



**WORK-CARE SATISFACTION AND CAPABILITIES: EXAMINING SINGLE
MOTHERS' SATISFACTION WITH JUGGLING PAID WORK AND CHILDCARE
IN GUGULETHU, SOUTH AFRICA**

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April, 2018

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this mini thesis entitled: *Work-Care Satisfaction and Capabilities: Examining Single Mothers' Satisfaction with Juggling Paid Work and Childcare in Gugulethu, South Africa* is my academic work that have not been submitted at any university in obtaining a degree. I have acknowledged all the sources used in this work appropriately by referencing.

Abioseh Maddie Bockarie

Signature: *A. Bockarie*

9th April, 2018.



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DEDICATION

This mini-thesis is dedicated to my Father Ahnsahngong and to my mother: the New Jerusalem.



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ABSTRACT

Capabilities as espoused by Sen are the realizable opportunities that are open to an individual that enable her to be or do that which she finds reasonably valuable. This study assessed the work-care arrangement capabilities that single mothers in Gugulethu have at their disposal to undertake a juggling arrangement schedule that they find satisfying (fulfilling). In this study, single mothers were asked to affiliate themselves to one of three work-care arrangement groups namely, work-centered, child-centered and flexible. Then, the study empirically examined if there is a significant difference in respondents' work-care satisfaction within these three groups. It accomplished this by using the Kruskal-Wallis Test.

The study then went on to identify the work-care arrangement capabilities of 7 single mothers who were undertaking juggling arrangement schedules that were not of their preference or choice. They were interviewed in this study to ascertain whether they had viable opportunities/ capabilities to undertake their preferred juggling arrangement schedule, which they believed would bring them much personal fulfilment/satisfaction.

This study employed a mixed methodology (combining quantitative and qualitative methods) to examine the key variables. A total of 110 questionnaires were administered using a purposive sampling technique, out of which 107 were returned, and 7 respondents were interviewed for the study. A quota sampling technique was used to select respondents for interviews. The data obtained from the questionnaires underwent both descriptive and inferential statistical analyses and two indexes were developed to measure the work-care satisfaction of the respondents.

The main findings in this study were that, generally, single mothers in Gugulethu reported that they are satisfied with their lives in general but had a lower satisfaction within the domain of juggling paid work with childcare duties. Secondly, respondents in the child-centered juggling arrangement group reported the highest level of fulfilment, followed by those in the flexible group and then those in the work-centered reported the least level of satisfaction. The results from the Kruskal-Wallis Test showed that the differences in the level of satisfaction among the respondents in these three groups was not statistically significant. Hence, the null hypothesis of this study was accepted. It was also discovered that nearly all the single mothers interviewed lacked the capability to undertake a child-centered juggling

arrangement schedule and as a result they have adapted their work-care preference to the flexible work-care arrangement group.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC:	African National Congress
ANCWL:	African National Congress Women's League
CEDAW:	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
COSATU:	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DoW:	Department of Women
FC:	Family Credit
FHH:	Female Headed Household
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GII:	Gender Inequality Index
HDI:	Human Development Index
OECD:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONS:	Office of National Statistics
STATA:	Statistics Data
STATSA:	Statistics South Africa
SWB:	Subjective Well-being
SWC:	Subjective Well-being Capabilities
SwLS:	Satisfaction with Life Scale
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
WEAU:	Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union

KEYWORDS

Capability Approach

Work-care satisfaction

Single Mothers

Gugulethu Cape Town

Child-centered

Work-centered

Flexible

Hedonic adaptation



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The 2016 Human Development Report, released by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2016), noted that the unequal distribution of unpaid care work among men and women, is one of the leading causes of gender inequality in the world. The report further states that in almost all countries, women still undertake the bulk of the unpaid domestic and childcare work and this in most cases infringes upon their rights and serves as a major impediment to their economic empowerment (UNDP, 2016). Indeed, it has been argued nowadays that it is imperative for policy makers to re-negotiate the work-care social contract that exists among men and women in a way that lessens the burden of juggling paid work with unpaid childcare duties that working mothers in the current neo-liberal economic system contend with. According to Oyewumi (2004) the neo-liberal working mother can be likened to a snail who is burdened with carrying her house (childcare and domestic issues) wherever she goes, and this burden retards her progress towards self-empowerment (Oyewumi, 2004).

Furthermore, Mendenhall et al., (2013) posited that even in modern times, women spend most of their time meeting the demands of their childcare duties rather than on productive activities that can improve their own well-being. Hence, in their study, they contend that juggling work and childcare can either expand women's capabilities and choices or confine them to their traditional roles associated with motherhood (Mendenhall et al., 2013). Nonetheless, some studies have shown that the act of juggling paid work and childcare activities is intrinsically valuable to most women and as a result not all women regard this as a burden (Morrissey, 2008; Rizavi and Sofer, 2010; Moletsane and Ntombela, 2011; Messac, 2018). In fact, some studies, especially among African feminist scholars have shown that some women derive personal fulfilment and satisfaction from juggling paid work and childcare.

Hakim (2003) asserts that the majority of the past and current gender-related studies and social policies view women as a homogenous group. Hence, these studies cannot help but be in conflict with each other when assessing whether women view their work-care commitments as a burden or a source of personal fulfilment (Hakim, 2003). She suggests that

when it comes to the issue of juggling paid work with childcare, women should be viewed as a diverse group (Hakim, 2000). In addition, Hakim explains that in modern times, women undertake three kinds of work-care (juggling) arrangements that are usually in accordance with their dominant lifestyle preferences. These work-care arrangements are: home-centered, work-centered and adaptive. Hakim propositioned that though these three work-care arrangements serve as sociological ideal types, working women in the twenty-first century can be grouped into either one of these (Hakim, 2000).

The home-centered group contains women who prefer childcare and home-building activities and so they normally undertake a juggling schedule that allows them to focus more on their domestic and childcare responsibilities and less on paid work duties (Atkinson, 2012). The work-centered group includes mostly career-oriented women, who value their paid work rather than childcare duties and organize their juggling schedule accordingly (Hatton, 2017). Lastly, the adaptive group includes women who find creative ways to adjust their work schedules to accommodate their childcare commitments and strive to manage both accordingly (Hakim, 2003; Herbst, 2013).

Using preference theory, Hakim posits that working mothers tend to derive much fulfilment from juggling paid work and childcare, when their work-care arrangements are in line with their work-care preferences (Hakim, 2000). In other words, a child-centered single mother is likely to be satisfied with the act of juggling paid work and childcare, if she manages to gain access to a child-centered work-care arrangement, than she would if this opportunity were closed to her. In the latter case, she is more likely to view juggling as a burden.

This research investigation adapted Hakim's three ideal work-care arrangements to explore realizable opportunities that are open to single mothers in Gugulethu to gain access to all the three ideal work-care arrangements at any given time in their lives. In the context of this study, the home-centered group is depicted as the child-centered group; the original name of the work-centered group is maintained. However, the adaptive group, is denoted as the flexible group in this study.

Other contemporary feminist economics scholars, also claim that in modern liberal states, poor single mothers are likely to be trapped within the work-centered arrangement group for the most part of their lives, though they may prefer to be in the child-centered group (Baum, 2002; Barker, 2012; Zachorowska-Mazirkiewicz, 2015; Batzell, 2016). In other words,

women in the modern society are regarded as ‘just another neo-liberal worker’ (Little, 2012, p.2). Moreover, the current nature of social, economic and political policies on women globally are designed with the underlying assumption that women are a homogenous group who can be empowered by gaining equal access to competitive employment positions in formal institutions that have previously been dominated by men (Little, 2012; Kurian, 2018).

In this regard, these gender policies nudge women to be work-centered or at least flexible by developing policies that favour these work-care arrangement groups and not those in the child-centered group (Hakim, 2000; Kalil and Ziol-Guest, 2005; Mkhize and Msomi, 2016). In the end, for most single working mothers, juggling work and childcare is viewed more as a burden than as a source of personal satisfaction and fulfilment (Muffels and Kemperman, 2011).

This study intends to test whether the foregoing proposition holds true in the context of a developing state like South Africa. The main question that this investigation intends to answer is whether there is a significant difference in the level of personal satisfaction (fulfilment) that single mothers within these three work-care arrangement groups obtain from juggling paid work and childcare. The study uses the case study of single mothers in Gugulethu, Cape Town.

In this investigation, the term *work-care* is derived from the 2013 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD Report, 2014, p.2) and refers to the act of juggling paid work with unpaid childcare services (OECD Report, 2014). These unpaid childcare services include activities such as cooking, shopping, cleaning, caring and nurturing, that single mothers render to their children (under 18 years) to improve their overall well-being (OECD Report, 2014). Since the term *work-care* is used as a synonym for juggling paid work and childcare activities in the context of this study, *work-care satisfaction*, then, indicates the level of personal fulfilment that single mothers derive from juggling paid work and unpaid childcare activities.

The purpose of this study is to empirically examine the question of whether there is a significant difference in the level of satisfaction (fulfilment) of single mothers within the three work-care arrangement groups. It also, looks at the viable opportunities that are open to the respondents that can allow them to undertake their preferred work-care arrangement schedule. This study used a mixed methodology, combining both qualitative and quantitative data analysis. Also,

Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (Sen, 1985; 2005) provides the basis for the conceptual analysis of this study. Finally, the study concludes by providing relevant recommendations that can be used to expand the opportunities available to single mothers, in Gugulethu and other informal settlements in South Africa, to undertake their preferred work-care arrangement schedule that will enhance their general work-care satisfaction. In order to make the research question of this study intelligible, it is essential to locate it within the broader context of women and development in South Africa.

1.2 Women and Development in South Africa

South Africa is a country located at the base of the continent of Africa. It shares borders with Namibia on the Atlantic Coast and with Mozambique on the Indian Ocean. The total geographic size of South Africa is 1.22 million km making it one of the largest countries in Africa and is home to 55.9 million people (StatsSA, 2017). According to the World Bank Reports, South Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate stood at 2.0% in the third quarter of 2017 and is ranked as the 3rd largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2017). In spite of this, the informal settlements in the country are rife with persistent cases of poverty and inequality, and are juxtaposed alongside built-up urban areas, spatially exposing the visible nature of inequality in the country. The country's current Gini-coefficient score was 0.67 in 2015 (where 1 represents the most unequal society) (G'Sell, 2016). Scholars contend that South Africa's income inequality is divided along racial, class and gender lines with black South African women from the underclass at the receiving end (Ichou, 2006; Pillay, 2012).

South Africa is one of the few countries in Africa with forward-looking gender policies aimed at empowering women. Prior to its attainment of democracy in 1994, the country had shown its commitments to promoting gender equality to the world. For instance, in 1993, South Africa signed the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Press et al., 2006). In 1994, the Commission for Gender Equality was set up and the country established a Statutory Gender Commission (Lee, 2005; Higgs, 2006). This was soon followed by the signing of the Beijing Declaration that was established to improve the well-being of women around the world (Sennott et al., 2016).

Politically, the African National Congress (ANC) also displayed its commitments to promoting gender equality by achieving a ten-fold increase in the number of women in parliament between 1994 and 2009 (Ngabaza and Shefer, 2013). While the apartheid

government could boast of only 3 percent of women parliamentarians (mostly white), in present day, women constitute 44 percent of those in the National Assembly, making South Africa the country with the third highest representation of women parliamentarians in the world (Ngabaza and Shefer, 2013). The country's forward looking gender policies have opened the path for South African women to occupy influential offices in world politics. For instance, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma was the chairperson of the African Union since 2012 and Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka is currently serving as the Executive Director of United Nations Women with the rank of Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations since 2013 (Rogan, 2017).

South Africa has indeed achieved commendable successes in empowering women in the country. However, the age-old problem that the country has repeatedly failed to adequately address both in terms of social policies and in rhetoric, is the issue of how to practically re-negotiate the work-care burden that working mothers in the country bear (Moultrie et al., 2001; Philip, 2010). This is a longstanding problem that was first brought to the political fore by the Women's Enfranchisement League of Cape Town, in 1912 (Walker, 1995). According to a pamphlet issued by this League, "there are many who cannot realize her [woman's] position in its dual capacity of homemaker and of citizen, and who believe that in trying to fulfil both duties she must fail in one" (Walker, 1995, p.3).

In present day South Africa, the dual capacity of women is centrally positioned in being a mother and a worker. It is estimated that over 83% of the female labour force in the country are also mothers (Garenne et al., 2011). Childcare continues to remain the primary role of women in the country. The majority of South Africa's female labour force are currently contending with the issue of juggling paid work with their childcare obligations (Treloar and Funk, 2008). Since the childcare services that these women render to their children are unpaid, the act of them juggling paid work with childcare impedes their own economic and social development.

Today, South Africa's policy makers are failing to address the work-care burden has widened the intra-gender inequality between working mothers in the formal and informal sectors (Mama, 2011; Mainthia et al., 2013). This is because the country's gender policies view women as a homogenous group, with the underlying assumption that for them to be empowered, they must be given access to jobs and visible positions in the economic and political sectors in the country. Nearly all the social and gender policies in the country view

working women mainly as workers and not as mothers. These policies serve mainly to nudge working mothers to be workers first and then mothers and benefit those who comply. The work-centered mothers, and to some extent the adaptive women working in the formal sector and the child-centered mothers working in the formal sector do not benefit much from policies opening up competitive roles for women to occupy (Hakim, 2000).

1.3 Varying Benefits: Mothers Working in the Formal and Informal Sectors

The women who are excluded from benefiting from such policies are those working in the country's informal economy (this also includes women working as informal workers in the formal sector). For instance, labour policies like paid maternity leave formulated by the Department of Labour (DoL) allow working mothers (in the formal sector) four months of paid maternity leave (Sooryamoorthy and Makhoba, 2016). This policy only benefits women who work as formal employees in the formal sector. Unfortunately, this gendered labour policy does not have its equivalent to compensate women working in the informal sector, who do not have access to paid maternity leave. Though this may be viewed as insignificant, in reality, it widens the inequality gap between women in the formal sector, who make up the minority and those in the informal sector who are the majority of women in the country (StatsSA, 2018).

It could also be argued that women working in the formal sector exploit their counterparts in the informal sector. This is because, empirical studies have shown that most South African women working in the formal sector are usually from the middle class and are often married and can afford professional childcare services and assistance from their husbands (though minimal) (Nattrass and Seekings, 2010). Studies have also shown that some of those women relegate most of their childcare duties to women in the informal sector (Moletsane and Ntombela, 2011), employing them as nannies and domestic workers and often paying them below the minimum wage for their childcare services.

Furthermore, women working in the formal sector are mostly members of labour unions like the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and so use these as mediums to secure their work positions and labour rights. However, these unions could be seen to be serving as exclusion mechanisms that prevent women in the informal sector from entering into the formal work place (Higgs, 2006). For instance, there have been a substantial number of cases where labour laws like the minimum wage and paid maternity leave, prevent employers from employing more women from the informal sector (Mama, 2011). In the end,

the country's current gender policies benefit the minority of working mothers in the formal economy especially the work-centered and adaptive mothers, but do not resonate with the majority of women, which partly include child-centered mothers in the formal sector as well as the majority of other women (work-centered, child-centered and flexible) working in the informal sector.

The foregoing may be a leading cause for the significant decrease in the country's Gender Inequality Index (GII), with South Africa moving from 4th to the 90th position (out of 148) countries in 2015 (Sennott et al., 2016). This decrease in the country's GII serves as a precursor that informs policy makers that despite the progressive gender policies in the country, there is more work to be done as the take-up rate of such policies is almost non-existent for the majority of the women in the informal sector who are heavily constrained by the work-care burden.

1.4 Single Motherhood and the Feminization of Poverty in Informal Settlements

In the informal sector, not all women are constrained by juggling paid work and childcare equally. There is a general consensus among scholars that single mothers living in the townships and working in the informal or second economy (Rogan, 2017), suffer more from juggling paid work and childcare than married women. Currently, single motherhood is becoming more of an acceptable social reality, than it has been in the past. Hence, fewer women are getting married (Moletsane and Ntombela, 2011). This is not only in informal settlements, but throughout the country in general. It was estimated that in Gugulethu only 31% of the women were married in 2017 (StatsSA, 2017).

The literature traced the growing number of single mothers in the informal sector to a number of reasons. These reasons include: teenage pregnancy (Barker, 2012; Timaeus and Moultrie, 2015), economic migration of women from rural into informal settlements in urban areas and women choosing to be single mothers as a way of re-defining gender roles and living arrangements (Conradie, 2013). The status of being a single mother may not be considered a problem for individual women, especially those who chose to be single due to lifestyle preferences. However, empirical studies reveal that there is a strong positive relationship between female headed households (FHHs), mostly headed by single mothers (Rogan, 2017) and poverty as 82% such households suffer from poverty. Hence, the feminization of poverty in the country is strongly linked to single motherhood. The foregoing is becoming a growing social problem in the country.

According to Timaeus and Moultrie (2015), the number of single mother households in the informal settlements has almost doubled between 1980 and 2000. It is also predicted that, if the number of such households continue to increase at this pace, more than a third of the country's poor population would be living in FHHs located in the country's largest informal settlements by 2030 (Philip, 2010). Empirical studies have shown that the social problem that this could create, is that the children living in those households are often trapped into the cycle of poverty and deprivation (Moletsane and Ntombela, 2011).

In South Africa, the social policy that has helped single mothers the most is the Child Support Grant. This family-based policy ensures that monthly cash transfers of about ZAR 410 per month are allocated to each child under 18 years (Sooryamoorthy and Makhoba, 2016). Although the cumulative amount of these child support grants serve as one of the main sources of income for most of these households, it still has not solved the problems that come with juggling paid work and childcare that single mothers experience in their daily lives (Sooryamoorthy and Makhoba, 2016). The current social policies tend to treat single mothers as objects of their children's needs and not as subjects of development in their own rights (Barker, 2012).

Though it has been proven time and again that single mothers constitute the poorest of the poor women in South Africa, there are few social policies and safety nets in place to promote their well-being and development. In fact, even the gender-sensitive labour policies show a limited understanding of how single mothers in the underclass contend with juggling paid work with unpaid childcare under arduous circumstances. They also have access to work generally considered as dirty, difficult and dangerous, forcing them to work for long stretches of time for low pay (Martini and Bellavitis, 2014). This leaves them with little time to focus on improving their mental, physical, emotional and educational development, as well as those of their children (Timaeus and Moultrie, 2018).

Some studies have shown that most single mothers have internalized and adapted to this work-care burden, and so derive personal satisfaction and fulfilment from juggling (Folk, 1996; Bainbridge et al., 2003; Clark and Hamplová 2013; Messac, 2018). This form of satisfaction plays a major role in improving the well-being of single mothers from their subjective perspectives. This phenomenon is referred to as the 'work-care satisfaction' in this study. The current social policies in the country have not explored ways of sufficiently improving neither the objective nor the subjective aspects of single mothers' well-being by

unlocking the opportunities available to them to be able to undertake whichever of the three work-care arrangements that provide them with much personal fulfilment and satisfaction. In order to be able conceptually to explain the relationship that exists between the realizable opportunities available to single mothers to gain access to all three of the work-care arrangements, and their work-care satisfaction, Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (Sen, 1985) will be used.

1.5 Theory in Context

1.5.1 'Work-care Satisfaction' Examined within the Capability Approach

The key concept in the term 'work-care satisfaction' is satisfaction. This concept has its roots in the Subjective Well-being (SWB) perspective of human development that is commonly used in Hedonic Psychology (Frey and Stutzer, 2012). SWB allows an individual to evaluate her personal opinions and feelings about her well-being. Hence, it is a self-rated assessment of well-being (Gough and McGregor, 2007). According to Horley and Lavery (2011), SWB assesses an individual's hedonic and eudaemonic evaluations of her life, or certain aspects of her life. The eudaemonic evaluation of SWB is aimed at assessing people's general feelings and attitudes on how they live in accordance with their *daemon* or ideal life's purpose (Robeyns, 2017). It measures their emotional states with regards to their 'path towards self-actualization' (Cramm et al., 2012, p.17), in other words, this concept assesses how they feel about whether they are living their lives according to their true purpose in life.

Conversely, the hedonic perspective of SWB generally deals with measuring people's feelings about maximizing pleasure and reducing pain in their lived realities and it constitutes both cognitive and affective aspects (Fleurbay, 2009; Eckersley, 2014). The cognitive aspect of hedonic SWB deals with an individual's opinions about her satisfaction with life either as a whole (General Life Satisfaction) or within a specific domain (Dolan et al., 2011). The cognitive aspect of SWB that explores the self-rated aspects of individuals' satisfaction, is what this study focuses on. It does so by allowing single mothers to rate their own levels of satisfaction in the work-care (juggling) domain of their lives.

In order to accurately capture their work-care satisfaction, the study is divided into three complementary phases. In the first phase respondents were asked general questions on their demographic and socio-economic characteristics. They were also asked to rate their initial satisfaction obtained from juggling paid work and childcare using the Likert's scale (ranging

from 1-5), where 5 is *very satisfied* and 1 is *not at all satisfied* (Leavy, 2017). Their ratings were used to develop a work-care satisfaction index (WSI) that served as a reference point to ascertain whether there have been significant changes in the work-care satisfaction during the course of the study.

In phase two of the study respondents were asked to affiliate themselves into the three ideal work-care arrangement groups by locating themselves into the group that best described their juggling schedule at the time the study was conducted. Thus, single mothers who spent more time and efforts on work than on childcare would therefore rate themselves as work-centered, and so forth. They were then asked to rate their work-care satisfaction, again using the Likert's scale (ranging from 1-5), where 5 is *very satisfied* and 1 is *not at all satisfied* (Leavy, 2017) but this time with their respective work-care arrangement group. In this phase, again their ratings were used to develop the Work-care Arrangement Index (WAI). Moreover, in this second phase of the study, they were also asked to state their preferred work-care arrangement group (in relation to which juggling arrangement schedule they felt would bring them much fulfilment) among the three ideal types.

Finally, the third and final phase of this study, examined the work-care arrangement capabilities of 7 single mothers. Here, the work-care arrangement capabilities are the opportunities available to single mothers to undertake their preferred work-care arrangement (among the three ideal types). It assesses whether single mothers have viable alternatives among the three ideal groups. Hence, the single mother that has all three ideal work-care arrangements as viable alternatives that she can undertake at any given time, will be regarded as having the highest work-care arrangement capabilities.

To achieve this aim, this study employed Sen's Capability Approach. This approach is appropriate for this study because it is in line with the overall aim and structure of the study. In this regard, the term 'capabilities' is defined as the real opportunities and freedoms that people have to 'be and do the things they have reason to value' (Sen, 1985, p.43). Capabilities, as espoused in the Capability Approach, are intrinsically linked to the concept of functionings, which are the valuable beings and doings that an individual is able to achieve.

In this study, the work-care satisfaction of single mothers is regarded as a valuable functioning within the framework of the Capability Approach. It is worth noting here that the concept of work-care satisfaction resonates with Binder and Coad's idea of Subjective Well-

being Capability, which they refer to as happiness/satisfaction-enhancing capabilities (Binder and Coad, 2013). In other words, these are capabilities that enable a person to live a satisfied and happy life. Hence, in the context of this study, work-care satisfaction is viewed as a subjective well-being functioning, which is a happiness/satisfaction-enhancing state of being that single mothers may value. The foregoing is explained in Chapter 3 of this study.

Since work-care satisfaction is a state of being that single mothers may find valuable, there may be possibilities that some single mothers in the study area, Gugulethu, are trapped into a work-care arrangement that is not of their choice or preference. This then may invariably lead them to undertake unsatisfying work-care arrangements. This study attempts to locate these traps and to provide recommendations that can be used to unlock the door by expanding their work-care arrangement capabilities that will allow them to either undertake their preferred work-care arrangement that they feel will give them much fulfilment in the long run, or at least give them more viable alternatives.

1.6 Study Area and Research Design

1.6.1 A Brief Background to Gugulethu

Gugulethu, which means ‘our pride’ in Xhosa, is an informal settlement along the N2 highway from the Cape Town International Airport. It is the home of 98 468 people (StatsSA, 2018), mostly migrants from the Eastern Cape. The racial composition of Gugulethu is predominantly black, accounting for 99% of the total inhabitants (StatsSA, 2018). The gender distribution of the population is 51% female and 49% male. Gugulethu is a materially deprived settlement with only 52% formal dwellings and 48% informally constructed houses, made of cardboards, corrugated iron sheets and zinc (StatsSA, 2018). The socio-economic problem that characterizes this informal settlement is high unemployment rate of 39.6% (StatsSA, 2018). Moreover, the majority of the unemployed are women. Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) estimates that 19.3% of the households in Gugulethu earn no monthly income and rely mainly on cash transfers from the state (StatsSA, 2018). The majority of the poorest households in Gugulethu are female-headed households managed by single mothers (StatsSA, 2018).

It is important to note that over the last two decades, Gugulethu, an established area, with some informal housing, has received massive infrastructural support from the South African government. With regard to educational facilities in the study area, quite a number of primary

schools have been built in Gugulethu over the last ten years. Though some of these schools such as Litha Lower Primary School are considered to be good in terms of services and infrastructure, it is evident from observation that most of the public primary schools in the study area are overcrowded. The issue of overcrowding in schools is more prevalent in the Secondary and High Schools in Gugulethu.

In terms of economic infrastructure that supports business opportunities in the study area, it is important to note that not much had been done. Generally, people in Gugulethu are entrepreneurial and work really hard. This is mainly because there is a high unemployment rate in the area, and so people are usually forced by the prevailing socio-economic circumstances to be self-employed. None the less, the infrastructure and support systems that protect and encourage entrepreneurial activities in the study area are almost non-existent. For instance, Mzoli's Place is perhaps the most famous restaurant in Gugulethu that attracts many tourists into Gugulethu yearly. However, due to a lack of infrastructure like storage facilities, poor policing and security, good roads and drainage systems, other businesses in Gugulethu have not been able to benefit from the yearly inflow of tourists into the area.

Culturally, there have been attempts made by the South African Department of Social Development to promote social cohesion among the residents of Gugulethu. Since, most of the residents are from different places in the Eastern Cape and other parts of South Africa, the area is lacking in social cohesion. Hence, the crime rate in the area is one of the highest in Cape Town and residents do not have much incentive to invest in the infrastructural development of Gugulethu. Most residents send most of their wages as remittances to their families in other parts of the country. In this regard, sports and cultural centres like the Gugulethu Sports Centre, have been built with the aim of bringing the people together through sport. This Sport Centre is also used to hold community project meetings and political rallies and other social events.

Figure 1: Map of Gugulethu Showing the Study Area and it Surrounding Areas



Source: Google Map, 2017.

1.6.2 Study Design and Validity

According to Leavy (2017), the validity of a study design is crucial in every research undertaking as it determines whether the results from the study are reliable or misleading. In a broad sense, validity refers to whether a study is well-designed and provides results that are appropriate to make generalizations for the entire population that is the focus of the study (Yin, 2014). This research focused on ensuring the internal, external and construct validity of the study (Rosenbaum, 2003) in order to provide reliable findings and conclusions to the research topic under examination.

In terms of the internal validity (Saldaña, 2010), explains that internal validity is usually required in a study that seeks to establish a causal relationship between two variables. This refers to the degree in which a study can make good inferences about this causal relationship among the dependent and independent variables used in the study (McBurney and White, 2013). The aim of pursuing internal validity in a research investigation is to prove that the results obtained from the study are due to the manipulation of the independent and dependent variables used in the study and not due to chance or other variables outside the researcher's control (Saldaña, 2010). In order to achieve internal validity in this study, the researcher designed the questionnaire surveys to determine the independent variable of this study, which is work-care satisfaction, at three different phases throughout the study period.

In other words, respondents were asked to rate their work-care satisfaction at the beginning and the intermediate phases of the study that were approximately two months apart. Their work-care satisfaction ratings at the initial phase of the study served as a baseline or control measure (Gottlieb, 2017). They were then asked to rate their work-care satisfaction for the second time, but this time within their work-care arrangement groups. This study design was undertaken to determine whether respondents rating their work-care satisfaction within their work-care groups, namely, child-centered, work-centered and flexible, which serve as key dependent variables in this study, had an effect on their work-care satisfaction.

Respondents were asked to rate their work-care satisfaction in the two phases of the study to effectively compare the work-care satisfaction of respondents at the beginning and at the middle stages of the study. This helped to determine whether there had been significant changes in their work-care satisfaction within those periods. Scott-Jones, (2015) posits that it is essential to note that when assessing people's behavioral or mental states of being, which are quite prone to change, measuring them just once can lead to misleading conclusions. The third phase of this study conducted a work-care arrangement capability analysis of the single mothers interviewed in this study, taking into account their adaptive preference, capabilities, structural constraints, resources and conversion factors.

Another form of validity that the design of this study strived to achieve is that of construct validity. Construct validity refers to the process of operationalizing the variables in the study (Dipak, 2013). In designing this study, the researcher used accurate inferences from the Capability Approach to accurately operationalize the variables the study was interested in, within this theoretical approach. This is explained in detail in Chapter 3.

The last form of validity that the study design attempted to capture was that of external validity (Rosenbaum, 2003). This form of validity determines the extent to which conclusions can be generalized to the broader population under study. As Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) outlined, it is not feasible for a researcher to study the entire population of single mothers in Gugulethu. The most plausible thing to do is to study a smaller sample size of the entire population of single mothers in the study area, so as to draw conclusions about the larger group from which the sample is taken. To this end, the main focus of maintaining external validity in a study is to minimize biases in the selection and representation of the sample size in a study (Geisen and Bergstrom, 2017). Since the sample size is a representation of the

population under study, biases cannot be completely eliminated but they can be minimized (Saldaña, 2010).

To ensure the foregoing, the sample population was designed to be highly representative of the population of single mothers in Gugulethu. This was done by using a purposive sampling method to distribute the questionnaire survey to participants in Gugulethu. This purposive sampling method ensured that the study focused exclusively on single mothers in the study areas and each single mother had a chance of being selected for participation in the study. Also, a quota sampling (McBurney and White, 2013) was used to select participants from the interviews that was representative of their work-care arrangement groups. The researcher also used a mixed methodology which consisted of both qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods. The quantitative data was obtained mainly from the responses of 107 single mothers in Gugulethu and the questionnaire design was informed mainly from the responses obtained from a preliminary pilot survey (Dipak, 2013) conducted before the study commenced (see Chapter 4).

1.7 Significance of the Study

South Africa can boast of a limited success rate in meeting its targets set for gender equality as espoused in the National Development Plan. Timæus and Moultrie (2018) posit that the Department of Women (DoW) in South Africa has failed to improve the well-being of the majority of the women in the country. This is more vivid in the case of the majority of the women living in rural areas as well as those in the informal settlements in the country (Nattrass and Seekings, 2010). As Timæus and Moultrie (2018) rightly argued, it seems that the country's gender policies have lost sight of their initial objective, which is to empower the majority of the women and not just the few. In the context of understanding the work-care burden, and how working mothers juggle paid work and childcare, it is crucial to view women as a diverse group, with diverse work-care preferences.

It is therefore imperative to examine women's subjective well-being outcomes (level of satisfaction) within the work-care domain, to be able to formulate evidence-based policies that can improve their objective well-being circumstances. The starting point to this quest is to focus on the poorest of the poor women, namely single mothers in the informal sector. This study therefore sets out to examine the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in Gugulethu, Cape Town. The study also provides practical recommendations that policy makers can

consider to improve the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in Gugulethu and other informal settlements across South Africa.

1.8 Problem Statement, Research Question and Hypotheses

1.8.1 Problem Statement

Numerous studies have been carried out on the themes of single mothers juggling paid work and childcare (see for example, Hakim 2000; Barker, 2012; Mendenhall et al., 2013; Folbre et al., 2017 Messac, 2018). However, these studies do not focus on assessing the level of satisfaction and fulfilment that single mothers receive from juggling paid work with childcare within the framework of the Capability Approach. As rightly observed by Robeyns (2005), most men and people without children enjoy (the functioning of) being able to lead a life where they are not forced to choose between childcare and household chores on the one hand and a job on the other (Robeyns, 2005). Hence, this, functioning is not high on the list of their valuable beings and doings. However, for most single mothers, this may be one of their most pressing needs (Robeyns, 2008). It is unfortunate that many contemporary capability-related studies on gender inequality do not adequately consider working mothers' capabilities relating to childcare in the selection of capabilities (Robeyns, 2017) that they choose to assess.

Very few studies have focused on assessing the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in South Africa, especially in light of expanding their capabilities in choosing to undertake whichever work-care arrangement will bring them more satisfaction and fulfilment. In the context of Gugulethu, no such study has ever been undertaken. This study thus strives to contribute to this knowledge gap by undertaking an assessment of the capabilities that single mothers in Gugulethu have within the work-care domain that can allow them to undertake whichever work-care arrangement that they reckon will bring them fulfilment. In other words, the study aims to fulfil a dual purpose of first assessing the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in Gugulethu and to assess their work-care capabilities in terms of their resources, conversion factors, structural constraints and adaptive preferences (see Chapter 3). The latter is intended to assess whether these single mothers have real opportunities to access any of Hakim's (2000) three work-care arrangement groups at any given times of their lives and thereby enhancing their work-care satisfaction.

1.8.2 Research Question

The research question that this study seeks to investigate is as follows:

- ❖ Is there a significant difference in the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in Gugulethu within their various work-care arrangement groups?

1.8.3 Hypotheses

The two hypotheses that are tested in this study are:

H₀ (Null hypothesis): There is no significant difference among the respondents' work-care satisfaction levels within the various work-care arrangement groups.

H₁ (Alternative hypothesis): There is a significant difference among the respondents' work-care satisfaction levels within the various work-care arrangement groups.

1.9 Aim and Objectives of the Study

1.9.1 Study Aim

The aim of this study is to assess the substantive opportunities (capabilities) that these single mothers have to undertake whichever work-care arrangement that upon deliberation would yield them much satisfaction and personal fulfilment.

1.9.2 Study Objectives

The five objectives of the study are:

- To investigate the general work-care satisfaction of single mothers in Gugulethu by developing the Work-care Satisfaction Index (WSI).
- To develop the Work-care Arrangement Index in order to determine the work-care satisfaction of single mothers within the child-centered, work-centered and flexible groups.
- To test, statistically, if there is a significant difference in the work-care satisfaction of respondents within the three work-care arrangement groups using the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis Test.
- To explore the work-care arrangement capabilities of 7 interviewees in this study to ascertain whether they have viable opportunities to undertake their preferred work-care arrangements that they feel will bring them much fulfilment. Their work-care

arrangement capabilities will be examined in light to their resources, adaptive preferences, conversion factors and structural constraints.

- To provide feasible recommendations that policy makers in South Africa can adopt to enhance the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in Gugulethu as well as for single mothers in other informal settlements in South Africa.

1.10 Outline of Chapters in the Study

The research is organized into six chapters.

Chapter One, which is the introductory chapter, provides the contextual background to the study. It includes the research problem, research question, hypotheses, as well as the aim and objectives of the study.

Chapter Two provides a detailed review of the landmark literature concerning the contemporary work-care burden on single mothers. It also outlines the relationship between maternal subjectivity, SWB and Sen's Capability Approach. The chapter includes empirical studies on single mothers' SWB, conducted in other parts of the world and underscores their relevance to this study.

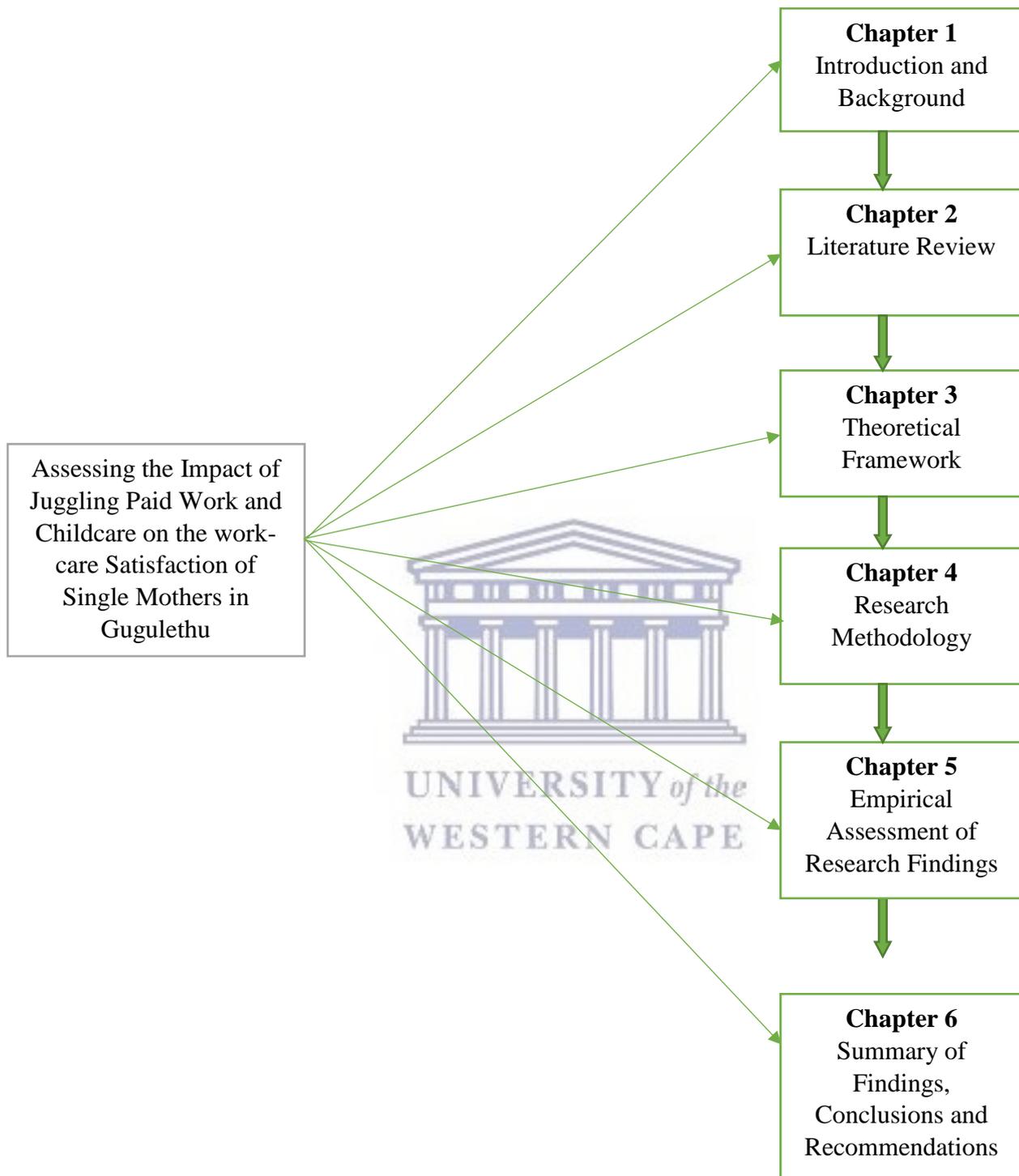
Chapter Three presents Amartya Sen's Capability Approach as the theoretical framework and its relevance and application specifically to this study.

Chapter Four provides a detailed elucidation of the research processes, methodology and statistical tools used in this investigation. It concludes with the statement of ethics that guided the research design as well as data collection and analysis methods (Gottlieb, 2017) used in this study.

Chapter Five presents an empirical assessment of the research findings and is supported by a detailed discussion of the relevant findings in conjunction with the aim, objectives and theoretical framework of the study. The discussion of findings is arranged in the ensuing themes: the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, an empirical assessment of the overall work-care satisfaction of the respondents and relevant analyses, and an evaluation their work-care capability analyses.

Chapter Six presents the summary of findings, as well as the relevant recommendations on the subject matter. The chapter also provides a conclusion to the study. The relationship between the various chapters is illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 2: Structural Outline of Chapters in the Study



Source: Own Annotation

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature on the work-care burden of single mothers as well as their subjective well-being (SWB) in terms of work-care satisfaction. This literature review does not give a detailed account of Capability Approach. The foregoing is discussed in chapter 4.

This chapter aims at locating this study within the extensive network of evidence-based literature on the work-care burden and its subsequent challenges for single mothers in the 21st century. It attempts to accomplish this by first presenting a rigorous assessment of the older landmark feminist anthropological literature on female subordination and the work-care burden (dating as far back as the 1970s). Then, the major findings from this seminal literature will be juxtaposed with the findings on the work-care burden as espoused in the contemporary literature on the subject matter. The purpose of reviewing the literature in this way is to show how the concepts of motherhood and the work-care burden has changed over time.

Furthermore, it makes the focus of this study on the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in deprived settlements more intelligible. It does so by bringing out the nuances in the conclusions from the contemporary gender-related literature that when assessing the work-care burdens, working mothers should be viewed as diverse rather than a homogenous group (van Houten, 2015; Belkhir et al., 2018). As such, the group of working mothers that bear the brunt of juggling paid work and childcare are single mothers living and working in the informal sector/settlements.

The chapter starts with a brief introduction to women and development. This is followed by a detailed anthropological background to the concepts of womanhood, motherhood and female subordination that seek to clarify the role that motherhood plays in the subordination of women in primitive societies. Thirdly, the chapter explores the contemporary literature on the neo-liberal notion of motherhood and subsequently single motherhood. This is followed by a brief appraisal of the literature that stresses the need for the state to improve the well-being of single mothers who bear the brunt of the work-care burden. The first step to

accomplishing this is by improving their SWB (in terms of work-care satisfaction) in the work-care domain. The chapter then reviews the milestone literature on the SWB of single mothers from around the world. The study explores the idea of single mothers' work-care satisfaction (SWB) within the framework of the Capability Approach.

The main conclusion of this chapter is that the contemporary gender literature underscores the significance of focusing on the subjective work-care experiences of women when investigating the work-care burden that working mothers bear (Rønsen and Sundström, 2002). This is because women from different parts of the world have their own varying cultural understandings of motherhood, as well as their personal strategies for juggling their paid work and childcare commitments. Therefore, relying solely on objective and external assessments of women's well-being in the work-care domain could be misleading and in some cases it could lead to implementing gender policies that exacerbate the intra-gender inequality among women.

The literature also generally indicates that single mothers from the underclass are affected the most by their work-care obligations in nearly all societies in the world in modern times (Walker, 1995; Shin, 2013; Connelly and Kongar, 2017). In order to thoroughly understand their plight, researchers, policy makers and other stakeholders need to gain single mothers' perspectives on their feelings of satisfaction with their work-care arrangements. This will allow them to formulate targeted gender-sensitive social policies that could improve the quality of life for these groups of women.

2.2 Women and Development

The contemporary term 'development' reflects the idea of improving human well-being. Nonetheless, the idea of economic progress is still associated with development. Hence, scholars argue that development cannot be understood in isolation from the global economic change. The deep gender concern in this regard is how to deal with women's exploitation as a development issue in the midst of the current global economic change (Rønsen and Sundström, 2002). Feminist scholars continue to stress that the current development processes affect women and men differently and women have not benefited much from development (Connelly and Kongar, 2017).

The Commonwealth Secretariat reported in 1989 that “women account for half of the world’s population, perform two thirds of the hours worked...receive one tenth of the world’s income, and have one hundredth of the world’s property registered in their name” (Commonwealth Secretariat, cited in Sooryamoorthy and Makhoba, 2016, p13).

The foregoing inspired the bulk of the gender literature from the 1990s and onwards. These studies attempted to provide plausible explanations to how this profound inter-gender inequality developed. The unanimous finding among the literature in this regard is that women’s reproductive role put them at a disadvantage in the development process (Stone, 2000). In order to understand women’s reproductive role and its subsequent effect on their development, the feminist and gender-related literature provides three overarching paradigms for explaining this phenomenon.

These paradigms are: the functionalist, conflict interactionist and structural conflict perspectives. The functionalist view purports that it is functional, in other words, practical, for women to undertake childcare duties as they are naturally suited for the role (Joshi et al., 2009; Zachorowska-Mazirkiewicz, 2015). The conflict interactionist perspective contends that women, as a different social group, is in conflict over the control of resources with men, but their reproductive role puts them at a disadvantage. The structural conflict perspective blames the capitalist economic system that exploits and marginalizes women (Little, 2012).

2.3 Historical Literature on Motherhood, Female Subordination and the Work-Care Burden

The work-care burdens that black single mothers in South Africa’s informal settlements bear cannot be made intelligible without locating them within the broader narratives on motherhood and female subordination. The landmark literature on the foregoing is common within feminist anthropological studies of women in primitive and traditional societies at different times and places in the world. A dominant finding in these studies is that the concept of motherhood has changed significantly over time. This is due largely to the spatial and temporal contexts under which these studies were conducted. Nonetheless, the majority of these inquiries concur that the concept of motherhood has generally been defined by the leading role that women play in their respective societies, namely reproduction. Thus, the concepts of womanhood and motherhood are inextricably linked to biological determinism (Ortner, 1974).

This concept of biological determinism contends that the body of a woman is biologically designed to execute its natural procreative functions (Ginsberg, cited in Ortner, 1974). According to Ginsberg, a woman's body enslaves her to the biological act of reproduction and since successful reproduction is vital to the continuity of the human race, almost all societies have instituted cultural managements of reproduction (norms, laws, ideologies and symbolic devices) to codify acceptable and prohibited reproductive behaviors (Ginsberg, cited in Stone, 2000). Through the foregoing, men were able to control and devalue the productive and reproductive capabilities of women. As Ortner observed, the pan-cultural devaluation of women in all societies across space and time is vivid in both traditional and modern societies, albeit with varying degrees of complexity (Ortner, 1974).

In the earlier works of Rothman in 1987 (Rothman, cited in Hooks, 2000) the reproductive dilemma that is vivid in the studies on female subordination is that though women are in the upper hand of the reproductive spectrum, they are in fact enslaved by their own reproductive advantage. According to McDowell (1986), men oppress women in order to control their reproductive capacity which is the most valuable resource for the perpetuation of the human species (McDowell, 1986). Primitive patriarchal views rationalize this act by representing women closer to nature. The woman's closeness to nature was linked to her maternal functions that caused her discomfort and pain and a source of defilement and contamination (Mohanty, 1986).

For instance, 'menstruation is often uncomfortable and comes with the bothersome tasks of cleansing and waste disposal' (Mohanty, 1986, p.31). In many cultures it interrupts a woman's routine by restricting her social activities. Likewise, pregnancy restricts her bodily movements since her body is depleted from nutrients needed for foetal development. The natural process of childbirth itself is painful. Men, on the other hand, who are deemed to be closer to culture, express their own reproductive capabilities externally, by artificially creating and reproducing new technologies and symbols (Rosaldo, 1974). It is their masculine duty to "culturalize" (Rosaldo, 1974, cited in Mohanty, 1986, p.56) women, as they do to other forces of nature.

The most significant finding of feminist anthropologist literature is that the woman's biological body, designed for her maternal reproductive role, confined her to the home and undertaking domestic tasks. Hence, they adopted the functionalist approach to explain that pregnancy, gestation, childbirth and lactation take much of a woman's productive time. It is

estimated that the period from conception to child weaning takes about two years and most women have to repeat the process more than once in their lifetime. This has made women the primary childcare givers in nearly all societies and thus isolated them from the public sphere (Atkinson, 2012; Barker, 2012). Some scholars contend that women's confinement to the domestic realms was not instituted because of their biological make-up, but it was socially imposed on them by men (Bainbridge et al., 2003). Other investigations report that women generally seem to accept their own devaluation and in some cases are generally quite satisfied with their domestic position since it affords them the opportunity to "maximize maternal pleasures, which to them are the most satisfying experiences of life" (Ortner, 1974, p.71).

Baum (2002) commented that this focus on politicizing the joys of motherhood continued way into the 1940s in Western Europe and America. In fact, some studies have identified this era as the 'familiazation' period (Boeku-Betts, 2005; Clark and Hamplová, 2013). During this period, policy makers and scholars produced knowledge on good mothering and the notions of the normal family (Clark and Hamplová, 2013). These studies on motherhood maintained the functional ideas of the naturalness of the mother-child relationship and that mothers should take pride and satisfaction in their roles as mothers.

Other studies noted that, this familiazation period served as a deliberate attempt made by western governments to control both the productive and reproductive capabilities of women during the periods of the Second World War (Evans, 2017). In Britain, most men had been conscripted into the army and propelled the need for women's labour in factories. Hence, the state needed the productive labour power of women but simultaneously needed to maintain the social order in the domestic realm. However, the 1960s marked the turning point of the period of familiazation. Several studies heavily critiqued literature that positioned women as primary childcare givers to viewing mothers as persons in their own right (Clark and Hamplová, 2013).

2.4 Contemporary Literature on Motherhood and the Work-Care Burden

In the 1970s, the Women in Development (WID) approach to understanding gender inequality was developed stemming from the works of the Danish economist, Esther Boserup in 1970 (Boserup, cited in Folk, 1996). In her book on women and economic development, she analyzed the division of labour in agrarian societies and outlined that women had different agrarian roles. The point of her work was that development policies distinguish women's work as separate from men since the differences were invisible (Boserup, cited in

Folk, 1996). This study advocated for the inclusion of women into the development process through legal regulations and labour reforms. This is a functionalist perspective that assumed that if institutions change through reforms, then women's working conditions can also change (Garenne et al., 2011).

Contemporary feminist economics scholars have drawn much from Boserup's work to explain the invisible unpaid care economy that women are involved in. The contemporary literature on motherhood is quite complex and juxtapose with the older anthropological understanding on women and motherhood. One of the major differences between the contemporary and earlier gender-related literature is the fact that the older anthropological gender studies view motherhood as the destiny of women, while the contemporary literature posits that motherhood in the twenty-first century is a choice that women can make (Herbst and Ifcher, 2012; Gouverneur, 2013; Jewell, 2014; Hatton, 2017).

This literature attributed the choice of motherhood to two social revolutions in the twenty-first century. The first is the contraceptive revolution which brought with it social and psychological empowerment with the introduction of modern women-controlled contraceptive methods such as the use of contraceptive pills (Messac, 2018). These modern methods were much more reliable for the older male-controlled methods such as the use of condoms or the natural contraception methods. Indeed, some gender scholars have argued that the women-controlled contraception methods presented the opportunity for women to regain total control over their reproductive destiny for the first time in history (Pande, 2009; Shin, 2013). This then led to a significant psychological change that enabled women to exercise their agency, autonomy and personal freedom, that they could not possess when the methods of contraception were in the hands of men (Shin, 2013). The contraception revolution paved the way for the equal opportunities revolution, which began in Western Europe and America in the early 1960s with the flow of liberal ideas.

This continued until the modern times where the prevalence of neo-liberal democratic values have considerably loosened up reproductive social norms to a point that childbearing is no longer tied to marriage and kinship systems as seen in traditional societies (Zachorowska-Mazirkiewicz, 2015). The fact that the neo-liberal economic system incorporates women in the labour market, has brought them considerable amounts of reproductive rights that gives them the autonomy to decide their reproductive destiny (women are able to negotiate these rights through labour unions) (Porterfield, 2001; O'brien, 2008; Muffels and Kemperman,

2011). These rights include access to affordable contraceptives, pro-abortion laws (in some countries) and access to science and technological education (Mkhize and Msomi, 2016). These two revolutions have not entirely solved the issue of female subordination even in the modern society. Contemporary gender studies still agree that the bulk of the childcare burden is borne by women, just as it has been traditionally, albeit that men are becoming more involved in co-parenting nowadays.

The contraception and equal opportunity revolutions have clearly helped women to re-define their notions of motherhood. The concept of social mothering and its glamorous appeal is now dominating the modern media (Kurian, 2018). This is seen in modern adoption laws, medical break-throughs in surrogation (Pande, 2009) as well as same-sex mothering – the concept of the other mother (Mann, 2007), are re-defining the modern concept of mothering to a social concept rather than a biological one. They alluded to the fact that women in the developed world are tapping into these sources and this has lowered the fertility rate in countries like Sweden, even below the replacement rate (World Bank, 2017). New conceptions of quasi-mother, the other mother and part-time mother are on the rise. This perspective implies that women in modern societies could choose not to have children and making this choice will not interrupt their careers or studies and they will not have to contend with burden of juggling work and childcare (Hakim, 2000).

Conversely, major sociological studies from developing countries in Africa debunked the idea of maternal choice and the idea of social mothering as a euro-American ideology (Moultrie and Timæus, 2018). Other recent studies on this subject matter also outline that though the use of contraceptives and legal abortions are readily available to South African women, they are still not a viable option for most poor women in South Africa (Timæus and Moultrie 2015). Prior to these studies, Walker (2008) revealed in her paper on Health Care Nurses in Soweto (HCNS) that the majority of nurses were reluctant towards having abortions and held deeply entrenched Christian religious traditions (Walker, 2008). Moreover, the Afrikaner women also combined the *volksmoeder*¹ ideal as well as the Christian notion of motherhood to form their own identities and most “found motherhood as the source of their deepest fulfilment” (Walker, 2008, p.4).

¹ This word translates as ‘Mother of the Nation’ that portrayed the Afrikaner woman as the foundation of the nation and inspired much Afrikaner nationalist sentiments from 1919 -1931.

Recent studies by G'Sell (2016) reveal that the use of legal abortions and contraceptives has generally revolutionized the ideas about fertility and the concept of motherhood in contemporary South Africa. However, many women in the country still view motherhood as a rich resource that can help them exercise control over their children and wield power within their homes (Sooryamoorthy and Makhoba, 2016). Sennott et al., (2016) also contended that though more women in South Africa are becoming increasingly skeptical about marriage, they are not relinquishing their desire to have children (Sennott et al., 2016). This is therefore noted as one of the leading causes of single motherhood in contemporary South Africa.

Other studies such as the one conducted by Conradie (2013) in Khayelitsha, outside Cape Town, have attributed the foregoing to the attempts that women in the informal sector are making in re-defining the gender roles since motherhood gives them the 'freedom to act in their own and their children's interest' (Conradie, 2013, p. 197). Hence, the burden of juggling paid work and childcare is a valid concern among many working mothers in South Africa. In fact, this work-care burden has had a long-standing political significance in the country.

There have been moments in the history of South Africa when women have joined forces to create political awareness on the issue. For instance, the review of earlier political documents in 1911, the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union (WEAU) and the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) that formed a united front to confront the problem of the state's normalization of the work-care burdens that working women in the country experience (Walker, 1995). Moreover, according to a 1912 pamphlet of the Women's Enfranchisement League of Cape Town, "there are many who cannot realize her [woman's] position in its dual capacity of homemaker and of citizen, and who believe that in trying to fulfil both duties she must fail in one" (Women's Enfranchisement League, cited in Walker, 1995, p.6).

In South Africa, as in other parts of the world, policy makers are aware that working mothers experience a work-care burden. This has invariably led to the normalization of this burden. Studies view this widespread normalization of the work-care burden as a deliberate attempt made by the neo-liberal state to nudge working mothers into being work-centered. It does so by giving them more incentives to work (Dilnot and Duncan, 1992; Du Toit and Neves, 2007).

In the contemporary global system where time is regarded as money, women spend most of their time on unpaid childcare work, which affect their ability to earn more. These, according to some gender narratives have led to the feminization of poverty (van Houten, (2015) and have prompted some scholars to calculate the ‘care economy’ (Folbre et al, 2017, p.12) as well as the ‘reproductive tax’ (Folbre et al, 2017, p.9) in terms of the monetary cost that women’s unpaid labour contributes to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of different countries.

The dominant finding of these studies is that the global problem of gender inequality cannot be solved in any meaningful way without the re-negotiation of the work-care burdens that women bear in the contemporary neo-liberal political economy. These studies underscore that women experience a dual burden of work that forces them to balance paid work and childcare commitments (Batzell, 2016). In fact, some studies have gone a step further to include the unpaid community and kin work that women undertake and this gives them the triple burden of work (Belkhir et al., 2018).

Thus, the modern neo-liberal democratic values of equality and freedom cannot single-handedly re-negotiate the sharing of equal childcare responsibilities between men and women and ameliorate the work-care burden of working mothers. This is because motherhood and childcare responsibilities mean different things to different women and so research and policy analysis must take into consideration the issue of maternal subjectivity when dealing gender-related concerns (Stone, 2012).

The major lacunae in the literature proposed mainly by contemporary feminist economics scholars is that they failed to provide adequate solutions that can be used to strike a new egalitarian work-care deal among the various gender groups (Atkinson, 2012). In fact, some recent sociological studies highlight that the neo-liberal democratic values have propelled men to take more active involvement in childcare activities today, than ever before in human history. Most developed countries have now instituted paid paternity leave as social policies. This is a progression towards a more egalitarian division of work-care labour among the different genders (Treloar and Funk, 2008; Evans, 2017).

The contemporary gender-related literature also notes that the politicization of motherhood is becoming increasingly apparent in most developed and developing states (Mendenhall et al., 2013).. For instance, there has been an increased surveillance of women’s fertility in

contemporary neo-liberal states (Mkhize and Msomi, 2016). Some developed states have found sophisticated ways of spying on women's fertility trends, using data from supermarkets to predict the number of pregnant women by tracing their shopping patterns and tailor advertisements just for them (O'Brien, 2008).

Companies specializing in the production and marketing of baby products have massive data on women's mothering patterns and reinforced the work-care burden of women by always depicting them in the media as the primary childcare givers (Baum, 2002). The mothers are always the only ones holding or feeding the babies in such advertisements. All these efforts have not only led to the economization of motherhood, they also play major roles in reinforcing the widely held stereotype that childcare is solely the role of the mother and women in general (Lee, 2005; Morrissey, 2008).

2.4.1 The Work-care Burden and Diversity among Women

Most of the studies on the work-care burden that women undertake, employed the term 'balancing' (Garenne et al., 2011) to describe working mothers act of combining paid work and childcare. Some studies debunked the idea of balancing; arguing that the term assumes that women spend equal amounts of time and resources in their work and childcare commitments (Pillay, 2012). It is worth noting that most of the older gender-related literature has used the term *balancing* instead *juggling*, to explain the strategies that working mothers use to harmonize their work and childcare commitments.

In contemporary feminist literature the term *juggling*, is quite popular in the work-care discourses because the concept of *balancing* implies that working mothers undertake their work and childcare duties as though they are striving to maintain an equilibrium (Joshi et al., 2009). This however, is not the case, as not all not all mothers strive to spend equal time, resources and efforts in their work and childcare commitments (Pillay, 2012).

Hakim's (2000) idea of dividing working mothers into three groups: the child-centered, work-centered and the adaptive groups is perhaps the most popular way of understanding women's work-care burden. According to her, mothers that are child-centered, adopt a juggling schedule that favours their childcare commitments; it comes first in their agenda (Hakim, 2000). The work-centered group are women who value their work commitments over their childcare commitments, whereas the flexible group seem to value both their work and childcare commitments (Hakim, 2000). The appeal of Hakim's distinction among groups

of women, is that it emphasizes that not all women are burdened equally with their work-care roles.

Gender-sensitive social policies have over the years, been based on the false assumption that women are a homogenous group and so formulated one-size fits all gender policies (Mendenhall, et al., 2013). This has been a trend throughout history when gender policies formulated under such assumptions may benefit women in one the work-care arrangement groups while marginalizing the women in the other groups. For instance, during traditional periods when women were supposed to be home-makers and child-bearers, such family policies favoured only the child-centered women; the work-centered and adaptive women could not benefit fully from such policies (Barker, 2012). Today, the current neo-liberal global system is opening doors for women to get into jobs and public positions that have been dominated by men. However, such policies are taken up only by the few work-centered women, who are willing to spend more time at work like the men in those fields (Kalil and Ziol-Guest, 2005). These, then, are not viable opportunities to the flexible and child-centered working mothers. The foregoing has contributed immensely on the growing trends of intra-gender inequality worldwide.

The class and marital status of women are also crucial determinants of the work-care burden. To begin with the marital status, studies have shown that single mothers (including divorced and widowed women) suffer more from the work-care burden than married women (Ngabaza and Shefer, 2008; Leßmann and Bonvin, 2011). This is because married mothers are more likely to receive childcare support from their spouses and are in a better position to receive childcare support from both the members of their kin group and the kin of their husbands. Single mothers on the other hand are not guaranteed these types of support (Evans, 2017).

The social class that the single mothers belong to is also important. Single mothers from the upper and middle classes usually live and work in the formal sector, Hence, they are in a better position to source professional and reliable formal childcare services while they work. This considerably lessens their work-care commitments. The single mothers in the working and underclasses usually work and live in the informal sector and as such cannot afford professional childcare services but have to make do with informal childcare options from kin or co-residents (Treloar and Funk, 2008).

Labour laws, such as paid maternity leave can only benefit women in the formal sector, thus effectively excluding those in the informal sector from reaping the benefits from such policies. Labour laws, like the minimum wage also protect women working in the formal sector (Gradin, 2013). The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), serves as an exclusionary mechanism that protects the current incumbents of women in the formal sector from competition by women from the informal sector (Gradin, 2013). The foregoing seem to be a form of opportunity hoarding by women in the formal sector, since these mechanisms use requirements like high educational qualifications and work experience to prevent women in the informal or second economy from being incorporated into the formal economy.

Though the labour policies claim to give opportunities to all women, the requirements that are needed for some women to achieve such opportunities are almost non-existent (Sooryamoorthy, and Makhoba, 2016). In the end, these working single mothers from the underclasses are not completely excluded from gaining access to formal employment, yet, at the same time the labour mechanisms do not give them the opportunities to be fully incorporated into the formal sector. Du Toit (2008) refers to the foregoing as ‘adverse incorporation’ (Du Toit, 2008). This form of adverse incorporation is one of the driving forces of the intra-gender inequality in the country. Moreover, other forms of inequality such as race, class, and income inequality tend to conceal this.

2.4.2 Single Mothers and the Work-Care Burden

The women that are affected the most by this intra-gender inequality are single mothers. Hence, contemporary studies unanimously agree that single mothers of the underclasses suffer more from juggling work and childcare than other working mothers. This seems to be a trend across all the continents. While childcare may be an important role for both married and single mothers, the latter are more constrained by their work-care responsibilities than married mothers (Mkhize and Msomi, 2016).

The increase of single mothers in the world is becoming a social problem. This group of women are also called ‘lone mothers’ (Dilnot and Duncan, 1992; Treloar and Funk, 2008) in the United Kingdom, and in other countries in Europe. It has been estimated that nearly 30% of the women in the world are single mothers (Shin, 2013) and they could be found mostly in developing countries. Hence, the causes and effects of single motherhood is a proxy for measuring poverty among women, especially in welfare states and in developed countries in Europe and America (Evans, 2017).

In neo-liberal welfare states in Europe, single motherhood is a legitimate claim for state support (Little, 2012). The most significant critique of the welfare state's focus on single mothers is that it nudges mothers to be workers and considers their work-care burden a minor concern to their well-being (Little, 2012). For instance, studies have shown that in the United Kingdom, Social Security Payment is received in the form of Family Credit (FC). This social security benefit was introduced to encourage single mothers from the low income quintile, to participate in paid work, which in turn presents them with opportunities to acquire credit from the state (Dilnot and Duncan, 1992). Though this policy was put in place to encourage more single mothers into the labour market, it illustrates one of the major ways the neo-liberal and developing states push women to be work-centered.

In South Africa, single mothers and female-headed households (FHHs) are on the increase. These households are more prone to poverty than male-headed households (MHHs) (Timæus and Moultrie, 2018; Rogan, 2017). Moreover, studies have shown that the country is among the most generous on the continent with a well-organized welfare support system (Kurian, 2018). Single mothers in the underclasses receive cash transfers from the state. The Social Assistance Act of 2004, instituted the allocation of a Child Support Grant, which is currently ZAR 400 per month (Kurian, 2018). To receive this grant, one must be the primary care-giver of a child. This is unlike developed countries with a work-related welfare system. South Africa's welfare system does not require single mothers to work before receiving cash transfers from the state (Eckersley, 2014).

2.4.3 Maternal Subjectivity, SWB and the Work-care Burden

In contrast to the earlier feminist anthropological literature on motherhood, contemporary gender-related studies are in consensus that women are not a homogenous group and that the concept of mothering is highly subjective. Hence, the contemporary literature on motherhood and the work-care burden is deliberately moving away from the one-size fits all assessment of women. Also, these recent studies agree that in order to solve the issues of gender inequality, the policy focus should target the poorest women, namely single mothers (Porterfield, 2001). This can be done by incorporating their subjective experiences with the work-care burden.

In this vein, the term 'maternal subjectivity' as first espoused by Featherstone (1997) contends that,

... there is a tendency to assume that structures, institutions and practicing of mothering have clear cut and uniform effects...what are lost in the process are accounts of maternal subjectivity, which takes into account the ways that fantasy, meaning, biography and relational dynamics define individual women's positions in relation to a variety of discourses concerning motherhood (Featherstone (1997), cited in Jewell, 2014, p.23).

This concept of maternal subjectivity positions women as autonomous subjects in their own right, instead of objects of their children's needs (Stone, 2012). This idea of maternal subjectivity has been explored in recent psychoanalytical studies that position women as persons. The scholarship in this domain critiqued the notion of the universal subordination of women (Folk, 1996; Bainbridge et al., 2003; Lee, 2005) as espoused in earlier anthropological studies and contend that a woman's status will vary according to the different roles she plays within her society. With these considerations, contemporary studies of gender are focusing on the different subjective understanding of gender roles and how women interpret and reconstruct their different individual conceptions of motherhood over space and time (Moultrie et al., 2001).

Today, mothers from different parts of the world are re-defining their gender identities (Belkhir et al., 2018). Thus, since the conception of motherhood is moving towards subjectivity, in order to understand the well-being of single mothers who juggle work and childcare, it is crucial to understand about their subjective well-being, in the work-care domain (Mann, 2007; Shin, 2013). In this regard, this study focuses on assessing single mothers' work-care satisfaction, in which their level of satisfaction is used to assess their subjective well-being (SWB) within the work-care (juggling) domain. In order to locate the gaps in the literature on the SWB of single mothers, the study reviews the landmark literature on the subject matter from different parts of the world and they are summarized below.

2.5 Significant Literature on Single Mothers and SWB

Subjective Well-being is a self-rated appraisal of an individual's well-being. It focuses mainly on the hedonic (positive and negative effects and life satisfaction) and eudaemonic (life's purpose) perspectives of well-being. In recent studies, the terms 'happiness' and 'life satisfaction' are used as synonyms of SWB. This internal concept of well-being has been embraced by researchers, project managers and organizations involved in development.

Several studies have undertaken empirical research using SWB indicators and have achieved varying degrees of success in North America, Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. There is an increasing acceptance of SWB within contemporary discourses on single mothers worldwide. Below are landmark studies on SWB of single mothers from across the world. It is worth noting that although most of these studies are not current, they have been quite instrumental in transforming the discourses on single mothers' SWB in their respective regions.

In North America, Ifcher and Zarghamee (2013) undertook an evaluation of the relative and absolute happiness of single mothers in relation to other groups of women in the United States. They used cross-sectional data from the General Social Survey from 1972 to 2008 in order to ascertain whether the happiness of single mothers is statistically identical to those of single women without children (Ifcher and Zarghamee, 2013). The main finding of this study was that single mothers possess a significantly low level of happiness compared to other groups of women. They contend that their findings are consistent with the negative stigma associated with being a single mother. This literature is significant in the context of this study since it revealed that though vast numbers of studies on "single mothers' well-being" (Ifcher and Zarghamee, 2013) exist in the United States, studies on single mothers' subjective well-being (SWB) are very limited. This gap in the literature is important since it calls for further research on single mothers' SWB.

In Canada, Horley and Lavery (2011) conducted research on the relationship between SWB and age in St. Catharines, Ontario by employing multiple regression analysis on differential age experiences. The study utilized the Affect Balance Scale (ABS) as well as the Cantril Ladder SWB measurements to develop a Well-being and Progress Index (WIP). This index was then used to conduct notable SWB studies including the General Social Surveys, World Values Survey and the Eurobarometer Survey. This study also discovered that SWB measurements like "Day Reconstruction Method" (Horley and Lavery, 2011, p.9) are becoming more and more sophisticated and are able to help respondents track episodes of their daily negative and positive effects. Additionally, the advancement of neuropsychology has been able to help SWB researchers to confirm the mental states of respondents by viewing their neuropsychological maps. Moreover, some of these aforementioned indexes have also been used to measure the SWB of single mothers in Europe and North America in the present day (Horley and Lavery 2011).

In Europe, Andrews and Inglehart (1979) conducted a study that unpacked the structures of subjective well-being using multi-dimensional mapping of evaluations of life concerns. The significance of this study within the discourses on SWB is that it laid strong foundations for understanding the relationships between income, standard of living and health evaluations. These structures show how different evaluations of life components fit together to form the psychological meaning of life quality (Easterlin, 2002). This was a quantitative study that was conducted using the OECD² representative sample surveys from Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland. This study, though dated, served as a landmark for SWB studies in Europe and has been used to compile the wide range of concerns of subjective well-being and quality of life of children living in single mother households in welfare states across Europe (OECD, 2013).

In Asia, Raymo and Zhou (2012) employed the concept SWB in terms of life satisfaction as espoused in North American studies, to investigate the major determinants of life satisfaction among single mothers in Japan. The main finding of the study was that household income, and time spent sufficiently on childcare activities positively affected the life satisfaction of these single mothers (Raymo and Zhou, 2012). Also, Shirahase and Raymo (2014), noted that the real difficulties experienced during childcare activities significantly reduced the life satisfaction as well as the employment options that are available to single mothers in Japan (Shirahase and Raymo, 2014). The relevance of study is that it highlighted that single mothers suffer the most from juggling the demands of work and single parenting. It pointed out that they are usually extremely exhausted from long work hours and even sacrifice time for personal care, leisure and work recuperation just to meet the care demands of their children (Shirahase and Raymo, 2014).

In Australia, Bourke and Geldens (2006) conducted a SWB study on 91 youths aged 16 to 24 from a rural center in south-east Australia. This study employed a mixed research methodology, combining both qualitative and quantitative data. The purpose of the study was to allow young adults to reflect on their general perceptions about SWB, by exploring different meanings of the concept (Bourke and Geldens, 2006). They concluded that most of the young adults who were raised by single mothers, noted that the happiness that one attains from personal and family relationships, should be considered as a core component of SWB. This study therefore suggested that family support programmes that strengthen relationships

² Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

among the members of single parents' households are important to increasing the SWB among youths in Australia (Bourke and Geldens, 2006).

In Africa, SWB-related studies are few and under-researched. In fact, literature on work-care SWB of single mothers are almost non-existent. In spite of this, South Africa is one of the few countries in Africa to have undertaken SWB investigations on a national scale to assess people's political satisfaction. A landmark SWB study in the country was conducted by Posel and Casale (2014). This study was designed to assess the general life satisfaction in post-democratic South Africa. The finding was that the general life satisfaction among black South Africans was astronomically high between 1994 and 2006. Posel and Casale (2014) attributed this result to the post-election euphoria that overwhelmed the country at that time. They also revealed that South Africans possess "a keen appreciation for democratic freedom that transcends their everyday concerns; this creates a deep sense of personal fulfilment within them" (Posel and Casale, 2014, p.185). These findings are useful to the context of this study since they reveal that political satisfaction is central to understanding the work-care SWB of single mothers in South Africa.

These aforementioned findings are quite central in understanding the work-care burden that working mothers, especially the single mothers in the informal sector, contend with in modern day South Africa. The literature also reveals that the contemporary indexes used to measure SWB are reliable for examining large data sources including national satisfaction with life surveys. The studies also show that self-reported SWB measurement of happiness and satisfaction has helped developed countries to see the large disparities that exist between economic development and the general SWB of their citizens (Easterlin, 2002).

2.6 Single Mothers Work-Care SWB and the Capability Approach

Empirical studies have shown that countries with increasing numbers of unhappy and unsatisfied people are prone to riots, high crime rates, low economic productivity and unpatriotic behavior (Frey and Stutzer, 2012). On the other hand, countries with more happy citizens have low crime rates, more socially connected people, higher economic productivity and healthier citizens (Stiglitz, 2010). It is worth noting that the correlation between the foregoing and the increase in SWB does not mean causation (Diener and Seligman, 2004) but is compelling enough to necessitate the economics of happiness and the 'Conference Beyond GDP' (Fleurbaey, 2009) chaired by the European Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Policy, Joaquin Almunia. Today, most developed countries are investing massive amounts of

resources to undertake Subjective Well-being (SWB) studies (Stiglitz, 2010). Some studies have argued for the use of SWB as a complement to the traditional well-being studies, but this, however, have led to much 'contention within well-being discourses' (Gough and McGregor, 2007, p.4).

One of the main reasons for this contention, is that much of the recent well-being debates and dominant measurements (e.g. the Human Development Index) have been developed within the philosophical guidelines of Sen's Capability Approach (Sen, 1985). The core proponent of Sen's Capability Approach is that individuals' well-being should be evaluated and measured within the space of capabilities, which refers to the real freedoms that enable people to be and do the things they have reason to value (Drydyk, 2012). In other words, Sen's Capability Approach suggests that the more capabilities (which also refer to opportunities and freedoms) people have, the better off they are in terms of well-being. Hence, improving people's well-being would be the same as increasing their capabilities to do and be the things they value (Canoy et al., 2010).

SWB on the other hand, as stated earlier, focuses on improving people's feelings about their well-being (Dolan et al, 2011). It measures their hedonic and eudaemonic perceptions about their lives in general, or certain aspects of their lives. Hence, the better people feel about their well-being in general, the higher their levels of SWB (Cramm et al, 2012). Comparing the foregoing with the essence of the Capability Approach, it is evident that the core concept of SWB and that of the Capability Approach are not in harmony. Moreover, the concept of eudaemonia, as espoused in SWB inquiries, is a core philosophical foundation of Sen's Capability Approach (used in the Aristotelian sense of human flourishing) (Sen, 2005). However, Sen's approach to the hedonic aspect of SWB is a rather cautious one.

This is because the Capability Approach perceives the hedonic aspect of well-being as part as of the broader utilitarian paradigm that reduces the ends of well-being to increasing people's pleasure, happiness (utility) (Schokkaert, 2007). The Capability Approach warns that the aforementioned may prove misleading as people have the tendency to adapt their preferences (which mental states: hedonic adaptation) to their prevailing adverse circumstances.

Even so, it should also be noted that Sen's Capability Approach does not discourage inquirers from pursuing studies that encourage people to rate their feelings about their well-being;

Sen's Capability Approach cautions enquirers to be cautious when pursuing such ventures (Frediani, 2010). In this light, this study locates the work-care SWB of single mothers within the framework of the Capability Approach by using the concept of work-care satisfaction (SWB) as an achieved functioning (the beings and doings that people are able to achieve) (Frediani, 2010). The foregoing thus resolves the conceptual disharmony between these notions in the context of this study.

Since capabilities are the freedoms that people have to be or do that which they have reason to value, this study argues that women can have reason to value undertaking a work-care arrangement that they find repeatedly satisfying and personally fulfilling. This is because studies have shown that women find personal fulfilment and satisfaction in juggling work and childcare (Atkinson, 2012, Martini and Bellavitis, 2014). Thus, work-care satisfaction can be viewed as a capability and/or a functioning within the Capability Approach. It does so by outlining that Sen's maxim that proceeds from his definition of capabilities and functionings as 'have reason to value' (Robeyns, 2017), is a broad proposition that can include both internal and external reasons for valuing a being or doing (Kahneman and Krueger, 2006).

According to Kahneman and Krueger (2006), people have intrinsic internal reasons, (which are usually mental states like love, happiness, peace of mind, hope, aspirations) to value a being and a doing. For instance, an individual can value living a happy, fulfilled and satisfied life for its own sake (Graham, 2011). Much of the capability discourses have to a larger extent focused on external reasons to value a being and a doing. Hence, much of the capability literature have over time become dominated by external and objective understandings of functionings and capabilities. However, recently, numerous studies on SWB within the framework of the Capability Approach have been conducted.

The most prominent proposition obtained from these SWB-Capabilities studies, is the idea of investigating Subjective Well-being Capabilities within the framework of the Capability Approach (SWC) (see Binder and Coad, 2013). SWC refers to the capabilities that people have that can enable them to live a happy and satisfying life. Hence, mental states such as happiness and satisfaction as set out in SWB studies can also act as capabilities and functionings if people have ultimate or even instrumental reasons to value living such a life (Robeyns, 2017). This study explores the concept of work-care satisfaction as a valuable functioning that assesses the level of fulfilment that single mothers gain from juggling paid work and childcare.

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented anthropological understandings of motherhood to locate how unpaid childcare work became the duty of women in traditional societies. The two dominant findings in this literature is that motherhood is a destiny and often views women as a homogenous group. The contemporary literature on motherhood, view this concept as a choice and that women are a diverse group and must be viewed as such. Since women are a diverse group, it is crucial to note that not all women experience the work-care burden equally. The various findings from the contemporary gender-related literature show that the single mothers from the underclasses suffer the most of the work-care burden in nearly all societies. In the end, most of the contemporary gender, labour and social policies seem to benefit the work-centered women in the middle and upper classes. While the child-centered and to some extent the adaptive single mothers in the lower and underclass continue to bear the brunt of the work-care burden.



CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (Sen, 1985) as the theoretical framework for this research. The increasing relevance of focusing on what people can actually be and do within their given circumstances is becoming crucial in the contemporary understanding of human development. The chapter thus aims at providing a detailed justification for using the Capability Approach as a framework to assess the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in this study area, Gugulethu.

The chapter starts with a brief description of the Capability Approach and locates it within the broader context of human development. It then considers the nature of the approach and briefly unpacks and defines its major theoretical constructs namely, functionings, capabilities, resources, conversion factors, adaptive preferences and structural constraints that are relevant to this study. Next, the chapter shows that the Capability Approach is an appropriate approach for this study because the work-care satisfaction of single mothers is viewed as a valuable functioning. In order to achieve this, the concept of satisfaction as espoused in hedonic SWB literature is critically examined within the framework of the Capability Approach. The chapter ends with an explanation of how key variables that are relevant to the research, are operationalized.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

Amartya Sen's Capability Approach, which emphasizes the need to provide individuals with real opportunities and freedoms to be and do the things they value, is the theoretical foundation of this study and is explored critically in the ensuing sub-headings below.

3.2.1 The Capability Approach and Human Development

Sen's Capability Approach emerged in the early 1970s, in the midst of the growing disenchantment with the money-metric approaches to development (Sen, 1985). The money-metric approaches promoted the idea that economic growth should be the end goal of development-related endeavors. Furthermore, the rationale that supported the foregoing idea was that when countries pursue economics and increase their Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the wealth will then 'trickle down' (Greenwood and Holt, 2010) to the rest of society and

improve the standard of living of the people. Indeed, in the 1960s and 1970s, economic growth increased rapidly worldwide (World Bank, 2017; Olejniczak, 2012).

However, the wealth created by economic growth as measured in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) failed to trickle down, especially to the poor and marginalized. The periods of the mid- and late 1960s marked a sharp increase in various forms of global income inequalities. By 1985, it was recorded that only 4% of the world's population owned 76% of the total income (Olejniczak, 2012, p.34). This notable increase in the global income inequality that occurred during this period, was noted to have been caused by the failure of the wealth created to transform the quality of life for the poor as was initially anticipated by the proponents of the money-metric approaches to development.

Sen's Capability Approach emerged as one of the most viable alternatives to development that positioned the idea of human development as both the means and the end of development-related endeavors. In trying to conceptualize the idea of equality and social justice (during a period rigged with all forms of inequalities and injustices), Sen argued that finding the appropriate space within which we measure equality and human well-being has led to all sorts of disagreements in past dialogues within the field of development (Motala, 2008; Oosterlaken, 2009; Nussbaum, 2011). Sen's Capability Approach strongly proposes that equality and well-being should be evaluated and measured within the space of capabilities (Martin, 2003; Gasper, 2010). In this light, capabilities refer to the real freedoms that people possess to accomplish certain activities and states of beings that they value (Robeyns, 2005). The approach views development as the process of removing various kinds of unfreedoms and structural barriers from people's lives.

Sen's Capability Approach succeeded in carving out a multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary space within which the complex questions of human development, namely, well-being and equality, can be adequately understood. His works have led to far-reaching paradigm shifts in which human development now takes precedence over economic development. Over the last decades, Sen's Capability Approach has been applied in conjunction with other approaches to broaden the complexity and informational base of the Human Development Approach that was pioneered by Mahbub ul Haq, and was used in the formulation of the Human Development Index (HDI) (Haq and Zia, 2008). Formulated as a deliberately open-ended framework, the Capability Approach can be used in conjunction with other compatible theories and conceptual frameworks to conduct studies on well-being

assessments in various disciplines, such as, welfare economics, social policy, development studies and political philosophy (Sen, 2005).

3.2.2. The Nature and the Central Concepts of the Capability Approach

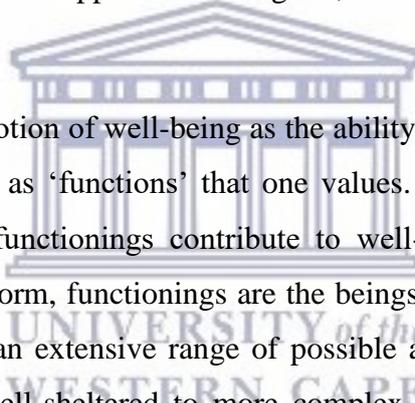
In his work entitled ‘Equality of What?’ (Sugden, 1993, p.9), Sen reveals that the core concern that the Capability Approach addresses in the evaluation of inequality, is that the quest for equality should be aimed at creating equal opportunities for all. The underlying assumption that upholds this framework is that the attainable opportunities that are open to individuals can empower and equip them with freedom to construct their own development (Robeyns, 2008). Hence, the term ‘capability’ refers to the achievable opportunities that people have to be and to do that which they value (Pogge, 2002; Drydyk, 2012). In order to arrive at this maxim, Sen first dispelled the ideas in earlier scholarships proposing that the quest for achieving equality should be targeted at utilities, commodities, welfare and civil rights (Oosterlaken, 2009; Nussbaum, 2011).

Sen’s Capability Approach is based strongly on the Economics and Philosophy disciplines. Moreover, it has contributed immensely to the evolution of the dominant ways of thinking in these disciplines. For instance, in the case of Economics, Qizilbash (2012) observed that, Sen’s Capability Approach broadened the scope of economic paradigms, by compelling scholars to look beyond measuring individuals’ preference satisfaction, resources and utilities and in order to be able to assess effectively their actual beings and doings. In the discipline of Philosophy, the approach also built upon the Nicomachean Ethics, in which Aristotle contends that *eudaimonia*, which translates directly as living the ‘good (flourishing) life’, is ‘that which is most important... and that for the sake of which everything is done’ (Cooper, cited in Chiappero-Martinetti and Salardi, 2007, p.22).

Over the years, the concept of human flourishing or living the good life has come to mean welfare, which denotes how well people are faring in their lives (Drydyk, 2012). The contemporary translation of *eudaimonia* has replaced the notion of welfare to that well-being (Drydyk, 2012). Hence, Sen’s Capability Approach is an egalitarian theory of justice that is grounded on Aristotle’s idea of *eudaimonia* (the good life, well-being) and that well-being is the best currency of justice and equality of well-being that ought to be measured and analyzed in the space of expanding people’s capabilities (Gough, and McGregor, 2007). In other, words, the more capabilities people have, the higher their levels of well-being. The

Capability Approach has not only transformed the disciplines of Economics and Philosophy, but also numerous scholars from different fields have used this approach in different scopes.

The most notable contemporary application of the Capability Approach is seen in the development of Martha Nussbaum's 'capabilities approach' (Nussbaum, 2011, p.33). According to Robeyns (2008), Nussbaum employed the Capability Approach within the discipline of moral-legal-political philosophy, in her attempts to develop a partial theory of justice by prescribing a list of ten fundamental capabilities that ought to be incorporated into the constitution of democratic states (Nussbaum, 2011). Nussbaum's version of the Capability Approach has received much criticism for its paternalistic and prescriptive nature (Sugden, 1993; Veenhoven, 2010). Similarly, Sen's open-ended version of the approach has also received much criticisms for being too broad and as a result, difficult to operationalize (Lanzi, 2011). Nonetheless, this study employs Sen's original version of the Capability Approach. In order to make this approach intelligible, its core concepts are summarized briefly below.

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- a. **Functionings:** Sen's notion of well-being as the ability to perform different activities, that Aristotle refers to as 'functions' that one values. In other words, Sen endorses Aristotle's view that functionings contribute to well-being (Powell and McGrath, 2014). In its simplest form, functionings are the beings and doings that people value. It therefore "includes an extensive range of possible activities beginning with basic activities like being well-sheltered to more complex ones like appearing in public "without shame" (Robeyns, 2017, p.23). In assessing people's functionings, Robeyns advised that it is better to examine a combination or set of functionings rather than viewing them separately (Robeyns, 2005).
 - b. **Capabilities:** this term generally refers to the realistic opportunities and alternatives that a person can access to accomplish that which they value. It is used as a synonym for the freedom and opportunities that are accessible to an individual (Cameron and Eyeson, 2012). Sen uses the terms freedom, opportunity and capability interchangeably although capability is the most commonly used in the framework. It is worth noting that in the context of this approach, a person's capability is viewed in terms of her capability set, which contains all her current functionings, choices and unchosen alternatives that are available for her to utilize anyhow at any given time or space (Gasper, 2010).

- c. Resources:** This denotes the commodities and services that serve as instruments necessary for the realization of one's functionings and capabilities (Qizilbash, 2012). It includes income, food supply, etc. In the context of the Capability Approach, resources are classified as means that can broaden the range of capabilities and functionings that are readily available to a person, 'but are not ends in themselves' (Frediani, 2010, p.19).
- d. Conversion Factors:** This describes the extent to which a person is successful in translating her resources into valued functionings (Robeyns, 2017). Since access to resources are central to the achievement to almost all functionings, a number of different conversion factors have been identified in the Capability Approach as relevant. These include personal conversion factors, which evaluates a person's characteristics, such as the age, gender, race, etc. that are not linked to their agency, but are essential in aiding them to transform their bundles of resources into valuable functionings (Canoy et al., 2010). Also, social conversion factors deal with societal factors such as norms and values. Environmental conversion factors relate to the natural or created environment in which a person lives (Robeyns, 2005, Nussbaum, 2011). Relational conversion factors can be based on complex intra-group relations and interactions (Giraud et al., 2013).
- e. Agency:** This manifests as the ability and autonomy to select those capabilities that one values, and to perform the activities required to turn those valued goals into actual beings and doings (Sugden, 1993). A person's 'agency freedom' refers to what the person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important. A person's agency cannot be understood without taking note of her aims, objectives, allegiances, obligations, and – in a broad sense – the person's conception of "the good" (Sen, 1985, p.13). The choice of certain preferred activities based on such values and goals would enable the individual to attempt to achieve the selected beings and doings, and thereby achieve agency.
- f. Adaptation and Adaptive Preferences** - Adaptation is a concept that can assist the researcher in assessing and understanding self-imposed as well as institutional constraints upon individual capability (Clarke, 2012). It follows that it would be important to understand how freedom of choice is achievable and what factors could conceivably prevent it. This can occur through processes of socialization, habituation and resignation (Elster, 1983; Frediani, 2010). For instance, an individual is likely to keep repeating that which she expects within a given context and so does not see the

actual options that are available to her, because only the conditioned responses occur to her. Sen posits that those who have suffered long-standing deprivation and limited opportunities, “make the best of it by being grateful for small mercies” (Sen, 1985, p.172).

- g. Structural Constraints:** structural constraints are the social, economic, political and environmental barriers that impede an individual from obtaining certain capabilities and achieving certain functionings (Comim, 2005; Robeyns, 2005; Stockhaert, 2007).

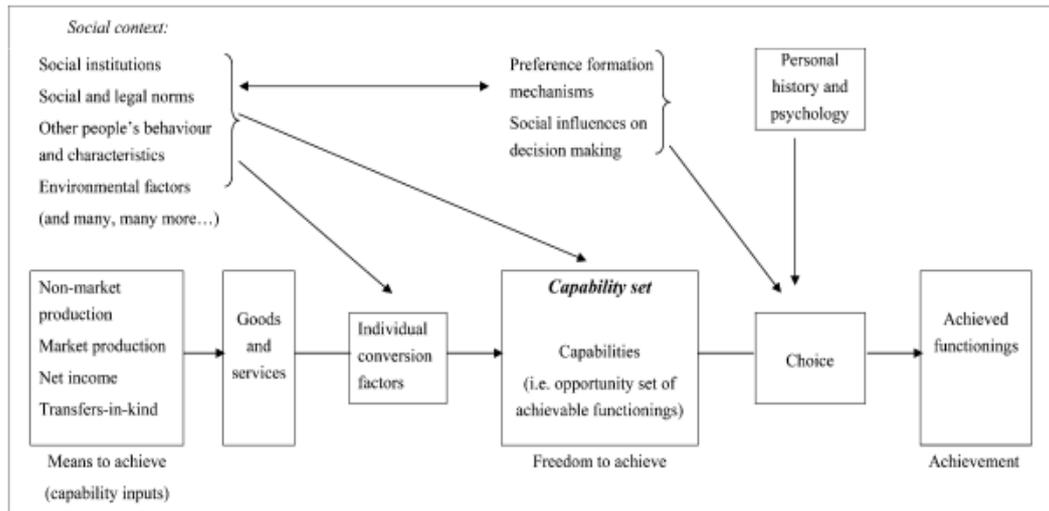
3.2.3 Applying the Capability Approach to the Study Context

This chapter aims at providing the grounds for using the Capability Approach in evaluating whether single mothers in Gugulethu possess the capability (freedom) to undertake work-care arrangements that they find intrinsically satisfying and fulfilling. Applying the foregoing study context to the Capability Approach, it is important to note that the use of the Capability Approach in this study is limited to the work-care arrangement domain and as a result this study assesses only the work-care arrangement capabilities of respondents.

The term ‘work-care arrangement capabilities’ refers to the achievable opportunities that single mothers have to undertake whichever of the three juggling (work-care) arrangements that they believe will bring them more personal fulfilment. Thus, the single mother who has viable opportunities to undertake all three of the ideal work-care arrangements, within any given period of time, is said to possess the highest work-care arrangement capability. The personal fulfilment that single mothers obtain from juggling paid work and childcare is referred to as their work-care satisfaction.

In order to assess the work-care arrangement capabilities or alternatives respondents, Robeyns’ (2005) stylized diagram of the Capability Approach, will be adapted and used in this study.

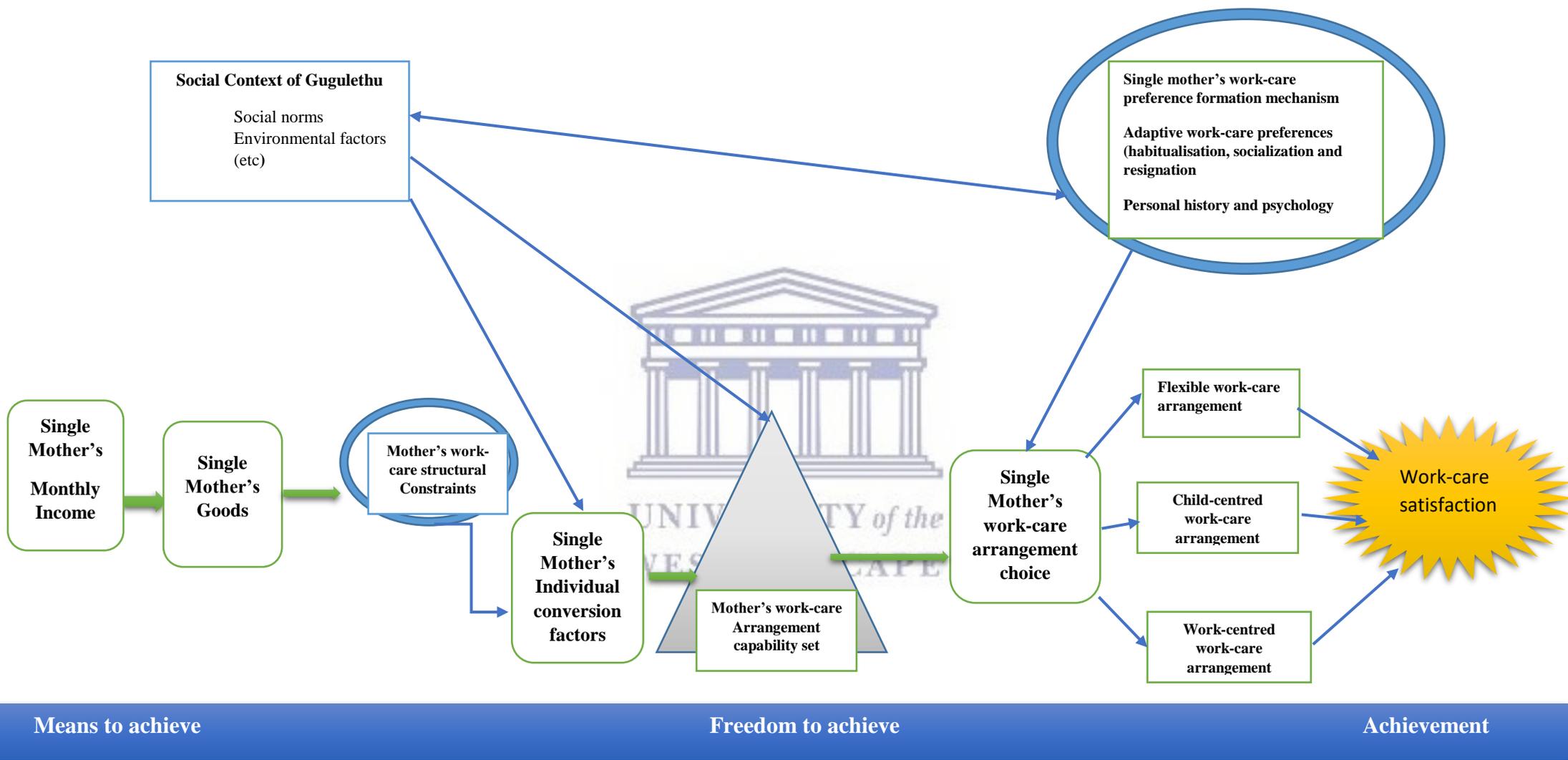
Figure 3: A Stylized Diagram of the Capability Approach by Robeyns (2005)



Source: (Robeyns, 2005, p.17)

Robeyns' diagrammatic representation of the Capability Approach is essential to this study since it presents a summary of the key constructs of the Capability Approach and how they relate to each other. The social context of the respondents as well as their level of income, resources and conversion factors, capability set, preferences, choice and achieved functionings outlined in Robeyns (2005), will also be used in this study albeit from the perspective of the work-care domain. The modified version of Robeyns' Capability Diagram as used in this study is shown below.

Figure 4: The Capability Approach in the Context of this Study: Adapted from Robeyns (2005)



These work-care arrangement capabilities of seven single mothers who participated in the interviews conducted for this study were examined using the diagram above. The respondents were asked to reflect on the social context of Gugulethu, as well as to outline their income and available resources that they need to juggle their work and childcare commitments effectively. They were also asked to contemplate how they transformed their resources in a way that allowed them to undertake a fulfilling juggling arrangement. In this regard, their personal histories, work-care preferences as well as the possibility of them adapting their work-care preferences due to internal and external reasons were also explored.

In the end, the social constraints that prevent them from having all or any of the three ideal work-care arrangements as viable alternatives, were examined. Alkire (2008) suggests that prior to using the Capability Approach, researchers should first determine the focal space or dimension that they want to concentrate on. In this regard, this study focuses on both capabilities (work-care arrangement capabilities) and on one functioning, namely, work-care satisfaction.

2.2.4 ‘Work-care Satisfaction’ as a Valuable Functioning in Sen’s Capability Approach

The ‘work-care satisfaction’, which is the level of fulfilment that single mothers gain from juggling their paid work and childcare commitments, is viewed as a functioning in this study. The main word in the concept of work-care satisfaction that needs a detailed conceptual elucidation is ‘satisfaction’ (Gough and McGregor, 2007, p.3) which has been noted by scholars of Hedonic Psychology to be a highly elusive concept (Graham, 2011; Frey and Stutzer, 2012). The version of satisfaction that is referred to in the ‘work-care satisfaction’ variable in this study, is derived from the Subjective Well-being (SWB) perspective of human development. The concept of satisfaction, as employed in SWB literature, forms an integral part of the hedonic components of SWB (Headey, 2010). The hedonic component of SWB is a self-rated appraisal of well-being that allows an individual to evaluate her feelings about her well-being status (Gough and McGregor, 2007, p.5).

The hedonic SWB consists of the affective elements, encompassing negative and positive feelings (affects), such as happiness and unhappiness (Bleys, 2012). It also captures the cognitive element of an individual’s satisfaction with their life in general or with regards to a specific domain of their lives (Canoy et al, 2010). Hence, the version of ‘satisfaction’ that is employed in the ‘work-care satisfaction’ variable in this study, is derived directly from the cognitive element of hedonic SWB.

The leading literature on SWB is dominated by the affective component of hedonic SWB especially that of happiness. Therefore, most of the SWB-related studies use SWB as a synonym for happiness. Recently, the literature on SWB is generally referred to as the ‘Economics of Happiness’ (Bleys, 2012, p.19). Nonetheless, work-care satisfaction, as used in this study, is not used synonymously with the concept of happiness. It is used instead as a synonym for personal fulfilment.

As delineated above, the focal variable for this study, work-care satisfaction, is intricately linked to the SWB perspective of well-being, and this variable is used within the framework of the Capability Approach. Here, care should be taken when assessing SWB-related perceptive or concepts within the Capability Approach. This is because, though the Capability Approach is an open-ended framework that can be used on its own or in combination with other supporting theories and perspectives, the auxiliary perspectives should be compatible with the Capability Approach (Martin, 2003).

The foregoing statement is crucial since one of the fundamental limitations to Sen’s Capability Approach is that it is exactly what its name suggests: an approach, a way of grappling with issues of human development and not a theory (Chiappero-Martinetti and Salardi, 2007). Therefore, the Capability Approach does not provide explanations that can fully explain well-being-related problems. This may require the use of other supporting explanatory theories, concepts and perspectives that can be used alongside the approach (Robeyns, 2005; Canoy et al, 2010). Sen made allowance for this by deliberately leaving the approach open-ended. However, the supporting explanatory theory or concept that is not in line with the constructs of the Capability Approach, may not be regarded as appropriate or valid in capability-related studies. Therefore, there is need for enquirers always to look out for this.

In the context of this study, the concept of work-care satisfaction that is strongly embedded in the hedonic SWB perspective of well-being, can prove to be quite problematic if not used carefully within the Capability Approach. This is so because the hedonic component of SWB is intricately related to the “greatest happiness principle” (Binder and Coad, 2013) that is espoused in Bentham’s Utilitarian Ethics. This utilitarian account posits that the morally good action is one that produces the greatest amount of happiness for the greatest number of people (Bleys, 2012). Moreover, this way of thinking has over time come to dominate the institutional approach to the politics of happiness and satisfaction by strongly advocating for

the autonomy of citizens in pursuing their own ideals of happiness and satisfaction (Binder and Coad, 2013).

Sen's Capability Approach denounces the consequentialist hedonic utilitarian accounts of what constitutes the good life. This is because the Capability Approach perceives the hedonic aspect of well-being as part as of the broader utilitarian paradigm that reduces the ends of well-being to increasing people's pleasure, happiness (utility). He does so as follows:

A person who has had a life of misfortune, with very limited opportunities and rather little hope, may be more easily reconciled with the deprivations than to others reared in more fortunate and affluent circumstances. The metric of happiness may therefore distort the extent of deprivation, in a specific and biased way. The hopeless beggar, the precarious landless labourer, the dominated housewife, the hardened unemployed or the over exhausted collie, may all take pleasures in small mercies, and manage to suppress intense suffering for the necessity of continued survival but it will be ethically deeply mistaken to attach a correspondingly small value to the loss of their well-being, because of this survival strategy. The same problem arises with the other interpretation of utility, namely desire-fulfilment (Sen, 1985, p.46).

According to Sen, relying solely on an individual's self-assessed mental state account of her well-being, can be misleading. The main problem that Sen has with these mental state well-being accounts is that people have the tendency of adapting their mental states, preferences, expectations and states of being (Arndt and Volkert, 2011) to their situations (more so in adverse conditions). The foregoing is referred to as hedonic adaptation (adaptive preferences). Hence, there exist happy beggars, and miserable millionaires, since hedonic adaptation can go both upwards and downwards as well (Clarke, 2012). Furthermore, Elster in his book, *Sour Grapes* (Elster, 1983), denotes that people adapt to their given situation through a process known as 'character planning' (Elster, 1983). Hence, they make well-being choices based on habituation and resignation (Elster, 1983).

It is important to note that Sen's critique of hedonic adaptation (adaptive preferences) does not imply that adaptation/adaptive preferences should be considered as negative phenomena within the Capability Approach. Indeed, Clarke (2012), made a list of different kinds of adaptations, among which is that of biological adaptation to the environment that has enabled the human race to survive to this day. Sen's concern is on the fact that though hedonic

adaptation may be beneficial for the daily survival of disadvantaged individuals, it can lead to negative social conditions and well-being deprivations being tolerated or overlooked in society (Anand et al., 2005).

This becomes even more critical, when policy makers falsely resolve that no action is necessary to be taken to improve the adverse social conditions of disadvantaged people because they rate themselves as being satisfied with their existing circumstances (Burchardt and Vizard, 2011.) From the capability perspective, the foregoing is really problematic (Burchardt and Vizard, 2011; Clarke, 2013). Hence, the Senian version of the Capability Approach advocates for a utility-free well-being measurement that is able to objectively capture people's states of being that are free from all forms of adaptation (hedonic adaptation/adaptive preferences) (Clarke, 2013).

Sen underscores that the hedonic adaptation critique applies to all utility-related measurements of well-being (Sen, 2005). Therefore, this critique also applies to this study, since the focal variable that is under investigation, work-care satisfaction, which involves single mothers' own assessments of their level of fulfilment/satisfaction with juggling work and childcare activities within their respective work-care arrangement groups. With this in mind, it is clear that Sen's critique of hedonic adaptation, serves as a clarion call for this study since it warns that one must be cautious (Comim, 2008) when relying solely on a self-assessed mental state account of single mothers living in a deprived informal settlement like Gugulethu.

It is therefore anticipated that the major findings of this study are likely to reflect that respondents rated their work-care satisfaction higher than it would have been expected, given their adverse circumstances. This is because the two major advocates of the Capability Approach, Sen and Nussbaum, based on their empirical studies on women in India unanimously agree that women are more susceptible to various forms of hedonic adaptations in their daily lives, especially in accepting the work-care burden (Sen, 1985; Gordon et al, 2008; Nussbaum, 2011).

2.2.5 Hedonic Adaptation, Women Work-Care Burden, Work-care Choices and the Capability Approach

Sen, in his findings based on the surveys obtained from the Great Bengal famine in 1944 in India (Sen, 1985), noted that the widows were more likely to give positive subjective

assessments about their health conditions than men, although from an objective point of view, that was far from being the case. Since his examination of gender discrimination in India, Sen's study revealed that women obtained relatively lower achievements for a crucial functioning like malnutrition and morbidity rates than men (Crocker and Robeyns, 2010). Similarly, the findings from Nussbaum's study in India on women and human development led her to conclude that,

... one must sum it up, all too often, women are often treated not as ends in their own rights (subjects)...instead, they are treated as mere instruments of other ends – reproducers, caregivers, sexual outlets, agents of the family's general prosperity (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 2).

Nussbaum's case study of Jamaya and Vasanti, women from the lower caste groups in India, show that these women have adapted their feelings and attitudes to their arduous task of juggling paid work and childcare (Nussbaum, 2011). As Nussbaum recounts, Jamaya did not see the need to waste their time complaining about their lowly paid work positions as they had come to consider it as normal for women to receive less pay than men for doing the same job (Nussbaum, 2011). In the case of Vasanti, she also struggled to receive childcare support from her alcoholic husband (whom she was in the process of divorcing) (Nussbaum, 2011).

Sen and Nussbaum's empirical findings in their studies show that there is a strong positive relationship between adaptation (hedonic and adaptive preferences) and marginalized women. Furthermore, their findings reveal that adaptation in the work-care domain may be good for marginalized women as a coping mechanism that they embrace with cheerful conformity (Sen, 2005). Yet, the foregoing must also be objectively considered as a pressing social problem for women in modern society that needs targeted policy intervention. This may go a long way in ameliorating the arduous effects that juggling paid work and childcare have on their well-being.

In terms of promoting gender equality, the Capability Approach suggests that policy makers introduce a new social contract within the space of capabilities that can negotiate an equal division of work-care burdens between men and women (Robeyns, 2008). However, today many contemporary capability-related studies on gender inequality do not adequately consider working mothers' capabilities relating to childcare in the selection of capabilities (Robeyns, 2005) that they choose to assess.

Indeed, none of the currently published empirical applications of gender and capabilities have included any childcare dimensions in their enquiries (Robeyns, 2008). She outlined that traditionally, “most men and people without children enjoy the functioning of being able to lead a life where they are not forced to choose between childcare and household chores on the one hand and a job on the other. Hence, this functioning is not high on the list of their valuable beings and doings” (Robeyns, 2005, p.13). However, for most single mothers, this may be one of their most pressing needs.

In this regard, studies within the Capability Approach have shown that the burden of juggling work and childcare is endured by mostly women, especially those living in adverse circumstances. Over the ages, women have adapted the work-care burden so well, that society tolerates and even normalizes this problem. This has tremendously affected the distributive rights of women and policy makers have not done much to re-negotiate this work-care burden. Sen’s adaptation critique (hedonic adaptation and adaptive preferences) as espoused in the Capability framework provides an insightful explanation as to why the work-care burden still rests on women all across the world (Comim, 2005).

Moreover, the capability to care has been shown to limit the well-being of the care-giver (in this case the single mothers). This is because they often put the needs of their children and others ahead of their own well-being (Martin, 2003). The Capability Approach, however, has not expounded much on relational well-being, which is extremely significant in understanding women’s work-care well-being (Martin, 2003; Martin et al., 2010).

Determining the work-care satisfaction (SWB) of women in a deprived community like Gugulethu, with regards to juggling paid work and childcare, we must be even more cautious on relying solely on such an assessment. The Capability Approach is therefore a valid framework for this study since it advises that, the problem of hedonic adaptation needs to be resolved by using an objective understanding of these women’s well-being and this can be done by assessing their capabilities or functionings (as Robeyns advised for women in deprived situations). It is worth noting that the Capability Approach is compatible with gender perspectives of well-being. Hence, it is the SWB dimension of the study that measures work-care (satisfaction) that needs elucidation within the capability framework.

3.3 The Capability Approach and SWB Perspective

It is evident that there seems to be an incompatible facet to the SWB-capability nexus as espoused in this study. As stated earlier, the Capability Approach warns that asking people to rate their well-being, without further reflection, should be done with caution, as they tend to adapt their preferences and expectations to their lived realities. In the context of this study, the foregoing may imply that the responses obtained from asking single mothers in Gugulethu to reflect on their lives and rate their current work-care satisfaction, may not be a true reflection of their work-care states of being. This is a valid point. Nonetheless, recent studies on SWB conducted by the Office of National Statistics (ONS) in Britain reveal that people are quite adept in assessing their affective states of being (OECD, 2013). Although these self-assessments may not be perfectly accurate, they still provide valuable insights into the general well-being of people that objective indicators repeatedly fail to capture.

Also, in order to know how well people are faring in their lives, the most intuitive way to find out is to ask them (Schubert and Binder, 2013). More so, the Capability Approach's insights on people's tendencies to adapt to their given circumstances, do not state that it is a negative phenomenon. In fact, it is not only in the Capability Approach that the hedonic adaptation critique has been raised. In Hedonic Psychology, the notion of the 'hedonic treadmill' (Brickman and Campbell, cited in Schubert and Binder, 2013, p.4), has been used to illustrate that people's levels of satisfaction reach a neutral level after some time, until it is reactivated with new stimuli.

This applies to all the other satisfiers (Binder and Coad, 2013), not only to income, as seen in the Easterlin Paradox, but also juggling paid work and childcare. Kahneman and Krueger (2006) proposed that idea that since people are prone to changing the levels at which they are satisfied as their levels of aspiration increase; so people are actually never fully satisfied (Kahneman and Krueger, 2006). Easterlin (2002) also noticed that people's levels of satisfaction increase with increased wealth until they reach the satisfaction threshold (Easterlin, 2002). All of these findings illustrate that mental states constitute an integral part of people's well-being and that trivializing them in favour of their objective circumstances, is a misnomer.

The Capability Approach is too objective and although this is its main appeal, it is also one of its major weak points, especially when assessing functionings that are mental states of being. Moreover, as Sugden, (1993), contends, in extreme cases of objectivity, this approach could

declare that an individual is well-off in the space of capabilities, without the individual consenting to this assessment of her well-being since she does not feel that she has a higher well-being. The foregoing makes the Capability Approach quite paternalistic and predictive (Sugden, 1993; Binder and Coad, 2013). In other words, the Capability Approach looks solely at individuals' objective well-being since it uses an objective assessment of their states of being.

According to Gough and McGregor (2007), well-being is made up of objective and subjective facets (Gough and McGregor, 2007), hence, a holistic assessment of people's well-being must be able to reflect both of these facets of well-being. Some scholars (such as Walker, 2008; Veenhoven, 2010, Binder and Coad, 2013) have argued that the Capability Approach has downplayed the significance of subjective assessments (how people feel about their well-being) or minimally incorporated it into its framework. This critique is significant because if the discrepancies between the objective assessment of people's capabilities and their own subjective feeling of their well-being become too large, this will invariably render the Capability Approach implausible (Canoy et al., 2010, p.329).

The next concern, is that the Capability Approach 'lacks, dynamic orientation' (Binder and Coad, 2013, p.7). Valuable functionings do change over time (work-care arrangement of a mother is dynamic; mothers who were married and are now single mothers can change their valuable work-care arrangements to fit into their new status). This is something that the framework has been silent on. This critique is especially potent since the economic and social conditions of women are changing rapidly and this plays a crucial role in conceptualizing their valuation of the good life (Schokkaert, 2007). The extent that the list of valuable functionings of an individual changes over time as a result of the individuals' preferences for what makes it on to the lists, is a "dangerous subjective turn" (Binder and Coad, 2013, p3) that is introduced into the Capability Approach.

3.4 Work-care Satisfaction as a Subjective Wellbeing Capability/ Functioning

Work-care satisfaction can be compatible within the frame of the Capability Approach since the concept is used as a valuable functioning in this study. The Capability Approach is a broad normative framework that can be used to assess different facets of well-being, including SWB (Deneulin and McGregor, 2010). Its appropriateness in this study is seen in the fact that it provides the capability space for the beings and doings that people value and

have reasons to value being measured. As argued by Kahnemann and Krueger (2006), the maxim of 'having reason to value' can be interpreted in different ways.

People may have internal, external or a combination of both internal and external reasons to value certain beings and doings. In the context of this study, some of the literature on childcare reveals that women can have external reasons, such as forced altruism (Folbre et al., 2017), socio-cultural expectations to undertake childcare activities, achieving wealth, fame and image. These are goals which are "more related to obtaining contingent approval or external signs of worth, and thus are, on average, expected to be less likely to yield direct need satisfaction and may even distract from it" (Deci and Ryan, 2001, p.24).

Conversely, other studies disclose that most women are propelled by internal motives and reasons to value their childcare activities (Stone, 2000). They distinguish between intrinsic (internal) and extrinsic (external) motivation. "Intrinsically motivated behaviours are those that are freely engaged out of interest without the necessity of separable consequences, and, to be maintained, they require satisfaction of the needs for autonomy and competence" (Deci and Ryan, 2001 p.23). Thus, the satisfaction and fulfilment that mothers receive from childcare activities can be of internal and ultimate value to them. Although performing childcare duties can lower their general well-being from an objective perspective (Diener and Seligman, 2004), it can also increase their well-being from a subjective point of view by providing them with fulfilment (Graham, 2011). Therefore, the capability or freedom to undertake a satisfying childcare arrangement is a major capability for mothers, especially single mothers.

Furthermore, in the current global neoliberal economic system, the only legitimate way for women to have access to financial and other resources is to sell their labour power in exchange for money. Hence, having access to a decent job and earning wages, is an external reason for women to work. Also, it has been revealed that, the ability to obtain a job in the labour market may also be of ultimate value to women because it can give them a sense of purpose and an opportunity for them to do some activities that they are talented in (Ibrahim, 2006; Graham, 2011). In this light, access to a job may be both of ultimate and instrumental value to working mothers.

In the past, studies have shown that most women were confined to home-making, and as such did not have access to labour rights as well as other social rights. The foregoing now

presents the fact that working mothers may have both ultimate and instrumental reasons to value both paid work and childcare activities. Also, they may have external and internal reasons to value paid work and childcare. So, the work-care satisfaction that single mothers derive from juggling paid work and childcare, can be viewed as a valuable functioning within the framework of the Capability Approach, to evade the problem of hedonic adaptation stated earlier. Hence, if a single mother rates herself as having a low work-care satisfaction, her low work-care satisfaction will be viewed as capability deprivation, in this regard.

Since working mothers have to divide their time and efforts between work and childcare activities, they have to develop certain social (work-care) arrangements that can aid them to juggle their work and childcare commitments more effectively. Sen also posits that having access to work, provides women with other capabilities like autonomy that can liberate them from the shackles of patriarchal social arrangements (Sen, 2005).

If a single mother has a large set of substantive freedoms to achieve whichever work-care arrangement that will guarantee her a high work-care satisfaction (fulfilment but she decides to undertake an arrangement that lessens her work-care satisfaction, , she is still considered to be better off because she can access the other work-care arrangement alternatives. In the Capability Approach, the single mother is an autonomous person, who should decide for herself what work-care arrangements she wants to achieve.

She is free to choose from any of the three different work-care arrangements and can sacrifice her own level of fulfilment and work-care satisfaction for other reasons, thereby stressing on individual liberties to make autonomous choices and take actions to realize those choices. Sen's Capability Approach is appropriate for this study, because it is also individualistic (Ibrahim, 2006), and allows the researcher to base her findings on the work-care subjective opinions of individual respondents.

Relating this to the context of this study, it is evident that the respondents in this study, may all have jobs that give them access to similar material resources that they can use to develop a satisfying work-care arrangement. Nevertheless, a single mother who chooses to take up a lower-paying flexible job because her previous job did not leave her with sufficient time to take care of her children (whom she values more than her work), is prone to be misunderstood. These misunderstandings may include the fact that she may be judged as being incompetent, or as someone who does not have the requisite educational skills to get a

better job. This is quite common in uninformed social groupings that often assume that women take up arduous informal jobs because they are unskilled when the issue may be the fact that those jobs can allow them to juggle work and childcare effectively with the few resources they obtain from the jobs.

3.5 Operationalization/Measurement of Key Variables

According to Leavy (2017), operationalization refers to how the researcher objectively defines and measures the variables within the context of the study. Variables that are in line with the capability approach presented above are used to assess the work-care satisfaction of single mothers within their respective work-care arrangement groups. This study will thus be operationalized taking into consideration the foregoing.

3.5.1 Work-care Satisfaction

a. Work-care satisfaction: refers to the level of personal fulfilment that single mothers obtain from juggling paid work and childcare. It is regarded as functioning, within the context of this study and it will be measured using respondents' ratings of their level of satisfaction with juggling paid work and childcare on a Likert's scale, where 5 is very satisfied and 1 is not at all satisfied. Respondents were asked to rate their level of work-care satisfaction at the initial and median stages in this study.

b. Work-care arrangement: refers to the different juggling schedules that allow single mothers to organize their work and childcare commitments in a way that allows them to manage both of these commitments effectively. It is measured by asking respondents to align themselves within the three work-care arrangement groups, namely, child-centered, work-centered and flexible groups, depending on how they spend their juggling time and efforts

3.5.2 Work-care Capabilities

a. Work-care capabilities: refer to the realizable opportunities that respondents have at their disposal to be able to undertake work-care arrangement that they repeatedly find fulfilling. This variable is measured by asking respondents to state their current and preferred work-care arrangements as well as to state whether they have access to viable alternative work-care arrangements.

3.6 Chapter Summary

The chapter critically unpacked Sen's Capability Approach in relation to its practical application to this study. It started by locating the history of the Capability Approach within the earlier and contemporary well-being discourses. Drawing on this framework, the chapter also outlined how key variables in the study will be operationalized. The next chapter provides a detailed explanation of the methodology adopted for the research.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This section sets forth the research methodology and processes used in this study. The research methodology is a crucial component of every research inquiry. This is because it facilitates the systematic and rigorous procedures involved in solving research problems and provides objective responses to the research questions posed in the study (Yin, 2014).

This chapter begins with a detailed account of the research techniques and designs of this study. It starts with outlining the research design, and it delineates the quantitative and qualitative methodologies as used in the research investigation. It also provides brief descriptions of the sampling techniques, data collection methods, data analysis processes and the ethic statement that guided this study. This chapter intends to offer thorough justifications that the quantitative and qualitative tools employed in this inquiry are appropriate and serve as the basis for the ensuing chapter that presents the findings of this study.

4.2. Research Design

The research design, according to (Creswell, 2017) refers to the overall practical procedures, strategies as well as the detailed technical plans within which the research is conducted. Through the study design, researchers can provide valid, accurate and objective responses to the research problems and questions. In this study, preliminary data was first collected using a pilot survey. The use of a pilot survey is an indispensable research tool that can detect underlying patterns and indicators that are unique to the research area and population (Yin, 2014). In the pilot survey used in this study, formal and informal meetings were held with the local leaders in the different areas of Gugulethu. Some of these women had recruited most of the single mothers to participate in the study. Pilot survey tools such as oral histories, maps, and social studies were used to design the research questionnaires and interviews aimed at determining the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in Gugulethu.

4.3 Research Methodology

In the broader academic discipline of the Social Sciences, the qualitative and quantitative methodologies are the two leading contemporary research methodological approaches (Bossin, et al. 2011). The research investigation employed a mixed methods approach, that is,

an amalgamation of both the quantitative and qualitative methodologies to direct the research processes of this study (Dipak, 2013). Subsequently, both the qualitative and quantitative data obtained from the respondents was used to assess their work-care satisfaction, both directly and indirectly.

In the quantitative methodology section, questionnaires were used to generate quantifiable data that could be analyzed statistically. The data obtained from the questionnaire surveys formed the foundation of the quantitative segment of this study. The primary purpose of the inquiry was to determine the socio-economic and demographic location of the respondents as well as to encourage them to reflect and rate their satisfaction with juggling paid work and childcare independently. The qualitative methodology was also employed in the study as a complement to the quantitative method. This was achieved through the use of semi-structured interviews, providing deeper insights to respondents' daily work-care experiences. As suggested by Scott-Jones (2015), the qualitative methodology permits for a thorough analysis of the findings in the study.

4.4 Sampling Procedure

According to Gottlieb (2017), sampling in its general sense refers to an unbiased representation of the population selected to participate in the study. Similarly, Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) describe sampling as the impartial process of selecting observations from a population. For this study, different sampling techniques were adopted to choose the population of single mothers that would participate in the questionnaire surveys and semi-structured interviews. To this end, the purposive sampling technique was used to select respondents that would take part in the questionnaire surveys. As noted by Yin (2014), in purposive sampling, the subjects are selected based on some general characteristics. In this study, being a single mother and residing in Gugulethu, were the two dominant characteristics that defined the target population group of the research. Thus, using this purposive sample, questionnaires were administered to single mothers with these characteristics between the ages of 18 and 50 years. A total number of 107 respondents from all the different areas of Gugulethu participated.

A quota sampling tool was also used to select interviewees, and a total of 7 single mothers were interviewed. Quota sampling is a non-probability sampling technique, which involves the precise segmentation of the participants into mutually exclusive sub-groups (Geisen and Bergstrom, 2017). In this study, respondents were divided into mutually exclusive groups

based on their work-care arrangement groups. Using this quota sampling method, the researcher ensured that all 7 participants that were selected to participate in the interviews were representative of all the single mothers in the three work-care arrangement groups in the study.

4.5 Methods of Data Collection

For this study, data collection, beginning with the pilot survey took place from March 2016 to December 2016. The research study utilized both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected through the use of semi-structured interviews and questionnaire surveys from 107 respondents. Secondary data was obtained through a review of relevant literature which includes articles, government documents and oral histories of Gugulethu.

Both the primary and secondary data used in this study were collected and analyzed using a mixed methods research procedure. Mixed methods is a research procedure that uses both qualitative and quantitative steps to approach the research problem under investigation. Mixed methods is more than just collecting qualitative and quantitative data and using them independently in a study (Zachorowska-Mazirkiewtz, 2015). Mixed methods combine qualitative and quantitative data to respond to a research question. Using mixed methods research procedures allows the researcher to give a more nuanced analysis of the research findings (Wei, 1981). This is because; using both qualitative and quantitative tools; produces stronger results than using them independently. Moreover, mixed methods allow the researcher to effectively link the statistical trends that are obtained from the study to the general stories that explain these trends (Yin, 2014).

The primary and secondary data were assembled under the following themes: (1) socio-economic and demographic characteristics of Gugulethu; (2) juggling work-care satisfaction (SWB) level of 107 respondents; (3) the assessment of the relationship between respondents' income, education and housing (objective well-being) with their current work-care satisfaction of those interviewed; (4) examination of the relationship between respondents' work-care preferences to adaptive preferences; (6) capability and structural constraints that impede respondents from gaining more work-care satisfaction; (7) respondents' policy suggestions that will enable them to juggle paid work and childcare with much satisfaction, more effectively. The study employed the following tools during the research:

4.5.1 Questionnaires

According to Kumar (2005), questionnaires serve as an effective way of collecting data from a significant number of respondents that can be used for statistical analysis. In this investigation, 110 questionnaires were designed, originally in English and later in Xhosa and were administered to 110 respondents. The research participants were given about two months to complete each phase of the three phases of their questionnaires. In the end, 107 respondents returned their completed questionnaires. The purposive sampling method was used to distribute the questionnaire survey to participants in Gugulethu.

4.5.2 Semi- structured Interviews

A total of 7 single mothers were interviewed using semi-structured interview schedules and a checklist. Each interview lasted for about forty–five minutes to one hour. Most of the interviews were conducted in the homes of the respondents or in the Gugulethu Sports Centre (in the case of single mothers whose houses were too busy or noisy). The reason for using a semi-structured interview in this research is because of its ‘continuity and flexibility’ (McBurney and White, 2013, p.43). The interviews were conducted in a relaxed, informal environment and no more than two respondents were interviewed in a day.

The interviews were scheduled over a period of 9 weeks depending on the availability of those interviewed. All the interviews were conducted in English and respondents who could not speak English very well were encouraged to use a trusted friend or acquaintance of their choice to help translate their points. At the end of each interview, respondents were invited to add any ideas that they felt were missing in the questionnaires and interviews. The tools that were used to conduct these interviews included an electronic voice recorder and a note pad and a pen.

4.5.3 Observation

Active observation was also employed in this research to merge the facial expressions, body language and physical environments of the respondents with their responses. Studies have shown that passive and active observations help researchers to make sense of the interviewees' dispositions (Rosenbaum, 2003; Saldaña, 2010). The purpose of observation in this investigation was to assemble non-verbal data such as the physical characteristics of the respondents' homes and surroundings (Neumayer and Plümper, 2017). This method of

observation lasted throughout the data collection process, especially during the fortnightly visits paid to the respondents during the months they were completing their questionnaires.

4.5.4 Literature Review

Leavy (2017) contends that a thorough literature review on the topic under study helps researchers to avoid knowledge duplication. The review of relevant literature was a crucial element in this study. This allowed the researcher to locate this study within the existing literature by highlighting the knowledge gaps that the research sought to address. The review of literature analyzed the contemporary issues surrounding the topic of subjective well-being and its relationship with the work-care burden that single mothers working in the informal sector bear. The literature review focused on studies from academic sources (books, journal articles, internet sources) that are relevant to the research topic. Moreover, the findings of this study were linked to how they verify, contradict or improve existing literature on the subject matter under investigation.

4.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis and presentation were also crucial facets to this study that aided in the processes of transforming primary data into valuable information (Scott-Jones, 2015). The data analysis and presentation sections of this inquiry were useful in delineating between relevant and irrelevant data (Kumar, 2005). The thematic representation of data was also useful in locating recurring themes and patterns in the data that were useful for analyzing the research findings.

4.6.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

Primary data obtained from questionnaire surveys was used in the quantitative analysis of this study. To convert this data into meaningful information, the Statistical Data (Stata) version 12.0 software was used. The use of this quantitative analytical software was effective because it possessed both descriptive and inferential statistical instruments that enabled the researcher to collate, analyze, describe and test the significance of the major relationships and patterns that emerged from the data collected (Creswell, 2017). In this research, the descriptive statistics were used to describe the population through numerical calculations and representations. The descriptive statistical tools that were used included graphs, cross tabulations and frequency distributions. Furthermore, index scores, such as the Work-care

Satisfaction Index (WSI) were also codified to measure single mothers' satisfaction with juggling work-care in this study.

In the context of this study, Diener's Satisfaction with Life scale (SwL) (Diener and Seligman, 2004) was adopted to develop the Work-care Satisfaction Index (WSI) that was used to measure the respondents' satisfaction with juggling paid work and childcare. The Diener's SwL scale contains five items on a five point scale, when modified to fit into the context of this study. The WSI measured respondents level of satisfaction with: (1) juggling work and childcare; (2) co-residents' support with childcare; (3) government's child support projects and policies; (4) labor laws that allow informal workers to juggle work and childcare effectively; (5) childcare support from child(ren)'s father or his kin.

Respondents were then asked to rate their levels of satisfaction from the five items Likert's scale, with the following rating options: '*very satisfied*' (VS), '*satisfied*' (S), '*somewhat satisfied*' (SS), '*not satisfied*' (NS) and '*not at all satisfied*' (NAS). Each of these ratings were assigned a weight value of 5,4,3,2 and 1 correspondingly. The score of each respondent was compiled into the Work-care Satisfaction Index (WSI) comprising of a single score. The variables that constitute the WSI are based on the self-rated work-care satisfaction of the respondents. Since, the WSI assigned weight values range from 1 to 5 to the responses from the participants on the Likert's scale, the foregoing composed the total weight value (TWV) for each domain. The TWV for each variable is obtained by adding the product of the number of responses for each variable rating with its corresponding weight value. Also the mean WSI index, is obtained from adding up the index for each variable and then dividing it by the number of the similar variables. The Total Weight Value (TWV) of the Work-care Arrangement Index (WAI) as well as the mean WAI were also calculated as explained above.

The Kruskal-Wallis Test, also known as the H test, was then used to test the hypotheses of this study. These hypotheses are: (a) H_0 (Null hypothesis): There is no significant difference among the respondents' work-care satisfaction levels within the various work-care arrangement groups; (b) H_1 : (Alternative hypothesis): There is a significant difference among the respondents' work-care satisfaction levels within the various work-care arrangement groups.

The Kruskal-Wallis Test is a non-parametric version of the "one-way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) on ranks test" (Wei, 1981). Hence, this test can be used to determine if there are

any statistically significant differences between two or more groups of an independent variable on ordinal dependent variables. It is also an extension of the Mann-Whitney U test as it allows for the comparison of more than two independent variables (Vargha and Delaney, 1998).

The use of the Kruskal-Wallis Test is appropriate for testing the aforementioned hypotheses of this study. This is because; this statistical test revealed that at least two of the groups were statistically different from each other (Wei, 1981). This study sets out to determine how the work-care satisfaction of respondents in three work-care arrangement groups differed from each other. Moreover, the type of data used in this study met the all criteria required for using the Kruskal-Wallis Test to obtain a valid result.

The first assumption of the Kruskal-Wallis Test is that the data for the dependent variable of the study must be measured, by using ordinal data (Vargha and Delaney, 1998). Since the data for this study used an ordinal scale ranging from *not at all satisfied* to *very satisfied*, the first criterion for carrying out a Kruskal-Wallis Test in this study was met.

The second assumption of this test is that the independent variables of the study must consist of two or more independent groups (Vargha and Delaney, 1998). Typically the Kruskal-Wallis Test can only be used when a study has more than two independent groups. It was appropriate for this study, which was testing the differences between three work-care arrangement groups: flexible, child-centered and work-centered groups.

The third assumption of the Kruskal-Wallis Test is that the data must have observations that are mutually exclusive. In other words, no respondent should belong to more than one group (Vargha and Delaney, 1998). In the study, none of the respondents belonged to more than one work-care arrangement group and hence, met this criterion for using the Kruskal-Wallis Test.

Finally, the fourth assumption is that in order to interpret the results obtained from the Kruskal-Wallis Test, it is important to determine whether the distributions in each group have the same variability (Wei, 1981). This variability within the three work-care arrangement groups can be ascertained by viewing the histogram of the three groups (Vargha and Delaney, 1998). If the distribution among the three groups has almost the same variability (shape), the Kruskal-Wallis Test should then be used to compare the medians of the dependent variable for the different work-care groups in the study. If the distribution has a different variability (not the same shape), the researcher can only use the Kruskal-Wallis H test to compare the

mean ranks among these three groups (Vargha and Delaney, 1998). This aforementioned criterion was also met in this study.

The formula for the Kruskal-Wallis Test as employed in testing the hypothesis of this study, is outlined below:

$$H = \frac{12}{n(n+1)} \left(\sum_{j=1}^k \frac{R_j^2}{n_j} \right) - 3(n-1) \quad [a]$$

The above formula is adopted from Vargha and Delaney (1998). In the Kruskal-Wallis Test, all data points in the entire set are ranked from smallest to largest, without regard to which sample they come from. Then, all the ranks are summed from each separate sample. In this study, the hypotheses were tested at a significance level of 0.05 (5%). As a rule, the acceptance of the null hypothesis is premised on the significance value (denoted by Exact Sig. or *P* value) being greater than the given level of significance (5%). Otherwise, the null hypothesis is rejected in favor of the alternative hypothesis if the significance value is less than or equal to the given level of significance (5%).

It is worth noting that the Kruskal-Wallis Test does not completely underscore which of the work-care arrangement groups within the independent variable are statistically significantly different from one another as well as denote the ways in which they are different. Hence, depending on the results obtained, further analyses are needed to make the results from the Kruskal-Wallis Test intelligible. In this light, qualitative data analyses are used in this study.

4.7 Qualitative Data Analysis

4.7.1 Life histories

As noted earlier, the data obtained from the semi-structured interviews formed the basis of the qualitative analysis in this study. To capture respondents' work-care experiences and perspectives, some descriptive tools were used. The first was the use of life histories. According to Geisen and Bergstrom (2017), the use of life histories in interviews is vital in exposing how participants' views and actions have changed over time. In this research, interviews were designed for the participants to briefly recount their life stories (Gottlieb, 2017). This information was used to check whether the lives of single mothers had radically evolved in order to ascertain their work-care satisfaction.

Furthermore, participants were encouraged to take a similar approach to their life histories by comparing their current work-care arrangement schedule (at the time the study was conducted) to the times in their lives when they had no childcare responsibilities. The comparative reports of participants' life histories form a crucial part of the qualitative data analysis. In this study that helped to locate their work-care choices and satisfaction within different spatial and temporal contexts (Leavy, 2017). This backward looking qualitative approach was essential in tracking work-care generational shifts that may have occurred in the lifetimes of participants (Yin, 2014).

4.7.2 Topic guides

Subject guides, containing open-ended questions were also employed in the structuring of the interviews in this study (Rosenbaum, 2003). Before the final design of the semi-formal interview schedules, a list of the main concerns that had been raised in the questionnaire responses, was outlined. Those concerns were then featured in the earlier parts of the interviews and were accompanied with probing follow-up questions that prompted participants to give examples and time-lines to support their responses (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015).

There is a general consensus among qualitative researchers that sensitive questions about an interviewee's way of life should be asked towards the end of interviews (Geisen and Bergstrom (2017). In this light, general questions about the work-care satisfaction of single mothers dominated the earlier parts of the interviews, while sensitive issues, such as trusting that their co-residents, neighbors and the government would help them with their work-care burdens, were shifted towards the last quarter of the interviews. Also, the use of topic guides incorporated participatory tools such as orally listing and ranking (Neumayer and Plümper, 2017) the work-care preferences in order of importance. These topic guides mostly inform the thematic codes (McBurney and White, 2013) that are used in the qualitative data analysis.

4.7.3 Time diaries

A week before the interviews were conducted, the 7 prospective interviewees were asked to keep short daily records on their time spent on childcare and work respectively and describe their feelings and attitudes while juggling childcare with work. Those diaries could be written informally in the form of bullet points, a song or poem or even a narrative (Saldaña, 2010). The women who could not read or write were given the option to dictate the highlights of

their daily work-care experiences to their friends. It was recommended that the time diaries were to be a paragraph long but should be done at the end every day for three days. The use of the time diaries in this qualitative research was one of the OECD recommendations for measuring SWB (OECD, 2013). The supporting idea of the use of time diaries was to track participants' daily work-care highlights, capturing the best and worst moments of juggling work-care (McBurney and White, 2013). Moreover, those diaries also served as reflexive data during interviews.

4.7.4 Oral data

Oral data was also collected during the two fortnightly visits to the respondents' homes after the interviews. Friendly informal conversations were held while they cooked, fetched water and performed daily tasks on the weekends that the visits were conducted. Some respondents allowed the researcher to visit their church groups or when they met with their friends. The little comments, complaints, and concerns they shared with other groups and friends were noted. That was done subtly by just listening to the participants in different spaces without asking questions (Rosenbaum, 2003). The post-interview oral data obtained was used to confirm participants' responses during the interviews.

4.8 Qualitative Data Presentation

Data obtained from the semi-structured interviews was presented as quotations in the study. To select the relevant quotes, the interview data was analyzed using thematic content analysis to deduce the important patterns and common themes on single mothers' work-care satisfaction. Thematic content analysis, as stated by Scott-Jones (2015), is a descriptive presentation of qualitative data obtained from the contents of interview transcripts. For this study, the plan to use the Atlas Ti qualitative software was initially considered and outlined in the research proposal. However, due to some unforeseeable circumstances, the data obtained from the interviews was coded manually. The coding procedure used in the analysis and data presentation is outlined below:

Step 1: The audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed immediately after each interview.

Step 2: The first 3 interviews were browsed through as preliminary data that gave a background to recurring themes that were raised during the interviews.

Step 3: After the transcription of all interviews were completed, a detailed summary of all the 7 major themes that emerged from the interviews was listed by making associated annotations using a thematic descriptive approach.

Step 4: A color coding scheme was developed by amalgamating the original themes obtained from the preliminary interview data, and listed all the other themes from subsequent transcripts. Quotes from each of the 7 issues were highlighted with the colors assigned to each of the themes.

Step 5: The codes were then applied to broader interview data sets and were written on the margins and headers of transcripts. It is worth noting that some data were coded in multiple different ways ranging from codes depicting specific events to codes that captured broader themes.

Step 6: When all the data had been coded, the transcripts were printed, the codes were then cut off and pasted on a large vanguard paper and grouped according to their themes. Some quotes were taken isolated from their original context and grouped with other quotes from the same theme. That was done to look out for thematic patterns.

Step 7: The thematic relationships detected under each of the themes informed the basis of the qualitative analysis presented in the study.

4.8.1 Triangulation

According to Scott-Jones (2015), it is vital to increase the validity of the findings of qualitative data, by purposefully seeking data from other wide range sources that could serve as evidence to compare with general findings (McBurney and White, 2013). This process above is called triangulation. In this study, data obtained from the interviews were compared with the short answer responses in the questionnaires, to check whether the data contradicted or corroborated with the viewpoints of those who did not participate in the interviews (Bossin, et al. 2011). The differences and anomalies that were detected in the study were also analyzed in the chapter that presented the findings of the research.

4.8.2 Thick Descriptions

This study employed the interpretive framework that encourages participants to interpret their lived realities to give added meanings to their problems. In this vein, thick descriptions

(Geertz, 1993) were also used to explain the sociocultural context that influenced work-care behaviors, choices and preferences of single mothers in Gugulethu. That was done, because without the use of thick descriptions, their work-care behaviors could not be made intelligible to those that have not lived in Gugulethu. Thick descriptions have been employed mainly in Anthropological and Sociological studies (Neumayer and Plümper, 2017). Quite recently, it has been used in religious studies to understand the social processes that give meanings to certain religious rites and symbols in modern societies (Kumar, 2005).

Thick descriptions explain not just the behaviors of individuals but also give elucidation on the contexts under which those behaviors arise so that the behavior could become meaningful to an outsider or researchers (Geertz, 1993). This tool was first used by Ryle in 1949, but became popularized by Geertz (1993) by applying it to ethnographic studies. It gives a detailed account of field experiences; the researcher makes explicit the patterns of cultural and social relationships that puts them into context. It is a way of achieving external validity by describing a phenomenon in sufficient detail, so that the conclusions drawn from the study could be transferable to other times, socio-cultural settings and people (Geertz, 1993).

4.8.3 Ethics Statement

This study was undertaken in compliance with the ethical research standards of the University of the Western Cape. The study commenced after ethics approval was granted by the University of the Western Cape Senate, the Arts Faculty Board. Consent forms were signed by every participant. The purpose of this form was to solicit the respondents' voluntary agreement to participate in the study. This study was not intended to cause any harm to any participant. Hence, respondents were allowed to withdraw their participation in the study at any time. At all the three stages of data collection, the aims and objectives of the study were outlined to all who participated in the study. Finally, respondents were asked in their consent forms to state a pseudonym (pen name) that could be used to refer to them in the study (Neumayer and Plümper, 2017). This use of pseudonyms guaranteed the anonymity of the participants. The information was kept confidential and used for the intended purposes of this study only.

4.9 Chapter Summary

The chapter has provided a detailed account of the research methodology used in this study. After the initial pilot survey conducted to gather preliminary data that was used to design the

questionnaire and interview schedules, purposive as well as quota sampling methods were used to select respondents for the quantitative and qualitative research methodologies respectively. While the combination of both descriptive and inferential statistics was used in the analysis of the quantitative data, qualitative analysis was done through the use of thematic content analysis. The chapter concludes with the ethics statement outlining the ethical regulations that guided this research. Chapter 5 presents the findings of this study.



CHAPTER FIVE

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the primary data collected with a discussion of the major findings in this study. It responds to the research questions and seeks to fulfil the objectives of the research that are presented in Chapter 1. The main purpose of the research is to examine the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in Gugulethu, South Africa. It also explores the capabilities/opportunities that were open to them to undertake their preferred arrangement that would bring them much satisfaction. The chapter focuses on exploring the foregoing based on the Capability Approach framework presented earlier.

5.2 Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses

Quantitative analysis methods entail the transformation of numerical data into comprehensive information. It does so by manipulating the data using different statistical tools. The quantitative data for this study was analysed and presented through the use of inferential and descriptive statistics operated with the Statistics Data (STATA) software. The qualitative data obtained from the interviews, personal observation, oral data and time diaries are also presented in this chapter of the study. Moreover, both the quantitative and qualitative analyses were done side by side and a discussion section of this study is presented below.

5.2.1 Demographic and Socio-Economic Attributes of Respondents

The data obtained from the questionnaire survey was used to compile the demographic and socio-economic attributes of the respondents. Initially the study began with 110 respondents as the sample frame. However, during the course of the research two respondents dropped out from the study (their reasons for doing so are unknown to the researcher). Also, one of them relocated to a settlement outside Gugulethu and formally withdrew her participation from the studies in March, 2016. The respondents' socio-economic and demographic characteristics are considered to be closely linked to the central theme of the study and are therefore examined. These characteristics include: age, number of children, marital history, headship, household size, education and income.

5.2.2 Age, Marital History, Number of Children, and Household Size

This section deals with age, marital history, number of children and household size of respondents. The analysis of the respondents by age, as shown in Table 1 below, indicates that the majority of the respondents were within the age range of 18 to 25 years, as this age group accounted for 50.5% of the total respondents. Furthermore, 28% of the respondents were within the age range of 26 to 35 years, while 11.2% were aged 36 to 45 years, and 10.3% were over 45 years old. It is clear from this study that most respondents were within the sexually and economically active age range. Nonetheless, it can be deduced that most of the respondents may have had their first child around their teenage years, as half of the women in the study were between 18 to 25 years. This may support the literature on the prevalence of teenage pregnancy in informal settlements like Gugulethu (G'Sell, 2016).

Table 1 also shows the marital history respondents and makes a clear distinction between single mothers who have been previously married legally or traditionally married at least once and those who have never been married. The results from Table 1 indicate that 24.3% (26 respondents) have previously been married at least once, while 75.7% (81 respondents) sampled have never been married legally or traditionally prior to the time the study was conducted.

This finding may be intelligible within the context of this study since more than half of the respondents were below 26 years and some of them may still have plans to marry sometime in the near future. It however, does not contradict the general finding that marriage in South Africa is on the decline (Rogan, 2017). The leading literature on this subject matter suggests that the unfair division of household work, prevalence of domestic violence, women striving for financial independence and re-defining their gender roles (Conradie, 2013), are among the main reasons why some women opt not to marry. Moreover, the cohabitation living arrangement, where unmarried couples live together, was also prevalent in Gugulethu. This study, however, does not include single mothers who are within such living arrangements.

It was also evident from the responses provided by respondents in the work-care capability reflection exercise that is analysed in the latter part of this chapter, that the marital decline in Gugulethu may be strongly linked to their desire for mobility (a key work-care capability). Since most of them were economic migrants, they were willing to accept jobs that required of them to commute to far distances or to move around. Not getting married, gave them enough freedom to do so. That aspect, however, requires further investigation.

From Table 1, it is evident that the majority of the single mothers, making up 84.1%, were the heads of their households. Conversely, only a few of them totalling 15.9% were not the heads of their households. That finding resonates with the literature that female-headed households (FHHs) in South Africa are on the increase (Rogan, 2017). The plausible explanation that these studies give to support this claim, is that women are actively re-creating as well as redefining their gender roles in a way that elevate their needs as well as those of their children (Garenne et al., 2011; Conradie, 2013). Hence, owning and heading their own households is often viewed as the first step towards achieving these revised gender roles. In Gugulethu, FHHs are quite prevalent, accepted and normalized.

Table 1: Demographic Profile of Respondents

Demographic Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage%
Age (years)		
18 – 25	54	50.5
26 – 35	30	28
36 – 45	12	11.2
46 and above	11	10.3
Number of Children		
0 – 2	30	28
3 – 4	59	55.1
5 – 6	14	13.5
7 and above	4	3.7
Household Size (Persons)		
0 – 2	5	4.7
3 – 4	10	9.4
5 – 6	46	43
7 – 8	39	36.5
9 and above	7	6.5
Marital History		
Previously Married	26	24.3
Never Married	81	75.7
Household Headship		
Head of the household	90	84.1
Not the head of the household	17	15.9
(n = 107)	107	100

Source: Field Data, Gugulethu, 2016.

The mean number of children per household was estimated at 3.4 per household as more than half of the participants, 55.1% had about 3 to 4 children under their care. That was followed by 28% of respondents who had between 0 to 2 children in their households. Only a minority of them had more than 4 children, as 13.5% had 5 to 6 children and 3.7% boasted of having 7 more children. The aforementioned findings from the study, however, had no bearing on fertility rate of the respondents or other women in Gugulethu. That was because, the variable depicting the number of children in this study did not capture only the biological children of the study participants but also included all the other children who were under their care at the time the study was conducted.

This study design was set up to capture this reality as the literature on informal settlements in South Africa has shown that the majority of the women living in townships also take care of children of relatives from the rural areas and homesteads who have moved to Cape Town to attend schools. Also, in times of financial crisis and major public holidays, they are able to send their children to kin in their homesteads in the Eastern Cape (Du Toit and Neves, 2008). Further studies are needed to determine the actual fertility rate of single mothers in the study area.

Additionally, Table 1 presents the household size, number of children per respondent and household headship. Although the mean household size was found to be 5.2, it is conclusive from the table that the majority of the respondents lived in households consisting of about 5 to 6 persons (43.0%). That was followed by those living in households comprising 7 to 8 persons (36.5%) and only a handful of them (6.5%) live in households with 9 or more persons. The household size of respondents revealed that Gugulethu has a high population density and as such, overcrowding in those households is quite prevalent. That was more common among respondents living in the areas like Vukuzenzele, Zondi and Phola Park, which consisted of numerous unplanned and closely constructed informal shack houses.

On the other hand, Table 1 also discloses that only a few respondents that made up 4.7%, lived in households with 1 to 2 persons. Furthermore, 9.4%, of the respondents live in households with about 3 to 4 persons. From observation, it was evident that the respondents living in households with smaller numbers of people, were those from areas in Gugulethu such as New Rest, Kanana and Europe with mostly formal and semi-formal houses. Hence, the findings from this study strongly suggest that there is a spatial distribution of the

population in Gugulethu and that areas with informal houses are more densely populated than those with semi-formal and formal houses.

5.2.3 Housing, Education and Income of Respondents

Housing is a central component of well-being that is also captured in this study. The respondents were asked to choose what kind of house they lived in. According to the findings in Table 2, only 3% lived in formal houses, 22% lived in semi-formal housing within a compound with shared taps and flush toilets, and 27% lived in detached concrete self-contained housing (locally referred to as boys' quarters, Gugulethu's version of a bachelor's flat). Most of the respondents living in the aforementioned housing systems had access to amenities like safe drinking water, tarred roads and reliable electricity supply as those houses are found in the more developed areas in Gugulethu.

Nearly all the respondents who lived in formal dwellings were university graduates. A total of 43% of the study participants lived in shacks with both durable and non-durable materials, ranging from corrugated iron sheets to cardboards, plastics, scrap metals and tyres from old cars on the roof tops, etc. The shacks that respondents lived in differed in durability and size. In other words, some shacks were durable and could pass off as formal dwellings. A handful of the respondents' houses looked like shacks on the outside, but were very tidy and fitted with modern appliances like flat screen television sets, electric cookers and they had access to flush toilets (somewhere within their compounds).

On the other hand, the majority of the other shack dwellers' houses were mostly dilapidated, and they had to use public toilets, pit and bucket toilets, usually farther away from their compounds. The respondents living in shacks had access to safe drinking water, although the supply was not always reliable. They also made-do with an illegal electricity supply, but had alternative lighting systems like candles in their homes as there were a number of cases in which illegal electrical connections were often disconnected. The roads were rugged and narrow with poor drainage systems. That made the area prone to flooding when it rained and there had also been numerous cases of fire outbreaks. The fact that most of the respondents lived in shacks, is in line with the literature on the feminization of poverty (Philip, 2010).

Education plays a vital role in improving single mothers' well-being, albeit from an objective perspective (Stiglitz, 2010). These three objective indicators of well-being are also quite central in capturing SWB (Giraud et al., 2013), since they possess the inherent ability to

influence the levels of life satisfaction of individuals. Table 2 below shows the housing, educational and income status of respondents.

Table 2: Respondents' Income, Education and Housing Status

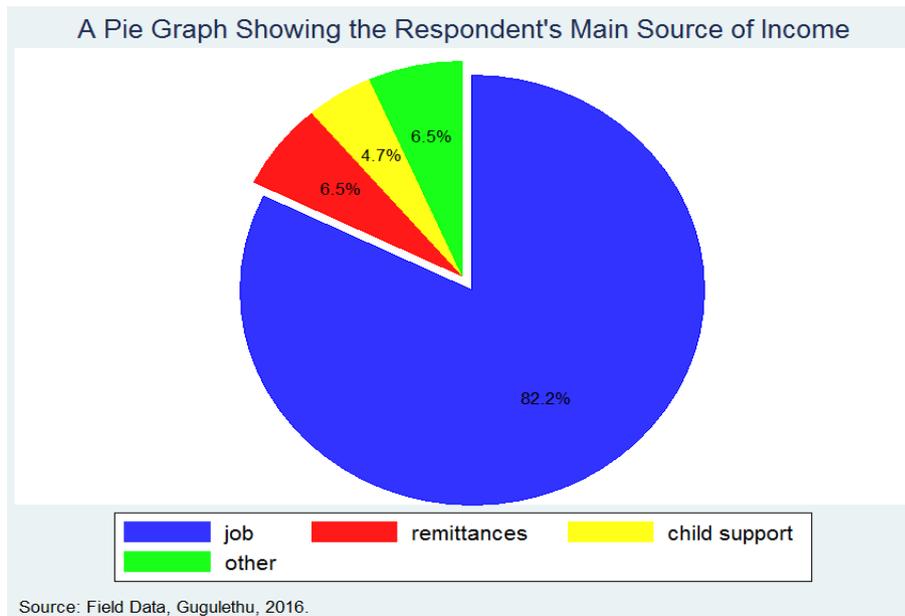
Average Monthly Income(ZAR)	Frequency	Percentage
0 – 2,999	22	20.8
3,000 – 4,999	33	31.1
5,000 – 6,999	24	22.6
7,000 – 8,999	14	13.2
9,000 – 10,999	8	7.6
11,000 – 12,999	2	1.9
13,000 and above	3	2.8
Level of Education		
No formal education	5	4.8
Middle school	2	2
High school	71	67.6
Graduate	21	20
Post graduate	6	5.7
Type of Housing		
Shack	58	54.2
Semi-formal	22	20.6
Formal	27	25.2
(n=107)	107	100

Source: Field Data, Gugulethu, 2016.

Table 2 above presents the income, educational and health status of respondents. With respect to monthly income, the table indicates that 3 (2.8%) respondent earned no more than ZAR 13,000 per month; 22 (20.8%) earned between ZAR 0 and 2,999, while 24 (22.6%) respondents earned between ZAR 5,000 and 6,999. A total of 24 (12.7%) respondents reported that they earned between ZAR 7,000 and 8,999. The average monthly income of those single mothers was quite high, compared to that of other women in other informal settlements in Cape Town (Gradin, 2013).

With regards to education, all the respondents recorded that they had access to some form of formal education. In terms of the levels of their education, it was evident from Table 2 that the highest level of education was 43 (41.7%) respondents at primary level, 13 (12.6%) respondents at secondary level, and 6 (5.8%) respondents at tertiary level. Only 27 (25.7 %) of the respondents completed university.

Figure 5: Graph Pie Showing Respondents' Main Source of Income



From figure 5, it can be deduced that the main source of income for most of the respondents is their job. This accounts for 82% of the all the respondents. From personal observation, almost all respondents were quite entrepreneurial and savvy; the issue of money to them was quite an emotional one. Therefore, most of respondents who were informal workers in formal establishments were also engaged in informal economic activities that were relatively profitable. Moreover, most of them agreed that they had belonged to informal *stokvel*³ organizations, mainly with other people at their work places, (only a few of them did so with family members).

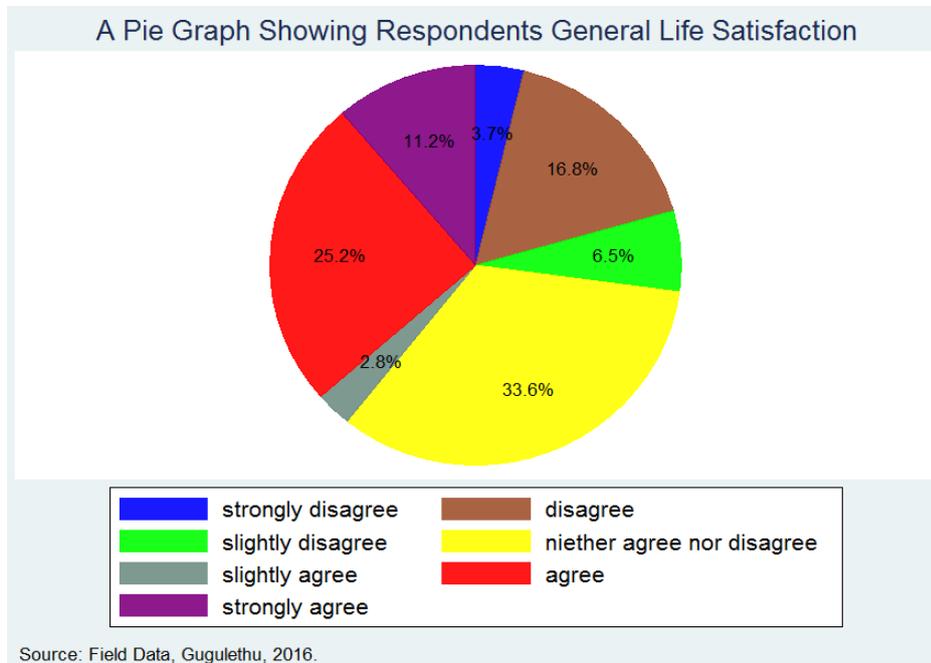
The General Life Satisfaction of Respondents

Prior to assessing respondents' work-care satisfaction, their general satisfaction with their lives during the periods the study was conducted was also examined. The study was conducted using the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS), developed by Diener, Amos, Larsen and Griffin in 1985 to measure the cognitive component of SWB (Veenhoven, 2010). The only statement in the SWLS that participants were asked to rate their level of agreement, was: "I feel satisfied with my life in general nowadays". That was a 7-point scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree', where 7 is 'strongly agree', 6 is 'agree', 5 is

³ A *stokvel* refers to an informal savings initiative in which two or more people agree to contribute a given sum of money (usually on a monthly basis) from which each of the members of the group receive a lump sum payment on rotational basis.

‘slightly agree’, 4 is ‘neither agree nor disagree’, 3 is ‘slightly disagree’, 2 is ‘disagree’ and 1 is ‘strongly disagree’. Figure 6 below shows the responses of the respondents.

Figure 6: Graph Pie Showing Respondents’ General Life Satisfaction



Out of 107 respondents, the average level of life satisfaction of all respondents was 2.21, which is somewhere between ‘neither agree nor disagree’. Hence, this corresponds to the fact that 33.6 %, which is the majority of the respondents ‘neither agree nor disagree’ that they are generally satisfied with their lives nowadays. Nonetheless, a combined score of 36.4 % of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that they are satisfied with their lives nowadays. Respondents who agreed and strongly agreed that they were satisfied with their lives in general were usually above forty years of age, employed as informal workers who worked in formal establishments. On the other hand, the single mothers who were likely to rate themselves as ‘disagree’, ‘slightly disagree’ and ‘neither agree nor disagree’ were more likely to have characteristics associated with being younger and working as informal workers in informal establishments.

5.3 Work-care / Juggling Motives

Prior to assessing the work-care satisfaction of single mothers, they were first asked to state their motives, in terms of what for juggling paid work and childcare they intended to achieve in their lives. The reason for asking that question was to ascertain whether the respondents had internal or external reasons to value (and undertake) their work-care commitments. For

that question, the respondents were not given choices to tick one, but rather they were asked to write down their individual motives. Those motives were then grouped into 7 themes that commonly emerged from their responses. The themes are presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Respondents' Motives for Juggling Paid Work and Childcare

Motives	Frequency	Percentage
Social pressure	7	6.5
Traditional pressure	15	14.0
Brings balance in my life	17	15.9
Provide for my children	43	40.2
I don't see any other option	6	5.6
It is important to my feelings	15	4.2
Others	4	3.7
Total	107	100

Source: Field Data, Gugulethu, 2016.

From table 3, it can be deduced that the respondents had more external reasons for undertaking and thereby valuing their work-care commitments than internal ones. The most dominant motive that was common among 40.2% of the participants was that juggling work and childcare was a way of providing for their children. In other words, most single mothers in the study viewed their paid work as an extension of their childcare duties. Hence, most of them regarded their jobs, not as possible career paths, but just as a means that would provide them with financial resources to put food on the tables for their children. That question was also posed to the 7 respondents that were interviewed. Noluvo, who stated that her motive for juggling work and childcare was to provide for her daughter, had this to say:

Noluvo: *Life here is really rough ... but I have to work to get money to take care of me and my daughter... I am not working for myself you know. My aunt used to help me and my younger cousin... but she passed on in June last year* (Noluvo, 27, cashier, Phola Park, Gugulethu, 2016).

Another leading external reason for juggling work and childcare was that it brought some form of balance in the lives of 15.9% of the respondents. That was followed by traditional pressure for 14 % of respondents. Furthermore, only 6.5% did so out of social pressure, 5.6% did not see any other viable options, while only 3.7% of the respondents stated other motives for juggling work and childcare that did not fall within the common themes and were denoted as others (other reasons). Some of those other reasons included juggling paid work and

childcare to please God or as a way of attracting sympathy and financial help from others. For instance, in the case of Hlswayo:

Hlswayo: *I am doing this just for God...I am not trying to please anyone. It was God who gave me these children, so I have to take care of them... when he sees I am trying, he's going to help me'* (Hlswayo, 34, spaza shop owner, Vukuzenzele, Gugulethu, 2016).

On the other hand, only 4.2 % of the respondents reported that they juggled their working and childcare commitments because it was important for the way they felt. Among them Palesa, a 24-year old food vendor, from a very poor family originally from Limpopo, echoed during the interview that:

Palesa: *Sure, it is drudge work cope with the two...but in the end I know that my conscience is clean. You see my son I have now, I didn't want to have him at first because one of my family members back in Limpopo he raped me...some days later I started feeling some stomach cramps so I finally went to the hospital and I was told that I was pregnant'* (Palesa, 24, food vendor, Kanana, Gugulethu, 2016).

Like Palesa, most of the respondents who juggled paid work and childcare because of internal feelings as motives, wrote down on their questionnaires about feeling that they did their very best given their circumstances. They wanted peace of mind, and that they knew that they would feel deeply hurt if they did not do their best for the sake of their children. Only 3 respondents (out of 15 from that group) mentioned in their questionnaires that they felt happy when they came back from work with gifts for their children and that motivated them to juggle work and childcare. None of the respondents mentioned feelings of satisfaction or personal fulfilment that they gained from juggling work-care as a motive. That observation from this study seemed to be in line with the contemporary literature in Hedonic Psychology which mostly uses happiness instead of satisfaction as its measurements of people's SWB.

That result still showed that happiness and satisfaction as well as other internal reasons were not the main motivating force as to why the respondents felt the need to juggle paid work and childcare. Hence, in the context of the Capability framework that is used in this study, juggling paid work and childcare emerged as a functioning that most single mothers in Gugulethu had external reasons to value. That makes sense in the context of this study, as Gugulethu is a deprived township where, from personal observation, the respondents as well

as people around them were quite pragmatic. Since their external circumstances were dire, they tended to resort to external approaches to solving problems that produced visible results. So, taking care of their children, for most of them was not a question of whether they felt fulfilled by doing so or not. In most cases they made personal sacrifices in that regard.

That finding is in line with Nancy Folbre's idea of 'forced altruism' (Folbre et al., 2017, p. 43) which contends that society has made it obligatory for women to become selflessly predisposed towards providing for the care needs of their children, members of their households and those in their various communities at large.

According to Folbre, altruism can be defined as the act of putting the interest of others above one's own interests. Altruism is often regarded as a desirable moral virtue especially in the Aristotelian version of Virtue Ethics. This is because, it has mostly been argued that for an individual to justify her moral duty as a rational being, she ought to extend her sense of responsibility for the concerns of others and for society as a whole. However, in both dated and contemporary assumptions made by economists, people are naturally driven by self-interest, and so, they are more inclined to promote their own well-being. Hence, altruistic actions taken by people are often viewed with skepticism (Folbre et al., 2017).

This is especially true in the case of women in nearly all societies that are expected to be primary care-givers, since, women often take care of the needs of the sick, young, aged and men living in most societies. There is a general consensus among anthropologists, sociologists and economists that the care work that women undertake is unpaid and so this care work is often seen as altruistic actions (Walker, 2008). Women are viewed as more altruistic than their male counterparts. Folbre, a feminist economist, contends that since people are prone to be self-interested, rather than altruistic, women's altruistic unpaid care-giving behaviour should be viewed as a form of forced altruism (Folbre et al., 2017). This is especially so since there is not enough evidence to prove that most women (upon deliberation and reflection) chose to be altruistic care-givers.

Moreover, evidence shows that women are socially conditioned to be altruistic primary care-givers through social norms, propaganda, mass media, religious myths and symbols and other social structural arrangements. The foregoing is often justified with the myth that happiness comes from making others happy (Folbre et al., 2017). Therefore, since most women undertake the care concerns of their children as well as those of others, they often promote

their own well-being. Folbre states that this is a myth that is backed with no rational evidence (Folbre et al., 2017).

In the end, Folbre's definition of forced altruism makes a clear distinction between women choosing to help others occasionally, and them accepting that their primary role in life is to live for others (especially their children). Folbre does not see the former version of altruism as a problem. However, her concern is with the latter which she often equates with self-sacrifice, self-denial and to a large extent self-abnegation. She contends that the latter form of altruism, is the one that is often undertaken by women who have been socially conditioned to live for the purpose of improving the well-being of others (Folbre et al., 2017).

The respondents' practical approach to juggling work and childcare is made clearer from their responses in the work-care capabilities reflexive exercise that they were asked to do, which is discussed in the later part of this chapter.

5.4 Respondents by Work-care Arrangement Groups

Figure 7: Graph Pie Showing Respondents' Work-care Arrangement Groups

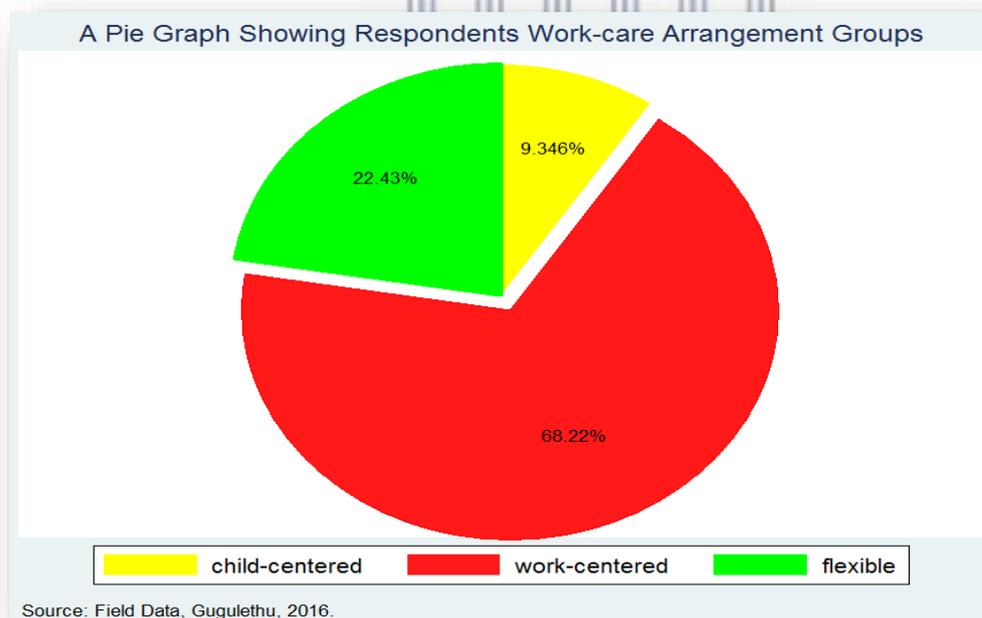


Figure 7 above shows the work-care arrangement groups that each of the respondents identified themselves with, at the time the study was conducted. However, these three work-care arrangements that are adapted from Hakim's (2000) study also resonated with almost all the respondents who mostly agreed that these three work-care arrangement ideal types to a

large extent applied to their juggling experiences or to that of someone they knew (most of whom were not necessarily single mothers). From Figure 7, it is evident that 68.2% of the respondents reported that they were undertaking a work-centered juggling arrangement schedule during the period that the study was conducted. Also, 22.4% identified themselves with the flexible group, while only 9.3% conveyed that they undertook a child-centered juggling arrangement schedule.

However, most of them chose their work-care arrangement group by taking into consideration the time and efforts they spent at work or on childcare activities (excluding weekends and public holidays). On average, a single mother in Gugulethu spent 12.8 hours per day at work (including informal activities) which is quite high when compared to the 8-hour work day (9:00am – 5:00pm) that other women in the formal sector are given to work. Also, they spent an average of about 6.1 hours on childcare activities daily, though some single mothers who worked in informal establishments were able to simultaneously work and look after their younger children. Hence, it made sense that the majority of the respondents chose the work-centered arrangement, while only a few of them fell into the child-centered group. That finding is in line with Hakim's (2000) proposition that most working mothers are more likely to undertake a work-centered juggling schedule since the contemporary neo-liberal global economic system nudges working mothers to be workers instead of mothers (Little, 2012).

In the case of the single mothers in Gugulethu, undertaking a work-centered juggling arrangement or at least a flexible arrangement (90% of the respondents fell within these two work-care arrangement groups) should be viewed as a survival strategy. It could be deduced, based on the observation made during the research that those single mothers lived in tougher socio-economic conditions that forced them to work to make ends meet. In this regard, it could be noted that they embarked on a mostly work-centered and flexible juggling arrangements because they had to survive. A handful of respondents rated themselves as belonging to a work-care arrangement group, taking other factors into account, not just their time and efforts they spent on their work and care commitments. That was the case of Anathi, a 43 year-old domestic worker, who responded animatedly to the interview question about her work-care arrangement group.

Anathi: *To say the truth, I have been spending the most of time and energy at work the past years but I still think I am in the child group. My children are all grown now... but at*

the moment I work at two jobs so that I can save up money to send my second daughter to college... I have been working very hard because of my children, so I am in the child group (Anathi, 43, domestic worker, Barcelona, Gugulethu, 2016).

Here, Anathi used her motive for spending a lot of time at work as a major determinant for selecting the child-centered group. Her reference to that showed that the vast majority of respondents who agreed that their main motive for juggling work and childcare (that was presented earlier), was to provide for their children, did not use their motives as the basis for selecting their work-care arrangement groups. That explains why the percentage of respondents in the child-centered work-care arrangement group was small. The foregoing observation applies to other respondents in the work and child-centered groups as well. However, selecting a work-care arrangement group that is not in line with the respondents' motives for juggling work and childcare, has no bearing on the main findings of this study. This is because, they were also asked to state whether they freely chose to undertake juggling schedules that corresponded to the work-care arrangement group. Table 4 below reveals their responses.

Table 4: Work-care Arrangement Group Choice

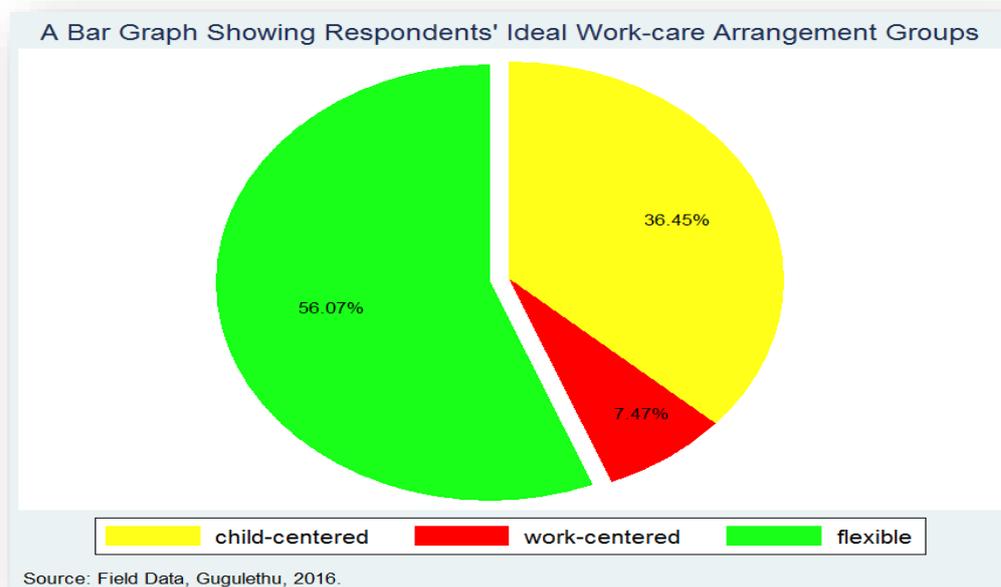
Work-care arrangement group choice	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	36	33.6
No	68	63.6
I cannot say	3	2.8
Total	107	100

Source: Field Data, Gugulethu, 2016.

From table 4, it is evident that 63.6% of the respondents admitted that they did not choose to be in their current work-care arrangement groups. It was only 36.6% of them that actually chose to undertake a juggling schedule that fitted into their selected groups; the remaining 2.8% were not so sure. They were then asked to state their preferred (ideal) work-care arrangement groups and their responses are found in Figure 8 below.

5.5 Respondents by Ideal/Preferred Work-care Arrangement Group

Figure 8: Graph Pie Showing Respondents' Preferred/ Ideal Work-care Arrangement Group



From figure 8, it is evident that 56.1% of the respondents preferred to be in the flexible group, making that group the most popular among the three. It was followed by the child-centered option, with 36.5% of the total respondents and lastly, the work-centered option emerged as the least popular group that was preferred by single mothers in Gugulethu and it accounted for 7.5% of respondents.

When comparing this finding with that of their actual work-care arrangement groups, it can be deduced that more than half of the respondents were undertaking a juggling arrangement schedule that was not of their choices and preferences during the period in which the study was conducted. This finding once more confirmed Hakim's (2000) proposition that women are more likely to be trapped into the work-centered arrangement group and that is not of their choice and preference.

Thus, this finding can be explained within the Capability literature, that most of the single mothers in Gugulethu did not possess much freedom within the work-care domain to freely choose to undertake their preferred work-care arrangement schedule within the three groups. Hence, their inability to do so is therefore regarded as a capability deprivation since they lack

alternatives within the work-care arrangement groups. Some of the respondents provided a more detailed explanation to this in the interviews.

Nomogotso: *I don't have a choice, the only available option for me is to work more. But I feel much encouraged that little by little that I am becoming better at coping with longer hours at work...it was never like this before you know.'* (Nomogotso, 29, security guard, Europe, Gugulethu, 2016).

Nomogotso, a security guard, spent a long time at work, although at the time of the study she had a three year old disabled child who needed much attention. She indicated that she did not have access to the child-centered arrangement schedule, although she very much preferred that option. Hence, in her case, the two other work-care arrangement groups were not viable opportunities for her to access at time of the study. She admitted that she had been feeling trapped into the work-centered group for a while. Her case was also similar to that of Thuli, who also admitted to feeling confined into the work-centered arrangement group since her divorce in 2007.

Thuli: *When my ex-husband left me, he took all my money and other properties and left me with nothing, except my ma's farm ... I battled with depression for a couple of years... on one of my son's birthdays I could not even afford to buy him a birthday cake. I had to give him some cucumbers instead. It was that very day that I made a firm decision to become very productive for the sake of my children... I prefer the flexible group... but I feel I am going to spend most of my life working and being away from them while running my business.* (Thuli, 41, fruit and vegetable vendor, Europe, Gugulethu, 2016).

Thuli was a very successful fruit and vegetable vendor. She owns a small farm in Ceres and is currently running a fruit and vegetable business in Gugulethu. Through this business, is able to take care of her five children financially, all by herself with no form of support from her ex-husband. In that situation, Thuli felt that she would be spending the majority of her life in the work-centered group in order to support all her children financially, although she preferred to undertake a flexible work-care arrangement schedule.

5.6 Work-care Arrangement Preferences and Adaptive Preferences

As stated in Chapter 3 on the theoretical framework, this study explores the relationship between adaption (which includes both work-care adaptive preferences as well as hedonic adaption) and the work-care satisfaction (SWB) of single mothers in Gugulethu. In this regard, the work-care adaptive preferences, refer to the current work-care wishes of the respondents at the time the study was conducted. It is clear from their responses in the questionnaire surveys and interviews, that almost all the respondents in this study knew their work-care preferences. In fact, some of them admitted that work-care preferences have undergone tremendous changes during the course of their lives as it was in the case of Tumi.

Tumi: *If you asked me this same question three years ago, I would have told you that I prefer to be in the child-centered group. But at the moment my priorities have changed so I am in the flexible group now. I don't know what the future holds for me.* (Tumi, 28, seamstress, Barcelona, Gugulethu, 2016).

As is evident from the cases of Nomogotso, Thuli and Tumi, it is clear that they knew the work-care arrangement that they prefer, although they were undertaking their less preferred work-care arrangement alternatives. Hence, it cannot be concluded that they adapted their work-care preferences to their prevailing circumstances. If given the opportunity, those women are likely to grab the prospect of undertaking their preferred work-care arrangements. They did not show signs of preference adaptation through socialization, habituation or resignation with respect to pursuing their work-care preferences, as Elster (1983) suggested. As seen in the case of Tumi, she made conscious and open-minded work-care choices and even considered the possibility of engaging in other work-care arrangement alternatives in the future.

What stands out in the cases of those three single mothers is that two of them, Nomogotso and Thuli had not experienced their work-care preferences, yet, they knew that it was exactly what they preferred. Perhaps that was largely due to the fact that there were only three work-care preferences, so it was easier for them to choose among them. However, their cases correspond with Qizilbash's (2012) argument that a person may prefer a state of affairs without ever experiencing them. Or, that they may not know what their work-care preferences are until they experienced one that made them realize that it was what they "wanted all along" (Qizilbash, 2012, p.11). The foregoing is also in line with Elster's (1983)

idea of how people's preferences change through the process of learning and gaining valuable experiences.

Perhaps Elster's idea of preference change through learning (Elster, 1983) could be applied to understanding the case of Tumi, who had experienced undertaking both the child-centered and flexible work-care arrangements. Her more open-minded approach to accepting new work-care preferences, instead of limiting herself to just one of the groups, came from the process of learning. So, in Elster's proposition, Tumi would be more likely, than the other two single mothers discussed above, to make a more informed choice concerning her work-care preference, because her the choice was based on past experiences; it is also more likely to end up being a permanent choice.

5.7 Study Phase 1: Work-Care Satisfaction Index and Hedonic Adaptation

In order to operationalize the focal variable of this study, which is work-care satisfaction, the Work-care Satisfaction Index (WSI) was developed in the initial stage of the investigation. The Work-care Satisfaction Index (WSI) represents the analysis of single mothers' perceptions of their levels of fulfilment gained from juggling their paid work and childcare activities. It entails the summarization of the work-care satisfaction domains that respondents in Gugulethu were asked to rate in the questionnaire surveys into a single numerical score. The use of self-rated feelings of individuals about their well-being has been identified as a notable feature of hedonic SWB (Kaufman et al., 2001; Layard et al., 2012). This study investigated the extent to which respondents were satisfied with their juggling arrangements in the WSI.

In computing the Work-care Satisfaction Index (WSI) respondents were asked to rate their general satisfaction in each of the 5 work-care domains using a Likert's scale indicator. The Likert's scales used for the rating were 'very satisfied' (VS), 'satisfied' (S), 'somewhat satisfied' (SS), 'not satisfied' (NS) and 'not at all satisfied' (NAS). The aforementioned ratings were assigned a weight value of 5,4,3,2 and 1 respectively. The procedure for computing the sum of the Total Weight Value (TWV) and the mean Work-care Satisfaction index (WSI) are explained in Chapter 4, section 4.6.1. The WSI for each of the work-care domains used in this study took the value of between 1 and 5 and the closer the WSI of a work-care domain is to five, the higher the level of respondents' fulfilment (satisfaction) in that domain.

Table 5: Respondents' Work-care Satisfaction Index

Work-care Satisfaction Domains							
Ratings	VS	S	SS	NS	NAS	TWV	Mean WSI
Weights values	5	4	3	2	1		
General satisfaction with juggling work and childcare	1	27	26	44	9	288	2.70
Satisfaction with co-residents' support with childcare	3	31	34	37	2	317	2.96
Satisfaction with state's child support projects and policies	2	4	31	57	13	246	2.29
Satisfaction with labor laws for informal workers to juggle work and childcare	0	7	22	69	9	241	2.25
Satisfaction with childcare support from child(ren)'s father or his kin	5	3	11	57	31	215	2.00
Total							12.20

Source: Field Data, Gugulethu, 2016.

The average WSI of the 107 respondents for the five work-care domains is 2.44 (this is obtained by dividing 12.20 by the five domains). This score represents their cumulative level of satisfaction with juggling paid work and childcare in Gugulethu. It is clear that the overall level of satisfaction/fulfilment that respondents obtained from juggling work and childcare was not up to 'somewhat satisfied' (rated as '3' on the Likert's scale). It can thus be concluded that the single mothers' perceptions of their levels of satisfaction with their juggling work and childcare were reported as quite low at the time this study was first conducted. Two domains have work-care satisfaction that were higher than the rest. The domain with the highest WSI of 2.96 was respondents' satisfaction with co-residents' support with childcare. This was almost close to 'somewhat satisfied'. Considering the context of Gugulethu with an over-abundance of co-residents in most of the households to help with childcare, the WSI for this work-care domain was expected to be much higher than it turned out to be empirically.

This was followed by the work-care domain that assessed the general satisfaction of respondents with juggling work and childcare. The WSI for this domain is 2.70, which is slightly above the average WSI of 2.44. The work-care domains with the lowest WSI were: satisfaction with state's child support projects and policies, satisfaction with labor laws for informal workers, and satisfaction with childcare support from child's father or his kin. The WSI for these three domains were 2.29, 2.25 and 2.00 respectively.

Based on the above WSI score that was obtained from the responses at the initial stages of the study, it can be deduced that the single mothers in Gugulethu who participated in this study were generally not satisfied with the act of juggling their work and childcare commitments. This finding, however, does not correspond with the theoretical framework critique that disadvantaged women are more likely to adapt their hedonic states of mind to their adverse circumstances and report higher levels of satisfaction that do not correspond with their reality. However, it does correspond with the findings of Clark (2012) and Conradie (2013) who both found low levels of adaptive preferences in South Africa, suggesting that people have higher levels of hope and aspiration to improve their living conditions. Also, from the WSI obtained during the initial stages of the study, this finding reports that juggling work and childcare is not an undertaking that brings personal fulfilment and satisfaction to single mothers in Gugulethu.

5.8 Study Phase 2: Work-care Arrangement Index and Hedonic Adaptation

The mid-stages of the study focused on examining any difference that may exist in respondents' work-care satisfaction along work-care group affiliations. This second stage of this study measured the work-care satisfaction of respondents albeit from the perspective of their work-care arrangement. The first stage of the study provided a more detailed appraisal of respondents' work-care satisfaction in light of the practical problems they faced with juggling work and childcare activities in general. This second stage in the study thereby required the respondents to locate themselves within the three work-care arrangement groups and provide apt justifications as to why they chose to identify themselves as belonging to either of the three juggling arrangement groups.

In this stage of the study, respondents were asked again to rate their work-care satisfaction within their respective groups and their ratings were used to develop the Work-care Arrangement Index (WAI). It is important to note here that the process of developing the WAI was the same as that of WSI. Hence, respondents were asked to once again rate their general satisfaction in each of the three work-care arrangement groups using a Likert's scale indicator. The Likert's scales used for the rating were 'very satisfied' (VS), 'satisfied' (S), 'somewhat satisfied' (SS), 'not satisfied' (NS) and 'not at all satisfied' (NAS). The procedure for calculating the total weight value (TWV) of the Work-care Arrangement Index (WAI) as well as the mean WAI is also outlined in Chapter 4, section 4.6.1. The respondents' WAI is presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Work-care Arrangement Index by Work-care Arrangement Group

Work-care Arrangement Group							
Ratings	VS	S	SS	NS	NAS	TWV	Mean WAI
Weights values	5	4	3	2	1		
Work-centered Group	17	19	26	3	8	253	2.36
Child-centered Group	3	2	4	1	0	35	3.23
Flexible Group	0	7	6	11	0	77	3.10
Total n =107							7.89

Source: Field Data, Gugulethu, 2016.

The average WAI of the 107 respondents within the three work-care arrangement groups is 2.63 (7.89 divided by the 3 work-care groups). This score represents their cumulative level of satisfaction with juggling paid work within their respective work-care arrangement groups. It is clear that the average WAI of respondents is not up to ‘somewhat satisfied’ (rated as ‘3’ on the Likert’s scale). It is important to note here that the respondents’ average work-care satisfaction ratings within their groups at the mid stage of this study are much higher than the 2.42 average for the WSI obtained at the initial stage of this study.

This finding reflects the concerns of the Capability literature that hedonic adaptation mental states accounts are not reliable measures of people’s states of being. The two stages of these studies are approximately two months and a few weeks apart, yet respondents’ work-care levels of satisfaction continued to change with time. More studies are needed, especially in hedonic psychology and SWB studies that can address this temporal nature of hedonic well-being mental states accounts.

It can thus be concluded that the single mothers’ perceptions of their levels of satisfaction within their work care groups were reported also to be moderate across the three work-care groups. Nonetheless, the respondents in the child-centered group had the highest cumulative work-care satisfaction (fulfilment) of 3.23 (where a score of 5 is highest). This means that on average, the single mothers that identified themselves as belonging to the child-centered group rated themselves as a little more than somewhat satisfied (3.23) with their juggling endeavors. That was followed by the respondents in the flexible group, whose cumulative work-care satisfaction was just a bit above somewhat satisfied (3.10). The collective work-care satisfaction for the respondents in the work-centered group was rated as less than

somewhat satisfied (2.36). When interpreting the data from Table 5, it is important to note that the work-centered group had the highest number of respondents (73), followed by the flexible group (24) and lastly the child-centered group (10).

Furthermore, in resolving the hypothesis of this study, which is to establish if there is any statistical difference in work-care satisfaction among the groups, the Kruskal-Wallis Test is used. The Kruskal-Wallis Test is the appropriate test for this undertaking because it a non-parametric alternative to the one-way analysis of variance that does not assume normality across the groups. Furthermore, it is a valid test to use when the focal variable of the study is ordinal and the grouping variable is more than two (there are three grouping variables in this study). The test was conducted at a 5% level of significance and the results are presented in Table 7.

5.8.1 Results of the Kruskal-Wallis Test on Work-care Arrangement Groups

Table 7: Statistical Relationships on Respondents' Work-care Satisfaction by Group

Work-care arrangement groups	Chi-Square	Df	Assymp sig.	Exact Sig.
Work-centered	1.114	2	.432	.526
Child-centered	2.031	2	.168	.169
Flexible	1.081	2	.358	.362

Source: Field Data, Gugulethu, 2016.

Table 7 above, indicate the statistical relationships on respondents' work-care satisfaction by their work-care arrangement groups. The aforementioned relationship is useful to in conducting the Kruskal-Wallis Test to ascertain *P* value that denotes the level of significance of the work-care satisfaction among the respondents in the three groups. The results of the Kruskal Wallis is seen in Table 8.

Table 8: Kruskal-Wallis Test on the Work-care Satisfaction Difference among the Work-care Arrangement Groups

Kruskal-Wallis test indicators (work-care arrangement groups)	Value	Df	Assymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson chi-square	8.142 ^a	4	.019	.039	
Likelihood ratio	9.53				
Exact sig.	9.51	2	.059	.070	
Linear-by-linear association	9.20	2	.022	.241	.181
No. of valid cases	107				

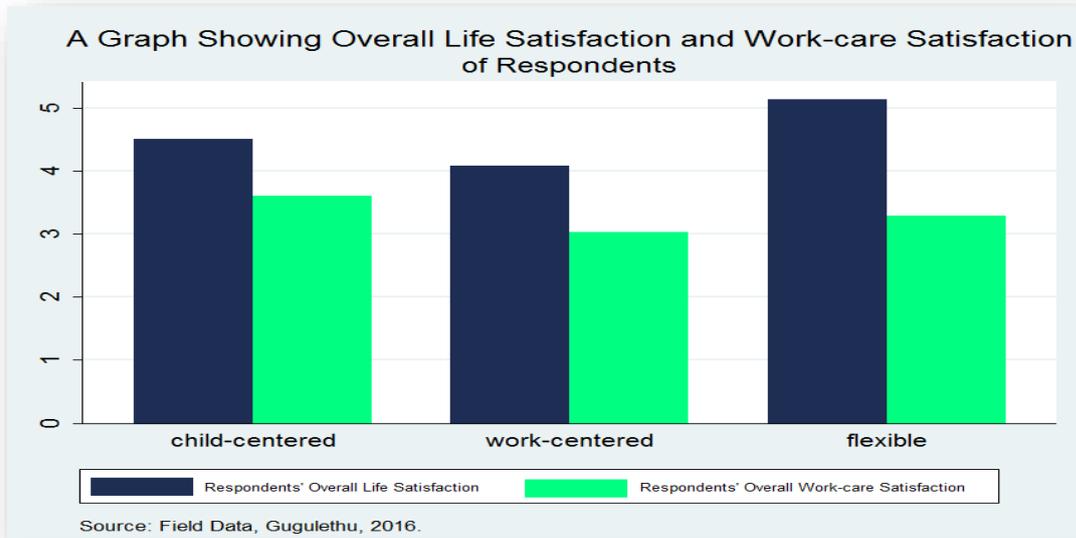
Source: Field Data, Gugulethu, 2016.

The decision criteria for the test is explained in section 4.6.1 (Chapter 4). The result Exact Sig, shown in Table 8, reports a *P* value of (0.059). In line with the decision rule, since the *P* value is greater than the level of significance, 0.05 (5%), the alternative hypothesis is rejected in favour of the null hypothesis. Therefore, there is no statistically significant relationship between the respondents' work-care satisfaction and the work-care arrangement groups that they belong to. It is worth noting that there is a large difference between the WSI of respondents in the work-centered group, from those in the flexible and child-centered groups. Table 10 provides some reasons for the forgoing differences.

5.8.2 Other Significant Findings

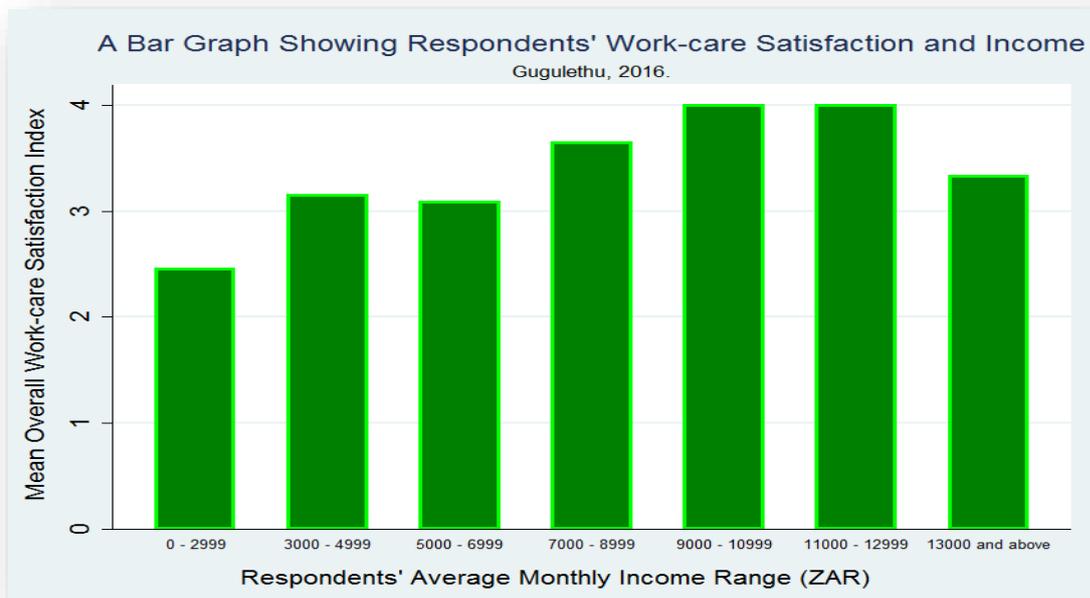
The mid phase of this study again measured the work-care satisfaction of respondents within their work-care groups as well as their overall satisfaction with their lives. Both of these were rated on the Likert's scale (where 5 is very satisfied, and 1 is not satisfied at all). Figure 9 shows their responses.

Figure 9: Bar Graph Showing Respondents' Overall Life and Work-care Satisfaction by Group



From Figure 9, the respondents' general life satisfaction is higher than their satisfaction with juggling work and childcare for all three work-care arrangement groups. Also, their work-care satisfaction had increased considerably, in relation to how it was when measured in the initial stage of the research. This makes the suggestion of Binder and Coad (2013), that since mental state accounts of SWB are prone to constant changes, it is better for researchers to conduct multiple assessments of participants' levels of satisfaction from different vantage points. This will go a long way in producing a more nuanced understanding of people's satisfaction with a specific domain in their lives. Another important finding is that there is a positive relationship between respondents' work-care satisfaction and their levels of income. This is shown in Figure 10.

Figure 10: Bar Graph Showing Respondents' Work-care Satisfaction and Income



From Figure 10, it is seen that respondents whose monthly income fell between ZAR 7,000 and ZAR 13,000 reported higher levels of work-care satisfaction that was above ‘somewhat satisfied’ and ‘satisfied’. Conversely, those whose income fell between ZAR 0 – 6,999 had a work-care satisfaction that ranged from just a little above ‘not satisfied’ and ‘somewhat satisfied’. The findings from the graph also seem to reflect Easterlin’s (2002) paradox that people’s levels of satisfaction increase with more income until after an income threshold, their levels of satisfaction taper off (Easterlin, 2002). The foregoing is illustrated in the fact that the respondents with monthly incomes above ZAR 13,000, obtained a work-care satisfaction score that was just a little above ‘somewhat satisfied’.

This finding may also suggest that single mothers with a higher level of income that have toddlers, are in a better position to afford professional childcare services. Although single mothers in Gugulethu admitted in the initial phase of the study that they were ‘satisfied’ with the childcare support they received from co-residents, it is also true that most of them also made use of both formal and informal childcare services as seen in Table 9.

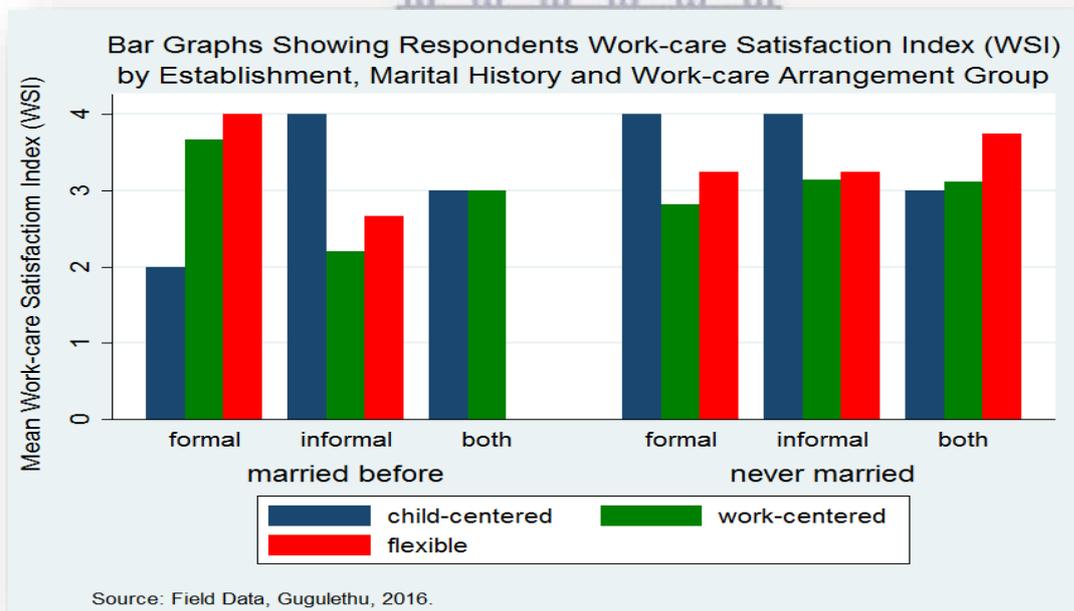
Table 9: Respondents' Use of Childcare Services

Type of childcare service	Frequency	Percentage
Formal only	9	8.4
Informal only	48	44.9
I make use of both	50	46.7
Total	107	100

Source: Field Data, Gugulethu, 2016.

Another prominent finding in the mid phase of the study was that, although the single mothers in the child-centered arrangement group reported the highest levels of work-care satisfaction (this is also the group with the least number of respondents), single mothers in the adaptive group who had been married before and were informal workers in formal establishments, reported to have a work-care satisfaction of 4 (where 5 is very satisfied). On the contrary, child-centered single mothers in this same category reported to have the lowest levels of satisfaction, that on average rate a 2, 'not satisfied' as a whole. This is seen in Figure 11 below.

Figure 11: Graph Bar Showing Respondents' Work-care Satisfaction by Employment Establishment, Marital History and Group



Based on Figure 11, it can be deduced that the previously married single mothers working as informal workers in formal establishments, may be finding it difficult to adjust to their new

status as single mothers and this may explain their low levels of satisfaction they obtained from juggling work and childcare. The foregoing is made clearer in the fact that single mothers working as informal workers in formal establishments, who have never been married before, rated an average of a work-care satisfaction of 4, which is 'satisfied'. The same applies to single mothers working in informal establishments who have not been married before. Hence, it can therefore be deduced that marital history serves as a crucial determinant of single mothers' work-care satisfaction. It can also be a precursor to the reality that single mothers who have been never been married before, may have adapted to juggling childcare and work and childcare alone, without a male partner.

5.9 Study Phase 3: Respondents' work-care satisfaction within the framework of the Capability Approach

From the initial and mid stages of this study, it is evident that the majority of the single mothers in Gugulethu were in the work-centered arrangement group and seemed to be stuck in that juggling arrangement. From their responses it is clear that most of them preferred to have a flexible juggling arrangement. The final stage of the study were designed to unpack the opportunities (capabilities) that were available to the respondents that could enable them to undertake their preferred work-care arrangements. The foregoing was viewed through the framework of the Capability Approach that is outlined in the theoretical diagram in Chapter 2. The responses from the 7 respondents that participated in the interview were used to make this analysis.

To begin with, the single mothers who participated in the interviews were was asked to list all the work-care arrangement opportunities that they had access to at the time the study was conducted. However, most of them were undertaking a work-care arrangement that was not of their preference. This section of this study presented a tabulated summary of their responses. That was done to determine whether their selected work-care arrangement preferences that they felt would yield them much fulfilment and satisfaction, were viable alternatives or a capability for them at the time the study was conducted. They were also asked to list the main resources, conversion factors, social constraints, capabilities, and adaptive preferences that were prominent within their respective work-care arrangements.

Also, the contradictions and limitations that emerged from the use of the Capability Approach in this study is briefly explored. It is important to note that the responses provided by the study participants in this chapter were used to make recommendations to improve the work-

care satisfaction of single mothers in Gugulethu, as well as of those in other informal settlements across South Africa. Table 10 summarizes their responses.



Table 10 : A Summary of the Work-care Capabilities of Respondents

Name of Respondent	Work-care Arrangement Group	Work-care Arrangement Group Preference/Ideal	Adaptive Work-care Arrangement Preference	Vital Work-care Resources	Conversion Factors	Constraints	Work-care Arrangement Capabilities
Thuli	Work-centered	Flexible	Very likely	Car More time Money Reliable business partners	Education Good network Emotional support Help from family Children's co-operation and help with house work	No time Fierce competition at work Neighbors' jealousy	She has the capability to undertake both a work-centered and flexible juggling arrangements (which is also her preference) A child-centered arrangement is not a capability for her at this point in time
Palesa	Work-centered	Flexible	Very likely	Money Better job Husband House Car	Good Health Education Traditional healing Neighbors' help	Lack of work experience and chances of promotion at work are limited Children's bad	She has the capability to undertake a work-centered and flexible juggling arrangements only

Name of Respondent	Work-care Arrangement Group	Work-care Arrangement Group Preference/Ideal	Adaptive Work-care Arrangement Preference	Vital Work-care Resources	Conversion Factors	Constraints	Work-care Arrangement Capabilities
Tumi	Flexible	Work-centered	Not likely	Money Good job Husband Nice clothes for work House Car	Education Employability Work experience Good health	Family using <i>muti</i> (black magic) on her preventing her success No connections Her English and Afrikaans are not so good to get her a proper job	She has the capability to undertake a child-centered and flexible juggling arrangement only. Her work-centered preference is not a capability for now
Nomogotso	Work-centered	Child-centered	Not likely	Car Hair Salon in her home Rich boyfriend	Education Healthy diet Leisure time More child support money from government Children's help with house work	Family jealousy Bad friends influencing her Wicked boss makes her work all the time Low salary at work No savings	She has the capability to undertake a work-centered and flexible juggling arrangement; her child-centered preference is not yet a viable alternative

Name of Respondent	Work-care Arrangement Group	Work-care Arrangement Group Preference/Ideal	Adaptive Work-care Arrangement Preference	Vital Work-care Resources	Conversion Factors	Constraints	Work-care Arrangement Capabilities
Anathi	Child-centered	Flexible	Likely	House High pay job but one that will require less time Win lots of money from lottery	Education/ Skills development Emotional support and help from children's father Good Health	Low level of education Too many children to look after Not much money for train and taxi fare to do job search Laziness and lacks taking initiatives	She has the capability to undertake a child-centered juggling arrangement only Her flexible preference is not so much of a viable option yet
Noluvo	Work-centered	Flexible	Very likely	Car Money House Business partners More time	Help from traditional healer Good health Counselling and guidance from her church leader	Work mates gossip about her to the boss Not much savings Spends too much money repairing her burnt house Bad friends who	She has the capability to undertake a work-centered and flexible juggling arrangements which is her preference

Name of Respondent	Work-care Arrangement Group	Work-care Arrangement Group Preference/Ideal	Adaptive Work-care Arrangement Preference	Vital Work-care Resources	Conversion Factors	Constraints	Work-care Arrangement Capabilities
Hlswayo	Work-centered	Flexible	Likely	Laptop Computer Money House Refrigerator Flat screen TV	Prayer and God's help Skills development for higher paying part-time job Good health	Stiff competition at work requiring her to work even harder Job insecurity Self-sabotage tendencies No savings	She has the capability to undertake a work-centered flexible juggling arrangements which is her preference

Source Field Data, Gugulethu, 2016.

5.9.1 Work-care Arrangement Capability constraints, resources, conversion factors and adaptive preferences

From Table 10, it can be seen that most of the single mothers have the capability to undertake their preferred work-care arrangement that they feel will bring them much fulfillment, while a few do not. It can thus be deduced from this finding that there are some social constraints that these single mothers encounter in their daily lives that need to be briefly discussed in this section. Their various work-care constraints are viewed with reference to their resources and conversion factors that they raised in the interviews.

When asked about their greatest barriers to undertaking their preferred work-care arrangements, all 7 of the interviewees said it was money, albeit from different point of views. These included getting well-paying jobs, winning the lottery, getting a financially supportive husband or boyfriend, etc. In that regard, they viewed money as a bridge that they needed to connect to their work-care preferences. In other words, money was their most important resource. For example, in the case of Nomogotso, who was undertaking a work-centered juggling arrangement, she firmly believed that she could only be able to embark on her preferred child-centered juggling arrangement if she had a rich boyfriend who could support her financially. This then would allow her to stay at home and raise her young children until they were old enough. She was also considering working from home as a hairdresser as another option that could allow her to undertake her preferred child-centered work-care arrangement.

Also, nearly all the respondents, especially, those working as informal workers in formal institutions, noted that mobility was their primary work-care concern by suggesting that they needed a car as a resource that could help them undertake their preferred work-care arrangements. At the time the study was conducted, a number of the single mothers worked very far from Gugulethu and transport to and from work was their major concern. Some spent almost two hours a day commuting to and from work when they could have channeled that time for productive ends that could help them juggle their work and childcare.

The informal settlements in Cape Town like Gugulethu, are usually located on the outskirts of commercial areas and so are they are far away from the Central Business District (CBD). Therefore, most of the respondents use public transport especially trains and taxis to commute for long hours to and from work. The data from respondents' time diaries show that

it takes an average of 1 hour 17 minutes for a single mother (those interviewed) to get to work in a formal establishment located out of Gugulethu. Also, it takes them 1 hour and 27 minutes on average to get home. Hence, issues concerning transportation are of real concerns to single mothers who work in formal establishments as espoused in their time diaries.

Their first major transportation concern is seen in the fact that travelling long distances to and from work can be very costly. Moreover, most respondents leave their homes early in the morning when it is still dark in order to be able to get to work on time. Hence, they always worry about their physical safety since Gugulethu is noted to be one of the settlements with a high crime rate in Cape Town. Another major issue that most of the respondents raised in their time diaries is that, since they spend long hours commuting to and from work, they are not always able to drop off and pick up their younger children from school. They often resort to relying on other co-residents and neighbours (that are often unemployed) to assist them in this regard.



However, when listing their constraints, many of the respondents assumed that the way to increase their mobility was to own a car, which was an unrealistic goal for almost all of them, considering their financial status. The time diaries were used to calculate the time respondents spent at work and on childcare. These diaries were not used to track the mental states of the respondents in the course of their day as the data provided by respondents on this was too scanty. Perhaps they did not fully understand the purpose of the diaries.

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Another major social constraint that the participants interviewed mentioned was the negative role that people played in their lives, to derail their progress. There again, most of the respondents interviewed blamed other people or gave mystical reasons as to why they did not seem to be able to undertake their preferred work-care arrangements achieve other goals in life. Some blamed members in their families for envying them; others accused their neighbors of using 'black magic' to hinder their progress. Yet still, others blamed their bosses and co-workers for making work highly competitive and in some cases unbearably difficult for them. Only Hlswayo and Anathi made references to how their own negative mental attitudes of self-sabotage, laziness and not taking timely initiatives, served as major obstacles that impeded them from undertaking their preferred work-care arrangements.

The foregoing finding insinuates that the majority of the single mothers interviewed are less likely to use their agency and efforts to change their work-care arrangements in ways that

aligned with their preferences, since they blamed other people and unfavorable circumstances for their problems. Also, it is important to understand the social context of Gugulethu in order to be able to make sense of why those women blamed outside forces for their problems. Tumi expressed this more vocally, as captured below.

Tumi: *Black people we are bad, all jokes aside I mean we are really, really bad. We are like crabs you know. When somebody is desperately trying to go up, all the others try very hard to pull them [sic] down. White people don't behave like that at all. They always help each other get up...even my own family members are using muti on me, they think I don't know* (Tumi, 28, seamstress, Barcelona, Gugulethu, 2016).

On the same issue, Hlswayo saw things differently; she believed that black people are not bad towards each other; it is because they live a rough life and they need money to survive.

Hlswayo: *Here in Vukuzenzele, people are in a survival mode, opportunities are few, many people are broke. I know many people in here who often don't even have enough food to last them to the middle of the month...so when they see you have more and they have less than enough to make ends meet it makes them jealous... I try to understand their situation and avoid their jealousy by helping them sometimes by giving food stuff for free when they can't afford to pay and I pray for them also* (Hlswayo, 34, spaza shop owner, Vukuzenzele, Gugulethu, 2016).

Hlswayo's response seems to explain how the difficult socio-economic conditions in Gugulethu make people compete for the limited resources and invariably hurt each other in their everyday quest for survival. This, however, serves as one of the most common social constraints to their work-care capabilities.

Also, good health was listed as one of the major conversion factors that nearly all the single mothers agreed this would allow them to get a better job. On the whole, most of the women interviewed generally considered themselves to be healthy and so they did not mention good health to be one of their major concerns. That, however, was not so in the cases of Noluvo and Nomogotso who were self-conscious and worried about their body weights. From personal observation they seemed to suffer from obesity. As for the other single mothers, they agreed that their jobs were physically demanding and required them to be healthy. None of the women interviewed seemed to suffer from any form of disability and most of them looked physically very active.

Furthermore, the lack of adequate education and skills development served as a significant hindrance that impeded them from undertaking their preferred juggling arrangements. That was because most of the respondents viewed education as quite instrumental in allowing them to attain better jobs as well as better ideas for running their own businesses. Hence, they viewed it more as a conversion factor that could be used to undertake their preferred work-care arrangements. In the case of Tumi, she could not hold on to her job as a domestic worker because she was not fluent in English and could not communicate efficiently with her white employer's children. Her situation was also similar to the other single mothers who were fearful of applying for better paying jobs in the formal sector because they lacked confidence in their communication skills in English and Afrikaans.

5.9.2 Respondents' Work-care Arrangement Capabilities

This study attempted to examine whether single mothers had viable work-care arrangement alternatives especially with regards to the opportunities that were open to them to undertake their preferred arrangement that would bring them much satisfaction. In doing so, the table 9 showed the participants' responses concerning their current work-care arrangements as well as their preferred work-care arrangements. From table 9, it is seen that Thuli, Palesa, Tumi, Noluvo and Hlswayo actually had capabilities (opportunities) to undertake their preferred work-care arrangements. That means that over 80% of the single mothers interviewed, had higher work-care capabilities. Only two of the respondents namely, Anathi and Nomogotso felt that their preferred work-care arrangement was not attainable for them at the time the study was conducted. In the case of Nomogotso, who was in the work-centered group, she preferred to undertake a child-centered juggling arrangement. However, she revealed during the interview that though she preferred to focus more on raising her son and her late friend's son than working, she did not see her preference as a possibility that would materialize itself anytime soon.

Nomogotso: *You know, to be really honest, I feel really guilty for all this. I don't think the children deserve this kind of life. They are too small to suffer like this. When I got a job as a security guard at the shopping centre, I felt God finally answered my prayers...because last year like this time, I was homeless; I also became heavily indebted because of no job. So when I finally got work, I didn't really think about how it will affect the children. I work mostly at night, so when they come from school, I am preparing to go to work. When I come home in the morning they are preparing to*

leave for school. This isn't how it should be, you know. So my greatest prayer is for me to one day be able to focus exclusively on raising them (Nomogotso, 29, security guard, Europe, Gugulethu, 2016).

Like in the case of Nomogotso, the child-centered juggling arrangement was not a viable alternative for almost all the respondents who worked as informal workers in formal establishments. Most of the respondents in that category did not have the child-centered juggling arrangement as a work-care capability that was open to them. Hence, it provided a strong reason as to why the majority of the respondents in the study stated that they preferred to take a flexible juggling routine. In other words, the bulk of the respondents who preferred to be in the flexible group, was a strong indicator of adaptive preference.

That was because most of them were forced to into the work-centered group in order to survive. Nonetheless, the harsh realities of being work-centered made it difficult for them to focus on their childcare duties and that, in most of the cases, induced negative feelings like guilt in them. In the end, though most of them admitted that the child-centered arrangement was the most important. The fact remained that the cost of giving up more time at their jobs so that they could channel it towards raising their children, came with a lot of financial constraints that most of the respondents were not willing to undergo. Therefore, since a child-centered juggling arrangement was not an attractive option, and embarking on a work-centered arrangement was done out of necessity, the only viable work-care arrangement alternative that was realistic, was the flexible juggling arrangement. Hence, most of the respondents had adapted their work-care arrangement preferences to the flexible group.

This finding again corresponds with Hakim's (2000) proposition that the modern neo-liberal capitalist political economy nudges working mothers into being work-centered by rewarding them with incentives like money and at the same time making the alternatives to not working (spend more time raising children), a very unattractive option especially for single mothers.

In the case of the single mothers in Gugulethu, they were only compensated with a meagre child support grant from the government that they had to supplement by working. However, encouraging single mothers to work is not entirely negative. In fact, Sen (1985) has also argued that giving women the opportunity to earn a living by working, is in itself a major capability that opens doors for women to be empowered by liberating themselves from the oppression of men and domestic violence (Sen, 1985; Nussbaum, 2011).

5.9.3 Limitations of the Findings of this Study within the Framework of the Capability Approach

Some of the limitations of using the Capability Approach to understanding the work-care arrangement opportunities that are open to single mothers in Gugulethu are that firstly, respondents found it difficult to understand some of the crucial concepts in the approach that was used in the questionnaire. That was especially true for the concept of ‘adaptive preference’. Hence, generally, respondents did not elaborate much on that concept. Though the questionnaire surveys and interviews in the study were translated into Xhosa, most respondents could not easily grasp other concepts related to the Capability Approach in their everyday use.

In this study, I attempted to deal with this problem by first trying to get the respondents’ basic understanding of the foregoing concepts in their own words. I also explained what the terms mean in the study, to see if they can relate their experiences to these main concepts. In the end, I was able to link most of their responses within the different concepts of the Capability Approach that was used in this study.

Also, there seemed to be a problem for respondents to note the differences between resources, opportunities and conversion factors. In some cases, some resources served as conversion factors that could enable them to undertake their preferred work-care arrangements. This finding corresponds with Binder and Coad’s (2010) concern that they labelled ‘the vexing problem of circularity’ (Binder and Coad, 2013 p.1) that the Capability Approach is prone to evoking when it is used practically. Additionally, some conversion factors like good health, were actually rated as important for them to get good jobs which was instrumental for them to be in a better position to make viable plans to undertake their preferred juggling arrangements.

Similarly, a resource like money, was noted nearly by all the respondent as perhaps the most vital instrument that could expand their work-care arrangement capabilities. In other words, single mothers with lots of money would have more freedom to undertake their preferred juggling arrangements than those who did not have access to money. In most of the cases of the respondents with a child-centered juggling preference, the only problem that was holding them back from undertaking their preferred work-care arrangements, was the lack of money to support them while they spent most of their time with childcare duties. The Capability

Approach however, underestimates the role that income plays in expanding single mothers' work-care arrangement capabilities.

5.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter has extensively explored the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in Gugulethu using both quantitative and qualitative data analyses. The study developed the Work-care Satisfaction Index (WSI) to ascertain the level of satisfaction that respondents derive from the act of juggling paid work and childcare. The findings reveal that in general, the respondents were *somewhat satisfied* with juggling paid work and childcare. This chapter also developed the Work-care Arrangement Index (WAI) to determine whether there is a significant difference in the level of satisfaction among the respondents in the different work-care arrangement groups. The results from the Kruskal-Wallis test as well as other quantitative analyses reveal that there is no significant difference in the levels of satisfaction among the respondents in the three work-care arrangement groups.

It is useful to note that this chapter also explored whether single mothers had viable capabilities to undertake the work-care arrangement that upon reflection would bring them more personal satisfaction/fulfilment. This was substantiated by the qualitative analysis which revealed that for most respondents, undertaking a child-entered juggling arrangement is not a capability. The study findings also indicate that most of the respondents may have adapted their work-care arrangement preferences to undertake a flexible juggling arrangement. The next chapter presents the summary of research findings and provides relevant conclusion and recommendations for the research.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is a concluding section of this study and it is organized into three distinct sections. The first section is a summary of the empirical findings from the study. The second section proposes recommendations that are appropriate for enhancing work-care satisfaction for single mothers in Gugulethu as well as for those in other informal settlements in South Africa. The last section provides a conclusion to the study.

6.2 Summary of Findings

The study focused on the assessment of single mothers' work-care satisfaction in Gugulethu, Cape Town. It also examined the relationship that exists among the respondents in the child-centered, work-centered and flexible work-care arrangement groups. The foregoing was done through the use of both the quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. The study confirms that the overall level of satisfaction as espoused in the respondents' General Life Satisfaction Index (GSI) was generally rated a little above 'satisfied', which is quite high considering their adverse living conditions in Gugulethu. This might be evidence of hedonic adaption that was raised in Chapter 3.

Moreover, with regards to the respondents' perceptions of their work-care satisfaction (the level of fulfilment they obtain from juggling paid work and childcare), the findings from the study revealed that it was quite low at the initial stages of the study. The Work-care Satisfaction (WSI) was developed to measure respondents' overall work-care satisfaction within five work-care domains at the start of the study. As revealed in the WSI, the study identified the satisfaction with co-residents' childcare support as the work-care domain that respondents were 'most satisfied' with having the highest score in the WSI among the five work-care domains. Conversely, respondents reported that they were 'least satisfied' with the government's child support policies and projects, as well as receiving childcare support from their children's father or his family members.

Furthermore, the study examined the differences that existed in respondents' views on work-care satisfaction along the three work-care groups: child-centered, work-centered and flexible. That was done through the computation of the Work-care Arrangement Index

(WAI). The WAI revealed that there were more single mothers in the work-centered arrangement group and the responses from the qualitative data from the study showed that most respondents were trapped into this work-care arrangement group, although they preferred to be in the flexible group. However, the analysis of the work-care capabilities of the 7 participants that were interviewed, indicated that almost all of them had viable opportunities to undertake their preferred work-care arrangements. Furthermore, respondents who preferred the child-centered juggling arrangement few opportunities/capabilities to undertake this schedule.

The study also disclosed that the single mothers in the three work-care arrangement groups had varying levels of satisfaction/fulfilment, although the aggregate work-care satisfaction among the single mothers in each group was a little above the average of 'somewhat satisfied'. It was thus indicative from the foregoing that there was a difference in the levels of work-care satisfaction of single mothers in the WSI and WAI. In other words, the respondents indicated a greater increase in their satisfaction within their respective work-care arrangement groups in the mid phase of the study, than they had rated it within the five work-care domains at the initial stage of the research. Those were all consistent with the findings of Elster (1983), Sen (2005) and Binder (2013) that self-assessed mental state accounts are not reliable indicators for determining people's well-being as they are liable to adaptation or change.

The results obtained from the Kruskal-Wallis Test showed that there was no statistically significant difference in the level of work-care satisfaction among the respondents in three work-care arrangement groups. Hence, the work-care satisfaction among the single mothers in all the three groups was almost the same. In that light, the null hypothesis of this study was accepted.

Generally, juggling paid work with childcare activities did not significantly decrease the overall life satisfaction of those single mothers in Gugulethu. This subsequently implies that there were other factors that impacted on the life satisfaction of those single mothers in Gugulethu. Chief among those is that the lack of government support in ameliorating their living conditions through efficient service delivery in Gugulethu. Also, the lack of security measures in Gugulethu was also noted as one of the leading causes of despair to single mothers who want to raise their children in an environment safe from crime and drugs.

Finally, the findings of this investigation demonstrate a strong link between low income and low work-care satisfaction. In other words, single mothers with low levels of monthly income are more likely to be dissatisfied with their work-care arrangements. Also, single mothers who had been married before and who worked in the formal establishment as casual/ informal workers also reported the lowest work-care satisfaction, whereas, previously married women who worked in informal establishments reported a considerably higher work-care satisfaction.

6.3 Recommendations

The study revealed that the respondents' overall work-care satisfaction was generally rated just above 'somewhat satisfied' which was lower than their overall satisfaction with life. The study identified a prominent reason for that outcome. This reason is that the dominant labour and social policies in South Africa, view women, especially working mothers, as a homogenous group who needs to be given more opportunities to occupy visible positions in the work and political spaces that have been previously dominated by men. In these regards, these policies have benefited more work-centered women in the formal sector, who make up the minority of women in the country. Gender-related labour and social policies that are designed to be neutral enough so that working mothers from the three juggling arrangement groups could equally benefit from them, would be successful in terms of take-up rates.

Since most of the single mothers in Gugulethu preferred to undertake a flexible juggling arrangement, it is imperative to provide them with more capabilities (opportunities) that would allow them to undertake this juggling arrangement. One of the major ways to provide such opportunities is by removing, or at least lessening the social constraints that prevent single mothers from undertaking this flexible work-care arrangement. The recommendations raised in this study are geared towards the foregoing.

6.3.1 Recommendation 1: Create direct informal channels of communication between policy makers and single mothers in the informal sector.

There seems to be a general feeling of social distancing that exists between the policy makers and the single mothers in the informal sector. Moreover, the gender-related policies that they formulate to help these women, rely heavily on objective statistics in the form of quantitative data obtained from experts in formal institutions. The foregoing could be achieved by using random informal surveys that could be distributed through mobile phone messages and on

social media networks. Also, policy makers could visit informal settlements to hear, in person, the work-care concerns of single mothers in general and obtain data that is less filtered. The creation of these direct communication channels between policy makers and single mothers could also serve as an effective feedback mechanism that could allow policy makers to test trial work-care policies that are targeted at single mothers and observe whether these policies received negative or positive take-up rates from their feedback.

6.3.2 Recommendation 2: Establish small alternative schools for pregnant high school students in the country.

In this study, education is acknowledged as a crucial conversion factor that could aid single mothers in possessing real capabilities to undertake their preferred work-care arrangements. In this regard, it is important to remove the barriers that prevent single mothers from receiving high levels of education due to dropping out from high school. In this regard, teenage pregnancy was foregrounded in this study as the leading cause of single motherhood in Gugulethu as well as other informal settlements. Unfortunately, it is also the leading cause of the high school dropout rate among young mothers. It was revealed during the study that although pregnant students are by law allowed to go to school, in most cases they eventually drop out from school when it becomes obvious that they were visibly pregnant. In most cases, class instructors expected them to learn at the same pace with the other students, although they had to contend with morning sickness, drowsiness and other pregnancy-related conditions.

The state's policy that is currently in place to curb high school dropout rates due to teenage pregnancy, is failing in Gugulethu. This is because the policy implementation is in contradiction with the prevailing social norms in the township. Pregnant students should be given the choice to attend either the mainstream school or an alternative school, or both. The alternative schools should provide young pregnant students with a non-judgmental learning environment that could serve as a support group with a flexible curriculum designed to help these students cope with their school work and the demands of pregnancy and childcare.

The goal of the alternative school or classes for pregnant students should be providing them with a safe and conducive learning environment that will allow them to pass their matric exams and encourage them to pursue university or tertiary education. This would lower the high school dropout rate among single mothers considerably. Furthermore, it will allow

pregnant students to pursue university education which will provide them with the capability to undertake a form of employment that allows them to pursue the work-care arrangement that they find satisfying.

6.3.3 Recommendation 3: Introduce micro-credit financing with low interest rates for single mothers in Gugulethu and other informal settlements.

Micro-financing institutions in South Africa should be expanded to provide work-care loans with low interest rates to single mothers with entrepreneurial ideas. Emergency savings should also be encouraged among single mothers by making a provision for them to learn about investment. The most important resource that is indispensable to single mothers in Gugulethu, is time. Hence, if they could have access to financial institutions and invest their money in the stock and bond markets, that could be a source of relief for these women who exchange their time for money. This would be most useful contribution to the upliftment of single mothers who prefer to undertake a flexible juggling arrangement. In fact, these women would be able to convert the time they spend at work into time that they could use to focus on childcare activities. More so, free state-owned adult education schools should be established for single mothers to teach them entrepreneurial and technological skills, such as computer training, etc.

6.3.4 Recommendation 4: Create family support programmes.

South Africa's policy makers need to strengthen child support systems in informal settlements like Gugulethu. The study revealed that most of the single mothers were not satisfied with the fact that their children's fathers that are still alive, did not assist them in child support. Family strengthening support programmes on radio and television stations would go a long way to ensuring that people are more aware of their social responsibility towards their children. Additionally, radio and television advertisements that explicitly portray mothers as the sole childcare-givers should be revised to include the fathers in those advertisements before they are aired. That would help break down the preconceived ideas on the normalization of motherhood.

Family planning support organizations with trained social workers who offer free counselling sessions in areas such as Gugulethu, would also prove useful. In addition, the state should consider setting up youth camps, training programmes, and mentorship programmes for young unemployed youths in Gugulethu and similar areas across the country. That would go

a long way in ensuring that youths do not turn to loan sharks and gangs for emotional and financial support.

6.3.5 Recommendation 5: Strengthen the implementation of the Child Maintenance Act.

In order to make recommendation 4 more feasible and realistic, state policy makers should strengthen the Maintenance Act 99 of 1998, which requires that both biological parents of a child, regardless of their marital status, contribute financially to the raising of their child. This law should foster the financial relationship between parents of estranged children. Findings from this study showed that single mothers in Gugulethu were finding it increasingly difficult to have access to the maintenance court. In the cases of single mothers who managed to take their children's fathers to the maintenance court, many were often met with hostile treatment from the man's family members. The court child financial support systems are clearly neither appealing nor supportive of these women who are both vulnerable and often destitute.

6.4 Conclusion

This study has undertaken a detailed assessment of the work-care satisfaction of single mothers in Gugulethu, Cape Town. The study pointed out that the overall work-care satisfaction of respondents in general is low. It also established that the relationship existing in terms of the work-care satisfaction among respondents within the three work-care arrangement groups in the study, is insignificant. Furthermore, the study ascertained that most of the single mothers were within the work-centered arrangement group. The majority of them preferred to be in the flexible group where they could have a more fluid approach to juggling their work and childcare commitments. It would thus be expedient for government, project and program managers and other stakeholders to work in tandem to ensure the formulation and implementation of gender-sensitive policies that could benefit women across all three groups of working mothers. In order to accomplish this, gender policies in the country should be more transformational, so that women are acknowledged as being highly diverse, instead of being regarded as a homogenous group.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Study Questionnaire

Assessing the impact of juggling paid work and childcare on the work-care satisfaction of single mothers: A case study of Gugulethu, Cape Town

Dear Respondent,

This questionnaire is designed to collect information on the above research topic. All information supplied will be used for academic purposes only. I shall be grateful if the questions are answered truthfully and carefully. You are well assured of the required confidentiality.

Thank you.

PART 1

Socio-economic Characteristics of Respondent

INSTRUCTION: Please tick the appropriate gap.

*Please take your time and fill in Part 1 of this questionnaire from the 12th of June – 12th August 2016.

1. Gender: (1) Female []
2. Age: (1) 18 - 25yrs [] (2) 26 - 35yrs [] (3) 36 - 45yrs [] (4) 46 years and above []
3. Marital History: (1) Previously Married [] (2) Never Married []
4. Did you choose to be a single mother? (1) Yes [] (2) No []
5. Reason (s) for being a single mother:
(1) Divorced [] (2) Widowed [] (3) Financial independence [] (4) Avoid domestic violence [] (5) Further Studies [] (6) Others []
If others, please state the reason(s).....
6. Are you the head of the household? (1) Yes [] (2) No []
7. How many people do you live with at home?
(1) 0-2persons [] (2) 3-4persons [] (3) 5-6 persons []
(4) 7-8 persons [] (5) 9 and above persons []
8. How many children are in your household?
(1) 0-2 [] (2) 3-4 [] (3) 5-6 [] (4) 7 and Above
9. What is your highest level of schooling:
(1) No formal education [] (2) Middle School [] (3) High School []
(4) Graduate [] (5) Post-graduate []
(6) Others (please specify)

10. Please state your average monthly income (also include all the other monies you receive in a month) ZAR

11. What is your main source of income: (1) Job (2) Remittances []
 (3) Child Support from government [] (4) Other []
 If other, please specify

12. What type of house do you live in?
 (1) Shack [] (2) Semi-formal house [] (3) Formal house []

13. State your main motive for juggling paid work and childcare, in the space below:

14. Please rate your level of agreement with the following statement below:

In general, I am satisfied with my life nowadays.

(1) Strongly disagree [] (2) Disagree [] (3) Slightly disagree []
 (4) Neither agree nor disagree [] (5) Slightly agree [] (6) Agree []
 (7) Strongly agree []

15. How satisfied are with the following nowadays? Please tick the appropriate space.

	Not at all satisfied (1)	Not Satisfied (2)	Somewhat Satisfied (3)	Satisfied (4)	Very satisfied (5)
Juggling work and childcare nowadays					
Co-residents support with childcare nowadays					
Government's child support policies					
The labor laws for working in the informal sector					
Child support or financial assistance from your children's father or his kin					

PART 2

The Work-care Arrangement of Single Mothers in Gugulethu

INSTRUCTION: Please tick the appropriate gap.

*Please take your time and fill in Part 2 of this questionnaire from the 13th of August – 13th of October, 2016.

1. Which of the following activities take up **most** of your time?

- (1) Childcare [] (2) Job [] (3) Community Service []
 (4) Self-improvement []
 (5) Others []. Please specify

2. Please estimate the average number of hours you spend at work per day.....hours

3. Which of the following activities take up **the least** of your time?

- Childcare [] (2) Domestic chores [] (3) Job [] (4) Community Service []
 (7) Self-improvement []

4. Please estimate the average number of hours you spend on childcare activities per dayhours

5. Please rate your level of involvement in the following activities below:

Category	Very Involved (1)	Involved (2)	Somewhat involved (3)	Not at all involved (5)
Childcare activities				
Household chores				
Job				
Community service				
Social activities				
Political activities				

6a. Considering your level of involvement and time spent in both your work and childcare activities, which of the following work-care arrangement groups would say you currently belong to?

- (1) Child-centered [] (2) Work-centered [] (3) Flexible [] (4) I don't know []

6b. Please tick below the childcare service that you make use of.

- (1) Formal only [] (2) Informal only [] (3) I make use of both []

7. Is the work-care arrangement group you selected above your preferred group?

- (1) Yes [] (2) No [] (3) I don't know [] (4) I can't say []

8. If your answer to the question above is no, which of the groups do you prefer?

- (1) Child-centered [] (2) Work-centered [] (3) Flexible []

9. Considering your recent juggling schedule within your work-care arrangement group, please, rate your level of satisfaction with the following:

	Not at all satisfied (1)	Not Satisfied (2)	Somewhat Satisfied (3)	Satisfied (4)	Very satisfied (5)
My life in general nowadays					

Juggling paid work and childcare nowadays					
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PART 3

The Work-care Capabilities of Single Mothers in Gugulethu

INSTRUCTION: Please tick the appropriate gap.

*Please take your time and fill in Part 3 of this questionnaire from the 15th of October – 15th of December, 2016.

Adaptive Preferences

In Part 2 of the questionnaire you submitted, you selected the work-care arrangement group that you preferred. To what extent do you think that your external surroundings, upbringing, habits, other people influence your work-care preference?

- (1) I don't know [] (2) to no extent [] (3) to some extent []
 (4) to much extent [] (5) to a large extent []

Capabilities

List five opportunities you think are important for single mothers to have that can enable them to undertake any work-care arrangement of their preference:

.....

Structural Constraints

What are the five main obstacles that are preventing you from achieving maximum satisfaction from juggling paid work and childcare and/or from undertaking your preferred work-care arrangement?

.....

Resources

State three resources you feel are crucial to juggling paid work and childcare:

.....

Among the three resources you listed above, which one do you consider as most crucial for single mothers?

.....

Do you have the opportunity to access this resource you just named above?

- (1) Yes [] (2) No []

Conversion Factors

If you get hold of the three you have stated above resources above, how do you intend to transform or use these resources to undertake a satisfying and fulfilling work-care arrangement?

.....

Appendix 2: Interview Questions

Assessing the impact of juggling paid work and childcare on the work-care satisfaction of single mothers: A case study of Gugulethu

Guiding questions for assessing the work-care satisfaction of respondents

(For assessing the work-care satisfaction by work-care arrangement groups)

1. What is your major motive in juggling paid work and childcare?
2. What are the strategies that you have in place to ensure your work does not negatively affect your childcare duties and vice-versa?
3. Can you briefly explain what brings you hope or makes you feel despair when juggling your work and childcare commitments? Which of these two feelings do you feel often?
4. Is juggling work and childcare really a burden for you? (Please explain in detail)
5. What mechanisms do you have in place to improve your work-care satisfaction?
6. In relation to your current work-care arrangement (think in terms of the group), do you find fulfilment in it? (Please give examples from your work-care experiences that brought you such feelings).
7. Do you agree that undertaking a work-care arrangement that is not of your preference and choice, lowers your satisfaction with juggling work and childcare. If so, why? If not, why not?
8. From your experiences as well as from those of others whom you know, do you feel that society is now pushing women to work, rather than be childcare givers?

A. Assessing the work-care capabilities, resources, conversion factors, adaptive work-care preferences and structural constraints of respondents

(For assessing work-care capabilities)

1. List five opportunities that you think are essential to enhance your satisfaction with juggling work and childcare.
2. If given these opportunities, how would you be able to use them to improve juggling satisfaction? (Please explain in detail).
3. What stops you from accessing the aforementioned opportunities in your daily life?
4. Whose responsibility do you think it is to provide you with the opportunities that would help you to juggle your work and childcare duties effectively?
5. State the resources you feel are crucial in helping you to access these work-care opportunities.
6. Whose responsibility do you think it is to provide you with such resources?
7. Have you ever felt trapped into a work-care arrangement that you did not like for a long time? If so, how did you feel? Did you just give up or did you do something to change your work-care situation?

8. At the present moment, do you think that you can comfortably undertake either a child-centered, juggling arrangement for a long time, without having to worry about financial problems?
9. Do you think that you are in a better position to access any of the three work-care arrangements at any time or place depending on your situation?
10. What is the single greatest barrier that prevents you from undertaking your preferred work-care arrangement?
11. What plans do you have in place to overcome such barrier in the future?
12. Do you believe that the more work-care arrangement alternatives that you have, the higher the level of fulfillment you obtain from your juggling work and childcare?
13. How often do you consider the fate of your children when making important decisions concerning your job?
14. Have you ever given up a good job opportunity because of your childcare commitments? If yes, how did you feel about your decision at the time?
15. If you could make this decision all over again, what would your choice be?
16. Have you ever given up an educational opportunity or an opportunity for self-improvement because of your childcare duties? If yes, how do you feel about your decision now?
17. Do you remember other valuable opportunities that you had given up in the past in order to fulfill your childcare duties?
18. What advice would you give to prospective single mothers with regards to the above?

**B. Assessing respondents' recommendations to improve their work-care satisfaction
(For policy formulation)**

1. With regards to your current work-care situation and those of other single mothers you know, what would you recommend to policy makers? (Please explain in detail).
2. Did I leave anything out that you wish to bring up?
3. What other issue with regards to single mothers' well-being would you recommend for future research?
4. Any final piece of advice?