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**Title**

Parental status of African children in South Africa: the relationship to household composition and household socio-economic status.

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**Submitted to the University of KwaZulu-Natal,  
School of Built Environment and Development Studies, College of Humanities.  
In partial fulfilment of the academic requirements for the degree of Master of  
Population Studies.**

2016

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## **Abstract**

The living arrangements and social economic status of households are reportedly a reflection of their coping strategy to shocks. Particularly for African South Africans: labour migration, low and decreasing rates of marriage and HIV/AIDS pandemic among others have clearly affected both the living arrangements and the parental status of African children. In this paper, descriptive statistics were employed to compare the living arrangements and socio-economic status of households with African children according to their parental status. The GHS (2012) data was used to formulate nine exhaustive parental categories and three separate orphan hood (paternal, maternal and double) categories. Basically, a comparison of the living arrangements of multi-generational households, female headed households and households with high dependency ratios was undertaken for children who have deceased parents (fathers/mothers/both) to non-orphaned children (both parents are alive) where children live with either or both of their biological parents or guardians. Furthermore, geographical location, household wealth status and the reception of social grants were used as socio-economic status indicators.

The results across all the variables show that households with children who are co-residing with both their parents had the preferred outcomes when compared to the other parental statuses. Households with fathers only the mother being deceased or alive but absent also exhibit preferential socio-economic status when compared to households with mothers only the father being either dead or alive but not a resident and in households with children who co-reside with neither of their parents, for reasons of death or mere absenteeism. Basically, the living arrangements and socio-economic status was worse off for the former and latter parental status.

Although child poverty was not my outright focus, the wide and deeply worrisome levels of poverty amongst African children motivated this study. In this study, I observed that a greater proportion of households with African children were headed by females. In these households, and in households where children reside with absent parents, children are highly likely to be socialized in some dimensions of poverty. Government can rectify this by correcting some institutional factors. Women face more disadvantages in almost all social, economic and political institutions. Furthermore, these disadvantages are exacerbated in households with single mothers and no adult males.

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## **Chapter One: Situating the research problem**

### **1.1 Background of the study**

This thesis offers statistical data on the living arrangements and socio-economic status of households with African children in South Africa according to their parental status. The socio-economic well-being of children is of key importance: UNICEF (2012) stated that the growth and prosperity of tomorrow's nations depends heavily on the children of today. However, amongst other attributes, the apartheid era left a very large proportion of Africans in poverty and different publications show that child poverty is associated with: poor nutrition and susceptibility to illness and disease, lack of clean water, family break up due to poverty, little access to healthcare and lack of sanitation and means of waste disposal (Department of Social Development 2013).

At the World Summit for Children in 2006, world leaders affirmed that the family and all of its resources was the 'first call' in which children should have their essential needs met (UNICEF, 2007, p. 27). Drawing from this summit, the family and particularly parents have a valuable role to play in shaping children's socio-economic status as resources flow from them to children. Furthermore, it is in their households that children acquire concepts, skills and attitudes that lay the foundation for lifelong learning.

A UNICEF (2012, p.2) report stated that the childhood phase is a "unique window of opportunity". They believe that during one's childhood, the cycle of poverty can be broken or even pre-empted, for when poverty strikes a family, children are its immediate victims (UNICEF, 2007) and thereafter they fail to fulfil their potential. In 2007 the UN estimated that more than half of the children in South Africa were living in poverty (Social Development Report, 2010).

The Social Development Report (2010) put forward that inequity and marginalization in South Africa could grow worse without child-related interventions. The government has made various positive interventions since the coming of democracy but there remain a worrisome number of poor African children who continue to suffer the indignities of poverty. They postulate that lack

of access to adequate nutrition, poor education quality, dissatisfying service delivery for things like clean running water and adequate sanitation could result into a “long term viscous cycle of deprivation” (ibid, p 42).

Since 1994 South Africa has adopted a social agenda, which channels a significant amount of effort and resources towards identifying vulnerable groups in society, crafting legislation that protects their interests and developing and implementing programmes and strategies that support them (Social profile of South Africa 2002–2009, 2010). However, particularly, women, children and the elderly still suffer because of the distribution of rights and privileges, social power, access to public goods such as credit and financial services and the judicial system (Dungamaro, 2008).

South Africa has a long history of children who do not live consistently with their biological parents. Richter, et al., (2012) argue that the foundation of parenthood had been slowly eroded in South Africa. Many children experience a sequence of different caregivers or they are being raised without fathers (Russell, 2003; Hosegood, et al., 2009; Richter, et al., 2012; Posel, et al., 2011; Posel and Devey, 2006). The parental status of African households with children in contemporary South Africa has been shaped by a combination of interrelated social, political and economic processes. Low and declining marriage rates, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, labour migration and poverty are amongst the factors that have strongly shaped the living arrangements and socio-economic status of African children (Social profile of South Africa 2002–2009, 2010). In a twenty year review of South Africa from 1994–2014, Van Der Byl (2014) revealed that children were disproportionately represented in rural and non-metropolitan areas. She reports that 42% of African children were still within the former Bantustans (overpopulated and underdeveloped areas where Africans were resettled during apartheid), while only 29% of all adults reside in these areas. She expressed concern over the high levels of parental absenteeism, the poor municipal infrastructure, poor levels of service delivery and limited employment opportunities in these areas (Van Der Byl, 2014).

Many researchers suggest that industrial capitalism and apartheid brought about some serious changes in the African family system and kinship organisation. Firstly, the apartheid government

stripped the black majority of most of their rights. As a result, there was, and still is, very high levels of residential separation between biological fathers and their children as a result of labourmigration (Spiegel, 2003). However, Posel (2010) postulates that over the years, increasing numbers of women have also migrated from their permanent homes for work reasons. The long and well-established decline in marriage rates (Budlender, et al., 2005; Locoh, 1988; Udjo, 2001) has significantly contributed to the social and residential separation of parents and their children. In 2006, 55% of women aged 40-44 years in rural KwaZulu-Natal had never been married (Hosegood, et al., 2009). There are generally many factors that have driven the decline in marriage rates. According to Hosegood, et al., (2009) family dispersal resulting from labour migration and/or poverty has contributed substantially to the long-term decline in marriage rates. As a result, an increasing number of South Africa's women are having children outside of marriage (Makiwane, et al., 2013) which also promotes paternal absenteeism.

Children in South Africa are growing up in an era of HIV/AIDS. Millions of children have been orphaned by the epidemic. Subsequently, there has been considerable concern over the other negative socio-economic consequences which are caused by the epidemic. Among other things, the epidemic usually reshapes and affects the household type, household composition; care giving options, residential stability and the economic status of households (Hosegood, et al., 2009).

Research has shown that poverty is significantly increased for orphans and children with absent fathers when compared to children with a resident father (Booyesen 2003). Roggman et al., (2002) estimated that in 2001, 77 per cent of African children with absent fathers were living in poverty. Poverty creates challenges for children whom may be very difficult to manage in households with only one or no parent (Case, et al., 2006; Ford and Hosegood, 2005). This is especially worsened in South Africa, where unemployment is very high and most single mothers work outside the home (Cancian and Reed, 2009).

## **1.2. Context of the study**

In 2014, StatsSA estimated South Africa's population to be 54 million people. South Africa is one of the most ethnically diverse countries in Africa. According to the 2011 Population Census,

Africans comprise the largest population group, constituting about 79.5% of the total population; while Coloureds make up 9.0%, Indian/Asian 2.5% and Whites 9% of the population (South African Government, 2015).

South Africa was colonised by Dutch settlers during the 17<sup>th</sup> century largely because of its wealth in natural resources (Bray, 2003). At that time, it was inhabited by pastoral Khoi-Khoi, the hunter-gatherer San, the Xhosa and the Zulu nations and various other indigenous tribes. In pre-modernised South Africa, land ownership under communal tenure was the main source of livelihood for Africans. Bester (1994) notes that the African family structure was influenced by a self-supporting agro-economy system that was under patriarchal authority. Living arrangements were largely influenced by a family's proximity to a means of production and its ability to sustain itself. Therefore, factors like climate, geography, and the productivity of the land all had a substantial impact on a household's composition (Edmonds, 2006).

The discovery of diamonds (1867) and gold (1886) prompted the intensification of the oppression of the native inhabitants. This was because the white government was pushing able-bodied Africans away from a rural subsistence economy into urban based labour (Beinart, 1982). Many control laws were enforced and different forms of taxation were imposed. Consequently, there was a city-ward movement in search of wage employment, better housing and health care facilities (Seekings, 2008).

As a result of the pass laws a migrant's dependents could not easily join him/her at their urban work place. Consequently, the living arrangement of African mothers, fathers and children was affected. Mostly, the women, elderly family members and children were left behind in the rural homestead whilst the fathers were working in urban areas. This resulted in very high levels of residential separation between biological fathers and their children (Spiegel, 2003).

Russell (2003) argues that institutions such as the economy, modern agricultural technologies, polity, education and religion were some of the key drivers of the ideational shift in South Africa. For instance, the relationship between men and women has become more egalitarian, new patterns of cohabitation have developed, marriage rates have fallen, divorce rates have

increased, the patterns of childbearing have changed and the status of women has improved, amongst others.

In 1994 South Africa became a democratic nation after the minority government stepped down. Van Der Byl (2014) argues that the advent of democracy was an opportunity for the government to change the trajectory of all African children. Jeeves et al., (1995) caution that the transition from rural to urban areas for Africans has been anything but simple. The government has transformed the unfavourable and restrictive political, economic and social environment for African South Africans but its fight against a legacy of lawlessness and socio-economic inequality is still on-going.

Nonetheless, as Africans are now exposed to urban industrialized life they can access better housing, education and health facilities. Sibanda, et al., (1999) argue that the impact of improved government policies on family structure and family organization is still very hard to determine because there have been some demographic changes, like lower fertility rates and the reversal in mortality levels due to HIV/AIDS, which are concurrently shaping African's living arrangements.

Van Der Byl (2014) revealed that the number of households in South Africa had increased substantially since 1994 but the average household size has been shrinking over time. Moreover, the number of households with children has been declining. At the same time, Hall and Meintjes (2014) observed that the number of single-person households have increased substantially in South Africa which could explain the increase in the number of households and households without children.

There has been an inconclusive debate on whether African households are converging to one generation households like in the developed countries. In her paper, Russell (2003) argues that African households were not converging to one generation households. She undertakes a thorough analysis of the underlying principles on which African households rest. She states that the tradition of patrilineal descent in African households entails a much wider and unpredictable

set of options for co-residence. However, Van Der Byl (2014) identified an increase in the prevalence of two generations households in South Africa for the period 1994-2014.

Russell (2003) advances that in contemporary South Africa, patterns of co-residence are shaped by various factors but to a larger extent they reflect the forces of the new global economy. This entails families that are dispersing in a bid to obtain better economic opportunities.

South Africa currently possesses one of the largest and most ambitious social assistance programmes in the developing world (Fordand Hosegood, 2005). Its Constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996) includes the Bill of Rights which states that everyone should have access to healthcare, social security, sufficient food and adequate water and a safe environment. In section 28, children are afforded additional protection, which includes basic nutrition, shelter, basic healthcare, social services and protection from abuse and neglect. As a result, the Department of Social Development has availed a number social assistance programmes which facilitate human development and improve the quality of life of the South African population, particularly of the poor and the vulnerable.

The Child Social Grant (CSG) is one of the most important social grants. Van Der Byl, (2014) notes that although a number of programmes have been implemented, the CSG has been the most successful in terms of implementation. Its aim is to improve children's wellbeing. The grant, which is paid to a child's primary care giver, currently reaches a substantial proportion of children. According to the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), around 8.9 million children received some form of cash transfer in 2008 (Djebbari and Mayrand, 2011).

Amongst Africans in South Africa, kinship care is the prevalent and accepted means of raising children. For a broad range of reasons children are looked after on an on-going or indefinite basis by relatives, friends or others. By channelling the grant through the primary care giver, the CSG was meant to adapt to the nature of the South African society. For instance, awarding the grant to the primary care giver caters for situations when: the biological parents are absent as a result of labour migration; children are cared for by the extended family as a result of HIV/AIDS related

deaths; and when children are living with an unmarried mother as a result of non-marital births (Lund, 2008).

### **1.3 Problem statement**

Children are living in various forms of living arrangements in South Africa which shapes and influences their socio-economic status and well-being. Subsequently, looking at households' according to children's parental status is of key importance. Parents have an essential role to play when it comes to improving the well-being of all children. Whether a child can access resources like quality education, primary health care and social protection is determined by their primary caregivers who are usually parents.

To improve the wellbeing of children in South Africa there is need to uncover and understand some dynamic social phenomena that shape and influence households (formation, composition and structure). For instance, the households' socio-demographic structure is influenced by labour migration, HIV/AIDS and lower marriage rates.

In South Africa, there is an overlying assumption that households with African children who are co-residing with both their biological parents have relatively the best socio-economic status, whilst, double orphaned children are believed to have the worst. However, the problem arises in that there is very little, if any research which includes nine different parental categories and uses a wide range of socio-economic indicators. This is imperative, as the living arrangements of households with African children are constantly changing. Therefore, there is an increasing need to define and analyse their socio-economic status. Particularly, this study uses an exhaustive nine parental categories and more than eight socio-economic indicators in order to closely analyse their socio-economic status.

There is a greater need to analyze particularly, households with African children. These are mostly affected because relative to the other population groups, the formation, composition and structure of African households has been the most dynamic. This results from the apartheid era,

effects of labour migration, HIV/AIDS pandemic, lower marriage rates and the increased labour force participation rates of African women.

It is widely believed that the living arrangements and socio-economic status for households with double orphans is worse off than all the other orphan status, probably because the assumption is that they have no one to fend for them. It is possible that in some socio-economic indicators they may be better off relative to the other non -orphan status, why? Factors like being able to collect a larger number of social grants, donations and child labour amongst others.

#### **1.4 Significance of the study**

Often, not all of the potential categories of parental status are considered when researchers are determining the socio-economic well-being of children. At the same time, numerous studies have documented only the psycho-socio and economic status of households' with various groups of children in South Africa but very few studies have compared the socio-economic status of household's with African children using an exhaustive list of parental status. In this dissertation, I do just that, I use recent GHS (2012) data to compare the living arrangements and socio-economic status of households with African children according to their parental status.

Parental absenteeism is a prevalent feature in African households, commonly the term is used to refer to children with fathers who are alive but absent from the household. Again, research and research initiatives usually associate socio-economic vulnerability only to households with children who have experienced parental death, households with children with both or one living parent but are not co-residing with them are often excluded even though in South Africa's context, they could be equally vulnerable. This study explores households from nine possible categories of parental status and thereafter it looks specifically at three categories of orphans: paternal, maternal and dual orphans. For both categories of parental status the study analyses how they influence children's living arrangements and their socio-economic status.

In this study I employ a wealth index to describe the economic status of households with African children. This index measures each household's assets and its access to essential services. The wealth index provides a better indicator of a households' long-term or permanent socio-



economic status than does either current income or current consumption (Booyesen, 2003). Kothari (1990) identified that poor households usually understate their income in order to appear poorer than they really are. Similarly, rich people usually understate their income because they are fearful of the possibility of taxation, political repercussions and robbery. Therefore, current household income alone may not be a good reflection of more long-term economic status.

## **1.5 Objectives**

The general objective of this study is to describe and compare the living arrangements and the socio-economic characteristics of households with African children in South Africa according to their parental status.

### **The specific objectives of the study are:**

- 1) To compare the living arrangements of multi-generational households, female headed households or in households with higher dependency ratios households according to their parental status that is: compare children who have deceased parents (fathers/mothers/both) to non-orphaned children (both parents are alive) where children live with either or both of their biological parents or guardians.
  
- 2) To compare the socio-economic characteristics of households in which African children live according to their parental status that is: compare children who have deceased parents (fathers/mothers/both) to non-orphaned children (both parents are alive) where children live with either or both of their biological parents or guardians.
  
- 2) To investigate the living arrangements and socio-economic status of households with orphaned African children by the type of orphan-hood status (maternal, paternal or double).

## **1.6. Questions to be asked**

- 1). How do household composition and household size compare among African children according to their parental status?

- For example, are orphaned children more likely than other children to be living in multi-generational households, female headed households or in households with higher dependency ratios?

2). How do the socio-economic characteristics of the households in which African children live compare according to the parental status of children?

- For example, does the economic status of children differ according to whether the parent is deceased, or the parent is alive but not part of the child's household. Are double orphans more likely to live in poverty than either maternal or paternal orphans?

3). How do household composition, household size and socio-economic status of households with orphans compare according to their orphan hood (paternal, maternal and double) status?

- For example, are double orphans worse off than either maternal or paternal orphans?

### **1.7. Methods used**

To undertake a statistical analysis of the living arrangements and the socio-economic status of households with African children according to their parental status descriptive statistical methods were used using the GHS (2012) data. Therefore, the principal research questions were answered using nine parental categories and three other separate orphan hood (paternal, maternal and double) categories.

### **1.8. An outline of the conceptual framework**

This study is guided by the Sustainable Livelihood Analysis (SLA) framework. The framework plays an imperative role when assessing poverty, inequality and human development issues. More generally, the framework maintains that livelihoods of vulnerable households comprise of a diverse range of factors and processes which should be valued for human development (DFID, 2000). The purpose of the SLA is to analyse the current livelihood of vulnerable households and assess their need for enhancement.

Development has many definitions but Morse and McNamara (2013) have come up with two interesting and basic forms. They mention that development can be intentional (interventionist)

or immanent development. The latter refers to a “broad process of advancement in human societies driven by a host of factors including advances in science, medicine, the arts, communication, governance and others. It is facilitated by processes such as globalisation which helps share new ideas and technologies”. Whilst the former “is a focussed and directed process whereby government and non-government organisations implement development projects and programmes (typically a set of related projects) to help the poor. The projects are usually time and resource bound, but have an assumption that the gains achieved would continue after the project has ended” (ibid. p. 2).

The SLA framework was chosen for this study, particularly, because it defines development as being intentional. I believe that households in which African children live are socio-economically vulnerable and in need of intentional development. I believe that documenting the socio-economic status of households with African children according to their parental status is an essential diagnostic tool which will enable development practitioners to maximise the effectiveness of their interventions. Some African children in South Africa live in households with neither parent as a result of parental death and/or mere parental absenteeism, therefore, some parental status make children more vulnerable to the others.

In this study, I described living arrangements using: household size, household composition, dependency ratio and the gender of the household head according to children’s parental status. The following variables were used to represent the socio-economic status of households: geographical location, household wealth status and social grants. In a way, in line with the SLA framework these variables will expose the vulnerable parental categories and subsequently, enable focussed and more directed interventions to be implemented.

The SLA framework places people, particularly vulnerable people, at the centre of a web of inter-related influences that affect how these people create a livelihood for themselves and their households. Closest to the people at the centre of the framework are the resources and livelihood assets that they have access to and use. According to the SLA framework the extent of the people’s access to resources is strongly influenced by their vulnerability context, which takes account of trends. Access is also influenced by the prevailing social, institutional and political

environment, which affects the ways in which people combine and use their assets to achieve their goals.

This study adapts the SLA framework by focusing only on African children and assessing their livelihood. As a result of apartheid, South Africa was divided into “two nations”. The Africans are the poorer group because they were heavily segregated. Unlike the other racial groups, Africans lived under conditions of grossly underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, and other infrastructure. Therefore, the purpose of including variables like the household size and household composition is for assessing how Africans offset some “shocks” they have suffered. Some of these “shocks” for African South Africans include forced labour migration, HIV/AIDS pandemic and factors leading to low and declining marriage rates. To a greater extent these shocks have shaped and influenced the living arrangements of African children.

Therefore, as this study identifies the different areas of vulnerability for different categories of parental status, in accordance to the framework, interventionists can create sustainable livelihoods for households so that they become less vulnerable and cope efficiently to shocks and stress, particularly, parental death and absenteeism. The framework asserts that either increasing the available capital or by reducing household’s vulnerability are sustainable strategies for intentional development (Sen, 2013).

Furthermore, my study evaluates the socio-economic well-being of households not in terms of income, but according to the household’s access to assets, which will be measured through the construction of a wealth index.

## **1.9. Organization of the study**

The remainder of the dissertation is structured as follows. In the next chapter, I provide a review of the existing literature on the living arrangements and the socio-economic status of households with African children in South Africa. Chapter 3 is an outline of the research methodology. In it I discussed the data and the methods that were used for data analysis. I present the findings from the data analysis in Chapter 4. Consequently, Chapter 5 is the last chapter; I discuss the results

that I attained from Chapter 4. Thereafter, I summarise the results and make some recommendations based on these results.

## **1.10. Conclusion**

Chapter 1 was dedicated to the following: introducing the study, stating the problem statement, discussing the relevance of the study, outlining the research objectives, research questions, briefly outlining the research methods and the conceptual framework of the study.

## **Chapter two: Literature review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter contains a review of the existing literature on the parental status of African children in South Africa and its relationship to household composition and household socio-economic status. This chapter focuses on key variables, trends and the issues that are relevant to my study as per existing literature. Firstly I will highlight the living arrangements of African children in South Africa, thereafter; I will explore some background factors that have shaped and influenced them. Following that I discussed the relationship between parental status (vital status and co-residence) and children's outcomes using some relevant literature.

### **2.2 A review of children's living arrangements in South Africa**

South Africa provides an interesting setting for examining children's living arrangements and socio-economic status. Research has shown that African children in South Africa are far less likely than other children to live with both their biological parents, in particular, their fathers (Russell, 2003; Hosegood, et al., 2009; Richter, et al., 2012; Posel, et al., 2011; Posel and Devey 2006). It should be noted that parental absenteeism is not always as a result of parental death but it is usually caused by other factors (Van Der Byl, 2014; Richter, et al., 2012; Hall and Mayekiso, 2009). A situational analysis of children in South Africa 2002–2008 conducted under the auspices of the President's Office (2009) showed that approximately 78% of all children in South Africa had at least one parent who was still alive in the period 2002-2008. In a similar

vein,StatsSA (2012) estimated that half of all South African children who had both of their parents living were not co-residing with both of them.

At the start of the post-apartheid era, data from the 1993 Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (PSLSD) indicated that only 34% of all South African children had two biological parents at home for at least half of the month preceding the survey (Reynolds, 1995; Van Der Byl, 2012). Even well into a democratic South Africa, the GHS (2009) showed that only 34% of all children in South Africa were in households which had both parents as co-residents. Almost two-fifths (39%) were living in households without their biological fathers, but had a mother present, while only 3% of all the children were living with their biological fathers but without a biological mother. Lastly, 24% of all children were living with neither of their biological parents (Hall and Mayekiso, 2009). Drawing from the 1993 and 2009 statistics, it can be seen that South Africa has along established and well maintained pattern of children who do not live consistently with both of their biological parents.

A number of interrelated social, economic and political factors have affected the structure and living arrangements of families in South Africa. Industrial capitalism and apartheid (Sibanda, 2011; Ritcher, et al., 2012), labour migration (Spielberg, 1980; Posel, 2010; Casale and Posel, 2002),the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Case and Ardlington, 2006; Ford and Hosegood, 2005) and low and decreasing marriage rates (Posel, et al., 2011; Johnson, 2003; Udjo, 2007; Posel and Rudwick, 2013, Makiwane, 2004) are reportedly some of the strong influences that have shaped the living arrangements of African children in contemporary South Africa.

These background factors have affected particularly African children relative to the other population groups largely because of their history (Amoateng, et al., 2007; Russell, 2003; Sibanda, 2011) and customs (Chimere-Dan, 1995). The following section reviews studies which explore the role of these background factors in shaping and influencing the living arrangements of African children in South Africa.

### **2.3. The impact of HIV/AIDS on the parental status of African children.**

Moyo (2011) postulated that before the mid 1990's the concept of orphan-hood was not very prevalent. She argued that although some children would lose their parents to death, society was more than ready to foster orphans. However, these social patterns changed around the year 2000, after an UNAIDS demographical report revealed that an alarming 14 million African children had been orphaned by HIV/AIDS. African society has become overwhelmed by the socio-economic consequences of HIV/AIDS, urbanization, interventions by the government like extending the availability and accessibility of social grants and education for all has largely undermined the need for child fosterage (ibid.).

South African children are not only growing up in an era of HIV/AIDS but the epidemic has grown at a very rapid rate such that the country has experienced one of the largest prevalence rates in the world. HIV/AIDS hit the hardest amongst its adult population and this consequently increased the orphan-hood status amongst South African children (Bradshaw, et al., 2012; UNICEF, 2007).

A UNAIDS (2013) report stated that three HSRC surveys estimated HIV prevalence at 15.6% (2002), 16.2% (2005) and 16.9% (2008, increase not statistically significant) in adults 15-49 years. Overall, maternal orphans increased the most as a result of HIV/AIDS; this is because women aged 20-44 years were the most affected (Hall and Meintjes, 2014; Bicego, et al., 2003; Bradshaw, et al., 2012). A UNAIDS (2006) study reported that children who are maternal orphans increased sharply from 2.5% to slightly more than 5% within the period 2001-2005.

HIV/AIDS has considerable socio-economic consequences which have taken the heaviest toll on households and communities. Unfortunately, in the case of an African child, the HIV/AIDS epidemic is only one of many other negative phenomena that shape and influence their lives. For instance, Ciganda, et al., (2010) argue that under-development and poverty are even of greater concern. Therefore, the consequences of HIV/AIDS that they suffer are often devastating and unmitigated.

The epidemic usually reshapes and affects the household type, household composition, care giving options, residential stability and the economic status of children (Hosegood, et al., 2005;

Booyesen 2003; Hosegood, et al., 2009). Seekings (2008) argues that some of the socio-economic effects of AIDS related illness and death are mitigated in African households because of their porosity and fluidity. He explains that these characteristics of African households allow them to be easily reconstituted. For instance, when a breadwinner suffers or dies from HIV/AIDS, the dependents in that household can easily be moved into the care of other related adults. In contrast, in a static and stable nuclear household the illness or death of a breadwinner or caregiver is usually disastrous to all members of the household (Booyesen, 2003; Lamb et al., 2004).

In almost all African societies, relatives (aunts, uncles, and grandparents) are the first and most important source of love and care for children orphaned by AIDS (Case and Ardlington, 2006). Sometimes when an adult dies, the household maybe dissolved, children may be sent to live with their relatives(Foster, 2000; Bicego, et al., 2003, Hosegood, et al., 2009) but quite rarely do orphaned children live with non-relatives (Ritcher, et al., 2008). Informal fostering is prevalent in most African cultures, particularly by grandparents in the case of South Africa (Lunga, 2009; Sibanda, 2011; Case and Ardlington, 2006, Makiwane, et al., 2013; Ziehl, 2002). However, in some cases, older children may act as surrogate parents to their younger siblings (Merli, et al., 2002).

Booyesen (2003) documented that as households in South African are fragmenting and reforming, grandparents are increasingly becoming the primary caregivers to their HIV/AIDS orphaned grandchildren. Seekings (2008,p. 45) pointed out that in most extended households grandparents are often the key breadwinners as they receive a relatively “substantial” amount of money from the pension grant (R1400/month).The extended family structure can be multigenerational as it usually includes a wider circle of kin; which normally consist of grandchildren, parents and grandparents. In skip-generation households, working-age people are absent from the household. In South Africa these household structures have developed largely because of labour migration and the consequences of HIV/AIDS (Nyamukapa, et al., 2005).

Perusal of relevant literature shows that there has not been an agreement on the well-being of children who are raised in grandparent headed households. While one body of researchers argue



that grandparents are ideal substitute parents, the other body claims otherwise. Bryant (2007) argues that unlike in households which are headed by other relatives, grandmothers are less likely to discriminate against children. Usually grandparents do not have young children of their own which eliminates competition for resources. Similarly, Nyamukapa, et al., (2005, p. 245) argue that grandchildren benefit a lot from the care they get from their grandparents because they “love and pamper their small charges”.

However, Lunga (2009) suggested that children being cared for by grandparents sometimes received inappropriate care because of their deteriorating emotional, social and in some cases diminishing economic capacity. Kalil, et al., (2002) noted that grandparents may face extra difficulties especially if it's their own child who died; although they usually felt obliged to diligently take care of their grandchildren they usually suffered from emotional stress resulting from losing a child.

From their study, Djebbari and Mayrand(2011) observed that HIV/AIDS orphans were usually disadvantaged when they co-resided with non-orphaned children. They explain that HIV/AIDS orphans were prone to illness and they often did not receive regular routine immunizations or preventive care when compared to the non-orphans whom they co-resided with. Moyo (2011) explained that because poverty deepens with each orphan taken in for fostering, overwhelmed guardians may choose to feed their own children first, leaving the orphans, hungry and malnourished. At the same time, a study from Kenya explains the dilemma in African households, the article said that relatives from poorer households are more willing to take in AIDS orphans whereas wealthier relatives tend to maintain minimal links with them (Beegle, et al., 2009).

Foster (2000) advanced that funerals are an important event in the South African society but they have caused many African families to lose their productive capital and income. Case and Ardington, (2006) found that bereaved survivors ended up in debt because of funeral expenses. Their study showed that on average, households spent the equivalent of a year's income for an adult's funeral and the costs they incurred were paid out well into the future. Therefore, the HIV/AIDS epidemic has resulted in many families losing their productive capital and income.

Nyirenda, et al., (2010) explain that in rural KwaZulu Natal, adolescent children orphaned from HIV/AIDS were at a higher risk of acquiring the disease when compared to other adolescents, which is one of the many ways in which HIV/AIDS cements the cycle of poverty.

Similarly, Pefar (2006) reported that millions of the children in South Africa had been made more vulnerable by HIV/AIDS even if they are not orphans. The report stated that because of the epidemic sometimes infected parents may have to stop working for wages and they might acquire overwhelming medical expenses. In such cases, children's only option maybe to be the primary care-givers in the family. Sometimes they drop out of school so that they can source some income for their household (Gilborn, 2002; Sibanda, 2011).

Existing literature has shown that dislocation or dissolution of the household, a change in household composition and loss of children's education are some typical examples of the consequences of HIV/AIDS. A Situation Analysis of Children in South Africa (2009) added that children who had been affected by HIV/AIDS faced diminishing resources for food, school, health care and clothes.

The United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2002) presented a conceptual framework of the socio-economic impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on households (Hamza, 2010). The framework states that HIV/AIDS begins to have an impact on a household as soon as one of its members starts suffering from a HIV-related disease. The framework identified three main economic impacts that HIV/AIDS had on households. The first is loss of income of the family member, particularly if he or she is the breadwinner. The second impact is the increase in household expenditures as a result of increased medical costs. The third impact is the indirect cost resulting from the absenteeism of some members of the family from work or school to care for the AIDS patient (Hamza, 2010).

#### **2.4. The impact of labour migration on the parental status of African children**

South Africa's long history of apartheid and labour migration contributed to the splitting up of African families (Amoateng, et al., 2007; Russell, 2003; Sibanda, 2011, Pillay, 2010). The two phenomena have changed Africans' pattern of household composition and household size.

During apartheid, essential resources were made available mostly in urban areas where whites resided. However, there remained a need to increase the supply of labour in these urban areas; therefore, the government had to increase the supply of labour. Stringent taxes were imposed in the reserves where the Africans resided, this forced African households to send some of its members to earn cash in towns or on the mines. Subsequently, mostly working age men began to migrate to urban areas (Bryant, 2007; Richter, et al., 2012; Grelb, 2004; Kautzky, 2009). Households which did not send any wage earners suffered from severe poverty (Pillay, 2010).

Pillay (2010) argues that labour migration has led to the growing number of single parent families and that many African children are growing up in the absence of a paternal figures in the household. As mostly fathers' migrated to urban areas, it became the wife's role to manage the rural homesteads (Murray, 1981). The state imposed controls on urban entry and the residence patterns in urban areas. For instance, Posel and Rudwick (2013) found that some African urban workers were made to stay in same sex hostels. This prevented a male worker's wife from joining him and it resulted in long periods of separation between a husband and his family.

Sometimes children grow up in their relative's households because both their parents need to move and search for employment (Garey, et al., 1994). Kendig, et al., (2008) argue that in such cases, labour migration compromises the quality of child care or parenting. They explain that sometimes labour migrants would send remittances at irregular times and they could not provide for their children's non- financial needs. They explain that mostly fathers would start new families at their work places since they would spent lengthy time away from their permanent homes. Others however, recklessly spent their income due to the fact that they were now exposed to a different life in the towns (ibid.).

Bryant, (2007) found that more generally people migrate mainly because they need to access places with better opportunities, resources and better resource distribution. According to Bryant (2007), there continues to be a worryingly low rate of co-residence between fathers and their children in South Africa. More so, even after the democratization of South Africa, fathers remained largely "invisible" (Posel and Devey 2006, p. 52).

In 2006 only 30% of all African children were living in the same household as their biological fathers. On the other hand, over 70% of White children were co-residing with their biological fathers. The same study by Posel and Devey (2006) showed that about 50% of the African children who were not co-residing with their fathers had living fathers. In contrast, only 20% of similar white children had fathers who were alive but not resident.

Father absence amongst African children is not always as a result of paternal death, a low 14% of African children had deceased fathers. However, overall the Social Development Report (2010) showed that the percentage of children whose fathers had been reported as either absent or dead had increased from approximately 43% in 1993 to 57% in 2002.

Lamb et al., (2004) suggest that South Africa has insufficient information on non-resident fathers and also on the type and quality of relationship fathers have with their children. They add on that the quality of relationship determines the extent by which a child benefits. On a different note, Lloyd, et al., (1996) observed that as more and more biological fathers are absent, social fathers have become a common phenomenon in African households, although little research has been undertaken about them. Kalil, et al., (2002) cite that in South Africa, social fathers are usually a mother's romantic partner or a male relative.

Over the years, many researchers in South Africa have reported that the level of female temporary migration has been increasing. Kautzky (2009) used the Agincourt Surveillance data and found that in 2006, approximately 60% all of men and 20% of all women between the ages of 20 and 60 years were absent from their household for more than 6 months in a year. Similar to African fathers, not every mother who is absent from the household is deceased. Sibanda, (2011) suggested that as the role and status of women continues to change, a significant proportion of children are not living with their mothers. Casale and Posel (2002) suggested that urbanisation fuelled the levels of and changed the predominantly male nature of rural-urban migration in post-apartheid South Africa.

Kautzky (2009) argued that child migration is also increasing as more women are entering the labour market. According to his study, children were 42 times more likely to migrate with their mothers than with their fathers. Typically, in South Africa, only one or two able-bodied members

of a household migrate and on very rare occasions it is the whole family. Therefore, older children often migrate only when it's the whole family migrating. The nature of child migration is usually internal and over short distances. There is very limited work on the socio-economic well-being of children with mothers who are alive but absent and a comparison of the well-being of children with deceased mothers and children with mothers who are alive but absent in the household could also be beneficial.

## **2.5. The impact of marriage on parental status of African children**

Makiwane, et al., (2007) advanced that early and universal marriage is no longer the norm in South Africa. Historically, never married persons were very rare because marriage was almost universal (Palamuleni, 2010). In traditional African society, marriage marked the “beginning of socially sanctioned exposure to pregnancy” in which childbearing was expected (van de Walle, 1968; p.14). However, the nature and rate of marriage affects not only the total fertility rate but also the living patterns of children.

Children are more likely to co-reside with both of their biological parents when their parents are married. In the same vein, Posel, et al., (2011) suggested that children whose mothers are either married or cohabiting with a partner are significantly less vulnerable to poverty, two parents can provide better, both economically and socially than one parent.

Garenne, et al., (2001) argue that African women in contemporary South Africa now have a wider spectrum of choices, as such, the need for and the desire to get married early and have children has been greatly reduced. In South Africa, the mean age at first marriage has increased for women of all population groups. More so, as more women have increased opportunities in the labour market they are averting marriage and childbearing. The percentage of never married females in the age group 20-24 increased from 77.7% in 1996 to 79% in 2001 and 82.5% in 2007. For the male population, the percentage never married for age group 20-24 increased from 91.4% in 1996 to 91.9% in 2001 and 93.9% in 2007 (Palamuleni, 2010).

Posel, et al., (2011) revealed that well pronounced and continuously widening racial disparities exist amongst South African women's marital status. Africans have very low and declining rates of marriage when compared to whites. In a study which compared the marriage rates across races for women aged between 20-50 years, Posel, et al., (2011) showed that African women were far less likely than white women to be ever-married and more likely to be never-married and not cohabiting with a partner. However, both African and whites had an equal chance of being mothers. In 2010, there was a 40 percentage point differential between the shares of African and White women who were ever-married (ibid.).

Palamuleni (2010) undertook a study of the marriage patterns in South Africa using 1996, 2001 census and 2007 Community Survey data. From his study, the percentage of unmarried couples who were living together had increased but the percentage of those who are married had decreased.

A multitude of social and economic changes have been linked to the steady decline in marriage rates. Such changes, according to Posel, et al., (2011) include factors that are constraining marriage and factors that have shaped people's attitude towards marriage. Rising levels of education (Palamuleni, 2010; Budlender, et al., 2009), labour migration (Mbatha, 1998), colonization and apartheid (Udjo, 2007; Lesthaeghe, 1971), increased urbanisation and greater labour force participation of women (Bah, 1999) has reduced marriage rates.

Van der Vliet's (1991) argument was informed by an ethnographic research in which he found that some contemporary African women viewed not being married as a positive choice. As African women's employment opportunities are increasing, they believe that averting marriage would give them steady control over their fertility and earnings (Garenne, et al., 2001; Kalule-Sabiti, et al., 2007). Consequently, individuals are either postponing marriage or choosing not to marry but may bear some children outside marriage.

The African tradition requires that ilobolo/ bride wealth which is usually in the form of cattle (commonly eleven cows) be paid by a prospective husband to the bride's family to validate customary marriage. However, in more recent years, cash has replaced cattle as a means of payment but ilobolo practice still remains widely valued and a "significant hurdle to marriage"

(Posel and Rudwick, 2011, p.4). Casale and Posel, (2007) argue that the majority of African adults identify ilobolo as a constraint to marriage and that it is key to explaining why marriage rates are lower.

Casale and Posel (2007) used panel data from the 1998 KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study (KIDS) to estimate the extent by which ilobolo is still being practiced and its value. Of the 725 married African respondents aged 60 years or younger in the sample, three quarters reported ilobolo payments with marriage. Payment typically involved a combination of cash, cattle and livestock: about 68% reported that the ilobolo payment included cash; 75% reported payments of cattle and a further 13% of other livestock.

Posel, et al., (2011) highlighted that African men are far more likely than White men to be unemployed and among the employed; they are far less likely to work in stable, high-earning jobs. Hunter (2001) adds that the high unemployment rates among Africans further depress the feasibility of marriage. African men cannot access vital economic resources; therefore, they tend to avert marriage.

At the same time, Posel and Rudwick, (2011, p.16) postulate that the bride's family may charge exorbitant amounts as the bride wealth which is commonly known as "commercialization of the bride wealth. In another paper, Posel, et al., (2011) note that the high unemployment rates amongst Africans partly explain the commercialization of bride wealth. As more people have no employment, ilobolo becomes an important source of income. In a regional panel data study of KwaZulu-Natal in 1998, it was estimated that the average value of the bride wealth between 1985 and 1998 represented about 13 times the average monthly real earnings of an African men in 1998 (ibid.).

Although the Natal Code from 1878, has not been consistently observed, it states that a full bride wealth payment should be made at the start of marriage. This has an effect of further delaying marriage until the total bride wealth amount has been saved. Although some fathers insist on full cattle payment before a wedding, some are willing to "lend" their daughters to suitors on receipt of some head of cattle (Posel and Rudwick, 2011, p. 3).

Other researchers associate the trend of declining marriage rates with high levels of poverty and past apartheid policies. During apartheid Africans could not settle permanently with their families, in white urban areas. “Long periods of separation in turn undermined gender relationships and reduced the possibilities of marriage,” (Newell, 1986, p. 23). More so, Statistics South Africa (2008) suggests that parents’ long periods of separation from their children, could be due to a marked increase in the rate of divorce over the past decades. For Africans in South Africa it increased from 18% to 35% between 1998 and 2001 (Bah, 1999). This also implies that even more children are being raised in single parent families and usually by a single mother.

Historically, cohabitation as a substitution to marriage was culturally unacceptable amongst Africans even in cases where there had been childbirth (Bah, 1999). This could be because cohabitation undermines the chances of marriage and which without bride wealth cannot be received. However today, in South Africa, as the marriage rates are falling, the level of cohabitation is increasing. Posel, et al., (2011) estimated that Africans and Coloureds were more likely to cohabit than Whites and Indians. Furthermore, their estimation also showed that it is less likely for African women who are never married, to cohabit relative to women of other races (ibid.).

## **2.6 A review of studies which explore the relationship between parental status and children’s outcome**

The extant literature reveals that where children are raised determines their outcomes to a great extent, which includes whether or not they will participate in the labour force, their level of formal education and their health status amongst others. From the time a child is born it has innumerable and various needs but factors like the child’s family structure, family size and the household’s capacity to sustain itself play a role in shaping the child’s outcome. According to Biblarz, et al., (1992), single mothers may have difficulty providing for their children economically but they are more likely to offer considerable psychological support relative to other family structures.



Booyesen (2003) argues that orphan hood disadvantages children's welfare. He adds that the economic status of paternal orphans is even worse off, more generally, children with an absent father are more likely to be living in poverty. Ciganda, et al., (2010) put forward that households that had experienced paternal illness or death in the recent past were more than twice likely to be poorer and to suffer from long term poverty than non-affected households. Posel and Rudwick (2011) estimated that in 2008, 77% of African children with absent fathers were living in poverty, which is greater than 54% of children with a resident father. However, they alert that parental death does not necessarily lead to poverty, in some cases children will be living in poverty way before they experience parental death.

Parental loss could be the most traumatic experience for any child. Case, et al., (2003) argue that there is differential impact on children's outcome when a mother and when a father dies. They reached this conclusion from a longitudinal study of Africa Centre Demographic Surveillance Area (DSA) in rural KwaZulu Natal. They found that losing a mother was closely associated with poorer schooling outcomes. Maternal orphans were less likely to be enrolled in school and they had lower levels of school attainment and very little money was spent on their schooling material when compared to children whose mothers were alive. This notion existed even in households where maternal orphans were living in the same household as non-maternal orphans; maternal orphans were offered fewer opportunities to excel in school. On the other hand, the same study revealed that losing a father was significantly correlated to having a poorer economic wellbeing.

Madhavan, et al., (2007) measured the co-residential living arrangements of households with children in rural South Africa and its effect on educational attainment. They put forward that co-residential living arrangements of children could be measured in two ways, by a household's structure and by the presence of kin in a household. The former measure looks at the extent of nucleation (vertical or horizontal extension) and generational spread, whilst the latter measure, focuses on how particular kin either protect or put children's welfare at risk.

Four distinct categories of non-parental kin were selected, grandmother, grandfather, aunt and uncle, while seven different categories were selected to distinguish the structural living

arrangements of households: exclusive nuclear (only both parents and/or adult siblings); exclusive continuous vertical (one or both parents, grandparents); exclusive lateral (one or both parents, aunts, uncles); both lateral and vertical (one or both parent and having at least one member from vertical and lateral arrangements); no parents/ any kin; lone mother (no kin) and others. The study revealed that contrary to both popular and academic knowledge of South African households, the role of the extended family was very limited in children's lives.

The reference group were children who co-resided with both their parents; this group had the highest educational outcomes. Boys who were co-residing with their grandparents and at least one parent also had positive educational outcomes. Based on their results they concluded that living with one parent in a vertical structure (one or both parents, grandparents) is far better than living in a lateral arrangement (one or both parents, aunts, uncles) particularly for boys. Children who were living in vertical structured households had better educational outcomes than children from lateral households. Living in exclusively lateral household structures appeared to increase the likelihood of children being two or more years behind grade for age. Being in a household structure with either no parents and kin or only a mother and no kin had the expected negative impact on all measures (Madhavan, et al., 2007).

Craigie, et al., (2009) however, pointed out that parental status is not the only factor that shapes children's educational attainment and achievement. Other factors include the type of school, school's quality and cost, gender norms, parental health, and a child's nutrition. They pose that in more developed areas where access to quality schooling is fairly universal, there may be fewer differences based on parental status for educational outcomes like school enrolment.

Female headed households have become a common phenomenon in South Africa. Rogan (2011) advised that their prevalence and level of impoverishment has been exacerbated by HIV/AIDS pandemic. An Economic Commission for Africa (2012) report postulates that as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, younger women who have younger children are now household head than before the pandemic. Furthermore, the following are some potential situations that females are likely to face when they are widowed: the loss of land and perhaps the right to use it; the loss of their property to the husband's family, especially if the husband did not leave a will; some

customs demand that widows should remarry their husband's brother and taking care of children with limited economic support. Many study results have associated HIV/AIDS death to income loss, a study in KwaZulu-Natal; found that households that had experienced a death in the previous year had a mean monthly income equal to only 64 per cent of households that had not experienced a death (ibid.).

Djebbari and Mayrand (2011) undertook a study of 9336 children under 14 years in South Africa using 2008 data, and found that 62% of them reported receiving some form of social assistance from the government, which was an increase from a 50% take up reported in 2004 (Woolard, et al., 2005).

In 2008 NIDS data showed that a higher number of paternal orphans were receiving the grant, particularly the CSG grant. Fewer maternal orphans received any grant. Similar findings were found in Case, et al., (2004) and by Woolard, et al., (2005) using the KIDS data, there is a lower proportion of children without a mother who receive grants. Others observed in their study that FCG was mostly common amongst dual orphans and that aside from paternal orphans; orphans are less likely to be receiving the CSG than children with both parents. They suggested that it is easier for mothers to submit the paper work; therefore, when they are absent children are unlikely to receive any grant even if they are orphans (ibid.).

In a study, Cluver, et al., (2007) found that there was a significant association between AIDS-orphan hood status and poverty. In households with AIDS orphans experiencing poverty, were also closely associated with psychological distress. Children orphaned by AIDS had higher school dropout, food insecurity and they were in households with the lowest adult employment, when compared with the other groups of children. In the same study, AIDS-orphans were less likely to be receiving a state grant and according to the writers, this is more likely to be a result of limited access to welfare support rather than non-eligibility.

Nyirenda, et al., (2010) investigated the impact of parental loss on adolescents' (15-19 years) sexual behaviour and the risk of HIV infection using longitudinal surveillance data from rural South Africa. More specifically, they compared the odds of sexual debut, pregnancy and HIV

infection among adolescents who had experienced the loss of one parent or both parents against those who had both parents surviving. They adjusted for economic well-being, education, employment status, residency and level of education. In their findings, they found that, adolescents who had experienced parental loss were more likely to lag behind in grade for age, relative to those with surviving parents. In addition, they found that the death of a father significantly impacted both the sexual behaviour and the risk of HIV infection in both adolescent girls and boys. Female adolescents who were either maternal, paternal or dual orphans were significantly more likely than non-orphaned females to have ever had sex and to be HIV infected. Whilst male orphans had over three-fold the odds of being infected when compared to non-orphaned males.

## **2.7 Contribution of my study**

There have been a number of studies which have explored the relationship between parental status (vital status and living arrangements) and the socio-economic outcomes of African children living in South Africa.

In this dissertation, I add to this literature in several ways. First, while a number of the studies have been based on regional data, I use recent national data from the General Household Survey (2012) to describe the relationship between the parental status of children and child outcomes.

Second, the focus of research has been to compare child outcomes according to orphan-hood status. In my dissertation, I also consider outcomes for children whose parents are alive but not co-resident in the child's household. This is particularly important in South Africa given the country's apartheid history, labour migration, low and declining marriage rates and HIV/AIDS epidemic. These background factors have significantly fuelled the prevalence of parental absenteeism. Therefore, this further cements the importance of estimating children's socio-economic status according to parental status.

Thirdly, I explore the socio-economic status of children more comprehensively than has been done in several studies. My study is informed by the sustainable livelihoods framework, which

recognises that a household's economic well-being is influenced not only by access to employment and income, but also by access to assets.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

Although numerous researchers have found that children fare best when they co-reside with both their biological parents, South Africa has a long history of children who do not consistently live with both of their parents. Parental absenteeism does not always result from parental death but it could be from other factors. Temporary labour migration, low and declining marriage rates, HIV/AIDS and poverty have all played a major role in shaping the living arrangements and parental status of children in South Africa. In this chapter I reviewed the existing literature on the living arrangements and socio-economic status of African children in South Africa according to their parental status. Firstly, I looked at how the afore mentioned background factors have shaped the parental status of African children. Thereafter, I explored the relationship between parental status and children's outcomes.

## **Chapter 3: Research Methods**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This study's methodology is guided by the SLA framework. It was chosen for this particular study because its primary role is to assess poverty, inequality and human development issues. SLA analyses the current livelihoods of vulnerable population and it assesses their need for enhancement. According to the existing literature, the majority of African children are trapped in a cycle of poverty and live with a very low socio-economic status. I believe that documenting the socio-economic status of households with children according to their parental status is an essential diagnostic tool which will enable development practitioners to maximise the effectiveness of their interventions as per SLA framework. In this chapter I seek to provide a short description of: the methods used to answer the research questions, the data and the main variables under investigation. The first part of the chapter describes the data source then followed by data analysis. Whereby, I discussed how the research questions were answered and the broad philosophical underpinning of the study's main variables. Lastly, the chapter ends with a conclusion.

### **3.2 Data Source**

Secondary data from the GHS, 2012 was used for this study's data analysis. The GHS is a yearly household survey that is undertaken by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) since 2002. The GHS was used because the Recorded Live Births, 2012 published by Stats SA (Stats SA, 2013a) provided information only on child's name, sex, date of birth, place of birth, citizenship, and parents' name and their nationality with nothing on their socio-economic characteristics. Therefore, the GHS seeks to broaden our understanding of the situation of children in South Africa by collecting socio-economic information.

The GHS' core purpose is to determine the level of development in South Africa, more specifically, to measure the performance of Government's programmes and projects and to assess the quality of service delivery in some key service sectors. StatsSA allows users to

browse, analyse, tabulate and download datasets so that in-depth research can be undertaken (StatSA, 2012).

In the year 2012, the government had made substantial progress in undermining the HIV pandemic, it had increased the total number of households that receive at least one form of social service and again 2012, captures a lot of the “enhancement programmes”, as according to SLA framework that the government had embarked on since the dawning of democracy.

A multi-stage stratified random sampling design, which covered approximately 25 330 private households from all nine provinces in South Africa, was used for the GHS 2012 household survey (GHS, 2013). Bryman, et al., (1990) advanced that a large sample size is advantageous in that it improves the confidence intervals around estimates of indicators employed in the study and reduces the chances of making type II ( $\beta$ ) error of reporting a false negative result because of a small sample size.

The GHS collects a wide range of information about both the characteristics of the individual and of the household in which they live. There are 10 different sections that are included in the GHS questionnaire. Data is collected through face-to-face interviews usually with the head of each household. If he or she be absent at the data collection time, any responsible adult will be interviewed (StatsSA, 2012).

The GHS is a cross-sectional survey, which means that it provides a ‘snap-shot’ of the characteristics of the population at one particular point in time. The public release of the GHS data includes a set of sampling weights. The sampling weights are designed so that the responses from the sample may be expanded to represent the whole population (Casale, et al., 2009).

The GHS dataset is ideal for this study because it includes detailed information about: all children (0-18 years), the nature and characteristics of the households in which they live. I used two separate questions from the GHS which ask directly about whether each child’s biological parents are still alive and if they are part of the household.

Some of the limitations of using the GHS are that: it is a cross-sectional survey, therefore, it is not possible to follow (the same) children over time. Consequently, I could not evaluate how and why living arrangements change, particularly after a child experiences parental loss.

### 3.3 Data analysis

A descriptive research strategy was employed for this study. The main aim of the study is to provide a detailed description of the living arrangements and socio-economic status of households with randomly selected African children. Every household in the 2012 GHS data with at least one African child was included and a random selection of only one African child was done for households with more than one child.

The main objective of the study is to compare the living arrangements and the socio-economic status of households with an African child according to their parental status. That is to compare children who have deceased parents (fathers/ mothers/ both) to non-orphaned children (both parents are alive) where children live with either or both of their biological parents. To achieve the first objective I formulated nine categories which represent almost all of the possible parental statuses. The GHS asks two simple questions about the biological father or mother of the child: “Is ..... 's biological father still alive? Is ..... 's biological father part of this household?” The response to these question can be one of the following 1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = Do not know 9 = Unspecified. To answer the first two objective of this study, the following table gives the nine categories of parental status that I formulated.

*Table 1: A tabulation of the nine parental categories that were used in the study*

<b>Parental status</b>
Both parents are present in the household
Children with only a mother present, father is alive but not a resident.
Children with only a mother present, father is deceased
Children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident
Children with only a father present, mother is deceased
Children residing with neither parents, both are alive



Children with mothers who are alive but not resident, father deceased
Children with father's who are alive but not a resident and their mother is deceased
Children who are double orphans

The third objective is solely centred on households with children who have an orphan hood status. That is, to compare the differences among households with children who are paternal, maternal and double orphans.

In this study, I described living arrangements and socio-economic indicators of households with African children. The table below shows the indicators for living arrangements and socio-economic status according to children's parental status.

*Table 2: The indicators for living arrangements and socio-economic status*

<b>Living arrangements</b>	<b>Indicators for the socio-economic status</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>household's size</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>geographical location</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>household's composition</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>household wealth status</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>household's dependency ratio</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>households' reception of social grants</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>gender of the household head</li> </ul>	

Descriptive statistics played an essential role when answering this study's research questions. They enabled me to describe, compare and summarize the results from data analysis. To explore my variables of interest I used tests of association (chi-square tests), frequency tables for categorical variables, mean and confidence intervals. I presented the results in the form of tables, graphs and absolute numbers where appropriate.

One advantage of a descriptive research strategy is its ability to describe the basic features of large amounts of data to a simple and sensible summary. However, its major limitation is its failure to identify causality; I can only identify or highlight association.

### **3.4 Outcome variables**

The following outcome variables were used to capture the living arrangements and socio-economic status of households in which African children live. In the study: the indicators for household's living arrangements (household size, household composition, dependency ratio and the gender of the household head) and the socio-economic characteristics of the household (geographical location, household wealth status and social grants) were revealed.

### **3.5 The living arrangements of households with African children**

#### **3.5.1 Household size**

This variable looked at the average number of people in a household. I compared household size across households with African children according to their parental status. Researchers postulate that when children lose their parents they move in with their extended families (Moyo, 2011). As such, households with orphaned children are likely to be of larger household size than other parental status. Other researchers suggest that their household size is further inflated by the fact that they are usually multi-generational in nature.

Chazan (2008) proposed that larger, younger households were more likely to be poorer. Although, according to Muhwava (2011), larger household sizes are often an intentional economic strategy for pooling more economic resources, especially in the form of social grants amongst Africans. Size economies enable bulk purchasing and the sharing of expenses lowers the cost per person when people are living together.

#### **3.5.2 Household composition**

In this study, the indicator for the household's composition is the share of all household members who are: very young children (0-14 years); older children (15-18 years); adults (19- 60 years); and elderly (60 years and over) (Sibanda, 2011). To describe the household's composition, households are identified as being either two generations or multigenerational. The former comprise of households with members from two generations, children (0-18 years) and adults

(19-60 years). The latter comprises household members who are from more than two different generations. Multigenerational households normally consist of grandchildren, parents and grandparents. Therefore, in this study, a multi-generational household is when at least one person in each group of people is represented by children (0-18 years), working age adults (19-60 years) and elderly adults (60 years and over).

Largely due to the impact of labour migration and the consequences of HIV/AIDS-related mortality multigenerational households have become a common phenomenon especially amongst AIDS orphaned children (Djebbari and Mayrand, 2011) and children co-residing with one or both their parents (Ziehl, 2007).

In this study, I answered whether households with orphaned children are more likely to be multigenerational than the other categories. Sibanda (2011) argues that the household's composition is a reflection of a household's coping strategy to shocks. He adds that this is particularly important in light of African South Africans' because they have suffered most severely from the HIV/AIDS epidemic and high unemployment rates relative to other population groups. These shocks have shaped and influenced household composition, for instance, relatives maybe staying together in order to increase their total income.

Again, this indicator variable is important because Case and Ardington (2006) argue that whom children co-reside with is very important because children's behaviour and character is shaped and influenced by the people that they stay with.

### **3.5.3 Dependency ratio**

StatsSA (2003) defines the dependency ratio as a measure showing the number of dependents, aged zero to 14 and over the age of 65, to the total population, aged 15 to 64years. The importance of this ratio is that it shows the ratio of economically inactive compared to economically active people. In a household scenario, an increase in the dependency ratio can cause an economic strain on the household income; there will be more consumers to producers.

In many studies dependency ratio is used as a measure of the availability of household resources, a high dependency ratio undermines the development of human capital as there is competition for few resources. If more resources are available (smaller dependency ratio) the assumption is that more resources will be available to invest in children's health and wellbeing. Therefore, dependency ratio should be higher in households with orphans as they are more likely to be multi-generational.

### **3.5.4 Gender of the household head**

In this study, I determined whether orphaned children were more likely in female-headed households than in male-headed households.

Household headship plays a vital role in children's living arrangements. Rogan (2012) found that there is a higher likelihood that single female headed households are poorer than male headed households. Buvinic, et al., (1997, p. 34) explain that single female heads face a 'triple burden', first, of the head being a single earner; second of the earner being female and therefore facing labour market disadvantages; and lastly time constraints due to commitments of managing the household and earning an income.

Moghadam (2005) argues that as females are nurturers, they are more likely to support more dependents than their male counterparts. This increases not only the household size but also it increases the likelihood of having a poorer household.

## **3.6 Household's socio-economic status**

### **3.6.1 Geographical location**

Urbanization is inevitable, South Africa has experienced a steady increase in the proportion of urbanisation since 1994 (Van Der Byl, 2014). Nonetheless, service provision and resources in non-urban areas still lag far behind urban areas. Hall (2014) postulates that children living in the former homeland areas are likely to be poor. Therefore, this study is interested in revealing how living arrangements relate with geographical location according to parental status. However, children living in households with a lower socio-economic status are thus more likely to be located in non-urban areas.

The GHS provides four categories of geo-type which defines boundaries that mark enumerator areas and their classification for the census. The categories are: urban formal (suburbs, towns, and townships), urban informal (informal settlements), tribal areas (traditional authority areas) and rural formal.

According to StasSA (2003a) a formal urban area is an area where the land had been divided into land parcels and services such as water, electricity, refuse removal are provided. Tribal areas are also known as traditional areas. There is a leadership role played by tribal or traditional authorities. Urban informal areas are defined as settlements occurring on land which has not been surveyed into residential land parcels. The structures are usually informal and electricity, piped water, and sanitation are not provided until the land has been allocated into land parcels. (Statistics South Africa, 2003a).

Hall (2014) postulated that the poorer populations are more likely to reside in rural areas. In the GHS urban formal areas consists of dwellings or brick structures on separate stands, flats or apartments, town/ cluster/ semi- detached houses, units in retirement villages, rooms or flatlets on larger properties (StasSA, 2003). Therefore, children living in households in the urban formal areas are more likely to have a better socio-economic well- being and a higher standard of living (SAHRC and UNICEF, 2014).

### **3.6.2 Household's wealth status**

The purpose of this variable is to determine whether the economic status of households with children differ according to whether the parent is deceased, or the parent is alive but not part of the child's household. Furthermore, I used the variable to answer whether double orphans have lower economic status than either maternal or paternal orphans.

I constructed a wealth index to approximate the economic well-being of households. The index is made up of a scale of five quintiles; the first quintile represents households with the least number of assets whilst the 5<sup>th</sup> quintile represents wealthiest households. Accordingly, households were classified as being poorest, poor, middle, wealthy and wealthiest (Vyas and Kumaranayake, 2006). The index was approximated using some household asset from the GHS data.

Filmer and Pritchett (2001) argue that the wealth index is an ideal economic indicator because it does not account for short-term fluctuations in economic well-being. Therefore, it has more benefits than using household's income/expenditure to approximate its socio-economic status. Asset indicator variables are in keeping with the sustainable livelihoods framework. SLA analyses the current livelihoods of particularly vulnerable households and assesses their needs for enhancement. The SLA framework approximates the long term household economic status so that relevant authorities can formulate more sustainable solutions (Vyas and Kumaranayake, 2006).

To construct a wealth index, I dichotomized some categorical variables in the GHS. I used most of the household assets and utility services so that a more textured measure of household's well-being would be achieved. According to Vyas and Kumaranayake, (2006) a smaller number of household assets would result in households being overly concentrated on certain index scores.

The availability/ownership of the following assets and utilities in the GHS data were used: TV Set, swimming pool, pay-tv, airconditioner, vacuum cleaner/ floor polisher, dishwashing machine, washingmachine, tumblendryer, refrigerators, electrical stove, microwave oven, motor vehicle, telephone, cellular, identifying the main dwelling that the household occupies, identifying the main source of drinking water, identifying the type of toilet facility that is used by the household, identifying the households energy for cooking, determining whether the household is involved in any agricultural activities, identifying the kind of food production/agricultural activities.

I applied the principle correspondence analysis (PCA) command to all the listed variables. PCA is a 'data reduction' procedure (Rutstein and Oscar, 2004, p.22). It involves replacing a set of correlated variables with a set of uncorrelated 'principal components' which represent unobserved characteristics of the population. The principal components are linear combinations of the original variables; the weights are derived from the correlation matrix of the data. Only the first principal component was used because it explains the largest proportion of the total variance. In this study PCA explained 5.86 of the variance (ibid.).

After the PCA command only the following variables had a positive eigenvectors: TVSet, swimming pool, pay TV, air conditioner, vacuum cleaner, dishwashing machine, washing machine, tumble dryer, refrigerator, electrical stove, microwave oven, motor vehicle, telephone and cellular. Eigenvectors are axes along which linear transformation acts, stretching or compressing input vectors. They are the lines of change that represent the action of the larger matrix, the very “line” in linear transformation; therefore, they enabled the quintiles of the wealth index to be constructed (Filmer and Pritchett, 2001, p.34).

For South Africa, Grelb (2004) obtained an association between households of higher socio-economic status and family structure. Children from a higher socio-economic status were more likely to live in households with a nuclear family structure and have a “lower absorption of relatives and non-relatives” (Grelb, 2004, p 24). In contrast, lower income households were more likely to have more children and in addition, live in extended family structures where they absorbed more relatives and non-relatives for the purpose of giving care and sharing economic resources (ibid.).

### **3.6.3 Social grants**

Access to social welfare grants is often used to indicate the presence of poverty because the main purpose of any social assistance is to reach South Africans in need. Child social assistance is mostly targeted at orphans because they are one of the most at risk portions of the child population. When the (CSG) was introduced, very few families were receiving the State Maintenance Grant because of its stringent conditions. The CSG was intended to cover more of the population in need. To receive a Foster Care Grant (FCG) one has to be supporting children from outside of their family, usually orphans or abandoned children. The caregiver needs a court order declaring their foster care status.

Djebbari, et al., (2011) suggest that the receipt of social grants in South Africa may have an effect of reducing child fosterage. For many Africans in South Africa, the social grant is an important addition to their monthly income. Therefore, they are forced to raise their own children so that they can continue claiming the grant as the child’s primary caregiver (ibid.).

### **3.7 Weighting of the data**

StatsSA provides a household sample weight with the dataset. This weight was adjusted to take into account the random selection of only one child from the household by multiplying it by the probability of the child's selection (1/number of children in the household).

### **3.8 Conclusion**

This chapter presented the data and methods of analysis used in the study. The study used data from the 2012 GHS. Households with African children aged 18 years and below were selected from the dataset. Furthermore, categories of different parental status, including of orphans were formulated. A brief outline of the data source and data analysis was also done; this detailed how statistical analysis was undertaken. Thereafter, the study's outcome and analytical variables were described and justified. The analytical variable refers to the categories of parental status whilst the outcome variables include demographic (household size, household composition, gender of the household head) and socio-economic factors (geographical location, household wealth, dependency ratio and the reception of social grants).



## **Chapter Four: Results**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The purpose of the current chapter is to highlight the characteristics of households with a randomly selected African child. The results in this study were obtained from every household in the 2012 GHS data with at least one African child and a random selection of only one African child was done for households with more than one child. Firstly, the chapter presents a descriptive profile of all African children, thereafter their parental status and a comparison of their living arrangements and socio-economic status according to parental status.

The main guides of this chapter are the objectives that were presented in chapter 1. The first being to compare the living arrangements and the second the socio-economic characteristics of households with an African child according to parental status, that is: compare children who have deceased parents (fathers/ mothers/ both) to non-orphaned children (both parents are alive) where children live with either or both of their biological parents or guardians. Thirdly, within each section I further illustrated the living arrangements and socio-economic status of orphaned African children by the type of orphan-hood (maternal, paternal or double).

### **4.2 Profile of randomly selected African children**

In 2012 South Africa had approximately 6, 6 million households with African children. A look at the provincial distribution of all African children shows that just 3 out of 9 provinces was home to approximately 45% of all African children. These are KwaZulu-Natal (17.98%), Limpopo (13.47%) and Eastern Cape (13.32%). One quarter of all African children live in Gauteng province, whilst only 4.09% live in Western Cape these are the two most urbanized provinces in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2012) (see table 3 below).

Table 3: **The provincial distribution of African children in South Africa, using GHS (2012) data.**

Province	Percentage of children [95% CI]
Western Cape	4.09 [3.68 - 4.45]
Eastern Cape	13.32 [12.67 - 13.98]
Northern Cape	1.38 [1.19 - 1.45]
Free State	7.08 [6.58 - 7.47]
Kwa Zulu Natal	17.98 [17.18 - 18.78]
North West	8.35 [7.77 - 8.89]
Gauteng	25.05 [23.89 - 26.33]
Mpumulanga	9.28 [8.84 - 9.84]
Limpopo	13.47 [12.83 - 14.14]

Adding on, table 4 below shows the gender and the age distribution of all African children aged 18 years or less. Age has been profiled using four age categories (0-4 years) (5-8 years) (9-13 years) and (14-18 years). Table 4 gives how African children are divided according to their age group and gender.

Table 4: The distribution of African children according to their gender and age

Children	Male [95% CI]	Female [95% CI]	Total [95% CI]
0-4 years	14.55 [13.76 - 15.37]	14.64 [13.86 - 15.46]	29.19 [28.18 - 30.22]
5-8 years	10.96 [10.30 - 11.67]	10.57 [9.92 - 11.25]	21.53 [20.65 - 22.44]
9-13years	11.47 [10.81 - 12.17]	11.05 [10.39 - 11.74]	22.52 [21.63 - 23.43]
14-18 years	13.85 [13.14 - 14.6]	12.91 [12.22 - 13.63]	26.76 [25.83 - 27.71]
Total	50.83 [49.75 - 51.92]	49.17 [48.08 - 50.26]	100.0

A gender split of all African children results in an almost equal distribution, as shown in table 4 above. In 2012, they were slightly more males (50.83%) to females (49.17%). Similarly, every age category had slightly more males to females. A demographic study of South Africa's young children (Hall, et al., 2012) stated that a sex ratio biased towards males was very common across most developing countries. This bias is said to be corrected as children enter into adulthood as males have a higher mortality rate (ibid.).

Disaggregation of the proportion of children in each age categories is fairly the same. There are relatively more children in the age category 0-4 years, table 4 shows that they account for 29.19% of all children. Subsequently, there are almost equal proportions 21.53% and 22.52% of children aged 5-8 years and 8-13 years respectively. As shown above, the last category of older children accounts for roughly 26.76% of all African children.

According to the GHS data, approximately 1, 3 million African children alone were paternal, maternal or dual orphans in South Africa. Figure 1 below shows that approximately 5.39% of all children were paternal orphans whilst 1.76 and 2.04% were maternal and double orphans respectively. Probably because females have a longer longevity when compared to males, there were 3.63% more paternal to maternal orphans in 2012. According to research: culture, genetics, occupation are some factors that play a role to longevity. However, non orphans make up the largest proportion (90.80%) of African children (figure 1 below).

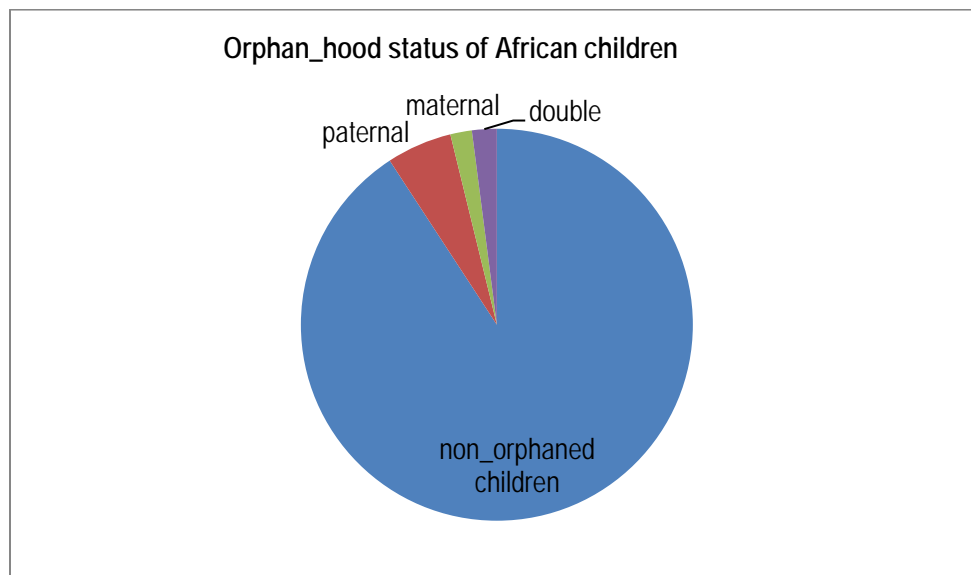


Figure 1: The orphan hood status (paternal, maternal and double) of African children in South Africa in 2012.

### 4.3 Parental status

The living arrangements of children in South Africa, like elsewhere in the world, are undergoing changes. It is not uncommon for African children to live in households with just one or neither of their biological parents. In South Africa before apartheid and the introduction of pass laws children were raised in the presence of both their parents (Amoateng, et al., 2007). Below is a cross tabulation of the status of both fathers and mothers in South Africa, using GHS (2012). Accordingly, a parent can be one of the following: a resident, alive but not resident/ unspecified resident, unknown if alive or lastly dead.

Table 5, in agreement with several other studies, (Posel and Devey 2006; Ritcher, et al., 2012; Palamuleni, 2010; Hosegood et al., 2010) reveals that the majority of absent fathers are still alive but not co-residing with their biological children, up to 48.23%. In contrast, just 21.45% of the children have mothers who are still alive but not co-residents.

**Table 5 The parental status of African children in South Africa, 2012.**

Father status	Mother status				Total [95% CI]
	Resident [95% CI]	Non-resident [95% CI]	Unknown [95% CI]	Dead [95% CI]	
Resident	30.18 [29.10-31.27]	2.49 [2.19- 2.84]	0.11 [0.03 -0.38]	1.07 [0.85-1.35]	34.2 [32.76- 34.96]
Alive not resident/ unspecified resident	30.9 [29.92-31.88]	14.81 [14.14- 15.51]	0.08 [0.05- 0.15]	2.45 [2.15 -2.78]	48.23 [47.15- 49.32]
Unknown if alive	0.64 [0.51-0.80]	0.53 [0.42- 0.67]	0.01 [0.00- 0.10]	0.38 [0.29- 0.51]	1.57 [1.36 -1.80]
Dead	8.22 [7.65-8.82]	3.61 [3.27- 3.99]	0.03 [0.01- 0.08]	4.5 [4.09- 4.92]	16.35 [15.60 - 17.13]
Total	69.93 [68.98-70.86]	21.45 [20.67-22.27]	0.23 [0.12-0.43]	8.39 [7.84- 9.0]	100.0

Although African children constitute the largest proportion of South Africa's children, only one in three are co-residing with both parents (as shown in the table above). This implies that a large proportion of children in South Africa are living in households where biological parents are playing a limited role. The high percentage of absent fathers could be substantial evidence of the disruption of the conventional family structure.

### 4.3 Parental status

As a result of the apartheid, particularly Africans have suffered from widespread poverty, poor access to basic services and massive inequality in the distribution of resources (Casale and Desmond, 2006). Edmonds, et al., (2004) asserted that since children are primarily dependents their living arrangements determine their well-being. Living arrangements reflect the available resources and the current socio-economic status of households (Settles, et al., 2009). Therefore, understanding the residence patterns of children unlocks an understanding of their socio-economic wellbeing. In this study, I described living arrangements using: household size, household composition, dependency ratio and the gender of the household head according to children's parental status.

#### 4.4.1 Household size

Wittenberg and Collinson (2004) reported that household size has been steadily declining since 1994. In their study they observed that this decrease was a result of: a dramatic increase in the total number of households and some underlying social, economic and political processes. They suggest that fertility, mortality, age of childbearing, income, housing prices and people's attitudes to living alone could have also had a bearing on the patterns of household size (ibid).

Table 6: The average household size for households with African children according to parental status

Parental status	Average household size [95% CI]
Both parents are present in the household	4.64 [4.57- 4.71]
Children with only a mother present, father is alive but not a resident	5.10 [4.59- 5.61]
Children with only a mother present, father is deceased	5.04 [4.88- 5.21]
Children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident	5.19 [3.92- 6.46]
Children with only a father present, mother is deceased	4.62 [4.19- 5.05]
Children residing with neither parent, both are alive	4.54

	[2.47- 6.62]
Children with mothers who are alive but not resident, father deceased	4.72 [4.51- 4.92]
Children with father's who are alive but not a resident and their mother is deceased	4.9 [4.82- 4.97]
Children who are double orphans	4.79 [4.57- 5.02]

Across all parental status, the average household size is about 5 people. Relative to the other parental categories, household size was greater where children reside with only one parent. Households with children who were co-residing with their mother only, father is alive but not a resident (5.10 people); households with children who are co-residing with a mother only, father is deceased had an average household size of 5.04 people. However, households with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident had the highest average of (5.19). Households with children who have both parents who are alive but co-residing with neither of them had the lowest household size (4.54 people).

Table 7: The average household size for households with an African child who has an orphan status

Orphan-hood status	Paternal orphans [95% CI]	Maternal orphans [95% CI]	Double orphans [95% CI]
Household size	5.38 [5.20-5.55 ]	5.11 [4.85-5.37]	5.22 [4.93-5.52]

Relative to others households' with paternal orphans had the largest household size (5.38 people). Across all types of orphans, they generally live in households with at least 5 people as shown in table 7 above.

**4.4.2 Household composition**

Household composition informs us about the characteristics of the people living in the household. The incidence or a change in household type is influenced by a combination of social, economic, political and cultural factors (Wittenberg and Collinson, 2004). Although there are

several household types, this study focuses on: multiple generations and the two generation household system.

Table 8 below shows four age categories that were used to highlight the household's composition according to the child's parental status. In this study, a multi-generational household is when at least three generations are represented: children (0-18 years), young adults (19-60 years) and elderly adults ( $\geq 61$  years).

Table 8: The household composition for households with an African child according to their parental status.

Children's parental status	Average # (0-14) [95% CI]	Average # (15-18) [95% CI]	Average # (19-60) [95% CI]	Average # ( $\geq 61$ ) [95% CI]
Both parents are present in the household	1.74 [1.69-1.78]	0.37 [0.35 -0.40]	2.46 [2.42-2.49]	0.08 [0.07-0.09]
Children with only a mother present, father is alive but not a resident	1.76 [1.48- 2.01]	0.57 [0.39- 0.72]	2.39 [2.08-2.66]	0.43 [0.29-0.56]
Children with only a mother present, father is deceased	1.84 [1.74- 1.93]	0.72 [0.67- 0.78]	2.34 [2.24-2.43]	0.15 [0.12-0.17]
Children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident	1.05 [0.71 -1.39]	1.38 [0.51- 2.24]	2.6 [2.0 -3.24]	0.17 [-0.20 -0.53]
Children with only a father present, mother is deceased	1.44 [1.13 -1.75]	0.67 [0.51- 0.83]	2.29 [1.99-	0.22 [0.13 -



			2.59]	0.32]
Children residing with neither parents, both are alive	2.03 [0.64 -3.41]	0	2	0.51 [-0.18- 1.21]
Children with mothers who are alive but not resident, father deceased	1.81 [1.68-1.94]	0.64 [0.58 - 0.69]	1.88 [1.77 - 1.99]	0.39 [0.35- 0.43]
Children with father's who are alive but not a resident and their mother is deceased	2.05 [2.0- 2.09]	0.49 [0.47- 0.51]	2.05 [2.01- 2.09]	0.32 [0.3 - 0.33]
Children who are double orphans	1.59 [1.44- 1.71]	0.9 [0.83- 0.97]	1.88 [1.74 - 2.01]	0.43 [0.38- 0.49]

From table 8 above, households with children co-residing with neither parent, both are alive represent the only parental category with members from 3 generations. Across the remaining categories, children live in households with no elderly adults.

It is noteworthy that across all parental categories, children reside in households with on average two working age adults. Households with children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident had the largest average of three working age adults (table 8).

It is also common across all parental categories for households to have on average two young children, the only exceptions are households with a father present; the mother is either absent or deceased, in both categories there is at least one older child. Nonetheless, all African households have an average of at least two children.

Table 9: Average household composition for households with an African orphan.

Orphan-hood	Youngchild [95% CI]	Olderchild [95% CI]	Adults [95% CI]	Elderly [95% CI]
Paternal orphans	1.84 [1.75- 0.93]	0.74 [0.69- 0.78]	2.15 [2.07- 2.23]	0.23 [0.21- 0.265]
Maternal orphans	1.7 [1.55-1.85]	0.74 [0.66- 0.82]	2.01 [1.87-2.15]	0.34 [0.3- 0.4]
Double orphans	1.58 [1.44-1.71]	0.9 [0.83- 0.97]	1.88 [1.74- 2.01]	0.43 [0.38- 0.49]

The household composition for households with an orphan is more or less the same across all types of orphan hood. Only two generations are present, which is an average of: two young children, one older child, two working age adults and no elderly adult across all categories (see table 9 above).

#### 4.4.3 Dependency ratio

Odimegwu and Kekovole (2008) noted that since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the dependency ratio had a favourable shift. South Africa has experienced rapid fertility declines which reduced the population size of children aged 0-14 years and has systematically increased the size of working age population. Table 10 below shows the average dependency ratio of households with an African child in South Africa.

Households with children residing with neither parents but both are alive had the highest dependency ratio. In these households the ratio for economically independent persons to economically dependent was 100.00:127.21. Similarly, households with children with fathers who are alive but not a resident and their mother is deceased also had a high ratio of 100.00:109.78. This means that 100 working age persons have a burden for approximately 110 economically dependent persons (see table 10 below). Some researchers suggest that the traditional African family structure plays a role in fluctuating the dependency ratio, in the sense that kinship availability may increase the number of dependents (Booyesen, 2003).

Table 10: The dependency ratio for households with African children according to their parental status

Parental status	Dependency ratio [95% CI]
Both parents are present in the household.	70.37 [68.39 - 72.36]
Children with only a mother present, father is alive but not a resident	82.89 [66.33 - 99.45]
Children with only a mother present, father is deceased	83.66 [77.93 - 89.4]
Children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident	31.71 [10.81- 52.62]
Children with only a father present, mother is deceased	72.52 [52.33 - 92.71]
Children residing with neither parents, both are alive	127.21 [23.35 - 231.08]
Children with mothers who are alive but not resident, father deceased	95.23 [88.01-102.45]
Children with father's who are alive but not a resident and their mother is deceased	109.78 [107.06 -112.51]
Children who are double orphans	82.7 [74.7- 90.73]

The lowest dependency ratio was in households where fathers' are co-residing with their children, the mother is still alive but not part of the household. In these households 100 working age people socially support only 31.71 dependent people. The ratio slightly increases to 100.00:70.00 in households where both parents are co-residing with their children. The importance of the dependency ratio is that it indicates the potential effects of any changes in the household's composition. Accordingly, as the household's age structure and household's size

changes, the socio-economic status and/or living standards of the household maybe altered. Both social and economic support needs are increased as more dependents co-reside in the household.

Table 11: The dependency ratio for households with African orphaned children.

Orphan-hood status	Paternal orphans [95% CI]	Maternal orphans [95% CI]	Double orphans [95% CI]
Dependency Ratio	88.48 [83.37- 93.64]	89.90 [80.84- 98.96]	82.7 [74.70- 90.70]

Table 11 above shows that households with maternal orphans have the highest dependency ratio, at least 100.00 working age persons are needed to provide for 89.90 dependent members. Closely following behind are households with paternal orphans, on average 88.48 dependent members are being taken care of by 100.00 working age individuals.

#### 4.4.4 Gender of the household head

Analysing the patterns of household headship in an African context is very important. Sibanda (2011) proposed that household headship is usually associated with being: the main decision maker, chief economic provider and the person designated as the head by the other household members. However, male headship is usually associated with a better economic status(Russell, 2003; Hosegood, et al., 2009; Richter, et al.,2012;Posel, et al., 2011; Posel and Devey 2006), whilst female headship is associated with better schooling outcomes (Makiwine, et al., 2010,; Craigie, et al., 2007) and poorer households (Rogan, 2012,Dungamaro, 2008).

More females to males are household heads, table 12 below shows that more than half (52.80%) of all households with African children were female headed. Female headship is dominant in households with African children who co-reside with neither their parent again where children have a mother present and a father who is either dead or alive but not present. Table 12 shows that approximately, 88.23% and 77.86% represent the proportion of female headship for the former and latter parental categories. On the contrary, only 6.71% of African children who co-reside with both their parents were in female headed households. More generally, table 12 shows that male headed households are predominant in parental categories which have a father who is

co-residing with their children (see table 12 below). However, we saw from table 3 that only 34.2% fathers co-reside with their children.

**Table 12: Household headship in households with at least one African child, 2012.**

Parental status	Female headed [95% CI]	Male headed [95% CI]
Both parents are present in the household.	6.71 [5.76 - 7.80]	93.29 [92.20 - 94.24]
Children with only a mother present, father is alive but not a resident.	77.86 [67.6 - 85.56]	22.14 [14.44 - 32.40]
Children with only a mother present, father is deceased	88.23 [85.64 - 90.4]	11.77 [9.6 - 14.36]
Children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident	17.64 [2.64 - 62.86]	82.36 [37.14 - 97.36]
Children with only a father present, mother is deceased	10.85 [6.51 - 17.56]	89.1 [82.44 - 93.49]
Children residing with neither parents, both are alive	100	0
Children with mothers who are alive but not resident, father deceased	51.13 [47.27 - 54.99]	48.87 [45.01 - 52.73]
Children with father's who are alive but not a resident and their mother is deceased	76.5 [75.30 - 77.66]	23.5 [22.34 - 24.7]
Children who are double orphans	59.89 [55.17 - 64.43]	40.12 [35.58 - 44.83]
Total	52.8 [51.71 - 53.9]	47.2 [46.11 - 48.30]

Figure 2 below clearly shows that most children with an orphan status are in female headed households. Up to 80,43% of all paternal orphans were residing in female headed households, whilst, nearly half of all maternal orphans were in similar households. Lastly, 59.89% of all double orphans are in female headed households.

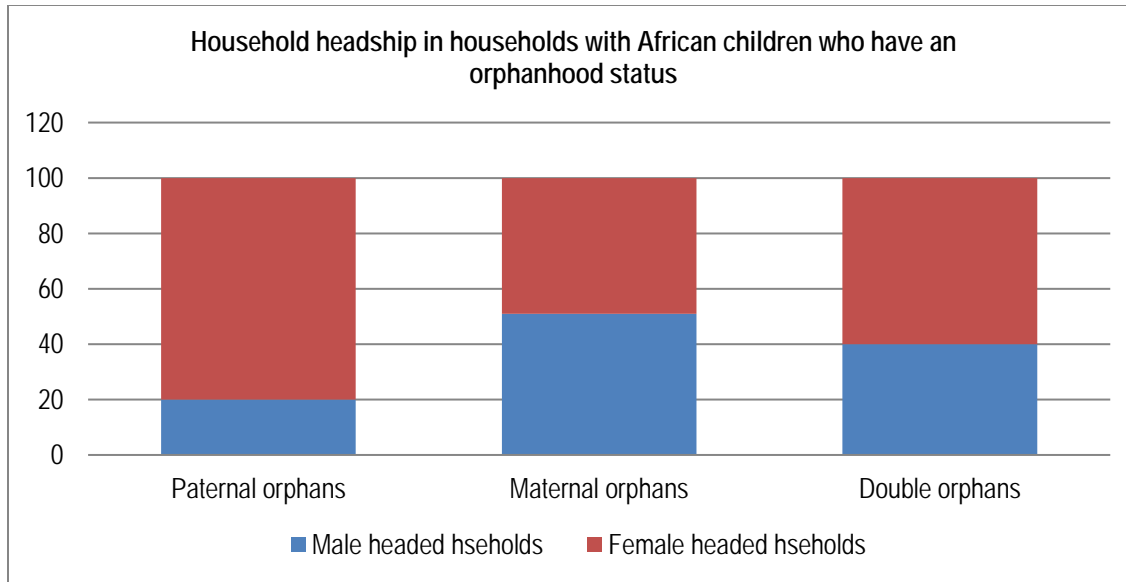


Figure 2: The type of household headship in households with African children who have an orphan hood status

#### 4.5 Socio-economic status

Socio-economic status is usually conceptualized as the social standing or class of an individual or a group of people (Taylor and Yu, 2009). It is an important concept which is usually used to reveal inequities in accessing resources. Therefore, in light of this study, an examination of household's socio-economic status will enable relevant policy makers to formulate ways by which they can enhance children's lives.

There is vast literature on the socio-economic status of children in South Africa but none include all of the possible parental status. Corrigan (2009) warns that an absence of precise information can result in an important phenomena not being considered as a major problem. Therefore, the following socio-economic indicators will be used to compare households with African children according to their parental status: geographical location, household wealth status and social grants.

#### 4.5.1 Geographic location of the household

In this study, the purpose of identifying the geographical location of households is mainly for distinguishing the population into urban and non-urban areas. StatsSA defines urban areas as continuously built-up areas: cities, towns, townships, suburbs are typical urban areas. Whilst rural areas usually comprise one or more of the following: tribal areas, commercial farms and informal settlements (Statistics South Africa, 2003a). Below, table 13 shows types of geographic location according to African children's parental statuses.

More generally, from the sampled African children only two parental categories had households greater than 50% located in urban formal areas. Households with children living with their father while their mother was alive but not a resident and children co-residing with both their parents had urban formal residence of 78.45% and 57.01% respectively (see table 13 below). Some parental categories had no households in rural areas. Table 13 shows that it is highly unlikely to find a household belonging to children who are co-residing with their father only, whilst their mother was still alive she was not a co-resident in non-urban(tribal/ rural) areas. More interesting, is the fact that households with children who have two living biological parents but are co-residing with neither of them had 51.48 % of their population in urban informal areas and the rest reside in urban formal areas (see table 13).

Table 13: The geographical location of households with an African child according to parental status in 2012.

Parental status	Urban formal [95% CI]	Urban Informal [95% CI]	Tribal areas [95% ]	Rural formal [95% CI]
Both parents are present in the household	57.01 [54.84 - 59.19]	14.59 [13.02 - 16.31]	25.41 [23.78 - 27.10]	2.98 [2.32 3.81]
Children with only a mother present, father is alive but not a resident.	47.57 [36.35 - 59.05]	4.65 [1.86 - 11.17]	46.94 [36.00 - 58.18]	0.84 [0.12 - 5.77]
Children with only a mother present, father is deceased	44.15 [40.40 - 47.97]	10.22 [8.07 - 12.87]	44.00 [40.48 - 47.58]	1.64 [0.94 - 2.83]
Children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident.	78.45 [30.43 - 96.81]	21.55 [3.20 - 69.57]	0.0	0.0

Children with only a father present, mother is deceased	48.52 [37.1 - 60.09]	13.5 [7.27 - 23.70]	29.68 [21.44 - 39.5]	8.3 [2.57 - 23.72]
Children residing with neither parents, both are alive	48.53 [5.57 - 93.78]	51.48 [6.22 - 94.43]	0.0	0.0
Children with mothers who are alive but not resident, father deceased	39.38 [35.55 - 43.35]	7.81 [5.89 - 10.3]	49.84 [45.98 - 53.69]	2.97 [1.71 - 5.10]
Children with father's who are alive but not a resident and their mother is deceased	39.87 [38.4 - 41.35]	8.1 [7.21 - 9.09]	49.75 [48.30 - 51.21]	2.28 [1.88 - 2.77]
Children who are double orphans	40.7 [36.04 - 45.53]	8.67 [5.98 - 12.42]	48.19 [43.55 - 52.86]	2.44 [1.42 - 4.17]
Total	45.82 [44.72 - 46.93]	10.37 [9.66 - 11.14]	41.26 [40.25 - 42.28]	2.54 [2.21 - 2.92]

Across all parental categories which have some rural residence, there are more households in tribal areas than in rural formal areas. Almost half of the population in the following parental status categories lives in tribal areas: households with a child co-residing with only their mother, their father is still alive but not a co-resident (46.94); households with children with mothers who are alive but not resident, father is deceased (49.84); households with children with father's who are alive but not a resident and their mother is deceased (49.75) and households with double orphans (48.19). 28.39% averages all the households with children who co-reside with both their biological parents and are residing in either tribal or rural formal areas (see table 13).

Table 14 below shows the type of geographical location of households according to orphan status. Overall, 44.82% of all African orphans live in households located in urban formal areas. There are more households with paternal orphans in urban formal areas than any other orphan hood status. Most orphans reside in tribal areas; across all orphan hood categories about 46.26% are staying in these areas.



**Table 14:. The type of geographical location for households with an African child according to orphan hood status**

Orphan hood	<b>Urban formal</b> [95% CI]	<b>Urban Informal</b> [95% CI]	Tribal [95% CI]	Rural [95% CI]
<b>Paternal</b>	<b>41.59</b> [38.58 - 44.67]	<b>9.10</b> [7.38 -11.18]	47.32 [44.38 - 50.270]	<b>1.99</b> [1.25 - 3.16]
<b>Maternal</b>	<b>40.58</b> [35.3 46.08]	<b>10.04</b> [6.94 14.33]	<b>44.51</b> [39.44 49.7]	<b>4.87</b> [2.51 9.24]
<b>Double</b>	<b>40.70</b> [36.0445.53]	<b>8.67</b> [5.9812.42]	<b>48.19</b> [43.5552.86]	<b>2.44</b> [1.42 4.17]
<b>Total</b>	<b>44.82</b> [44.72 46.93]	<b>10.37</b> [9.66 11.14]	<b>46.26</b> [40.25 48.28]	<b>2.54</b> [2.21 2.92]

The share of orphans in urban formal areas is relatively large but across all categories, the largest proportions of households reside in tribal areas. Almost half (48.19%) of all double orphans reside in households in these areas. Yet, across all orphan hood categories a little lower than 42% of each category resides in urban formal areas. However, relative to other geographic type about 2.54% of orphans are residing in formal rural areas. More generally, very few households with orphans are located in formal rural areas.

#### **4.5.2 Household wealth**

Household wealth represents a more permanent status of the household's economic status than does the household total income and/or the household's monthly expenditure (Rustein and Johnson, 2004). In this study, the wealth index categorized households into five distinct wealth quintiles; the first wealth quintile represents the poorest households whilst the 5<sup>th</sup> quintile represents the wealthiest households. Therefore, the reader can easily see how the living standard

of African children differs according to their parental status. Table 15 below tabulates the wealth index results for the sampled households according to the child's parental status.

**Table 15: The wealth index of households with African children according to their parental status.**

Wealth index according to a child's parental status					
Parental Status	Quintiles representing household's wealth				
	Poorest [95% CI]	Poor [95% CI]	Medium [95% CI]	Wealthy [95% CI]	Wealthiest [95% CI]
Both parents are present in the household	17.65 [16.01-19.42]	17.53 [15.89 - 19.29]	23.2 [21.30 - 25.34]	21.2 [19.33 - 23.21]	20.36 [18.37 - 22.51]
Children with only a mother present, father is alive but not a resident.	20.56 [12.81 - 31.34]	18.61 [11.86 - 27.98]	26.93 [17.65 - 38.8]	24.15 [15.19 - 36.15]	9.74 [3.38 - 24.94]
Children with only a mother present, father is deceased	27.37 [24.25 - 30.73]	21.86 [19.12 - 24.87]	26.16 [22.78 - 29.88]	18.09 [15.07- 21.55]	6.52 [4.64 - 9.10]
Children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident	32.79 [4.82 - 82.46]	0.000	25.04 [3.31 - 76.51]	42.17 [9.23 - 83.95]	0.000
Children with only a father present, mother is deceased	18.90 [10.52 - 31.62]	26.03 [17.12 - 37.490]	22.20 [14.80 - 31.91]	24.42 [14.86 - 37.44]	8.45 [3.78 - 17.79]
Children residing with neither parents, both are alive	0.000	0.0	51.48 [6.22 - 94.43]	48.53 [5.57 - 93.78]	0.00
Children with mothers who are alive but not resident, father deceased	25.72 [22.45 - 29.29]	22.99 [19.93 - 26.37]	24.72 [21.41 - 28.35]	18.80 [15.56 - 22.54]	7.77 [5.94 - 10.1]

Children with father's who are alive but not a resident and their mother is deceased	26.23 [24.96 - 27.54]	23.61 [22.37- 24.89]	25.06 [23.76 - 26.41]	17.84 [16.7 - 19.05]	7.26 [6.38 - 8.25]
Children who are double orphans	30.62 [26.38 - 35.2]	22.89 [19.29 - 26.93]	26.4 [22.26 - 31.00]	16.4 [12.88 - 20.57]	3.74 [2.33 - 5.95]

Of the children co-residing with both their parents 20.36% were residing in households from the wealthiest quintile. Almost two thirds (64.76%) of the total households in this parental status were in households from medium, wealthy and wealthiest quintiles. From this study, this is the only parental category with more than 10% of its residents residing in households within the wealthiest quintile.

Over half (53.51%) of households with children who are double orphans were residing in households from either the poor or poorest wealth quintile. In contrast, households with children residing with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident had a similar percentage of households in the medium wealth quintile.

Table 16: The wealth index for households with an African orphan.

Quintiles representing household's wealth					
Parental Status	Poorest	Poor	Medium	Wealthy	Wealthiest
Paternal	28.97 [26.33 -31.75]	23.26 [20.91-25.78]	24.87 [22.22-27.71]	17.23 [14.84-19.91]	5.68 [4.24-7.58]
Maternal	22.38 [18.03-27.41]	27.27 [22.83-32.22]	23.26 [19.00 -28.02]	19.06 [14.54-24.59]	8.09 [5.42-11.90]
Double orphans	30.62 [26.38-35.20]	22.89 [19.29-26.93]	26.4 [22.00 - 26.31]	16.36 [12.88 -20.57]	3.74 [2.33 -5.95]
Total	19.77 [18.90 -20.36]	19.72 [19.09- 20.36]	21.17 [20.52- 21.83]	17.46 [16.86 - 18.08]	21.89 [21.18 -22.61]

Households with children who are maternal orphans have the largest proportion of households in two of the wealthiest quintiles, a total of about 27.15%. A relatively low 20.10% represents households with double orphans who are in two of the wealthiest quintiles. Therefore, relative to other orphan categories, households with double orphans had the largest share of the poorest households according to the index, whilst households with maternal orphans had the wealthiest households.

### 4.5.3 Social grants

In light of high poverty, inequality and massive unemployment levels in South Africa, its Constitution awards citizens the right to access social security. This is aimed at redistributing wealth, ensuring that households meet their basic subsistence needs and improve people’s access to food and education (Altman et al, 2009).

The GHS questionnaire asks all household members whether they receive any social grants, pension or social relief assistance from the government. Two grants are particularly directed for children’s welfare: namely the FCG and the CSG.

Table 17 below shows residents of households receiving social assistance from the government according to their parental status. Social assistance refers to household members who are receiving either social grants or social relief from the government. In the table below social assistance is the total number of social grants that a household is receiving. Subsequently, from the second column thenceforth, I look at the frequency of specific child related grants (CSG and FCG respectively) according to parental status.

Table 17: Households with an African child and the social assistance they receive from the government.

Parental status	Social assistance [95% CI]	Child Support Grant [95% CI]	Foster care grant [95% CI]
Both parents are present in the household	1.22 [1.24 - 1.37]	1.07 [1.07 -1.19]	0.01 [0.01- 0 .02]

Children with only a mother present, father is alive but not a resident.	2.14 [1.91 - 2.82]	1.61 [ 1.41- 2.1]	0.03 [-0.03 - 0 .16]
Children with only a mother present, father is deceased	2.05 [2.06 - 2.33]	1.74 [1.72- 1.97]	0.03 [0.02 - 0.05]
Children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident	0.42 [ -0.25 -1.49]	0.25 [-0.09 - 0.84]	0
Children with only a father present, mother is deceased	1.41 [1.21 - 1.84]	0.99 [0.78 -1.26]	0.07 [0.01 - 0.20]
Children residing with neither parents, both are alive	2.54 [1.04 - 4.84]	1.54 [0.04 - 3.84]	0.49 [-0.28 - 0.99]
Children with mothers who are alive but not resident, father deceased	2.07 [2.02 - 2.42]	1.53 [1.41 -1.82]	0.05 [0.03 - 0.08]
Children with father's who are alive but not a resident and their mother is deceased	2.18 [2.29 - 2.41]	1.73 [ 1.79 - 1.9]	0.04 [ 0.04 - 0.06]
Children who are double orphans	2.24 [2.18- 2.61]	1.06 [1.00 - 1.31]	0.59 [0.52 - 0.70]

Households with children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident are the least likely (0.42) to receive any grant from the government when compared to the other categories.

Relative to other categories, households with children who are co-residing with neither their parents but both are still alive receive the highest number of social grants, at least 2.54 grants. Two other parental statuses that receive a relatively high average number of grants (2,18 and 2.14) are households with children with father's who are alive but not a resident and their mother is deceased and households with children with only a mother present, father is alive but not a resident respectively.

The CSG is reaching a substantial proportion of African children across South Africa. According to the table above, CSG is received in almost all households except where a child co-resides with their father only; the mother is alive but not a co-resident. On average all the other households are more likely to receive at least one CSG.

The FCG is paid toward children aged 0–18 that are in need of care as per section 14(4) of the Child Care Act, 1983 and have been placed with a foster family in terms of section 15(1) of the same Act (Djebbari and Mayrand, 2011). The table above shows that this grant is not very widespread. It could be that the levels of child fosterage in South African are still very minimal. From the table above, only households with children who are dual orphans are the most likely to receive a foster care grant.

Table 18 below tabulates the average social assistance that is received in households with an African orphan. Households with double orphans receive the highest number of social assistance when compared to the other orphan hood statuses (2.24). Households with maternal orphans receive the least number of social grants (1.90) when compared to the other orphans.

Table 18: Child related grants according to children’s orphan hood status

Orphan hood	Social grant [95% CI]	Child support grant [95% CI]	FCG [95% CI]
Paternal	2.13 [2.16 - 2.41]	1.74 [1.74 - 1.96]	0.04 [0.03 - 0.06]
Maternal	1.9 [1.86 - 2.25]	1.3 [1.19 - 1.50]	0.16 [0.14 - 0.25]
Double	2.24 [2.18 - 2.61]	1.06 [1.0 - 1.31]	0.59 [0.52 - 0.69]

The CSG is received across all types of orphan hood. In households with a paternal orphan, they are more likely to receive 1.74 CSG. Double orphans are the least likely to receive a CSG but

they are the only category that is likely to receive the FCG when compared to the other categories.

Table 18 shows the social grants that are received by the other household members who are not children. Households with children residing with neither parents, both are alive are the only parental category that is most likely to receive a pension grant. Earlier on table 6 showed that this category was the only one with a pension grant eligible member basing on their age.

Table 19: African children living in households with household members who receive social assistance, 2012.

Parental Status	Pension [95% CI]	Disability [95% CI]
Both parents are present in the household	0.07 [0.07 - 0.09]	0.06 [0.05 - 0.08]
Children with only a mother present, father is alive but not a resident	0.41 [0.33 - 0.63]	0.1 [0.02 - 0.17]
Children with only a mother present, father is deceased	0.16 [0.15 - 0.21]	0.11 [0.09 - 0.14]
Children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident	0.17 [-0.25 - 0.75]	0
Children with only a father present, mother is deceased	0.23 [0.14 - 0.37]	0.11 [0.06 - 0.21]
Children residing with neither parents, both are alive	0.51 [0.01 - 1.28]	0
Children with mothers who are alive but not resident, father deceased	0.37 [0.34 - 0.42]	0.11 [0.09 - 0.15]
Children with father's who are alive but not a	0.31	0.1

resident and their mother is deceased	[0.32 - 0.35]	[0.11 - 0.13]
Children who are double orphans	0.41 [0.38 - 0.49]	0.13 [0.11 - 0.18]

Table 20 below gives the social assistance that is being received by household members who are residing in households with orphaned children. Households with maternal orphans are the most likely category to have a member who receives a pension. Across all orphan hood status, it's very unlikely for any of the household members to receive the disability grant.

Table 20: Orphaned children living in households with household members who receive social assistance, 2012.

Orphan hood Status	Pensions [95% CI]	Disability [95% CI]
Paternal	0.23 [0.23 - 0.28]	0.11 [0.09 - 0.14]
Maternal	0.60 [0.30 - 0.42]	0.12 [0.10 - 0.18]
Double	0.41 [0.38 - 0.49]	0.13 [0.11 - 0.18]

#### 4.6 Conclusion

The chapter outlined the results that were obtained from data analysis. To compare the living arrangements and socio-economic characteristics of households with an African child, 9 categories of different parental status were compared using graphs and tables. The living arrangements and socio-economic status of children who have deceased parents (fathers/



mothers/ both) was compared to non-orphaned children (both parents are alive) where children live with either or both of their biological parents or guardians. A similar analysis was undertaken for orphaned African children by the type of orphan-hood (maternal, paternal or double).

The results in this chapter revealed that household size is somewhat similar across all parental statuses. However, it is relatively higher in households where children reside with only one of two parents. Consistently, the household size was greater in households where the mother is present and the father is either dead or alive but not present. In the same vein, households with maternal orphans also had the largest household size when compared to the other orphan hood status.

It can be highlighted that converse to the extant literature, the results in this chapter did not substantiate that African children are more likely to reside in households with an elderly adult. In all the sampled households, children including orphans were residing in households with on average two working age adults.

The dependency ratio was lowest in households where fathers co-reside with their children, the mother is still alive but not part of the household. However, it was very high across all parental categories where children reside in households with neither of their parents. More African children, orphaned or non-orphaned are residing in households with female heads to male heads. Across most parental categories, the majority of children reside in households in non-urban areas. The exceptional parental categories were children co-residing with both their parents and households with children living with their father while their mother was alive but not a resident. These categories had households with urban formal residence greater than 50%. More commonly, most children reside in households in tribal areas than in urban formal areas.

Children co-residing with both their parents are more likely to be found in wealthier households when compared to children residing in any other parental category. Children residing with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident had a relatively high percentage of its residents residing in households from the medium wealth quintile. The poorest wealth quintiles had the

highest share of households from households with double orphans and households from parental categories with children residing with neither of their parents.

Households with children with only a father present, mother is alive but not a resident are the least likely to obtain a social grant. These households have the largest household size relative to other parental categories but they still receive the least social assistance, both the children and the other household members. More generally, the most social assistance is received in parental categories with children who reside in households with neither of their parents. The CSG is being received in almost all parental categories.

## **Chapter 5: Recommendation and conclusion**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The results presented in this dissertation point to an intriguing relationship between parental status and the socio-economic well-being of children in South Africa. This chapter discusses the results that were obtained from data analysis, recommends and concludes the study. Recommendations are merely suggestions or solutions that rectify some phenomenon that were identified in the study. They enable relevant policy makers to improve children's quality of life and implement policies that exempt them from a continuous cycle of poverty. Across all the variables in the study, households with children who are residing with both their parents had mostly the preferred socio-economic outcomes when compared to the other parental statuses. In contrast, the outcome was generally worse off for the following parental categories: mothers who co-reside with their children and the father being either dead or alive but not a resident and in households with children who are co-residing with neither of their parents, for reasons of death or mere absenteeism. The first section discusses the results obtained from the living arrangement indicators and from the socio-economic indicators. Thereafter, I made some recommendations and concluded the study subsequently.

### **5.2 Living arrangements**

#### **5.2.1 Household size**

Wittenberg and Collinson, (2007) observed that household size is generally smaller where children co-reside with both their parents. Consistent with their findings, in this study, the average household size was relatively smaller for households with children who are co-residing with both parents; which could be because they have a higher standard of living. Their parents could both be employed; as such, they are unlikely to require any extended family for income pooling.

It is a widely held view that a strong negative correlation exists between household size and household wealth. Chazan (2008) proposed that larger, younger households were more likely to

be poorer. Although, according to Muhwava (2011), size economies undermines this notion, he argued that bulk purchasing and sharing of expenses lowers the cost per person when people are living together.

In an African society, there are many factors influencing household size. Social attitudes, cultural traditions and economic development are some factors that influence the household size. Typically relatives (aunts, uncles, and grandparents) easily move in and out of households for childrearing purposes amongst other reasons but increase household size (Case and Ardlington, 2006). Similarly, informal child fostering could result in larger household size. For instance, during a family crisis like losing one or both parents, orphans therein could be moved in with their extended families (Moyo, 2011). Again, the high levels of unemployment and poverty amongst Africans has reportedly resulted in households being made up of members (related/ non related) who reside together to enjoy income economies (Russell, 2003) which could be social grants. Therefore, such social attitudes and cultural practices, has resulted in Africans generally having a larger household size when compared to the other racial groups (StatSA, 2012).

### **5.2.2 Household composition**

Since 1994, various factors have influenced South Africa's household composition and household size. Wittenberg and Collinson (2004) argue that household structure is influenced by a combination of social, economic, political and cultural factors. For instance, in recent years, research initiatives showed that the burgeoning of multi-generational households was as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

From the results in this dissertation, among parental categories with orphaned children none had multiple generational households. More generally, overall, only oneparental category had households which were likely to have an elderly adult therein. This parental category had households with children residing with neither of their parent, both are alive.

Wittenberg and Collinson (2007, p. 16) undertook a study of the household transition in South Africa (1996-2003) from which they projected a long-run increase in three generation households. They noted that "simpler household types such as single person households and

nuclear households will become less common". On the other hand, Ziehl (2007) contested this notion arguing that due to urbanization African households were becoming two generation households. Hall and Meintjes (2014) obtained that relative to children with either a single parent or with neither of their parents, children co-residing in two-parent households were highly likely to be in two generation households. Bledsoe (1995) also believed that households with orphaned children are more likely than other children to be living in multi-generational households, even though this is not supported by this study.

Ferreira and Kalula (2012) argue that changes in social attitudes and economic development in South Africa could be the main reasons for a reduction in multigenerational households. Since 1990's there has been substantial increase of African women amongst the economically active, more women are staying longer in school and they now have more economic opportunities than at any other time (Casale and Posel, 2002). Therefore, this could be the one reason why very few parental categories were multigenerational; fewer mothers are relying on the state pension to support their children.

South Africa has had to deal with a mutually reinforcing relationship of race, class and gender (Edmonds et al., 2005). In particular, an elite (with considerable wealth) urban African population has emerged; their preference is mostly the two-generational households (Russell, 2003). At the same time, the prevalence of multigenerational households could have been lowered by elderly adults who seek peaceful and quiet areas of residence. Edmonds et al., (2005) explain that in some townships, which usually have a high African population have some undesirable characteristics like drug/alcohol abuse, and young adults who do not seek nor keep their jobs. These factors could drive out elderly adults to relocate to state owned institutions or their retirement homes (ibid.).

Teenage pregnancy was one major reason for informal fostering, grandparents would foster their grandchildren when their children gave birth outside marriage (Makiwane, et al., 2013; Ziehl, 2002). Therefore, as women's status has changed in South Africa, teenage pregnancy has greatly lowered, therefore, fewer children are being sent to be raised by their grandparents.

### 5.2.3 Dependency ratio

It is argued that households with orphaned children have the highest dependency ratio relative to the other parental categories (Moyo, 2011). The results in this dissertation show that households with children who reside with neither parent but both are alive had the highest average dependency ratio. Similarly, households with children with fathers who are alive but not a resident and the mother is deceased also had a relatively higher average dependency ratio.

Households with children who are residing with neither of their parents could have a higher average dependency ratio because of their residential location. The greater half of households in this parental category had households located in informal settlements. UNICEF alerts that there is a lot of poverty and vulnerability amongst children who reside in urban informal areas. These areas are deprived of vital services; therefore, residents reportedly pay more for substandard services. Water, for instance, can cost 50 times more in informal settlements than it costs in wealthier neighbourhoods' who receive it directly from water mains (UNICEF, 2012). Therefore, residents could increase household size to enjoy economies of scale.

At the same time, the dependency ratio could have been escalated by the fact that these households could be having fewer adults to support more children. There are very high levels of unemployment amongst Africans in South Africa, as such; some biological parents may choose to abandon their children as they are incapacitated to economically provide for them. Therefore, these children end up living with other children in similar situations. Again, HIV/AIDS mortality has had a negative impact on household's dependency ratio. Young adults aged 20-44 years suffered the highest mortality levels, which in turn reduced the proportion of the economically active in households.

Case, et al., (2004) argue that the household's dependency ratio could have been inflated by informal child fostering. This is generally a common practice among African children, especially amongst those with absent biological parents. Although it is a common practice, Case, et al., (2004, p. 24) alert that children living in households headed by someone other than their parents are more disadvantaged than those living with their parents and children who are not related to the head of household have even more difficulties. There is competition for essential resources

and fostered children are treated as “second-class members” in their relatives’ households. Reportedly, fostered children usually lack affection (ibid).

#### **5.2.4 Gender of the household head**

In this study I obtained that households with orphaned children; households with children residing without a father present or children residing in households with neither their parent were more likely to be female-headed than male-headed households. The result obtained on household headship agrees with other research findings (Department of Health, Medical Research Council, 2007; Situational Analysis of children in South Africa, 2007–2008).

As the proportion of female headed households is increasing (Situational Analysis of children in South Africa, 2007–2008), attention has grown on the issue of household headship. Chant (2007, p.32) strongly argues that the growth of female headed households in South Africa was more of “involuntary” than being “by choice” and cultural changes had very little influence. However, economic changes, economic downturns, the declined marriage rates; HIV/AIDS pandemic, male labour migration, premature deaths of male adults in crime and conflict; divorce and family disruption, amongst others, are some of the underlying factors (ibid).

According to Schatz, et al., (2011), the high prevalence of female headed households is rooted in the apartheid system in South Africa. Apartheid policies which forcibly relocated Africans into the homeland areas and severely restricted their mobility led many females’ to become household heads.

Even after South Africa’s independence, circular labour migration remained a common phenomenon because both the homelands and urban townships where Africans lived remained underdeveloped. Some of the push factors in these areas were endemic poverty, underdeveloped employment opportunities and poor access to health and welfare services. Therefore, a greater number of females remained household heads (Harpham and Allison, 2003).

Although more recently, Hosegood (2009, p.13) advanced that “HIV/AIDS is no longer a new or emerging disease in South Africa”. The extant literature details how HIV/AIDS has fuelled the prevalence of female headed households in South Africa. In recent years, it had become the

primary force in contemporary demographics, social and economic processes and trends but the once severe consequences of HIV/AIDS have been drastically lowered by effective health programs. South Africa's government has adopted a HIV/AIDS program in which treatment and its access has increased rapidly (ibid.). Despite this recent development, HIV/AIDS had drastically altered household organization; literature reveals that there are more female headed households to male headed because the burden of the epidemic is heavier on women than on any other household member. Women bear financial, emotional, physical responsibilities of care giving and sustaining households (Koopman and Gupta, 2012; Taylor and Yu, 2009; Harpham and Allison, 2003). Women are the primary providers of care for the sick and for children orphaned by HIV/AIDS. More households eventually became female headed households after the death of a father. Dayton and Ainsworth (2004) further revealed that mothers, grandmothers, wives, daughters, and aunts could become the household head even in households of their kin or any other which is not directly their own.

The extant literatures maintain that there is a strong relationship between female headship and the incidence of poverty (Dungamaro, 2008). Furthermore, Rogan (2012) adds on that South Africa's poverty levels have substantially dropped but the poverty differential between female and male headed households is widening.

### **5.3. The socio-economic status of households**

The second section of this chapter discusses the results from socio-economic indicators. The following socio-economic indicators were used: geographical location, household wealth status and social grants.

#### **5.3.1. Geographical location**

In South Africa's context the geographical location of households is of primal importance because there remains a spatial distribution of poverty. Poverty is particularly prevalent in regions that were part of the former homelands. There is a very high possibility that children who are raised in these areas will be caught up in a poverty trap. To elaborate, being raised in tribal and rural areas in South Africa usually entails that one will obtain poorer education and



eventually be a lowly paid unskilled worker who is not securely employed (SAHRC and UNICEF, 2014).

In this study, only two parental categories had more than half of all households residing in urban formal areas. These are households with children co-residing with both their biological parents and households with children who are co-residing with their father only, whilst their mother is still alive she is not a co-resident. In both categories, children are co-residing with their father. Therefore, it could be that since males have better economic positions when compared to females (Posel and Devey 2006; Ritcher, et al., 2012) they are better able to afford accommodation in the urban areas. Similarly, more males to females could have skills that enable them to work in formal urban areas.

This study's results also showed that a great share (51.51%) of households with children who have two living biological parents but are not co-residing with either of them were residing in urban informal areas and the remaining reside in urban formal areas. Urban informal housing consists of informal dwellings or houses/ flats/ rooms in backyards; caravans or tents (StatsSA, 2003a).

South Africa is the most urbanized country in the southern African region. Consequently, it has a large proportion of informal residents. A UNICEF (2012) report stated that urbanization is inevitable and more household will continue to migrate from rural areas into the cities where they have better access to resources. Therefore, the high proportion of informal dwellers amongst households with children who have two living biological parents but are not co-residing with either of them could be children who have dropped out of school to attain low wage incomes since they have no biological parents to provide for them.

Across all parental categories and orphan hood status there are more households in tribal areas than in rural formal areas. Mostly, households with orphans and those where women are co-residing with their children with absent fathers (dead/alive) had almost half of its residents residing in tribal areas.

Wu and Pretty (2004) advance that the geographical location of households in South Africa is as a result of a combination of legacies. South Africa has been a democratic country for over 20 years but there remain substantial racialized spatial inequalities. Sartorius, et al., (2014) mention that the creation of homelands after the 1913 Land Act resulted in high levels of rural poverty, income inequality, corruption and poor service delivery in the former homeland areas. Barrett (2005) argues that the legacies in South Africa impact: initial asset status, family size, education, health, mortality, outmigration and employment. In a way, legacies influence household's ability to generate future assets. With very few assets households cannot embark on high returns projects; therefore, they are likely to remain with little assets and residing in the underdeveloped areas (ibid.).

### **5.3.2 Household wealth status**

Posel and Rudwick (2011) estimated that in 2008, 77% of African children with absent fathers were living in poverty, which was greater than 54% of children with a resident father. The result obtained in this study supports the notion that households without a residential father are relatively poorer than households with a father (Roman, 2011; Rogan, 2012). Households with children residing with both their parents were more likely to be found in wealthiest household quintile when compared to children residing in any other parental category.

Amongst African children with an orphan hood status, households with maternal orphans had relatively the largest number of households in the wealthiest quintile. Subsequently, households with children who co-reside with only a father, mother is alive but not a resident had a relatively high percentage of its residents residing in households from the medium wealth quintile. The poorest wealth quintiles had its highest share of households from households with double orphans and households with children residing with neither of their parents.

Ciganda, et al., (2010) put forward that households that had experienced paternal illness or death in the recent past were more than twice likely to be poorer and to suffer from long term poverty than non-affected households. This could explain why double orphans had the largest proportion of households in the poorest wealth quintile. In South Africa there are many reasons why households with resident fathers are wealthier than those without. Dungamaro (2008) mentions

gender disparities in rights, entitlements and the feminization of labour as some primary factors contributing to the poorer economic status in households with women. Women are usually disadvantaged by the triple burden: (1) in the labour market and other means of income and assets (Budlender, 1997; Posel, 2001) (2) they have dual task (combining household responsibilities with labour market participation places time constraint) (3) higher dependency burden resulting from being single earners. Fox and Mendonca (1993) add that most female heads are in their old age, they are more likely to be widowed, they are more likely to work in informal work, they have longer hours of domestic labour, they have weaker property rights and in some cases, they are declined family support and social networks. Moreover, they are less supported in the form of welfare or social assistance, particularly single mothers (Rogan, 2011). To add on, the HIV/AIDS epidemic has further increased both the prevalence and level of impoverishment of families especially the female headed (Rogan, 2011; Klasen, et al., 2008).

The wealth index is a very important socio-economic indicator. Sartorius, et al., (2014) verify that a lack of assets often results in household failing to meet their household expenses and it's more difficult for them to deal with shocks such as death, disease and drought. This can result in household dissolution, therefore, the more assets a household has the lower its risk of dissolution. Household wealth also influences household's strategies, because poorer households have fewer assets they are incapacitated to: adopt strategies that generate higher returns, as well as fund for their healthcare and education expenses. Accordingly, they usually have lower levels of education and poorer social networks (ibid).

### **5.3.3 Social grants**

According to the study, social assistance is commonly received in households with mothers who are present but the father is absent (dead/alive) and across households with children with an orphan hood status.

Households with children co-residing with their father only, the mother is alive but not a resident are unlikely to receive any form of social assistance from the government according to this study. However, the most social assistance is received in households with children who are co-residing

with neither their parents but both are still alive. Amongst the orphans, households with double orphans receive the most grants.

Tremendous research has been undertaken on the impact of social assistance in South Africa, particularly in eliminating poverty. The provision of social grants impacts the living arrangements of Africans in South Africa. Sibanda (2011) argues that they do not only alter the living arrangements of older persons, but also of children and young mothers. Grants are assisting many families in providing food and clothing for children. Others criticize the provision of social grants by arguing that they create dependency and substitution for parental care where parents are able to look after their children (Hamza, 2010).

McEwen, et al., (2009) argued that the absence of a child's mother hinders the reception of the CSG whilst the presence of a mother vastly decreases the likelihood of a FCG. The results from this study do support their postulation. There is no CSG that is received in households where a child co-resides with their father only; the mother is alive but not a co-resident. Again, across all parental statuses the highest numbers of CSG's are received in households with a single mother. Households with double orphans receive only one CSG grant but an average of three children reside in these households and they were the only parental category that was likely to receive the FCG. Even though they do not identify the most certain cause for this pattern they observed that it was merely a lack of documents that hindered these households from applying for grants.

#### **5.4 Limitations of the study**

The study does not include the employment status of the head of the household, according to Sibanda (2011) it has an impact on the living arrangements of children. He obtained that an unemployed or retired household head is more likely to be residing in a multigenerational household relative to a two generation household. Children living arrangements are also affected by some individual factors like their gender. Sibanda (2011) argued that where older children reside is different from where younger children reside. Again, where girls reside is different from where boys reside. He argued that in the African culture teenage females have vital roles like taking care of other smaller siblings, fetching water and preparing meals as such this has a

bearing on their living arrangement. Some teenagers may opt to drop out of school and join the labour market while female teenagers may fall pregnant or get married.

Schartz, et al., (2015) highlight that in order to better understand the well-being of children within a household it is important to explore how they are related to the household head. Sibanda (2011) argues that children have a better wellbeing when they co-reside with very close relatives. He observed that this was because they received greater levels of investment.

However, the main drawback of using household headship and one's relationship to the household head is that other intrahousehold relationships not linked to the head will not be specified, therefore, inhibiting a full picture of children's wellbeing from being established.

## **5.5 Recommendations**

In this study, it was found that a worrisome proportion of African children do not co-reside with both of their biological parents. Research, with this study included, has shown that children who co-reside with both their parents have the best outcomes when compared to children who live with either one or neither parent. Parental absenteeism places children at a higher risk of physical, emotional, economic and/or sexual abuse inter alia (Sibanda, 2011).

The high level of unemployment in South Africa further puts children who do not co-reside with both their parents at a disadvantage. Insufficient resources may force adults who reside in households with children who are not their own to use resources like remittances and social grants to the general improvement of their own children. I recommend that the South African government should invest more through educational campaigns and public information the importance of parent's active involvement in the well-being of their children.

This study has the well being of all children at heart. UNICEF (2007) suggested that all children should know their rights and be able to report whenever their rights are being infringed. The African Union introduced the Children's Charter in 1999, which sets out the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of children. The charter is centred solely on the child and takes precedence over any custom, tradition or practice, culture or religion which doesn't fit with the set out rights. In this study, I observed that households with children who co-reside with

neither their parents had very low social economic status relative to the other categories. As such, they are vulnerable to poverty and poorer quality life. Such children would benefit if the charter is enforced and monitored on a regular basis (ibid.).

Buvinic (1997, p.2) has written: “Women now account for a growing percentage of the world’s poor.” In this study, I observed that a greater proportion of households with South African children were headed by females. In these households, children are highly likely to be socialized in some dimensions of poverty that include a short life, illiteracy, exclusion and a lack of material means (UNDP 1997).

Sibanda (2011) argues that government can rectify the country’s high level of inequalities and their impact on the living arrangements and the social economic status of children by correcting some institutional factors. For instance, they are institutional factors that fuel the prevalence of poverty amongst female-headed households; women face more disadvantages in almost all social, economic and political institutions. Furthermore, Chant, (2007b) argues that these disadvantages are further exacerbated in households with single mothers and no adult males.

This study also revealed that the dependency ratio in female headed households and in households where children live with neither their biological parents were relatively high. Females are usually the providers of home based care and support to mostly: HIV/AIDS infected members, elderly, disabled people and orphans; as such their households have a higher household size and dependency ratio. In this study again, these households had the lowest scores on the wealth index. Females carry a heavier burden socially and economically when compared to males. Accordingly, O’Laughlin (1997) advocates that the extent of unemployment amongst particularly African women is endemic, severe and growing. Furthermore, amongst the employed African women they are: lowly paid, have uncertain employment and insecure residence (ibid.).

Therefore, additional support should be availed to such households, for instance, if they can access agricultural land so that they can produce food for consumption and also to supplement their income.

Despite the effort government has put since 1994 to correct the disparities between urban areas and former homeland, poverty is still widespread in non-urban areas. The creation of local administrative authorities in rural areas was to quicken the process of urbanization. This has been seriously undermined by the high levels of underdeveloped municipal infrastructure and service delivery in these areas.

Subsequently, the high levels of poverty amongst the people in these areas resulted in very low levels of revenue being generated which further inhibits the sufficient provision of basic amenities like water, electricity, sanitation and refuse removal (South Africa Social Profile, 2012). Worse still, some skilled workers are very difficult to attract and retain in these areas therefore, these areas are usually understaffed with those who have the technical and managerial skills to manage such services (Van der Berg et al., 2011). The situation in non-urban areas fuels the levels of rural-urban migration which in turn increases parental absenteeism. Therefore, government has to create incentives for people to work in non-urban areas. Government should prioritise developing these areas; by way of more investments so that more jobs can be created and eventually greater development.

Van der Berg et al., (2011) alerts that the weak education system in South Africa is the root cause for lower socio-economic status amongst households with African children. When household heads cannot afford to send children to school they create a poverty trap, whereby children's weak educational outcomes lead to poor labour-market prospects and hereditary poverty. In South Africa, particularly African children cannot access quality education, from the early years of their life and as they grow older and progress in school, poor quality education remains and accumulates (ibid.).

Income from social grants is very important in female-headed households and in households with children who reside with neither their parents. As such, I recommend that policies should be implemented that enable the ease in accessing grants. For instance, policy makers could change the means test for grants from household income to income per capita as this will to some extent better identify vulnerable households with children. Particularly households with double orphans

and children living with neither parents, this study revealed that on average there maybe three children residing in such households but only one CSG is collected.

According to Fiszbein and Schady (2009), child poverty can be reduced by conditional cash transfers (CCTs). They believe that households with lower socio-economic status usually face financial and information constraint, as such they cannot fully meet their children's health and educational needs which jeopardizes the child's socio-economic status. CCT's could improve children's socio-economic standing, they are conditional; therefore, they encourage positive behaviour from parents towards their children. World Bank reported that "CCTs generally have been successful in reducing poverty and encouraging parents to invest in the health and education of their children" in Fiszbein and Schady (2009, p.55).

Amongst other causes the structural adjustment programme in South Africa has constrained women and older people from entering the market under favourable terms. Therefore, households with children living in female headed households and households with absent fathers faced the worst socio-economic conditions in this study. I recommend that policy makers should target to provide wage paying jobs for all households. According to Sharp and Spiegel (2002) the lack of financial resources has led to the erosion of kinship and neighborhood as a social resource. However, researchers like O'Laughlin (1997) advocate that children are raised best in an environment where community and relatives support each other, this is especially important because more females are heading families.

Across all the variables in the study, households with children who are residing with both their parents had mostly the preferred socio-economic outcomes when compared to the other parental statuses. Therefore, institutions like the church, schools, communities and related media channels need to encourage parents to co-reside with their children.

In the African culture, children are sent to co-reside with their kinsfolk, grandparents and/ or uncles as a result of poverty, parental absenteeism or teenage pregnancy. In order for children to be raised with both their parents, slowly through globalization, some of the traditional/ practices should be replaced so that children can live together with their parents.



## 5.6 Conclusion

Although child poverty was not my outright focus, the wide and deeply worrisome levels of poverty amongst African children motivated this study. Certain groups of African children are more deeply mired in poverty than others; which is also postulated in the SLA framework. Therefore, to improve their socio-economic status there is need to uncover and understand some dynamic social phenomena that shape and influence households in which they live. As such, this study explored nine different parental categories and separately, the entire orphan hood status, comparing the living arrangements and socio-economic characteristics of households with African children according to their parental categories.

The extant literature asserts that households with orphaned children are more likely to be a multi-generational. Contrasting results were obtained in this study; among all the parental categories with orphaned children none were multiple generational. Similarly, across the nine parental categories, only households with children residing with neither of their parent, both are alive co-resided with an elderly adult. Although the results are puzzling it could be because I looked at the average number of persons in each age group or urbanization, a change in people's attitudes and preference which is more inclined on two generational families.

Across most parental categories, including households with orphans, more females to males were household heads and had higher dependency ratios. Since the 1970 there has been an increase in the proportion of female headed households. Amongst other factors, female headed households have increased over the years due to labour migration, economic downturns, the declined marriage rates; HIV/AIDS pandemic, male labour migration, premature deaths of male adults in crime and conflict; divorce and family disruption, amongst others. To a greater extent these households have a higher average dependency ratio than male headed households. This could be because females have a greater burden in sustaining households than their male counterparts. They bear financial, emotional, physical responsibilities like of care giving and nurturing children, orphans, elderly, disabled and the ill-health.

The socio-economic status of children differs according to whether the parent is deceased, or the parent is alive but not part of the child's household. In this study, in agreement with a rich body of literature, all parental categories without a residential father were relatively poorer than parental categories with a father present; the wealthiest households were children residing with both their parents. Again these households had the highest proportion of households located in urban areas than any other parental category. In a similar pattern, households with maternal orphans were wealthier and more likely to reside in urban areas than any other orphan hood status. This could be because of the social, economic and political factors that inhibit women and children from accessing the same resources as men.

More generally, across all the socio-economic indicators in this study, households with children who are residing with both their parents had mostly the preferred socio-economic outcomes when compared to the other parental categories. The indicators' outcome was generally worse off for the following parental categories: mothers who co-reside with their children the father being either dead or alive but not a resident and in households with children who are co-residing with neither of their parents, for reasons of death or mere absenteeism.

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