
**THE INFLUENCE OF HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY
STRUCTURE ON CHILDREN IN THE CHATSWORTH
AREA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PRIMARY
SCHOOL LEARNERS**

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science, Social Work, in the graduate programme in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was not used. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science, Social Work in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Ms Anitha Pillay

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ABSTRACT

A study into the influence of household and family structure on children in the Chatsworth area with special reference to primary school learners was undertaken. The main objective of the study was to understand the prevailing household/family structure in the Chatsworth area in view of the increasing divorce rate and the HIV/AIDS pandemic and to assess the relationship between household/family structure and outcomes which included access to healthcare, education, shelter, food and adult supervision.

The participants consisted of 335 grade 7 learners from 11 primary schools who were selected using stratified random sampling and simple random sampling. The majority of the learners were Indian (67.7%), followed by Black learners (30.7%), Coloured learners (1.2%) and White learners (0.3%). A quantitative research method was implemented involving the administration of questionnaires to the sample of grade 7 learners from schools in the Chatsworth area. The research strategy employed was descriptive-explanatory. The main finding of the study was that for 63.8% of the participants the household structure was that of children residing with both parents-these results support the findings of other research in that South Africa may not yet have felt the full impact of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic in respect of orphan-hood and child-headed households- there should be further research in respect of identifying households affected by HIV/AIDS. Of great concern is that the findings revealed that over one-third of the participants are without adult supervision after school. There is a need for intervention in respect of care and protection of these children as the lack of adequate supervision places these children at risk of abuse and other forms of exploitation.

The findings of this study as presented here will contribute towards developing intervention strategies to assist children and families at risk and to more effectively understand and meet the needs of children and families in this community as well researched information is critical in ensuring that responses are effective and adequate.

Further studies should be undertaken on a larger scale to determine the prevalent household structure in this community and more extensively on a national scale given the national concerns about the impact of HIV/AIDS on family and households.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

We cannot turn the clock back – as a Society we have now moved beyond the nuclear family and we must find new ways of providing both appropriate financial and interventionist support, particularly at crisis points of the family life – cycle. In order to do so we have to regard such support as an investment in the lives of every family, regardless of the household in which they live, for their children will be the architects of the future of our Society.

(Robinson, 1991: 302)

This study was motivated by the question “What is the predominant family and household composition in Chatsworth at the present time, in view of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, creation of informal settlements and the increasing divorce rate and how does household and family structure influence the lives of children in this community?”

Chatsworth is a large township in Durban, South Africa, which was created as a result of the Apartheid Government and the Group Areas Act. The Group Areas Act of 1950 (Act No. 41 of 1950) was implemented as an act of parliament and was created in South Africa on 27th April 1950. The Act relocated racial groups to separate residential and business sections in urban areas in implementation of the system of Apartheid. As indicated in Africana (1999) apartheid ("separateness") which was instituted by the South African Nationalist Party in 1948, sought the "separate development" of different races in South Africa. Apartheid provided the policy framework for the maintenance of minority rule through the institutionalized social, economic, political, and legal segregation of South African whites, blacks, Indians, and "Coloreds" (people of mixed race).

The Group Areas Act was repealed 41 years later, on June 5, 1991 (Africana, 1999). The system of Apartheid became obsolete in the year 1994, when the first democratically elected government came into place after years of internal opposition mainly initiated by

the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front and international opposition resulting in sanctions being imposed on South Africa.

Chatsworth, when created in the late 1960s and early 1970s, was designated for use by the Indian population only, and by those who were removed from their initial areas of occupation due to racial segregation and the implications of the Group Areas Act. As a result of this, parts of Chatsworth are still areas of extreme poverty separated from the developed upper income areas of Durban. Chatsworth has a population of approximately 500 000 people. Chatsworth, presently, is a mixed socio-economic area, which has some necessary resources and facilities such as schools, libraries, a state- hospital, private hospital, clinics and community halls and sports grounds. The majority of the homes are council built- single and attached houses and blocks of flats with the basic amenities. The area reflects lower to middle income earners. It has been observed though that as the economic status of residents improved, the majority of the residents have renovated and extended their homes. During the latter 1940s and early 1950s, Umhlatuzana and Kharwastan were created. Later Silverglen was also developed. These areas were populated by people of middle to upper socio-economic status with larger homes built by individual families. During the year 2000, Chatsworth was briefly the centre of a social movement known as "the poors," because the developing infrastructure had missed the poorest of the population, and because of the loss of manufacturing jobs due to the economic liberalization program of self-imposed Structural Adjustment Policies known as GEAR (Desai, 2000).

As a result of migration into urban areas for better educational and employment opportunities, there have been many informal settlements created on the outskirts of Chatsworth. These settlements are characterized by shack type dwellings and are populated by persons of African origin- many of the residents are impoverished. The HIV/AIDS pandemic has further impacted on this already disadvantaged community with the elderly having to raise orphaned and abandoned grandchildren. According to Ayieko (1997) HIV/AIDS has socio-economic consequences that are impacting on communities around the world. He states that most parents fail to make appropriate arrangements for

their children in the event of them becoming seriously ill or demising. This results in these children being left in a household with limited resources and leads to abuse /exploitation of these children and child headed households. Exacerbating the challenges in this particular community are the levels of unemployment, which is rife and young people are often unskilled and battle to escape the cycle of poverty. It should be noted for the purposes of this study, that many of the children from these informal settlements attend schools in the Chatsworth area and so would have formed part of the sample for this study.

The caseload at Child Welfare Chatsworth includes abandoned children, orphaned children, placement of children in alternate care, marital and pre/post divorce counseling. From the year 2000, there has been an increase in the number of orphaned, abandoned and neglected children that are entering into the welfare system and that are required to be placed in alternate care. From current literature (as discussed in Chapter 2), it can be extrapolated that the HIV/AIDS pandemic may be the contributing factor in respect of the increasing number of children that are required to be placed in alternate care.

All of the above-mentioned factors formed the basis of this study.

This study involved the administration of questionnaires, on household structure and family composition and its influence on the lives of children, to a sample of Grade 7 learners from schools in the Chatsworth area. It is anticipated that the findings of this study will contribute towards improving understanding of the challenges faced by children growing up in contemporary society in the Chatsworth area and that recommendations arising out of this study will influence policy and practice in the field of child and family welfare. The findings of this study would assist local NGOS and CBOS to understand how family structure has been changing over the past decade and to ensure that there are appropriate and necessary services, programmes and resources to support children and families in coping with the demands and challenges that they are faced with, in this community.

Problem statement

Sufficient data on household structure and its influence on children's lives in the Chatsworth community is not easily accessible. Conclusions are often based on caseload statistics and generalizations in the media on the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, increasing divorce rate and rising unemployment. In addition, as social workers we have observed an increase in the number of female-headed households, grandparent headed households and child headed households. However, how prevalent this change in household and family structure is, in the Chatsworth area and its influence on children in this community has been relatively unknown.

To achieve the main aim of the study, the research objectives were as follows:

- To understand basic household/family structure in the Chatsworth area i.e. is it predominantly two parent, single parent, male/female, grandparent or child headed households.
- To assess the relationship between household structure, the employment status of parents/caregivers and children's access to basic resources.
- To assess the relationship between household structure and children's access to school uniform, other clothing and essential stationery.
- To assess the relationship between household structure and whether children receive adult supervision when they are at home after school.
- To assess the relationship between household structure and children's access to adequate shelter and food.
- To assess the relationship between household structure and how parent/caregivers handle discipline in respect of children.

The pivotal research questions for this study were around the following aspects:

- What is the predominant household structure in families in the Chatsworth area?
- Is there a prevalence of single parent, grandparent headed and child-headed households?
- Is there a relationship between household structure / family composition,

the employment status of parents / caregivers and children's access to basic resources?

- Is there a relationship between household Structure / family composition and children's access to school uniform, other clothing and essential stationery?
- Is there a relationship between household structure / family composition and whether children receive adult supervision when they are at home after school?
- Is there a relationship between household structure / family composition and children's access to adequate shelter and food?
- Is there a relationship between household structure / family composition and how parent/caregivers handle discipline in respect of children.

Hypothesis / Underlying assumptions

Some of the common underlying assumptions (as noted in the literature review discussed in Chapter 2) were that:

- Household structure and family composition may be changing in the Chatsworth area due to various social factors such as the rising divorce rate and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Levin (cited in Krekula, 2002: 2) state that 'cohabiting, living apart together relationships and remarriages have all contributed to the manner in which household composition has changed...' Further, Simkins (cited in Ziehl, 2001: 2) asserted that the rise in divorce rate is challenging the concept of the nuclear family and it is difficult to determine what the predominant family structure may be in the future.
- Children growing up in a two-parent family may have more regular access to basic resources, adequate health care and adult supervision. There is evidence of this assumption according to Lichter (cited in Morgan, 2004) where it is stated that poverty among children with two full-time earners was virtually non-existent and that the rise in children's poverty was associated with growth in single-parent families. Further, according to Donhaue, *et al* (2004) these poor outcomes in

- respect of children from single-parent homes could be attributed to socio-economic conditions as single-mothers may not have access to the same level of financial resources as compared to male earning or two earner households.
- Children living in certain household contexts are more likely to be in optimal health as compared to children living in other households. According to findings in a study on Household Composition, Race/Ethnicity and reports on Child Health in the United States (Donahue, Finch, Hack & Hummer, 2004) children in both female headed and female headed extended households exhibit worse health than other children and the presence of other minor children in the household was also negatively associated with child health.
 - Children from divorced or single parent families are more likely to experience more behavioural, health and academic problems than children in two parent homes. Ram, Balli & Fenghou (cited in Morgan, 2004) in a study exploring how children's emotional-behavioural and cognitive outcomes are affected by changes in family structure found that in a sample of 4000 children that changes in family structure had a negative effect on the emotional and behavioural outcomes of the children. Anderson (2003) proposes that in accordance with modern evolutionary theory, there is greater investment in children in a household only consisting of genetic parents and there would be greater conflicts of interest pertaining to investment in children in households with stepparents, foster parents and distant relatives or non relatives.

Conceptual framework

The eco-systems framework was used to guide the study. Hence the study was conducted from a Bio-psycho-socio-structural perspective. Therefore as recommended by Donahue, Finch, Hack & Hummer (2004:7) demographic, biological and social risk factors were looked at.

In South Africa, the majority of the citizens reside in an unresponsive environment. Poverty affects millions of South Africans and prior to 1994, South African society was based on legalized unequal distribution of resources. The policy of Apartheid,

grievously damaged families in South Africa through a deliberate splitting of families with African women and children forced to live separately from their husbands who worked in the towns through implementation of the migrant labour system. According to Sachs (1990) restoration of the family has to include employment practices being revised, wages being relooked at, rural areas becoming self-sufficient and the right to adequate housing, health care and education being addressed. At the macro-level, these are some of the environmental factors impacting on the family system.

At the mezzo-level, the communities in which families interact impact on its functioning. Communities can be defined as groups of people who share something in common i.e. areas of residence, shared beliefs, social or class status. Historically, in South Africa, the concept of community was used with negative connotations, for example to categorize people into race i.e. the Indian community or the African community to promote the policy of separate development. According to Thornton & Ramphela (1998) communities are usually in a state of flux, are shaped by history and are a product of individual and political ideology. Community structures such as Residents Associations, Policing forums and School Governing Bodies are examples of factors that impact on the family at this level.

At the micro-level, the high level of violence in South African Society must be noted. Historically, in South Africa, violence was institutionalized and used as a means of resolving conflict. Recognizing the high level of Domestic violence, the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 was effected. This act acknowledges the vulnerability of victims of domestic violence and offers them the full protection of the law and remedial measures that could be effected for recourse. In 1995, the South African government became a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. In accordance with this convention, there are forty articles pertaining to the rights, care and protection of children that the South African government has agreed are to be adhered to. Unfortunately, fourteen years later, there are hundreds of children that continue to grow up in poverty and without access to basic resources and who are at risk of abuse and/or neglect. Pearson (2009) suggests that “social

protection” policies and programmes including cash transfers, improved social services and national health insurance schemes would assist in addressing the challenges of chronic poverty and the recent global financial crisis.

Definitions of major concepts

For the purposes of this study the major concepts have been defined according to the New Dictionary of Social Work (1995) as follows:

- Child- person under the age of 18 years in terms of the Child Care Act, 1983 (Act 74 of 1983)
- Community- composition of people who live within a geographically bounded area, who are involved in interaction and who have a bond with each other and their place of residence
- Family- smallest unit in society consisting of a man and his wife, a man, his wife and child, a woman and her child or a man and his child, usually under one roof
- Household- consists of a population of individuals, not necessarily relatives residing in the same residential unit.
- Poverty- condition of a person who lacks the material means of providing for his/her basic needs
- Single parents- divorced, separated or unmarried men or women who are raising children.

For the purposes of presentation, this study has been arranged into the following chapters:

Chapter 2- Literature review

This chapter presents a review of literature and studies related to the influence of family composition and household structure on children. Through this review of knowledge pertaining to this area, a theoretical framework can be developed for further research.

Chapter 3- Methods

This section describes the study sample, research methodology, sampling techniques, questionnaire development and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

This chapter presents the findings of the study in accordance with statistical methodology utilized as described in the Methods chapter. The chapter also includes discussion on the implications of these findings and links to previous research findings.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

The findings of the study are summarized in this chapter in accordance with its significance and implications for shaping policy and practice and further research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents a review of literature and studies related to the influence of family composition and household structure on children noting the impact of single-parenting, divorce and HIV/AIDS in respect of outcomes such as health, socio-economic status, behaviour, social and psychological functioning. Through this review of knowledge pertaining to this area, a theoretical framework can be developed for further research.

This literature review will help to inform around the following research questions as outlined in Chapter 1:

- Is there a relationship between household structure / family composition, the employment status of parents / caregivers and children's access to basic resources?
- Is there a relationship between household Structure / family composition and children's access to school uniform, other clothing and essential stationery?
- Is there a relationship between household structure / family composition and whether children receive adult supervision when they are at home after school?
- Is there a relationship between household structure / family composition and children's access to adequate shelter and food?
- Is there a relationship between household structure / family composition and how parent/caregivers handle discipline in respect of children.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

According to Folbre (1994) historically, families generally took primary responsibility for children, but across time and various societies there were a great variety of family forms, institutions and relationships. She asserts that females generally took primary responsibility for children, although which females and how much responsibility varied considerably amongst societies and at different times. She alleges there were many social arrangements but that it is generally agreed that the direct male role in childcare was

quite limited. In addition, she states that within and between societies, many inequities emerged, creating very different conditions for children and that within societies once income differences and private property emerged, even more inequities emerged among children and parents. She goes on to state that within primary groups (families themselves) there were also inequities in the manner in which children were treated and who bore the costs, in that male and female children were often treated differently, first born often treated differently and problems of illegitimacy existed. She concludes by stating that adult females generally took on greater responsibility for childcare than did adult males.

Lamb (1982: 3) asserts that historically 'respect for the sanctity of childhood was limited and so children were forced into paid employment at very young ages. Childcare was simply not accorded much consideration by either men or women.....curiously until the middle of the last century, children were customarily placed in the custody of their fathers not their mothers when marital dissolution occurred'. Contrary to the views of Folbre, according to Lamb (1982) under common law, in most Western cultures, children were viewed as their father's possessions. It was only due to judicial decisions in the 1830s that custody began to be awarded to the mother.

Wallerstein & Smith (cited in Blumberg, 1991: 226) critically looked at the idea of the nuclear family as being historically progressive and asserted that this was based on the idea of the 'adult male being liberated from the tutelage of his father and assuming independently, his own responsibilities i.e. as a breadwinner seeking wage work outside of his family, and that alongside this conceptualization of the male breadwinner has gone the concept of the female housewife'. They state that these concepts of "normal" family roles have been challenged by feminist scholarship and women's studies i.e. the liberation of the adult male from his father at the expense of increased subordination to the liberated adult male by the adult female.

Bester (1994) in examining the characteristics of the traditional black rural family stated that these families followed a self-supporting agro-economy under patriarchal authority

with a polygamous system where a male may have more than one wife. Children were expected to strictly adhere to requirements of respect for the elderly and in keeping with the patriarchal system, respect for the father or “head” of the household. The responsibility of raising the child was shared by parents and other adults and older children that formed part of the extended family. Bester (1994) states that contact with European people and western culture influenced traditional black family life and family role structures. European missionaries introduced Christian monogamous principles which did not accept the social structures of the polygamous, extended family. Urban housing catered for the needs of nuclear white families and not polygamous, extended black families resulting in shortage of housing and the accompanying social problems of overcrowding and the development of informal, squatter settlements when black families had to adapt to the urbanized, industrialized economy of the then “white” South Africa. Influx control laws, further contributed to the splitting up of families with husbands/fathers seeking employment in the urban centers and women and children and the elderly being left behind in the rural areas. According to Bester (1994) all of these factors contributed to the weakening of parental authority, group responsibility and of relationships within the Black family. This resulted in growing numbers of single parent families with many black children growing up without the presence of a paternal figure and with employed single mothers.

As can be seen there is evidence in the literature that defining the family historically has proven to be complex and it is an institution in contemporary society about which there remains a great deal of contradictory opinion.

DEFINING THE FAMILY

Perusal of relevant literature suggests that, family structure varies from one society to another with the smallest family unit being referred to as the nuclear family which consists of the husband, wife and their minor children. Extensions of the nuclear family such as siblings of the husband/wife, grandparents etc. are referred to as the extended family.

From a functionalist perspective, according to Murdock (cited in Haralambos & Heald, 1980) the family performs universal and essential functions that are sexual, reproductive, economic and educational. He asserts that whilst the family does not perform these functions exclusively it makes valuable contributions to them all. However, Murdock's idea of the family appears very simplistic and he does not consider alternatives to the family structure. Parsons (cited in Haralambos & Heald, 1980) also from a functionalist perspective argues that the primary purpose of the family is for socialization of children and stabilization of adult personalities of the population of society. This argument appears limited as the impact of class, religion and ethnicity is ignored and again, alternatives to the family are not explored. Leach (cited in Haralambos & Heald, 1980) in his critical assessment on the family, argued that the nuclear family in the modern industrial society as compared to pre-industrialized society, is thrown back on its own resources and is isolated from kin and the broader community which contributes to stress within the family and conflict between the family and the wider community. Similar to Leach, Laing (cited in Haralambos & Heald, 1980) asserts that problems in society could be attributed to problems in the family as some families could create a barrier between themselves and the perceived threatening outside world. Laing, further argues that families contribute to patterns of learned blind obedience to authority for example-soldiers unquestioningly obeying superiors in times of war.

Feminist writers often employed a Marxist perspective of the family and in their critique see the family as a unit which is used to produce cheap labour. However, wives are not paid for the production or rearing of children, rather the husband's wage is buying the labour of two people and he is forced to remain part of the workforce as he would not be able to withdraw his labour with a wife and children to support. These writers suggest that the reproduction of labour also involves the reproduction of attitudes of submissiveness, obedience and conformity which are reinforced within the family and which are essential to maintain power and control in a capitalistic society.

Definitions of the family and its functions are varied and politicized and it can be argued that the family has lost many functions in contemporary industrial society. Functionalists

however suggest that this is not indicative of the decline of the family, rather that the family is adapting to modern industrial society and remains a necessary institution in society. These writers suggest that modern specialized institutions such as schools and hospitals instead of making the family obsolete have added to and improved the family's functions and that the physical and psychological welfare of its members remains the function of the family. From the Marxist perspective, it is suggested that capitalist institutions such as the mass media promote the virtues of happy family life and the myth that material possessions bring wealth and fulfillment and create the obedient worker and accepting consumer that capitalism requires.

However, whilst generations of social scientists have been arguing over the meaning and functions of the family, the concept of the household has not received as much attention. According to Linton (cited in Netting, Wilk & Arnould, 1984) although families and households are both defined by culture, families consist of kinship groupings and households consist of a population of individuals, not necessarily relatives residing in the same residential unit. For the purposes of this study, the researcher chose to determine both predominant family composition and household structure and to assess the influence of both family composition and household structure on the participants as the assumption that family equals household structure is not necessarily true as 'families may extend across two or three or more households and households may contain two or more families' (Cherlin cited in Donahue, Finch, Hack & Hummer, 2004).

CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION / STRUCTURE

The analysis by Simkins (cited in Ziehl, 2001: 3) indicated that perhaps South African households are characterized by just over half being nuclear in structure, with most of the rest being extended or multiple. It is suggested that in response to the thesis by William Goode (1982) where he proposes that industrialization may produce a trend towards the nuclear family pattern and a simplification of household structures, if there is a trend towards the nuclear household in South Africa, it is a very weak one and that various

factors, as discussed below, would lead to more complex household forms being distributed throughout South Africa well into the future.

Simkins (cited in Ziehl, 2001: 2) suggests that ‘since the nuclear family concept is being challenged due to the rise in the divorce rate there is a problem of deciding on the pattern to which the distributions might converge’. He contends that household structures in South Africa are becoming increasingly complex with various factors such as divorce, migration and socio-economic status affecting the different race groups. He further suggests that the closing income gap between Blacks and Whites may contribute to smaller households being more affordable. Amoateng, Richter, Makiwane & Rama (2004) found that South Africa is characterized by both the nuclear and extended family system, with Whites living predominantly in nuclear families and the extended family system being predominant in Asian, African and Coloured households. The Asian extended family was characteristic of joint families associated with that culture but the Coloured and African family maintained the extended family for various reasons including culture preferences, housing shortages and poverty (Amoateng *et al.*, 2004).

Krekula (2002: 2) in her paper on “The Concept of the Family from the Children’s perspective”, concurs that over the past few decades the structure of households have changed. Cohabiting, living apart together relationships and remarriages have all impacted on the change in household composition. People that live together and regard each other as members of the same household do not necessarily think of their families in the same way. From the perspective of children it used to be that mothers, fathers and siblings constituted the household- this is no longer necessarily applicable. As a consequence, we can see that ‘in the modern step family, the household is usually not equal to the family for all its members’ (Levin cited in Krekula, 2002: 2). Krekula (2002: 8) further asserts that the families she dealt with indicate that like in other research there can be a discrepancy between the two terms household and family. The children in this study expressed an understanding of their family to include members from different households....for the children this meant that certain members of the household such as new partners of parents or grandparents were recognized as members of the family.

Nam (2004:2) states in his article on the “Concept of the family: Demographic and Genealogical Perspectives”, that assumptions are generally made that the structure of the family today, has been significantly transformed. There is a popular perception, he believes that modernity and other societal influences have contributed to a decline in two-parent or nuclear families and a significant increase in the number of single-parent families, childless families, alternate families and non-marital cohabitation. However, Nam asserts that this argument of the decline of the family, although advanced for a number of decades, has not been adequately researched and he cites Bane’s disagreement with that conclusion pointing out that family sizes were getting smaller and mobility was splitting up some families, but the family remained as a functional social institution (Bane cited in Nam, 2004: 2). Amoateng *et al* (2004) found that despite the legacy of the migrant labour system and the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the majority of the population in South Africa live with family and usually with close family members, but with regard to the younger generation of South Africans, the prevalence of non family households are increasing.

Ziehl (2001) in her paper “Documenting changing family patterns in South Africa: are census data of any value?”, concluded that with census data there are significant problems around the use of household concepts and the specific categories of relationship to household head which appear on a census type questionnaire. She argues that census type data will never provide a complete picture of individuals in any society and as such needed to be elaborated on by smaller scale analysis of specific communities.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

According to Statistics South Africa, 2001 Census- the incidence of child-headed households are as follows:

Nationally: No. of child headed households (0-19): 248424

KZN : No. of child headed households (0-19): 42355(17.05%)

These statistics were presented at a Conference on Orphans and vulnerable children held in the Midrand from 11/07/2006 to 14/07/2006. The focus of the conference was to strengthen support for orphans and other children affected by the HIV pandemic.

The conference was hosted by the Dept. of Welfare in collaboration with the National Action Committee for children affected by HIV/AIDS. In his address at the conference, Dr Zola Skweyiya (then National Minister of Social Development) emphasized that the socio-economic impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic results in ‘family, community and social disintegration and that this was evidenced by the increase in the number of orphans and vulnerable children, child-headed households and the inability of the extended family system to provide such children with basic requirements such as shelter, food, medical care, education, love and support.’

The National Household HIV prevalence and risk survey of South African children was undertaken by Shisana & Richter in 2002. This study formed part of the larger Nelson Mandela/HSRC Study of HIV/AIDS: South African national HIV prevalence, Behavioral risks and mass media household survey. The main objective of the Shisana and Richter (2004) study was to ‘determine HIV prevalence amongst South African children from 2 to 14 years of age, to identify social and community risk factors that predispose children to HIV infection as well as the impact of the pandemic on children in terms of orphan status and child-headed households’.

A total of 3988 children participated in the survey. According to the results one tenth of children have lost a parent/caregiver by 9 years of age and 15% have lost a parent/caregiver by the age of 14 years. Among children 15 to 18 years, 25% had lost at least one parent/caregiver. The researchers indicated that children of African descent, children in poor households and children living in informal areas were most affected. Interestingly, they found that comparisons with previous surveys on orphan-hood showed that orphan-hood had not substantially increased since 1995. They state that these findings suggest that South Africa has not yet experienced the full impact of the pandemic and there still may be time to anticipate and prepare for an increase in orphan-hood. Of the children surveyed, the findings also revealed that 45% of the children live in homes where there is not enough money for food and clothes and that 50% of children in the 2 to 11 years age group were exposed to high risk behavior i.e. being exposed to drunkenness and being sent out on errands alone. Almost a third of children 2 to 14 years

of age are left at home in the care of someone 15 years of age or younger. The researchers concluded that further work should find ways of assessing orphan-hood and child-headed households and that poverty, exposure to alcohol, and lack of adequate adult supervision place children at risk of abuse. They suggest that strategies for communities and schools to work towards creating a safer, nurturing environment for children are needed.

Mturi, Xaba & Sekokotla (2005) in a study “assessing the circumstances facing contemporary families in South Africa” found that children from child-headed households and skip-generation families (where children are left with grandparents because of abandonment, orphan-hood, parents working far from home) face challenges in respect financial stability and those children (especially young girls) who do not receive adequate support from families and the community become involved in prostitution.

Sloth-Nielson (2002) in a paper on “Provisioning for child-headed households” refers to projections which indicated that the number of orphans in South Africa would have increased to 800000 in the year 2005. She states that a significant number of these children will be living in child-headed households as current figures indicated that foster parents were looking after 35% of orphaned children, with only 0.1% being adopted. She refers to the Grootboom judgement at the Constitutional Court which held that when children are orphaned or abandoned and without family care the responsibility for fulfilling their socio-economic rights rests on the State. As emphasized in her paper, these children also have special needs such as self-actualization, palliative care and bereavement counseling. She acknowledges that the National Integrated Plan for Children and Youth infected and affected by HIV/AIDS endorses a community and home-based care model which has been successful in other African countries. However she suggests that the majority of the children orphaned by the pandemic are not being accommodated through the formal structures in alternative care. She further suggests that the African kinship care system can no longer be relied upon to fulfill that function- thus

more children are living in child-headed households without their needs being adequately addressed.

Jansen van Rensburg (2002) in a paper on the “Denial of the South African Government to provide Child Headed Households with Social Assistance grants” concurs, stating that it is estimated that by 2015, 1.97 million children will have lost both their parents and there will be 3.05 million maternally orphaned children in South Africa. She challenges the exclusion of children from child-headed households being able to access the child support grant and suggests a Mentorship scheme whereby a mentor appointed by a CBO, NGO or the Dept. of Social Development to assist children from child-headed households to access the child support grant.

Research has shown that in South Africa, a large percentage of children are growing up without fathers. The Fatherhood project which was initiated by Child, Youth and Family Development (CYFD) at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) is a collaborative effort at the local and national levels to encourage the advocacy of community, family and the role of men in the future of South Africa.

The aims of the Fatherhood Project according to the HSRC are to:

- Provide information about men, fathers, family life and child development;
- Influence social experiences and perceptions about men and their care for children;
- Rally peer professional support to enable men to be more involved in children’s lives;
- Create a sense of shared responsibility for children’s development among men and women;
- Engender broad based and long term commitment to men’s involvement with children;
- Identify and address barriers to men’s engagement with and protection of young children; and

Embark on focused research around fathers and care-giving with a view to developing community-based interventions.

Statistics according to the Fatherhood Project:

% of children with fathers deceased

- 1996: 9.2% (October Household Survey)
- 1998: 9.5% (October Household Survey)
- 2002: 11.5% (Generalized Household Survey)

***% of absent fathers of children aged 15 yrs & younger
(Generalized Household Survey data: 2002)***

Africans

- Deceased fathers: 12.8%
- Absent (living) fathers: 50.2%

Coloureds

- Deceased fathers: 7.4%
- Absent (living) fathers: 37.2%

Indians

- Deceased fathers: 5%
- Absent (living) fathers: 8.4%

Whites

- Deceased fathers: 2.4%
- Absent (living) fathers: 10.9%

The highest percentage of absent (living) fathers- 50.2% is from the African community. Various contributing factors for this high rate of the 'absentee father' is suggested in the literature i.e. the legacy of the apartheid system with the migrant labour system/influx control laws and its destructive effect on the family. The migrant labour system resulted in husbands and fathers being forcibly separated from their families, with fathers/men seeking employment in the urban areas and women and children remaining on farms. Historically, according to Sachs (1990) indigenous families in South Africa were grievously injured by colonialism which started with the Dutch slave owning settlements and continued with the system of apartheid. African customs and traditions were labelled savage and their customs termed to be heathen. This served to detach Africans from their history, their land and from each other and was reinforced by the Apartheid system. Then, there is the system of Lobola whereby the man pays the family of his fiancée for her hand in marriage and which was said to be aimed at bringing the two families together, fostering mutual respect, and confirming the man's financial stability. Historically, however, the lobola payments were done by means of cattle but presently, most urban couples use cash. The process of lobola negotiations can be long and complex, and involves many members from both the bride's and the groom's extended families. Lobola, however, has negative connotations as young men are hesitant to marry because of the great financial implications, resulting in couples choosing to live together if they lack the financial resources to satisfy the requirements of lobola. This is contributing to the high number of children borne to single mothers and to the 'absent father' syndrome. Sachs (1990) suggests that the restoration of family life in South Africa has to be a priority. and can only be achieved through change in various systems i.e. economically through employment practices being revised, land, adequate housing and other basic necessities to become more accessible and socially and politically through education and open dialogue.

The effects of absent fathers on children

In a country where growing up without a father has become the norm rather than the exception, the effects of absent fathers on children are sometimes overlooked. However,

according to the HSRC, as indicated below these effects have negative consequences for children. *Some of these effects are:*

Emotional stress

- Deviant behaviour

Psychological stress

- Poor performance at school
- Low self-esteem
- Depression

Men in South Africa face the challenge of changing the perception of themselves as perpetrators of crime and aggression particularly against women and children. They need to reinvent themselves as positive members of the family structure. Research shows the importance of men as role models for children and the many benefits that a father can provide to children especially in view of maternal demise as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Men and the community at large will have to strive to change the negative connotations presently associated with men in this country.

The Fatherhood Project acknowledges the darker side of fatherhood in South Africa, where men are brutal, abusive, neglectful and generally absent, yet emphasizes that youth still yearn for the good in older men and need them to play a role in their lives. Maybe this project, beginning with these images will start to break down the stereotypes and become the foundation of a road on which men can move forward as contributors to the family and the lives of those around them (HSRC-The fatherhood project: 2004).

Practice experience and evidence in the literature also indicates that grandparents are being forced to assume full responsibility for financial and physical care of their grandchildren. Bester (1994) and Mokone (2006) concur that modernization and urbanization have affected the extended family system that was typical of the black social structure. The migrant labour system and influx control laws contributed to a scenario where grandparents and younger children remained in the rural areas with these grandparents often having to meet all the needs the children in their care. Rising divorce rates, unemployment, substance abuse and dependency and the HIV pandemic have

exacerbated the situation with elderly grandparents out of necessity, caring for abandoned and orphaned children. Mokone (2006) in a study on “Challenges experienced by Grandparents raising grandchildren” suggests that assuming the role of substitute parents poses challenges for grandparents as they are expected to parent effectively whilst at the same time cope with the physical and psychological changes that accompany ageing. In addition, the generation gap between grandchildren and grandparents is greater than that between children and parents which poses further challenges for grandparents in respect of adequate parenting skills. Further, grandparents often endure great financial strain as they attempt to adequately meet the needs of the children/adolescents in their care. Storde & Grant (cited in Louw & Joubert, 2007) concluded in a study on “the experiences of adolescents orphaned by HIV/AIDS related conditions”, that these adolescents experience the following emotions/thoughts:

- Seriously diminished sense of self-worth
- Attitude of powerlessness
- Unresolved and unventilated grief
- Worry about ill parents, the future and poverty

Grandparents, already under pressure to provide for grandchildren in their care are not always able to adequately address the above feelings/thoughts which in turn impacts negatively on the child and on the relationship between the grandparent and child. Mokone (2006) states that whilst it may be beneficial to the child to grow up with the grandparent (family member) instead of in a foster home or institution, and older persons could be an important resource in addressing the problem of child-headed households, programmes must be developed and implemented to support the role of these grandparents as caregivers and further research is essential on the role of grandparents to influence development of these programmes. Shang (2008) concurs that extended families and kinship care are beneficial to children in that their risk of being harmed may be lower than in non kin foster care and they would be cared for and accepted in their own communities. However, he recommends that for children to be effectively protected, the state should play a greater role in providing adequate education, healthcare, social assistance and monitoring of children in need of care.

FAMILY COMPOSITION/HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND CHILD OUTCOMES

In contemporary society, according to studies cited in Donahue, Finch, Hack & Hummer (2004) there may be a link between household or family structure and child outcomes. They suggest that in general, children from divorced or single-parent families appear to experience more emotional, behavioral, health and academic problems than children in two parent families. However, it must be noted that the authors acknowledge that other researchers have found that some of the problems experienced by children after the divorce of their parents could be attributed to difficulty or dysfunction that was present prior to the divorce. Further, according to the study by McLanahan & Sandefur, Dawson, Bloom & Dawson (cited in Donahue *et al.*, 2004: 3) socio-economic factors also contribute to the poor outcomes with single mothers not having access to the same financial resources as two earner or male earning households. As discussed in the study, single parents also face constraints such as limited support from a partner and more demands on their time as they may be the primary caregivers and also the primary bread winners. Anderson (2003) adds that single parents face conflict over allocation of resources to children as they would also have to consider allocation to relationships with other adults and their own personal growth and development and household with two biological parents may invest more in children because of the reinforcing role of the other biological parent.

Robinson (1991: 299-302) states that research in the United Kingdom suggests that there have been increases in the number of families with dependent children who live in one parent households, in the number of single women cohabiting, in the number of unmarried mothers and in the number of children born out of wedlock. A rise in unmarried, cohabiting couples with children and an increase in the number of married people with children with both parents working have also been noted. Further, the divorce rate which had fallen in 1986 and in 1987, seemed to have risen again. It is estimated in her book on 'Family Transformation through Divorce and Remarriage' that one in three marriages in the United Kingdom would end in divorce, with a substantial number of divorced people remarrying. Robinson (1991:300) adds that research seems to

show that the impact of divorce on children includes disruption of their lives, short-term distress and affected social functioning, poor interaction with peers, difficulty in adapting to the school environment and abiding by societal norms with children of divorce presenting with higher incidents of serious behavioural problems. She cites Kelly (1990) in supporting other research which indicates that the significant factors for long-term adjustment are 'the conflict and cooperation between divorced parents, the post divorce adjustment of the custodial parent, the type of custodial arrangements, the economic standing of the family and finally remarriage'. As the rates of divorce increase so too does the number of single-parents rise accordingly. A discussion on the impact thereof follows.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS / SINGLE PARENTING

A study on how adolescents' risk behaviors, such as drug and alcohol abuse were associated with socio-economic factors such as family structure and parental education was undertaken by Langille, Donald, Kurtis, Hughs & Murphy (cited in Morgan, 2004). Findings revealed that factors such as lower parental education and not living in a two parent family were associated with an increase in risk behavior, substance abuse and dependency. Parental unemployment was clearly gendered: A mother's unemployment had preventative effects on risk behavior whilst a father's unemployment was associated with increased risk behaviour, in particular increased cigarette smoking.

In respect of economic stability, Folbre (1994) and Lamb (1982) asserted that in single-parent families, income is often inadequate, especially for female single parents, and that single parents face extensive economic discrimination.

Cooksey, Menaghen & Jekielek (cited in Morgan, 2004) investigated life-course effects of work and family circumstances on children. This paper sought to determine how family and the work circumstances of parents impacted on young children's emotional well-being and behavior. The results indicated that children who live with a mother only or with a stepfather presented with significantly more behavioural problems as compared to children who lived with both biological parents. Better maternal employment i.e.

higher income generating jobs with arrangements for child care and child rearing, high self esteem, low early deviance and non-smoking during pregnancy were associated with lower levels of behavioral problems amongst children. It was found that maternal resources influenced children's well-being through their effects on influencing family and work conditions.

Lichter (cited in Morgan, 2004) found that poverty among children in America with two full time earners was virtually non-existent, and that the rise in children's poverty was associated with growth in single parent families especially mothers. However, it was also noted that many of these mothers were poor before they became single, so economic factors and financial difficulties could have contributed to the breakdown of the family. It is also stated that the level of poverty after divorce increases from 12%, pre-divorce, to 27% one year after divorce. He also found that poverty among children of unmarried mothers was greater than those of married or divorced mothers. However, these unmarried mothers were younger, with lower levels of education and had limited job skills as compared to divorced mothers. Lichter (cited in Morgan, 2004: 10) recommended that a 'multifaceted approach that builds strong families, promotes work and higher wages and supports family and pro-work public policies, should be implemented to address the issue of poverty amongst children' .

In a study on poverty, resilience and family policy undertaken by Secombe (cited in Morgan, 2004) in America, families in poverty and the consequences of poverty for adults and children was looked at. Characteristics of poverty were examined by looking at longitudinal dynamics, comparative studies and life cause risk. The findings indicated that poor physical health and increased behavioural and socio-emotional problems were experienced by children living in poverty. Several policy recommendations were suggested in this study to help improve the economic situation and coping capacities of families in poverty. The recommendations included a national health insurance scheme, better strategies to enforce child support payment and improving the minimal wage.

Donahue, Finch, Hack & Hummer (2004) conclude in their study on Household composition, Race / Ethnicity and Maternal Reports of Child health in the United States of America, that children in certain household contexts are more likely to be in optimal health as compared to children living in other households. Their findings suggest that children in both female headed and female headed- extended households exhibit worse health than other children and that the presence of other minor children in the household was also negatively associated with child health.

In a study by Lynch, Caplin, & Salonen (cited in Morgan, 2004) with a sample of 2682 Finnish men on “why do poor people behave poorly”, which examined the relationship between socio-economic status in childhood, adolescence and adulthood and adult men’s health behaviors and psychological characteristics, it was found that men with lower educational backgrounds experienced poorer health and economic success. There were also significant differences associated with employment and education. Men who were less educated and those who held blue collar jobs were more likely to be smokers and those in this group who consumed alcohol were more likely to be involved in episodes of drunkenness. It was also found that higher levels of socio-economic status in childhood contributed to greater physical activity and better diet. In respect of psychological impact, adult men with lower educational levels had higher rates of depression and hopelessness as compared to men in the group with higher levels of education.

Duncan, Brooks – Gunn, Yeung & Smith (cited in Morgan, 2004: 10) studied the effect of childhood poverty on the life chances of children. The study looked at ‘the timing of poverty during childhood and sought to determine the extent to which children’s opportunities for academic success is disrupted by the negative effects of childhood poverty on cognitive and behavioral development’. The authors aimed to understand how childhood family income related to the educational attainment and a first non-marital birth. A sample consisting of 1323 children born between 1967 –1973 was used for the individual based analyses and from this sample 328 sibling pairs were studied for the sibling analyses. The results suggested that family income improved across childhood and that family incomes for children between the ages of 11–15 years are 40% higher

than those for children between 0 – 5 years of age. Timing of childhood poverty impacted on educational outcomes. Children in low income families were likely to complete high school and achieve academically, if their family income increased during the first 5 years of life. Sibling analyses also indicated that economic conditions have the greatest impact during early childhood.

Lundberg (cited in Morgan, 2004) conducted a study on childhood conditions, sense of coherence, social class and adult ill health. The influence of childhood conditions and a sense of coherence on class inequalities in adult health were explored. Models were created to determine the relationships between childhood conditions, sense of coherence, health and adult social class. In this study, sense of coherence referred to the belief that life could be lived out in a predictable way and that the necessary resources would be available to meet daily challenges. Findings suggested weak relationships between one's sense of coherence in later life and childhood social class, social and economic circumstances. However, it was suggested that those who experienced economic difficulties and family dissention in childhood and those with a low sense of coherence in adulthood presented with greater tendency for ill health, particularly psychological distress and chronic pain.

In a study on trends in white adolescent, young adult and elderly suicide undertaken by McCall & Land (cited in Morgan, 2004) the impact that economic hardships, family household factors and demographic factors have on suicide trends was examined at three life stages i.e. adolescent, young adult and elderly. The results indicated that family household factors such as divorce rate and female headed families contributed to suicide trends among adolescent and young adults.

Further, according to McLanahan and Sandfur (cited in Donahue, *et al*, 2004:3) empirical evidence has suggested that unwanted outcomes for children are associated with non-traditional family structures e.g. children becoming teenage mothers or dropping out of high school when growing up in a single-parent family. Donahue, *et al*. (2004) also assert that socio-economic conditions are partially responsible for so many of

the observed poor outcomes such as teenage pregnancy, substance abuse, dropping out of school, given that mothers are often left with the sole responsibility for childcare and may not have access to the same level of financial support available to two-earner and/or male earning households.

Tefera, Petersen & Govender (2006) in a study comparing demographic characteristics and family influences in a sample of pregnant and non pregnant black African teenagers state that amongst other factors, low socio-economic conditions and a lack of parental supervision and discipline contributed to teenage pregnancy. They suggest that low socio-economic status may contribute to teenage pregnancy in the following ways: the family may reside in an overcrowded environment resulting in children being exposed to adult sexual activity resulting in this behavior being modeled by children and girls may be vulnerable to transactional sex as there may be an increased need for money in the family. The authors also state that as found in other studies, the absence of either or both of the parents increased the incidence of teenage pregnancy. They concur that single-parent households may be a risk influence as these parents may lack the resources to supervise their children adequately as compared to a two-parent household.

Donahue, *et al.* (2004) state that extended household members i.e grandparents/aunts/uncles are very often assets to parents, especially single-parents in undertaking tasks that may otherwise be neglected and parent/s experiencing financial/emotional distress may choose to reside with their own parent/s to assist in coping with their own problems. However, it is also evident in the literature that some studies find that extended household members may negatively impact on the mother's parenting behavior and place a further strain on already scarce resources (Donahue *et al.*, 2004).

Biblarz & Raftery (1999: 321-365) in their study which assessed the long term effects of alternative family structures on children's educational and occupational success, studied over a time period of four decades, a group of children growing up in alternative family structures. This allowed the researchers to identify the factors by which female headed

families or other non-traditional families may decrease children's occupational success. The results of their study suggest that children from both two – biological parent and single mother headed families have higher socio-economic attainment than children from single-father or mother – stepfather families which is quite unusual given that findings from other studies suggest that because of the lower socio-economic status of single mothers, children residing with single fathers may have better access to resources. Findings also revealed that sons from male-headed families obtained lower attainment scores as compared to sons from single mother headed families despite male- headed families being more socio-economically advantaged.

Ram, Balli & Fenghou (cited in Morgan, 2004) in a study exploring how children's emotional – behavioral and cognitive outcomes are affected by changes in family structure found that in a sample of 4000 children, changes in family structure or household composition impacted negatively on emotional and behavioral outcomes. In addition, they stated that with family dissolution, family resources declined, characterized by ineffective parenting and maternal depression which resulted from changes in the family structure, this then contributed to children's emotional and behavioral problems.

SEPARATION / DISSOLUTION OF THE MARRIAGE

Hetherington, Cox & Cox (cited in Lamb, 1982: 234) stated 'that divorce can be viewed as a critical experience that affects the entire family system and the functioning and interactions of the members within that system'. The authors suggest that the outcomes of divorce will differ for different members of the family, and that stress, support systems and successful coping strategies associated with divorce vary for husbands and wives, parents and children and even amongst children in the same family. They asserted that in the period during and immediately following divorce, family members may be reacting to the accompanying life changes. Factors contributing to stress include conflict, loss, change and uncertainty. The longer term adjustment of family members is dependent on economic, environmental, social and emotional conditions that characterize the single parent household.

An American study was undertaken by Jekielek (1998: 905-935) on parental conflict, marital disruption and children's emotional well-being. The focus of this study was to establish whether children who remained in two-parent families marked by conflict had fewer emotional problems than children whose parents separated or divorced. It was proposed that in the presence of parental conflict, the effects of divorce may have less of a negative impact on children's well-being than the effects of remaining in a family characterized by conflict. This study consisted of a sample of 1640 children between the ages of 6 and 14 in 1992, who were residing in the same two-parent families in 1998. Mothers provided information on their children's anxiety and depression, the level of parental conflict, and marital disruption. Results suggested that children from divorced or separated families experience greater levels of distress as compared to children from intact families, but the level of distress decreases with the passing of time. Findings also suggested that parental socio-economic advantage and higher educational attainment contributed to lower levels of depression amongst children. It was found that children coped better emotionally if their parents, who were in an acrimonious relationship separated or divorced rather than remained together.

A study by Ross & Mirowsky (cited in Morgan, 2004) investigated the association between childhood parental divorce and adult depression. Their findings indicated that children of divorce were more likely to experience unhappy relationships, marry young, and have higher levels of mistrust which predisposed them to distress in later life. As adults they experienced lower levels of education and lower socio-economic status which contributed to depression. The results indicated that differences in distress levels were not evident between women and men or between younger adults and older adults whose parents had divorced.

Spruijt & De Goede (cited in Morgan, 2004) examined the long term effects of transitions in family structures on adolescent occupational, physical, psychological and relational well-being. It was anticipated that adolescents who experienced more changes in their parental families would be susceptible to lower physical, relational and psychological well-being and would be more likely to be prone to unemployment than adolescents who

had not experienced as much change. The results indicated that young people from single parent families face unemployment at greater levels as compared to young people from other family structures. Those from stable two parent families were found to be stronger both physically and psychologically followed by those from stepfamilies, then from families in conflict, and lastly those from single parent families. Young people from single parent families appeared to experience more relationship problems in terms of conflict with partners and divorce.

These findings suggest that being a member of a two-parent family is in some way advantageous to overall well-being than the number of structural transitions which one experiences in respect of family structure.

Simmons, Kuei-Hsiu, Gordon, Chonger & Lorenz (cited in Morgan, 2004) undertook a study in Iowa, North America into the incidence of adjustment problems among children of divorce as compared to those in two parent families. They examined whether children of divorced parents had more adjustment problems than children from intact families and studied the impact of maternal monitoring and discipline on children's externalizing and internalizing problems. The effectiveness of the mother's parenting was rated in terms of warmth and support, monitoring of the child's behavior and consistency in discipline, and was measured by self-reports, adolescent-reports and observer ratings. It was found that parental divorce impacts negatively on children, since it increases the mother's level of depression, which in turn negatively affects parenting skills.

These studies show that structural transitions including separation and divorce impact negatively on the child's overall wellbeing but the extent of the impact is related to the economic, environmental, social and emotional conditions that prevail in the single or alternate family household. The study by Jekielek (1998) provides insight into the negative impact of parental conflict on children whose families remained intact despite continuous conflict and the results of this study confirm that despite popular belief, children fared better should a divorce or separation occur than living in an environment characterized by continuous parental conflict. These studies support the need for more

intensive research into childhood experiences, access to resources and coping skills of children in both intact, single parent or alternate family households.

Finer & McGregor (cited in Leonard & Hood-Williams, 1998: 40) state that marital breakdown, parental deprivation and broken homes have been used in the study of situations where children lack the continuous support of two parents. They suggest that although there may be a link between broken homes and disturbed or delinquent behavior in children one must consider that broken homes are not the only contributing factors to marital discord and childhood anxiety and that many children from intact homes suffer from emotional insecurity and unhappiness. They recommended that there should be more intensive studies on family and childhood experience in both intact and broken homes. It should be noted that the limitation of quantitative studies is that it says little about the quality of relationships but rather focuses on linear association among specific variables. The complexity of human relationships and responses are not accommodated.

It is also suggested in the literature that with separation/divorce there often is drastic reduction in the standard of living, periods of parental emotional disturbance and discord between parents before and after the divorce. Further, whilst numerous studies show that children in one parent families experience more educational, emotional and social difficulties, it has also been found that children in a family with step parents also experience maladjustments (Wolkind & Rytter cited in Leonard & Hood-Williams, 1998: 42).

Lamb (1982) examined maternal employment and child development. He noted that most employed mothers have the luxury of choice and single mothers often have to work to support themselves and their families. Maternal employment impacts on children as child care responsibilities may be shifted and parenting styles may differ. Inadequate child care as a result of financial constraints and maternal guilt resulting in insecure relationships may also impact negatively on children. Lamb (1982: 63) concludes that it is not maternal employment per se, but rather the attitudes, values and circumstances of employed women that are pathogenic.

Robinson (1991: 243-244) in her book on “Family Transformation through Divorce and Remarriage” states that according to Torkelson (1980) ‘the purpose of the family is to provide a context that supports need attainment for all its individual members and that the structure of the family corresponds to the combined developmental and interactional primary needs at any given point in its history i.e. that a family is sufficient to the extent that it is matching specific elements of structure to its specific needs’. Robinson further argues that one has to extend the idea of the ‘Good enough’ family to include the binuclear family or the re-formed extended family which may link across two or more households, consisting of stepfamilies and single parent families. She asserts that children and stepchildren need to know what the family rules are and that they belong to and have a role and part to play in the stepfamily unit as well as that of the other biological parent. Robinson further suggests that it has been indicated that, younger women and the majority of men remarry relatively soon after divorce, thus the single parent family moves into the stages of step family development. Lam (2006) suggests that children of reconstituted or step-families require support in coping with the challenges of adjusting to new family dynamics and negative stereotyping from extended families and the community. She states that it is necessary for natural and step-parents to cooperate with each other in respect of showing children support and understanding and helping them to cope with the feelings of insecurity, rejection and anger and sometimes shame which can have a detrimental effect on the child’s development.

It should be noted that whilst Ackerman (2004) in an article providing an overview of divorce in South Africa found that divorce figures showed a steady increase in the last decade, these statistics when compared to data from other countries reveal that the South African divorce rate is not as high. She suggests that the misconception that South Africa has one of the highest divorce rates in the world may have arisen as Whites as a group presented with a high divorce rate but when the country is looked at in its entirety, South Africa has lower divorce rates than the USA, Australia, China and Croatia.

CONCLUSIONS:

According to Leonard & Hood-Williams (1988: 36 – 37) the current debate about the family in turmoil surrounds the breakdown of the family and community. Concern is primarily expressed over the termination of marital relationships and the impact thereof on children and the “public purse”. They note that in contrast there is a virtual silence on the effects of unemployment on the family. They state that the separation of marital or non-marital partners may very well have specific consequences for children, but just what are these consequences. They question whether there is evidence of psychological damage to children when their parents separate or they lose one of them. What happens if they only ever had one? Since divorce almost invariably means a lowering in the standard of living for the children and usually for the wife, how important are economic consequences? They question which factors are important in reducing the effects of disharmony or deprivation. Is the presence of strong sibling support or secure income crucial? Does the obligation to maintain drive a wedge between parent (father) and child? What effect does remarriage and step parenting have on children and adults? The authors further reiterate that it is now commonly recognized that marriage as such is not about to end, since divorce rates, though still high are matched by high re-marriage rates.

Robinson (1991) concludes by stating that there are many different types of families and households and that it is time to change our thinking and attitudes towards non traditional, non conforming families and to recognize that all family life is hard work which deserves both recognition and support irrespective of the household or family structure. ‘We should provide family life education, for children and young people both within the education system and perhaps even in the workplace. We perhaps need to find ways to support, encourage and perhaps even compel those apparently absent fathers to play their paternal part in the shared parental responsibility for their children’ (Robinson, 1991: 301).

As a country, we must also acknowledge the increasing numbers of children forced to live in child-headed households. We need to improve strategies to help these households to cope. There is a need for communities, NGOS, CBOS and government to mobilize

more effectively around this issue. As indicated in the literature, support mechanisms could include visits from community volunteers, mentored material support, and training in parenting and life skills.

This concludes a review of literature and studies both internationally and nationally, that are related to “Family structure, Household Composition and its influence on children”. The next chapter describes the research methodology utilized in the study and the ethical considerations that were followed.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

This section describes the study sample, sampling techniques, questionnaire development, data analysis, ethical considerations and limitations.

RESEARCH METHOD:

The research method utilized in this study was Quantitative Research. Struwig and Stead (2001: 4) define the quantitative research method as ‘a form of conclusive research involving large representative samples and fairly structured data collection procedures’. Struwig and Stead (2001: 4) also state that quantitative research involves establishing and testing hypotheses which are propositions or statements about the relationship between variables or phenomena. This study involved the administration of fairly structured questionnaires to a sample of 335 grade 7 learners from schools in the Chatsworth area.

RESEARCH DESIGN:

The research strategy used was descriptive /explanatory. According to Marlow (1998:32), ‘Descriptive research describes records and reports phenomena...many surveys trying to determine the extent of a particular social problem are descriptive’. The findings of this study would provide information on the incidence of Child Headed, Single Parent and Grandparent Headed households. The explanatory strategy was used as the ‘hypotheses could be accepted or rejected depending upon the evidence produced through the research process’ (Marlow, 1998:33).

STUDY SAMPLE AND SAMPLING STRATEGY:

The methods utilized for this study was stratified random sampling and simple random sampling.

Stratified random sampling was initially used to divide the population to be studied i.e. Grade 7 learners in Primary Schools in Chatsworth, into groups according to geographical location (different areas of Chatsworth). Grade 7 learners were selected as they were at an age which would allow them to understand and adequately complete the research questionnaire.

From these groups, one school was randomly selected from each of the 14 units of Chatsworth using Random Sampling.

From each of the 14 schools selected, one class of Grade 7 learners was selected using Random Sampling.

NB: Of the 14 schools selected, 2 schools chose not to participate in the study, in view of decisions from the School Governing Bodies. 335 learners eventually participated in the study.

DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES:

The data was collected by means of questionnaires developed for children (see questionnaire attached and consent form). The Survey Method was utilized and as indicated by Struwig and Stead (2001) in this technique the data are obtained from questionnaires completed by respondents and specific skills and expertise are needed to construct the questionnaires. Various techniques can be used to complete the questionnaires...the reliability of data is dependant on the care taken in developing the questionnaire and in selecting a sample. Struwig and Stead (2001) define reliability as the extent to which scores are accurate, consistent or stable and state that the scores validity is dependent on reliability as, if the reliability is not adequate the validity would be compromised. They suggest that reliability can be affected by:

- Items reflecting different meaning or being ambiguous
- Items being subjectively or inaccurately scored
- The test/questionnaire not being adequately administered
- Participants guessing when responding to items
- The testing environment being disruptive to participants
- Participants may not be motivated to complete the test/questionnaire

A pilot survey was conducted to test the questionnaire empirically and to promote reliability and validity. A random sample of one class of Grade 7 children completed the questionnaire. They were requested to indicate whether they understood the questions and whether they were experiencing any difficulty in completing the questions and this helped the researcher to refine and shorten the questionnaire as necessary. The

questionnaire was also discussed with the research supervisor and a statistician for other expert opinions and this enabled the researcher to further refine and finalize the questionnaire to prevent ambiguity, subjectivity and other errors from occurring.

PRIMARY SOURCES:

An empirical study was conducted. Participants were requested to complete a questionnaire. The questionnaires were administered to an entire group of children (one school at a time) at one time under the direction of the researcher. The researcher was available to give instructions on completion of the questionnaire and to provide clarity when necessary which was advantageous as the researcher was able to ensure that participants understood the expectations in respect of the questionnaire and the study and to address any concerns, doubts or fears regarding the study. Most of the questions were completely structured and a few were partly structured. The questions focused on biographical data on the respondents and then specific data on household composition and family structure and lastly information on the child's access to resources and the child's perception of the family.

SECONDARY SOURCES:

Useful information was obtained from textbooks, journals and previous studies on the subject which helped to guide the construction of the questionnaire.

METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Statistical Methodology

SPSS version 15.0 (SPSS Inc., Chicago, Illinois, USA) was used to analyse the data. A p value <0.05 was considered as statistically significant. Descriptive and summary statistics were used to describe the demographics and responses of the sample. This entailed the use of frequency tables and bar charts in the case of categorical variables, and summary statistics such as mean, standard deviation and range for quantitative variables. In order to assess the association between family structure and various outcomes, cross tabulation and Pearson's chi square tests were used. Row percentages were reported.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In order to ensure that research ethics were maintained the following aspects were adhered to:

Informed consent

Permission to conduct the research was obtained from Principals of Schools, School Governing Bodies, learners (participants) and their parents. Learners, parents and Principals were informed that there would not be any repercussions should they choose not to participate in the study.

Confidentiality

The names of the participants were not included on the questionnaire- they remained anonymous. Participants were informed before the research commenced that certain information would have to be divulged to the University but that they would remain anonymous.

Analysis and Reporting

As recommended by Rubin and Babbie (1993:61) researchers have an obligation to report shortcomings and negative findings in the study and they state that ‘science progresses through honesty and openness, and it is retarded by ego-defenses and deception.’

NB: The research involves questions of a sensitive nature that may have brought up negative feelings and emotions, however the researcher is a qualified Social Worker and was able to provide the necessary support/counseling to respondents. The researcher was also prepared to arrange follow up services for the children should this have been necessary.

Limitations:

As the study involved quantitative research, ‘the sample may not yield information rich cases’ (Marlow, 1998:279).

In addition as the sample was limited to the Chatsworth area, it may not have reflected an equitable distribution of learners according to race, gender and socio-economic background, the majority of the participants were Indian learners (67.7 %), followed by Black learners (30.7%).

The response rate was also limited according to the number of grade 7 learners at each school.

It must be noted that the findings were based on self-reported data and as such were subject to possible bias and socially acceptable responses in respect of personal information.

Children could also not be asked directly about sexual abuse for legal and ethical reasons and this limitation made it difficult for the researcher to establish the relationship between household structure and abuse.

The research method utilized did not allow for individual life stories and experiences to be obtained from respondents which may have provided a more holistic view of the lives of these children.

This concludes the discussion on research methodology and ethical considerations. In the next chapter, the research outcomes/findings in relation previous theories and research are discussed.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings of the study in accordance with statistical methodology utilized as described in the Methods chapter. The chapter also includes discussion on the implications of these findings and links to previous research findings.

Demographics:

There were 335 participants in the study. Their mean age was 13.1 years (SD 0.67 years) with a range from 12 to 17 years (Table 1).

Table 1: Summary statistics for age of respondents

N	Valid	333
	Missing	2
Mean		13.09
Std. Deviation		.672
Minimum		12
Maximum		17
Percentiles	25	13.00
	50	13.00
	75	13.00

The expected findings in respect of age group- for grade 7 learners, is consistent with the mean age group of 13 years as found in this study. However, the maximum age of 17 years is unusual and could impact on the child's sense of self-esteem and to lead to issues of bullying and stigmatization.

Table 2: Frequency tabulation of race group of respondents

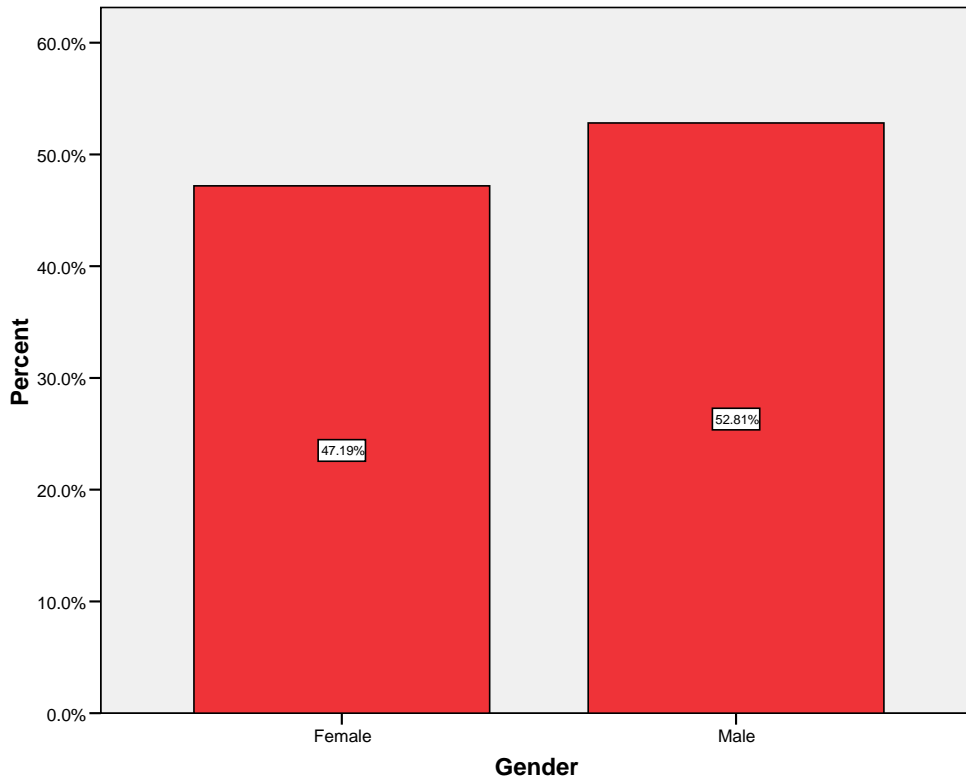
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Black	99	30.7
	Coloured	4	1.2
	Indian	218	67.7
	White	1	.3
	Total	322	100.0

There were slightly more males than females in the study (n=169, 52.8% males). This is shown in Figure 1. Table 2 shows that most respondents were Indian (67.7%) followed by Blacks (30.7%). There were very few Coloured or White respondents.

This study was limited to schools in the Chatsworth area which historically has been a predominantly Indian area created in response to the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950 as discussed in Chapter 1, however, with the demise of apartheid, and informal settlements being established in and around Chatsworth, there are more black learners attending Chatsworth Schools.

It should be noted that some of the Zanzibari children, predominantly from the Bayview area of Chatsworth, consider themselves to be Indian and identified themselves as such for the purposes of answering the questionnaire.

Figure 1: Bar chart of gender of respondents.



Objective 1: To describe the predominant household structure

Table 3 shows that having both a mother and father living with the child was the predominant household structure (63.8%). This was followed by 13% having a mother only, 6.8% with mother and grandparents only, and 2.8% with grandparents only.

Table 3: If you live with adults, which of the following adults live with you in your home?

	Frequency	Percent
Mother and father	206	63.8
Mother only	42	13.0
Mother and Grandparents	22	6.8
Grandparents Only	9	2.8
Other Relatives	9	2.8

Both Parents and Grandparents	8	2.5
Mother and Step parent	6	1.9
Foster Parent	4	1.2
Mother, Step parent and Grandparents	4	1.2
Father and Step Parent	3	.9
Father only	2	.6
Step Parent	2	.6
Both Parents and Relatives	2	.6
Father and Grandparents	1	.3
Parents, Step parents and Grandparents	1	.3
Mother and Other Relatives	1	.3
Foster parents and Other Relatives	1	.3
Total	323	100.0

It is unfortunate that the above cannot be compared with prior research. As far as the researcher is aware, this is the first study into the influence of household and family structure on the lives of children in the Chatsworth area. Assumptions are based on caseload statistics from welfare organizations and generalizations in the media on the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, increasing divorce rate and rising unemployment. There are assumptions that the two-parent or nuclear family structure is being replaced by single-parent, grandparent-headed or other alternate family structures, but contrary to these assumptions more than 60% of the children in this study reported living with a two-parent family. It is possible that if this study was conducted 10-15 years ago the results may have been different, with a higher percentage of children living with both parents.

Nam (2004:2) asserts that this argument of the decline of the family has not been adequately researched and he cites Bane's disagreement with that conclusion pointing out that family sizes were getting smaller and mobility was splitting up some families, but the family remained as a functional social institution. Amoateng, *et al* (2004) in a study, "Describing the structure and needs of families in South Africa..." found that despite the

enormous challenges of the migrant labour system and the devastation of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, most South Africans reside with families and usually close family members.

It should also be noted that children living with foster parents (who may have originated in single-parent families, or who may have been removed from their families of origin because of abandonment, orphan-hood, abuse or neglect) sometimes consider their foster-parents to be their own parents and thus their understanding of living in a home with a mother and father may not necessarily be a correct reflection of their families of origin. This reflects the limitation of the quantitative method which does not allow for in-depth exploration of meanings associated with the responses of participants.

Objective 2: What is the prevalence of single parent headed, grandparent headed and child headed households?

Household structure was further reclassified into broader categories as shown in Table 4. The prevalence of single parent headed households was 13.6%, and of grandparent headed households, was 2.8%.

Table 4: Family Structure

	Frequency	Percent
Both Parents	206	63.8
Single Parent	44	13.6
Grandparents Only	9	2.8
Single Parent and Step Parent	14	4.3
Foster Parents/ Step parent/ other Relatives	16	5.0

These results show that whilst, the majority of the children interviewed resided with both parents, 13.6 % are growing up in single-parent families. This suggests that there may have been some change in the traditional two-parent households that were commonly assumed to be characteristic of families in the Chatsworth area. However, with little

comparable baseline data existing for Chatsworth that this researcher is aware of, it is difficult to properly interpret or verify these data. However, it can be extrapolated from the literature and the researcher’s practice experience that there would have been changes over time. Further studies are necessary to confirm the prevalence of single-parent, grand-parent headed and child-headed households in Chatsworth.

It should be noted that the majority of the participants who resided with single parents or with grandparents only were black. There are various reasons attributed to this and it can be extrapolated from the literature that the legacy of apartheid, the migrant labour system (as discussed in Chapter 1) and the HIV/AIDS pandemic could be contributing factors. This attests to the importance of projects such as the “fatherhood project” which acknowledges the “absent father syndrome” in South Africa and has a programme in place targeting communities to highlight the importance of the role of the father and which aims to support and strengthen this role.

Mokone (2006) supports the view that grandparents could be a valuable resource in addressing the issue of child-headed households prevalent as a result of HIV/AIDS but she also strongly recommends that more research is required in this area and that adequate programmes should be developed to support grandparents in this role of surrogate parents especially in view of the challenges that the grandparents face in view of the ageing process and the demands of being ageing caregivers.

Table 5 shows that 98.5% of respondents lived with adults and that there were possibly only 5 child headed households (prevalence of 1.5%).

Table 5: Do you live with adults in your home?

	Frequency	Percent
No	5	1.5
Yes	323	98.5
Total	328	100.0

As found in the “National Household HIV Prevalence and Risk Survey Of South African Children” undertaken by Brookes, Shisana & Richter (2004), as applicable with orphan status, this community may not yet be experiencing the full impact of HIV/AIDS and there still may be time to prepare for a substantial increase in the number of child-headed households. Further, it must be noted that the extended family system may be providing adult support and supervision to households affected by the HIV pandemic and children although living without natural parents, may not consider themselves to be the head of the household, but may consider other adults (relatives, neighbours, grandparents) to be the head of the household.

It should be noted that the 5 children residing without adults were black. Therefore, the data from this study, appears to support the findings in the Brookes, Shisana & Richter (2004) survey, that African children, children in poor households and children living in informal settlements appear to be most affected by the HIV pandemic, but again, these links to the HIV/AIDS pandemic can only be extrapolated from the literature. Further research is required in this area.

Foster (cited in Louw and Joubert, 2007) described the factors that could predispose the development of a child-headed household as follows:

- Reluctance of relatives to foster children
- Lack of contact of relatives with children
- Presence of adolescents able to care for younger children
- Death of a single mother leaving illegitimate children
- Death of a grandparent or care-giver
- Children preferring to live in child-headed households, because of inheritance of the residence by the surviving children or because of the wish of a dying parent

Louw and Joubert (2007) found the experiences of participants in a study on adolescents orphaned by HIV/AIDS related conditions to be as follows:

- A lack of emotional and physical support from extended families

- Paternal families of unmarried parents are often not involved in the care of orphans
- Poverty is often the result of being orphaned by HIV/AIDS related conditions and results in food stunting, inadequate clothing and shelter as well as acts of desperation such as theft
- The community and church are not perceived as supportive by adolescent orphan
- Schools are seen as a source of support by most orphaned adolescents
- Sadness and fear are common emotions experienced by adolescent orphans
- Home-based care groups are perceived to be a source of assistance
- The adolescent in a child-headed household has no legal protection against family members who want some of the deceased parents' possessions
- Orphaned adolescents have insufficient opportunity to mourn their parents because of cultural norms
- Traumatic memories are suppressed
- Orphaned adolescents living with grandparents have a significant risk of further displacement if grandparents become ill or pass away
- Caregivers are not always capable or suitable to care for orphans
- Awareness and prevention campaigns do not take cultural beliefs and practices into consideration

Findings from the Brookes, Shisana & Richter (2004) survey, suggest that poor environments such as urban informal settlements which lack adequate resources in terms of material and personal care present the greatest risk for HIV infection in children. In these environments, to a larger extent, exposure to alcohol and drugs are high and safety, protection and care of children at home and school is not adequate and sometimes compromised and children from child-headed households by virtue of their vulnerability are most at risk of abuse and other forms of exploitation.

It is clear that the State, NGOS and CBOS should focus on strengthening support systems for these children, adolescents and families. Support mechanisms could include visits from community volunteers, mentored material support, and training in parenting

and life skills, improved screening of foster parents and consistent supervision of these placements by social workers, the establishment of after-school centers and safe care for smaller children and programmes to address gender issues and gender discrimination.

When asked how many adults and children live in their home, the median response was 2 adults and 2 children. Up to 23 adults were reported from one respondent, and a maximum of 14 children were also reported. This is shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Summary statistics for number of adults and children living in the house

		How many adults live in your home?	How many children live in your home?
N	Valid	327	318
	Missing	8	17
Median		2.00	2.00
Minimum		1	1
Maximum		23	14
Percentiles	25	2.00	2.00
	50	2.00	2.00
	75	3.00	3.00

The most common situation for mother and father of the respondents was married and living together (65.8%). Divorce was reported in 5.5% of cases, and separation in 9.8%. 10.8% of respondent's parents were never married. This is shown in Table 7.

Table 7: My mother & father are/were- divorced/separated/single/widowed:

	Frequency	Percent
Married and living together	214	65.8
Divorced	18	5.5
Separated	32	9.8
Have never been married to each other	35	10.8
Mother is widowed	16	4.9
Father is widowed	5	1.5
Both parents are deceased	5	1.5
Total	325	100.0

These results though, should be viewed with caution due to the size of the sample but show that contrary to popular opinion, the majority of the respondents are growing up in families with parents who are married and living together. It is important to note, however, that about one -third of the children were from non traditional family settings.

The study by Jekielek (1998) provides insight into the negative impact of parental conflict on children whose families remained intact despite continuous conflict and the results of her study confirm that despite popular conceptions, children fared better should a divorce or separation occur than living in an environment characterized by continuous parental conflict.

These results support the need for more intensive qualitative research into childhood experiences, access to resources and coping skills of children in both intact, single parent or alternate family households. The results are however, not reflective of the African black family in South Africa, which as discussed has been compromised by colonialism and apartheid and its accompanying laws such as the “Group areas Act” and the “Native Urban Labour Regulation Act” which provided for the establishment of compounds and prevented black women and children from living with their husbands. The system of lobola places further stress on family relationships as it can be extrapolated from the

literature and practice that black men struggling to uplift themselves from poverty may choose not to marry their partners because of financial implications and this in turn could contribute to more black children growing up in single parent families and the prevalence of the “absent father syndrome”. Mturi, Xaba & Sekokotla (2005) recommended that lobola should be standardized so that it would be affordable and couples would be able to marry. Traditional leaders could be approached to promote understanding of the concept of lobola and that small amounts of money and contributions in kind should be acceptable (Mturi, *et al.*, 2005).

Table 8 shows that there is a highly significant association between family structure and employment ($p < 0.001$). The highest employment rate was found in households with both parents (84.3%). The lowest was found in the grandparent headed households (44.4%).

These results are supported in the literature. In respect of economic stability, Folbre (1994) and Lamb (1982) asserted that in single-parent families, income is often inadequate, especially for female single parents, and that single parents face extensive economic discrimination. Lichter (cited in Morgan, 2004) in reviewing literature, found that poverty among children in America with two full time earners was virtually non-existent, and that the rise in children’s poverty was associated with growth in single parent families (namely mothers). However, it was also noted that many of these mothers were poor before they became single, so economic and financial difficulties could have led to the breakdown of the family. Lichter (cited in Morgan, 2004) found that the level of poverty after divorce increases from 12%-pre-divorce, to 27% one year after divorce.

According to Statistics South Africa's latest Labour Force Survey, conducted in September 2007, the country's unemployment rate decreased to 23% in the third quarter of 2007, down from 25.5% in the previous year - a record low since the inception of the survey in 2001, but according to the literature, South Africa still has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world and the indicators point to employment rates that remain racially skewed in favour of whites. According to the statistics, while joblessness among white South Africans is just 4.6 percent, it affects 12.7 percent of Indians and 19.5

percent of mixed race or coloureds but twenty-seven percent, or more than one in four, of black South Africans aged between 15 and 64 years old are not working - a figure that goes up to nearly one in every three for black women. However, it can be extrapolated from the literature that the historical legacy of economic imbalance is a contributing factor. Black women had the least access to economic and educational resources and the least skills to allow them to compete favourably in the open labour market and the majority of unskilled black women did menial jobs in the low paying informal sector. According to Statistics SA, the number of economically inactive persons rose by 67,000 from 12.8 million in first quarter of 2008 to 12.9 million.

Table 8: Are the adults in your home employed?

			Are the adults in your home employed?		Total
			N	Y	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	33	177	210
		% within Family Structure	15.7%	84.3%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	26	40	66
		% within Family Structure	39.4%	60.6%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	5	4	9
		% within Family Structure	55.6%	44.4%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	5	9	14
		% within Family Structure	35.7%	64.3%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other	Count	4	12	16

Total	Relatives	% within Family Structure	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
		Count	73	242	315
		% within Family Structure	23.2%	76.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.883(a)	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	21.297	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	315		

a 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.09.

In terms of access to basic resources, there was no relationship between family structure and access to piped water ($p=0.746$) and electricity since most households had piped water and electricity regardless of family structure.

2.8% of the children surveyed did not have piped tap water in their homes at all. A cross tabulation revealed that the children who did not have piped tap water were black and resided in an informal settlement. This places these children at risk of infection and disease and as stipulated in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of which South Africa is a signatory, children have the right to the best possible health and Government has a responsibility to provide health care, healthy food and clean drinking water. The issue of access to services has become a source of agitation in the same urban townships and rural squatter camps that were principal battlegrounds in the fight against apartheid. During the World Summit on Sustainable Development last August, thousands

marched from poor communities in Alexandra past the wealthier suburbs of Sandton to protest, among other things, water and electricity cutoffs and evictions. According to Knight (2001) between 1994 and 2000, 1.5 million new electrification connections have been established and access to clean running water has reached 4 million more people. Pre-paid meters are used for most of these connections. However, many people have been unable to afford to pay for these services. Knight (2001) reports that a recent survey by USAID found that South Africans were unable though willing to pay for services.

During the 1999 election campaign the ANC promised to provide free electricity and water to the poorest households. However, it is expected to take some time, perhaps years, before this may be realized. Whilst, twenty-three million people (51% of the population) according to Knight (2001) now receive a basic free water allowance of six kiloliters each month an estimated seven million people live in areas where there is no infrastructure for the supply of water- the government has allocated R1.1 billion to address this problem.

Knight (2001) adds that provision of electricity also faces many obstacles including the privatization of Eskom. Households in rural development areas have been receiving 50 kilowatt-hours free of electricity as national government continues to explore ways of making energy affordable for South Africa's poorest. This would give them access to energy for cooking, ironing, light, radio and television.

Table 9: Do you have piped tap water in your home?

				Do you have piped tap water in your home?			Total
				always	sometimes	not at all	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count		201	8	6	215
		% within Family Structure		93.5%	3.7%	2.8%	100.0%

Single Parent	Count	64	1	2	67
	% within Family Structure	95.5%	1.5%	3.0%	100.0%
Grandparents Only	Count	8	1	0	9
	% within Family Structure	88.9%	11.1%	.0%	100.0%
Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	14	0	0	14
	% within Family Structure	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	14	0	1	15
	% within Family Structure	93.3%	.0%	6.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	301	10	9	320
	% within Family Structure	94.1%	3.1%	2.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.107(a)	8	.746
Likelihood Ratio	5.824	8	.667
Linear-by-Linear Association	.007	1	.933
N of Valid Cases	320		

a. 8 cells (53.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .25.

Similarly for electricity (p=0.805).

Table 10: Do you have electricity in your home?

			Do you have electricity in your home?			Total
			always	sometimes	not at all	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	203	7	4	214
		% within Family Structure	94.9%	3.3%	1.9%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	65	2	1	68
		% within Family Structure	95.6%	2.9%	1.5%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	9	0	0	9
		% within Family Structure	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	13	0	1	14
		% within Family Structure	92.9%	.0%	7.1%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	15	0	1	16
		% within Family Structure	93.8%	.0%	6.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	305	9	7	321
		% within Family Structure	95.0%	2.8%	2.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.545(a)	8	.805
Likelihood Ratio	4.843	8	.774
Linear-by-Linear Association	.475	1	.491
N of Valid Cases	321		

a. 9 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .20.

There was a significant association between family structure and space in the home ($p < 0.001$). Again, the households with both parents present were most likely to have enough space while the grandparent headed households were the least likely.

Article 27- of the United Nations Convention on the rights of the child refers to the right to development and that children have the right to a standard of living which would promote adequate development of their minds and bodies. It also underscores that whilst parents and caregivers are ultimately responsible for the child's wellbeing, as far as possible government should assist and support especially in respect of food, clothing and adequate shelter/housing. From a historical perspective, the lack of adequate housing can be attributed to the legacy of apartheid and the migrant labour system. For decades, Blacks residing in urban areas did not have the right to housing in these areas as a result of the inequalities of the system. This has resulted in homelessness on a large scale and the establishment of informal or 'squatter' settlements with families and children residing in cramped, unhygienic shacks with limited access to basic resources. A growing number of people are living in informal housing, such as these shacks in squatter camps. The number of such households grew by 31 percent from 1.05 million in 1996 to 1.38 million in 2001 according to recent statistics.

Knight (2001: 2) states that ‘in 1994 the African National Congress adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), an integrated socio-economic policy framework which is now the policy of the government. The RDP set a goal of 300,000 houses to be built a year with a minimum of one million low-cost houses to be constructed within five years’.

In the year 1997, the Housing Act which established legal rights to housing came into effect (A complete copy of the Housing Code is available on the Ministry of Housing web site www.housing.gov.za.)

The Housing Act, according to Knight (2001: 2) is defined as:

1(vi) “... the establishment and maintenance of habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments to ensure viable households and communities in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities, and to health, educational and social amenities in which all citizens and permanent residents of the Republic will, on a progressive basis, have access to:

(a) permanent residential structures with secure tenure, ensuring internal and external privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and

(b) water, adequate sanitary facilities and domestic energy supply.”

The number of houses completed or under construction from April 1994 to September 2003 was 1.53 million, but 2-3 million homes were still needed. The number of people given shelter in the past 10 years is 7-8.5 million, but there are more than 7.5 million still in need of adequate housing. Because of population growth, this figure grows by about 204,000 every year (Knight, 2001). The unrest over housing reflects that the division between those who have benefited most from democracy and those who have been left behind. South Africa is already recognized to have one of the widest disparities in the world between rich and poor.

Table 11: Does your home have enough space to accommodate all the members of your family in your house?

			Does your home have enough space to accommodate all the members of your family inside your house?		Total
			N	Y	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	33	180	213
		% within Family Structure	15.5%	84.5%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	22	46	68
		% within Family Structure	32.4%	67.6%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	5	4	9
		% within Family Structure	55.6%	44.4%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	7	7	14
		% within Family Structure	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	7	9	16
		% within Family Structure	43.8%	56.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	74	246	320
		% within Family Structure	23.1%	76.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25.077(a)	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	23.109	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	320		

a. 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.08.

Access to a bathroom was also affected by family structure ($p < 0.001$), with households with both parents most likely to have access and single parent and step parent households least likely. A cross tabulation of results revealed that those children who did not have access to a bathroom were Black and from an informal settlement. These results confirm findings from the Brookes, Shisana & Richter (2004) survey, which suggest that poor environments such as urban informal settlements which lack adequate resources in terms of material and personal care present the greatest risk for children. Donahue, *et al.* (2004) assert that socio-economic conditions are partially responsible for so many of the observed poor outcomes of children growing up in single-parent families, given that mothers are often left with the sole responsibility for childcare and may not have access to the same level of financial support available to two-earner and/or male earning households. Lichter (cited in Morgan, 2004: 10) recommended that a ‘multifaceted approach that builds strong families, promotes work and higher wages and supports family and pro-work public policies, should be implemented to address the issue of poverty amongst children’.

Table 12: Do you have a bathroom and toilet facilities at your house?

			Do you have a bathroom and toilet facilities at your house?		Total
			N	Y	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	15	198	213
		% within Family Structure	7.0%	93.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	12	55	67
		% within Family Structure	17.9%	82.1%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	1	8	9
		% within Family Structure	11.1%	88.9%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	4	9	13
		% within Family Structure	30.8%	69.2%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	3	13	16
		% within Family Structure	18.8%	81.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	35	283	318
		% within Family Structure	11.0%	89.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.841(a)	4	.012
Likelihood Ratio	11.198	4	.024
N of Valid Cases	318		

a. 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .99.

Being taken to a clinic when sick was significantly more common in grandparent headed households ($p < 0.001$).

Table 13: Are you taken to a clinic when sick?

			Clinic		Total
			no	yes	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	178	37	215
		% within Family Structure	82.8%	17.2%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	47	20	67
		% within Family Structure	70.1%	29.9%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	4	5	9
		% within Family Structure	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	9	5	14

		% within Family Structure	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	7	8	15
		% within Family Structure	46.7%	53.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	245	75	320
		% within Family Structure	76.6%	23.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.004(a)	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	18.006	4	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	16.532	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	320		

a 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.11.

Being taken to a public hospital when sick was not different between the groups (p=0.147).

Table 14: Are you taken to a Public hospital when sick?

			Public hospital		Total
			no	yes	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	172	43	215
		% within Family Structure	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	45	22	67
		% within Family Structure	67.2%	32.8%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	7	2	9
		% within Family Structure	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	9	5	14
		% within Family Structure	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	13	2	15
		% within Family Structure	86.7%	13.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	246	74	320
		% within Family Structure	76.9%	23.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.796(a)	4	.147
Likelihood Ratio	6.540	4	.162
Linear-by-Linear Association	.216	1	.642
N of Valid Cases	320		

a. 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.08.

Being taken to a private hospital when sick was not different between the groups (p=0.273).

Table 15: Are you taken to a Private hospital when sick?

			Private hospital		Total
			no	yes	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	185	30	215
		% within Family Structure	86.0%	14.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	63	4	67
		% within Family Structure	94.0%	6.0%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	9	0	9
		% within Family Structure	100.0%	.0%	100.0%

Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	13	1	14
	% within Family Structure	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	14	1	15
	% within Family Structure	93.3%	6.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	284	36	320
	% within Family Structure	88.8%	11.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.138(a)	4	.273
Likelihood Ratio	6.468	4	.167
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.410	1	.121
N of Valid Cases	320		

a. 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.01.

Being taken to a private doctor when sick was significantly different between the groups ($p=0.001$). Those from both parent headed households were most likely to go to a private doctor.

In international studies, Donahue, Finch, Hack & Hummer (2004) concluded in their study on Household composition, Race / Ethnicity and Maternal Reports of Child health in the United States of America, that children in certain household contexts are more likely to be in optimal health as compared to children living in other households.

The data in this study indicates that children from two-parent headed households are more likely to have access to private health care and health insurance as a result of better economic resources and confirms the initial hypothesis in this regard. However, the majority of the participants across all types of family structures do not use private hospitals as generally high income and access to health insurance is required. It can be extrapolated from the above that it is possible that the majority of the participants do not come from wealthy families or possibly the participants have not been very ill and did not require the service.

Table 16: Are you taken to a private doctor when sick?

			Private doctor		Total
			no	yes	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	110	105	215
		% within Family Structure	51.2%	48.8%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	48	19	67
		% within Family Structure	71.6%	28.4%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	7	2	9
		% within Family Structure	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	13	1	14
		% within Family Structure	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step	Count	11	4	15

	parents/ Relatives	other				
			% within Family Structure	73.3%	26.7%	100.0%
Total			Count	189	131	320
			% within Family Structure	59.1%	40.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.114(a)	4	.001
Likelihood Ratio	21.064	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.650	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	320		

a. 1 cells (10.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.68.

Being taken to a traditional healer when sick was significantly different between the groups ($p=0.037$). Those from single parent and step parent headed households were most likely to go to a traditional healer. It should be noted that there may have been under-reporting in respect of these results as traditional healing is popularly associated with African traditional practices and whilst Indian participants may seek assistance from priests at temples, churches and mosques, these visits may not be equated with seeking assistance from a traditional healer. There may have also been some respondent bias

because of the popular negative connotations associated with traditional healers resulting in participants not wanting to admit that they consulted with traditional healers.

According to the literature, in rural South Africa, over 60% of the population, seek health advice and treatment from traditional healers before visiting a medical doctor. Those that do seek formal health care also continue to visit a traditional healer (AMREF, 2010). Partnering with traditional healers and bringing them into the formal health system is crucial in improving health in South Africa. Their potential as a resource for both rural and urban communities cannot be ignored. It is better to provide them adequate training rather than to ostracize them. The results of this study emphasizes the need for further research in respect of the usage of Traditional Healers and the need for Traditional Healers to be acknowledged, trained, educated and monitored. Their role and influence in the community should not be underestimated.

Table 17: Are you taken to a Traditional Healer when sick?

			Traditional healer		Total
			no	yes	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	214	1	215
		% within Family Structure	99.5%	.5%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	67	0	67
		% within Family Structure	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	9	0	9
		% within Family Structure	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	13	1	14
		% within Family Structure	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%

	Structure			
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	15	0
		% within Family Structure	100.0%	.0%
Total		Count	318	2
		% within Family Structure	99.4%	.6%
				15
				100.0%
				320
				100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.237(a)	4	.037
Likelihood Ratio	4.347	4	.361
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.017	1	.313
N of Valid Cases	320		

a 5 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .06.

Objective 4: Is there a relationship between household structure, and children's access to school uniforms, other clothing and essential stationery?

There was a relationship between family structure and who pays the school fess ($p < 0.001$) but the results should again be interpreted with caution. The trends showed that the parents were most likely to pay the school fees in households headed by both-parents or single parents.

Table 18: Who are your school fees paid by?

			My school fees are paid by:					Total
			parents	family	religious organizations	we do not pay	do not know	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	192	3	0	8	9	212
		% within Family Structure	90.6%	1.4%	.0%	3.8%	4.2%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	53	5	0	3	5	66
		% within Family Structure	80.3%	7.6%	.0%	4.5%	7.6%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	4	4	0	1	0	9
		% within Family Structure	44.4%	44.4%	.0%	11.1%	.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	9	1	0	3	1	14
		% within Family Structure	64.3%	7.1%	.0%	21.4%	7.1%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	9	2	1	2	1	15
		% within Family Structure	60.0%	13.3%	6.7%	13.3%	6.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	267	15	1	17	16	316
		% within Family Structure	84.5%	4.7%	.3%	5.4%	5.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	74.900(a)	16	.000
Likelihood Ratio	40.173	16	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.287	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	316		

a 17 cells (68.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .03.

Family structure significantly influenced whether school fees were paid on time ($p=0.007$). They were most likely to always be paid on time in both parent headed households.

There is evidence in the literature that children in two-parent families have greater economic stability and that children in low income families were likely to complete high school and achieve academically, if their family income increased during the first 5 years of life. Sibling analyses also revealed that economic conditions have the greatest impact during early childhood. Anderson (2003) states that family structure influences schooling outcomes in the following ways: the decisions of adults on the extent of investment in children would determine attendance at school, quality of school attended and expenditure on schooling. He adds that investment decisions are strongly influenced by the composition of the household with biological parents being the strongest investors in their children.

Table 19: Are your school fees paid on time?

			My school fees are paid on time:			Total
			always	sometimes	do not know	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	111	81	19	211
		% within Family Structure	52.6%	38.4%	9.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	20	33	11	64
		% within Family Structure	31.3%	51.6%	17.2%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	4	5	0	9
		% within Family Structure	44.4%	55.6%	.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	3	6	4	13
		% within Family Structure	23.1%	46.2%	30.8%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	4	5	4	13
		% within Family Structure	30.8%	38.5%	30.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	142	130	38	310
		% within Family Structure	45.8%	41.9%	12.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.202(a)	8	.007
Likelihood Ratio	20.756	8	.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.590	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	310		

a. 5 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.10.

Similarly, children from both parent headed households were significantly most likely to have all the stationary requirements for school (p=0.010).

Table 20: Do you have the stationery that you require for school?

			Do you have the stationery (pens, writing material, erasers etc) that you require for school?		Total
			N	Y	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	18	196	214
		% within Family Structure	8.4%	91.6%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	9	58	67
		% within Family Structure	13.4%	86.6%	100.0%

Grandparents Only	Count	1	8	9
	% within Family Structure	11.1%	88.9%	100.0%
Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	4	10	14
	% within Family Structure	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	5	10	15
	% within Family Structure	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	37	282	319
	% within Family Structure	11.6%	88.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.187(a)	4	.010
Likelihood Ratio	10.392	4	.034
N of Valid Cases	319		

a. 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.04.

Family structure did not influence having a school uniform as most had the school uniform regardless of family structure ($p=0.586$). However, it must be noted that school uniforms are compulsory in South African schools and this places an additional pressure

on parents and caregivers most of whom are already struggling to provide adequately for themselves and their families.

Table 21: Do you have your school uniform?

			Do you have your school uniform?		Total
			N	Y	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	5	207	212
		% within Family Structure	2.4%	97.6%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	1	67	68
		% within Family Structure	1.5%	98.5%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	0	9	9
		% within Family Structure	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	1	13	14
		% within Family Structure	7.1%	92.9%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	1	14	15
		% within Family Structure	6.7%	93.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	8	310	318
		% within Family Structure	2.5%	97.5%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.833(a)	4	.586
Likelihood Ratio	2.389	4	.665
N of Valid Cases	318		

a 4 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .23.

There was a highly significant association between family structure and having basic clothing ($p < 0.001$). Again those children with both parents present were most likely to have the basic clothing they required. The least likely were children from foster parent families. These results emphasize the need for adequate monitoring and supervision of children placed in foster care by social workers to ensure that the necessary support and assistance is available to both the foster parents and children.

Table 22: Do you have clothing that you require in summer and winter?

			Do you have the basic clothing and shoes that you need in summer and winter?		Total
			N	Y	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	14	200	214
		% within Family Structure	6.5%	93.5%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	13	55	68
		% within Family Structure	19.1%	80.9%	100.0%

Grandparents Only	Structure			
	Count	2	7	9
	% within Family	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%
	Structure			
Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	4	10	14
	% within Family	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
	Structure			
	Count	5	10	15
Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	% within Family	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	Structure			
Total	Count	38	282	320
	% within Family	11.9%	88.1%	100.0%
	Structure			

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.475(a)	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	18.077	4	.001
N of Valid Cases	320		

a 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.07.

Objective 5: Is there a relationship between household structure, and whether children receive adult supervision when they are at home after school?

There was no association between family structure and having a caregiver at home (p=0.103).

Table 23: Do you have a parent/caregiver who is at home and unemployed or who works from home?

			Do you have a parent/caregiver who is at home and unemployed or works from home?		Total
			N	Y	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	103	106	209
		% within Family Structure	49.3%	50.7%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	39	27	66
		% within Family Structure	59.1%	40.9%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	4	5	9
		% within Family Structure	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	3	9	12
		% within Family Structure	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/	Count	10	4	14

Total	Step parents/ other Relatives	% within Family Structure	71.4%	28.6%	100.0%
		Count	159	151	310
		% within Family Structure	51.3%	48.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.706(a)	4	.103
Likelihood Ratio	7.938	4	.094
N of Valid Cases	310		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.38.

There was no significant association between family structure and adult supervision ($p=0.294$). However, there was a trend which suggested that grandparent headed households were least likely to leave the children unsupervised. The most likely was the single parent and step parent family which is supported in the initial hypotheses.

45% of children from single-parent families and 50% and 40% of children from single-step and foster/other relatives/step-parent families respectively, appear according to the data to be residing in a risk environment as these children are at home after school without adult supervision. These children are at risk of potential exposure to abuse and are vulnerable to exposure to other forms of exploitation such as prostitution, child labour and crime. Tefera, Petersen & Govender (2006) in reviewing literature for a study comparing demographic characteristics and family influences in a sample of black

African pregnant and non pregnant teenagers found support for the view that low socio-economic status and lack of parental supervision and discipline are risk factors for teenage pregnancy. They also found that teenage pregnancy increased with the absence of either or both of the parents.

Brookes, Shisana & Richter (2004) found that care and protection (which is essential to prevent both HIV transmission and sexual abuse) of South African children in both schools and home is inadequate and that children are at risk of HIV transmission and abuse in both situations. According to Chetty and Cawood (cited in Vermeulen and Fouche, 2006) 70% to 80% of cases pertaining to child sexual abuse are not reported and at a national level it is estimated that one out of five boys and one out of three girls are abused before the age of eighteen years. In South Africa, with high levels of unemployment and poverty being prevalent, abuse may not be revealed by the mother because of financial dependence and children may fear that the consequences of revealing abuse may result in them being removed from their families and the family being split up (La Fontaine cited in Vermeulen and Fouche, 2006).

There is an immediate need for ongoing child protection programmes at schools and in the community to reinforce safety skills in children and parenting programmes to reinforce parenting skills and after-care programmes for children. As stipulated in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child- children are to be protected against abuse and exploitation.

Table 24: Are you are home without adult supervision?

			If your parent/parents or caregivers are at work when you come home from school are you at home without adult supervision?		Total
			N	Y	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	142	70	212
		% within Family Structure	67.0%	33.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	36	29	65
		% within Family Structure	55.4%	44.6%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	7	2	9
		% within Family Structure	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	7	7	14
		% within Family Structure	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	9	6	15
		% within Family Structure	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	201	114	315
		% within Family Structure	63.8%	36.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.932(a)	4	.294
Likelihood Ratio	4.904	4	.297
N of Valid Cases	315		

a. 1 cells (10.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.26.

There was a borderline non significant association between family structure and getting help to complete homework ($p=0.061$). Those who lived with grandparents only were most likely to get help always.

There is evidence in the literature that grandparents and extended family members strengthen the coping capacity of vulnerable families. Donahue, *et al.*, (2004) stated that extended household members i.e. grandparents/aunts/uncles are very often assets to parents, especially single-parents in undertaking tasks that may otherwise be neglected and parent/s experiencing financial/emotional distress may choose to reside with their own parent/s to assist in coping with their own problems. Mokone (2006) found that although grandparents faced challenges as ageing caregivers, with adequate support from the State and NGOS and CBOS, grandparents could be a resource in respect of addressing the child headed households occurring as a result of HIV/AIDS.

However, it is also evident in the literature that some studies find that extended household members may negatively impact on the mother's parenting behavior and place a further strain on already scarce resources (Donahue, *et al.*, 2004). More research is necessary to adequately explore the role of grandparents and programmes that are required to support their role.

Table 25: Do you get help at home in completing your homework?

			I get help at home in completing my homework?				Total
			Always	Almost always	Sometimes	Not at all	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	91	27	84	13	215
		% within Family Structure	42.3%	12.6%	39.1%	6.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	29	11	19	8	67
		% within Family Structure	43.3%	16.4%	28.4%	11.9%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	7	0	1	1	9
		% within Family Structure	77.8%	.0%	11.1%	11.1%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	3	2	7	2	14
		% within Family Structure	21.4%	14.3%	50.0%	14.3%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	3	2	6	4	15
		% within Family Structure	20.0%	13.3%	40.0%	26.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	133	42	117	28	320
		% within Family Structure	41.6%	13.1%	36.6%	8.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.327(a)	12	.061
Likelihood Ratio	20.300	12	.062
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.022	1	.025
N of Valid Cases	320		

a. 8 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .79.

There was no relationship with having homework done on time ($p=0.885$).

Table 26: Is your homework done on time?

			My homework is done on time				Total
			Always	Almost always	Sometimes	Not at all	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	131	51	31	2	215
		% within Family Structure	60.9%	23.7%	14.4%	.9%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	35	20	12	0	67
		% within Family Structure	52.2%	29.9%	17.9%	.0%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	6	1	2	0	9
		% within Family Structure	66.7%	11.1%	22.2%	.0%	100.0%

	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	6	6	2	0	14
		% within Family Structure	42.9%	42.9%	14.3%	.0%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	9	3	3	0	15
		% within Family Structure	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	187	81	50	2	320
		% within Family Structure	58.4%	25.3%	15.6%	.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.560(a)	12	.885
Likelihood Ratio	7.078	12	.852
Linear-by-Linear Association	.424	1	.515
N of Valid Cases	320		

a 11 cells (55.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .06.

Objective 6: Is there a relationship between household structure, and whether children receive adequate food?

Carrying lunch to school was significantly different between the different household structures ($p < 0.001$). Caution should be used when interpreting this p value since the chi square test is invalid as 50% of cells have expected counts of less than 5 and there are two zero count cells. Nevertheless a trend is shown which suggests that children from households with both parents tend to carry lunch to school while those from households with single parents or grandparents only are less likely.

These results again emphasize the need for strategies to be effected to strengthen the capacities of families to provide food for their families. School feeding schemes are an adequate strategy to ensure that children receive at least one nutritious meal per day. A qualitative investigation into the reasons for not carrying lunch would have provided more information on this aspect.

Table 27: Do you carry lunch to school?

			Do you carry lunch to school?				Total
			every day	at least three times a week	only sometimes	not at all	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	154	15	22	22	213
		% within Family Structure	72.3%	7.0%	10.3%	10.3%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	31	1	13	20	65
		% within Family Structure	47.7%	1.5%	20.0%	30.8%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	3	0	2	4	9
		% within Family Structure	33.3%	.0%	22.2%	44.4%	100.0%

	Family Structure					
Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	8	1	2	3	14
	% within Family Structure	57.1%	7.1%	14.3%	21.4%	100.0%
Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	7	0	4	5	16
	% within Family Structure	43.8%	.0%	25.0%	31.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	203	17	43	54	317
	% within Family Structure	64.0%	5.4%	13.6%	17.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	36.277(a)	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	36.209	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	15.429	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	317		

a 10 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .48.

Surprisingly children from grandparent headed households were most likely to get spending money every day but the difference was not quite statistically significant ($p=0.074$). Again caution should be used when interpreting the result of the chi square test. There is a popular view that grandparents spoil their grandchildren but perhaps the reason for grandchildren being given spending money could be that grandparents because of ill health or other age related issues were unable to provide lunch, this is supported in the literature. Mokone (2006) states that whilst being care-givers to children, grandparents have to deal with the ageing process and the social, financial and health issues that affect both them and their grandchildren. This poses challenges to the caregivers and the children and reinforces the need for support to be provided to grandparent caregivers.

Table 28: Are you given spending money?

			Are you given spending money?				Total
			every day	at least three times a week	only sometimes	not at all	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	110	42	54	8	214
		% within Family Structure	51.4%	19.6%	25.2%	3.7%	100.0%
Single Parent		Count	31	7	29	1	68
		% within Family Structure	45.6%	10.3%	42.6%	1.5%	100.0%
Grandparents Only		Count	7	0	2	0	9
		% within Family Structure	77.8%	.0%	22.2%	.0%	100.0%

Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	5	2	7	0	14
	% within Family Structure	35.7%	14.3%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	4	3	8	1	16
	% within Family Structure	25.0%	18.8%	50.0%	6.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	157	54	100	10	321
	% within Family Structure	48.9%	16.8%	31.2%	3.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.673(a)	12	.074
Likelihood Ratio	21.733	12	.041
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.513	1	.019
N of Valid Cases	321		

a 11 cells (55.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .28.

Children from both parent headed households and those from single parent and step parent headed households were most likely to eat three meals a day ($p < 0.001$) but again caution should be used when interpreting these results due to invalid chi square test. However, the trends are shown in the table below.

Table 29: How many meals do you have each day?

			How many meals do you have each day?				Total
			Three meals a day	two meals a day	One meal a day	Sometimes no meals in a day	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	191	20	2	1	214
		% within Family Structure	89.3%	9.3%	.9%	.5%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	49	11	7	0	67
		% within Family Structure	73.1%	16.4%	10.4%	.0%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	7	0	1	1	9
		% within Family Structure	77.8%	.0%	11.1%	11.1%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	13	1	0	0	14
		% within Family Structure	92.9%	7.1%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	10	3	1	1	15
		% within Family Structure	66.7%	20.0%	6.7%	6.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	270	35	11	3	319
		% within Family Structure	84.6%	11.0%	3.4%	.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	39.243(a)	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	29.013	12	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.482	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	319		

a. 12 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .08.

Objective 7: Is there a relationship between household structure, and how children are disciplined?

Being hit was not significantly different between the different family structures ($p=0.082$). The table below shows that children with both parents were less likely to be hit and that those with step parents were most likely to be hit.

28.6% of the children from single/step families reported being hit. These results again emphasize the need for parenting programmes to be implemented in this community as a priority and as stipulated in Article 19 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Government and parents have a responsibility to protect children from all types of abuse. Education and awareness programmes on corporal punishment are recommended at the micro and mezzo -levels.

Table 30: Are you hit when disciplined?

		Being hit		Total
		no	yes	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count		
		181	26	207
		% within Family		
		87.4%	12.6%	100.0%

	Structure			
Single Parent	Count	49	17	66
	% within Family Structure	74.2%	25.8%	100.0%
Grandparents Only	Count	7	2	9
	% within Family Structure	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	10	4	14
	% within Family Structure	71.4%	28.6%	100.0%
Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	13	2	15
	% within Family Structure	86.7%	13.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	260	51	311
	% within Family Structure	83.6%	16.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.280(a)	4	.082
Likelihood Ratio	7.709	4	.103
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.549	1	.213
N of Valid Cases	311		

a. 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.48.

The prevalence of being sworn at was low overall and there was no difference between the groups ($p=0.619$).

Table 31: Are you sworn at when disciplined?

			Being sworn at		Total
			no	yes	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	196	11	207
		% within Family Structure	94.7%	5.3%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	60	6	66
		% within Family Structure	90.9%	9.1%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	8	1	9
		% within Family Structure	88.9%	11.1%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	13	1	14
		% within Family Structure	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	15	0	15	
		% within Family Structure	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Count	292	19	311	
Total	% within Family Structure	93.9%	6.1%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.646(a)	4	.619
Likelihood Ratio	3.371	4	.498
Linear-by-Linear Association	.060	1	.806
N of Valid Cases	311		

a. 4 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .55.

Being shouted at was lowest in the grandparent headed households but not significantly so (p=0.471).

Table 32: Are you shouted at when disciplined?

			Being shouted at		Total
			no	yes	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	158	49	207
		% within Family Structure	76.3%	23.7%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	50	16	66
		% within Family Structure	75.8%	24.2%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	8	1	9
		% within Family Structure	88.9%	11.1%	100.0%

Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	8	6	14
	% within Family Structure	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%
Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	11	4	15
	% within Family Structure	73.3%	26.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	235	76	311
	% within Family Structure	75.6%	24.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.545(a)	4	.471
Likelihood Ratio	3.400	4	.493
Linear-by-Linear Association	.540	1	.462
N of Valid Cases	311		

a. 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.20.

Being spoken to was not significantly different between the groups ($p=0.278$) although it was highest in the households with both parents.

Table 33: Are you spoken to when disciplined?

			Being spoken to		Total
			no	yes	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	64	143	207
		% within Family Structure	30.9%	69.1%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	25	41	66
		% within Family Structure	37.9%	62.1%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	4	5	9
		% within Family Structure	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	8	6	14
		% within Family Structure	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	5	10	15
		% within Family Structure	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	Total	Count	106	205	311
		% within Family Structure	34.1%	65.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.094(a)	4	.278
Likelihood Ratio	4.873	4	.301
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.707	1	.191
N of Valid Cases	311		

a 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.07.

Objective 8: Is there a relationship between family structure and children’s performance at school and outlook for the future?

There was no association between family structure and whether they were ever in a remedial centre (p=0.198).

Table 34: Are/were you ever in the remedial centre at school?

			Are/were you ever in the remedial centre at school?		Total
			N	Y	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	188	18	206
		% within Family Structure	91.3%	8.7%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	55	8	63

	% within Family Structure	87.3%	12.7%	100.0%
Grandparents Only	Count	7	2	9
	% within Family Structure	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	11	3	14
	% within Family Structure	78.6%	21.4%	100.0%
Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	15	0	15
	% within Family Structure	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	276	31	307
	% within Family Structure	89.9%	10.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.011(a)	4	.198
Likelihood Ratio	6.746	4	.150
N of Valid Cases	307		

a 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .91.

There was no association between family structure and whether they ever failed a grade (p=0.264).

Table 35: Have you failed / or had to repeat a grade at school?

			Have you failed / or had to repeat a grade at school?			Total
			Never	Only once	More than once	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	203	10	2	215
		% within Family Structure	94.4%	4.7%	.9%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	57	8	1	66
		% within Family Structure	86.4%	12.1%	1.5%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	8	1	0	9
		% within Family Structure	88.9%	11.1%	.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	12	2	0	14
		% within Family Structure	85.7%	14.3%	.0%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	13	1	1	15
		% within Family Structure	86.7%	6.7%	6.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	293	22	4	319
		% within Family Structure	91.8%	6.9%	1.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.015(a)	8	.264
Likelihood Ratio	7.956	8	.438
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.771	1	.052
N of Valid Cases	319		

a 9 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .11.

There was an association between family structure and how often they were absent from school ($p=0.017$) however, this results should be treated with caution due to the invalid chi square.

Children from single/step families were most likely to be absent from school. Cooksey, Menaghen & Jekielek (cited in Morgan, 2004) investigated life-course effects of work and family circumstances on children. This paper sought to determine how current family and parental work circumstances shaped young children's emotional well-being and behavior. The results indicated that children who live with a mother only or with a stepfather presented with significantly more behavioural problems as compared to children who lived with both biological parents. Lam (2006) states that both the stepchildren and step and natural parents require assistance to cope with the challenges of the new or reconstituted family as they have to deal with loss arising from the breakdown of the family and negative social and cultural stereotyping. It is recommended that educators and social workers implement programmes to address these issues and support children and parents from these reconstituted families.

Table 36: How often are you absent from school?

			How often are you absent from school?					Total
			never	very rarely	1-2 times per month	3-5 times per month	more than 5 times per month	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	23	119	51	15	6	214
		% within Family Structure	10.7%	55.6%	23.8%	7.0%	2.8%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	6	33	15	6	7	67
		% within Family Structure	9.0%	49.3%	22.4%	9.0%	10.4%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	3	2	2	2	0	9
		% within Family Structure	33.3%	22.2%	22.2%	22.2%	.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	0	5	4	3	2	14
		% within Family Structure	.0%	35.7%	28.6%	21.4%	14.3%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	4	4	5	2	0	15

Total	% within						
	Family Structure	26.7%	26.7%	33.3%	13.3%	.0%	100.0%
	Count	36	163	77	28	15	319
	% within						
	Family Structure	11.3%	51.1%	24.1%	8.8%	4.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	30.223(a)	16	.017
Likelihood Ratio	28.288	16	.029
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.174	1	.140
N of Valid Cases	319		

a. 14 cells (56.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .42.

There was a significant association between family structure and believing that they will complete high school ($p=0.030$). Although most children responded “yes” to this question, the highest proportion of “no” responses came from children in single parent headed households and step parent households.

A study by Ross & Mirowsky (cited in Morgan, 2004) focused on the association between childhood and parental divorce and adult depression. Their findings indicated that children of divorce were more likely to experience unhappy relationships, marry young, attain lower academic achievements and have higher levels of mistrust which predisposed them to distress in later life. These results reinforce the need for pre and post divorce counseling for both parents and children.

Table 37: Do you believe that you will complete high school?

			I believe that I will successfully complete high school:		Total
			N	Y	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	1	206	207
		% within Family Structure	.5%	99.5%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	4	62	66
		% within Family Structure	6.1%	93.9%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	0	9	9
		% within Family Structure	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Step Parent	Count	1	13	14
		% within Family Structure	7.1%	92.9%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ Step parents/ other Relatives	Count	0	15	15
		% within Family Structure	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Total	Count	6	305	311
		% within Family Structure	1.9%	98.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.725(a)	4	.030
Likelihood Ratio	9.215	4	.056
N of Valid Cases	311		

a 5 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .17.

There was no association between family structure and what the children wanted to do after school ($p=0.331$).

These results are positive as despite family structure, the majority of the children indicated a desire to study after completion of secondary school which emphasizes the resilience of these children and their commitment to educating themselves which will enable them to eventually contribute positively to their communities and to South Africa at large. There appears to be an overall sense of hope for the future.

Table 38: What do you intend doing when you finish school?

			What do you intend doing when you finish school?						Total
			Work	Study	Do not know	Other	Work and study	Study and other	
Family Structure	Both Parents	Count	38	135	11	6	22	1	213
		% within Family Structure	17.8%	63.4%	5.2%	2.8%	10.3%	.5%	100.0%
	Single Parent	Count	19	30	8	4	6	0	67
		% within Family Structure	28.4%	44.8%	11.9%	6.0%	9.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Grandparents Only	Count	4	4	1	0	0	0	9
		% within Family Structure	44.4%	44.4%	11.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Single Parent and Parent	Count	2	8	3	0	1	0	14
		% within Family Structure	14.3%	57.1%	21.4%	.0%	7.1%	.0%	100.0%
	Foster Parents/ other Relatives	Count	4	9	0	0	2	0	15
		% within Family Structure	26.7%	60.0%	.0%	.0%	13.3%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	67	186	23	10	31	1	318
		% within Family Structure	21.1%	58.5%	7.2%	3.1%	9.7%	.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.182(a))	20	.331
Likelihood Ratio	23.236	20	.277
Linear-by-Linear Association	.386	1	.535
N of Valid Cases	318		

a 19 cells (63.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .03

This concludes the presentation of the outcomes of the study, and the resulting discussion of the implications thereof. The next chapter focuses on conclusions and recommendations arising out of these outcomes/discussion and its significance for future research.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

The purpose of this study was to determine the predominant household structure and family composition in Chatsworth at the present time and its influence on the lives of children in this community. The findings of the study have implications for shaping policy and practice in the field of child and family welfare.

Household structure and family composition:

Having both a mother and father living with the child was the predominant household structure (63.8%). This was followed by 13% having a mother only, 6.8% with mother and grandparents only, and 2.8% with grandparents only. With no comparable baseline data available for Chatsworth it is difficult to properly interpret or verify these data. However, it can be extrapolated from the literature and the researcher's practice experience that there would have been changes in household structure and family composition over time. Additional research is necessary to further examine the findings of the study.

Child-headed Households

It was found that 98.5% of respondents lived with adults and that there were possibly only 5 child headed households (prevalence of 1.5%). As found in the "National Household HIV Prevalence and Risk Survey Of South African Children" undertaken by Brookes, Shisana & Richter (2004) as applicable with orphan status, South Africa may not yet be experiencing the full impact of HIV/AIDS and there still may be time to prepare for a substantial increase in the number of child-headed households. Further, it must be noted that the extended family system may be providing adult support and supervision to households affected by the HIV pandemic and children although living without natural parents, may not consider themselves to be the head of the household, but may consider other adults (relatives, neighbours, grandparents) to be the head of the household. The role of grandparents as a resource in addressing the issue of child headed households should be given consideration. It is essential though, that these grandparents

should be provided with the necessary support from the State and the community so that they would be able to cope with the additional responsibility of being care-givers. Further studies are necessary to confirm the prevalence of single-parent, grand-parent headed and child-headed households in Chatsworth. The following recommendations are suggested to improve services to vulnerable children:

- Establishment of support groups and after-care services
- Life skills programmes
- Bereavement counseling
- Adequate screening and supervision of foster care placements
- Home based care to nurse ill family members
- Community mentorship programmes
- Skills training and development
- Food security and financial support

Family composition/household structure and the employment status of parents

There was a highly significant association between family structure and employment ($p < 0.001$). The highest employment rate was found in households with both parents (84.3%). The lowest was found in the grandparent headed households (44.4%).

These results are supported in the literature. In single-parent families, income is often inadequate, especially for female single parents, and single parents face extensive economic discrimination. According to the literature, the levels of poverty after divorce increases from 12%-pre-divorce, to 27% one year after divorce. According to the statistics, while joblessness among white South Africans is just 4.6 percent, it affects 12.7 percent of Indians and 19.5 percent of mixed race or coloureds but 27%, or more than one in four, of black South Africans aged between 15 and 64 years old are not employed - a figure that goes up to nearly one in every three for black women. Therefore, comprehensive social service programmes should be formulated to support single parents and single mothers in particular.

Family composition/household structure and children's access to basic resources

In terms of access to basic resources, there was no relationship between family structure and access to piped water ($p=0.746$) and electricity since most households had piped water and electricity regardless of family structure. However, these results are not reflective of the majority of people in this country as demands for increased service delivery and better access to resources continue across the country and there remains a huge gap between the haves and the have-nots.

A trend was shown in the results, which suggests that children from households with both parents tend to carry lunch to school while those from households with single parents or grandparents only are less likely. These results again suggest the need for strategies to be effected to strengthen the coping capacities of children and parents in vulnerable families. School feeding schemes are an adequate strategy to ensure that children receive at least one nutritious meal per day. According to Pearson (2009) there has been renewed interest in social protection programmes in sub-saharan Africa. As indicated in the African Union -Social Policy Frame work for Africa, social protection will 'ensure minimum standards of well-being among people in dire situations to live a life with dignity and to enhance human capabilities...and will entail measures to secure education and health care, social welfare, livelihood, access to stable income as well as employment' (Pearson, 2009: 2). Social protection packages, if implemented would include the introduction of publicly financed non-contributory cash transfers and as found in both international and national studies, cash transfers promote improved nutritional outcomes for children.

There was a highly significant association between family structure and having basic clothing. Again those children with both parents present were most likely to have the basic clothing that they required. The least likely were children from foster parent families. These results emphasize the need for adequate monitoring and supervision of children placed in foster care by social workers to ensure that the necessary support and assistance is available to both the foster parents and children.

Risk factors and risk environments for children

45% of children from single-parent families and 50% and 40% of children from single-step and foster/other relatives/step-parent families appear according to the data to be residing in a risk environment as these children are at home after school without adult supervision. These children are at risk of potential exposure to abuse and are vulnerable to exposure to other forms of exploitation such as prostitution, child labour and crime. According to Harper, Jones & Tincatti (2009) in much of the developing world, child protection systems are fragmented, ineffective and under resourced both financially and in respect of human capital but at a macro-level the implementation of social protection policy frameworks and programmes (which as discussed include cash transfers, social health insurance schemes and holistic social welfare services) would improve child protection programmes and services. At the micro level, these results suggest an immediate need for ongoing child protection programmes at schools and in the community to reinforce safety skills in children and parenting programmes to reinforce parenting skills and parental responsibility and there is a need for adequate after-care services for children which will reduce the risk of abuse.

Family composition/household structure and handling of discipline

The results of the study revealed that children with both parents were less likely to be hit and that those with step parents were most likely to be hit.

28.6% of the children from single/step families reported being hit. These results again emphasize the need for parenting programmes to be implemented in this community and as stipulated in Article 19 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Government and parents have a responsibility to protect children from all types of abuse. Education and awareness programmes on corporal punishment are recommended. Children and parents from step or reconstituted families require supportive services to cope with the challenges of the new family and the stigma attached to these families. These programmes would decrease the vulnerability of step children and strengthen the coping capacities of step and natural parents.

Family composition/household structure and healthcare

The data in this study indicates that children from two-parent headed households are more likely to have access to private health care and health insurance as a result of better economic resources and confirms the initial hypothesis in this regard. It is recommended that community health (primary health care services) and school health services conduct awareness programmes on adequate health care in schools and in the community to ensure that children irrespective of their family or household structure are able to access the available health care. However, as found by Mturi *et al* (2005) despite the strides at national and provincial level to address backlogs in respect of health care and provision many people remain without adequate access to health services and health information, largely as a result of the policies of exclusion under the system of apartheid and the pre-1994 government. At a macro level, Mturi *et al* (2005) recommend a better coordinated national health service and improved funding and resourcing to improve health services.

Family composition/household structure and Children's outlook for the future

The results are positive as despite family structure, the majority of the children indicated a desire to study after completion of secondary school which emphasizes the resilience of these children and their commitment to educating themselves which will enable them to eventually contribute positively to their communities and to South Africa at large. There appears to be an overall sense of hope for the future. It should be noted however, that these results may have been subject to respondent bias.

Significance and future research

This study has provided contributions to the study of household and family structure but questions and challenges remain as the sample was limited to the Chatsworth area, and may not have reflected an equitable distribution of learners according to race, gender and socio-economic background, the majority of the participants were Indian learners (67.7 %), followed by Black learners (30.7%). The response rate was also limited according to the number of grade 7 learners at each school.

It must be noted that the findings were based on self-reported data and as such were subject to bias and socially acceptable responses in respect of personal information.

Children could also not be asked directly about sexual abuse for legal and ethical reasons and this limitation made it difficult for the researcher to establish the relationship between household structure and abuse.

A further limitation was that the research method utilized did not allow for detailed life-stories of individual participants to be obtained, such research would contribute towards providing an overall picture of these children's living conditions and the influence of household composition and family structure on their lives.

It is hoped that this study will lead to further research in the field of family composition/household structure and its impact on children as this study provides baseline data of household and family structure in the Chatsworth area and it would be interesting to repeat this study at for example 5 year intervals to chart possible changing patterns over time. Given the national concerns about the impact of HIV/AIDS on family and household composition, it would be useful to replicate this study on a more extensive national scale.

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APPENDICES

QUESTIONNAIRE

CONSENT FORM