within the quantitative study the time scales are:

- Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- Some or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- Occasionally or a moderate amount of time (3-4 days)
- All of the time (5-7 days)

The questions on behavior and emotions within the quantitative study are the followed:

1. I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.
2. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.
3. I felt depressed.
4. I felt that everything I did was an effort.
5. I felt hopeful about the future.
6. I felt fearful.
7. My sleep was restless.

8. I was happy.
9. I felt lonely.
10. I could not "get going."

The score is the sum of the points for all 10 items. The researcher has given minus points to the positive items, such as “I was happy” and “I felt hopeful about the future”, these varied from -3= “All of the time”, -2= “Occasionally or a moderate amount of time”, -1= “Some or a little of the time” and 0= “Rarely or none of the time”. The negative behavior and emotions were categorized as, 0= “Rarely or none of the time”, 1= “Some or a little of the time”, 2= “Occasionally or a moderate amount of time” and 3= “All of the time”. Thus, the participant could minimally get -6 points and maximally 24 points. These points have been divided into four different categories:

1. “No Depression” (Score: -6 to 0)
2. “Mild Depression” (Score: 0 to 8)
3. “Moderate Depression” (Score: 9 to 15)
4. “Possibility of Major Depression” (Score: 16 to 24)

The qualitative research includes the emotional well-being of the past week. The qualitative study focuses on a few questions drawn from the CES-D10, they were questions 1, 3, 5 and 9. The questions were formulated differently, because it included their perception: “*What are your thoughts on...?*” Previous research has shown that single-item or multiple-item scales that ask participants to reflect on their happiness are reliable and valid (Lucas & Diener, X).

4.2. Explanatory Research Design

This study is based on an explanatory mixed-methods research design. The study starts with an analysis of quantitative data from the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) Wave 3 from 2012, followed by a collection of qualitative data aiming to substantiate the results of the quantitative research (Ivankova et al., 2006). This mixed-method approach created a comprehensive analysis, because quantitative research adds value to the generalizability of the research. In addition, the qualitative research is helpful to create a better understanding on the findings within the quantitative dataset.

4.3. Data collection and analyses

The quantitative analyses were based on the NIDS dataset (2012). The NIDS is a panel survey in South Africa. The analyses have been done via Stata, a statistical software program. The selection criteria

were based on young mothers (aged 25-30). From this selection criteria the researcher looked at their resources and capabilities. The analyses on the interaction of the resources and capabilities on the outcome were conducted via a Spearman's correlation test and multiple regression analysis. The multiple regression analysis is based on a set of techniques used to explore the relationship between at least two variables, at least one independent and dependent variable. Within this study the regression analysis refers to one dependent variable, namely; emotional well-being.

To substantiate the quantitative data, 12 young mothers aged 25 to 30 years old living in Doornkop were interviewed. Thus, participants were selected through purposive sampling. The researcher used the snowball effect by asking participants for future participants. In addition, invitations were given to schoolchildren who gave those to their mothers. The researcher selected three different types of family structures to reflect on whether or not the type of structures has an effect on the support young mother receive and if this reflects on their emotional well-being. In total four of the participants were living in multiple generation families, four in extended families and four in double generation families. The interviews were based on semi-structured questions (Appendix 1). One interview was conducted in a pair, because of an issue with time. This interview functioned as a discussion reflecting on all the topics. The interviews were used to reflect on their lives as mother and the role of family, education, CSG and employment. The questions varied from family structure and support to emotional well-being. In addition, the questions referred to what young mothers are doing at the time and whether this corresponds with what they want to be doing, reflecting on domestic duties, employment and education. The qualitative interviews were coded via Nvivo. Nvivo is a software to analyze the qualitative data. The researcher has coded the answers provided by the participants in the categories family structure and family support, education, employment, income and emotional well-being (Appendix 2). Young mothers were asked about their opinion, their own situation and their future dreams referring to the several topics. A qualitative analytical framework was used to explore the research objectives and provide and answer to the research question (Appendix 3)

4.4. Contextual conditions: Doornkop, Soweto

The qualitative aspect of the study took place in Doornkop, Soweto. Doornkop has been identified as the most deprived and poorest urban community in Johannesburg with the highest number of CSG recipients (Patel et al., 2012; Patel et al., 2013). Doornkop consists out of approximately 5,500 households (Patel et al., 2012). The community consists out of twelve blocks. Doornkop, now, has electricity, piped water and sanitary houses. In 1998 the Federation of Humana People to People became vested in Doornkop creating an involvement of the community. The recruitment of the interviews has

been done via Humana based on the selection criteria of the study. The interviews took place at Humana, other workplaces and at the homes of young mothers.

4.5. Validity and reliability

Every researcher strives for valid and reliable results. Validity reflects on the content of the study measuring the right matters.

The quantitative part of the research was based on a nationally representative sample, the NIDS dataset. The purpose of the qualitative study was to gain in-depth understanding into the research questions. The research has taken into account the goal to answer the main question while creating the semi-structured interview. By including the questions of the CES-D 10 scale in both studies increases the validity. By using a system of numbers for emotional well-being in the quantitative study increases the reliability of the study. It was of importance to use both quantitative and qualitative data, providing reliable and valid information from the statistics and interviews reflecting on content and context.

4.6. Ethics

During the qualitative part of the study anonymity was guaranteed. Young mothers could voluntarily participate in the interview and were allowed to have a non-response to certain questions. An informed consent form was signed to support the ethics of the research for the participants (Appendix 4). In addition, the respondents had the freedom to choose whether or not the interview could be recorded. Most young mothers experienced the interview as a form of counselling, based on trust and respect. Before the interview took place, young mothers were informed about the topic and could choose if they wanted to participate. All participants were asked if their English was sufficient, there was no need for an interpreter. If participants became emotional the researcher tried to make the respondent feel more comfortable. All of the participants wanted to tell their stories on motherhood. Their love for their children made them emotional most of the time.

5. Results

This chapter presents the research findings. Firstly, an overview of the quantitative results are presented. These results include a short profile of the research sample, followed by the analysis of individual resources and capabilities present. Followed by analysis of the interaction between the variable of interest. This variable of interest is emotional well-being, the outcome of the study. Secondly, the qualitative findings from the interviews in Doornkop are presented. Following the description of the profile of participants, including individual resources and capabilities.

5.1 Quantitative findings

5.1.1 Profile of respondents

There are 2,238 women within the age category of 25 to 30 in the NIDS. Figure 2 reflects on the distribution of age of these women within the NIDS.

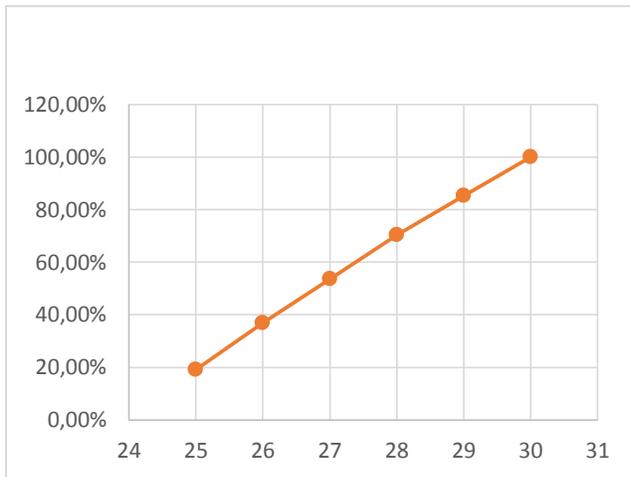


Figure 2. The distribution of women aged 25-30

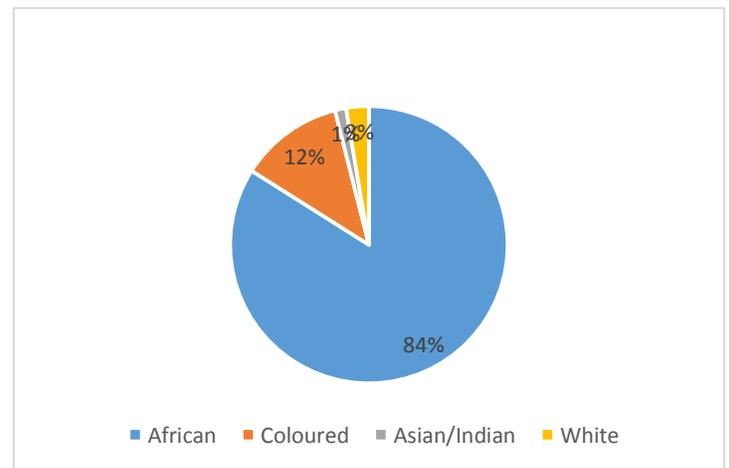


Figure 3. The population group of women aged 25-30

These women aged 25 to 30 are mostly African as shown in figure 3. This distribution reflects on the distribution of the South African population. 52% of the young women in the NIDS dataset live in urban areas. In addition, most have never been married as show in figure 5. This reflects on the population of South Africa, because poor women's marriage rates are declining and have become a less dominant norm for starting a family. A lot of women are not living with their partner reflecting on the possibility of

mothers having successive children from other fathers or partners who have not paid “lobola”. Thus, South African women aged 25 to 30 are mainly non-married Africans living in urban areas in the NIDS data.

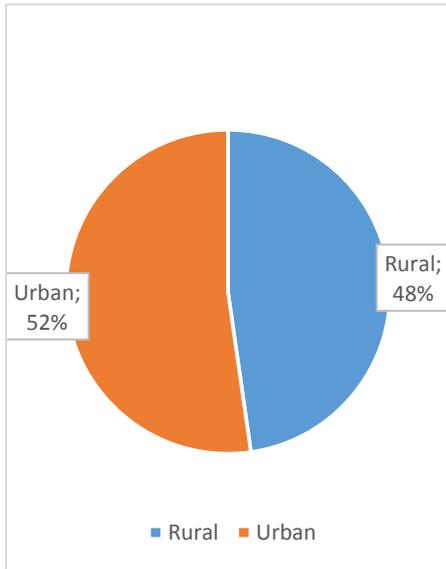


Figure 4. Geotype for women aged 25-30.

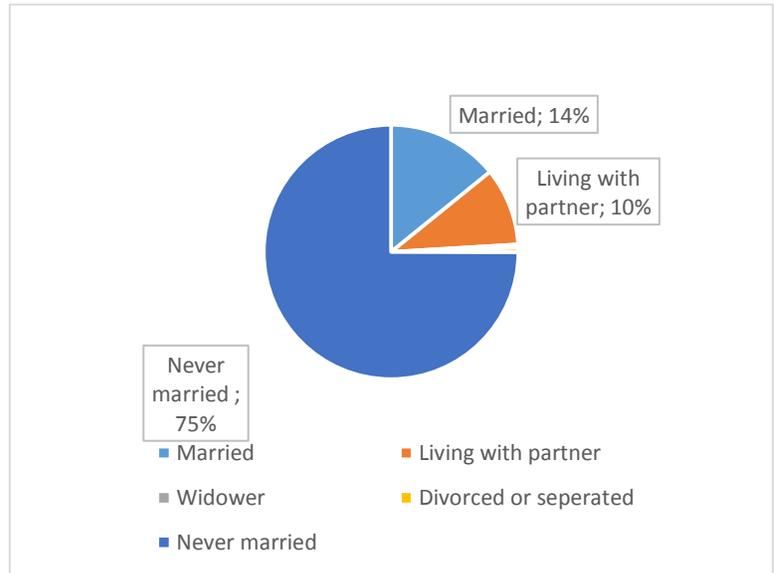


Figure 5. Marital status of women aged 25-30.

Since the research sampled population is focused on young mothers’ resources and capabilities it is of importance to reflect on children within the NIDS dataset. The NIDS makes a distinction between biological children within the household and born biological children.

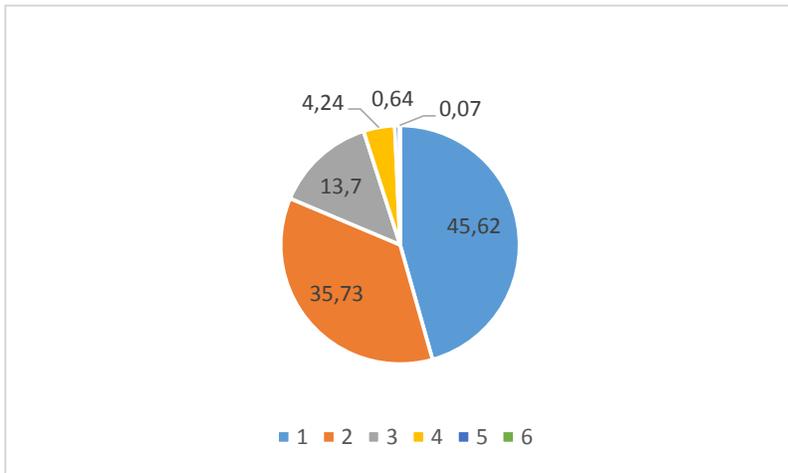


Figure 6. Number of children given birth to

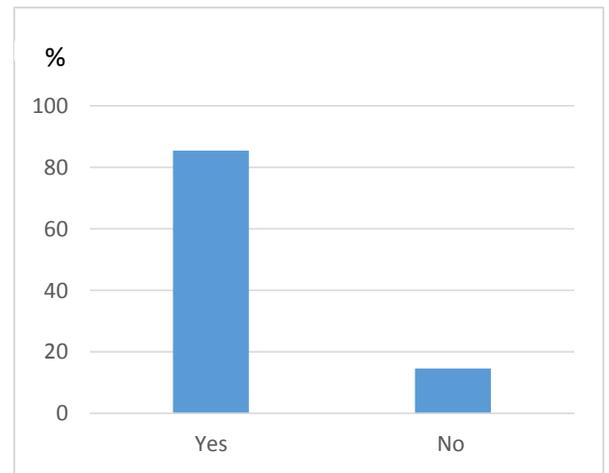


Figure 7. Children living with their mother

The distinction between born children and children living in the same household has been made, because 112 children have passed away according to the NIDS dataset and some mothers do not reside in the same household as their children do. Most young mothers have had 1 to 2 children and only a few young mothers have 5 to 6 children. Most children of young mothers reside in the same household. From the 2,238 women from the NIDS dataset, 1,416 are mothers of which 1,210 are living with their biological children.

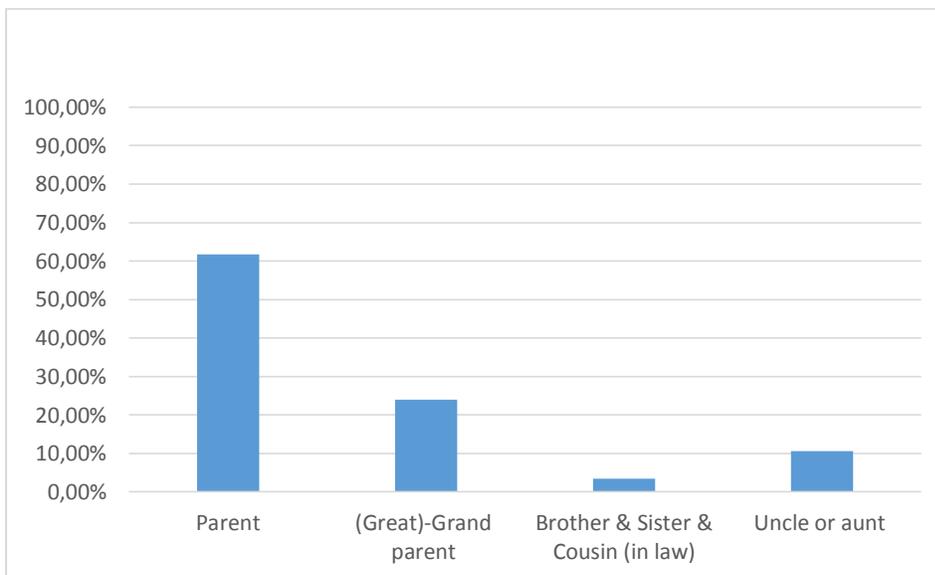


Figure 8. The main caregivers within family

In the household with women aged 25 to 30, the parent is the main caregiver of the children (61.78% - including mother, father, step parent and foster parent). Followed by the grandparents (23.92% - including grandparents and great grandparent). This shows that mainly parents are considered as the primary caregivers within the family.

To reflect on young mothers with low income levels, the researcher has looked at the monthly income based on the FGT poverty line. The poverty line reveals the women living in extreme poverty. The NIDS data shows 69.23% of the young women have an income under the lower bound of the FGT line. The NIDS data confirms the gendered aspect of poverty, because most young mothers' income is set below the FGT line.

Table 1.

Poverty line of young mothers

Real income	Freq.	Percent
<i>Below ZAR502</i>	837	69.23
<i>ZAR502-924</i>	46	3.8
<i>More than ZAR924</i>	326	29.96
<i>Total</i>	1,209	100

5.1.2 Resources and the capability set of young mothers

The resources referred to within this study are family structure, education, CSG and employment status. Table 2 explores the family structures within the selection criteria of young mothers in the NIDS dataset.

Table 2.

The distribution of types of family structures for young mothers

Family Structure	Freq.	Percent
Single generation family	2	0.17
Double generation family	362	29.92
Multiple generation family	441	36.45
Skipped generation family	27	2.23
Extended/Other family	377	31.16
Total	1,210	100

The operationalization of family has led to five different types of family structures which are used in the NIDS data. The multiple generation family is the most common family structure when looking at young mothers according to the NIDS data. Following the extended family complementing literature findings on family structures in South Africa. In addition, the presence of double generation family is a demographic trend showing a decline in family size (Patel et al., 2012). An error has occurred including two young mothers in the single generation family structure instead of the double generation family structure. The researcher has not found the error that has occurred and has acknowledged these two women (0.17%), but these women have not been included in further analyses. These two women are described as irrelevant for the analyses. Thus, most young women live in multiple and extended families according to the NIDS dataset.

The education level is another type of resource and capability enabling women to increase their number of choices, e.g. increasing the chance of employment. Within the NIDS dataset 59.75% of the young mothers have not matriculated. Most young mothers have not received a higher education qualification.

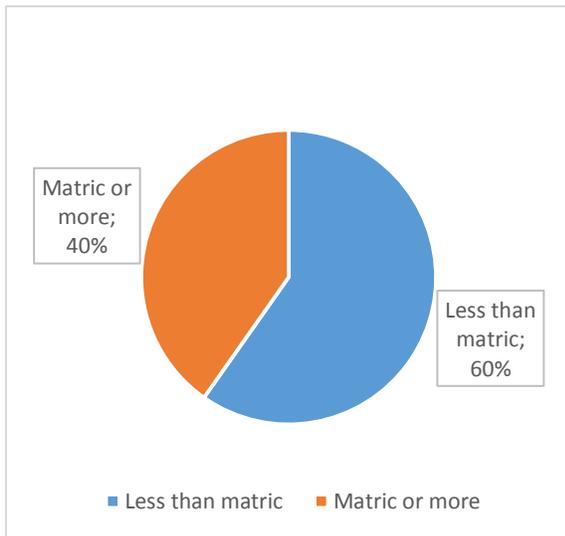


Figure 9. Education level of young mothers

The CSG is another type of resource and capability enabling young mothers to take care of their children and alleviating their financial burden. Within the NIDS dataset 70.14% of the young mothers receive CSG. The high percentage of women in receipt of CSG reflects on the fact that a large percentage of the sample are living in poverty. The NIDS questionnaire has not focused on the non-receivers with low income levels. Young mothers with low income levels can be non-receivers, because supposedly they are not the primary caregivers within the family or lack the identity documents to apply for the CSG.

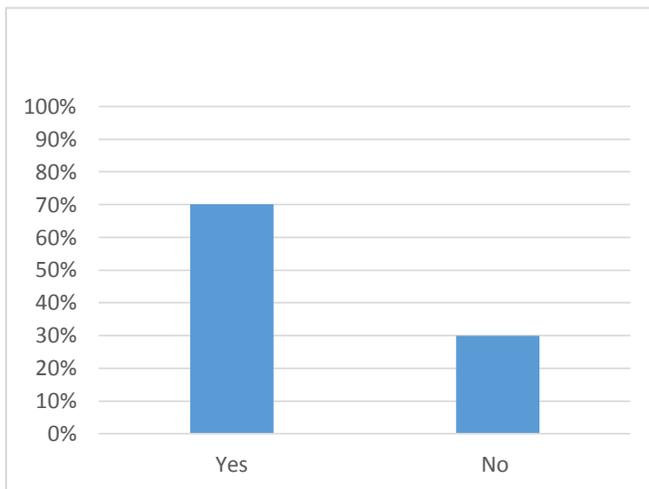


Figure 10. The CSG receipt of young mothers

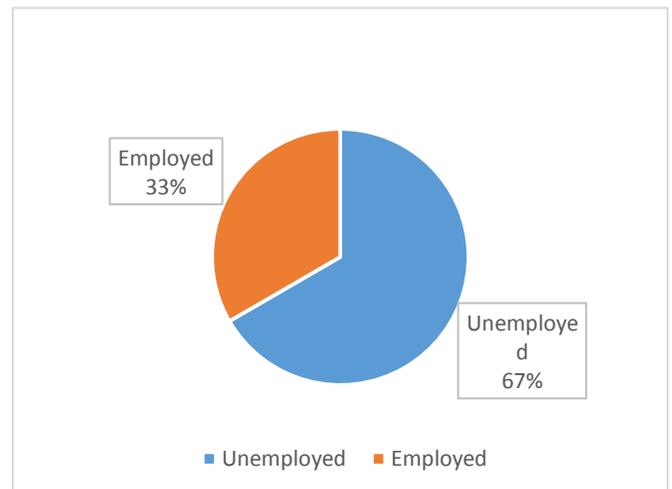


Figure 11. Employment status of young mothers

Approximately 67% of the young mothers are unemployed at the moment as show in figure 11. The unemployment status of these young mothers correspond with the number of women living below the poverty line, the education levels and the CSG receipt.

5.1.3. The outcome variable of emotional well-being

The outcome variable studied in the NIDS dataset is the capability of emotional well-being. Most young mothers have no sign of depression, where 40.48% of the young mothers feel depressed once in a while as shown in Table 3.

Table 3.

Depression scale distribution of young mothers

Categories Depression	Freq.	Percent
No depression	645	53.84
Mild depression	485	40.48
Moderate depression	62	5.18
Possibility of major depression	6	0.5
Total	1,198	100

5.1.4. Analyses of interaction between resources and outcomes

This section explores the links between the inputs and outcome mentioned in the previous paragraphs. The first part of the analyses reflects on the correlation between the inputs and output. The second part elaborates on the dependencies between the different capabilities, resources and the emotional well-being of young mothers.

5.1.4.1. Correlation between the variables

In order to explore if there is a linear relationship between emotional well-being and the selected input variables, Spearman's correlation coefficient was used. Spearman's correlation has been employed, because certain variables within the research are discrete variables. The different input variables that possibly have an effect on emotion well-being are: highest level of education, family structures, employment status and whether or not young mothers received CSG or not.

Table 4 reveals a relatively weak positive correlation between the depression scores and the type of family structure ($r = .053$). This seems to suggest that relationship between emotional well-being and the type of family structure is limited. In the second part of the analysis this will be explored thoroughly.

Moreover, the depression scores and education levels had a relatively weak negative correlation ($r = -.031$). Also, this relation will be more in-depth examined in the second part of the analysis. Furthermore, the depression scores were correlated significantly and relatively weak positively with CSG ($r = .124$; $p \leq .01$). In addition, the employment status and the depression score were significantly and weak negatively correlated ($r = -.01$; $p \leq .01$). Therefore, emotional well-being was weakly associated with receipt of CSG and employment status.

The variable family structure was relatively weak positively correlated with the CSG variable ($r = .081$; $p \leq .01$). Also, the level of education was relatively weak negatively correlated with CSG ($r = -.219$; $p \leq .01$). The employment status is significantly relatively weak negatively correlated with family structure ($r = -.075$; $p \leq .01$) and CSG ($r = -.165$; $p \leq .01$). In addition, employment status is significantly positively related to education ($r = .179$; $p \leq .01$).

By looking at the Spearman's correlation one can conclude that employed young mothers were higher educated and less likely to receive CSG. In addition, young mothers in receipt of CSG were expected to have lower education levels.

The table suggests that there is no strong multi-collinearity between the input variables, but this point will also be addressed in the second part of the analysis. The correlations are limited, therefore the relationships between several input factors seems to be relatively weak. Based on this, figure 1 (Paragraph 2.4.) will be replaced by figure 13 in the following analysis, because it seems that the different input factors are relatively not affecting each other.

Table 4.

Correlations for depression score and input variables

Spearman's Rho		CES-D 10	Family structure	Highest level of education	CSG	Employment status
CES-D 10	Correlation	1.000				
	Coefficient					
	Sig. (2-tailed)					
	N	1193				
Family structure	Correlation	.053	1.000			
	Coefficient					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.069				
	N	1193	1193			
Highest level of education	Correlation	-.031	-.025	1.000		
	Coefficient					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.291	.394			
	N	1193	1193	1193		
CSG	Correlation	.124**	.081**	-.219**	1.000	
	Coefficient					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.005	.000		
	N	1193	1193	1193	1193	
Employment status	Correlation	-.010**	-.075**	.179**	-.165**	1.000
	Coefficient					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.009	.000	.000	
	N	1193	1193	1193	1193	1193

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

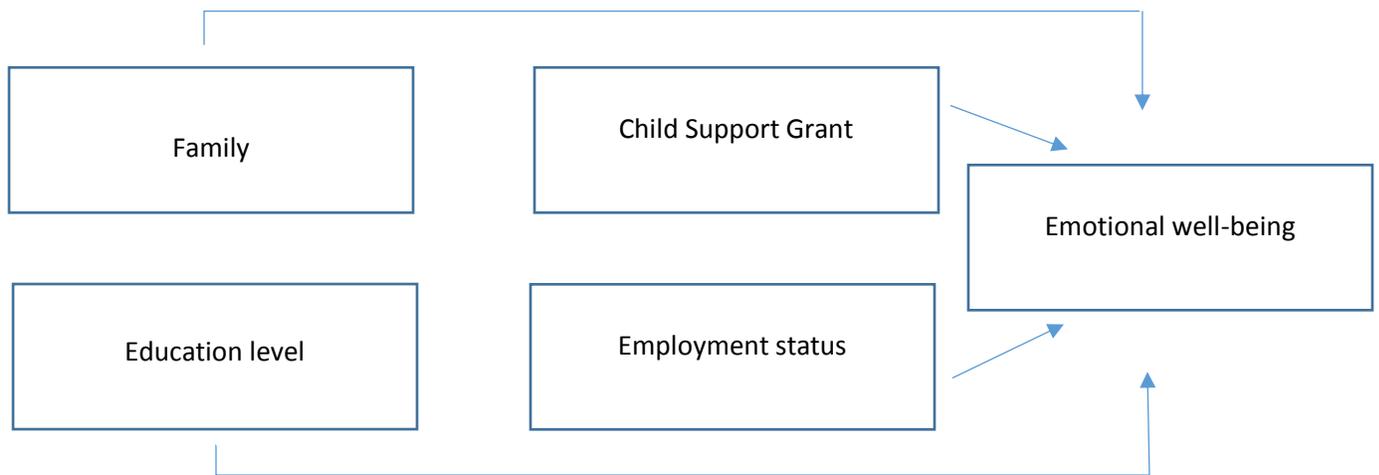


Figure 12. The relationships between young mothers' emotional well-being

5.1.4.2. Different explaining model

A multiple regression analysis on emotional well-being is performed in this part of the analysis. This to find out if there is a significant relationship between employment status, CSG receipt, education level and family structure on the one hand and emotional well-being on the other hand. In this multiple regression, employment is entered at Step 1 (Model 1), CSG is added at Step 2 (Model 2), education years is added at Step 3 (Model 3), and family structure is added at Step 4 (Model 4).

Table 5.

Multiple regression analysis between emotional well-being and employment, CSG, education and family structure

Emotional well-being

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	β	t	p	β	t	p	β	t	p	β	t	p
Constant	1.32 ***	8.63	.000	.61*	2.35	.0019	.99	1.57	.117	.59	.82	.414
Employment	-.90 **	-3.41	.001	-.75**	3.40	.005	-.73**	-2.69	.007	-.70*	-2.60	.010
CSG				.94**	-2.81	.001	.91**	3.25	.001	.89**	3.16	.002
Education in years							-.035	-.66	.117	-.04	-.66	0.509
Family structure										.12	1.17	.244
R ²	.010			.019			.020			.022		
F	11.64**			11.65***			7.89***			3.81**		

Note Model 1: N=1196, N=1195, N= 1194, N=1193

* P<0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p<0.001

Table 5 shows that when referring to Model 1 the indicator employment explained 1% of the variance ($R^2=0.010$, $F(1, 1194) = 11.64$, $p<0.01$). The employment status has a statistically significant negative relationship with emotional well-being ($\beta=-.9$, $p<0.01$).

In Model 2 it was found that the indicators employment and CSG explained 1,9% of the variance ($R^2=0.019$, $F(1,1192) = 11.65$, $p<0.001$), The employment status had statistically significant negative relationship with emotional well-being ($\beta=-.75$, $p<0.01$) and CSG had a positive significant relationship with well-being ($\beta=.94$, $p<0.01$).

The Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) has been used to reflect on the possibility of multi-collinearity, a score under 4 shows that there is no reasons to expect multi-collinearity. The VIF in model 2 are below 4 for all the included variables. Thus, there is no evidence of multi-collinearity.

Model 3 reflects on the indicators employment, CSG and education. The indicators explained 2% of the variance ($R^2=0.020$, $F(1,1190) = 7.89$, $p<0.001$). The employment status was significantly negatively related to emotional well-being ($\beta=-.73$, $p<0.01$), CSG was significantly positively related ($\beta=.91$, $p<0.01$) and education was not related to emotional well-being ($p=.117>0.05$). The VIF in model 3 are below 4 for all the included variables. Thus, there is no evidence of multi-collinearity.

Model 4 reflects on the indicators employment, CSG and education. The indicators explained 2.2% of the variance ($R^2=0.022$, $F(1,1188) = 7.89$, $p<0.001$). The employment status was significantly negatively related to emotional well-being ($\beta=-.70$, $p<0.05$), CSG was significantly positively related ($\beta=.89$, $p<0.01$), education was not significantly related ($p=0.509 > 0.05$) and the type of family structure was also not significantly related to emotional well-being ($p=0.244 > 0.05$). The VIF in model 4 are below 4 for all the included variables. Thus, there is no evidence of multi-collinearity.

The results show that the model is relatively limited representative considering the low R^2 . However, the outcomes do suggest that there is a significant relationship between employment and well-being and CSG and well-being, which is not the case for education and family structure. Both family structure and education seem to have no effect on the emotional well-being of young mothers. Also the outcome indicates that unemployed young mothers have a lower emotional well-being compared to employed young mothers⁵. Young mothers in receipt of CSG⁶ were unhappier compared to non-recipients. This seems on first sight odd, because CSG increase the income, but one should take into consideration that young mothers who do not receive CSG are more likely to have a higher income which is above the income criteria based on the means-test. A higher income can alleviate stress related to financial issues implying an increase in emotional well-being.

⁵ Dummy code for employment status was: 1. Employed 2. Unemployed.

⁶ Dummy code for CSG was 1. Yes 2. No

5.2. Qualitative findings

5.2.1. Profile of respondents

This paragraph focuses on the qualitative findings drawn from the interviews in Doornkop. As the previous paragraph has shown that the relationships between the different input variables and the outcome variable were low or unapparent, increases the importance of the qualitative findings as these will provide in-depth information. The researcher interviewed 12 young mothers aged 25 to 30. The social profile of these 12 respondents can be seen in appendix 4. The young mothers interviewed were African women living in an urban area and most of them were never married. The young mothers within the qualitative study are mainly primary caregivers and have 1 to 2 biological children. One respondent deviates from this. Respondent 11 has 4 children, however, one child is not included in her household. Her daughter lived with her aunt in Kwazulu-Natal, she did not have to provide for her daughter, because her aunt did not want to burden her. Eight women were in a relationship and three women of that group were married corresponding with the data from figure 5.

There was an equal distribution between young mothers living in double generation families, multiple generation families and extended families corresponding with the NIDS findings on young women's family structures (paragraph 5.1.2). Most of the respondents were matriculated, where one received a diploma at college. In addition, the employment status was divided 50/50. Out of the six unemployed young mothers five were not matriculated. Showing that not being matriculated increases the likelihood of young mothers being unemployed. The findings do not correspond with the NIDS analysis, because most young mothers were not matriculated in the dataset (paragraph 5.1.1.).

Compared to the NIDS data on income (paragraph 5.1.1.), most young mothers live below the poverty line. In the qualitative research, however, most young mothers live above the poverty line, where four women are below the poverty line including one living in severe poverty.

Two young mothers were excluded from receiving CSG, however, this was not based on the income levels. The non-recipients did not receive the grant, because one considered her income to be sufficient and the other did not apply for the CSG due to personal reasons. Unfortunately, the researcher was unable to include more non-CSG recipients, therefore a comparison between the NIDS findings and the findings from the interviews cannot be made.

5.2.2. Young mothers' capabilities and resources

The researcher has included three questions when referring to the capabilities and resources of the study. These questions reflected on their general opinion of the subject, their current status related to the subject and what they want to achieve. This paragraph discusses these different questions in relation to family support, domestic work, education, income, CSG and employment using quotes from participants.

5.2.2.1. Family support and domestic work

This study focused on three types of family support: financial, emotional and physical. The researcher has found that family structure does not necessarily indicate the presence of family support. Yet, the importance of the presence of the mother and the partner became apparent in the interviews. As shown in the disrupted family life (paragraph 2.1.2.) men were mainly burdened with the financial aspects of the family rather than the care aspect. The qualitative findings complement this standpoint.

“My boyfriend helps me a lot. When I ask him something, he helps me out a lot. Every month he will send me R500 or sometimes he even comes by and pays a visit. Then when he comes he buys his child clothes and food. He is only paying for his child. The other children are not his, so why would he have to pay.”

(Respondent 5)

Some men supported young mothers physically by participating in domestic duties. However, this should always happen indoors. Otherwise their support would be seen as feminine by neighbors e.g. washing. Most of the young mothers living with their husband or partner felt emotional support as well. In addition, young mothers with a good mother-daughter relationship felt supported and able to do more things, because of the support. For instance, a young mother was able to be employed, because her mother would share her care burden. Also, a young mother felt emotional support, because her mother was described as her best friend. Other family members such as an aunt or sibling were supporting at times, for instance, young mothers living with their siblings felt emotional support, because they could talk about sexuality and relationships.

5.2.2.2. Education and income

Young mothers struggle with getting their matric. It is difficult for a mother to combine school and family obligations.

“It is hard for a mother to go to school. When you get home your children will be your priority and then

when they sleep, you can study. And by that time you are really tired.”

(Respondent 1)

Young mothers find it important to pass their matric, because it provides qualifications. Yet, aside from the burden of combining education and family, money and the social environment are issues. Certain participants made clear that they were unable to finish their matric due to financial issues or unsafe environment (paragraph 2.1.1.)

“It is hard. Most of the mothers are not educated. So they stopped at grade 10 or 11. Grade 12 is scarce. Not many people do matric. I have thought about FET, but it costs too much money.”

(Respondent 6)

The mothers in receipt of CSG were grateful, because it partly alleviated them from the financial burden of providing for their children. However, young mothers wished they would not have to depend on the CSG.

“7: I like receiving the CSG, it is helpful. The CSG gives us the support we need for our children, but I want to become independent.”

“8: It is good that I can receive CSG. But I want to earn more and depend on myself.

(Respondent 7 & Respondent 8)

Some young mothers explained that the CSG amount was not sufficient. There is a strong idea that the CSG is for the child only and cannot exit women out of poverty. Therefore CSG receipt would not enable young mothers into functioning.

5.2.2.3. Employment

Having a grandmother or aunt made it possible for the three employed respondents to provide for their family. All participant wanted to be able to provide for their family.

“I would like to work, because then I can give my children more. I am not working now, not because of my children. I can work with my children. But you know, because there is no job I can work for now. It is the money... it costs a lot of money, just to get a CV.”

(Respondent 5)

It is difficult for young mothers to be employed, because of a lack in qualifications or family obligations. In addition, literature has shown that women are faced with higher unemployment rates compared to men

(Paragraph 2.1.3.).

What came forth out of the interviews was that employed young mothers are still in a relationship with the father of their children and get financial support from their partners aside from one employed young mother. The unemployed mothers' relationships are complicated and certain young mothers have different fathers for successive children. All employed young mothers were matriculated. Young mothers not having a matric living with siblings with a matric gave their siblings the opportunity to be employed and themselves taking up the care role.

5.2.3. The relationship between emotional well-being and a mother's capability set

“Sometimes I feel like I get anger. I want to close the door and stay alone in silence. I feel that a lot during the week. My family just keep me in the room. Sometimes my sister helps me and talks to me, but she is tired and works most of the time. I sometimes do not want to go out of my room, but I have to... because of my children... I want to be a mother who you can be proud of. Not like my mother. I want to make my children proud.”

(Respondent 5, Extended family)

The discussion about emotional well-being has been quite interesting in the interviews. Most of the participants have not felt depressed over the last week, but had experienced depression in the past. The young mothers who came out of depression were raped or abused or cheated on. The young mothers in receipt of family support did not necessarily have more resources at their disposal, but they felt stronger because of their family. Family support can be described as a facilitating factor for the development of young mothers' capabilities and their emotional well-being. Young mothers did not consider domestic work as a burden, but saw it as their duty as a woman.

The struggle with making a living and having enough resources is still very apparent among the respondents.

“Being a mother is nice, but it can be hard. There are times I feel annoyed, like when I was young I really wanted a job. But I could not find a job and then you just have to sit and wait for someone to give your kids food and clothes. Sometimes it is nice, because I love to play with my children. But then it is hard again, because I want to look for a job but I can't because I have to look after the kids. That is a problem once you become a mother.”

(Respondent 3)

Young mothers feel burdened due to financial issues and experienced loneliness in that suffering.

There were three mothers who openly talked about their period of depression. One of these was respondent 1, because of abuse and manipulation she felt suppressed and in need of an escape.

“For me it (depression) was the worst at a time I was not sleeping well, not eating properly. I took some sleeping pills and I took like 4 of them. I did not really want to die, but I just wanted to feel nothing anymore. My boyfriend was really horrible to me, so I just wanted to feel nothing. Nothing happened, but I could not wake up for a while. Yet after some time the pills just wear off. So I woke up.

After that I sat down and thought about what I did. I never wanted to do that ever again, because I was a mother I wanted to take care of my children. Therefore I just has to leave King. What would have happened to my children if I died? I could not sleep at all during my depression. I was just crying the whole time when I was alone.”

(Respondent 1)

One young mother still showed signs of depression, she was unemployed, had successive children from different fathers, bad health, no matriculation and received little family support.

“I tried to commit suicide in March. I did this (shows the cuts) I took pills. Things were too much, too hard. My sister helped me. But I still feel lonely and don’t want to go out anymore... I have a baby, but it is sad inside because I am sad.”

(Respondent 11)

During the interviews it became clear that family support and own health were very important factors when referring to emotional well-being. In addition, CSG and employment alleviated the financial burden for young mothers partly alleviating them from stress. It became clear that providing for the family is of great importance for mothers, because of their sense of responsibility or the cooperative emotional well-being and their own emotional well-being. It was shown during the interviews that young mothers who matriculated were mainly employed. However, these women still experienced financial stress. Young mothers would like to have a better income and not depend on others aside from themselves.

5.2.4. Motherhood: A cooperative conflict?

“Being a mother to me means being strong and being passionate. You have to be like that, so you can go on with live. So that my children can learn from me.”

(Respondent 2)

The feeling of making your children proud and provide for them is of great importance for most respondents. Young mothers experience a high level of responsibility towards raising their children and providing for them.

“I must get my matric and a job, because these kids need food and buy whatever they need. I must fight for them.”

(Respondent 3)

“But I have to be strong for my babies. Even though the father of my two children does not want to be with them, I have to be there for them. Who else would take care of them? “

(Respondent 5)

Most young mothers pursue a cooperative well-being instead of pursuing their own well-being. However, whether or not this is described as a cooperative conflict depends on their point of view. Young mothers consider domestic work as their duty. It would be wrong if their partner should do their work.

It (washing) is humiliating, only guys who live alone should do it.

(Respondent 8)

Cultural norms and values have led to a certain perspective on who should do domestic work. Even though, more men are involved with domestic work, they are still mainly seen as financial providers. Women consider themselves as the main caregiver. However, financial issues can lead to women experiencing a double burden. The trade-off in agencies within the family can lead to women being restrained in their decision-making. For instance, respondent 2 is the main caregiver of the family providing her sister with the chance develop herself and provide for the family. However, the young mothers do not consider their restrained decision-making as a cooperative conflict, but as their family responsibility as a mother.

6. Conclusion

The previous chapter presented the results of the research on the relation between family, education, CSG, employment and emotional well-being.

Research question

The central research question was:

What is the relationship between family, education, employment, CSG and a young mother's emotional well-being?

The quantitative analyses indicated that the chosen model was limited in explaining the relation between the independent factors and emotional well-being. However, the model suggests that emotional well-being is related to employment and CSG receipt. Employment increases the emotional well-being, whereas CSG receipt decreases the emotional well-being. CSG is based on a means-test and women who do not receive CSG in the NIDS data have an income above this means-test.

The qualitative analysis has shown that young mothers experience a financial burden and a high level of responsibility towards their family. The CSG partly alleviates poor young mothers from their financial burden, however, it is not enough to exit them from poverty. This is actually the goal of CSG, because it is meant to provide for the child alone.

Even though, family structure did not have an effect on the emotional well-being of young mothers by taking support and culture into account the role of family became more nuanced. The presence of the father is important for mother to provide financial means. In addition, the presence of the mother of the young mother is of importance, because it alleviates mothers partly from their care burden. Young mothers who receive a lot of family support felt like they were able to do more, which reflected on their emotional well-being. The qualitative analysis has also shown that education is of importance, because that can increase the chance for mothers to be employed and alleviates them from their financial stress.

The young mothers do not consider their restrained decision-making within the family as a cooperative conflict, but as their family responsibility as a mother. This study has shown that it is hard for young mothers to exit out of poverty. Even though, Sen has mentioned income to be a weak indicator for human development, for deprived young mothers income is of importance for their emotional well-being. This reflected in the quantitative analysis and in the qualitative analysis, because providing for the family was considered to be of great importance.

Reflections of the limitations of the study

This study explores the resources and capability set relating to the emotional well-being of young mothers. The theoretical framework provided a tool to explore young mothers' human development. However, the theory shows that human diversity can lead to different functionings. There is no ideal outcome in the capability approach, which makes it hard to predict a certain level of emotional well-being in correspondence with family, education, CSG and employment. The results of the quantitative research suggest that the validity of the chosen model is limited. For future research, more and other parameters should be considered, for instance physical health and income if measured properly. The limitations in the qualitative study were mainly based on the language barriers. The participants indicated their ability to speak English was sufficient, but some were unable to express themselves at times. Therefore the conclusions within this studies are based on a foreign language and not their mother tongue. In addition, the researcher's ethnicity and social background could have influenced respondents. Another limitation of the qualitative study was its main focus on CSG recipients excluding non-CSG recipients. However, in practice, finding non-CSG recipients was a difficult task.

Recommendations

Finding non-CSG recipients has been a difficult task. Further research should focus on both groups. More research should be done on family support and its effects on young mothers' capabilities, it is advisable to include emotional and physical support in another quantitative study aside from monetary funds. Deprived young mothers try to develop their capabilities and deal with the social circumstances, however, without family support providing and caring for the family can be described as a difficult task. A course of action has to be undertaken when it comes to strengthening family relations and empower young women. Most young mothers are not aware of the possibilities around them. For instance, the researcher asked about community involvement, where unemployed young mothers were not involved. However, at the end of the interview they wanted to apply for voluntary work. Therefore it is of importance that resources become transparent to young mothers. Further research is required to create a better understanding of family and a young mother's capability set. In addition, action has to be undertaken to increase the involvement of young mothers within the community.

References

- Abela, A., & Walker, J. (2014) *Contemporary issues in family studies: Global perspectives on partnerships, parenting and support in a changing world*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons
- Adato, M., de la Briere, B., Mindek, D., & Quisumbing, A. (2000). The impact of PROGRESA on women's status and intra-household relations. *Final Report, International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington DC*.
- BBC News. (2013). South Africa child support grants 'protect from HIV'. Retrieved from BBC news: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-25104373>.
- Bertrand, M., Mullainathan, S., & Miller, D. (2003). Public policy and extended families: evidence from pensions in South Africa. *The World Bank economic review*, 17(1), 27-50. doi:10.1093/wber/lhg014
- Boeije, H. R. (2009). *Analysis in qualitative research*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Budlender, D., & Lund, F. (2011). South Africa: A legacy of family disruption. *Development and change*, 42(4), 925-946. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-7660.2011.01715.x
- Casale, D., Posel, D. (2002). The Continued Feminisation of the Labour Force In South Africa: An Analysis Of Recent Data and Trends. *The South African Journal of Economics*. 70(1), 156-184.
- Casale, D., & Posel, D. (2005). Women and the Economy: How Far Have We Come?. *Agenda Feminist Media*, 19(64), 21-29. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4066564>
- Casper, W. J., Martin, J. A., Buffardi, L. C., & Erdwins, C. J. (2002). Work--family conflict, perceived organizational support, and organizational commitment among employed mothers. *Journal of occupational health psychology*, 7(2), 99-108. doi: 10.1037//1076-8998.7.2.99
- Chant, S. (2008). The 'feminisation of poverty' and the 'feminisation' of anti-poverty programmes: Room for revision?. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 44(2), 165-197. doi: 10.1080/00220380701789810
- Delany, A, Ismail, Z, Graham, L & Ramkisson, Y, (2008). *Review of the Child Support Grant: Uses, Implementation and Obstacles*. Department of Social Development. CASE, SASSA UNICEF (Community Agency for Social Enquiry, South African Social Security Agency & United Nations Children's Fund), Johannesburg.

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

Department of Social Development (2011) *Green Paper on Families: Promoting Family Life and Strengthening Families in South Africa* (No. 34657), Retrieved from: www.thepresidency.gov.za

Desai, S. (1992). Children at Risk: The Role of Family Structure in Latin America and West Africa. *Population and Development Review*, 18(4). 689-717. DOI: 10.2307/1973760

Diener, E. (2000). Subjective well-being: The science of happiness and a proposal for a national index. *American psychologist*, 55(1), 34-43. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.1.34>

Diener, E., Scollon, C. N., Lucas, R. E. (2009). The evolving concept of subjective well-being: The multifaceted nature of happiness. In Diener, E. (Ed.) *Assessing well-being* (pp. 6-100), http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-90-481-2354-4_4

Dinkelman, T. (2004). How household context affects search outcomes of the unemployed in Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa. *South African Journal of Economics*, 72(3), 484-521. doi: 10.1111/j.1813-6982.2004.tb00123.x

Erikson, E. H. (1963). *Childhood and society* (Rev. ed.). New York: Norton, 159-256.

Field, A. (2005). *Discovering statistics with SPSS*. London: Sage.

Finn, A. & Leibbrandt, M. (2013). *The Dynamics of Poverty in the First Three Waves of NIDS*. (SALDRU Working Paper Number 119/ NIDS Discussion Paper 2013/1). Retrieved from University of Cape Town website: <http://www.opensaldru.uct.ac.za/handle/11090/683>.

Foster, J., Greer, J., & Thorbecke, E. (2010). The Foster–Greer–Thorbecke (FGT) poverty measures: 25 years later. *The Journal of Economic Inequality*, 8(4), 491–524. doi:10.1007/s10888-010-9136-1

Fukuda-Parr, S. (1999). What does feminization of poverty mean? It isn't just lack of income. *Feminist economics*, 5(2), 99 – 103. Doi: 10.1080/135457099337996

Fukuda-Parr, S. (2003). The human development paradigm: Operationalizing sen's ideas on capabilities. *Feminist Economics*, 9(2-3), 301 – 317. Doi:10.1080/1354570022000077980

Goldblatt, B. (2005). Gender and Social Assistance in the first Decade of Democracy: A case study of South Africa CSG, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*. 32:3, 239-257, doi: 10.1080/02589340500353581

Gilligan, G. (2000). Family Support Issues and Prospect. In Canavan, D., Dolan, P., & Pinkerton, J. (Eds.). *Family Support Direction from Diversity* (pp. 13-34). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Hoogeveen, J., & Ösler, B. (2005). Poverty and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa: 1995–2000. In Bhorat, H., & Kandur, R. (Eds.) *Poverty and policy in post-apartheid South Africa*. Cape Town, HSRC Press.

Hunter, M. (2006). Father without amandla: Zulu-speaking men and fatherhood. In L.M. Richter & R. Morell (Eds), *Baba: men and fatherhood in South Africa*. Retrieved from: www.hsrcpress.ac.za

Ivankova, N. V., Creswell, J. W., & Stick, S. L. (2006). Using mixed-methods sequential explanatory design: From theory to practice. *Field Methods*, 18(1), 3-20. doi: 10.1177/1525822X05282260

Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. *Development and change*, 30(3), 435-464. doi: 10.1111/1467-7660.00125

Kingdon, G., Knight, J. (2003). *Well-being poverty versus income poverty and capabilities poverty?* <http://www.ox.ac.uk/>

Leibbrandt, M., Woolard, I., Finn, A., & Argent, J. (2010). *Trends in South African Income Distribution and Poverty Since the Fall of Apartheid*. Paris: OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers (No. 101 OECD Publishing), Retrieved from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5kmms0t7p1ms-en>

Lewis, J., & Giullari, S. (2006). The adult worker model family, gender equality and care: the search for new policy principles and the possibilities and problems of a capabilities approach. *Economy and society*, 34(1), 76-104. doi:10.1080/0308514042000329342

Lucas, R.E., Diener, E. (2008). Subjective Well-being. In Lewis, M., Haviland-Jones, J.M., Fieldman Barrett, L. (Eds.) *Handbook of Emotions* (pp. 471-484). New York: The Guilford Press.

Lund Research Ltd. (2013). One way ANOVA in SPSS. Retrieved on <https://statistics.laerd.com/spss-tutorials/one-way-anova-using-spss-statistics.php>

Neves, D. Samsom, M. van Niekerk, I. Hlathswayo, S. and Du Toit, A. (2009) *The Use and Effectiveness of Social Grants in South Africa*, Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) and

Economic Policy Research Institute (EPRI), available at http://www.finmark.org.za/wp-content/uploads/R_socialGrants.pdf.

Norton, S. W. (1998). Poverty, property rights, and human well-being: a cross-national study. *Cato Journal*, 18, 233-45.

Nussbaum, M. (1997). Capabilities and human rights. *Fordham Law Review*, 66, 273-300.

Nussbaum, M. (2002). Capabilities and social justice. *International Studies Review*, 4(2), 123-135.

Nussbaum, M. (2003). Capabilities as fundamental entitlements: Sen and social justice. *Feminist economics*, 9(2-3), 33-59.

Patel, L., Hochfeld, T., & Moodley, J. (2013). Gender and child sensitive social protection in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 30, 69-83. doi:10.1080/0376835X.2012.755872

Patel, L., Hochfeld, T., Moodley, J., & Mutwali, R. (2012). *The gender dynamics and impact of the Child Support Grant in Doornkop*. Retrieved from Childwatch International Research Network website: <http://www.childwatch.uio.no/publications/research-reports/gender%20dynamics%20and%20child%20support.pdf>

Ranchhod, V. (2013). *Earnings volatility in South Africa*. (SALDRU Working Paper Number 121/ NIDS Discussion Paper 2013/3). Retrieved from SALDRU website: http://www.opensaldru.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11090/686/2013_121_Saldruwp.pdf?sequence=1

Richter, L. M., & Morrell, R. (2006). *Baba: men and fatherhood in South Africa*. Retrieved from Engagingmen website: http://engagingmen.org/files/resources/2010/Caroline/What_is_the_role_of_fathers_in_South_Africa.pdf#page=109

Ritchie, J. (1982). Child-rearing practices and attitudes of working and full-time mothers. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 5(5), 419-425. DOI: 10.1016/0277-5395(82)90004-8

Robeyns, I. (2003). Is Nancy Fraser's critique of theories of distributive justice justified?. *Constellations*, 10(4), 538-554. doi:10.1046/j.1351-0487.2003.00352.x

Robeyns, I. (2005). The capability approach: a theoretical survey. *Journal of human development*, 6(1), 93 – 111. Doi:10.1080/146498805200034266

South African Social Security Agency (SASSA). (2013). A statistical summary of social grants in South Africa (Issue No.1). Retrieved from: <http://www.sassa.gov.za/index.php/statistical-reports>

Sen, A. K. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A. K. (1987). *Gender and cooperative conflicts*. Helsinki, Finland: World Institute for Development Economics Research.

Sen, A. K. (1992). *Inequality reexamined*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A. (1990). Justice: means versus freedoms. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 19(2) , 111-121.

Sheriff, B., Seedat, M., & Suffla, S. (2010). A Critical Review Of Family Functioning Indices. *African Safety Promotion Journal*, 8(2), 20-38.

South Africa Department of Social Development, SASSA, UNICEF. (2012). *The South African Child Support Grant Impact Assessment: Evidence from a survey of children, adolescents and their households*. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/SAF_resources_csg2012s.pdf.

Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit. National Income Dynamics Study 2012, Wave 3 (2014). Cape Town: Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit. Version 1.2. Cape Town: DataFirst

Stats SA (2013, July 10). The World of Work. Retrieved from Statistics South Africa: <http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?p=1034>

Stats SA (2014, August 14) Work and Labour Force. Retrieved from Statistics South Africa: http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=737&id=1

Thompson, R. (1995). *Preventing Child Maltreatment through Social Support – A Critical Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

UNICEF (2006) Girls Education Movement: South Africa. Retrieved from: http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/resources_8145.html

Unterhalter, E. (2003). The Capabilities Approach and Gendered Education An Examination of South African Complexities. *Theory and Research in Education*, 1(1), 7-22. doi:10.1177/1477878503001001002

Vaux, A. (1985). Variations in Social Support Associated with Gender, Ethnicity, and Age. *Journal of Social Issues*. 41(1), 89-110. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.1985.tb01118.x

Vorster, J., de Waal, L. (2008). Beneficiaries of the Child Support Grant: Findings from a National Survey, *The Social Work Practitioner-Researcher*, 20(2), 233-249.

Williams, M. J. (2007). *The social and economic impacts of South Africa's child support grant* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http://web.williams.edu/Economics/Honors/2007/Williams_thesis.pdf.

Wood, A.M., Taylor, P.J., Joseph, S. (2010). Does the CES-D 10 measure a continuum from depression to happiness? Comparing substantive and artifactual models. *Psychiatry Research*, 177(1), 120-123.
doi:10.1016/j.psychres.2010.02.003

Appendices

Appendix 1: Semi-structured interview

Interview with young mothers on family

- **Small introduction about myself**
- **Tell something about the research**
- **Give informed consent**

Family & Support

It is really nice to speak to you again. We have spoken a bit about your household and your life. Would you like to help me by telling me more about your household and yourself? I will ask you some questions and I will take notes. By working together on this piece of paper, I will try to understand your household a bit better. I will not show this information to anyone aside from you. Everything you will tell me during the interview is confidential.

(See other page for Roster questions)

	Past	Now	Want right now	Future
Work				
Education				
Care				

	1. Name	2. Relationship to respondent	3. Age	4. Block	5. Nationality	6. Mother tongue	7. Race	8. Marital Status	9. Achieved Education level	10. Now in school	10. Employment status	11. Type of Social Grants
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												
8												
9												
10												
11												
12												
13												

A. Can you tell me what you do during the day?

Probing: So you wake up, and what is next?

Being a mother can be tough, I would like to know how you deal with being a mother.

B. What are your thoughts on a household helping out with domestic duties?

E.g. Taking care of children, cleaning, cooking etc.

C. Where do you get your power to take care of your children and household? Do you get support from your household?

Probing: How does the household help you?

D. What role does your household play in taking care of the home?

D1. Does your household help you with taking care of the children?

Probing: In what way?

Probing: Who in your household helps you?

Probing: If father present, what is the role of the father?

E. Does your household help you with other domestic duties?

E.g. Taking care of children, cleaning, cooking etc.

Probing: In what way?

F. Do you get the things done that you would like to get done per day?

E.g. Domestic duties, care, work...

G. Do you feel you are able to do more things outside of the household, because of the support of your household?

Probing: What can you do more because of the support?

H. Imagine you were a single mother living without family, what kind of domestic duties do you think you had to do?

Probing: What kind of domestic duties?(e.g. Washing, cooking, cleaning, taking the children to school)

Probing: Who does that now in your household?

I.

Yes	No
So, your household does help with domestic duties at home. What does that mean for you?	So, your household does not help you with domestic duties at home. What does that mean for you?
Are you able to do other things, because they help you? E.g. Go to school, sewing lessons...	Are you not able to do other things, because they do not help you?

J. How do you feel about doing domestic duties?

Probing: Do you want to do more or less?

J. How would your ideal household look like?

Probing: In what way would people support each other?

Motherhood

I now know a lot about your household. But do you want to tell me more about yourself? Now you have (a) child(ren).

A. What keeps you busy during the week?
(If employment or education is mentioned in the roster, go in-depth)

B. What are your thoughts on working mothers?

C. How is it for mothers to find a job these days?

C1. What is it like for you, being a mother?

Probing: Why (un)able?

Probing: Do you think being a mother makes it more difficult? Why?

Employed	Unemployed
C1.1. Can I ask you, why you are working at that job? <i>Probing: Family, necessity, wanting, being occupied</i>	C2.1 Can I ask you, why you are not able to have a job at the moment? <i>Probing: Family, care, education, skill (lack)</i>
C1.2. How are you able to work and be a mother at the same time?	C2.2 Did you have a job in the past? And why weren't you able to work there anymore?
C1.3. Would you like to work more, or less, or at all? <i>Probing: What would you like to do?</i>	C2.3. Would you like to work? <i>Probing: Where would you like to work?</i>
C1.4. Would you like to do something else?	C1.4. Would you like to do something else?

C.5. In what way does your household help you with finding/ or having a job?

Probing: Do you feel support from you household is important for you?

D1. What are your thoughts on mothers who go to school?

E.1. How is it for mothers to study these days?

E3. Now you are a mother and have certain responsibilities which other women do not have. Do you think being a mother and going to school can be difficult?

E4. How has being a mother influenced you in making decisions about going to school?

In education	Not in education
F1. I see that you are still studying ...	F2. I see you are not studying anymore and that you quit school ... (at a certain grade).
F1.1 Can you tell me something about why you are still in school? <i>Probing: What do you want to do after your study?</i>	F2.2. Do you want to tell me why you stopped going to school? <i>Probing: Pregnancy, motherhood, illness.</i>
F1.2. Would you like to study more?	F2.2. Would you like to study?

F5. Does your household makes it possible for you to go to school?

Probing: Do you feel support from you household is important for you?

G. Are you involved in the community?

G1. Are you doing voluntary work?

Probing: What kind of voluntary work?

G2. Would you like to be more involved in the community?

Probing: Why yes, why not?

G3. What would you like to do then?

G4. Why do you think you are not able to do that now?

Probing: Care, family, low income etc.

Income

A. It must be hard sometimes to be a mother. You have to take care of your household and home. I know this is a sensitive topic, but do you want to tell me about your monthly income and expenditures? You told me earlier on in the interview that:

- employed
- social grant

So, what does your household receive as an income per month?

Single

R0-500	R501-1000	R1001-1500	R1501-2000	R2001-2500	R2501-3000	R3001-more
--------	-----------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------

Married

R0-500	R501-1000	R1001-1800	R1801-2600	R2601-3400	R3401-4000	R4001-5000	R5001-6000	R6000-more
--------	-----------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------

(These tables are based on the CSG eligibility criteria of 2014, where people are eligible if income does not exceed 3000 (Single) or 6000 (Married)).

B. If you compare your household to other households in Doornkop. Where, would you say, does your household stand in terms of income.

<i>1. Much above average income</i>	
<i>2. Above average income</i>	
<i>3. Average income</i>	
<i>4. Below average income</i>	
<i>5. Much below average income</i>	

C. A household also has to make certain expenses. Could you tell me something about your monthly expenses?

Monthly expenses	How much do you pay for that on average per month?
Rent	
School fees	
Food	
Health	
Transport	
Other:	

D. Is your household receiving enough money each month, to pay for all the expenditures you have?

Emotional Well-being

I can imagine you struggle sometimes with your responsibilities of being a mother and having to think about money issues. But I believe you are a strong woman and that you love your child(ren). How are you feeling these days?

A. What does being a mother mean to you?

Probing: Have your responsibilities changed after becoming a mother?

Probing: How are you dealing with being a mother?

A.1. What is your description of being a good mother?

A.2. How do you see yourself in that description?

Probing: So, do you want to change certain behavior?

A.3. What kind of mom do you want to be?

B. What are your thoughts on loneliness?

B1. What does loneliness mean to you?

Probing: When and why?

Probing: Do you sometimes feel like you doing everything all by yourself?

B2. How would you want yourself to feel?

Probing: How would you be able to do that?

C. Have you been bothered by things that usually did not bother you at all?

Probing: Waiting, Working, Cooking, Cleaning, etc.

C.1. How would you want to feel?

Probing: How would you be able to do that?

D. What is your definition of depression?

Probing: My definition is that depression is feeling down...

D1. Have you ever experienced such a feeling?

Probing: Why do you believe you felt like that?

D.2. How would you want to feel?

Probing: How would you be able to do that?

Past/Present/Future

You are now... (25-30) years old. You are a young mother and we have spoken a lot about your experiences as a mother. If we now take a look at this time span.

A. Can you tell me about your dreams for the future?

Probing: How do you want to see yourself in say 2, or 5, years, from now?

E.g. Working, education, mother

Probing: Do you want to be working/ in school? Can I ask you, why you want to do that?

B. How do you think your family pictures you in the future?

B.1. Do you think you want the same things as they want?

C. Now you have parental responsibility. But in the past, you did not have a child. How do you think you have changed as a person?

D. What would you have thought back then of the person you are now?

B1. In what way has your family changed?

E. Do you feel hopeful about the future?

E1. What would you like to do in the future?

E2. Why, do you think, are you not able to do this now?



Past



Now



Thank you so much for your participation,

A. Do you have some questions for me still?

B. Or do you want to talk to me a little bit more about what we have discussed.

C. Do you think I left out important information you want to add?

Appendix 2: Nvivo Tree

A. Family Structures

A.1. Presence of (grand)mother, aunt

A.2. Presence of father of child

A.2.1. Absence of father of child

A.3. Presence of siblings or cousin

B. Family Support

B.1. Emotional Support

B.2. Physical Support

B.2.1. Domestic Duties

B.2.2. Work

B.2.3. Education

B.2.4. Children (Family)

B.3. Financial Support

B.4. Not present

C. Community

C.1. Do

C.2. Want to do

D. Domestic Work

D.1. General opinion

D.2. Do

D.3. Want

E. Employment (Work)

E.1. General opinion

E.2. Do

G. Education (School)

G.1. General opinion

G.2. Do

G.2.1. Under Matriculation

G.2.2. Matriculated

G.3. Want

H. Other

H.1. Family Responsibility

H.2. Culture

H.3. Need of being independent

I. Emotional well-being

I.1. Motherhood

I.1.1. General opinion

I.1.2. Do

I.1.3. Want

I.2. Loneliness

I.2.1. General opinion

I.2.2. Do

I.2.3. Want

I.3. Bothered

I.3.1. General opinion

I.3.2. Do

I.3.3. Want

I.4. Depression

I.4.1. General opinion

I.4.2. Do

E.2.1. Reason for unemployment

E.3. Want

E.4. Did

F. Finances (Income)

F.1. Income

F.2. Expenses

F.2.1. Have

F.2.2. Want

F.3. CSG opinion

I.4.3. Want

I.5. Hopeful about the future

I.6. Timetable

I.6.1. Past

I.6.2. Present

I.6.3. Future

Appendix 3: Qualitative Analytical Framework

Research Objectives	Important Concepts	Data Required	Data Derived From
To explore the profile of young mothers aged 25-30 in South Africa	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Living circumstances 2. Socio-demographic variables; such as number of children, marital status, family structures, grant receipt, educational background and employment status. 	The current socio-demographic variables and living circumstances.	Interview: A table has been filled out during the interview to create an overview of the profile of the participant. During the interview additions could be made to this table.
To explore young mothers' resources and capability sets	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Perspectives on employment, education, CSG, family and motherhood 2. Capability approach: Resources and capabilities 3. Cooperative conflict 4. Family support; domestic, emotional and/or financial support 	<p>Clear understanding of young mothers' perception on their resources and capabilities.</p> <p>The role family support plays in their lives.</p>	<p>Interview:</p> <p>Overall perception on motherhood in relation to the access of resources and capabilities. Their own doings and beings and what they want to be doing. Thus, perception, reality and ideal picture.</p> <p>Questions about family support related to the different resources and capabilities.</p>
To explore young mothers' emotional well-being in relation to family, education, employment and CSG receipt	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Emotional well-being 2. Family Support 3. Motherhood 4. Capability approach: Resources and capabilities 5. Cooperative conflict 	Finding out their emotional well-being over the last week by reflecting on their resources and capabilities.	Interview: A timetable was introduced to reflect on the young mother's life by looking at their past, present and future. Before motherhood and now. The participants reflect on the changes in life and emotional well-being, whether they have felt lonely, bothered, depressed. In addition, questions are included about motherhood.
To find out whether or not young mothers experience the	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cooperative conflict 2. Freedom in choice 3. Responsibility 	Reflecting on the current status of young mothers and their	Interview: To reflect on whether or not their doings and beings

cooperative conflict	4. Motherhood	freedom in choice to be who they want to be by taking family responsibility into account.	correspond with what they want to be doing. Reflected on need to be independent, responsible and cultural obligations.
To explore associations between the quantitative and qualitative study.		Reflect on findings and find out if there are associations or explanations for certain patterns.	Interview and statistical analyses

Appendix 4: Informed Consent Form for a Qualitative Research on Mothers

Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in this study.

Introduction

My name is Sara Slijper, and I am doing research for the Centre of Social Development Africa for my master thesis. I am inviting young mothers living in big families to tell me their stories about being a mother. These mothers can receive the Child Support Grant or not. I will talk with you about your emotional well-being and about family support. Whatever is said in this interview will not affect you receiving the Child Support Grant.

You are allowed to talk about the research with others and you are free in choosing whether or not to participate. If you do not understand certain terms or concepts, I will take the time to explain, and you can ask questions at any time during the interview. The interview will approximately take one hour.

Confidentiality

The research report will not use your name in the process and anonymity is guaranteed. The information provided on your behalf is confidential.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. If you do not want to participate nothing will change to your circumstances. You are free to choose to participate or not. You are allowed to request that the information provided by yourself should not be used in the research study. You are allowed to not respond to certain questions. But I do encourage you to answer all the questions, but when uncomfortable you are not forced to answer them.

Procedures

During the interview, I will sit down with you and maybe an interpreter. If you do not want to answer a question you must say so and we can move on to the next question. The questions are about your family, well-being and support. In addition, I will talk to you about being a mother.

I am very grateful that you want to participate in my research and I am aware that you are taking time out of your day just for this interview.

Part II: Certificate of Consent

I have been invited to participate in a qualitative research about the role of family for mothers.

I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have been asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study

Print Name of Participant _____

Signature of Participant _____

Date _____

Day/month/year

Appendix 4: The profile of the respondents in Doornkop

	Age distribution	Number of children	Marital status	Primary caregiver
Respondent 1	26	2	Separated	Parent
Respondent 2	25	1	Never married	Parent
Respondent 3	25	2	Married	Parent
Respondent 4	26	1	Never married	(Great)grandparent
Respondent 5	29	3	Never married	Parent
Respondent 6	29	1	Separated	Parent
Respondent 7	30	2	Married	Parent
Respondent 8	29	1	Living with partner	(Great)grandparent
Respondent 9	29	2	Never married	Parent
Respondent 10	29	2	Married	Parent & Aunt
Respondent 11	27	4	Never married	Parent
Respondent 12	27	1	Never married	Parent

	Family Structure	Education	Employment Status	CSG receipt
Respondent 1	Extended family	Grade 12 (Matriculated)	Unemployed	No
Respondent 2	Multiple generation family	Grade 11 (Not Matriculated)	Unemployed	Yes
Respondent 3	Extended family	Grade 11 (Not Matriculated)	Unemployed	Yes
Respondent 4	Multiple generation family	College (Matriculated)	Employed	No
Respondent 5	Extended family	Grade 11 (Not matriculated)	Unemployed	Yes
Respondent 6	Multiple generation family	Grade 11 (Not matriculated)	Unemployed	Yes
Respondent 7	Extended family	Grade 12 (Matriculated)	Employed	Yes
Respondent 8	Double generation	Grade 12 (Matriculated)	Employed	Yes

	family			
Respondent 9	Multiple generation family	Grade 12 (Matriculated)	Employed	Yes
Respondent 10	Double generation family	Grade 12 (Matriculated)	Employed	Yes
Respondent 11	Double generation family	Grade 9 (Not Matriculated)	Unemployed	Yes
Respondent 12	Double generation family	Grade 12 (Matriculated)	Employed	Yes