AN EXPLORATION OF CARE-GIVING RESOURCES AVAILABLE FOR CHRONICALLY POOR FEMALE- HEADED CERES HOUSEHOLDS

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A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Magister Artium in the Department of Social Work, Child and Family Studies, University of the Western Cape

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KEYWORDS

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Taking care of

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Abstract

AN EXPLORATION OF CARE-GIVING RESOURCES AVAILABLE FOR CHRONICALLY POOR FEMALE- HEADED CERES HOUSEHOLDS

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis explores the resources available for care-giving in chronically poor female-headed households. It investigates the relationship between resources as enabling in the practice of care and the choices that women can consequently make in light of the multiple roles that they play as workers, as mothers and as significant people in female-headed households.

This qualitative study was conducted amongst women in Bella Vista, a rural township outside Ceres in the Western Cape where the resources that the women have access to are largely dependent on the seasonal context of agricultural labour and the relationships that they develop and maintain both inside and outside the household, through family, friends and neighbours. It uses a feminist approach and draws on previous research done with people in the Western Cape who are dependent on agriculture for their livelihoods. From a feminist viewpoint, the practice of caring and the role of resources enmesh to produce specific perceptions around gender roles, relations and broader social organisation. This thesis therefore aims at challenging current perceptions around resources and the practice of caring in a capitalist, patriarchal society where both society and policy relegate care to women and the family in a normative way.

A case study design using non-probability sampling techniques was used. The population researched was roleplayers in Ceres relating to formal and informal childcare and caregiving. The unit of analysis was self-reported female household heads with children under seven and household members of those reported female-headed households. Thus the sample consisted of eight female-headed households. Four principals of crèches and the head of Social Work Services in Ceres provided a more composite picture of formal childcare and the resources available to the

households explored in the case study. Data collection was done through semi-structured interviews using an interview guide and a social mapping "workshop" using a social network mapping tool with the chosen sample of female household-heads in Ceres and open-ended interviews with the roleplayers/stakeholders mentioned previously in formal care- giving institutions.

The findings of the study indicate that access to formal childcare is dependent on economic status. State assistance in the form of the child support grant and old-age pension grant is the most consistent year-round form of income in a household, but this provides minimal support. Alternative out-of-season employment available to women is mainly in the form of domestic employment.

The main finding of the study is the overarching significance of seasonal labour in a community dependent on a rural commercial farming industry. Headship and membership of households changes according to the context, circumstances and needs of the household occupants at a particular time. Household membership impacts on material resources and the practice of care. Women rely mainly on social networks that are negotiated through reciprocity with family and friends. Institutional help is mainly from churches or religious leaders such as pastors. Women cannot afford formal social support through crèches. Caring as a practice and sometimes as a service is negotiated; at other times is bartered and exchanged. In terms of household responsibility, the eldest female child plays a pivotal role in household functioning and the practice of care. State money is the most consistent and reliable source of income. Domestic work contributes significantly to household security, particularly out-of-season when work is scarce. As a general condition, the women are caught in the paradoxical bind of being responsible for care-giving and acquiring resources, but are limited structurally through being marginalised and exploited workers. While they show independence from men and have found creative ways of surviving and taking care of their families and themselves, their task is one of constant challenges.

The findings indicate that structural support through universal means such as the Basic Income Grant (BIG) and other forms of social protection would best provide a social safety net that specifically addresses the needs of female household heads. In addition informal social networks could be formally supported and developed. Subsidised childcare that makes being a worker consistent with being a parent and caregiver would enable that one role does not come at the expense of the other. Other support and empowerment initiatives must be congruent with the tempo of the seasonal rhythm of the area supplementing employment, training and organising. This should be done particularly in the lull out of season while at the same time ensuring a more evenly spread form of sustainable basic food security.

I conclude that women source support though relationships, operating in a world of women to secure a home and source of income, which makes them less dependent on men and traditional gender roles. However, despite this support, women who head (and come from) chronically poor households have limited resources for empowerment and development, particularly in relation to care-giving. I call for the care ethic to become a real, practiced and acknowledged part of public and policy rhetoric, with a special focus on the marginalised chronically poor.

November 2005

DECLARATION

I declare that *An Exploration of Care-giving Resources Available for Chronically Poor Female-headed Ceres Households is* my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

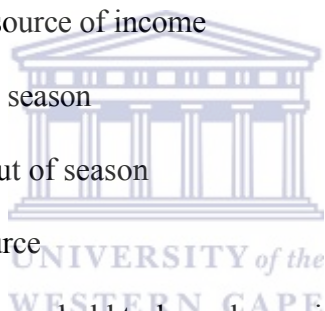Fadeela Ally-Schmidt   November 2005

Signed………………………

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this mini-thesis to my amazing family who despite not having walked the thesis road, have supported and loved me in a way that has enabled this process and its result. This dedication is to my family by marriage and especially my immediate family ― mother and father Suraya and Buddy Ally, my sisters Shareen Timol and Zorina Wentworth, my brother Zunaid Ally and my wise and youth-like 90 year old grandmother, Doreen Johaar.

Thank you from somewhere deep my loving husband Jerome Schmidt and Ocean Kiyaan Schmidt, my daughter. You have both been at the centre of this long process and we can all gladly move on to our next exciting milestone.

To Charlton Koen who suddenly passed away. You have not only been a respected academic and significant influence but a good friend who always believed in me.

And finally to the myriads of women- those whom I know personally and to those that I don't, who thanklessly and unrelentingly juggle their caregiving with everything else that they deem to be important. To the foundation setting and invaluable role you play as you go about your daily tasks. You continue to inspire me.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Chronic poverty: Chronically poor refers to people who have been poor for a long time and who continue to be marginalised by larger socio-economic, cultural and historic factors (Hulme, Moore and Shepherd, 2001).

Resources: May defines poverty as **"**the inability to attain a minimal standard of living measured in terms of basic consumption needs or the income required to satisfy them" (May, 2000:5). It follows then that everything material that would aid or assist the process of attaining a minimal standard of living constitutes a resource. This definition is, however limited. For the purpose of this study, resources will be defined as both material resources such as income or social grants, loans or food exchange; and social resources such as family members, friends or formal providers of childcare. This also includes time and skills as described by Tronto (1993). Thus in this paper resources can be defined as **anything tangible or intangible that enables the process of care-giving**.

Care: The practice of care is broadly defined as: "A species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. This world includes our bodies, our selves and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web" (Tronto, 1993:103). Following this lead, this study defines caring as a practice that involves certain **ability factors such as time, material resources, knowledge and skill.** (Tronto & Fisher, 1990:40)

Care-giving: This term is used to denote the practice of providing care: the "concrete, hands-on work" which relates to any contribution towards and maintenance of an individual's care and well being in every sense (Tronto & Fisher 1990:43). The word care relates to any dependent human who in a female-headed household includes all members of the household and especially children under seven. Childcare is thus included in this definition of care-giving.

Formal social support: Institutional support such as crèches.

Social networks: Community linkages of family and friends.

Rural commercial farming: Agribusiness.

Female-headed household: *De facto* female-headed refers to a household where the husband is not present and the wife is the main decision-maker in his absence, and is thus the head by default. *De Jure* female-headed refers to a household where the head as a woman has never been married or is divorced or widowed (Retrieved online on 6 December 2002 from: http://www4.worldbank.org/afr/poverty/measuring/Indicators/definitions_en.htm). For the purpose of this study, a female-headed household is defined as a household where the main decision-maker and economic provider is a woman, whatever her marital status.

Household: This term will be used as defined by World Bank Measuring Indicators of Poverty in Africa as a group of related or unrelated people who live in a dwelling unit or its equivalent, eat from the same pot, and share common housekeeping arrangements (Retrieved online on 6 December 2002 from: http://www4.worldbank.org/afr/poverty/measuring/Indicators/definitions_en.htm).

Family: "There is no such thing as 'the family' in the sense of one acceptable model of family life. Instead, variety is the norm" (Stuart, 1983, in Mvududu & McFadden, 2001:31). The parameters of this study do not allow for engaging with the debate around the terms "family" and "household" (Bozalek, 1999; Murray, 1987; Mvududu & McFadden, 2001; Ross, 1996; Spiegel, 1997). Suffice to say the writer is referring to **non-nuclear, fluid** families when looking at female-headed households.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background, rationale and contextual information

This study explores the social dynamics of chronic poverty through a case study of a select group of female-headed households in Ceres, an agribusiness area in the Western Cape. It provides a snapshot of the lives of a group of women heads of households with children under the age of seven who negotiate multiple roles in managing their homes as well as providing for and caring for their dependants. By documenting the resources available to female-headed households in Ceres, in order to help assess how household needs may be met, this study seeks to contribute to a grounded understanding of what Minister of Social Development, Zola Skweyiya, referred to as the "restoration of the ethics of care and human rebuilding of the family, community and social relations in order to promote social integration" (http://www.welfare.gov.za/Statements/2000/October/why.htm). Clearly, only once the multiple caring roles of mothers are recognised, and enabling resources provided, will the status of future generations of mothers be shifted.

This study adopts a feminist perspective and draws on previous research done with people in the Western Cape who are dependent on agriculture for their livelihoods. During my employment as a field worker and researcher at the Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at the University of the Western Cape, I developed an understanding of the social context of farmworkers in Ceres. The context of capitalism and the politics of production, and how these intersect with everyday life, are important considerations. From a feminist viewpoint, the practice of caring and the role of resources enmesh to produce specific perceptions around gender roles, relations and broader social organisation. This thesis therefore aims to challenge current perceptions around resources and the practice of caring in a capitalist, patriarchal society where both society and policy relegate care to women and the family in a normative way. This acts to perpetuate unequal gender relations and traps women in their perceived and expected stereotypical roles. I therefore argue for a full appreciation of the position of women as caregivers in

order to formulate effective policy. Both policy and practice should provide women with the necessary structural and resource-based support to enable the practice of care, as well as the choice to give and receive care that is not gender-biased.

The study explores the childcare resources available to chronically poor female-headed households in Ceres, providing empirical data to contribute to awareness of the position of these households. In her discussion of social policy, Tronto (1993) stresses the need to ask what resources women have in order to establish what it is they need. This study subscribes to the use of the care ethic as a normative framework. The care ethic is described by Tronto (1993) as a moral obligation to view care as an individual and social practice that is as valuable as paid work. It acknowledges care as central to human flourishing, and takes into account that we are all dependent at some point in our lives.

Care-giving, particularly in relation to childcare, provides a foundation pivotal to the daily functioning and survival of a household. Because of their experience of long-term structural poverty, the women in Ceres are trapped in these positions and their dependent children are likely to continue this cycle unless awareness of their position is factored into regional and policy planning. Like many poor, rural women, they perform activities central to the functioning of the agricultural economy. They extend themselves in the home and in the workplace, and given the nature of the agricultural industry, their lives are mapped by the seasonal context of their employment.

The aim of the study was to establish exactly what resources are available to female-headed households for caregiving practice by exploring:
- Household structure;
- Responsibilities of members (women and men) for household maintenance;
- Childcare practice (in the household and the community); and
- The implications of inter-and intra-household social and material resource availability.

1.2 Macro context of Ceres

Ceres is a rural town well known for its deciduous fruit farming operations. It is also a site of chronic poverty and significant shifting labour trends. This creates a particular context for people dependent on rural industry for their livelihoods. Employment is scarce, low-paid and seasonal, leaving many people with inconsistent income, if any, outside the harvesting season. Many agricultural workers previously lived on farms under a 'paternalistic' relationship where relations between the farmer and farm worker could be likened to social relations within the nuclear family with the farmer as the father or household head (Du Toit, 1993).

This pattern has changed, with families moving off farms for different reasons. In some cases, it is a result of labour restructuring as farmers respond to new legislation on tenure rights (Du Toit & Ally, 2003). In other cases, personal development or the will for independence from the farmer has resulted in families settling elsewhere and developing their own 'off-farm' community. Different social concerns arise in 'off-farm' communities, central to which are changing family or household structures.

The macro context, which contributes to families moving off farms, has also affected traditional gender relations. On the one hand, the traditional role of the man as breadwinner is threatened by the changing context described above. This seems to have resulted in growing independence for traditionally male-dependent women. Previously, a man could secure both a home and a livelihood for himself and his family. Now he is threatened by a new preference among farmers for temporary (or casual) female labour.

Seasonal work has led to higher levels of male migrancy. This, coupled with the female labour preference, new housing patterns and implementation of farmworker's rights, has given women more independence and arguably

contributed to an increased number of female-headed households. An identity crisis has been the result, leaving farming-dependent men who previously saw themselves as breadwinners now unemployed and frustrated (May, 1996; Cross, 1999). At the same time, the growing independence of agribusiness-dependent women presents a changing historical picture of the previously farm-dependent family.

During previous research in Ceres I noted the precarious position of women dependent on agriculture. They seemed to be caught in a contradiction: there was increased demand for their labour but the conditions of employment were increasingly harsh, as well as being concentrated during season, which in turn impacted on their traditional care-giving roles. As a female researcher, female-headed households intrigued me because of their non-nuclear off-farm form. Single mothers had the additional pressure of balancing work schedules and demands with child-rearing, domestic duties and household maintenance. I was particularly interested in investigating how female-headed households with limited resources would manage this scenario, given traditional care-giving expectations. Further, I was intrigued by the fact that despite care-giving being critical to household survival, it is not acknowledged by researchers, policy-makers or even the women themselves.

Studies done in Ceres have highlighted the chronic poverty (Du Toit, 2003; De Swardt, 2003) of those dependent on agricultural industry for their livelihood. These authors do not look specifically at female-headed households or acknowledge the pivotal role of unpaid work in community survival, but do mention the skewed gender distribution of both employment opportunities and domestic duties.

Kritzinger's (2003) study is relevant as it explores the social protection rural women in particular are able to access in the context of informal and increasingly flexible employment. Her research shows the value of social networks as a form of social protection and underlines women's need for contractors as allies in household survival.

This study explores how women in Ceres can be "socially and politically invisible" despite being "economically central" (Du Toit 2003:2). The answer is probably based as much on lay assumptions about caring as being a female disposition as the feminist position that caring is an acknowledged practice of unpaid work. Tronto (1993) for example describes the care ethic as a moral obligation to view care as an individual and social practice that is as valuable as paid work. Only two other empirical studies have been done in South Africa that consider the care ethic as a normative framework (Bozalek 1999, 2004). Other literature relating to the appreciation of unpaid work and the care ethic includes a policy critique by Sevenhuijsen, Bozalek, Gouws and Minnaar Mcdonald (2003) and a UNIFEM guideline (Budlender, 2004) intended to inform economic policy in order to address the feminisation of poverty. Each of these studies will be discussed in the relevant sections.

Aliber (2001) defines women, female-headed households and retrenched farmworkers as categories of the vulnerable poor, and calls for more research on these groupings. This study therefore focuses on female-headed households with children under seven, as they are a particularly vulnerable form of family, not least because of the specific care needs and development imperatives of the children.

1.3 Study aims

The major aim of the study was to establish what resources are available to female-headed households for care-giving in relation to children under the age of seven. This included both intra- and inter-household resources available for childcare, thus focusing on the role of the community as well as the structure and responsibilities of female-headed households in Ceres. It is hoped that this paper will make a contribution to promoting an awareness of the pivotal role of caregiving as a practice in households – particularly those that are rural, chronically poor and female-headed.

1.4 Study objectives

The objectives of this study are outlined below:

• To explore household structure and maintenance by looking at the household composition and responsibilities of members of the household.

• To explore childcare practice in the household and in the community.

• To consider the implications of inter- and intra-household social and material resource availability for female headed households and their children under the age of seven.

The subsidiary questions have been outlined as follows:

• What is the role of female household head in terms of responsibilities?

• What does the female-headed Ceres household look like?

• How does this household composition influence care receiving and care-giving?

• What resources do these women have to enable them to fulfil the responsibilities as female-household heads with children under seven?

• How do these resources enable the process and practice of caregiving and care receiving?

• What childcare strategies do these women use in the process of childcare?

1.5 Assumptions and limitations of the study

The thesis takes as a basic premise the notion that humans are "relational and interdependent" (Sevenhuijsen et al, 2003:315) and engages with household composition and social networks as examples of this interdependence. For the purposes of this study, it is assumed that resources available to individuals in female-headed households will be used in the practice of caring. The study also assumes, based on the care ethic as described by Tronto and Fisher (1990), that household members will be involved in caring either as caregivers or as care-receivers and that able-bodied adults as part of the family or household will potentially share time, resources, knowledge and skills.

While the concept of resources has been synonymous with a quantitative approach because of its allusion to economics, this study provides a detailed and descriptive qualitative account of the informants' resources.

This study is limited to women who live in close proximity in a sub-economic area that is dependent on commercial farming. It focuses on women who are either the female heads of households or live in female-headed households. The sample was drawn from the Ceres Baseline study where these women were reported as household heads. It further assumes that children under seven will demand more time and individual care than those who are older.

1.6 Thesis structure

Chapter 1 locates the study within care work and feminist literature and gives an overview of the background, rationale and limitations of the research.

Chapter 2 covers the main theoretical influences which underpin the research. Relevant literature is reviewed, including government social policy in relation to women, resources and care work. Policy influencing women is discussed in the light of poverty theory. Literature on care work is then unpacked, with a focus on the division of labour in the household and the contribution of both paid and unpaid work to household care-taking. Drawing on national and international literature, the survival mechanisms of farm-dependent women operating as household heads are then discussed using five themes. Broadly, the care roles and dynamics within and between female-headed households are explored by looking at the family, household size, household structure, social networks, and the interplay of these factors in household survival. Finally, the chapter looks at existing literature on women in Ceres in relation to what they do and what they have, with discussion pivoting around issues of chronic poverty, resources and seasonality in relation to the gendered nature of employment in the area.

Chapter 3 details the methodology used for the case study. I adopt a first-person, qualitative account, or subjective narrative form, as encouraged in feminist writing, allowing the reader to assess research validity. To this end, the chapter first provides information about the researcher, then describes the research design noting the considerations of method and sampling. A brief description of the research area is provided, plus an outline of the instruments used and a description of the analysis.

Subsections report on research preparation, the motivation and application of the research instruments and describe each of the instruments used. The chapter concludes by evaluating the methodology used.

Chapter 4 presents the data and the interpretation of the results, drawing on the case study. A detailed description of the households under review is presented using tables and genograms, followed by discussion on the roles and position of household heads. The material resources available to households are explored, using data on both income and expenditure. The influence of other resources that impact on household security are then detailed, noting the role of state assistance and childcare as an income. The effects of seasonal employment are then examined, focusing on both in- and out-of-season work, before moving on to assess the relevance of time as a resource within this seasonal context. Findings on different childcare strategies are presented, noting factors that interplay and impact on childcare, in particular the roles of family and other social networks. A case study is used to illustrate the practice of surrogate parenting, explain the notion of house children and highlight broad themes of household fluidity. Childcare strategies and resources, and the practice of childcare, are then examined. The notion of survival through coping mechanisms is then discussed, before looking at the support role of institutions and examining the influence of the absence of men as fathers and as household participants.

Chapter 5 provides commentary on the findings, drawing conclusions and making recommendations for further study. Against the backdrop of rural commercial

farming, this concluding chapter focuses on social capital, household fluidity and caring as a social currency, positing these as significant contributing outcomes of the resources available to chronically poor female-headed Ceres households.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three main sections. Section One outlines the theoretical framework, describing the connection between chronic poverty and carework and how these link with the notion of resources. The care work literature considers the role of women as unpaid caretakers in both the home and broader society. The last sub-section reviews policy in relation to the needs of women.

Section Two looks at women in agriculture and how they survive as female-household heads, from both a national and international perspective. This section describes childcare processes and social resources in female-headed households, noting the role of the family or household members; how household size and structure inform different survival strategies; and the importance of social networks.

Section Three looks at the changing roles of women and men in Ceres; reviews previous research in the area on chronic poverty, resources and seasonality; and presents a situational profile of female household heads.

A livelihoods approach, filtered through a feminist theoretical lens, is used to investigate households and communities in the Ceres context, with particular emphasis placed on the notion of social capital. According to the Department for International Development (DFID), the other forms of capital that make up the livelihoods framework are physical capital, natural capital, economic capital and human capital (Hulme, Moore & Shepherd, 2001).

2.1.1 Chronic poverty

Transient poverty is defined as temporary poverty and implies that an opportunity, for example employment, will enable the subject to move out of poverty. Here poverty is an individual experience that the individual can address. In contrast, *Chronic poverty* is of long duration and implies a structural or environmental influence that "traps" people in positions of poverty (Hulme, Moore & Shepherd, 2001).

Experiences often associated with poverty are inequality, vulnerability and what has been termed *social exclusion* (Taylor, 2002:12). Aliber's categories of the *vulnerable poor* include rural households, households headed by women, households headed by elderly people, households headed by former farm workers, AIDS orphans and households with AIDS sufferers, cross-border migrants and the "street homeless" (Aliber, 2001:26-31). The present study explores two of these categories: households headed by women and households headed by former farmworkers.
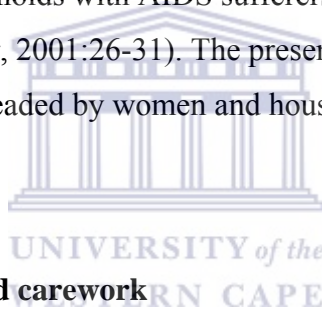
2.1.2 Poverty theory and carework

A widely used definition of carework is that of Sen (1995;1999), whose theory of capabilities takes into account the individual needs of people in relation to what they are enabled to do or become (May et al, 2000). Building on Sen's work, Nussbaum and Glover (1995) acknowledge a further dimension in the factors that shape the "capabilities of people to realise their full potential over time". They conclude that the unacknowledged position of women in patriarchal society prevents women from reaching their "full potential" (May, 2000:5).

This view supports the ethic of care as described by Tronto and Fisher (1990) where women, through the gendered expectations of caring, are unacknowledged and restrained from "reaching their full potential". Nussbaum and Glover (1995) focus on the unequal distribution of resources and opportunities, arguing that cultural traditions enforce a sense of female inferiority that is sometimes resisted

and sometimes internalised. This perspective allows for an appreciation of the racial stratification of the South African population, but also foregrounds disparities that particularly impact on the capabilities of poor rural women.

How does the practice of care translate at a practical level? Tronto argues that adequate "resources", such as material goods, time and skills, need to be made available for the hands-on work of caregiving (Tronto, 1993:110). The notion of adequate resources draws on an argument by Sen and Nussbaum that resources have no value in themselves, apart from their role in promoting human functioning. They hold that planners should inquire into the varying needs of individuals for resources, enabling those individuals to become capable of an equal level of functioning (Sen & Nussbaum, 1995).

Kittay (1999) echoes this view, arguing that those who are dependent or perform "dependency work" are disadvantaged in relation to societal resources, and that any notion of equality for these groups is unattainable unless institutional support structures are offered which would position them differently: in other words, as Sen asserts, to enable equal levels of functioning (Sen, 1993). These theoretical positions serve to inform debate about the allocation of societal resources relative to the needs and context of chronically poor women acting as both caretakers and providers in their households.

In the practice of "taking care of", Tronto (1993) alerts us to the contradiction for women between their power in terms of access to and command of resources, and their responsibilities in the practice of care taking. This disparity is confirmed by studies of women and households in Latin America (Laier, 1997). This study seeks to unpick this contradiction, showing how chronically poor female household heads are marginalised and have limited resources for caregiving work, through uncovering the specifics of resources available for care-giving and childcare.

2.2 Carework literature

2.2.1 The role of women in care-taking: a feminist perspective

Most of the carework literature pioneered by Tronto and Fisher (1990) refers to normative frameworks and argues for a movement away from the traditional functionalist role of men and women and their assumed responsibilities in a nuclear family set-up (Kittay, 1999; Sen, 1995). Prior to this, family theorists looked at social policy in relation to reproductive work and the importance of acknowledging this as work (Dalley, 1988; Gittins, 1985; Fraser 1989). The feminist position draws attention to the undervalued contribution of women who rear children and manage households, while the market-based economy with its patriarchal weft does not attach value to women's contribution. Care advocacy calls for all stakeholders to acknowledge the centrality of care in society and the specific role of women in care-giving.

Beneria (1997) refers to the Gender and Development (GAD) feminist framework and encourages feminists to look at gender relations in both the labour force and the reproductive sphere. This view advocates the inclusion of men as potential supporters of women. Kabeer (1995) calls for an analytical framework of gender relations in which production *and* care of the human body and human life are significant. This view incorporates procreation, childcare, care of the sick and elderly, and the daily reproduction of labour power. Kabeer's goal is to theorise the "relations of everyday life and their interconnectedness with the relations of re/production in the changing local and world economy" (1995:65). In essence, the carework literature shifts the currency of care associated with gendered unpaid labour from the private sphere of the family and the household into the realm of public policy.

The concept of the 'second shift', popularised by Hochschild (1989), refers to women's double burden at home and in the workplace, but relates primarily to work conducted in first world, urban, middle class societies. In South Africa,

important policy documentation outlines the government's stance on women's socio-economic and political position (see Section 2.2.4) but there is very little research directly linked with carework in a rural context. A significant perspective to drive policy formulation and attribute value to care is found in theory around the term "cultures of care"[1], which refers to the people, institutions, practices, projects and ideas that provide or promote care (Thorne, 2003; Hochschild, 1997). Tronto (1993) expands on the "ethic of care" by suggesting it can be used as a political concept and a framework for making moral and political decisions. She challenges the notion of private and public life as separate entities and argues that care should be made public as a significant and vital precondition for democratic policy-making. Tronto's view of care as a political concept addressing broad issues of policy is complemented by Ruddick's (1998) notion of incorporating care into both work and relationships at a personal/micro level. Clearly, acknowledging the importance of care and carework in the home, the workplace and in wider political arena, will serve to challenge policy-making precepts and clarify poverty alleviation strategies.

International carework literature refers to a "crisis in care" (Hochschild, 1997). The carework literature calls for measures to create awareness among all stakeholders of the centrality of care and the complexity of care provision that is currently divided between families, the market and the state in ways that serve to reinforce patriarchal gender norms. At the core of the feminist rethinking of the notion of care is the assumed gendered role of caring. Childcare is particularly gendered. As Daly (2001:70) describes it: "Because women bear them, they must rear them".

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[1] URL: http://workingfamilies.berkeley.edu/papers/. The Centre for Working Families as an institution earmarked for their academic contribution to Carework.

2.2.3 The division of labour in the home and the contribution of both paid and unpaid work to household care-taking

Kabeer (1995:58) views the family and kinship relations as systems of organising rights, responsibilities and resources for different categories of members of different social groups. She argues that women are oppressed throughout the world (although this varies across different classes and social groupings), in that the care and nurture of the family is seen as primarily women's responsibility, while material resources are mainly invested in men. The situation is arguably the same for Latin America (Laier, 1997), Africa (Koopman, 1997), the United States of America (Hochschild, 1989; Sparks, 2002), and Russia (Lokshin, 1999). In fact, Beneria (1997:330) states that "the evidence along the lines of sexual division of labour at the domestic level is overwhelming and cuts across countries and economic systems". Rubin, cited in Kabeer, refers to this as a worldwide phenomenon, found with "monotonous similarity" (Rubin, 1975:160; Kabeer, 1995; Kittay, 1999). Even in Scandinavian countries where social policy supports more gender-neutral caregiving, it is still a work in progress (Kroger, 2004). Countries that have moved away from a capitalist economy still have challenges regarding what Buroway calls the "politics of production" and "everyday life" (Buroway, 1985).
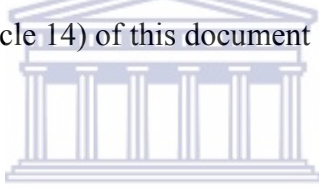
Patterns from the research cited above are echoed in the Ceres household survey, on which this study's sample is based. This survey, also referred to as the Ceres Baseline study, was conducted in 2002 by the Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) and the University of the Western Cape's School of Public Health. It reflected a gender imbalance in the home, showing that women were responsible for more than 80% of the invisible and unpaid labour necessary for household survival (De Swardt, Du Toit & Puoane, 2002; Terreblanche, 2002; *Cape Times*, October 17, 2002:1). A broader study on South African time-use, which looked at the division of labour between men and women and their experiences of paid and unpaid work, found that women spent more time doing caring work (Chobokoane & Budlender, 2002). This study influenced the

UNIFEM document (discussed below) which notes that carework was taken for granted and was often ignored or overlooked if not prompted for during the study. The study also reported that carework took more time when children were under seven years old (Chobokoane & Budlender, 2002). These findings underline the need to focus on women with children under the age of seven. More broadly, they give impetus to the challenge posed by carework advocates on a policy level: that is, whose responsibility is carework?

2.2.4 Policy relating to the needs of women

2.2.4.1 Government's social policy in relation to women and carework

The South African government has shown commitment to addressing issues of gender discrimination, and in 1996 ratified the terms of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Two significant elements (Article 14) of this document are cited below (Sunde & Kleinbooi, 1999).

- *States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetised sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of this convention to women in rural areas.*
- *States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development.*

The CEDAW policy shows government support for efforts to eliminate discrimination, particularly in a rural context. The advocacy project of Sunde and Kleinbooi, 1999, aimed at mentoring and evaluating the implementation of gender equity policies as measured against the CEDAW benchmarks. The key project

findings were that the realisation of women farmworkers' rights were held back by low levels of education; little access to job training; high levels of domestic violence; limited access to health services; and few benefits such as paid maternity leave. Further, women are ill-informed regarding laws and rights, and have limited access to legal recourse, in part due to their employers' lack of awareness and failure to comply with current legislation (Sunde & Kleinbooi, 1999). In practice, the CEDAW roll-out was a slow and difficult process.

2.2.4.2 The ethic of care and critique of the White Paper for Social Welfare

In their critique of the South African government's 1997 White Paper for Social Welfare, Sevenhuijsen et al. argue for the importance of "care" in policy formulation, arguing for care to be placed at the heart of citizenship practice *in addition* to acknowledging it as an element of family and community. They assert that although care was supposedly acknowledged as central in this policy document, on closer scrutiny a 'familialist' approach to care is assumed, thus relegating care to women and 'the family' and legitimating the persistence of asymmetrical gendered power relations in family life (Sevenhuijsen, Bozalek, Gouws, & Minnaar-McDonald, 2003).

They argue that words relating to the "position" and "role" of women are used in a normative way and that the White Paper does not address the specific and problematic positioning of women as synonymous with community and family. This reinforces existing positions of power, fails to address social problems by failing to posit women as full citizens, and thereby contradicts the social justice principles ostensibly endorsed in the paper. Sevenhuijsen et al. contend that women are vulnerable because of the way society deals with caring responsibilities. Pivotal to their argument is the reminder that in looking at human development in relation to policy formulation "care is not just acknowledged as an element of family and community but it is placed at the heart of citizenship practices" (Sevenhuijsen et al., 2003: 318) The nub of this critique of the White Paper is that the family is tasked with the responsibility of providing care, the

normative assumption being a nuclear family with a male breadwinner (and female caregiver). Clearly, this construction is not borne out by, for example, historical patterns of migrancy in South Africa, and certainly does not apply in the context of female-headed households in Ceres.

2.2.4.3 Pro-Poor policies, a different kind of social security

A more recent policy document on social security, the Comprehensive Document for Social Security for South Africa (2002), gives 'care' a central place in the government agenda. This document followed the 1997 launch by the Department of Social Development of a 'Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive System of Social Security', which in 2002 presented a report (referred to here as the Taylor report) which put forward a vision of "a caring and integrated system of social development services that facilitate human development and improves the equality of life" (Strategic plan for the Department of Social Development: Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive System of Social Security, 2002:7). In its mission statement, the Department addresses issues of inequality, social exclusion, voicelessness, and the marginalisation of women. The aim is:

"[t]o enable the poor, the vulnerable and the excluded within South Africa to secure a better life for themselves in partnership with them and with all those who are committed to building a caring society."

With this report, the notion of a caring society seems to be integral to the envisioned system of social development services and the "care ethic" is tabled as a political concept. Whether this report has overcome criticisms levelled at the White paper for Social Welfare by Sevenhuijsen et al. (2003) remains to be seen.

The Taylor report draws on Sen's (1995) "capabilities approach" discussed earlier and aims at addressing the provision of assets, basic incomes and services (Taylor 2002:31) through a package approach which does not force those targeted to choose between certain basic requirements. In policy terms this means the state

aims to address the structural roots of poverty by assuming responsibility for guaranteeing human and socio-economic rights, and that responsibility for childcare does not devolve to households alone. Further evidence for this assertion lies in the Children's Charter and the court judgement that emerged from *Government of the RSA* and *Others v Grootboom* (Liebenberg, 2002).

Progress is being made in carework advocacy. As recently as 2004, the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) commissioned the writing of a guidebook on unpaid care work under its Regional Programme to promote African Women's Economic Security and Rights (Budlender, 2004). The guidebook and subsequent activities aimed at making unpaid work visible in macro- and micro-level policy making, and asserted the need for policymakers to formulate and implement gender-sensitive policies to counter the feminisation of poverty. The challenge remains to ensure the relevant stakeholders are aware and committed to this process.

2.3 Farmworker women and survival as female-household heads

2.3.1 Households and families defined

The concepts 'household' and 'family' have been criticised for being inadequate to describe domestic groupings in South Africa (Bozalek, 1999; Ross, 1996). These authors cite the complexities of the relationships within what has traditionally been termed 'family' and 'household'. Graham argues that "[t]here is no such thing as 'the family' in the sense of one acceptable model of family life. Instead, variety is the norm" (Graham 1983, in Stuart: 31, in Mvududu & McFadden, 55:2001). According to Amoateng and Richter, families consist of people related by kinship, residence or close emotional attachments who share a number of systemic features including intimate interdependence, boundary maintenance, the preservation of identity and adaptation of identity to change over time, and the performance of household tasks (Amoateng & Richter, 2003:2).

Members of a family live out their lives within a complex of attachments and commitments, which are material, cultural and emotional (Mbiti, 1969). Accepting an open definition of family as occurring within, and even across households, allows one to better understand livelihood strategies as coming from complex social processes involving competing historical, contemporary and even future individual and group interests.

Where the term female-headed household is used, the broad notion of family described above is implied. It further indicates a subjective sense of caring about, caring for and giving care that is pivotal to gendered households.

2.3.2 Female-headed households defined

There are several definitions of a female-headed household. In South African literature, it has most often referred to a 'de facto' situation, where a woman heads the household in the absence of a man (husband)[2] (Liddel, Kvalsvig, Shabalala & Masilela, 1991; Wilson, 1972 as cited in Richter, 1994; Murray, 1987; Katz, 1995:341; Chant, 1991:233).

Oestergard (1992) estimated that at any point in time one third of the world's households are female-headed, either temporarily, due to the migration of male partners, or permanently, due to separation, abandonment, divorce or death. A report on World Rural Women's Day, held on 15 October 2002, notes an increase in female-headed households. The report describes women as playing a central role in the agriculture sector, bearing the burden of farming and engaging in off-farm income generating activities while also maintaining households and managing childcare (http://www.rural-womens-day.org/wrwd-2002_background_e.html) www.ifap.org/issues/womeninag.html). These households are disproportionately represented among the poorest of the poor, thus

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[2] This type of household is a product of the apartheid legacy of migrant labour, which drew men to urban workplaces, leaving their families to fend for themselves in the native reserves. De facto female-headed households are thus understood to be rooted in migrancy and the imposition of taxes which forced rural men into urban employment.

supporting Aliber's (2001) description of the female household in South Africa as among the vulnerable poor and deserving of particular attention in both research and policy undertaking.

Despite the increase in female-headed households, and the centrality of women's economic position, Richter points to "ambiguity around the issue of responsibility and liability for children's care" (Richter 1994: 37). Yet women's position has not been well documented. Goodyer (1990) for example describes how women are more vulnerable to parenting difficulties because of structural factors and functional factors such as a lack of emotional or social support. Moore points to the lack of knowledge regarding women's circumstances and the strategies they employ for economic survival (Moore, 1998, cited in Laier, 1997). Other studies indicate that in female-headed households, poor women bear primary responsibility for household maintenance and childcare; they have very few material resources; and often draw on extended family (Mason & Finch, 1993); friends (Kay-Trimberger, 2002); or what have been referred to as reciprocal networks (Hansen, 2002; Moser, 1996).

Research outside South Africa finds that more women are migrating in search of an improved quality of life. They move to other countries, ironically often to do domestic work (Chant 1991; Hochschild 2000).

2.3.3 The role of the family in caring and carework

Several studies have highlighted the importance of extended families as a survival strategy for poor households. Chant (1991) shows how extended families in Mexican shantytowns enable women heads to find paid employment. Mason and Finch (1993) show how family members rely on each other as resources, sometimes by choice and at other times by force of circumstance. In South African studies, which include the work of Spiegel (1997), Mvududu and McFadden (2001), and Richter (1994), the family appears as a social resource for care and caregiving.

Bozalek's study of the care ethic in South Africa finds that families survive "through reciprocity both in terms of the material resources and in terms of shared caring and unpaid work" (Bozalek, 1999:94). On childcare, Bozalek found that where biological parents were absent (as in the case of migrancy in a rural context or working long distances from home in an urban context), children were cared for by the maternal grandmother (1999). This is supported by Richter (1994) who asserts that grandmothers, sisters or aunts will often provide childcare. The family is thus seen as a potential social resource for care and caregiving, and this is flagged as the second theme in this study.

2.3.4 Support for family as a resource

Clark also defines the role of the family as a "resource for use in the circumstances of poverty" (Clark, 1994:93, cited in Spiegel, 1997:1). The study by Mason and Finch (1993) also shows how family members draw on each other, sometimes by choice and sometimes by circumstance, as resources for household survival.
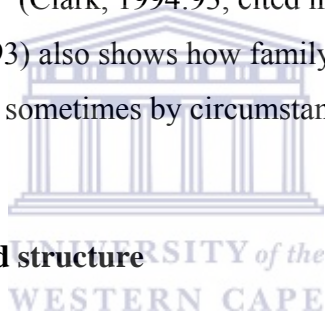
2.3.4 Household size and structure

International studies on female-headed households show how household size and structure are factors which can enable women's employment through creating different options for childcare (Chant, 1991; Willis, 1993). In these studies, household members give female heads the choice of working while their children take care of household tasks. Willis (1993) found that extended families are able to provide an income, and thus provide more than childcare, help with household tasks and management support. Household size and structure are thus identified as a third theme in this study.

The literature on Latin America reviewed by Laier (1997) provides insight into how the household influences women's employment; what happens with household relations when women work; and what kinds of household strategies — including employment — women take up in the context of what has been

described as a "deteriorating economy". While these broad topics of work and the household in Latin America show linkages between gender, work and the household, the focus is on employment and none of the studies look at childcare or caring as a particular feature of the households. This study seeks to address this gap in the literature.

2.3.5 Social networks

Other national and international studies which do not directly use the carework literature as defined, but infer care as a practice, detail how women survive through supporting each other using social networks, especially in a context of poverty (Kritzinger, 2003; Reynolds, 1989; Stack, 1974; Willis,1993; Wilsworth, 1980).

Kritzinger's study is of particular relevance as it is agriculturally based and looks at how the employment context of women as ex-farm dwellers leaves them without social protection. In response, women draw on social networks to secure employment, meet childcare needs and as a general survival strategy. She finds that children are taken care of by friends or immediate family, but are also sent away to maternal or paternal grandmothers when the women work away from home with sub-contractors (Kritzinger, 2003).

A doctoral anthropological study by Salo (2004) looks at childbirth, child-rearing, child-sharing and nurturing practices amongst women and between households in Manenberg, a Cape township with a critical shortage of housing, and how communal mothering is used as a survival strategy. The writer finds that women's identities in this community are primarily shaped by their role as mothers and the moral economy of respectability, underlining the potential dual role of networks in providing both support and punitive isolation (Salo, 2004).

Showing how these social networks act as embryonic forms of political control, international author Moser (1996) speaks of how women have formalised their

leadership by moving beyond the informal nature of support networks to operate as activists for the developing family. Social networks are thus seen as a potential resource and are flagged as a fourth theme in this study.

2.4 Farmworkers in the Western Cape, South Africa

There is no literature available that is directly linked to the care ethic in an agricultural context. Research on poverty and social conditions among farmworkers in the Western Cape, South Africa, has been done mainly on permanent and on-farm workers. The studies show these workers were largely dependant on the farmer and their male partners for housing prior to the enactment of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act of 1997 (ESTA)[3] (Sunde & Gerntholtz, 1999). Research further shows that the scope for upward mobility among this worker sector is limited (Waldman, 1994) and that childcare was considered the responsibility of the farmer's wife. Typically, she in turn enlisted the help of women workers on the farm to take care of their children, and sometimes called in outsiders to train the women (Kritzinger, Prozeski & Vorsters, 1995). More general research on the employment conditions of farmworkers and particularly female farmworkers was conducted by Du Toit (1993); Du Plessis (2001); Kehler (2002); and Sunde and Kleinbooi, (1999). The study by Du Plessis (2001) on farmworkers in Wellington found that women were primarily responsible for childcare and household maintenance. The burden of their roles was such that they could not conceive of recreation as a right (Du Plessis, 2001). Most research indicates traditional gender expectations have endured in rural areas, and Cross (1999) notes that in the context of patriarchal land ownership, land as a resource is still mainly invested in men despite women taking care of both the family and the land in their absence. However, Cross also notes that gender roles are in flux due to the growing rate of male unemployment in agriculture (Cross, 1999).

2.4.1 The macro context of women in Ceres

A core finding of Du Toit's (1993) study is that agricultural employment is central to the livelihoods of poor people in rural towns such as Ceres, despite a general trend in which labour restructuring has reduced permanent employment opportunities. An earlier survey done in six districts on wine and fruit farms in the Western Cape by Du Toit and Ally (2003) found evidence of a shift from permanent, mostly male employees to temporary, seasonal and sub-contracted workers with a bias toward female employment. The study shows that while only 21% of permanent jobs were held by women, almost two thirds of the harvesting labour force were women. (Du Toit & Ally, 2003). Despite an increase in employment opportunities for women, wages were still low and unstable because of their seasonal and temporary nature. This trend is statistically confirmed by a 2002 follow-up study in Ceres which showed that "while more than 60% of permanent workers were men, two thirds of seasonally employed workers were women, and further, that more than two thirds of the unemployed were women" (De Swardt, Du Toit & Puoane, 2002).

The bias towards female employment has developed from growing financial and political pressures on the fruit industry. Women are considered to be more dexterous fruit handlers; easier to manage; and more open to temporary labour (Barrientos, Bee, Matear & Vogel, 1999; Kritzinger, 2003). Women's employment in the Western Cape is generally seasonal and temporary; involves long hours doing physically strenuous work without employment contracts or benefits (Centre for Rural Legal Studies, 1999); and is often correlated with ill health and significant stress (Kehler, 2002; Du Toit, 1993; Poverty and Inequality Report, 1998; Sunde & Kleinbooi, 1999).

Clearly, women dependent on the fruit sector for a livelihood are in an unstable environment. They make a vital contribution to the economy of the region, yet receive negligible financial reward and little in the way of social or political

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[3] Under ESTA, farm workers who have worked on a farm for 12 years are entitled to the house

power. The Ceres study also draws attention to a gender imbalance showing that women are responsible for more than 80% of the invisible and unpaid labour necessary for household survival.

The final section of this literature review sketches the broad working context of women dependent on commercial agriculture for employment in the Western Cape, and in Ceres in particular.

2.4.2 Women and paid work

While women have been exploited in many different ways in the fruit industry, a few significant changes are, at least in theory, placing women in a comparatively better position to negotiate their rights. These changes include the following:

- Government ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination (CEDAW) and accepted the platform of action adopted at the 1995 Fourth World conference on Women in Beijing. This charter has been actively promoted through "promoting equitable and sustainable development for women farmworkers in the Western Cape" (Sunde & Kleinbooi, 1999).
- Non-governmental organisations such as the Women on Farms Project are now organising in Ceres around women's rights and making pro-active attempts to help women recognise and access those rights.
- The Minister of Social Development committed to a 10-point action programme in January 2000, placing the "restoration of the ethics of care and human development into all our programmes" (www.welfare.gov.za/Statements/2000/October/why.htm).
- The Taylor report gives care centre stage in its mission statement on social protection services, thereby acknowledging women as a separate vulnerable category, and tabling the need to protect the rights of women and especially poor black women.

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they live in.

- Legislative changes applicable to farming have shifted the industry's employment profile.

- This shift in legislature has resulted in increased housing opportunities, and more working opportunities for women.

- The UNIFEM guidebook advocates women's rights in the form of economic policy that acknowledges unpaid work.

- While these changes go some way towards addressing past inequities, we cannot yet escape the harsh reality of what Kabeer (1995:57) calls the "monotonous regularity of the exploitation of women in both the productive and domestic sphere the world over". The situation of women in Ceres is no different.

2.5 Theoretical framework

In this study I use Tronto and Fisher's "four intertwining phases of caring" (1990: 40) as a theoretical framework for interpretation and analysis. These phases are: caring about, taking care of, caregiving and care-receiving. According to the authors:
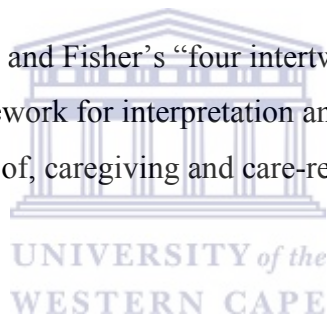
Caring about involves paying attention to our world in such a way that we focus on continuity, maintenance and repair. Taking care of involves responding to these aspects - taking responsibility for activities that keep our world going. Care-giving involves the concrete tasks, the hands-on work of maintenance and repair. Care-receiving on the other hand, describes the responses to the caring process of those toward whom caring is directed (Tronto & Fisher, 1990:40).

In this study I refer mainly to 'taking care of' and 'caregiving'. I assume that household heads or informants 'care about' the members in their household. The study did not look at those who received care, which in this instance are other household members, particularly children. This has been noted as a limitation of the study.

The emphasis in the findings is on 'taking care of', in which activities such as taking on the responsibility of earning an income for the household and by implication for household members, constitutes an act of caring. "Care-giving as the concrete, hand-on work of maintenance and repair" (ibid) can be seen in household tasks and child caring in the different households.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on feminist perspectives, carework literature and the relevant concept of resources in a carework context to provide the theoretical underpinning of this study. It has also looked at national and international literature focusing on women in relation to paid and unpaid work, as well as more specific studies on the population to be explored. To this end, it has drawn from studies done in carework; women in households in an agricultural context; and studies that have looked at economic survival strategies.

Four primary themes in the literature have been identified for further exploration:

1. The division of labour in the home and the contribution of both paid and unpaid work to care-taking of the household.

2. The family or household members as a potential social resource.

3. Social networks as a possible resource.

4. Household size and structure.

These themes create signposts for the gendered study, and indeed point to two further themes: the role of men within the household and as absent fathers; and the nature of childcare practice as a means to establish available resources and understand how these manifest in the process and practice of caring.

Chapter 3: Research design and methodology

3.1 Introduction

Before I address how this study took shape, I will share more about the researcher in the voice of the first person, showing how, in the style encouraged by feminist writing, the description of subjective experience allows the reader to assess the validity of my findings by having more personal detail (Hill Collins, 1991; hooks, 1989; Ladner, 1987; Mama, 2000; Phoenix, 1994).

3.2 The researcher

In the first year of the structured coursework as a Child and Family Studies student, I became pregnant with my first child, which made the research process both challenging and rewarding. Doing research in the heat of summer during harvesting season was physically taxing but provided an opportunity for rapport as the women I interviewed shared advice from their own pregnancies. The older women were maternal toward me while the younger women felt a sense of shared experience. Perhaps my fuller figure appeared less threatening. Whatever the reason, access to the female head's homes was not difficult and talking about childcare and caring became more personalised. In some ways the writing of this thesis became biographical as a woman amplifying the shared experience of caring, caregiving and childcare. Although not chronically poor, my unemployed status lasting two years as well as the reality of being away from immediate family, invited me to assess my own available resources in terms of material and social support. In addition to this awareness was how I related as a first-time, at-home mother to the care ethic discourse described by Tronto (1993).

My previous experience working on other farms proved useful too. On two separate instances, the women mentioned two farms that I knew particularly well. This shared knowledge helped establish rapport. Having had a history in Ceres was helpful but it also meant that, as a researcher, I had to guard against 'the familiar'

and the possibility of taking information or occurrences for granted. I made daily field notes to help limit this. At the same time, as a researcher I knew that my personal filters and frame of interpretation was useful. I realised too, that the content of my conversations with the women would spark awareness about available social and material resources and about the caring work that the women themselves take for granted.

3.3 Research design

3.3.1 Methodology/considerations of method

In this explorative study, a qualitative research design was used, primarily because the purpose was to elicit information based mainly on informants' perceptions of available resources that would enable the practice of care. As Creswell (1998) states, the nature of the question will inform the methodology. The questions asked of the respondents were based on themes elaborated in the literature review. Although the interview guide contained prepared questions on these themes, the researcher asked additional questions and supplemented interviews with data from the field notes.
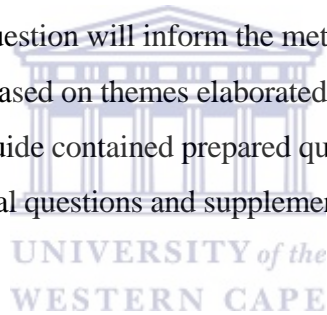
A two-phase data collection process was planned. In Phase One, I aimed to allow the women themselves to describe their social network resources and household structures. In Phase Two, I aimed to collect supplementary opinion on the same questions from formal childcare institutions. This study complements the Ceres household survey (Baseline study) which provided a snapshot of female-headed households in Bella Vista (De Swardt, Du Toit & Puoane, 2002). The first step, however, was to choose my sample (referred to as purposive sampling).

The research is presented as a case study. A case study provides an example of an entity with shared characteristics that serves to illustrate and enhance the understanding of that entity. It is limiting as a methodology choice in that transferability or generalizations cannot be directly extended to similar entities because of the amount of variables that would influence the outcome, though it is useful, as in this instance, to deepen our understanding of different female-headed households explored and what resources those households had in order to practice caregiving. This case study presents shared characteristics of female-headed households with children under seven years of age in Ceres Bella Vista.

3.3.2 Situational profile: female-headed households in Ceres Baseline study

Data from the Ceres Baseline study[4] showed that of the 174 female-headed households in the sample, 26 women worked in the food processing; 17 in domestic employment; 21 women worked on commercial farms; 39 reported being seasonally employed; 42 were permanently employed; and a significant 76 women reported having no paid work. The sample raised clear questions about the consistency and availability of income for childcare and household maintenance. The sample also underlined the plight of female household heads and warrants exploration of what resources the women draw on for care-giving and childcare and where they get it.

The Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at the University of the Western Cape has done considerable recent work on issues of chronic poverty, including the in-depth Ceres study on which this study is based. However, they have not focused on care-giving as a form of valued labour, thereby leaving out a key issue that must be addressed in chronically poor households.

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[4] PLAAS, my employer at the time, collaborated with the School of Public Health at UWC in the research of the Baseline study in 2002. The unpublished data is referred to by the main role players in the baseline study and as such refers to Du Toit, De Swardt and Poane. Where data was used in findings through papers and publications, I refer to the necessary authors. I was involved in this study at different phases. Although I did not do the survey, I was instrumental in gaining access to Ceres as a research site and in establishing the needs assessment as well as in the report back session of the research conducted. Because I was part of the chronic poverty research team, I had access to the raw data collected, as well as support of two of the women on the enumerator team referred to in the thesis as the fieldworkers.

During harvesting season time when working is more the rule than the exception, women still return home from their formal work to perform the unpaid but equally important work of 'taking care of' their households. This double burden entails taking care of all dependents: the sick, the elderly, and the young. They take care of homes (Aliber, 2001; Budlender, 2004) and in the case of female-household heads in the study, they are obliged to earn an income for the maintenance of their homes while at the same time taking care of household members and rearing children.

3.3.3 Sampling

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software programme was used on the data available from the Ceres household survey/Baseline study to find a sample to fit the criteria of female-headed households with children under the age of seven in Bella Vista, Ceres. Thirty-two households met the criteria, from which 10 households were selected for the case study. In reality, nine women were interviewed from eight households or entities (this is discussed in detail in the methodology evaluation at the end of this section).

Households were chosen based on criteria of access and proximity to each other, the latter to establish whether informants considered each other a caregiving resource. The female household heads were approached for consent to participate in the study.

The Baseline study of Ceres provided a description of context for the Ceres population as well as a motivation for the study sample. The SPSS software programme provided quantitative data to be analysed and derived a sample from the study conducted by PLAAS. Of the 540 households surveyed, it was found that 717 of the respondents were women, of which 24% reported that they were female-headed households. One third of these female-headed households were in the Bella Vista area. Given that four areas were surveyed, this suggested that a higher proportion of female-headed households were located there. The data was further

disaggregated to establish children in a household. Of these households, 32 were found to have a child under seven years old, the age range specified in this study.

3.3.4 The research area

Bella Vista is situated about 10 km from the town of Ceres. It can be described as a mainly middle-class community complete with schools and other infrastructure. It contains low-income sub-areas differentiated by socio-economic grouping and housing type. This study occurred in one such sub-area (see area map). The researcher consciously chose homes in close proximity to establish resource networks.

 I also chose Bella Vista because I was familiar with the area, and because of my own profile as a young, coloured, Afrikaans-speaking woman. The other areas that were surveyed were a black informal settlement, a coloured informal settlement and Ceres proper with upper middle-class representation. Later in the study, after I had conducted the interviews and had documented the names of my informants, I was able to make further use of the SPSS programme to establish a profile of the nine interviewees based solely on information relevant for my study from the extensive Baseline study. This data set later served to confirm, contest or supplement the existing information from the Ceres Baseline study as part of the triangulation process.

During the preparatory phase of the research, non-probability sampling techniques were used whereby I had a shortlist of potential informants and simply enquired if the women whose doors I happened to knock on wanted to be involved in the study. I only chose women who lived near each other, assuming the likelihood of a shared social network drawing on the literature of social networks and common sense experience of neighbours and my own community.

A purposive sample was drawn from the Ceres household survey/Baseline study) (De Swardt, Du Toit & Puoane, 2002). This sample encompassed self-reported,

chronically poor, female household heads in Bella Vista with children under seven *and* people who are providers of childcare in formal settings in Ceres. In Phase One, the unit of analysis is the female-headed household. In this phase, eight households were surveyed, with nine women participating in semi-structured interviews[5] and a social network mapping (SNM) "workshop".

During the next visit to Ceres (Phase Two), the research involved non-probability sampling methods. Snowball sampling led to open-ended interviews[6] with key informants from formal caregiving institutions. These were crèche principals, the Head of Social Work at Social Services in Ceres, and the chairperson of the Early Learning Forum.

3.3.5 Instruments used

Semi-structured interviews using a semi-standardised format were conducted to provide a "detailed view" of each informant and to collect the information in a "natural setting" (Creswell, 1998:17). With the informants' consent, a tape recorder was used to record all the interviews. According to Smith (1995:9): "Researchers used semi-structured interviews in order to gain a detailed picture of a respondent's beliefs about, or perceptions or accounts of, a particular topic." May (1993) describes this technique as a combination of focused and structured methods where questions are normally specified, but the interviewer is more free to probe beyond the answers in a way that would seem prejudicial to aims of standardisation and comparability. The interviewer can thus ask for clarification or elaboration through qualitative information gathering.

The study looked at household demographics; family structure; household members' economic contribution (formal work) and household tasks (informal

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[5] In semi-structured interviews questions are normally specified but the interviewer is free to probe beyond the answers, which may seem prejudicial to the aims of standardization and comparability.
[6] Open-ended interviews allow the interviewee to simply talk about an issue, otherwise referred to as informal, unstandardized or unstructured interview (Smith, 1993).

work); the role of men both within the household and as absent fathers of children; and childcare practice.

Genograms were used in the semi-structured interviews to provide diagrammatic information about individuals within the household and about the relationships between its members by looking at family structure and dynamics (Anderson & Sabatelli, 1999). Genograms are provided as Appendix E and discussed in the Results section when describing the households.

A social network mapping workshop was conducted with the women interviewed after the semi-structured interviews. This is a tool for assessing the social context by looking at those groups or individuals with whom regular contact takes place (Tracy & Whittaker, 1989:68). The listing can include household members, relatives, friends, people from work or school, neighbours, church or community groups and formal service organisations. Social mapping shows various types of support and the nature of relationships.

The social network map was devised as a tool to discover the sociocultural matrix of which the client is a part, with the intention of understanding the environmental and social context of the client. (See Appendix C3). The tool was intended for social work practitioners with a view to holistic treatment that would include all possible stakeholders and roleplayers as potential resources in that treatment (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Garbarino, 1985). The social mapping tool confirmed and tested what informants said in interview, and in the case of household composition, provided an opportunity for a brief description of which members were considered a resource. The workshop was conducted with the help of two other fieldworkers who were familiar with the area and were involved as enumerators in the original baseline study (referred to in Section 3.3.2).
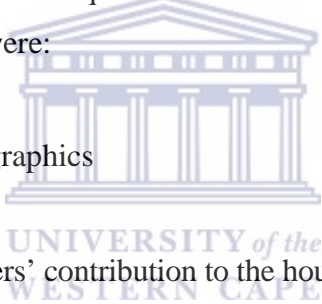
3.4 Analysis

Collection and analysis of data occurred simultaneously, as recommended in literature on qualitative research (Yin, 1993). All the interviews were transcribed and recorded. Common themes that emerged were identified or confirmed using thematic analysis. Each interview was analysed separately according to these themes and then discussed together the other interviews. Initially, the interview guide was intended a descriptive analytical framework, but after collating the themes, the results were grouped as presented in the Results section (Chapter 4).

3.5 The research process

3.5.1 Phase One

The first phase involved semi-structured interviews with nine female household heads. An interview guide with questions based on five themes was used (see Chapter 2). The themes were:

- Household demographics
- Family structure
- Household members' contribution to the household function
     A. Economic contribution (formal work)
     B. Household tasks (informal work)
- The role of men
     A. Within the household
     B. As fathers of children
- Childcare strategies and tasks

After the interviews, a Saturday morning workshop using the SNM exercise was used in order to gauge who the women perceived as part of their support network. This formed the second part of the case study. An additional interview was also planned which involved a woman who was not part of the baseline study sample. She is linked to one of the informants as the caregiver of her eldest child.

3.5.2 Phase Two

The second phase involved open-ended interviews with formal support services. These were four principals of crèches in the area, the Head of Social Work services and the chairperson of the Early Childhood Learning Committee. The fieldworker provided contact details for the crèches, as did the crèche principal in Ceres. These referrals reinforced access to these interviewees. The aim of meeting with the heads of formal institutions was to establish to what extent female-headed households had access to their services, particularly in the context of seasonal work, and also to establish their opinions on female-household heads.

3.6 An overview

During my research I visited Ceres four times. The first was a preparatory visit to gain access to informants, check my interview guide and contact the formal childcare services. During the second week-long visit in January at the height of the harvesting season, I conducted the nine interviews with female household heads. The third visit was largely as a member of the Chronic Poverty Research Project, giving feedback along with fellow members of PLAAS and the enumerators to various role players regarding research done in Ceres during the Baseline study. I had been instrumental in gaining access to Ceres as a research site for the Baseline study in the early stages of the research. This had involved talking to significant role players such as the mayor of Ceres and doing a needs assessment with municipality staff as well as Advice Office personnel, trade union heads, ex-teachers and representatives from Social Services, Corrective Services and Health Services. I also used my third visit to contact the head of Social Services and to briefly visit my informants. The fourth visit in March was taken up by open-ended interviews with formal childcare representatives, a follow-up interview with the caregiver of one informant's child, and the SNM exercise.

3.7 Preparations for the first research visit

I made my first scoping visit to Ceres on 12 December 2002, receiving significant help at this preparatory stage from my fieldworker D, a Ceres resident and enumerator on the previous Baseline study. During this visit I found 10 eligible informants for my case study and tested the pre-approved interview guide by taking the fieldworker through it in real time, testing for length, meaning and clarity. The interview was later edited and used for the household interviews. The fieldworker also provided contact details for local crèches, and I was able to get a feel for the most appropriate times to meet with potential informants based on enquiries and field observation.

A key goal of the initial visit was to find women who would agree to be part of the research project. It was necessary to make physical contact with the women because I knew the women had no phones and I could not assume literacy. Importantly, I wanted to establish a personal connection. My method was to walk door-to-door in three neighbouring streets (see Appendix B) accompanied by the fieldworker, and armed with a list of names and addresses of people who fit the sample criteria, as provided by a researcher from the Baseline study. The women were initially daunted by our official-seeming list, but my visibly pregnant appearance and the use of informal techniques such as the use of first names when we explained our research purposes, helped overcome initial apprehension. The women kept calling me *Mevrou (Madam)* as a sign of respect, or possibly as a term reserved for officials, but I noted they felt comfortable calling me by name during the later interviews. The fieldworker remained in the background as I explained that I was responsible for the study. All the women approached agreed to be interviewed. Once we had established a time for the visit, I left my contact details and instructions on how to make a collect call if they needed to speak to me.

3.7.1 The first research visit

The first round of interviews began on 7 January 2003. Each day began with a trip to the local supermarket for bread, jam and sweets for the children. The food was my acknowledgment of the time and effort informants gave to the study. The interviews were scheduled two hours apart to allow for the 45-minute formal interview, discussion time, and time to write up fieldwork notes and travel out of Bella Vista for a brief reflection interval between interviews. The reality was slightly different.

The first interview took place at 9 am as planned, and went smoothly. I returned to Bella Vista to do my second interview with the first of two sisters from separate houses (the next interview was to be with the second sister). However they both wanted to see me at the same time as they needed to sleep in anticipation of nightshift. I was slightly thrown, but in hindsight it highlighted the dynamics between two generations of women. The Baseline data indicated the maternal grandmother was the self-reported household head, though she was represented by the younger daughter. The eldest daughter was formally interviewed later in the week, but in reality, all three gave responses to questions, cross-checking information and discussing details. I asked all three the same questions, but the younger daughter had the advantage of more interview time. When I paraphrased responses to check for understanding sometimes I would intentionally favour one response to hear if the other would challenge it. When there was disagreement, the mother would usually have the final say. One could clearly establish from their conversation that the pensioned mother was the head of both households and in charge of childcare. For this reason I chose to combine their genograms to show how they functioned as one household despite having separate home addresses (see discussion in Chapter 4, Appendix E 2 for genogram # 2).

On Thursday I conducted three interviews. The second interview was referred by one of the other interviewees as someone who took care of her family's children for income during harvesting season. She was on the Baseline study list although her

mother was the self-reported female household head. It was unusual that her mother was a pensioned woman on her second marriage. The third interview took place at 7pm after the informant had recuperated from the previous night's work. The interview went well as the informants were relaxed, it was less hot and the smells of supper cooking made for a homely atmosphere.

After my midday appointment cancelled her interview and appeared to have lost interest, one of the neighbours volunteered to be part of the study. I agreed for the reasons referred to in Phase One of the research design. She was not strictly part of the Baseline study but provided further data. I found a potential replacement for the woman who had cancelled the day before after she expressed a desire not to be part of the study, but the replacement also cancelled her interview set for the next morning. I was disappointed because I was told she was a teacher at a preschool and could have provided not only a personalised account of formal services, but also shed light on paid caregivers who have to do their own caregiving as well.

At this stage I felt pressure to secure a full complement of interviews before I left the following day. I also knew Fridays were not a good time to set interviews as people readied for the weekend. After my Friday morning interviewee failed to turn up, another household head impulsively agreed to be interviewed right then.

At this point I had completed nine planned and one unscheduled interview. I had found the research environment very informal and characterised by the community's flexible living styles. I needed to be equally flexible and to depend on the good nature and access that these women provided. The lessons I learnt were to set aside more interview days to accommodate cancellations and shifts, and to set interview times for evenings when informant were less pressured. After writing my field notes I met with the fieldworker to brief her on the progress I made during the research visit. I asked her to confirm the workshop for March and to help set up a follow-up interview.

I returned to Ceres on January 30 for the Chronic Poverty Report feedback session, and during the day contacted the head of Social Services and principals of two crèches, promising to fax questions for discussion to them. The feedback session proved a useful networking experience, allowing me to informally gauge what some of the attendants thought about female-headed households and childcare. I spoke to women at the Advice Office, a Health Services careworker and Correctional Services representative, who all described these households in terms of a desperate struggle for survival.

3.7.2 The second research visit

On 24 March, a month before my due date, I returned for the second research visit, this time with my husband and a second fieldworker as part of the research support team.

My first interview was with a nun who was the principal of the Ceres crèche. She disclosed a lot of detail about the crèche workings, including the daily schedule, mealtimes, fees and funding. She noted that child enrolment numbers dropped as the harvesting season progressed, coinciding with the increase in the amount of available work. This apparently contradictory situation was echoed in all four interviews with crèche principals. However, I realised her crèche had a middle-class bias, and while she had noted that the number of female-headed households had grown, not many children of single mothers were registered at her crèche. Apparently children from the crèche were mainly from out of town, and were typically dropped off by their fathers, who also paid the fees.

On 25 March I met with the principal of a crèche from a notably poorer side of town, outside the town centre. This crèche was funded by an outside organisation which was using the crèche to pilot a form of training for an Early Childhood Development programme. The teachers were being trained in Wellington. The facility comprised a large hall divided into maze-like elements to create different classrooms. The principal had been involved in crèche development and appeared to be a pioneer in this field. Apart from basic operational information about the

crèche, the principal had definite experiences with and opinions on single mothers unique to her specialised position.

The rest of the day was taken up with preparation for the SNM workshop. This included securing a venue, finding a childminder for the women's children, sourcing writing materials, and planning a pre-workshop breakfast. I also conducted a brief training session with the fieldworkers to familiarise them with the research tool. The SNM tool involved writing and I did not want to force a literacy bias on the informants. For this reason I took the women through a verbal version, asking the fieldworkers to record the women's responses. We planned to record three women each.

In the following two days I met with the head of Social Services, and with the principal of a Ceres crèche on the poorer side of town. This crèche was less formal that the previous two, but the interview did not reveal new information. I was also accompanied by one of the fieldworkers to interview her eldest child's foster mother.

On 28 March I met with another crèche principal in Bella Visa, who confirmed crèche patterns elsewhere in the area, though this principal was more aware of the phenomenon of female-headed households. Later in the day I briefly met with the chairperson of the Early Learning Committee at Bella Vista High School, where I learned that all the crèches I had seen were part of the committee and that people in Ceres were organising around Early Learning.

The social mapping workshop took place on 29 March, but it was a very hot day which made the interviewing process a little challenging because we were all tired and listless. Two interviewees, Bettie and Anna Brady, and two informants, did not turn up. Of the five women that did attend, three were late and had to be fetched from Bella Vista. One of the informants had been drinking. I asked the daughter to stand in for her mother, and her response revealed that the household composition as I had recorded it did not account for her "*houman*" (cohabitating boyfriend) and

the daughter's boyfriend. Clearly, the women had other schedules and priorities for their Saturday morning.

The SNM workshop took place with six informants. After breakfast, I started the workshop with an icebreaker, before moving on to an hour-long discussion which was recorded by myself and the two fieldworkers. After cleaning up, I asked the women to informally evaluate the workshop. They said that it was useful to think about who was important in their lives and had nothing negative to say. My overt intention with the workshop was to gather information, and more subliminally to spark awareness. I tried to make it worthwhile by making it fun and ensuring that participants had something to eat. After dropping everyone off, the fieldworkers and I met to discuss the workshop and to go through the maps they had written to ensure that I understood them. We arranged for the fieldworkers to follow up on the three women who did not attend the workshop and to send their maps back to me.

3.8 The research: instruments, motivation and application[7]

3.8.1 The interview guide used with the eight households

The following section names the instrument, covers the basic questions asked, and describes its motivation and underlying assumptions. I conducted semi-structured interviews using an interview guide with prepared questions with nine female household heads as described by the Baseline study. I chose semi-structured interviews because I wanted to maximise the time that I had with the women.

The semi-structured interview guide had five sections (see Appendix C1). The first section was on demographics, the second on household structure, the third on household function, the fourth on the role of men, and the last section related to childcare strategies.

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[7] For more detail see Appendix D.

Section 1: Demographics

The demographics section asked for name, gender, age, marital status, cohabitating or in relationship, length of stay, and how long the interviewee had lived in the locality.

I asked for names for my own identification purposes and to help me connect the informants to the original Baseline study. It also helped me get to know the women's nicknames, which established rapport. Getting the easy questions out of the way helped the process of eliciting quality information. The informants' ages were relevant to fully understand their profile, assuming that age impacts on whether or not the women could work or bear and rear children and run a household. All the informants had children under the age of seven, but I wanted to uncover details of their social ranking as members of a particular age group. The questions on relationship, marriage and co-habitation were asked in order to understand the nature of female-headed households. The assumption was that being in a relationship did not necessarily constitute marriage and that being the head of the home did not mean that the informants did not have a male presence in the household.

The question on length of stay in Bella Vista assumed that if people stayed long enough in an area they would have their families, friends and neighbours as possible sources of support. This also tied into understanding whether people were used to living in a farming community in the tradition of tied housing, which presented a particular scenario. In tied housing the paternalistic tradition of being taken care of by the farmer had its own set of concerns. Despite this, some of the primary needs of workers were being met, including housing and crèches for the children. In contrast, ex-farm dwellers on their own are exposed to the full brunt of the cash economy and are obliged to pay for all services.

Section 2: Household composition

In Section Two on household structure and Section Three on household function, I was curious to reveal how the gendered view of paid and unpaid work plays out in a household. I first asked what the household composition was to see, according to the description of the household member, whether male or female, able-bodied or not, would link with the tasks they performed. I used a genogram as a diagrammatic representation to show this. Because I knew that genograms used the nuclear family as a basis, I adapted their form to include anyone living in the household. My over-arching assumption was that household composition would help me understand who were caregivers and who were care-receivers. I acted on those assumptions by asking specific questions relating to the people in the house. Those specific questions were the product of my own fieldwork experience and theoretical background, drawing on discussions with people in the field of early childhood development and chronic poverty research.

I separated the categories of adults, children above seven and children under seven. I defined household according to the census definition and explained that the household involved immediate family, extended family, non-family members and noted especially the informant's perception of who belonged in the house. I also prompted for information about people who were away for any given period of time, checking for remittance possibilities. My assumption was that the amount of people in paid work would impact on the material quality of life of the household and drawing on the notion of care work as gendered and unacknowledged, I wanted to see how both formal and informal work in the form of household tasks played out in a household that was reportedly led by a female. This section also included questions on who was the household head to confirm the women's understanding of why they reported themselves as household heads in the survey. I did this to establish whether the women were de jure or de facto household heads.

Section 3: Household functioning in terms of formal and informal work

Once the household composition was established in Section Two, I asked for detail about the role of each member, relating first to economic contribution and then to household tasks, in Section Three. To get the women thinking about economics, I asked about their daily, weekly and monthly expenses. When I asked about the economic contribution, I asked what they and the members of the household did, more or less how much they contributed and how often they made that contribution. I suspect they told me what they knew at that moment. I do not think anyone was openly dishonest. If they failed to provide accurate information, I trust that it was an oversight. When I asked about household tasks, I first asked the informant to take me through a typical day in season in relation to paid or unpaid work. I also enquired if they did work that was compensated in a non-monetary way. This assumed that the women used other forms of payment because of their chronically poor context. The next question asked about the household tasks of other household members. I was careful to distinguish between in-season and out-of-season household contributions. The findings of the Baseline study (Du Toit, 2003); the Integrated Development Framework of Ceres (July, 1999); and my knowledge of Ceres, indicated that household contribution in these two phases would be decidedly different.
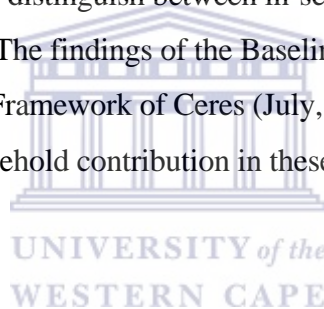
Section 4: The role of the men

Section Four looked at the role of the men. Given the gendered nature of child-rearing and bread-winning, I wanted to understand more clearly what – if any – role men were in fact playing in these households. My previous research and the Baseline study findings suggested that the change in employment profiles and chronic poverty context would have a major effect on the traditional role of men. I wanted to find out if unemployed or underemployed men contributed towards hands-on caring work; what role they played in the children's lives; and what role they played in the household. I was curious to see if a shift in identity away from main breadwinner and head of the household translated into a different household role. I looked particularly at household contribution both in terms of financial contribution and also towards household tasks. I asked how much time the children

spent with their fathers, and whether they were in the household or not. I also asked if they provided money or anything else that the children needed, and how often they contributed.

Section 5: Childcare strategies, tasks and patterns

The next section in the interview guide looked at childcare strategies. I devised questions that were geared to whether the informant was the primary caregiver, or whether the informant sent the child to a caregiver. Through this I established the relationship of the caregiver to the child, hoping to understand who the women drew on for caregiving support. I looked at the number of children cared for; compensation levels and childcare tasks. I asked for a description of a typical day, detailing what they did from sunrise to sunset in relation to their hands-on caregiving role. I then asked if weekends were different to the week and if in-season was different to out-of-season. I also asked who the informant turned to for child-minding, providing for possible responses from the household head, the caregiver or the biological mother of the child. In addition, I asked who they turned to for childcare in the case of emergencies such as illness or if they wanted recreation time. In the event that an informant sent a child away, I asked similar questions and also asked about travelling arrangements and food to help me understand the role that the caregiver played and to what extent the practice of childcare was a shared responsibility.

3.8.2 The semi-structured follow-up interview

This interview was semi-structured. I asked about the informant's childcare arrangements and devised 25 questions that were in line with the semi-structured interviews with the heads of households.

The second phase of the research involved both semi-structured interviews and open-ended interviews with formal support services. My motivation was to find out whether any formal childcare resources existed for the community. I knew from the

1999 report on the Integrated Development Framework for Ceres that there were no formal crèches in Bella Vista. I was curious to find out if that had changed and to what extent the crèches that did exist met the needs of women who needed them. I spoke to four principals of crèches in the area, the head of Social Services, and the chairperson of the Early Childhood Learning Committee. I wanted to establish a broad picture of the structural/infrastructural support possibly available to the women. I asked questions relating to understanding female-headed households and their access to formal services. Because I thought at that stage of the research that it would be useful to know exactly what was available to the women, I also asked questions relating to the specific functioning and facilities offered by the crèche or institution.

3.8.3 Semi-structured interviews with the principals of four crèches

As part of interview preparations, I left a brief document with each of the crèche principals which explained the research and gave a preview of the kinds of questions I would be asking. The interview guide itself contained 20 questions (see Appendix C5).
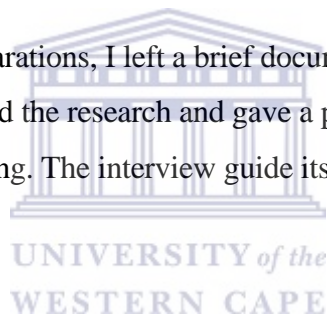
The informants were helpful and provided additional information such as, for example, the kind of reports they used, the structure of the day, and details of the different kind of meals they provided.

3.8.4 Open-ended interviews with role-players in formal caregiving

The question addressed to the Head of Social Services and the chairperson of the Early Childhood Development Committee was: "Based on your area of expertise, what is your perception of the resources available to female-headed households in relation to childcare?" (and) "Please talk to me about your understanding of female-headed households and what they do for childcare."

The discussion was fairly broad and informative, and provided insight into the life perspective and position of this representative of Social Services. In Chapter 4, I review the findings of both this discussion, and that with the chairperson of the Early Childhood Development Committee.

3.8.5 Social Network Map

Having looked at the formal community resources potentially available to female-headed households living in chronic poverty, this section looks at more informal resources. The instrument I used to evaluate this was a Social Network Map (SNM), a tool used for gauging the social context by looking at those groups or individuals with whom regular contact takes place (Tracy & Whittaker, 1989:68). Groups or individuals with whom regular contact takes place are represented in a pie chart covering seven possible areas: the household; other family members; work/school; organisation/s; other friends; neighbours; and a last category referred to as professional, which includes specialised help such as a church, welfare or social services representative.

This instrument was originally intended for interpersonal social work treatment, and assumes an ecological model. Its strength lies in assessing available help for a possible client so that these other sources can be used in the process of treatment. In agreement with Bronfenbrenner's ecology theory (cited in Bigner, 1998; Gelles, 1995), I assumed that the women would draw on social capital as a source of support in their process of care-giving. I also wanted to establish who in the seven-section pie chart provided caregiving, assuming that different forms of support constituted a form of care-giving and care-receiving.

I used a workshop format to administer the instrument (see Section 3.3.4 and 3.8.5 above) to see how the group of six informants interacted. I wanted to establish if and to what extent they knew each other. It also made sense to maximise both the women's time and mine by explaining the tool to a group rather than an individual. I also had the two fieldworkers assist in writing down the women's responses to

streamline the process. I facilitated the workshop using charts and icebreakers to help explain the SNM and to make the women feel more comfortable. Instead of having the planned 1:3 ratio we were able to give the six women more individual attention with a 1:2 ratio. The results from the SNM show that the women were in some cases very aware of who constituted their support network and in other cases not so aware. What proved significant was that it presented a conscientising exercise. (My field notes on the interviews and Social Network Map examples were provided to the examiner, but are not included in this thesis to protect the confidentiality of respondents.)

Chapter 4: Results and discussion

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I presented the methodological considerations that underpin this study, explaining my sample, the instruments used and the two phases of my research. This chapter presents the research findings. It draws on information from my informants (nine women from eight households) in Phase One of the research and is arranged around the five themes that evolved from the semi-structured interview guide.

Where necessary, the results also refer to Phase Two of the research to create a composite picture of the eight households, using information extracted from informants in formal child caregiving and from the follow-up interview with a child caregiver. Bar charts, tables and pie charts are used to visually depict and summarise information where useful. They are not intended to show quantitative data. Plummer (1983) cautions that in qualitative research it is very difficult to ensure confidentiality because of the rich detail present in descriptions. Therefore any sensitive data (such as in field notes) is included in the appendices for examination purposes only, and will be removed in the final bound copy.

4.1.1 Chapter outline

The aim of the study was to establish exactly what resources are available to female-headed households for caregiving practice by exploring:

- Household structure;
- Responsibilities of members (women and men) for household maintenance;
- Childcare practice (in the household and the community); and
- The implications of inter-and intra-household social and material resource availability.

This chapter consists of two sections. In the first section I describe the sample and its characteristics, building on discussion in Chapter 3 on research design and methodology. The relevant information derived from the original Baseline study of Ceres female-household heads will be expanded on in this section, showing the benefit of having the baseline data to triangulate with this study's research findings. Where necessary, comparisons will be made and results reinforced by the data provided in both my study and the Ceres study.

In the second section, which is lengthier, I describe and discuss the results, showing the main trends, patterns and connections that became apparent. The discussion is presented thematically, drawing on the various entities interviewed/ researched to substantiate the findings. Thus the result as described by Smith (1995) takes the form of a presentation that uses the themes as a basis for the account of the informants answers. My argument is interspersed with verbatim extracts[8] to support my findings. According to Yin (1984), generalisation of case-study findings is limited to the case itself or types of cases. Therefore each sub-section presented is supported by examples to qualify the findings.

Thus Section 4.2 provides an in-depth description of the households using household structure and size data, with additional information in the form of tables and genograms in the appendices. Section 4.3 refers to paid work and other material resources of household members as described by the informants. This has been further categorised as income and expenditure, state assistance, childcare as an income, and employment both in- and out-of-season. Of particular relevance in this context is how the notion of time as an ability factor and as a resource works in the context of seasonal agriculture. Section 4.4 discusses childcare and household tasks, noting how childcare strategies relate to family, friends and neighbours. Section 4.5 discusses other possible resources, noting existing coping

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[8] These Afrikaans responses have been presented with English translations in the text, however the nuanced colloquialisms is risked at the cost of brevity. For this reason, where necessary, the literal translations are accompanied by context interpretation to ensure that the richness of language meaning is not lost.

mechanisms, and explores the position of men in the households. The chapter is concluded with a summary of the main results (Section 4.6).

4.2 Household composition: a brief description of the households explored

4.2.1 A general overview

In this section I will describe my sample using figures and tables, and also refer to the genograms (see Appendix E). The latter provide a more detailed picture of the various households described. The findings focus on nine women[9] from eight households. Where information refers to individual women as informants the tables will reflect informants. In all other cases the tables show eight households which will be referred to by name.
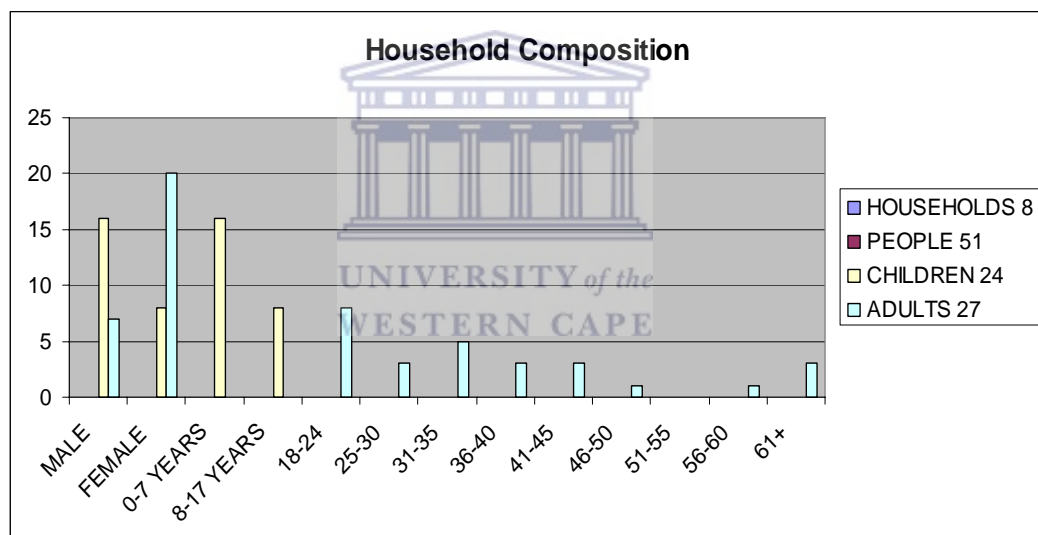
Figure 4.1: Demographics of people involved in the study.

Eight households were researched. Figure 4.1 details the demographic information in the study. It shows gender, children and adults, and the ages of each person described. If one includes the informants, 51 people were involved in the study. Of these, 24 were children and 27 adults. A significant 16 of the 24 children were aged between zero and seven years old, and were mostly male.

Of the adults, only seven were male and 20 female. Where males were present in the households included in this study, they were almost invisible (see Section 4.5.3). The table shows a spread of age groups from 18-years-old to older than 61. A significant eight women are between 18 and 24; three women between 25 and 30; five women between 31 and 35; three women between 36 and 40; three women between 41and 45; one between 46 and 50; and one between 56 and 60; with the remaining three women in the study being pensioners over 61 years old.
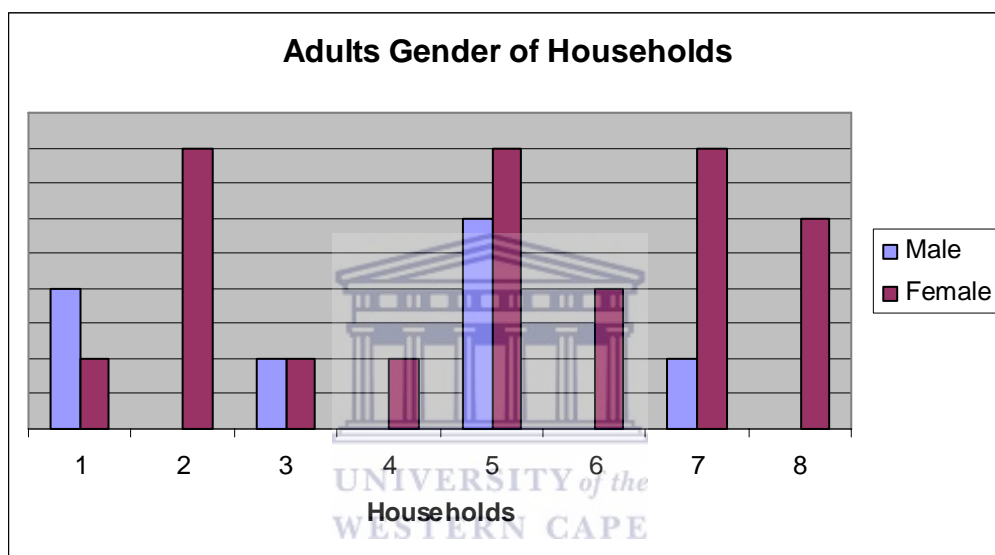
Figure 4.2: The gender of adults in households.

The above figure shows that in most households females are predominant. Households 2, 4, 6 and 8 contain only women.

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[9] The names of the informants have been changed according to the agreement made during the access phase of the research.

Household Composition
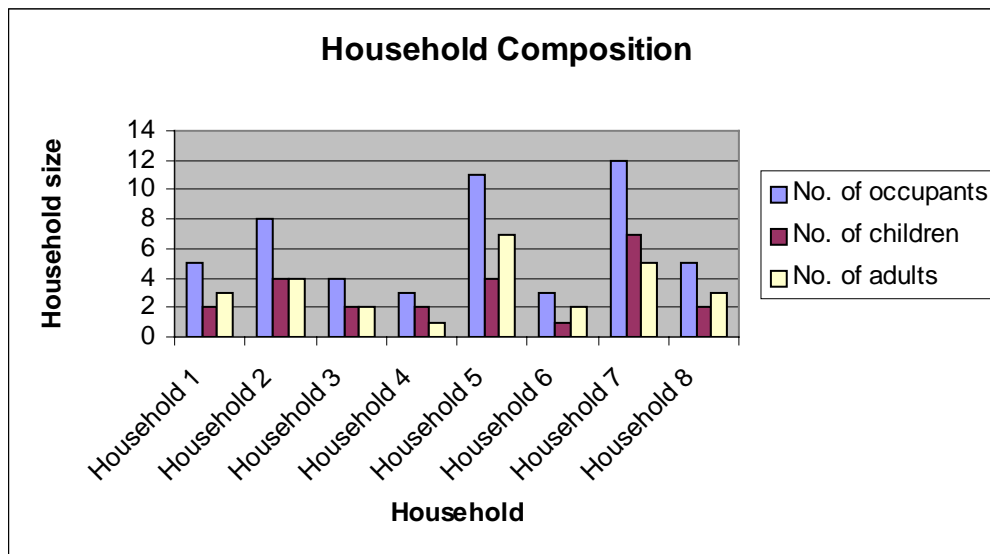
Figure 4 3: Households according to number of occupants, noting the adult/child ratios.

This figure shows the number of occupants in the households explored and breaks down this information into the number of adults and children 'involved' in the study as described by the informants. It shows that households # 5 (Johaar) and # 7 (Thomas) were larger households, numbering 11 and 12 occupants respectively. Households # 3 (Van der Haar), # 4 (Beiling) and # 6 (Van Wyk) were significantly smaller with only four occupants, with three each in the other two households.

The genograms show household composition, age and gender of the members, and the relationship between household members. They also provide additional detail such as information about family members not living in the household and the biological parents and sexual partners of the present and past. Both the genograms and tables will be referred to in the discussion of findings.

The eight households researched are depicted using genograms (see Appendix E1-8). A number of keys (in colour) have been modified to accommodate the diverse family pictures. There were larger households with as many as 12 members, seven of whom were children (Thomas household, genogram # 7) and smaller households with three members living at home such as the household that reported

a mother, her daughter and her daughter's child (Van Wyk, genogram # 6). An even smaller household (Beiling, genogram # 4), shows a mother and a set of twins. In one instance, I treated individuals living in two separate dwellings as members of a single household because they "ate from the same pot" (see World Bank definition in preface under definition of terms). This genogram shows two sisters, their mother and four children (Brady, genograms # 2a and b). The mother, Bertha Brady, stays with the younger of the two daughters Bettie (34) while the eldest daughter, Anna, stays with her own eldest daughter Laverne (24) and this daughter's child. This effectively reduced the nine entities to eight households in the case study.

Another household (Botha, genogram # 1), shows a nuclear family consisting of a father, a mother and their two children. In the Baseline study, this informant, Lina, reported herself as the household head. In addition, there is another son from the father's side, aged 18, who also lives with them. The Johaar household (genogram # 5), shows a fairly big family with the mother, a stepfather, the remaining unmarried children and their children, as well as a foster child. The youngest child in this household was at the time unnamed and only a month old. The Wessels household (genogram # 8) is a women-only household, with the informant's sister's child, and the informant's three year old boy, also living there. The Van der Haar household (genogram # 3) consists of a mother and a recently returned father, showing an example of the fluidity of households. This household has two children: a boy of 11 and a girl aged four.

In the discussion that follows, I show how household size and structure impact on the intra-household resources available and the consequent childcare strategies that women employ. Studies such as that by Chant (1991) show how household size and structure could enable employment by having members who could fulfill home maintenance or child rearing roles. Having able-bodied working adults in the home also infers a quality of life that hints at available childcare or material resources. Similarly, Tronto and Fisher (1990) argue that household members,

particularly those in a strong community setting, are likely to share ability factors. This point is detailed later in discussion showing how household composition, which is often fluid and changing, influences the practice of caring.

4.2.2. Who heads the household?

Seven of the nine women interviewed called themselves household heads on the basis of home ownership. Where there was a man in the relationship and the house belonged to the woman, she still said she was the household head (see genogram # 1). However, where the woman was married to the man, he was described as the household head (despite the Baseline study's description of that household as female-headed). The finding is thus that household heads are fluid by definition. Being legally married seemed to shift perception around headship, possibly due to traditional gender roles.

Two instances of the eight households included in this study reported a male being the household head, despite the Ceres baseline data capturing these households as female-headed. In one instance, the informant was not a household head but earned an income by doing childcare. Her mother had arranged for her to do the interview as the child caregiver. As an eldest daughter in the house she knew details of everyone in the household. In practice, her role was pivotal to the functioning of the household. When she described details of the household composition (see genogram # 5), she explained that her mother had remarried and that her stepfather, a devout Apostolic, was the head of the household "*want dit is hoe dit **moet** wees*" (*because that is the way it is **supposed** [10] to be*). All the women interviewed came from households that reported themselves as female-headed. In another instance, the Wessels household (genogram # 7), the man was mentioned as the household head because "*hy is die een wat nou werk" (he is the one that is employed at the moment)*. During the Baseline study, the granny was noted as the household head because of her pension money. As a seasonal worker Wessels' income was inconsistent when compared to the regular income of the

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[10] The word "supposed" alludes to the cultural mores of the community. She is tapping into an existing moral code that is unquestioned.

maternal grandmother. However, at the time of the study, he was an employed man who contributed to the household, and who had recently married the eldest daughter. The maternal grandmother was incapable, as a sick elder, of contesting the ranking in the household and in practice it was the daughter who made all the decisions regarding use of her pension money.

In contrast with this account, is that of the elderly grandmother in the Brady household (genogram # 2), who is fully functional in the household and makes a significant monetary contribution in the form of her pension grant. In this case there is a clear sense of the informant's mother being the household head despite the house being owned by the daughter (Bettie). In this instance headship is based on the most consistent form of income through the pension grant and possibly on the socially revered seniority of the able pensioner.

Based on the households investigated, it seemed that the definition of a household head was primarily based on who owned the house. Other factors that influenced the notion of headship were: decision-making; financial input; control of finances; and in the case of the newly weds and the remarried elderly mother, a gendered practice. Because the mother remarried, the new husband became the head of the home due to recognition of the power of patriarchy in the institution of marriage and religion. Because of changes in household composition and situation, headship of the household can be described as fluid. This is in line with research by Preston-Whyte (1988) in which she found that individual female-headed households have different needs at different times, which are affected by domestic cycles and economic and structural circumstances.

4.2.3 Household fluidity

Household composition can also be described as fluid. Murray (1987) attributes this fluidity to the economic needs of the family though migration and argues that household studies should follow individual members across space and time to

arrive at a more rigorous understanding of this phenomenon. Studies closer to home (Amoateng & Richter, 2003; Spiegel, 1986) also point to this fluidity.

In the Western Cape, the practice of working away from home two weeks at a time, or "*uitslaapwerk*" [11] *(sleep-out work)* is a form of migrancy which can explain how research surveys can miss household members as they shuttle between households and work opportunities. In six of the eight instances of *uitslaapwerk* mentioned in this study, the people used the home as a base, but sometimes the household changed in a more permanent way.

The Van Wyk household (genogram # 6) is another example of changing household composition. The informant's daughter Lynette described how her boyfriend slept over more than four nights of the week out-of-season and slept over every weekend, showing again the impact of the fruit industry on living arrangement patterns. In the Van der Haar household (genogram # 3) the informant drew attention to a change in household size and structure in mentioning the recent return of the father of her two children: "*Ons gaan nou trou. Die kinders raak mos nou groot… Hy kom **deesdae** elke aand in*" (We are planning to marry. The children are getting big … **These days**, he sleeps in every night).

These examples show how the changing economic circumstances and needs of household members affect household size and structure. This is echoed in the work of Ross (1996) who finds that household boundaries are blurred because of the relationships and connections that kin and community share.

4.3 Paid work and other material resources

4.3.1 Income and expenditure

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[11] The notion of "uitslaapwerk" involves working away from home usually at two week intervals in the form of contract labour as part of the requirements of the job

This section describes how women in the study managed their household through paid work and other material resources. In this sub-section I use information provided by the women to explain their income and expenditure patterns in the context of seasonal work. The sub-sections which follow present a basic look at expenses within the household. Material resources available to the household can be gauged by looking at the following: paid work; debt; daily and weekly expenses; and the most regular year-long form of income for all the households, state assistance. I also show examples of childcare as a form of income. Remittances make an important contribution to household survival, as well as clothing and food, which take the form of gifts, exchanges and remuneration for work done. Paid employment can be considered a caring practice in that it involves acquiring resources for the survival of family members. For Tronto (1993), paid employment would feature in her second phase, taking responsibility for care. I show instances of paid work as a more obvious provision of monetary resources, and at the same time I want to highlight the time spent on unpaid carework. Bozalek (2004), for example, found that the women in her study were both the primary caregivers and responsible for finding paid work.
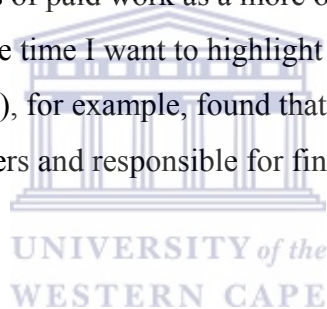
4.3.2 A basic look at expenses within the household

Women described their daily, weekly, and monthly expenses. The tables below show what the informants reported.
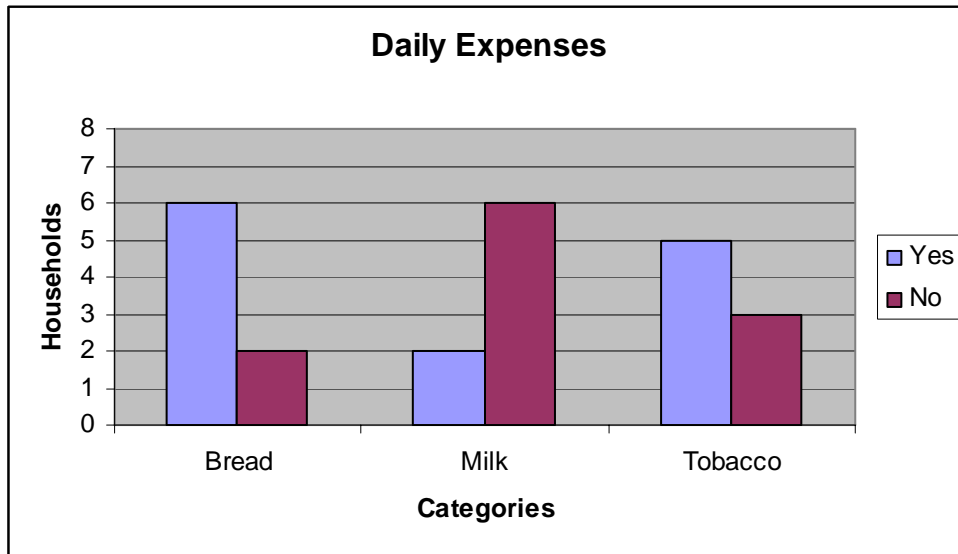
Figure 4.4: A description of daily expenses based only on bread, milk and tobacco.

In Figure 4.4, six of the households indicated that bread was a daily expense. The remaining two households baked their own bread and factored the cost into a weekly expense for flour and other ingredients. Milk did not feature as a daily expense with only two households out of eight mentioning it.
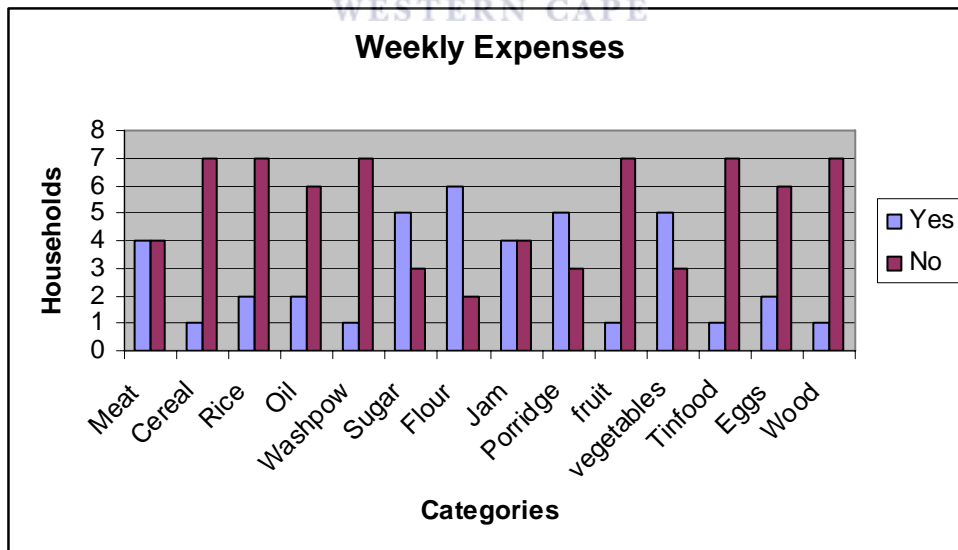
Figure 4. 5: A description of weekly expenses based on a bigger range of items.

Figure 4.5 is a result of coding (or weighting) the items that were mentioned. Meat, jam, flour, sugar and vegetables were reported by most of the households, while cereal, rice, fruit , tinned food and wood were least mentioned. The low weighting for wood suggested the women either used gas or electricity to cook, though four of the eight households indicated having had their electricity cut, suggesting the use of gas for cooking. However, none of the women mentioned gas. The low mention of fruit could be because the women get surplus at the packing houses they worked at. There was only one mention of washing powder, and no mention in the original list of soap, nor was it mentioned in weekly or monthly expenses. One can speculate that they took this expense for granted or simply forgot about it.
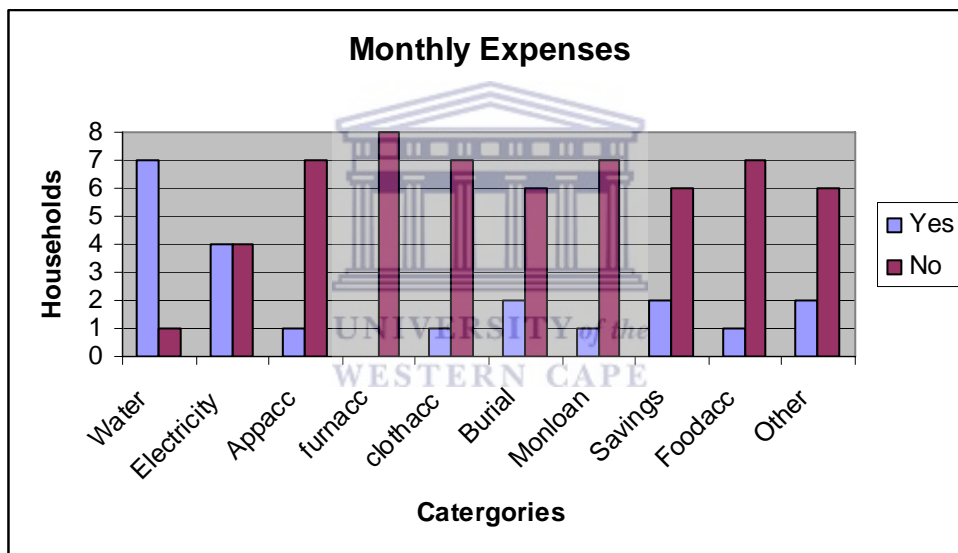
Figure 4. 6: A description of typical monthly expenses.

As can be seen in Figure 4.6, in terms of monthly expenses, water received mention in seven of the eight households, the exception being in the Thomas household where the informant indicated her husband paid the accounts. She did not perceive it as an expense because she did not pay it from her mother's pension money. Only one household indicated a formal monetary loan, though it was expressed in the interviews that money loans of different amounts occur

informally all the time, such that "*die een help mos die ander so uit*"[12](*the one helps out the other*). All the women struggled to sustain their households. Four of the eight women mentioned their electricity had been cut; two mentioned their clothing and appliance debts; two mentioned "*doodgenootskap*" (*burial funds*); and two mentioned "*besparing*" (*saving*) as an attempt to cope with "*die moeilike winter*"[13](*the difficult winter*). The two households that reported saving (Wessels and Thomas) were friends as indicated in the SNM. Only the Wessels household kept savings for winter, as the Thomas household had used the money that December for the marriage. The Wessels are financially more secure than other households, and have only one child under seven in their care. Of the other children (three girls all older than 16), one works with her mother to sustain the household, while the other two help with household tasks. In general, however, the women bought just what they needed, with their lives characterised by daily survival and living from 'hand to mouth'. Five of the nine women interviewed said they would buy "*on the boek*"[1](*buying on credit*) but only if they knew they could pay it back. Only one person reported having a food account, showing that buying on credit was not considered a food account because the arrangement was not formalised and consistent. One woman revealed that she had an appliance account that was frozen when she was not working out of season. The two reported incidents of burial funds coincided with the households having pensioned elders.

The women reported what household members contributed as a way of pooling resources. To illustrate, one informant shared that everyone in their household was obliged to pay R50 a week to the household head as a form of lodging to contribute to living expenses (Johaar household, genogram # 5). In contrast with this notion of pooling resources, is what one woman described as "*elkeen krap mos haar eie potjie*"[14] (*each person makes her own little pot*), whereby mothers

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[12] This suggests the notion of interdependency and reciprocity.
[13] The difficult winter is an expression laden with the acceptance of the challenging context of unemployment because of the seasonal nature of employment.

[14] This metaphorically means that each person is responsible for the feeding and fending of her own family

who shared a household were expected to take care of themselves and their children's material needs. Elsbeth from the Thomas household (genogram # 7) explained that her sisters were expected to contribute to the household by paying the informant for her childcare services. This example is expanded later in discussion on childcare as an income (Section 3.3). In their description of household functioning, Ginwala, Mackintosh and Massey (cited in Segar & White, 1992) note that there is an assumption of the household as a simple unit with common economic interests and a communitarian use of resources for the greatest benefit of all its members. The example given above illustrates that this household did not have common economic interests and that each individual was not pooling resources for the greatest benefit of all its members. In fact each mother was expected to take care of her own responsibilities. In reality, when the mothers in the household did not meet their responsibilities, it burdened the other members, thus exemplifying the pressures of the practice of caring.
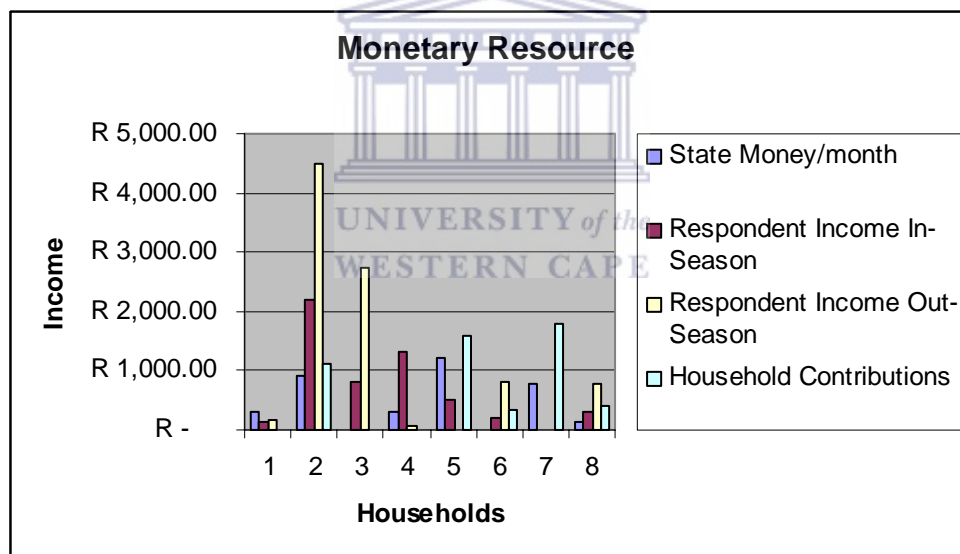
Figure 4. 7: Household monetary resources comparing the contributions of respondent income from both in- and out-of-season labour; state assistance; and the combined contribution of other household members.

Figure 4.7 above shows income as a monetary resource for the different households. The money received from the state was the *only* stable income received by the households. Income received from in-season paid work; from out-of-season paid work; and that from monetary contributions made by other

members in the household were all inconsistent. As shown, households # 3 and # 6 did not receive any income from the state. Although it seems that household # 2 had a significantly higher total monetary resource, it should be noted that income from two families was combined within one household. This table also represents possible in- and out-of-season income as well as social assistance over a 12-month period. The income received for in- and out-of-season work was inconsistent because of the duration of the period of work and therefore the income was spread over that particular period. For example, household # 3 had no state income and no contributions from other family members, but had inconsistent monetary income from in- and out-of-season remittances. Social assistance became important in households which contained eligible children and the aged. In sum, a household's financial wellbeing was dependent on household composition, in particular the presence of able-bodied working people.

4.3.3 Other material resources that contribute to household security

In two other instances (Van Wyk, genogram # 6; Wessels, genogram # 8), the grandmothers of the children received food from their eldest daughters and that food was relied on for the survival of the informant's mother's household. This point also underlines the responsibilities placed on the eldest child. In one instance (Van Wyk), the eldest daughter reported that she sent food with her child for both the child and his grandmother. In the other (Wessels), the grandmother said she regularly received food from her daughter who visits her mother only on weekends. Only one of the eight households reported a remittance as a regular and reliable form of income that was sent every fortnight (Johaar, genogram # 5).The fact that these women took care of their mothers in these examples supports the idea of caring "through duty and through traditional norms of caring" as described by Tronto and Fisher (1990:52).

A food source taken for granted was the surplus fruit that the women in the packing houses had access to. They were either given the fruit to eat during their tea or lunch breaks or it was sold to them as "waste" at a significantly reduced

price. This contributed to daily and weekly consumption. Biological fathers would occasionally give their children gifts of clothing. One example mentioned was a gift for the child's birthday; in another instance it was a school uniform. This was not seen as a reliable source. Fathers provided only when they chose to, despite the family sense of duty and cultural traditions of caring. The monetary contribution that men made in the household and as fathers of the children is expanded on in Section 4.5.3.

The notion of family was extended to godmothers who also gave their children gifts, especially of clothing, but whose more important role was as caregivers. This will be expanded on under childcare strategies (Section 4).
Other forms of caring through friendships are described by Tronto and Fisher (1990) as caring out of choice, noting how individuals come together as equals as long as this serves their "mutual advantage". I refer to this notion of helping equals as reciprocity, a notion that runs as a thread through all the findings where social capital and social relationships are drawn on.

Research showed women's caring needs differed. Their status, circumstances and relationships all influenced their need for care and their ability to practice care-giving. Of the three pensionable women in this study, for example, two were able-bodied and active. One of these two grandmothers practiced care-giving in the form of household management and childcare while the other one of the two grandmothers was a care-giver in terms of household management and as an active church member. But the third grandmother was a care-receiver as a frail and sickly elder who could not speak. She was taken care of by household members. In all three cases, their ranking as senior women with an income who play or have played a role as mothers, grandmothers and workers, influenced their caregiving and care-receiving.

The women said they got by with the help of their friends and family. "*Die een help mos* [15] *maar net die ander een so uit*" (*one person helps another*). The 1996 study by Ross of 'Domesticity in die Bos' [16] showed that people relied on each other, expecting help in return when needed. By contrast, not using these networks can lead to exclusion. For example, in the case of the informant in genogram #1, her preference was to ask for loans from strangers, even if she knew she could not repay the loan, so that she did not feel obliged to return what she had received. In the SNM this informant was not present in anyone else's description of who they considered part of their social support network, primarily because she chose not to reciprocate help. Further, because she was the only woman in the house, her bargaining power was limited compared to other households with more able-bodied women and daughters who could provide help or childcare for neighbours or friends.

Reciprocity was shown to be an important feature of support. In the SNM, when the women were asked who they considered to be part of the network in the pie section on friends and the section on neighbours, seven of the nine women mentioned other women in the study or family members of those women in the study.

4.3.4 State assistance

In the Johaar household (genogram # 5), income was more consistent in season as each working household member was expected to make a contribution to household expenses and the informant, Rose, received R130 a week for taking care of five children: three belonging to her sister from another household, and two from a sister in her household. In addition her brother working in Cape Town remitted R200 every two weeks. In terms of state assistance, her foster sister received a Foster Grant of R300 per month, her two children received R140 each per month and her pensioned mother received R620. This household that

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[15] The word "mos"showing emphasis is an indicator of the ingrained cultural mores attached to the notion of helping.
[16] The study is located in the community area referred to as "Die Bos" – literally "The Bush".

consisted of seven adults (one present only on weekends) and four children, depended on R3520 combined income per month, of which R1100 was state money. Not everyone in the household made their whole pay available, but further income could be drawn on if necessary. However, in terms of household eligibility criteria, the household should receive more financial support from the state.
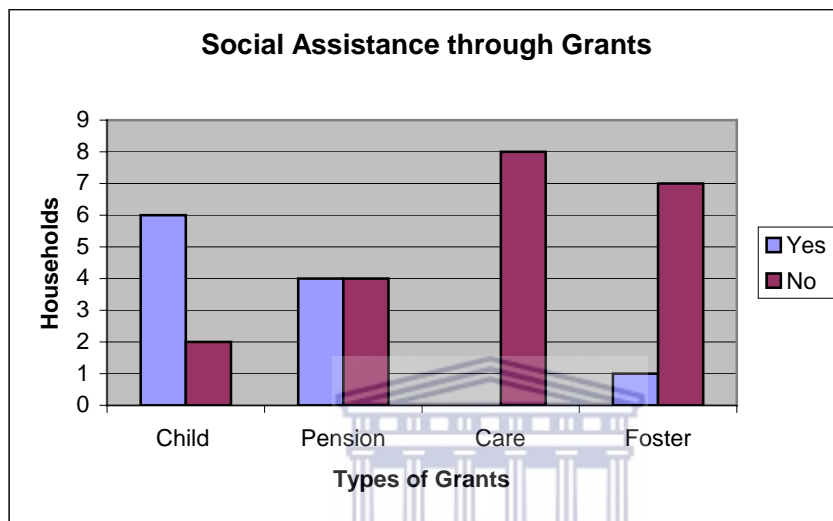
Figure 4. 8: Types of grants accessed by the households through social assistance.

Figure 4.8 shows the types of grants mentioned by the informants. The most frequently accessed grant was the Child Support Grant, followed by the Old Age Pension Grant. Only one person had a Foster Grant and no-one accessed the Care Dependency Grant. It seems that where there were children and the aged in the households, they were positively affected by social assistance grants.
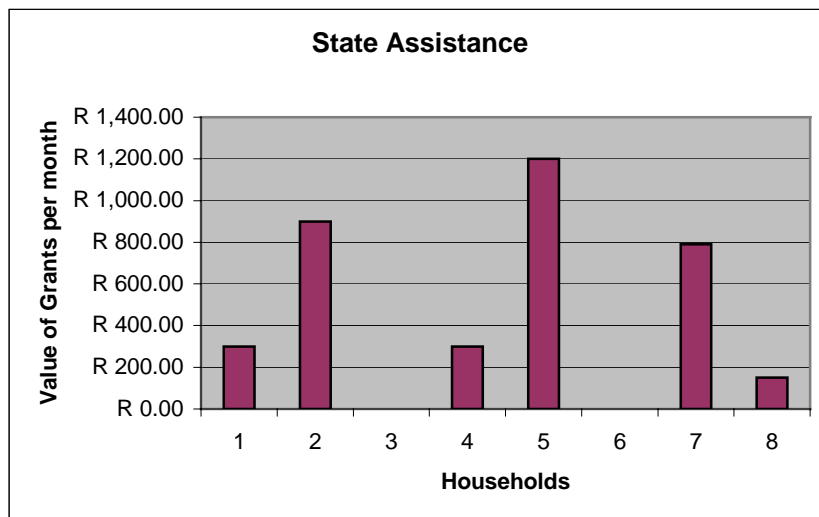
Figure4.9: The monetary value of social assistance accessed by the households.

Figure 4.9 show the value of the grants by household and makes clear that social assistance as a regular, reliable form of income is a significant contributor to household security. Seven of the nine women in the case study received a Child Support Grant of around R150 a month each. Estelle (genogram # 3) and Grietjie (genogram # 6) did not receive child support grants, though Estelle mentioned that after not receiving support from her child's father, in the month preceding the study, he had contributed. Lynette, the other instance of a mother that did not receive child support grants, described that she received R100 a month from her child's father.

In the Ceres Baseline study, the results show only one woman as a registered pensioner, although two women were entitled for social assistance. In my study, the interviews found that both eligible pensioners did receive the money. The genograms also showed how other eligible family members (females only) received pension money and who was likely to benefit as household members from the income (see genograms # 2b, 5, 8). Only one child support grant was mentioned in the Baseline study. Seven women mentioned having no grant, although all seven women in the study were entitled to social assistance.

4.3.5 Childcare as a source of income

Childcare is perceived as an income-generating service, particularly during harvesting season. The informant in the Johaar household (# 5) was paid a stable income during season looking after the children of her married sisters in an exchange that was seen as satisfactory for both sides. Out of season she took care of only her two children.

Similarly, the informant in the Thomas household (genogram # 7) took care of all her sisters' children while they were away doing "*uitwerk*" (*working way from home*) during season. This household comprised three sisters, their mother, and their children. According to the informant, one of the sisters, Bevey, contributed little in the way of household help ("*Sy roer wragtiewaar nie n' vinger nie)(she doesn't move a f inger)* nor did she pay "*oppasgeld" (childcare money)* of R50 each for her two children. The tacit agreement was that each sister will "*krap haar eie potjie*" by buying food and clothing and supporting their own children, and will pay the eldest sister Elsbeth to take care of them. This payment did not always occur. The other sister, Lana, though she sometimes missed a payment for her child, was willing to compensate by helping with the children and bathing the frail grandmother. The sisters Lana and Elsbeth have a relationship where there is perceived to be a just sharing of time, resources and skills as denoted by Tronto's ability factors (1993). However, censure was expressed about Bevey, who failed to share the food and clothing she received though her out-of-season char work.

The core of the Thomas household (genogram # 7) comprised three sisters and their children. On weekends another one of the sisters came home to visit, though her daughter stayed in the house. This particular household had the largest number of children. Five of the seven children are males aged between eight and 17. In this household, the boys sometime helped with household tasks. This is in line with a

South American study which found that in female-headed households, boys are more inclined to be involved in household maintenance tasks (Chant, 1991). In the Thomas household, the eldest child is a girl who helped organise the rest of the children.

Chant's (1991) study further suggests that the number of dependants in the household negatively influences whether women take up employment. However, in her study of women in the central Highlands of Guatemala, Katz (1995) finds that only daughters over the age of 10 are a statistically significant correlate with women's employment. This shows the importance, across geographical boundaries, of older daughters taking over their mothers' domestic tasks and releasing them for work outside the household.

4.3.6 Employment in season

Women work mainly as packers and sorters during season. Three of the women interviewed preferred working as "*nagwerkers*" (*nightshift workers*) in a packing house. This meant that transport was arranged, that they worked during the night when their children were asleep, and that they could return home the following morning to fetch their children after they themselves have had a short nap. These women arranged their sleep times around their children's needs, often getting less than four hours' rest if a caregiver was not available. The women mentioned that they tried to nap with their children during the afternoon and then got up to prepare supper and "*broodkos*" (*food eaten with bread*) for work.
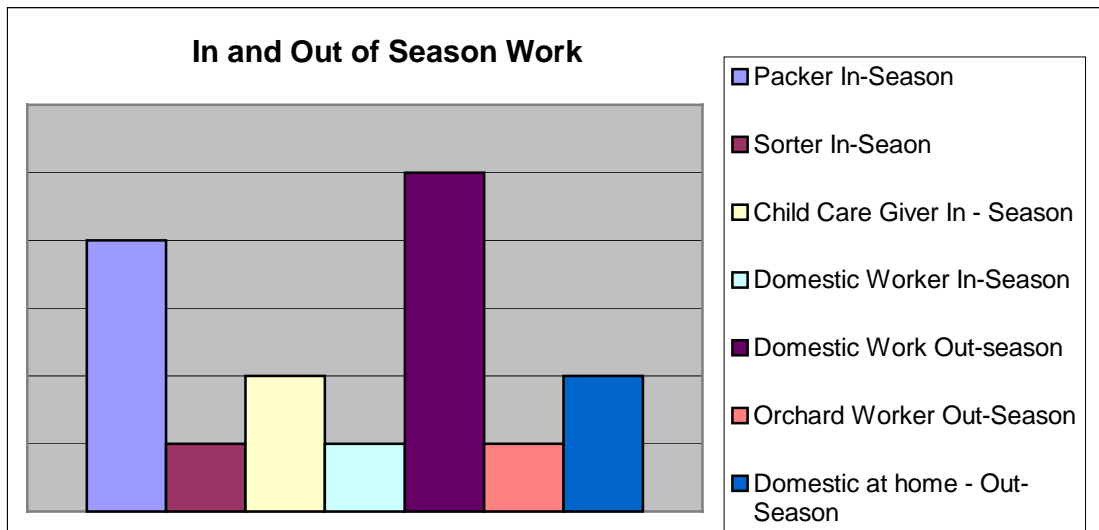
Figure 4. 10: Shows relative ratios of in- and out-of-season paid work and domestic work.

Figure 4.10 above indicates that two of the eight household report childcare in season, while only one household reports income from domestic work in season.
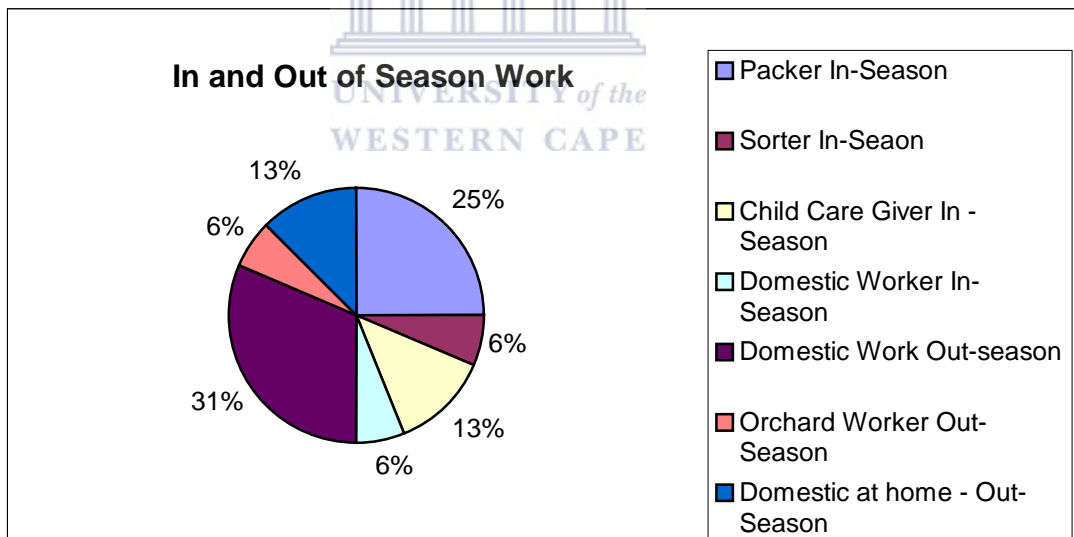
Figure 4.11 Shifts in work types available in-season and out-of-season.

The above pie chart Figure 4.11 indicates that packing and sorting fruit are the main jobs described in-season (31%) while domestic work forms the mainstay of alternative employment out-of-season (31%). All the women reported doing

(unpaid) work at home both in- and out-of-season, but only two women mentioned being paid for domestic work, the same two women who primarily do childcare in-season in the one instance and year round in the other. Low value is attached to unpaid domestic work. It is only when there was no other paid work that the women acknowledged their roles as domestics at home.

In the Ceres Baseline study only three out of nine women reported being dependant on seasonal labour, but my study sample indicated that all informants were in some way dependent on household members securing a job in the industry. Their working conditions are similar to those described in research on fruit workers in Chile where the authors found that women provided a cheap, flexible and highly skilled labour force (Barrientos, Bee, Matear, Vogel, 1999). In this study, the authors note that increased demand for women in the industry around harvesting season provides employment but at the same time limits these women's bargaining power as they are considered to be a surplus labour force (Barrientos, et. al., 1999).

4.3.7 Employment out of season

During winter, income from the fruit industry is scarce. As one woman put it: "*As dit Winter is, dan reen dit laat die glory draai, dan le almal baai*" (*During winter it rains, and everyone lies around relaxed).* Alternative employment is variable, usually short-term, though three women mentioned having reliable and fairly "permanent" employment. One informant worked for three months during season and for the rest of the year had a once-a-week domestic work shift with an elderly woman in Ceres.

According to Tronto and Fisher: "Women sell their labour as caregivers in the marketplace, offering their care-giving skills to those who can purchase care" (1990:48). However, the nature of domestic work of this sort is that it is flexible and secure income is not guaranteed. As one informant said: "*Sy sal 'n plan maak as daar oopdae is*" (*She will make a plan if there are open days).* "*Oopdae*" refers

to the times where she is available for work. The phrase *"sy sal 'n plan maak"* is a good indication of the nature of day-to-day survival where the colloquial expression of "making a plan" is commonplace. It also indicates a level of trust that something can be done.

Referring to genogram # 3, Estelle van der Haar worked as a char for a family member, contributing to their household survival .She worked for her sister out of season, and during season, that sister's daughter Amanda (16) took care of her four-year-old throughout the week. She fetched her daughter on weekends. Estelle mentioned that she sometimes receives money but mainly works in exchange for *"aartappels, twakgeld, kos uit die pot" (potatoes, tobacco money and food from the pot).* This situation shows a reciprocity in care-giving and care-receiving, in which Estelle's remuneration is an indicator of her household needs. This form of barter and exchange of goods for services is similar to the currency previously used on farms when the farm worker did not depend directly on cash to pay for goods and services.

My study findings on paid employment differed from that in the Ceres Baseline results. Three women in the Ceres study mentioned having no paid work at the time of the Baseline study, while only one was permanently employed, four seasonally employed and one occasionally employed. In my study Lina, Anna, Carol, and Estelle mentioned doing unpaid work. Grietjie, Rose, Truda, Estelle and Bettie mentioned having paid work, with two doing domestic work in private homes and the other three in the food sector. The differences in the findings could well reflect methodological differences between a large-scale quantitative study and my qualitative focus on a few households in greater depth.
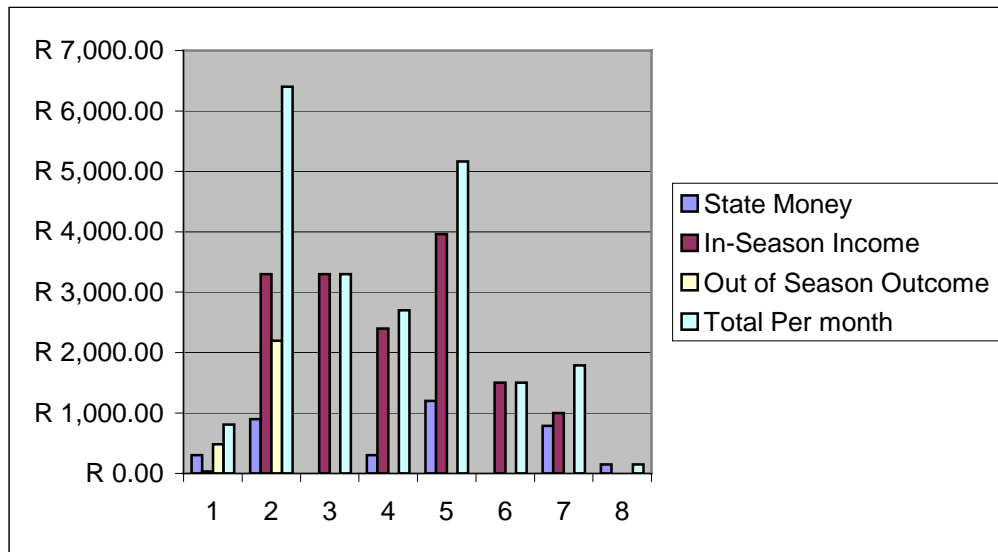
Figure 4.12: A representation of total monthly household income comparing the contributions of in -and out-of-season income and social assistance.

Figure 4.12 shows that social assistance is the most consistent source of income indicating an amount of above R6000 as an overall total per month in household two. This result is skewed because of the incomes that have been combined in this household. Household 5 shows that the more able-bodied working people in a household during season, the more the seasonal income. At the same time, the figure shows clearly the minimal income out of season.

4.3.8 Time as a resource

Time, according to Tronto (1993), is also considered an ability factor for the process of caring. For female household heads the physical and time pressures of harvesting season are added to by the demands of the different roles placed on them. Time became a scarce resource as workers "fell in" to the demands of the season and still negotiated meeting their own needs. The general flow of the day during season included preparation for the shift, returning from the shift, sleeping and very little else except preparing food for the family in the situations where women had someone to take care of their smaller children. If not, then they would either return home to sleep and fetch their children from where they were being cared for later in the day; fetch them immediately on return from the shift; or see

them only on the weekend. In that time, family and friends were taking care of the children.

This is how Truda described her day during harvesting season:

As ek werk binneseisoen, maak ek eers breakfas agt uur of so die oggend, dan slaap ek. As ek twaalfuur opstaan ,in die middag 'n bietjie eet en dan rus so vir 'n ¾ uur en dan eet ek weer so van 8-12, rus. 1 uur. reg opstaan.

 Vir ¾ uur maak ek kos. Van 3 uur af stryk ek my overal en dan maak ek aandkos, sit kos in, loop, reg vir 6 uur skof. My kinders slaap oor by my sister en my ma in seisoentyd sodat.

(When I work during season, I make breakfast firstly at 8 o'clock and then I sleep. When I wake up at 12 'o clock in the afternoon, I eat a little and then I rest for about ¾ of an hour and then I eat again. So from 8 to12 I rest. At 1 o'clock I wake up properly. For about ¾ of an hour I make food. From 3 o'clock I iron my overall and then I make supper, put in food and leave, ready for the 6 o'clock shift. My children sleep over with my sister and my mother during season.)

A day out-of-season in the case of Estelle, who does char work, begins at 4.30 am. She makes the bed, rinses out the bath basin, prepares lunch for work, readies herself for work and cleans up, by which time the children have been packed off to school. She then goes to her sister's house in the town of Ceres where she works until 5 pm.
"As ek daar is, maak ek eers lekker regmaak, eers lekker skoon en dan as ek daar vanaf kom, dan doen ek hier wat gedoen moet word."

 (When I'm there I first clean there thoroughly, maybe enjoyably [she said with pride] and when I return home, then I do what must be done here.)

This example shows how Estelle prioritises the work she does as a service over her own housework while at the same time working a double shift. This practice is not seen as unusual. In the interviews seven of the nine women could not clearly demarcate the day in terms of tasks and time use. As Estelle remarked: *"Die tyd gaan so gou as 'n mens besig is." (The time goes so quickly when you are busy.)* The fact the woman take household tasks for granted conforms with the Time Use study (see Chapter 2) where the researchers report having to prompt a response on childcare tasks either with direct questions or by coaxing a response. I was conscious of this consideration during the interview process.

Further evidence is provided in Table 4.1, using data from the Ceres Baseline study results and showing the same women's responses to the question: "What do you do for more than one hour a day in terms of household tasks or domestic duties?"

Table 4.1 shows that eight women mentioned doing household tasks or domestic duties. Elsbeth Thomas was the only exception, who ironically described her household role by saying: *"Ek weetie. Ek is maar net 'n huisvrou as ek dit nou so noem."* (*I don't know. I am just a housewife.*) Nussbaum and Glover (1995) found that even the women themselves do not value the contribution they make to both the household and to larger society as they have internalised the devalued perception of what a housewife does.

In the Baseline study, five women mentioned childcare: Lina, Bettie, Carol, Grietjie and Truda. There is no mention of caring for senior citizens, yet there should have been two instances. Seven women mentioned that they did shopping for more than one hour at a time, the exceptions being Estelle and Grietjie. It appeared that they delegated responsibility, since Estelle could ask her husband or her sisters to do this task, and Grietjie could ask Lynette.

	Frequency	Percentages
Homework/domestic work (cleaning and cooking)	8	88.9
Work in garden to produce food for householders	0	0
Caring for children	5	55.6
Caring for senior citizens	0	0
Caring for disabled persons	0	0
Caring for sick people	0	0
Fetching water	0	0
Fetching wood	0	0
Searching for work	1	11.1
Student	0	0
Self-employed in agriculture/food-related activities	0	0
Agriculture/food production for someone else	3	33.3
Self-employed in non-food production related activities	0	0
Shopping	7	77.8
Other	3	33.3

Table 4.1: Ceres Baseline data showing the household tasks and domestic duties described by the same women in this study (Du Toit, De Swardt and Poane, 2002).

4.4 Childcare strategies, household tasks and caregiving

4.4.1 The role of the family and its members

Different families assumed different strategies for childcare based on their individual and family needs, their access to social and material resources and their particular composition and circumstances. The following case studies illustrate how the different strategies relate directly to the composition of the family.

Lina, aged 32, (genogram # 1) had a fairly small family consisting of her husband, her husband's son and her two children aged three and nine months old. Her husband and his older son did not contribute financially to the household. Lina

preferred to ask for money or food from "*buitestaanders*" (*outsiders*) because then she didn't have to return the favour. Lina was not involved with her neighbours and preferred to keep a low profile. On very rare occasions she got help with childcare from her sister but largely she did not involve them in her life. They played a peripheral role as a material and childcare resource.

The case of Lina shows that while she reported having a social support system in the SNM exercise, she only mentioned one of the other women (who did not mention her). During the interview and at the workshop, Lina appeared to be very much a loner. It seemed even to her a worthwhile experience to consider and remind herself of the support she does have.

The following three cases refer to family ties called "*bloedverband*" (*blood ties*) with regard to childcare and household functioning. These cases show the importance of the immediate family in childcare arrangements.
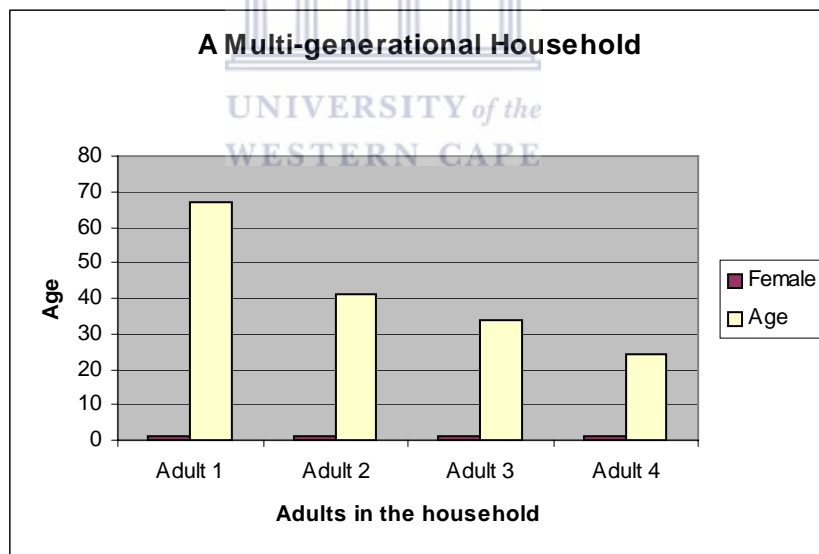
Figure 4.13: A representation of genogram # 2 showing a multi-generational household.

Figure 4.13 above represents two relatively small families – the Brady household – who negotiated their own childcare and shared resources. This table illustrates how three generations of women have their own internal social ranking (see also genograms # 2a and 2b). The women lived separately (though their genogram is

combined to show the linkages and is consistent with the definition of household where members share resources). The family consisted of two sisters, Anna and Bettie, their children and the ouma (maternal grandmother). Anna's house (genogram # 2a) comprised Anna and Anna's son, Laverne; Anna's daughter; and Laverne's son, Anna's grandson. In the other house (genogram # 2b), Anna's younger sister Bettie, stayed with their mother and Bettie's two sons from different fathers. Anna's grandchild and her son were often at Bettie's house in the care of their ouma. She said: "*Ek dank die here dat my mammie nog lewe vir die kinders.*" (*I thank God that my mother is still alive for the children.*) The mother/daughter relationship provided a resource in the form of financial, physical and emotional support. In Bettie's house, there was stable income from pension money.

Interestingly, Anna, who did not have ouma staying with her, mentioned a 65-year-old woman in her social network. She was a friend of her mother's, and possibly provided a surrogate parenting role.

Aliber (1999) referred to granny households that are run on the predictable and consistent old-age pension grant. In the Brady household, the able-bodied grandmother plays a pivotal role in the running of two houses.

Grandmothers play a vital role in childcare, even when they are not active or in the immediate household, by providing a regular income that would be used by others in the household. In the Thomas household (genogram # 7) the grandmother was too frail to help with childcare. Her daughter Elsbeth, said: "*Ag, foeitog, mammie doen niks. Sy sit net daar.*" (*Oh, shame, mummy does nothing. She just sits there*.) Elsbeth took care of both her and the children. This family was comparatively large, with 12 members, eight of whom were children, four under the age of seven. Elsbeth took care of her children and those of her three sisters. She asked for a financial contribution to the household and decided on the amount based on the help with household tasks. She did this throughout the year ─ both in-season and out-of-season. Elsbeth was the only woman in the case study

who did not seek employment. Her husband and sisters were expected to do that while she did the childcare and caring for her mother.

4.4.2 "Housechildren"

The Johaar household (genogram # 5) indicated a legal adoption by a family member. Another indicated a godmother taking full responsibility for the child born to Carol Beiling (genogram # 4). In the Wessel household (genogram # 8) the child went home occasionally but was essentially the household head's responsibility. This child was described as a "*huiskind" (housechild).*

The housechildren in the Johaar and Wessels examples (genograms # 5 and 8) showed a different form of surrogate parenting compared to that of Carol Beiling's "eldest" girlchild. In this example, Marteline, as her godmother calls her, is considered a *huiskind.* The primary caregiver, Annooi, did mention with some anxiety that she did not receive much money from Carol and suspected that she was collecting state support on her behalf because Carol did not want to give Marteline's birth certificate to Annooi. Because the mother did not share the resources that belonged to the child, Annooi as the godmother and primary caregiver was angry and frustrated.

In the Johaar example (genogram # 5), the housechild Sana was 17 years old and had been reared by her mother's sister who was officially considered her foster mother. She had been with the family for 10 years and was still at school. In the Wessel household (genogram # 8), Ina, who is Truda's sister's daughter, stayed with Truda. As head of her home, she unofficially carried the responsibility of her care.

Children become "huiskinders" for a variety of reasons. Sometimes they develop a bond with a particular family member and choose to stay with this member who they consider as their 'aunty'. Sometimes it is circumstances such as the convenience of living there, for example because it is closer to school. Sometimes

the financial position of the family members leaves one household better able to take care of a child. In the case of Ina, it was not confirmed why she stayed with Truda. It is possible the two older girls in the household (aged 19 and 22) provided peer company for Truda who was 16. These two examples show a form of childcare arrangement that places significant responsibility on those households in terms of the children's caring needs. The degree of responsibility is negotiated beween the parents concerned and the circumstances of the household. This negotiation would involve Tronto's ability factors (1993). These two examples also show the fluidity of household composition.

4.4.3 The role of the eldest child
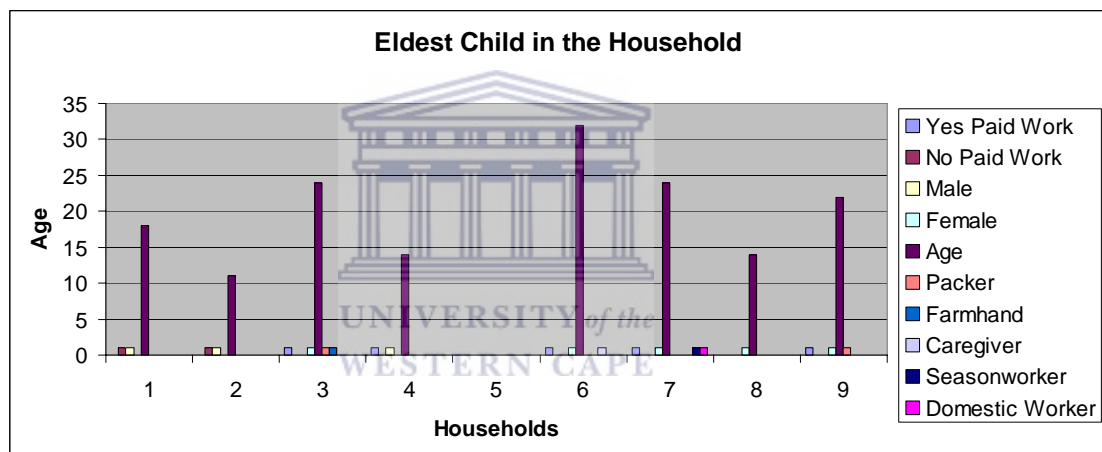
Figure 4.14: A representation of the eldest children of informants by age, gender and work status.

In Figure 4.14, the age and gender of the eldest children from the nine informants is shown. Five of the eldest children were female and ranged in age from 14 to 32, with four of the eldest being over 20. In all five cases the eldest did caregiving. In general, the eldest female is expected to play many roles within the household. Informant # 3 for example shows that she was a packer, a farmhand working in the orchard, and a caregiver. Similarly informant # 9 shows that the eldest was a packer and a caregiver. The role of the eldest female child was pivotal in the household in terms of paid work as well as caregiving. In the three examples of male children being the eldest, only the eldest (14) was expected to do caregiving.

In the remaining two examples, one was too young to work, the other (18) had just been released from prison.

In five of the eight households in the case study (Brady, Johaar, van Wyk, Thomas and Wessels) the role of the eldest female child was pivotal to the caregiving practice and functioning of the household, either through paid work or household maintenance. Where children (females) were old enough to go work and especially when they themselves had children, they would work in the household, do childcare or earn an income (genograms # 2a, 7 and 9). The eldest girl child in the household often had more responsibility than the rest of the siblings, sometimes acting as a surrogate parent.

The Thomas, Johaar,van Wyk and Wessels households show the important role that the female child often plays through paid employment and through household tasks. The van der Haar household was one of three instances where the eldest, aged 11, was a boy (genogram # 3). During the interview the mother kept calling to him to confirm information. She also showed off with pride a pigeon cage that he was building and relayed a story of how he gave most of his first income (doing holiday work) to his mother. His role seemed in some ways to be that of a surrogate husband. She had reared him without his father, though she had recently reconciled with his father. The findings in my study conformed with information from the Baseline study showing that for five of the women their children under seven were their second born, while for two of the women the children under seven were the third born. This suggests that in five cases older children could possibly help take care of the under seven-year-old.

4.4.4 The role of extended family

The children in the research area often all play together and an adult would be nearby to watch over them. Adults and older children take responsibility, both formally and informally, for the children. In this regard**,** the role of extended family has been documented by Chant (1991). She shows how one member of the

household's role in childcare frees another up for employment. Bozalek's work in South Africa (1999, 2004) confirms the importance of extended families and the role they play in childcare, whether the extended family shared a home or not. She writes: "The results of this research therefore support Kittay's (1997:2) observation that poor women who have dependency responsibilities along with paid employment often rely on female familial help to assist them with these responsibilities." This does, according to Bozalek, continue a chain of vulnerability. In her findings, children were cared for by their grandmothers, aunts or siblings (Bozalek 2004:3).

Kritzinger's (2003:14) study on women contract workers in South African fruit farms also confirms the role of the extended family in "sustaining their livelihood and coping with reproductive work". She goes further to describe all women in her study as the "enablers of household survival and sustainers of intergenerational support networks".

4.4.5 Role of friends, neighbours and social networks

Women would sometimes ask a friend to look after their child if they needed to go somewhere quickly. Lynette van Wyk (genogram # 6) sometimes did that for Estelle, especially when she had to go to clinic to get her TB pills. Estelle's sister's 11-year-old would then take care of the elderly and frail *ouma (maternal grandmother)* (genogram # 7). During the SNM workshop, where neighbours perceived that help was reciprocated, they referred to their neighbours as friends but if help was unidirectional, then the women called the people neighbours. This was illustrated when the women had the choice to mention friends and neighbours in their charts.

Most of the women had been living in the area for five years, which suggested that they had had the time to build relationships with people in the immediate area. Often friends and neighbours as well as family would consider each other when job opportunities arose. This is in accordance with DFID's notion of social

capital, in which the community represents a valuable source of labour and connections (Du Toit, 2003, 2004; Kritzinger, 2003).

The idea of neighbourliness went even further. When people were perceived as having more than others, they felt obliged to help those people. This was what one woman described as being neighbourly:

"Nee man ,sy moet gee. Sy het. Nie moet gee nie, maar as 'n mens uitreik na jou naastes dan ontvang jy mos meer seninge."

(No man, she must give. She has got to. Not got to, but if a person reaches out to the people who are close to you, then you get more blessings.)

Help in this case had religious undertones. During the SNM workshop it was confirmed that everyone knew each other. In some cases they mentioned the same neighbour or shared friends from different social network maps. One notable exception was Lina who chose to get help from "*buitestaanders*" and to have little neighbourly involvement. Elements which contributed to making or breaking relationships included proximity; shared circumstances; opportunities to help each other through childcare or lending some food; buying an item when someone went to the shops; travelling the same route to town; and having children of similar ages playing together. Cleaver (2003) alerts us to the idea that social capital can be enabling or constraining as people negotiate within a specific context guided by cultural mores and shifting circumstances, needs and dynamic relationships. The examples illustrate that reciprocity is an important enabling or constraining feature in relationships. In the case of Lina, it was clearly constraining.

4.4.6 Case study: The absence of immediate family

A clear study of the value of social capital is provided by that of Carol. Now 29, she was reared by her *ouma* in Calvinia, lived with family in the AgterWitzenberg and moved to work in Cape Town before the age of 15. At 17 she had her second

child (Marteline) who was being raised by the child's *peetma (foster mother)* Annooi. The child's father raised her first child on a farm that she worked on. At the time of the interview, she was living in her own house with her set of twins aged two-and-a-half . According to Annooi, Carol had no family to draw on: *Sy't nie mense, sy't nie familie rondie." (She hasn't got people. She hasn't got family who live nearby.*) The help that Carol gets is based on the relationships she sustains and the compassion that people have for both her and her children. On the occasions that Carol stayed with Annooi, after her electricity was cut for two months and for a few months when one of the twins became gravely ill, Annooi tried to "*druk die moederskap, druk die ma-skap in.*" (*Instil her philosophy of motherhood and teach her how to be a 'proper' mother, again referring to cultural mores.*) Despite Carol having disappointed Annooi by not being an example of a good God-fearing woman and mother, she and her twins were still taken in:

"*Ons is Godvreestelik. Ek is bekeer en so…, en toe slat sy weer haar rigting in. En wat se die mense hier rond nie? En toe was my hart nou weer klein en toe vat ek maar nou weer die tweeling. Ok. Wat is 'n ma?… Toe kry ek haar nou weer jammer en toe help ek haar nou weer.*"

(We are God-fearing. I am saved … and then she behaved the way she usually behaved. And what will the people in the community say? And so my heart got small (metaphor for feeling sympathetic) and so I took her twins into my home. OK. What is a mother? [suggesting that it is a motherly thing to do]. So I felt sorry for her and I helped her again.)

In this case surrogate parenting in the form of unofficial foster parents shows that children are sometimes reared by caregivers because of the relationship that they have with the caregiver and not because of payment through "*oppasgeld*" or a sense of duty through family obligation or family love. Annooi and her husband were rearing Marteline because they loved her as their own. When six-year-old Marteline asked about her unknown biological father, Annooi's husband replied:
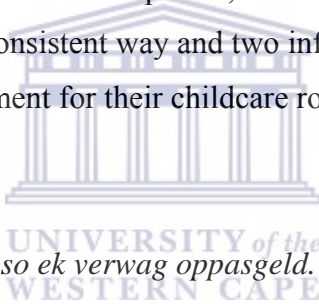
"*Moenie jou bekommer oor 'n pa wat jy moet loop rondsoekie. Jy's my kind.*"
(*Don't worry about a father that you still have to walk around to find. You are my child*). In two other cases "*peetmas*" or "*aanneem mas*" (*foster mothers or godmothers*) (see genograms # 1, 3) were also shown to provide clothing, food and childcare roles. However, in these cases, the children stayed with the mother and the mother had family in the area.

4.4.7 Childcare costs

Childcare costs influenced childcare strategies. Women were generally reluctant to make formal childcare arrangements because it was too costly. *"Ons los hulle nie by ander mense nie want die mense wil geld hê – en dan betaal jy! Mense vra vyftig rand per kind."* (*We don't leave them with other people because those people want money – and then you pay! People ask for R50 per child*). If childcare arrangements were made informally, the women would sometimes give *"twakgeld, of geld vir 'n koeldrankie of so"* (*tobacco money or money for a cooldrink*) which is much more affordable.

In these instances, compensation is more likely to take the form of barter, the exchanging of help, food or services. However, some form of payment is expected. Of the eight households explored, two households paid their family members in money in a consistent way and two informants from the remaining six households received payment for their childcare roles. One informant described her situation:

"Dit word van my gevra, so ek verwag oppasgeld. My sister het my vyf of tien rand per dag gegee vir drie weke. Dan gee sy daai tien rand so swaar,dan vra ekkie weer nie. Ek het die kind (drie jarige) oppie lorry gesit! Ek wou nie maar sy willie betaalie."

(It is asked of me, so I expect childcare money. My sister gave me five or 10 rand a day for three days. Then she gave it so heavily [suggesting reluctance] so I didn't ask again. I took the three-year-old and put him on the lorry! [taking the mother to work] I didn't want to, but she didn't want to pay.)

This quote shows the importance of acknowledging in payment or kind in the form of reciprocity. It underlines the presence of unspoken rules and expectations with regard to childcare in this household. The sister who does not subscribe to what Cleaver calls "cultural mores" is "punished" (2003: 3).

4.4.8 Practice of childcare

The women described childcare functions as ensuring the children's essentials were in place: feeding, eating, sleeping and playing, with an emphasis on safety. They often entrusted this care to family or friends. Perhaps the fact childcare is associated with being a natural human process did not give the informants cause to go into further detail, though I prompted them. The women's description of childcare however is in line with the significant developmental stage of the zero to seven age group chosen for the sample. At this formative stage of development, it is argued that children demand more time and are more dependent with regard to caregiving and care-receiving. It is exactly this dependence and its time demands that confine women to stereotypical roles (Kabeer, 1995). The literature does not seem to account for the relative independence of the children over seven years old. This is evident in the examples showing the expectations of the eldest female child. During my interviews in the community I noticed children aged up to six playing with each other. These young children in turn are taken care of by the older children, both inside and outside the homes.

Trust is another important factor in care-giving. With family members and with friends there is an unspoken code of conduct and trust. Tronto and Fisher (1990) describe how in traditional small communities, an adult may scold or help a child as if it were their own. According to these authors, caring is seen as just when it refers to a shared standard by which each gives and receives her due. Trust results because these standards are shared, and one can count on other community members to maintain them (Naples, 1987, cited in Tronto & Fisher, 1990).

Estelle, for example, disclosed that when she was in the TB hospital and her friend was looking after her three children, her friend had phoned to warn her that her husband had become *"klouerig met haar oudste" (touchy with her eldest child [connoting sexual]).* Estelle said that she had rushed home. Trust therefore plays a fundamental role in childcare and the women would only leave their children with people that they had a relationship with. Even then, there were risks.

Another example where the issue of trust was reported, although this time suggesting a shortfall of competence, was with a woman who reported doing "*uitwerk*" for a short time. She said that she worried about her son and came home because she did not trust her husband to take care of him. Whether this was ascribed to an assessment of his parenting skills or general testimony to typical male gendered behaviour, is not clear. What was clear is that the shared norms and expectations of caring for their son were not being met through the ability factors described by Tronto and Fisher (1990).

4.5. Other possible resources

4.5.1 Coping mechanisms

A number of potential coping mechanisms were highlighted by the study, principally recreation, churchgoing, violence, theft and alcohol misuse. While not strictly recreational, watching television, listening to music and visiting friends and family seemed to be the only recreational activities which could be considered a resource for managing their lives. A study by Du Plessis (2001) on farm workers in Wellington showed that women have few recreational activities to help enrich their lives. In this study, one informant mentioned:

 "*Ek moet maar gaan kuier. Dan gaan kyk ek tv, Sewende Laan, want ons hettie tv.*"

(I must go visit. When I'm there I watch "Sewende Laan" [South African drama series] because we don't have a television set.)

The study revealed three camps of people in relation to alcohol use: those who were clearly dependent; those who did not drink at all because they were saved as churchgoers; and those who did a little of both. Four women in the eight households used alcohol to help them cope. To what extent it was a problem

cannot be established, except for the reports on how it affected their daily responsibilities in terms of taking care of their children, themselves and their homes. One informant who took care of one of the woman's children described that the child was scared to go home because she, her brother and sister were locked in:

"Annooi, *ek gaannie weer huistoe want my ma sluit vir ons toe*", *met daai twee kindertjies dan gaan sy na daai smokkelhuistoe en dan los sy vir hulle alleen. Dit het my hart so seer gemaak. Dan sluit sy, dan loop sy.*

(Annooi, I'm not going home again because my mother locks us in", with those two children, then she goes to the shebeen and she leaves them alone. It really hurt me. She just locks and goes.)

The informant describes a separate incident:

"*Kyk wat het sy nou hier kort gemaak met daai klonkie. Sy vat hom en die meisiekind en sy los hulle gou. Sy gaan glo net dorp toe. Daai vrou sien vir haar sondagmore. Sy los daai kind net so. Toe loop haal sy die kind en vat hom die volgende oggend na iemand anners. Nee, dissie reg wat* sy *maak.*

(Look at what she did recently with the little boy. She took him and the girl and she left them quickly. She claimed she was just going to town. That woman will only see her Sunday morning. She left the child just like that. So she fetched the child the following morning and left him with someone else. No, it's not right what she's doing.)

Both these quotes illustrate the censure ascribed to Carol's behaviour in leaving her children. The main concern expressed by Ronel is that Carol is not being a mother, and is not fulfilling her responsibilities and her role by taking care of her own children. The flip side of the story is to show what chances the woman will take to get alcohol and also what she is prepared to do in order to have time

without the children. The story also highlights the conflict between stereotypical expectations of caring and mothering with the mother's individual needs. In not so subtle ways, cultural mores and expectations are thus brought to bear on members of the community.

Alcohol abuse is present in the community, though its use is also open to community scrutiny. One informant described an incident in which the cost of alcohol was seen as putting the health of this mother's children, aged three and eight, at risk. According to the informant, the woman goes into debt for alcohol:

"As dit by Maandag kom, dan soek sy 'n kopskiet , vir babalas oormaak"
Sy het wynskulde. Die smokkelaars wag vir haar."

(When it comes to Monday, she looks for more alcohol, to help her manage her hangover. She's got alcohol debt. The shebeen owners are waiting for her.)

In her publication on gender relations and the informalisation of farm employment, Kritzinger (2003) describes alcohol dependency as a significant health hazard, in particular the effects of the Dop system of part payment for labour with an alcohol ration. She cites London's study on alcohol consumption among farmworkers in South Africa's deciduous fruit industry, which states that "the past and current Dop practices pose substantial challenges to the transformation of health services currently underway in South Africa" (London, 2000:119, cited in Kritzinger, 2003). The women in this study were not living on the farms but the ripple effect of the Dop system as a historic form of payment and the consequent dependencies it created, are still evident in day-to-day living for all the people in the industry.

Two households did not use alcohol at all and were seen as *"kerksmense" (churchgoing people).* Their use of the church as an institution and as a guide and monitor of acceptable social behaviour is echoed in the findings of Salo's (2004) study which showed the women in Manenberg had a shared notion of

respectability in the community through their practice of religion that helps them endure hardships and personal challenges.

Violence can also be seen as part of the dark side of coping. It is one of the means by which frustrated, angry people manage conflict. During the semi-structured interviews it was noted that Lina's stepson was out on parole for theft. She defended the boy's honour after a weekend fight because if he were caught fighting, it would have jeopardised his parole. A general comment on practices such as alcohol misuse, theft and violence is that they are often not sufficiently researched because of their sensitive nature. To some extent, they are obscured realities.

Testimony to this fact is that none of the informants reported alcohol as being a daily, weekly or monthly expense, yet it clearly carries cost.

This study was not geared to investigating these aspects, though key elements of the 'dark side' of poverty did emerge. This dark side is unfortunately a real part of human behaviour that is evaluated relative to other people's standards, values and perceptions. It is also linked to the stigma of poverty, which manifests in the stereotype of poor people being labeled as dirty, lazy, violent and disrespectful (Richter, 1994). This perception reinforces notions of poor people being unproductive and thus dependent on social assistance, and it is this thinking which government, through social assistance programmes, guards against being referred to as a "culture of dependency".

4.5.2 The role of institutions

Churches and traditional caregivers in the form of pastors, teachers and social workers were also seen as a resource. This came up particularly during the SNM workshop. There was a correlation between women who mentioned the church as an important source of support and those who did not drink. The Johaar household in particular, had a strong religious influence, with one of the informant's brothers

being a pastor doing voluntary work in the community. Four of the nine women referred to the church as a resource.

 The four crèche principals interviewed indicated that none of the eight households used a crèche. However, one principal pointed to a growing incidence of single mothers and indicated that the numbers of children enrolled reduced drastically when the harvesting season came to an end. The crèche principals in the lower-income areas seemed to be more informed about female-headed households. The attrition of crèche enrolments was confirmed by the social worker who said that "*elke moontlike sent gaan in kos. Dit gaan oor oorleef*" (*every possible cent goes into buying food. It's about survival*). Another factor is that children are kept at crèches beyond school-going age as crèches cost less than pre-primary schools. One principal mentioned that the pre-primary dismissed their children at twelve o'clock, but the hours at the crèche were longer, so the mothers did not have to make additional childcare arrangements.

4.5.3 Where are the men?

Of the nine women interviewed, six were not in any kind of sexual relationship. According to Carol:

 "*Dis beter. Vir my voel dit oor die algemeen beter versorg. Dan weet ek ek is alleen met die kinders. Ek sienie meer kans om 'n man te vat. Ek kyk deesdae mans anders soms aan. Dit is nie die moeite werd.*"

(*It's better. For me it feels like I can generally take better care. Then I know that I am alone with the children [suggesting men are not reliable]. I don't see at this point , that I want to take a man. It is not worth it.*)

Men were present when the women were living with the "*kinders se pa*" (*children's father*). This confirmed the social worker's explanation of these kinds

of relationships as "*saambly sonder papierwerk*" (*living together without legal documentation [ie, a marriage certificate]*).

The head of social work in the area described a few possibilities that could account for the growing trend of female-headed households in which the men are absent and the women are the breadwinners. She said:

"*Die uitwerkers wat van 'n ander dorp, of van ons tuislande, afkom, vat die vroue van die area en bly met hulle vir jare sonder dat daar papier werk is. "En op 'n dag wanneer hy besluit dat daar nou net mooi genoeg gehad het, of hy kry werk op 'n ander kant van die land, nou gaan hy weer daarntoe an hy los vir sussie net daar en dan is sussie 'n enkelmammie. Of dalk is dit die geval van inslaapwerk in die Kaap waar sussie iemand ontmoet en swanger huistoe kom, los die kind en gaan terug en oor 'n paar maande is sy weer swanger en weer terug . Die familie sorg dan vir die kind. Daar is ook die geval van pa's in gevangenis en dan is daar net die geval van die jong meisie wat nie skool toe wil gaan nie maar sy is te jong om te werk . Sodra sy beginne werk is sy tien teen een swanger 'n paar jaar of maande later en sonder 'n pa vir haar kind.*"

(*The people who come from areas out of town or from other towns to come and work, or people who come from the then homelands, have relationships with women in the area and stay with them for years without paperwork. And then one day, when he decides he has had enough, or if he has found work on the other side of the country, then he goes there and then he leaves sister and then sister becomes a single mother. Or sometimes there is the instance when a father is in jail, or the case of the young girl who refuses to attend school but she is too young to work. As soon as she starts working, nine out of ten times she becomes pregnant and a few months or years later she is without a father for her child.*)

Her explanation reiterated an old lament about relationships, broken promises of love and the use of sex as an expression of need and love and as a commodity. The absence of men is also tied to our patriarchal heritage and to the nature of

seasonal work in the fruit industry. In the past men were assured of a relatively stable income and a home. Their status and rank as head of household was virtually unquestioned. However, seasonal work and migrancy, coupled with changes to legislature and therefore labour demands in the sector, has deflated the status of men and left women more able to head households as breadwinners and homeowners. The research showed that men were not responsible for their children or held responsible in the same way as the women were, thus assuring the men more mobility to find a job, partner or another life elsewhere.

In one example, where a father was present and accounted for in the household composition, he worked on weekends or out-of-season in the yard where he would "s*pan drade" (tighten fences*) and other "*loswerkies" (odd jobs)* to contribute to household expenses. His childcare role at any time was usually limited to what the informant referred to as "'*n half uur of so speel met die kind of doekies omruil.*" (*a half-hour or so playing with the child or changing a nappy*). In two other instances it was mentioned that the biological fathers would take their children out for a few hours on a weekend.

In the context of the fruit industry where employment opportunities are scant and inconsistent, and where work hours when available are long and not well paid, it is evident that livelihood is fragile. The people in Ceres are in many ways trapped both circumstantially and structurally in a poverty bind typical of the chronically poor. Aliber (2001) described female-headed households, and particularly agricultural workers, as among "the vulnerable poor", noting the tenuous situation of people dependent on the fruit industry. In Du Toit (2003) the community is referred to in colloquial terms as the "*agtergeblewene gemeenskappe" (left-behind communities)* referring to the rhetoric around poor people. The language construct of communities that are "left behind" shows the ironic but unstated awareness of those who use the word that mere survival stunts long-term development and is contradictory to sustainability from the level of household heads to the macro context of communities such as Bella Vista. This is supported in the Baseline study done by PLAAS and the UWC School of Public Health in 2002. Where

women as heads of households are caught in the double bind of both child-rearing and breadwinning, the context demands urgent attention is given to the resources they have available to help them fulfill the developmental imperatives of their families.

4.6 Overview of main findings

The kind and amount of material resources available are directly dependent on household composition and this household composition changes based on the needs, context and circumstances of all the household members concerned. There is no single description of the household composition of female-headed households, though the headship and household membership can be described as fluid. The findings on housechildren arrangements show that childcare can be understood as an example of one such need.

The women who were household heads considered themselves to be so based primarily on home ownership, consistency of income, seniority and household decisionmaking. The women who lived in reported female-headed households and who changed headship considered it to be associated with gender. In addition to the other factors previously mentioned that defined headship, the gender socialisation factor seemed to override those factors in the instances where women got married echoing the ingrained perception of the patriarchal head of the household.

The nature of seasonal agricultural labour has far reaching effects on care-giving for female household heads. There is a contradiction between having no time in season (but having access to material resources), and then having more individual and family time out of season but having few material resources. This extends to issues of vulnerability and strategies needed for survival, noting that the women's caring practices are dictated by the cyclical demand and supply of the agricultural season.

Income and expenditure were reported in a very basic way indicating the survival needs of the households. State assistance in the form of child support grants, old age pension and in some instances, the foster grant provided the most consistent year round income. Seasonal income was fraught with the pressures of time and energy demands on the women as workers and rippled into the managing of the household and caring of household members. Domestic work was flexible and in some instances inconsistent and yet it formed the main alternative form of employment out of season though in some instances seasonal work staggered for up to six months of the year. Domestic work was often paid in kind as a form of exchange of services for household material needs.

Time and resources were the main ability factors as described by Tronto that disable women as empowered capable and flourishing beings flagging the need for skills development for yearlong employment as another ability factor.

Both extended and especially immediate family played a significant role as a social resource in the practice of caregiving. In some cases the role was central such as the role played by the able bodied senior ranking grandmother or the eldest girlchild. In some instances the role of the family was seen as peripheral to the practice of caregiving such as the role that other children play by helping the practice of caregiving

In situations where the role of the family was more peripheral, friends, neighbours and institutions such as the church played a role in support either as a supplement or as a complement to existing social and material resources. Friends and neighbours played such significant roles in the practice of caring that they were considered immediate family such as the notion of godparents and housechildren. A case study was presented to illustrate this point.
They also provided ongoing and short notice material and childcare support typical of day-to-day routine needs and crisis situations. Given that the households that helped each other were themselves struggling to meet their own daily needs, it entrapped the women contributing to the understanding of them as chronically

poor. This idea of the struggling caring for the struggling in different phases at different times explains the criteria of reciprocity in relationships in both family and especially friends so that the women's survival needs were met only in the short term stunting their own development and empowerment. In Du Toit (2003) the community is referred to in colloquial terms as the "*agtergeblewene gemeenskappe" (left –behind communities)* referring to the rhetoric around poor people. The language construct of communities that are "left behind" shows the significant albeit ironically unstated awareness of those who use the word that *survival* stunts long term development and that *survival* is contradictory to sustainability and that *survival* stunts household heads, the individual household members and the larger macrocontext of Ceres communities such as Bella Vista. Childcare costs were unaffordable. So much so that the women in the study did not use crèches as formal institutions and were reluctant to source childcare in a paid form unless it was from family and reciprocated in some way. Childcare was used in one instance as a form of income during seasontime where there is a demand for childcare. Payment in kind and exchanging of childcare favours were the main forms of childcare costs. The custodial practice of childrearing was described in a taken for granted way for both in season and out of season. Childcare practice was described by caregivers as either household heads or mothers of children or as both, in a fairly adhoc way in line with the survival and pressurised context of season. Out of season the women's childcare practice is different only in so far as now they themselves take care of the child/ren. Alcohol, theft and violence were identified as the dark side or as self-destructive coping mechanisms. The results showed that institutions such as the church played an important role in these women's survival through the pastors and church community.

Household membership fluidity, limited and temporary employment choices, childcare strategies that depend on relationships with family or friends, and their employment context all suggest that women are limited in their development as empowered female-headed households in relation to the choices they have as caregivers. It is only through this acknowledgment of the role women as

caregivers, as unpaid worker that we can begin to address issues of empowerment. The men were relatively absent from the data not the least because the study was on female-headed households, but because the women seemed to survive largely independent of them showing in some cases that the women rear their children without any consistent or relied upon material or emotional support. Where men were present, the role in caregiving through paid work, childcare or household tasks indicated that even though men were unemployed and available at home that they were not necessarily more instrumental in household tasks or caregiving practice. In the instances where men were working, they were considered household heads showing that the gendered notion of men as the main breadwinners is still ingrained despite the growing incidences of female-headed households.

In the instance of regular financial support from a biological father, the mother did not get social assistance. This instance was more the exception than the rule. Social assistance as described earlier was the main and most consistent income throughout the year intended for the use of the children. The women in this study survive in a world of women made up by women but negotiated against the structural and gendered backdrop of patriarchy and capitalism.

Conclusion

In this chapter the findings of the study were presented and discussed, first by providing a context using tables and genograms, and then by providing narrative content around key issues.

The main finding of the study is the overarching significance of seasonal labour in a community dependent on a rural commercial farming industry. Headship and membership of households changes according to the context, circumstances and needs of the household occupants at a particular time. Household membership impacts on material resources and the practice of care. Women rely mainly on social networks that are negotiated through reciprocity with family and friends.

Institutional help is mainly from churches or religious leaders such as pastors. Women cannot afford formal social support through crèches. Caring as a practice and sometimes as a service is negotiated; at other times is bartered and exchanged. In terms of household responsibility, the eldest female child plays a pivotal role in household functioning and the practice of care. State money is the most consistent and reliable source of income. Domestic work contributes significantly to household security, particularly out-of-season when work is scarce. As a general condition, the women are caught in the paradoxical bind of being responsible for care-giving and acquiring resources, but are limited structurally through being marginalised and exploited workers. While they show independence from men and have found creative ways of surviving and taking care of their families and themselves, their task is one of constant challenges.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and recommendations

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I review the main findings of this study, discuss their implications, and make broad recommendations for future research. I also offer some practical suggestions that could positively impact on chronically poor households in Ceres.

A livelihoods approach, informed by feminist theory, is used to investigate households in a community dependent on commercial farming. The livelihoods framework places particular emphasis on the notion of social capital, which is a key resource available to chronically poor women. When money is scarce, women draw mainly on each other for support, provided that it is reciprocated in some way. This study found that female-headed households form intricate connections with the people around them as a survival strategy to meet their daily needs. These needs encompass not only socialisation processes such as childcare, and the logistics and practices that enable earning and sustaining a livelihood, but also the pragmatics of daily living and the ongoing necessity of household maintenance. In short, the practice of caring.

5.1.2 Social capital

The resources available to chronically poor, female-headed households for the practice of care-giving, or taking care of; are negotiated in and around the context of seasonal agricultural labour. This study found that the kind and amount of material resources available are directly dependent on household composition and the circumstances, situation and needs of household members. Given that all people are at various times dependent, the context of larger households in the study area highlights the position of women as household heads and women living in female-headed households. These women are compelled to negotiate multiple roles as mothers, as workers and as managers of their homes with diverse but

limited resources. During different times of the year, different resources are drawn on to ensure household survival.

A key finding is that people who share the context of rural commercial farming live interdependently. Women maintain, develop and change relationships with family and friends in order to survive both the intensity of harvesting season and the scarcity of material resources that characterises periods outside of season. During season time, because of the long working hours, time becomes a scarce resource. Out of season, money becomes a scarce resource. The cyclical nature of seasonal agriculture has a direct impact on women's caring practices and the strategies deployed for survival. However, social capital is a reliable and consistent resource. Throughout the year family, friends and those in caring practice, such as the pastors in churches, are drawn on. At the same time, these relations are dependent on a cultural and community code that the women subscribe to.

5.1.3 Household fluidity

While women can be considered empowered by home ownership, by employment in- and out-of-season, and by the notion of themselves as female heads, the household composition and resources, and by implication the nature of this power, are fluid and changing. This fluidity further relates to the different cycles of relationships, and the circumstances and needs of the female heads at a given moment. The changing needs of agriculture, for example, have given women more employment choices, with contract work and orchard work, previously the preserve of men, now opened up. However, most women in the study area are still confined to temporary forms of labour, such as packing and picking in season or doing pruning or domestic work out of season.

Household membership is also fluid due to the inconsistent forms of employment available to members, often forcing members to look for work elsewhere.

Cyclical work pressures in turn determine childcare strategies, with children often staying at family or friends for extended periods of time. Changing household composition impacts on the allocation of both material resources such as food and money, or the allocation of physical and emotional energy. This is played out particularly in terms of care-giving, with some members taking on household tasks, taking care of other household members, or simply being care receivers.

5.1.4 Caring as social currency

The practice of caring, and household logistical support of this practice, ensures the survival of female-headed households in Ceres. In some ways the reciprocity referred to in the findings highlights that the practice of care is also seen as currency in that women negotiate, barter and exchange around the practice of care-giving. This emerges from the women being part of a social network which enables them to integrate into the community, foster relationships, express care and find acknowledgement. At the same time being part of a community defines expected and accepted cultural mores that are regulated by the people themselves. Non-subscribers are punished by judgment, ridicule and alienation.
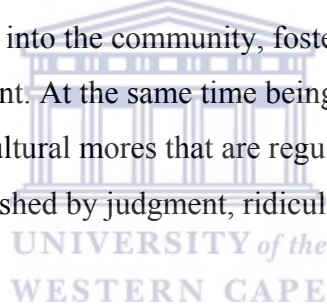
The results show that institutions such as the church play an important role in the women's survival. Religion, through the agency of the church, is instrumental in establishing some of these cultural mores and at the same time acts as a regulator of behaviour. Belonging to a church gives one access to a network of people who practice and provide care in the form of counseling and advice, in addition to both emotional and material support.

Despite a range of coping strategies, the women in this study are limited in their development as empowered female household heads by the exigencies of a range of harsh practical realities: household fluidity, causing variable demands and intermittent material resources; childcare strategies largely dependent on friends and family; and limited and temporary employment choices.

5.2 Reflections on this study

This study was aided by my prior work in Ceres and my social identity as a young, coloured Afrikaans-speaking, visibly pregnant woman. The use of various methods (open-ended interviews with formal services, semi-structured interviews with the women, and the SNM exercise) provided an opportunity for triangulation.

In retrospect, however, I would have changed certain aspects of the methodology. I could have minimized my workload by checking my assumption on access to formal services with the women themselves, as well as conducting interviews in early evening when the atmosphere was more conducive. First, I would have asked the women if they had access to formal institutions and childcare facilities before I interviewed the crèche principals. My assumption that the women would use formal childcare was unfounded. With regard to the timing of interviews, I would have opted for an early evening slot when people were at home and more relaxed. The Ceres Baseline study information was particularly useful as a point of departure and strengthened the quality of the data though the process of triangulation, but it did highlight inconsistencies. In the Van Wyk household in particular, the information I uncovered differed substantially from the Baseline study, and showed inconsistencies between the interview and SNM data. I either had to trust what the mother as the informant in the semi-structured interview said or what the daughter in the SNM reported regarding, for example, the mother's year-long employment. I could not verify the household composition discrepancy since the men could have returned after the Baseline study data collection period or may have been working away. I eventually settled with the information provided by the initial informant, and added other household names as occasional partners.

The research process also taught me the value of smaller-scale qualitative research as opposed to larger quantitative surveys. I appreciated the quality of information that I gathered through the instruments and interviewing processes.

My prior literature search and discussions with authorities in the fields of childcare and poverty helped sharpen my awareness of what to ask in the semi-structured interview guides, as well as what to look out for during the research process. I was able to glean additional information to meet research criteria using conversational questions and prompts. Not all the instruments worked equally well. The SNM worked well in application, but analysing the data it revealed and developing a visual model was difficult without compromising the confidentiality of the informants. I therefore chose to extract only particularly useful aspects, focusing on the first part of the SNM, the chart representing women's perceptions of their networks. I would also speculate that open-ended interviews would have resulted in data similar to that gleaned using prepared, standardised interview schedules, with the latter having the additional benefits of using soundboarding techniques (asking questions such as "tell me more" and "I don't understand") to unpack key themes.

A research methodology that makes the researcher more invisible and involves longer time frames, such as the anthropological and ethnographic research modes, may have yielded better results, but this was not possible due to constraints of time, finance and logistics.

In Chapter 3, I discussed in a narrative style the research process from the considerations of method to the details of instruments used. Additional narrative detail has been included in the appendices. The learning derived from this methodology has supplemented my fieldwork experience and taught me to apply a new range of instruments. Further, it has been empowering to be responsible for the entire process from drawing on theory, to sourcing instruments, and applying, recording, transcribing, analysing, writing and reporting the data. Undertaking this research study has heightened my sensitivity to caregiving issues and increased my conviction of its importance in both policy and practice, especially, thought not only, because of my own journey as a Masters student.

5.3 Recommendations/Applications of the research

"The persistence of poverty in rural areas is due to poverty traps. That is, a lack of complementary assets and services resulting in 'poverty of opportunity', whereby individuals are unable to take full advantage of the few assets to which they have access. The contraction of the South African economy in recent years, and the erosion of the economic base through population expansion, lack of infrastructure, and outright dispossession, means that many households previously dependent on a cash income now find themselves with neither the income, nor the assets from which to generate an adequate income" (PIR, 1998:6).

Any attempt to address the plight of women in female-headed households in Bella Vista, Ceres, has to acknowledge the "poverty traps" described above. Comprehensive social protection is required in the first instance, in line with the recommendations of Sen's capabilities theory (May, et.al., 2000), and with the terms of the Taylor Report which finds that "basic incomes, services and assets emerge as central components" (Taylor, 2002).

This study is motivated by the necessity of enabling women who share a context of poverty to thrive on individual merit rather than being disadvantaged and suppressed by structural and social limitations (Kittay, 1999). In this regard, I support the 1997 CEDAW (Article 14) initiative which calls for the state to address the specific problem of rural women, and in particular to acknowledge the 'non-monetised' components of their work.

Clearly, policy needs to address single parenting and female-headed households as a special category when providing support of a structural nature, while functional support now found in the form of informal social networks could be formally supported and developed.

The women in this study would benefit from financial support through social services and perhaps from charitable organisations both in- and out-of-season. During season, subsidised and accessible childcare that is planned in accordance with the women's working schedules would ensure that the women can choose to provide or receive care. It will also enable women to earn an income with a sense of reassurance that their children's needs are being met. This provision and regulation of childcare could contribute to existing caregivers' job security while ensuring a certain basic minimum standard of care- giving.

Noting that issues of poverty are deep and ingrained, I also wish to reiterate support for the Comprehensive Social Protection policy document (known as the Taylor Report) which looks broadly at social protection for citizens who need it. Its central call is for the introduction of measures that would increase income, provide services and secure or make assets available. This document emphasises the notion of 'protection' rather than social security and supports the idea of a Basic Income Grant (BIG) as well as sensitisation to the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

I would argue that job creation initiatives are vital to ensure steadier out-of-season income to ensure adequate nutrition, as a first step, is available to these women and their children throughout the year. These job initiatives could draw on the women's existing skills or additional training could be provided through the Department of Labour at a provincial and regional level to meet the specific demands in Ceres. Community-based organisations, which specifically address the needs of these women and their children both in- and out-of-season, should also be able to pool resources to ensure that local people themselves determine and meet local needs.

While the women in this study have been presented as socially strong, developing their networking resources and managing multiple roles, in real economic and structural terms they are among the most vulnerable. As exploited workers their voices have been marginalised and muffled for generations. Ironically, their

vulnerability has been further compounded by social changes, such as the move off farms and out of the paternalistic grasp of farm owners (Du Toit, 1993). The women have become responsible for every element of their survival, with little by way of institutional support. I therefore argue that social services through government at a local, regional and provincial level must take up the gauntlet of shifting the status of the poor, and particularly chronically poor female-headed households, who in many ways form the cornerstone of communities.

5.4 Recommendations for further research

Future research and policy development should address both the family and the environment in a long cycle that spans generations. The need is to design interventions and development programmes, using forums such as recreation, that encourage a positive, nurturing and developmentally-aware community. Research should begin with a 'needs analysis' to uncover community-specific concerns. Theoretical work to date shows that the nature of communities proves instrumental in the kind of impact that poverty will have on children (Gross and Monteiro 1989 cited in Richter, 1994). The key is to encourage cohesion which already exists in many neighbourhoods on many levels (Ross, 1996).

Research can also inform policy intervention that takes account of working conditions. Time, for example, has been noted as an important factor for the poor, especially for women. Rural livelihoods characterised by long hours involving hard work that is seasonally pressurising, have been correlated with ill health and significant stress (PIR, 1998:6). While working hours need to be regulated and enforced according to the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, cognisance needs to be taken of the larger context in which women are still having to extend themselves after work on caring activities, in a way that compromises the quality of their immediate and longer-term survival. In sum, we need social structures that make being a worker in this context congruent with being a parent and caregiver.

We also need to consciously study those sides of human behaviour that contribute to the stigmatisation of poverty and the self-destructive coping mechanisms often associated with poverty. In particular, understanding the extent to which violence, alcohol and theft as self-destructive coping mechanisms form part of the survival strategies of these women; how they affect income; how they influence and affect ability factors; how they affect care-giving for children; how these women themselves view these behaviours; and if these behaviours are an important or relatively insignificant part of these women's (and their children's) lives. Support provided for women should be matched by that for men in the area, to address ongoing issues associated with unemployment.

The findings indicate that structural support through universal means such as the Basic Income Grant (BIG) and other forms of social protection would best provide a social safety net that specifically addresses the needs of female household heads. In addition informal social networks could be formally supported and developed. Subsidised childcare that makes being a worker consistent with being a parent and caregiver would enable that one role does not come at the expense of the other. Other support and empowerment initiatives must be congruent with the tempo of the seasonal rhythm of the area supplementing employment, training and organising. This should be done particularly in the lull out of season while at the same time ensuring a more evenly spread form of sustainable basic food security.

5.5 Concluding remarks

This study has sought to show that 'a culture of dependency' and the stigmatisation of poverty stem from a patriarchal value system that undervalues carework. It has invited critical inquiry into associations provoked by terms such as "care", "charity", "a culture of dependency" and the "deserving poor" — all of which allude to the popular practice of social assistance. To borrow ironically from the capitalist adage "time equals money", it follows that time invested in

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carework and caregiving should be acknowledged with money. In a context where work to relieve poverty is hardly possible without care, the notion and practice of unpaid care is anathema, leaving a clear space for appropriate state support. It is further possible that if care work is acknowledged (and paid for) that men may become more involved in caring as a practice. It is long overdue that carework is removed from its exclusively private space and is managed in the public domain through appropriate policy and practice.

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Appendix A : Ceres- the larger research area

Appendix B
The Research Area: Streetmap of Bella Vista

Appendix C1
<u>Onderhoud gids vir kinderversorg strategiee, take en patronne in Bella Vista</u>
<u>deur Fadeela Ally   Januarie 2003</u>
<u>Universiteit   van Weskaap(UWK),</u>
<u>Instituut vir Kinder en Familie Studies</u>
<u>(IKFS)</u>

Dankie vir jou tyd.
Hierdie onderhoud is geskep met die doel om inligting te verkry oor patrone in, en verhoudings tussen, familie en gemeenskap ten opsigte van kinderversorging en is 'n bydra tot my meestersgraad vir die bogenoemde instituut. Dit is heel privaat en het niks te doen met welsyn of maatskaplike werk nie.
U antwoorde op die vrae sal heeltemal vertroulik hanteer word. Die inligting gaan anoniem opgeskryf word en as u wil, sal my bevindinge vir jou beskikbaar gemaak word. Die onderoud sal nie langer as 'n uur duur nie. *As u nie 'n vraag wil beantwoord nie het u die reg om so te sê.*

Die inhoud van die vrae is in vyf afdelings afgebreek.
1. Demografiek
2. Gesinsstruktuur (kern en uitgebreide asook eie persepsie)
3. Bydra van individuele na huishoudelike funksionering (Ekonomies en huishoudelike take)
4. Rol van die mans
5. Kinderversorg strategiee en take

1.Demografiek
1.1. Wat is u naam?………………………………………….
1.2.Wat is u geslag?………………………
1.3. Wat is u ouderdom?………………….
1.4. Is u getroud?………………………..
1.5. Is u in 'n saamleef of ander verhouding met iemand?……………………………….
1.6. Hoe lank bly u hier?………………………………………...
1.7. Is u oorspronklik van Bella Vista?…………………………..
1.8. Indien nie, van waar is u afkomstig / oorspronklik
………………………………………………
1.9 Hoekom het u na Bella Vista
verhuis?………………………………………………………….

2.Gesinsstruktuur (kern, uitgebreide en eie persepsie)
(*Hierdie vrae gaan net oor mense wat drie dae of meer, in 'n sewe dae week, in die huis slaap*)

2.1Wie woon in die huis ?
 2.1.1. Naam
2.1.2. Geslag
2.1.3. Ouderdom
2.1.4. Wat is jou verhouding met hierdie persoon?
2.1.5. Hoe lank bly hierdie persoon hier?

2.1.1. Naam	2.1.2. Geslag	2.1.3. Ouderdom	2.1.4. Verhouding	2.1.5. Hoe lank
Volwassenes:				
Kinders bo 7 jaar:				
Kinders onder 7 jaar:				

2.2. Is daar mense wat deel van die huishouding is , maar nie voltyds hier bly nie?
2.2.1. Naam
2.2.2. Geslag
2.2.3. Ouderdom
2.2.4. Wat is jou verhouding met hierdie persoon?
2.2.5. Waarom bly hulle nie voltyds hier nie?
2.2.6. Wanneer kom hulle huis toe?

2.2.1. Naam	2.2.2. Geslag	2.2.3. Ouderdom	2.2.4. Verhouding	2.2.5. Rede nie voltyds nie	2.2.6 Wanneer by die huis
Volwassenes:					

Kinders bo 7 jaar:					
Kinders onder 7 jaar:					

2.3. Wie is die hoof van die huis?………………………………………………………………
2.3.1. Waarom is …………die hoof van die huis?……………………………………………...
2.3.2. Wat is jou verhouding met die hoof van die huis? …………………………………………..

2.4. "GENOGRAM"(Vergelyk met vraag nommer 2.1) Sluit ook geslag, ouderdom en verhouding van almal in die huis.

3. Huishoudelike funksionering (Huishoudelike take- formele en informele werk)
(Hierdie vraag gaan oor hoe die huis funksioneer. Die vraag het verskillende dele.Eers is daar gevra wat die verhouding van onkostes in die huis is, met die inkomste wat die huislede inbring. Werk wat geld inbring, is gewoonlik beskou as formele werk.terwyl huishoudelike take wat informele werk is, ook 'n belangrike bydra na huisfunksionering toevoeg.)*

3.1.Gee vir my asseblief 'n lys van huis onkostes. byvoorbeeld kos,klere,krag,water

3.1.2 Daagliks	3.1.3 Weekliks	3.1.4 Maandeliks

(Die volgende paar vrae gaan oor geldelike en ander bydrae tot die huishouding.)

3.2.1.Wat doen u om geld te verdien in die laaste jaar? (Om die huis aan die gang te hou?)
3.2.2.Wat doen die ander mense in die huis om geld te verdien vir die huis (in die laaste jaar?)
3.2.3. Hoe veel geld dra hulle by (tot die huis)?………….…………………………………….
3.2.4. Hoe gereeld kry jy geld van hulle af?….……….…………………………………………

Naam	3.2 Ekonomiese aktiwiteite	3.2.3 Geldelike bydra (min of meer)	3.2.4 Gereeld- Daagliks,weekliks,maandeliks/ Ongereeld (somtyds,glad nie)
3.2.1.U as hoof/informant			
3.2.2.Ander mense in die huis			

3.2.2.Ander mense in die huis	Ekonomiese aktiwiteite	Geldelike bydra (min of meer)	Gereeld-Daagliks,weekliks,maandeliks/ Ongereeld (somtyds,glad nie)

3.3 Van daardie mense wat nou genoem is, wie doen wat in die huis? (huishoudeliketake).

Kom ons gesels eers oor wat u doen.   (kinderversorging uitgesluit- ons gesels weer later daaroor)

3.3.1 Vertel my van u dag. (nou Januarie maand, inseisoen)

3.3.1.2. Hoe laat staan u op?………………………………………………………………….

3.3.1.3. Hoe laat gaan slaap u?………………………………………………………………..

3.3.1.4. Hoe laat val u in as u formeel werk? (geldelike werk/permanent en tydelik) Hoe laat val u in as u informeel werk? (huishoudelike werk)
………………………………………………………………………………………………………

3.3.1.5. Beskryf u take binne seisoen…………………………………………………………………………………………

3.3.1.6. Is dit anders as buite seisoen (afseisoen)…………………………………………………………………………………..

3.3.1.7.Indien ja, vertel my hoe is dit anders……………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………

3.3.1.8Werk u somtyds waar u nie met geld beloon is?………………………………………………………………………………………………...

3.3.1.9.Indien ja, met wat word u beloon?………………………………………………………………………….

3.4.Vertel my oor die ander mense in die huis.

3.4.1. Watter huishoudelike take doen hulle in die huis?………………………………………………………………….

3.4.2. Hoeveel tyd is daagliks gespandeer aan die take? (skat uit 'n tipiese dag volgens opstaantyd en slaapenstyd)
………………………………………………………………………………………………

3.4.3. Beskryf daardie take binne seisoen………………………………………………………………….

3.4.4. Beskryf daardie take buite seisoen (afseisoen)………………………………………………………………….

3.4.5. Doen hulle werk wat nie met geld beloon is nie?
JA?NEE………………………………….
3.4.5.1. Indien ja, watter soort
werk?…………………………………………………………………………………….
……………………………………………………………………………………………..
3.4.6.Wat kry hulle in plaas van geld as betaling vir die take?
……………………………………………………………………………………………..

Vul in Vraag 3.3 en 3.4. in die tafel

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Naam	Take	Tyd gespandeer (? uur dag)	Binne seisoen	Buite seisoen	Ander take wat nie met geld beloon is nie	Ander vorm van beloning?
3.3.Hoof/informant						
3.4..Ander						

4.Rol van die mans
4.1.Watter rol speel die mans in die huis, indien enige rol, wat 1)huisehoudelike take,
2)finansiele bydra tot kinders 3)kinderversorging betref?

4.1.1. As hulle met huishoudelike take help, watter take, vir hoe lank en hoe gereeld?
Take…………………………………………………………………………………….

4.1.2. Hoe lank…………………………………………………………………………………

4.1.3.Hoe.gereeld…………………………………………………………………………………
……………

4.1.	4.2.	4.3
Huishoudelike take	Kinderversorging	Finansiele bydra tot kinders

4.5.Gee die kind/ers se eie pa geld/ iets anders(klere) vir die kind/ers?…………………………………………..

4.5.1.Indien ja,hoeveel?……………………………………………………………….

4.5.2.Hoe gereeld kry u 'n bydra van hom af??

4.6.Spandeer die kind/ers se eie pa tyd met die kind/ers? (byvoorbeeld naweke/vakansies)……………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………..

4.5.	4.5.1.	4.5.2	4.6
Kry u geldelike of ander bydra (eie pa)	Bydra	Hoe gereeld	Tyd met eie kind
Ja			Gereeld
Nee			Wynig
			Nooit

5.Kinderversorging strategiee ,take en patrone

5.1. Pas u die kinders in die huis op?Ja/Nee

Indien ja, beantwoord asseblief die volgende vrae

5.1.2.Waarom pas u hulle op?…………………………………………………………………

5.1.3.Wat is jou familieverband?…………………………………………………………

5.1.4.Word u betaal?Ja/Nee…………………………………………………………………

5.1.5. Indien ja, hoeveel?…………………………………………………………………

5.1.6. Indien nee ,kry jy iets anders as geld vir jou moeite?…………………………………………………………………………………

5.1.7.Watter spesifieke take beskou u as kinderversorging?………………………………………………………………………..

5.1.8.Vertel my van 'n tipiese dag wat kinderversorging betref?

5.1.8.1Oggend…………………………………………………………………………
…..

5.1.8.2.Middag……………………………………………………………………………………
……..

5.1.8.3.Saans……………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………..………………………………
………

5.1.9. Lyk jou weke anders as jou naweke wat kinderversorging betref?……………………….
…………………………………………………………………………………………………….

5.1.10. As u siek is, of as daar 'n noodgeval is of as u wil ontspan, wie sorg vir die
kind/ers?…………………………………………………………………………………………

5.1.11. Word dit verwag dat u hulle terugbetaal?
…………………………………………………….

5.1.12. Indien ja, hoe betaal u hulle terug?…
…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

5.2. Pas jy iemand anders se kinders op?
Indien ja, beantwoord asseblief die volgende vrae

5.2.1.Hoeveel kinders pas u
op?…………………………………………………………………….

5.2.2. Wat is hulle
name?…………………………………………………………………………….

5.2.3. Hoe oud is
hulle?…………………………………………………………………………….

5.2.4.Waar bly
hulle?………………………………………………………………………………..

5.2.2. Name	5.2.3. Ouderdom	5.2.4. Address	
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			

Gebruik agter as daar nog kinders is.

5.2.5.Hoekom pas u hulle
op?…………………………………………………………………

5.2.6. Watter spesifieke take beskou u as
kinderversorg?……………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

5.2.7.Beskryf 'n tipiese
kinderversorgingsdag……………………………………………………………………………

5.2.7.1Oggend……………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

5.2.7.2..Middag…………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………….………………………………
………………………………………………………………….………………………………
5.2.7.3..Saans……………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

5.2.8. Wat vra jy per kind?…………………………………………………………………….

5.2.9. Bring hulle hulle eie kos?………………………………………………………………

5.2.10.Word hulle gehaal of kom hulle self by u uit?…………………………………………….

5.2.11. Watter tyd kom hulle by jou aan?……………………………………………………………

5.2.12.Hoe laat gaan hulle huis toe?……………………………………………………………….

5.2.13. Lyk jou weke anders as jou naweke wat kinderversorging betref?……………………………………………………………………………………………

5.2.14. Lyk buite seisoen anders as binne seisoenstyd wat kinderrversorging betref?…………………………………………………………………………………………

5.2.15. As jy siek is,of as daar 'n noodgeval is of as jy wil ontspan, wie sorg vir die kind/ers? …………………………………………………………………………………………………..

5.2.16. Hoe betaal u hulle terug?……………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………….
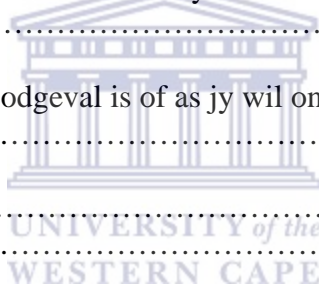
5.3. Indien u, u kinders wegstuur en iemand anders pas hulle op, *beantwoord asseblief die volgende vrae*

5.3.1. Wie pas hulle op?

5.3.2. Naam en address…………………………………………………………………………………………..

5.3.1   5.3.2.

Naam	Address

5.3.3. Is daar 'n familieverband?……………………………………………………………………….

5.3.4. Wat is die verhouding as hulle nie familie is?………………………………………………………………………………….

5.3.5. Wat betaal u per kind?
(oppasgeld)………………………………………………………………….
5.3.6. Gebruik u 'n ander vorm van
betaling?………………………………………………………………………………
5.3.7. Pak u somtyds kos of iets anders in vir u
kind/ers?…………………………………………….
5.3.8. Word u kinders gehaal of neem u hulle weg na kinderversorging?
5.3.9. Hoe laat vat u hulle weg?/of word hulle weggeneem?
5.3.10. Hoe laat word hulle weer gehaal?/ of huistoe
gebring?…………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………

5.3.11. Bly hulle somtyds
oor?………………………………………………………………….
5.3.12. Indien ja, hoe
gereeld?………………………………………………………………….
5.3.13.Wanneer kom hy/sy hulle huis
toe?…………………………………………………………..
5.3.14.Verskil jou kinderversorgingsbehoeftes van week na naweke
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………
5.3.15.Verskil jou kinderversorgingsbehoeftes binne seisoen en buite
seisoen?………………………….
5.3.16. Watter spesifieke take beskou u as
kinderversorging?……………………………………………………………………….
…………………………………………………………………………………………
5.3.17. Is u tevrede met die kinderversorging wat u kind
kry?…………………………………………..
5.3.18.As daar'n ideale situasie was, hoe sou dit lyk (anders wou gehad
het)…………………………………………………………………………………

Dankie vir jou tyd…..

Appendix C 2

Vertel my oor jou kinderversorging relings met/…………………………………………
" Tell me all about your childcare arrangements with……………………………………….
Guiding questions:/   **Gidsvrae:**

1. Name of person being interviewed:/ **Naam van informant:……………………………………………………………………………**
2. Address of person being interviewed:/**Adress………………………………………………………….**
3. Name of child /ren being cared for:/ **Naam van persoon wat versorg word ………………………………………………………………………….**
4. Age/s of children being cared for:/ **Ouderdom van kinders wat versorg word………………………………………………………………**
5. Name of parent:/**Naam van ouer……………………………………………………………………………**
6. Address of parent:/**Adres van ouer ……………………………………………………………………………**
7. What does caring for …….… involve?/ **Wat behels versorging vir…………………………………………………**
8. **How often do you care for………?/ Hoe gereeld sorg u vir ………? …………………………………………………………**
9. **How long has this arrangement taken place?/ Hoe lank is hierdie reeling in werking?………………………………………………..**
10. Is it different in season to out of season? **Verskil dit seisoenlik?……………………………………………………….**
11. How is it different if it is different?/**Hoe verskil dit as daar 'n verskil is……………………………………………………..**
12. Why do you care for…………?/ **Waarom sorg u vir?** …………………………………………………………………..
13. **Why does ……… ask you to take care of ………?/ Waarom vra ………….dat u vir ………….moet sorg?……………………………………**
14. **What is your relationship to …………?/ Wat is u verhouding met ………….? ………………………………………………..**
15. How long do you know …………..?/ **Hoe lank ken u vir ………..?……………………………………………………**
16. What do you get in exchange for your kindness/service?(Money/ something else)/**Wat kry jy as vergoeding?…………………………………………………………………..**

17. How often do you get "payment"?/ **Hoe gereeld word u "betaal"?**
…………………………………………………………………………..

18. Are you happy with the arrangement? / **Is u tevrede met die reeling?**
………………………………………………………………………….

19. Is there any way you would change it?/ **Is daar enige manier hoe u dit sal verander?**……………………………………………………………

20. If yes,how would you change it?/ **Indien ja,**hoe sal u dit verander?
………………………………………………………………………….

21. If yes, why would you change it? /**Waarom sal u dit verander?**
………………………………………………………………………….

22. Have there ever been "problems" with your relationship/ arrangement?/ **Was daar ooit 'n "probleem" met die verhouding/reling?………………….**

23. What kind of problems if any? / **Watter soort probleem as daar wel een was?**
………………………………………………………….

24. How was it addressed if at all? / **As daar wel 'n probleem was, hoe was die probleem gehanteer?**
………………………………………………………………………….

25. Who else takes care of…………when you don't?/ **Wie versorg ook vir ……….as u nie beskikbaar is nie?** …………………………………………

Notes:/**Notas**…………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………
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…………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix C 3: Social network Map

Appendix C 4

Qualitative Open ended interviews with Formal Caregivers

Open-ended interviews will be conducted with existing formal caregiving

institutions (crèches and the head of Social Services) through **snowball** sampling.

The following open-ended questions will be asked:

"Based on your area of expertise, what is your perception of the resources available to

female-headed households in relation to childcare?"/

"Please talk to me about your understanding of female-headed households and what

they do for childcare."

Appendix C 5

Groete

Baie dankie dat u ingestem het om in hierdie onderhoud met my te voer.Ek wil net beklemtoon dat die onderhoud heel **vertroulik** is, en dat ek nie hier is om u dienste te evalueer nie. Dit gaan net om inligting te versamel oor **enkel mammies**/("vrou-geleide huishoudings") wat nie noodwendig dieselfde is nie. Ek vra **u opinie** oor die **kinderversorgings strategie** wat hulle gebruik. Ek wil ook graag meer oor julle kinderversorgingsskool leer. 'n Verder vraagteken gaan oor gemeenskap ouer/s se toegang na julle dienste. Soos ek verduidelik het, is hierdie navorsing vir my meestersgraad en dat dit dus in 'n persoonlike kapasiteit gevoer is. Ek studeer Kinder en Familie Ontwikkeling Studies. Ek is wel deel van die Universiteit van Wes-Kaap en ek werk vir Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies(PLAAS). Sodra my studie klaar is, sal ek my bevindinge opskryf en dit beskikbaar maak as u dit wil he.

Indien u enige navrae het , is hierdie my kontaknommers: 021 959 3961(w) 082 78 33 65 3 (sel nommer). Voor ons vergader, vra ek dat u graag deur die volgende vrae gaan as 'n gids vir ons onderhoud. Dit gee u 'n idee oor die soort inligting wat ek probeer versamel. Die onderhoud sal nie langer as 'n uur duur nie. U het die vryheid as u dit so kies, om nie deel te neem nie as u enigsins ongemaklik voel.

Weereens dankie en ek sien uit na ons afspraak.

Fadeela

Vrae vir onderhoud met formele ondersteuning dienste/ kleuterskole/ nasorg

1. Wat is die naam van die kleuterskool? ………………………………...
2. Adress……………………………………………………………………..
3. Informant se naam en kontakbesonderhede……………………………
4. Hoeveel kinders is hier?………………………………………………….
5. Hoeveel van daardie kinders kom van huise waar die mammie die hoof van die huis is?……………………………………………………
6. Wat is julle ure?…………………………………………………………..
7. Wat is die profiel van julle ouer/s?………………………………………
8. Hoe betaal die ouer/s vir u dienste?……………………………………
9. Is daar spesiale relings getref waneer die ouer/s sukkel om te betaal?
10. As daar is, hoe werk dit?…………………………………………………
11. Is daar ander bronne vir bevondsing? (byv. regering)………………...

12. Wat doen julle in opsig van kinderversorging? Beskryf u dienste………………………………………………………………… ………………………………………………………………………… …………………………………………………………………………
13. Hoe word die kinders vervoer?……………………………………….
14. Wat is die grootste uitdaging in kinderversorging wat julle ervaar?………………………………………………………..
15. Wat dink u, is die grootste uitdaging dat die ouer/s ervaar?………………………………………………………………..
16. Watter rol speel die mans, indien enige in kinderversorging?………..
17. Weet u van die kinderversorging strategie dat die ouer/s gebruik buiten hierdie een?……………………………………………….
18. As u wel weet, kan u dit beskryf?……………………………..
19. Lyk kinderversorgsbehoeftes anders binne seisoen in vergelyking met buite seisoen?……………………………………………….
20. Bly die kinders hier vir 'n paar weke/maande/jare gewoonlik?…………………………………………………………

Appendix D
A motivation and description of research instruments

The semi-structured questionnaire had five sections. The first section was on demographics, the second was on household structure, the third section was on household function, the fourth section focused on the role of men and the last section, section five related to childcare strategies.

The first section on demographics included asking name, gender, age, married or not, cohabitating or in relationship, length of stay, originally from BV and if not where originally from and why did you move to BV?

I asked for names for my own identification purposes and to help me connect the informants to the original baseline study. It also helped me get to know the women's nicknames, which established rapport and got the easy questions out of the way helping the process of eliciting quality information. The informants' ages were relevant to fully understand their profile assuming that age impacts whether or not the women could work or bear and rear children and how their ages contributed to their living experience in terms of social ranking. I wanted to understand how they managed the many demands of childrearing being a particular age and also run a household noting particularly how age impacts on life givens and roles that people play. All my informants had children under the age of seven but I assumed that their life trajectories would be different for example for older more mature mother with older children. The questions on relationship, marriage and co-habitation were asked in relation to understanding the nature of female- headed households with the assumption that being in a relationship did not necessarily constitute marriage and that being the head of the home did not mean that the informants did not have a male presence in the household. In view of the assumption that the households in my study were self-reported household heads as described in the Ceres Baseline study I wanted know why these women reported themselves as household heads.

The question on length of stay in BV assumed that if people stayed long enough in an area they would have their families, friends and neighbours as possible sources of support. This also tied into understanding whether people were used to living in a farming community in the tradition of tied housing which presented a particular scenario as opposed to "being on their own" so to speak. In tied housing the farmworker lived in one of the farmers many houses as part of his employment package but it was conditional in the tradition of Du Toit's description of paternalism where the farmworker depended on most things from employment, housing, going to the doctor, crèches for their children, recreation etc.(1993)

Section two involved questions relating to household structure and section three on household function. Here I was curious about the gendered view of how paid and unpaid work plays out in a household by asking firstly what the household composition was. I used a genogram as a diagrammatic presentation to show this. Because I knew that genograms used the nuclear family as a basis, I adapted it to include anyone living in the household assuming that the very presence of someone (family or non-family) in a household, whatever the relationship to the household head , suggested that they had a role to play in caregiving or care

receiving. I also assumed then that older women or men in the household would be able to contribute to the household in terms of material support through paid work or alternatively through unpaid work in the form of household tasks. Either way , my assumption was that household composition would help me understand who were caregivers and who were care-receivers either contributing to or taking away from the role of the household head. I acted on those assumptions by asking specific questions relating to the people in the house. Those specific questions resulted from my own fieldwork experience, drawing on discussions with people in the field of Early Childhood Development and in Chronic Poverty research and the literature review. It yielded interesting information.

I separated the categories of adults, children above seven and children under seven I defined household according to the census definition and explained that the household involved immediate, core family extended family, non-family members and noted especially the informant's perception of who belonged in the house. I also prompted for people who were away for any given period of time checking for remittance possibilities. My assumption was that the amount of people in paid work would impact on the material quality of life of the household and drawing on the notion of carework as gendered and unacknowledged, I wanted to see how both formal and informal work in the form of household tasks played out in a household that was reportedly led by a female. The question to ascertain this was open-ended asking the informant to describe firstly what needed to be done and who did what in relation to those tasks. This section also included questions on who was the household head to confirm the women's understanding of why they reported themselves as household heads in the survey. I did this to establish whether the households were de jure or de facto household heads

Once the household composition was established in section two, I asked the role of each member relating first to economic contribution and then to household tasks in section three. To get the women thinking about economics, I asked what their daily, weekly and monthly expenses were. When I asked about the economic contribution, I asked what they and the members of the household did, more or less how much they contributed and how often they made that contribution. Do you think they answered you honestly here? How did they react to this question? When I asked about household tasks, I first asked the informant to take me through a typical day in season in relation to paid or unpaid work. I also enquired if they did work sometimes that was compensated for in a non-monetary way. This assumed that the women used other forms of payment because of their chronically poor context. The next question asked about the household tasks of other household members. I was careful to distinguish between in season and out of season household contribution. I see this distinction as important in your findings.

Section four looked at the role of the men. This section assumed that in the context of female-headed households, the men had to be doing something if they were present at all. Why? I drew again on the gendered nature of childrearing and breadwinning and also wanted to understand more about what men were in fact doing since my previous research and the baseline findings suggested that the change in employment trends and chronic poverty context could ripple in to the traditional role of the man. Does this mean that men contributed towards hands on

caring work? I wondered to what extent what the men did or did not do contributed to the women being household heads and how if at all their traditional gendered role may or may not play out in childrearing. In other words: Did they help in childrearing and household tasks that were considered traditionally female work? Basically I wanted to establish what role they played in the children's lives and what role they played in the household, if they were present.

I looked particularly at household contribution again as both a financial contribution and also as household tasks. I asked how much time the children spent with their fathers whether they were in the household or not, asking also if they gave money or anything else that the children needed. and how often they would receive the said money or other things

The next section in the interview guide looked at childcare strategies. I devised questions that were geared to whether the informant was the primary caregiver, or whether the informant sent the child to a caregiver. Through this I enquired the relationship of the caregiver to the child hoping to understand whom the women drew on as caregiving support. I looked at the amount of children cared for, compensation for childcare and childcare tasks. I asked for a description of a typical or average day during season in relation to what the informant does in practice. I then asked if weekends were different to the week and if in-season was different to out of season and how. I also asked who the informant turned to for child minding if they wanted recreation or in emergencies relating to childcare such as illness.

In the event that an informant sent a child away , I asked similar questions and added traveling arrangements and food to help me understand the role that the caregiver played and to what extent the practice of childcare was a shared responsibility.

2. The semi-structured follow-up interview
 This interview question was semi-structured. I asked: "Please tell me about your childcare arrangements with … This question was designed in anticipation of childcare arrangements for children under the age of seven. During the research process only one such case presented itself and it was for a child aged six years old. As a follow –up questions I devised twenty-five questions in line with the questions that I asked in the semi-structured interviews with the head of the household.

Questions one and two asked the name and address of the person being interviewed. Questions three and four asked the names and ages of the child/ or children being cared for. Questions five and six asked the name and address of the parent of the child as a confirmation. Question seven asked what caring for the said child involves. Question eight and nine are extended questions asking how often they care for the said child and how long this arrangement has taken place. Question ten asks if the arrangement is different in –season as compared to out of season and question eleven asks that if it is different how it is different. Question twelve asked why do you care for the said child/ren and question thirteen asks why does the parent ask you to take care of the said child/ren. This question helps to unpack childcare motivation and to see how similar or different the reasons are for the parent who asked the childcaregiver and the reason that that childcaregiver does the child minding. Question fourteen asks the informants' relationship to the

parent to further establish motivation and a possible social or familial link . The extended question to establish relationship asks how long the caregiver knows the parent. Question fifteen asks what the child care giver gets in exchange foe her services whether it is monetary or not and how often they receive this form of payment. Questions eighteen to twenty-one asks if the caregiver is happy with this arrangement and if they are or are not happy, is there any way that they would like to change it, and if they would like to change it, how do they propose a change. Question twenty two asks if there have ever been "problems"with your relationship/arrangement and twenty three asks what problem,if any at all. Question twenty four asks how it was addressed if at all. Question twenty-five asks who else takes care of the said child/ren when they don't.

There was only one instance where a child was being taken care of by someone else, reportedly the child's godmother. In this instance, this child was largely the godmother's responsibility. A follow-up interview confirmed that this was a different kind of childcare arrangement, one more permanent and motivated by the circumstances of the people concerned.

3. a) Semi-structured interviews and 3b) open-ended interviews used for informants from formal services
The second phase of the research involved semi-structured interviews and open-ended interviews with formal support services. My motivation was to find out if female-headed households had access to formalized childcare. I wanted to find out whether any formal childcare resources existed for them in the community. In retrospect I could have asked the women this. I knew from having read the report on the Integrated Development Framework for Ceres done in 1999, that there were no formal crèches in Bella Vista. I was curious to find out if that had changed and to what extent the crèches, that did exist met the needs of women who needed them.
 I spoke to four principals of crèches in the area, Head of Social Work services, and the chairperson of the Early Childhood Learning Committee. My assumption .was that people in a particular field such as social services or heading an institution such as crèches will provide a particular perspective on their perception of the childcare strategies of female-headed households. I wanted to ascertain their perspective in order to get a broad picture of structural/infrastructural support possibly available to the women. I asked questions relating to understanding female-headed households and their access to formal services. Because I thought at that stage of the research that it would be useful to know exactly what was available to the women, I also asked questions relating to the said crèche or institution.

3a) Semi-structured interviews with the principals of four crèches
I left a two pager at the principals as part of asking them to be interviewed. It explained the research in slightly more detail and also gave them a preview of the kind of questions I would be asking. The questionnaire had twenty questions. The first three questions asked the name of the crèche, the address of the crèche and the informants contact details. This was mainly for record purposes and to possibly post the results of the study and to maintain open lines of communication should any further queries come up during the course of the study.

Question four asked how many children were at the crèche to establish the size of the crèche, while question five asked how many of that mentioned total represented female-headed households.

Question six asked what hours the crèche kept so as to establish convenience and access for the parents who needed them. Question seven asked the profile of the parents at the particular crèche to see who (blue or white collared workers) used the crèche mostly. Question eight enquired the method of payment. This question tied to the previous one relating to who could afford the crèche fees. I also asked in the next question. if there were special arrangements made for parents who could not afford the said fees and if there were any special arrangements, how it worked. This question assumed that female-headed households would have difficulty affording the fees and I was curious how flexible the crèches were with payment especially with considering the circumstances of female headed households or other such special circumstances. Question eleven still relating to cost asked if there was any additional sources of funding for the crèche Question twelve asked for a description of the childcare services that was offered at the particular crèche.

Question thirteen related to transport assuming that transport would incur cost that would make the crèche less affordable and at the same time more convenient since the parent did not have to bring the child to crèche, which affected time and traveling cost.

Question fourteen related especially to the crèches concerned asking them what was their biggest challenge relating to childcare while question fifteen asked their opinion on what they considered to be the biggest challenge facing parents.

Question sixteen asked about the role of the men especially in relation to childcare. This question was asked as a supporting question for the semi-structured interview section on the role of men. I then asked if the informant knew of any childcare strategies that parents / female –headed households used outside of the crèche. The next supporting question asked them to elaborate with "if they knew of any, could they describe it? Question nineteen asked if the childcare needs for parents were different in season as compared with out of season. This question was motivated by the knowledge that income was inconsistent and usually paralleled with seasonal employment.

The last question, question twenty asked how long the children usually stayed. This question was motivated by wanting to understand stability, predictability and consistency relating to the inconsistent income of seasonal employment that most people in Ceres depended on. The informants were amazingly helpful and when I left I had additional information such as the kind of reports they used, the structure of the day, knowledge of the different kind of meals available. It seemed that despite the prepared questions that the informants spoke naturally more about what they knew more about which was the running of the crèche concerned. Although I did get a good idea of the kind of access that female-headed households had to the crèches and it was relatively low, because of cost. I also learned that parents enrolled at crèches closest to their homes and that the different crèches based on the areas concerned took care of mainly children from that economic grouping. Although I'm sure that a closer investigation would bring many other variables to the fore. This was not the primary concern of this study though, but a secondary one looking more broadly at how female headed households are effectively excluded from any formal assistance in this community in relation to their child care needs.

3b)Open-ended interviews with Head of Social Services and with the chairperson of the
   Early Childhood Development Forum

The question addressed to the Head of Social Services was: "Tell me about your
understanding of the growing phenomenon of female-headed households."
The discussion was fairly broad and informative providing much insight into the
life perspective and position of this representative of social services. The
interview with the chairperson was not as fruitful and lasted all of fifteen minutes.
His position was too specialized in the field of ECD rather than having any
exposure or experience with female-headed households and the childcare
strategies that these women employ as a means of survival.

4)Social Network Map

  (Bronfenbrenner,1979; Garbarino,1981 .The tool first asks the informant to
name the people in their lives, their names and ages and relationship by
placing them in the different social categories previously mentioned. Then
drawing on those names, the informant is asked to respond to a "grading" in
the form of a Lickert scale in the aforementioned areas covering concrete
material support, emotional support when needed, information/advice for day-
day occurrences as well as specialised advice or information, perceived
criticism of the informant by people in network, perception of direction of
help saying whether it was mutual or one-sided, quality of relationship through
closeness, how often they see each other and lastly, the duration of the
relationship through asking how long has the informant known the different
individuals that comprise her social network. The category of critical
perception was not used.

 I chose this instrument to show how women were coping with resource demands and
caring roles and who helps or hinders them in this. It served as an opportunity to
triangulate and test information in relation to state assistance and the nature of
relationships with family and neighbours.

The previous section looks at the formal community resources potentially available to
the female-headed households living in chronic poverty. This section looks at the
more informal resources open to them. The next instrument I used was a Social
Network Map (Tracy & Whittaker, 1989 I chose this tool because it seemed a useful
and simple way of looking at support network. This is a tool for gauging the social
context by looking at those groups or individuals with whom regular contact takes
place (Tracy & Whittaker, 1989:68).
The groups or individuals with whom regular contact takes place are
diagrammatically represented in a pie chart covering seven possible areas. These areas
are the household, other family members, work/school, organisation/s, other friends,
neighbours and lastly a category referred to as professional which includes any
specialised help such as, a church, welfare or social services representative The tool
uses a "grading" in the form of a Lickert scale in the aforementioned areas covering
concrete support, emotional support, information/advice, whether the informant
perceived the people in her network as being critical of her, direction of help,
closeness, how often seen and lastly, how long known. It shows how women are
coping generally with their lives in relation to caregiving and care-receiving and what
helps or hinders them in this. This instrument was originally intended as a tool for

interpersonal helping in social work treatment which assumes an ecological model . Its original intention is to assess available help for a possible client so that the other sources could be used in the process of treatment. In agreement with Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecology (eventually didn't use as primary theory but it is inferred), (see Literature Review Chapter 2, page #)

I assumed that the women would likely draw on social capital as a source of support in their process of care-giving. It would also prove useful to see who in the seven section pie chart provided caregiving and care receiving assuming of course that different forms of support constituted a form of care-giving and care-receiving.

 I administered this instrument in a workshop. The workshop was conducted with only six of the nine women. The other three women who missed the workshop will be described later. The workshop was done with the help of two other fieldworkers who were familiar with the area and involved in the original baseline study as enumerators. I referred to one of the enumerators in the initial contact-making phase of the research.

I did this stage of information gathering using a workshop format because it made sense to see how the group interacted. I wanted to establish if and to what extent they knew each other. It also made sense to maximize both the women's time and mine by explaining the tool to a group rather than an individual. I also chose to ask for the enumerators help to engage with the women when it came time to writing down responses. It also ensured that the women were given comparatively more individual attention by having the women taken care of by three women rather than one only. Also by having the women together, it presented an opportunity to thank the women as a group

I facilitated the workshop using charts and icebreakers to help explain the social network map and to make the women feel more comfortable. Instead of having the planned 1:3 ratio we were able to give the six women more individual attention with 1:2 ratio since only six women were present. Perhaps the fact that the three women concerned who did not arrive were the two sisters and Rita who is the only follow-up household, suggests that they do not necessarily get along as well with the other women or maybe they just prioritised other housekeeping matters above the workshop. There are too many variables to be sure. Though I am aware too, that intentionally not attending could be an indicator of power dynamics between the group (assuming that they don't care for or get along with any other group members) or just an indicator that I've used enough of their time. The fact that they so easily agreed to do the Social Network Map with the enumerator during a follow-up which will be expanded on in the next paragraph, suggests that it might be because of group dynamics or a choice of priorities that made them not attend the workshop.

The enumerator who accompanied me in the first contact making phase, followed up with the remaining three women after the workshop. I entrusted her with this task because she was conveniently placed in Ceres and could meet whenever it suited the informants. . I also felt confident about the reliability of her information gathering/interviews because I did training with both the enumerators before the workshop and discussed the workshop afterward. When she did the interviews, she firstly interviewed the two sisters together and then the last remaining informant.

The results from the SNM show that the women were in some cases very aware of who constituted their support network and in other cases not so aware. What proved significant was that it presented a conscientising exercise. When I asked the women to assess the workshop and what they learned, their feedback was largely positive saying that they learned a lot but they did not specify. Perhaps this was because of their perception of me and the undercurrent of power differentials or perhaps because of the way that perceptions of workshops work, they had nothing negative to say.

Appendix E

Key: Bolded= currently present in household

Normal print= past relationship

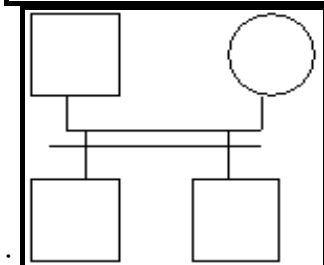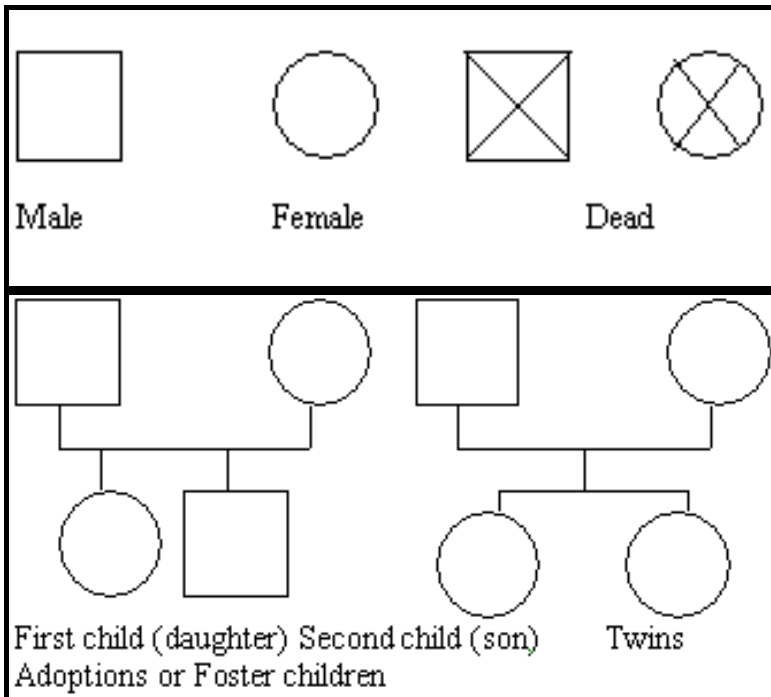Name underlined=current relationship

Red print=informant/household head

Name in italics=non-relative living in household

Name in blue=Important in household functioning
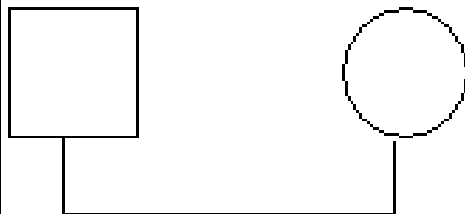
but does not live in household

Name in pink = Children under 7 living in the household
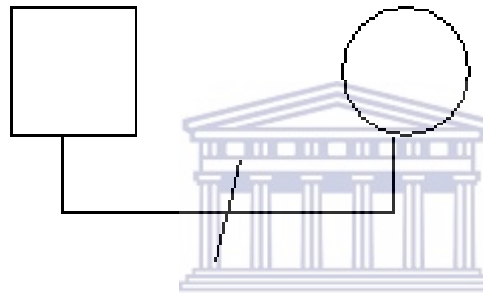
Additional clarification notes

Male   Female   Dead

First child (daughter) Second child (son)   Twins
Adoptions or Foster children

:
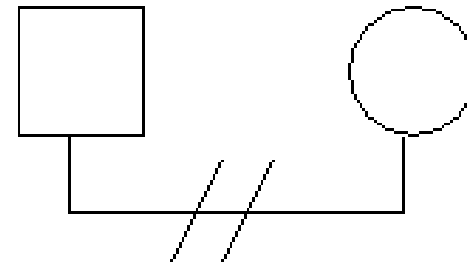
Relationships:

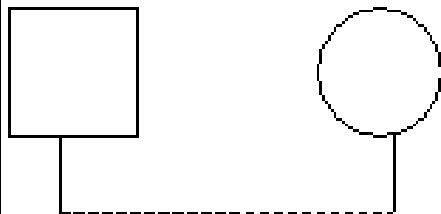Marriage   marital Separation   Divorce
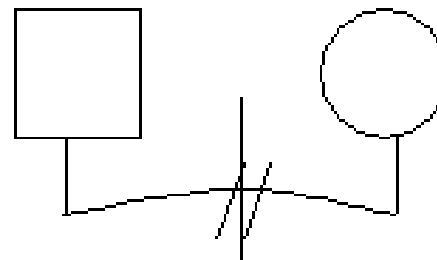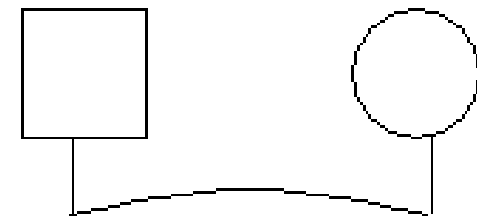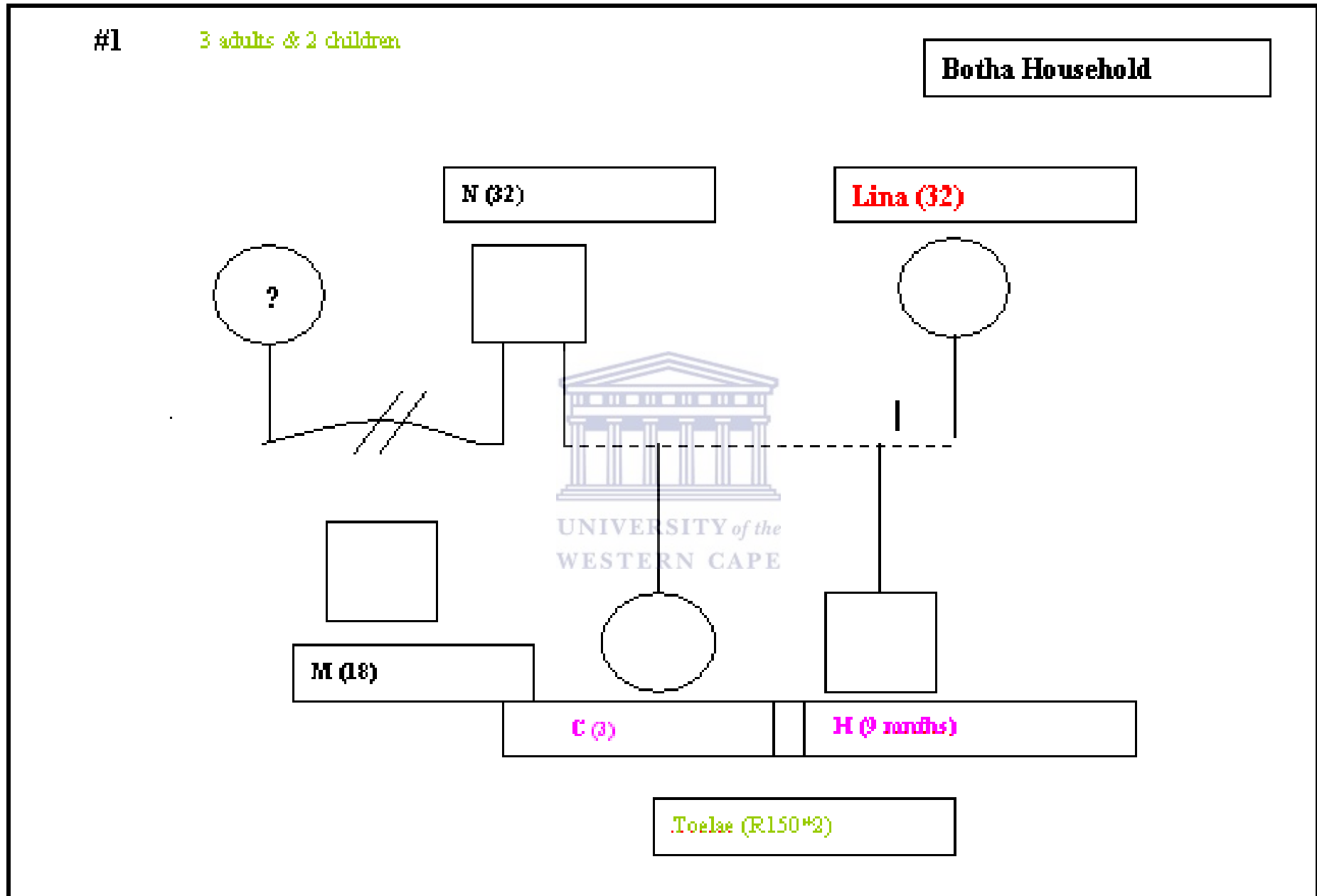
Living together / Common-Law relationship   Unclassified previous relationship that   Current relationship
                                                 Bore a child/ren

Genogram # 1

#1   3 adults & 2 children

Botha Household

N (32)

Lina (32)

?

M (18)

C (3)

H (9 mnths)

.Toelae (R150*2)

Genogram # 2A & B

Berfha Brady (67)

 # 2A & B
(2 separate houses

2adults &
2 children

Pensiong eld Pension

2 adults & 2 children (1 under 7)

Brady Household

J

Anna (41)

H

W

Bettie (34)

H

Laverne (24)

D

N (6)

.Toelae net vir twee kinders.

W (11)

H (4)

Toelaag
R140 *1

D (5)

.Toelaag
R140*1

Genogram # 3

#3

2adults&
2children
(1under 7)

Van der Haar
Household

E (69)

J (43)

Estelle (40)

J (47)

A (39)

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J (14)

M (4)

Geen toelae nie

Genogram # 4

#4

1 adult & 2 children

Beiling Household

H Carol(28 N

?

Twins

Marteline (6) R. (18mnths) R

⇩

Stays with god-mother

Toelae:R140*2

Genogram # 5

 # 5

7 adults & 4 children

RoseSnr (62)

J (57)

Pensiongeld
R640 *1

10 yrs since
8 yrs old

Voogsgeld
R300

?

S   Rose(32)   D (29)   K(29)   J (22)   Sana (20)   A   R (16)   T   L (18)

Comes home
every weekend

C (7)   D (2)   L(2)   As yet unnamed (1 mnth)

Toelae
R150 *1

Net twee
kinders kry
toelae

Toelae
R150 *1

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Genogram # 6

Genogram # 7

ElsbthSnr75) #7   5adults, 7children (2 under 7)   **Thomas Household**

Pension geld R640*1

?

Bettie (34)   A   W   **Elsbeth (36)**   J (46)   Lana (29)   T   M (30)   Z

C (8)   A (3)

S (14)   E (9)

Toelae R150*1 Was eers in Nov. gedoop. Het sy geboorte sertifikaat. verloor. Kry dit nie.

J (2)

G (8)   J (11)

Genogram # 8

#8

3 adults, 2
children
older child,
1 under 7

R

?

Wessels
Household

Truda (40)

C

S

?

S

I

R (22)

J (19)

C (3)

Toelae
R150*1

Huiskind

Ina (16)