A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF CHILDREN WHO WERE RAISED BY SINGLE MOTHERS

by

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DECLARATION

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I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

SIGNATURE

29 January 2021 DATE

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ABSTRACT

This study explored the lived experiences of children who were raised by single mothers; either from birth or at later stages of their lives due to fathers passing away or parents separating and divorcing from one another. It focused on how they relate to themselves by being raised by single mothers and what effect it has had on their relationships with significant partners, paternal siblings, and other paternal family members. Five participants between the ages of 25 and 33 were from Vryheid, Kwa-Zula Natal and the one was from the East Rand, Gauteng. Qualitative research paradigm was used in this study. Data was collected using semi-structured interviews. Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used to make sense of data. Findings revealed that although most participants viewed father presence as important, they also gave homage to their mothers and that mothers can raise successful children single-handedly. Particularly since some cited having experienced difficult relationships with their mothers but are still grateful for the sacrifices made by their mothers. Some participants had strict mothers and others have subsequently formed close friendships with their mothers as they went into adulthood. The majority of the participants had no relationship with the paternal families, and some attributed their success to their mothers or their maternal families. Although some participants experienced more than one form of abuse (financial and/or emotional), they have become positive contributors to society and do not view their childhood circumstances as a hinderance to them succeeding in life.

KEY TERMS:

African, apartheid, children, colonisation, fatherhood, feminism, globalisation, migrant labour system, motherhood, single parent

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Contextual background

The motivation for this research was to try and understand the emotional implications on children who were raised in single headed families and to show that children raised by single mothers are no less apt to succeed in life than children who are raised by both parents. It is also to highlight their plight where sacrifices were made by them because of financial implications due to their awareness of the financial situation at home. It is also to show that this can have emotional implications on how they interact in the environment they live in.

South Africa has one of the highest rates of father absence in Africa after Namibia (Posel & Devey, 2006), with only about a third of preschool children co-residing with their fathers (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The reasons for not residing with fathers could arguably be attributed to several factors including separation, divorce, and mortality. In addition, South Africa has a lowest marriage rate on the continent (Richter & Panday, 2006). This means that non-residing parents may not be attributed to simply parents separating from each other, but other elements, as cited above also come into play. Other reasons could be "partly because of violence, abandonment, AIDS-related paternal deaths and poverty" (Hosegood & Madhavan, as cited in Makusha, 2013, p.19). Premature mortality of the father could occur due an illness or suicide.

Crime, domestic violence, political violence (given the apartheid history of South Africa) and the migrant labour system could also attribute to father absence. Children raised by single parents are individuals who, as a result of any aforementioned reason, end up being raised by single parents.

In South Africa and elsewhere, one may find instances where non-co-residential fathers make efforts of contributing to their children (and non-biological children) monetary, emotionally, and socially (Makusha, 2013). In some instances, society has deemed it important for children to have their own biological fathers present in their lives although maternal and paternal uncles are perceived to also be capable of being father figures for those children. In some African cultures, it is believed that the child finds it difficult to develop a healthy identity if there is no connection with their

paternal side of the family because of background, roots, and paternal identity (Eddy, Martinez & Burraston; Mkhize, as cited in Zulu, 2017). In some instances, some children may blame their lack of success, be it emotionally or financially, to lack of connection or bond with their paternal family. This could arguably imply that the capability, importance of mothers, aunts, uncles, and grandparents of the maternal family is of little significance since children still long to connect with the paternal side. The advancements in technology with the likes of in-vitro fertilization (IVF); sperm clinics and so forth; the father, and henceforth the paternal side of the family could be unknown forever, if the mother chooses not to know who the donor is. In such instances, the child may never know who the father is. Children born through these circumstances could find it difficult to form a healthy identity as there is no connection between themselves and their paternal family.

Fathers whose names appear on the child/ren birth certificates are more likely to continue contact with their child/ren (Carlson & McLanahan as cited in Thupayagale-Tshweneagae, 2012). This could arguably mean that some children who are not conceived within a 'committed' relationship, married or not, may have the misfortune that fathers may not feel obligated to be present during their birth (in the sense of physical presence in the ward or during the signing of important documentation) and may lose contact as the years progress or as relationship dynamics change. The non-committed relationships could include in-vitro fertilisation (IVF), sperm clinics, rape, and one-nightstands where the father is not present during the birth of the child or where he cannot be named for obvious reasons. Also due to the South African history, the family demographics may not be representative of what a western nuclear family would look like.

Some children may feel that not being raised in a nuclear family with both parents physically present was an unfortunate fate as having both parents may have made life easier. Poor educational achievement is one of the attributes that come from children raised by a single mother (Zulu, 2017). "Children who grow up in a single-parent family are disadvantaged in many ways and do less well, on average, on a number of developmental outcomes relative to children who grow up with both parents" (Nixon, Greene & Hogan, 2012, p.142). Although the above study does not specify whether it is mother or father single family, this will seem like an unfair

comparison if it compares male or female single parenting to those of co-parenting. This is especially so because in some black communities, the definition of a nuclear family extends to extended related members who live in one household. If the above citation was referring to single motherhood, then it would be insinuating what the father provides is better than what the mother can offer. It should rather be about gender specifics rather than the individual capability, capacity, and willingness of the parent to be a parent. "Successful parenting is not gender specific and that children do not need fathers or mothers either...rather, any gender configuration adults could parent well" (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010, p.3). Two compatible (sic) conducive parents should prove advantageous over single parents (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010). This is irrespective of "parental gender, marital status, sexual identity, or biogenetic status" (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010, p.17). Conversely, parents do not need to co-reside with one another to provide child/ren with the best possible upbringing. This means that parents do not need to necessary live under one roof to be child-fit parents. Residing with both parents may be ideal but it does not necessarily disadvantage those who do not experience such an upbringing. To note, co-residing parents may come with their own set of issues which could negatively impact children. Good parenting is not just about living together, but rather having harmonious good co-parenting relations is what is more vital for the upbringing of child/ren in a warm and loving family structure; regardless of whether it is in more than one home. What is important to note is that "children who then have a social connection only, do not necessarily get less nurturing or material support than those who have residential connection" (Madhavan, Townsend & Garey, 2008, p. 654). This quote could suggest that single parents are just as fit to be parents as co-residing parents.

1.2. Research aim

The aim of this study was to explore the psycho-social effects of being raised by single mothers by ascertaining the type of relations they may have with their mothers and the paternal family who may have been not there for them. The sort of support they received from their mothers and the financial and emotional difficulties they came across and how they have managed to triumph over it is elaborated on. Another aim was to showcase the life-lessons that 'children' raised by single

mothers' experience and how they view their life in general. As well as the positive attributes that these single mothers impart on their children is discussed.

1.3. Research questions

What is the quality of life experienced by children who were raised by single mothers?

This question aims to ascertain whether these children experienced any sort of abuse that they would not have experienced had they been co-parented.

Do the children raised by single mothers feel that they were failed by their paternal families?

This question is to try and indicate whether any interactions with their paternal families, would have resulted in any positive outcomes (emotionally or financially).

What was the relationship of children raised by single mothers with their mothers and how did they feel they were raised to their fullest potential?

This is to ascertain whether the children think that the experience of living with their mothers also allowed them to live to their fullest potential.

Is there anything they feel they lacked because resources (finances) were not always readily available and how did that impact on how they were able to relate to their friends who had both parents?

This is to try and extract if the raising of single parenthood ad co-parenting was viewed differently by the participants, if at all.

1.4. Research objectives

The objectives were to get a real sense of the participants lived experiences by ascertaining the following:

To examine the emotional impact experienced from their childhood and how that has then affected them as adults and how the relationship with their mothers has evolved over the years.

To investigate their emotional connectedness (or lack thereof) with their absent fathers, half-siblings, and other paternal family members.

To ascertain financial and emotional difficulties they may have experienced as a result of being raised by a single mother.

To determine types of financial, emotional, and physical abuse that the mothers and children had to overcome. What lessons they learnt from those experiences and how has it shaped them to be independent adults today.

The different parenting styles and how these have shaped who they are and how they interact in society.

1.5. Research setting

Vryheid is a small coal and cattle ranching town situated in the northern part of Kwa-Zulu Natal (Floyd, 1960). It is these two economic commodities which keep the economy of the town thriving. Previously, it was the capital of Nieuwe Republiek (Harrison, 2002), and land that King Dinizulu gave to the Boers, after they successfully assisted him to over-throw his uncle Uzibhebhu (Rycroft, 1975) to his rightful position. Zululand is one of eleven districts of Kwa-Zulu Natal and is surrounded by districts such as Amajuba to the north-west, Gert Sibande in Mpumalanga, the Kingdom of Swaziland to north, Umkhanyakude to the east, Umzinyathi to the south-east and Uthungulu to the south. Some of the socioeconomic challenges faced by the Zululand District Municipalities include that 54 percent of homes are led by females and 8.3 percent were led by children for the 2019/2020 review (Municipality, 2020). This speaks to the participants of this study and shows that more than half of the population lives in the same socio environment as the participant pool. The financial plight of this district is further aggerated by that 11 percent of the population has no source of income and the employment rate sits as only 19 percent (Municipality, 2020).

The local municipalities of Zululand include Ulundi, Nongoma, Abaqulusi, uPhongolo and eDumbe, Zululand District Municipality (Wikipedia, 2019). Abaqulusi municipality includes areas such as Emondlo, Gluckstadt, Hlobane, Kandaspunt, Louwsburg, Ngome, Scheepersnek, Stilwater, Swart Umfolozi, Zungwini, Bhekuzulu, Coronation, Hlobane, Khambi, Louwsburg, Ngotshe and Vryheid; Blood River is then about 20 km's south-west of Vryheid (Khumalo & Ben, 2013). These regions are significant in the Zulu-war history. The Battle of Blood River is one of the greatest battles fought in South Africa which happened just outside of Vryheid (Opperman, 1982). Others include the Battle of Hlobane which occurred in the Hlobane area and the Battle of Isandlwana occurred in the Ulundi municipality (Laband, 2009; Barthorp, 2002). Coincidentally the Abaqulusi municipality is where Mkabayi (King Shaka's aunt) headed the military palace (Shamase, 2014). Interestingly it is a perfect setting in telling stories of how African women were leaders and capable of playing roles of men (as in Mkabayi's case). This town is where the majority of my participants come from who were raised by exceptionally strong women who played both mother and father roles to their children and are leaders in their own homes.

1.6. Dissertation outline

This dissertation comprises of six chapters. Chapter 1 offers an introduction to the whole dissertation.

Chapter 2 discusses the literature review wherein I discuss under social construction of women gender inequality and how women were (and still are) doubly victimised through patriarchy. Precolonial Africa brings to the fore how women oversaw food production, this relates to single mothers being the sole providers for their children and were leaders along with their male counterparts. South African women leaders such as Queen Modjadji of Limpopo and Mkabayi kaJama of the amaZulu highlight the role and importance of women in their respective communities. I then discuss the exploitative impact of colonisation and globalisation, and how Africans let go of some of their traditions and adapted to the western way of living (Acculturalisation). The historical contributions of female headed households and the politics of fatherhood elaborates on how the migrant system, apartheid and male representation in families affected black single motherhood. Motherhood and how raising child/ren as a single parent may have an effect on the decreased economic resources of the household is discussed. The final section of the literature review is dedicated to children raised by single mothers, how they may be exposed to maltreatment (not necessarily in the physical form) and the sad reality of how half of South African children do not have any contact with their biological fathers.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to unpacking the theoretical lens informing this study, feminism. I cover the history of feminism, particularly first wave, the second wave and the third wave. I also elucidate the difference between radical, liberal, and black feminism and how these fit into my study. Feminism is important as it allowed women to fight for voting rights, own properties, get an education, fight for equal wage pay, and gain their rightful reproductive rights. For instance, radical feminists mainly focused on fighting against the exploitation for the free sex trade while some liberal feminists fought for the decriminalisation and legalisation of sex work. This made women become more independent and could be postulated that they were better equipped to raise children single-handedly.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodology followed in this study. First, I discuss the paradigm orientation that informed this inquiry. Second, I discuss the qualitative research design whereby a) the two schools, hermeneutic (interpretive) and transcendental (descriptive) phenomenology are discussed. and b) and why the latter was chosen. Third I detail the research process, which includes the research participants and sampling technique, data collection methods (which entail recording and transcribing), and data analysis. Fourth, I discuss how I applied ethical issues in my research, including consent, anonymity, confidentiality, freedom to withdraw and measures of trustworthiness. Lastly, fifth I reflect on reflexivity.

Chapter 5 provides the reader with the results and discussion of the main themes (and subthemes) that were extrapolated from participants' narratives.

Chapter 6 provides the summary, limitations, recommendations, and contributions' pertaining to this study. It was clear from participants' narratives that even if the child may be raised by one parent, he/she still needs to connect with the maternal and paternal sides of the family. I hope that my study shall contribute further to the literature on children raised by single mothers.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to reviewing literature pertaining to the role of women in general, and specifically on how single mothers manage to raise their children despite difficulties they encounter. First, I provide a short analysis on how **women are socially constructed**, that they are expected to 'be' in a certain way and not portray their dominant side. I also link it to gender inequality where I point out that more should be done in support of women because they are still oppressed not just at home but also at the workplace. I offer suggestions, largely drawing from Scandinavian countries, on how other countries, particularly South Africa, could improve their pro-female policies.

Society often emphasizes the importance of producing male children, in the name of surname continuation. I also discuss how male progeny often results in extreme measures of gendercide.

The double victimisation of black women is discussed in terms of how they were discriminated racially and by their gender as well. I then argue that women of colour (Black) do not only suffer from colonisation but also from patriarchy, meaning they suffer double colonisation (Tyagi, 2014).

Second, I delve more deeply in **precolonial Africa** and how Africans operated their daily living activities before they were colonised. This is when women oversaw food production through farming (Rankoana, 2016). Precolonial Africa is characterised by independence, pride and identity of Africana people which had its roots in land ownership before it was stolen by the colonialists. African people were able to feed their families through subsistence farming, and poignantly, women ruled alongside their men.

Third, I discuss **African women leaders**, where once in Africa there were women dynasties, regents, and rulers (Masenya, 2014). These were women leaders who played significant roles in everyday living. The Kings and men who were held in high esteem shared their power with women (Matshidze, 2013). These women included spouses, sisters and even mothers of these men. For example, in South Africa we

had the Rain Queen, Modjadji of the Balobedu tribe, Makhadzi of the Vhevenda of Limpopo and Mkabayi kaJama of the amaZulu (Ndikhokele, Masenya & Mtshiselwa, 2016). In some parts of Africa, the appointment of women at the death of the king is still practiced (Olurode, 2011). Patriarchy often dictates that women cannot lead, that if (and when) they lead; it is like following a cow that leads one straight into a donga (Ndikhokele, Masenya & Mtshiselwa, 2016). This misconception shows how little influence women are thought to possess.

Fourth, I discuss the **effects of colonialism**. The Western's appetite for raw material is reason enough to deem Africa as an ideal place to be exploited (Bassil, 2005). That was one of the reasons for going on expeditions to exploit it and once Africa was infiltrated, it slowly lost its identity (Bassil, 2005). Consequently, the colonised people developed an inferiority complex and were compelled to discard their traditional cultures (Gumede, 2015; Go, 2013).

Arguably, globalisation seems to possess negative and positive characteristics. Selassie (2011) postulates that globalisation has widened the gap between rich and poor people but has also given employment opportunities outside of what one would have initially been exposed to. However, it is often difficult for (mostly) African countries to encase their own values as a result of globalisation, with the end results being people who are accultured, ready to forgo of their own traditions in favour of the western ideals that are thought to be more civilised.

Fifth, I discuss the historical contributions of female headed households and the politics of fatherhood, particularly how the migrant labour system annihilated the ideals, values, and norms of Black families. For example, it was not uncommon for many Black children to only see (and spend time) with their fathers only during Christmas holidays (Makusha, 2013). Due to the apartheid policies that were designed to destroy African family dynamics, it is arguably not surprising that the South African nation is scarred, South Africa is seen to be a broken nation and the inequality is worse for black women as they still feel the effects of it to this day. I touch on how the above then affected the make representation in families of black homes and the importance of fathers not just financially present but to be present emotionally and physically for the optimal development of their children. I amplify the

role they play in the spheres of education, religion, culture, and economic labour of their children.

Sixth, in discussing **motherhood**, I argue that being a single mother is not only caused by fathers running away from their responsibilities, that there are other causes such as death and divorce. I also discuss how mothers are the nurturing parent and how mothers make sacrifices for their children despite them being financially unable to take care of the children; some choose to be present in their children's lives.

Finally, I discuss what impact of being raised by a single mother has on the **children** and how they navigate through life. This includes access to education, time with parents and how they turn the absence of not having a father to positive attributes about themselves.

2.2. Social construction of women

What should define a woman is her gender, not her abilities to be a homemaker, not her sexual orientation and not her career achievements. Harcourt, as cited in Kiguwa, Nduna, Mthombeni, Chauke, Selebano and Dlamini (2015) perceive gender as a "psycho-social, political-cultural, scientific and economic reading of sexual differences that inform all human relations" (p. 108). The saying by French feminist Simone Beauvoir of "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (Walters, 2005, p. 98), means that gender is not fixated on what you were born with but rather what you become. Gender is a social construct which postulate that the differences between males and females should be in social practices and not biological facts. This was the theme that emerged from second wave feminism (Oyěwùmí, 1997) which propositioned that society should view each other's strengths and capabilities not on the basis that men are physically more powerful than females which consequently construct them even more powerful in society.

With all the inequalities between different genders, it is surprising that many women are not advocating for feminist rights. More women should be fighting against unpaid/unfair wages, against free labour in the home and illegal labour of sex work (Bahri, 2009) that put women in jeopardy. In a country such as South Africa, people on the ground are still negatively affected the most by the ramifications of apartheid policies even though almost all of them have been repealed (Segalo, 2015). The fact remains that the most affected are women and children (especially black women).

Gender inequality will take a force of strong women in power to really implement profemale polices that will ensure that the ramifications of apartheid are eradicated at an expedited pace. Fighting for the women rights and advocating for women may be seen as fighting against the societal norm. It could be that women are afraid to be labelled man-haters or castrating bitch (Walters, 2005). That is perhaps the reason why there is not that much of an upheaval specifically from rural women. Women are still being overlooked for promotions or senior positions in the corporate world (Unterhalter, 1999). If society categorises groups such as managers, criminals, nurses, and the poor represented as groups not as individuals, the society is far away from escaping biological determinism (Oyěwùmí, 1997). This may indicate how far society has been indoctrinated into thinking that certain roles are gender specific. Single mothers are capable of providing and protecting their children just like single fathers. It has been too long where women have been told that they are incapable of being on par with males. In most instances, men do not see women as leaders, they feel that being controlled by ignorant and powerless people (i.e., women) would land them into trouble (Ndikhokele, Masenya & Mtshiselwa, 2016). Whether it is at home or at work as Makusha (2016) indicates, "there is emphasis on the fact that women should not expect employed men to provide childcare at home as they are gainfully employed and provide financially for their families and thus are already 'pulling their weight'" (p. 85). This implies that men can be excused from home duties as they have already done a lot for the day. It should not be expected that men come home from a hard day at work to start cooking and taking care of the children as they have already been doing their part in the workspace (Makusha, 2016); yet it is what women do. They come back from work and take care of their family's needs. Women often pull their weight around the house even after they have done so at their workplace.

The psychical characteristics of a woman should not be a determining factor on what attributes she can offer to society or how society perceives her worth to be. However, it should be noted that there are individuals who no not identify with any one specific gender and some who identify with both genders, those are the women

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who do not conform to social standards of what a woman is. Foucault postulated that "individuals are not simply constrained by external structures, but that 'subjects' are produced and regulated by disciplinary structures and discourses" (Doezema, 2001, p. 20). These disciplinary structures and discourses are what society prescribes as accepted roles that each gender (in this case, a simplistic view of man/woman) should be portraying, not taking into account that not all women, for instance, want to be homemakers and child-bearers. As a consequence, women who then decide to be non-conforming (i.e., 'non homemakers') may be vilified for not adhering to the role that society deems to be destined for women. This makes one wonder if not conforming to the role of a homemaker makes women feel any less, in accordance with societal standards?

This should be enough reason for more women to be roused and stand up for the rights of women, and especially those who do not have a voice. It is more important to do so, especially when living in society that has become westernised, that takes on the western patriarchal treatment of women as well. This is not specific to South Africa, but some women who are part of policy making decisions fail to implement plans that could benefit the silenced voices of women and children (Segalo, 2015), yet they complain that there should be more women representation in politics that ideally should have a positive outcome for the marginalised. Female representation in Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Finland are visible, and their policies are progressive in terms of gender equality and hence their status as the world's most gender equal countries (Henry, 2014). Women should be represented in society through political and economic inclusion. Although it may not be as advanced as Scandinavian countries, more should be done to advance women equality. Scandinavian countries and the United States advocate for female advancement and women from these countries are raised to believe that they can do everything (Henry, 2014). Although Scandinavian countries are more feminised, the United States remains a masculine country and there is still an economic threshold that females are still not able to attain (Schmidt, 2015). This then makes the 'great' Americans lag behind the Scandinavian countries in terms of female progressiveness. In Africa, there is still a huge number of women living under marginalised conditions such as violence and abuse at home and in the workplace (Segalo, 2012). As mentioned previously, slavery and racism have had adverse

impact on Africa, but women have had to deal with the inequality based on their gender.

The saying that 'it is a man's world' makes one wonder where then does the female gender fit in? He is the subject; he is the Absolute. She is the 'Other'. Okin (2013) argues that as a result of globalisation, females (and their roles) in Africa are also constructed as 'other'. This indicates the insignificance or total disregard with which society sees female species. From the economic, biological, and political perspective, society arguably prescribes how women should interact with their surroundings. Females are usually defined in relation to the male norm. Her norm is prescribed by what the male norm is; her welfare is subordinated to that of men with no valid reason as to why males are valued more than females (Zondi, 2006). She is even questioned about her choices if they are not fitting to societal norms and for having different sentiments to what the norm is. "Women's work – despite the muchpublicized earnings of some high-fliers in the business world remains lower paid; or, in the case of housework, not paid at all" (Walters, 2005, p.11). Even the housework that women do, which is immensely a lot is taken for granted as it is seen as her job without needing to compensate her. It then begs one to wonder if the roles were reversed, would there be such disregard towards their (men) contribution in relation to housework? One may be tempted to ask, when was the genesis of women being the lesser in comparison to men?

In "Genesis 29-30, children are seen as a blessing from God to righteous women" (Bowman, 2014, p.10). This scripture seems to imply that women who can bear children do so because of their good deeds and it would indirectly seem to exclude women who do not and cannot bear their own children. By righteous, this would imply that the unrighteous will not be blessed with children. The above passage seems to suggest that only women have a responsibility to conform to certain behaviours in order to be blessed. Men's behaviour on the other hand has no repercussions on their blessing. Men are not judged for their own inadequacies, whether these are deliberate or not.

Interestingly, in African custom, if a man is sterile, he would not be informed, but his wife would be encouraged to be impregnated by another man, without the husband's knowledge (Mulaudzi, 2013). This is an example of how doting society is towards a

man's ego; he is sheltered from any blame. Sons are a "heritage, reward, blessing, and security to a man" [Psalms 127:3-5], (Bowman, 2014, p.10). Scripture is subject to the reader's interpretation, but the above passage seems to leave out daughters and supposedly makes them of a lesser value to their fathers.

The Eastern world depicts women and girl children as of little value in society. In India, where female gendercide is rifer now than before because of technology being able to detect what the gender is before birth, there has been an increase in female gendercide (Gray, 2014). This is "another example of the uncertain relationship between democracy and women's rights" (Gray, 2014, p.188). Upon finding out that the unborn baby will be a daughter; women often use their rights to abort with the hope that the next pregnancy will be a boy. This is arguably done to appease their male partners. There is not much freedom when this exercise of democracy impedes on the rights of women to have girl children or the rights of the unborn baby girl to be given a chance to live. This could be two faceted, the boy child is seen as more valuable than the girl child; and women are pressured to produce a boy child or else face being subjected to horrible and sometimes illegal abortions. One should not be surprised that women themselves encourage such, "because of a preference among the women themselves for a male progeny, a 'choice' that stemmed from their own low sense of worth" (Bahri, 2009, p. 209). Some women are made to feel less of mothers if they give birth to a girl. This demeanour is also seen across African cultures. Women are put under pressure to continue the lineage of the husband's surname (Puri, Adams, Ivey & Nachtigall, 2011). Giving birth (and raising a girl child) therefore does not provide a man with the ideal of preserving his family legacy (through keeping his surname alive) and arguably renders the daughter less valuable because she marries off to another surname. Women's worth has arguably been subjected to men's approval for generations. One wonders how life was in Africa before the introduction of scriptures which arguably started prescribing the roles of a male and female gender.

2.2.1. Double victimisation of women

Women are discriminated due to their gender, race, sexual orientation but the black female must also contend with her place in society. Being a black woman means one still has to contend with patriarchy as Tyagi (2014) postulates "she suffers from

'double colonization' as she simultaneously experiences the oppression of colonialism and patriarchy" (p. 45). Patriarchy and oppression are often practised by black African brothers who have been mobilised by 'civilisation' to treat women oppressively (Oyěwùmí, 1997). This is the enslavement mentality that has taken over the minds of the African people, specifically women, that "economic and social restrictions of slavery and racism have historically stunted the creative lives of black women" (Smith, 1979, p. 20). Men predominate in universities in terms of numbers and in courses that have better job prospects (Olurode, 2011). Women, on the other hand, are allocated occupations that are traditionally administrative in nature, those that use so-called soft skills that do not stimulate but rather mentally enslave women and more especially the black women. One also has to note that in the past when parents experienced financial difficulties, it was likely that the girl child would forgo their education in favour of the boy child (Olurode, 2011). This was prevalent in black communities as the parents were often restricted in terms of economic participation in comparison to their white counterparts by policies and practises (such as colonisation, apartheid, slavery, and racism) that were discriminatory to black people. The progression of women in the economic sector is the method used by white people in order to maintain economic power over black people as bell's thesis posits that the white elites will tolerate or even encourage racial progression only if it promotes their white interests (Butler, 2015). It can be argued that they do so in order to appear as people who have reformed and want what is best for everybody.

Women do not have their own identity because oftentimes they are defined in relation to men. They do not 'possess a penis', therefore, they do not have much of a stance in society as Lugones (2016) reiterated Oyěwùmí's statement that "women are those who do not have a penis; those who do not have power; those who cannot participate in the public arena" (p. 8). Even though there was an exclusion of women because of 'penis possession' obsession, none of it was true of Yoruba anafemales prior to colonisation (Oyěwùmí, 1997). The penis possession myth constructs men as distinguished, more powerful and as leaders based on the fact of their physical anatomy, that they have penises. The Black woman is double colonised because she no longer led alongside her King, which meant she had lost her power. The African woman was not regarded as the 'Other', women were not undermined in the traditional context, in societies such as Bunyoro and Ashanti (Matshidze, 2013). This

was true before she became colonised not just physically, but also mentally. It was with civilisation that the woman was relegated to menial occupations that stunted her role in the community. Entry to universities was limited for women because they were relegated to carry out household activities, therefore, no career advancements were possible (Unterhalter, 1999). If women are seen as lacking any authority today, it is arguably the consequence of the policies and practises that were initiated from the western prejudices which domesticated women and made their lives private, while men remained in the public sphere (Matshidze, 2013). Since women are defined in relation to men, a home led by a woman is contradictory to an ideal home. There are many single mothers in society, but it seems that the latter is only beginning to be more accepting that women also have a voice and that their roles are not only limited to household activities. Refreshingly, women are picking up momentum in the political sphere based on findings by Ahikire (2014), which showed that "globally, four out of the first ten countries with the highest numbers of women in national legislatures are African countries, with Rwanda topping the list with 63.8 percent" (p. 7). Over the years, albeit gradually, a paradigm shift has occurred where women (and their roles) are not merely seen from a physical dimension of their bodies but are also appreciated for what and how they could contribute socially and politically (Hanretta, 1998). This is encouraging because the change is happening in the very continent that was colonised and marginalised. It indicates that women can and do indeed have pivotal roles as well as effective roles in the African society like they used to. It was when colonisation and globalisation was introduced to Africa, that women were then treated as the inferior sex as confirmed by Oyěwùmí (1997) who wrote "the foundation of Africa's problem is its close identification with Europe, which is the source and the rationale for continued western dominance of African peoples and African thought" (p. 19). This especially speaks to the belief that women are inferior in society (Rosaldo, Lamphere & Bamberger, 1974) and this teaching came with the missionary schools and churches which were entities that were almost inseparable (Oyěwùmí, 1997) in their ways of putting young girls and women in their 'place'. In the year 1947, the number of girls at the missionary schools was only at 25 percent (thirty-eight thousand). The small percentage was mainly attributed to the fact that parents preferred to educate their sons instead of their daughters (Oyěwùmí, 1997), therefore the inferiority treatment of women (and girls) started in the classroom. A boy child was given priority over the girl child as per western

customs, the girl would eventually get married so there was no need to invest in her education (Masenya, 2014). It was assumed that the boy would one day be the head of his household, and therefore there was a need to equip him with as much knowledge and training for him to compete well in the world. The missionaries' aim was to transform the African societies' ways of life and not to necessarily preserve them (Oyěwùmí, 1997). With the boys away in school, it could be said that less teachings about African culture systems occurred. The cognisant ability disparity between the genders became apparent and it then became a problem of how the two genders would communicate effectively and have sound conversations. It was only later when these men who were all educated found it difficult to hold meaningful conversations with potential wives that they then decided they also wanted educated wives. When the girls were introduced to school, it was noted that boys still spent an extra two hours on preparation, while the girls did embroidery work and sewed (Oyěwùmí, 1997). Already, the two genders could therefore not compete academically as the girl child was relegated to domesticated work in preparation for her role as a homemaker rather than an academic who would go on to find employment. The girls were being prepared to look dainty and attractive for these powerful men, in order to become wives to them (Oyěwùmí, 1997). The young black girls who became women were not seen as future community leaders, but rather as people who should at all times keep themselves looking beautiful and helpful around the house. After centuries since Africa was colonised, the women (girls) are still marginalised and the discrepancies between the two are clearly evident in the schooling system, which then transcends into the job market. This then means that women become dependent on men as they struggle to secure good jobs for themselves.

While the African continent still suffers from the effects of colonialism, women also suffer from the western feminism ideology. Colonisation affected women in two ways, through racial inferiorisation and gender subordination (Lugones, 2016). Oyěwùmí (1997) also concurs that women suffered 'double colonisation', through European domination and indigenous tradition imposed by African men. The norm of seeing women as leaders in communities has been banished with the civilisation of Africa. Now all of a sudden women could no longer be seen as leaders in society and rule alongside men or be responsible for food production for the family with their

subsistence farming. They are relegated to performing household chores and rearing of children.

Often it is therefore difficult to separate feminism from racism as they both have inadvertently affected black women. Even though feminism is the political theory that affects all women from all walks of life, regardless of their colour, political and economic status, sexual orientation, and age; Smith (1980), postulated that "the reason racism is a feminist issue is easily explained by the inherent definition of feminism" (p. 48). The struggles that are still faced by all women are amplified for black women as they have to contend with racism as well. One needs to acknowledge that race, gender, and class cannot be separated (Brah, 2004) and this intersectionality could be used as an analytic tool to understand colonialism and post-colonialism (McClintock, 1995).

2.3. Precolonial Africa

Precolonial Africa (historiographical speaking) makes one reflect about how life was before Africa was colonised and striped off its originality. Africa has always been a continent that was replete with monarchs and empires, Africans in their own heart were considered aristocrats (Diop, 1988). One of the discourses perpetuated by the Eurocentric thinkers, construct Africa as a destitute continent with little or no civilisation; as George Hegel [German philosopher] thought that Africa had no historical part in the world, it is not capable of development and that there is little self-control that the Negroes possessed (Okpeh, 2011). Africa seemed to have been undermined and perhaps that is one of the reasons why colonisers felt it was necessary to colonise and 'introduce her to civilisation'. Scholars have noted that experiences of slave trade, colonialism and contemporary relations with Africa were informed by the following: that Africa is a dark continent that is in need of civilisation, enlightenment, and assistance (Mpofu, as cited in Gumede, 2015). Africa was thought to be a continent which was far behind in terms of development. Therefore, little or no input was expected from Africans on world issues such as literature, governance, and science. Tiyo Soga [the first missionary educated black man] said he condemned Europeans for exploiting Africa and that he wished they had not explored the land of the 'simple and inexperienced'. Ironically, this is even though he had left South Africa to be educated abroad (Nxasana, 2011). Although Soga was a converted to Christianity, he acknowledged the faults that Christianity came with.

Arguably, Westerners saw an opportunity in Africa that was not only about imposing their ways, but also taking away Africa's minerals and the Africans' moral teachings. The colonisers who perceived themselves as 'civilised' came to extort as much from the mineral rich Africa. They also introduced the unfair practice of cheap labour, for example, the Atlantic slave trade which was constructed around Christianity as well as hard labour (Bassil, 2005). The colonisers wanted to front that their main reasons for coming to Africa was to bring Christianity and teach locals the many different kinds of trades, meanwhile they had their minds set on permanently settling in Africa and entrenching their ways of living onto the African soil. They did not realise that the problems that Africa would have in the future are partly due to them trying to civilise Africa, as Bassil (2005) asserted that "the extent that the current problems in Africa are the results of the transformative effects of colonisation" (p. 28).

These effects have lasted for centuries after colonisation and long after African countries have become independent. Contrary to negative discourses about Africa, there is ample evidence that Africa was already interacting with other continents on an economic level as it is termed today. This interaction with other continents was even before the discovery of Latin America as the 'New World' in 1942 (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). This indicates that the colonisers were not necessarily the first ones to come to Africa with goods that were unknown to Africans. In retrospect, although Eurocentrism prides itself by exposing Africa to their ways which are productive and progressive to Africa, the introduction of foreign languages, cultures, dress sense and behaviours was to the detriment of authentic way of being for Africa. Therefore, the devastating ramifications of colonialism cannot be taken for granted (Gumede, 2015). The effects of colonisation and extortion are still felt generations later and possibly are the reason why Africa has 'progressed' at such a slow pace.

With the little civilisation that Africans were thought to possess, the west arguably may have seen it as an ideal continent to exploit with not much productivity going around. Unbeknown to the West, Africans were self-sufficient in food production and everything else they needed (Mazibuko, 2000). The West discourses have portrayed

Africa as a continent that was not self-sufficient before it came across the civilised west (Gumede, 2015). They pushed their ways into living onto the Africa soil and made Africans feel inferior in their own land. Therefore, the true African identity has been discarded and they have become foreigners in their own continent (Olurode, 2011).

The subsistence way of living was slowly replaced by a more aggressive commercial, capitalist, and urban-centred way of life. Families were able to sustain themselves through farming as they were able to barter with their neighbours and with women in charge of crop growing (Rankoana, 2016). Abeka, Anwer, Huamaní, Bhatt, Bii, Muasya and Soría, (2012) found that women subsistence farmers, through their indigenous knowledge systems, were able to cope with and mitigate the harsh environmental conditions that impact negatively on subsistence food production (Rankoana, 2016). Ensuring food security was done by women; it was the woman who 'bought the beacon to the family'.

The arrival of Europeans forced some Africans to alter their traditional ways of living. This was done by appropriating Africans' land, introducing commercial farming and capitalism (which was anti-subsistence farming). Consequently, Africans were pushed to the periphery and became dependent on them for labour instead of their subsistence farming as they no longer could farm on the smaller land given to them (Mazibuko, 2000). The knowledge of farming, traditions and culture that was passed down through generations, it can be argued, was lost as Africans. In addition, Africans had limited resources that made transitioning from subsistence farming to commercial farming very challenging. However, there were some Africans who preferred the western lifestyle of living (Olurode, 2011). As postulated by Diop (1988), Africans could easily adjust to the manners of the British aristocracy because in the past they also perceived themselves as people of superior living. Subsistence farming subsided as women's labour time became threatened. Consequently, children became malnourished due to the decreased planting of crops like maize, beans, millets, and other vegetable crops that were produced for subsistence consumption (Olurode, 2011). With the limitation of the food resources, this enforces parents to rely on other parties to sustain themselves (employment, government, and family members).

The adage, 'it takes a village to raise a child' lived true to its words. Communities lived without segregation in the homesteads, almost as if there were no gates to separate one household from the next. It can be also noted that in precolonial times, women had no control on the number of children they had (Mazibuko, 2000) so childbearing may not have been a choice in some cases which meant the rearing could have been a big role in their daily activities. Women were also mostly home based, meaning there were better exposed to the development of the children and arguably formed better connections with their children. Families were not separated by employment conditions by needing to work away from the homesteads in order to provide for their families (Makusha, 2013). Women were the farmers and the family providers, and the community raised each other's children in that sense.

2.4. African women leaders

The discussion in this section will demonstrate how single mothers provide leadership in their own homes, like their "foremothers" who have portrayed great leadership skills in their own rights. The African continent has had Queens that have played significant roles in the fortification of their people, alongside male counterparts or at times by themselves. This is the case in South Africa, which is replete with female dynasties, regents and rulers who held leadership roles through nation-building periods and wars of resistance (Shamase, 2014). Some examples of dual leadership is from the Eswatini kingdom, where the king's mother shares power with her son, the Lunda kingdom, where the king shares his power with his kinswoman who is then regarded as the mother of the kingdom (Matshidze, 2013). These examples show the significance of mothers in these nations and the important roles they in collaboration with the king. Pivotal roles in Africa also included women in the Bamileke of Cameroon, the chief's mother wears masculine attire equivalent to the chief, she controls the agricultural aspect of the community, and the female relative of the king has jurisdiction over women amongst the Chamba of Benue in northern Nigeria (Matshidze, 2013). It is evident that women of Africa played pivotal roles in their communities in as much as men did. These women oversaw ensuring that the community had enough food. Without their input, their communities would arguably have suffered immensely. The western influence in Africa reduced their roles to one of inferiority because within patriarchal societies of the west, women are

inferior (Zondi, 2006). This was not the case for African women as they portrayed leadership roles.

Three South African women that played different roles but who may have changed the course of history are Modjadji Lovedu, the Rain Queen of the Balobedu tribe, Makhadzi of the Vhenda tribe and Mkabayi kaJama of the amaZulu people. Their significance will be discussed below. Other examples of influential Queens include the Asante Queen Mothers of Ghana and Hosi N'wamita of the VhaTsonga people of Limpopo (Ndikhokele, Masenya & Mtshiselwa, 2016).

Mkabayi was King Shaka's paternal aunt, who from birth went against all odds. She was a twin whose life was spared by her father King Jama [by tradition, only one twin could survive]. Having twins was taboo in the African context (Masenya, 2014), "her compassionate father, inkosi (potentate) Jama, acted contra bonos mores [against the morals of Zulu society] when he refused to kill her" (Shamase, 2014, p.16). She became the regent for her young brother Senzangakhona [Shaka's father] who at the time was too young to rule. Her position as a regent demonstrated how much power she was wielded. She was able to convince members of the royal family that she [the twin that was not supposed to survive] deserves to lead the nation in place of her younger brother.

She defied tradition by leading the amaZulu nation as a woman, contributed enormously to the Zulu history and took over what was thought to only belong to men, leadership (Zondi, 2006). Although her methods were sometimes questioned due to her gender, no one can deny her influences on the Zulu nation. She was a politically powerful figure in the kingdom, particularly considering that she was able to lay down the law for men who were possibly older, wiser, and powerful than herself (Wright, 2011). Mkabayi was referred to as 'Baba' which indicated her high standing amongst the amaZulu nation. She was regarded as a prince and was held in high regard by some of her nephews who also became powerful rulers (Shamase, 2014). She in a way was a father figure to her nephews from the beginning.

Mkabayi did not fit some of the stereotypical characteristics of a woman, those of nurturing and caring. Shamase (2014) argues that for that reason, she was criticised for her male domineering leadership style, but she survived a cut-throat environment. Even though her leadership skills were greatly questioned, she was revered for the role she played to the Zulu nation. She was also described as a power-hungry woman who was full of tricks [including her role in Shaka's assassination] (Zondi, 2006). Her characteristics that were typically not associated as those of being a female, such as warmth, softness, kindness, and submissiveness could have possibly made potential suiters not approach and convince her into a relationship.

Mkabayi chose not to conform to cultural norms; she never married and did not have children as she possibly did not want to submit to the authority of a man (Zondi, 2006). Single mothers often become head of the household thus also playing the role of the absent father. As a result, they became more respected for playing both roles and may be even thought to be 'ubaba' as well to their own children like how Mkabayi was thought to be 'ubaba'.

Mkabayi kaJama was not the only powerful woman who was to be a 'father-figure'. There was another powerful woman, Queen Modjadji, the Rain Queen who belongs to the Balobedu tribe who is believed to have magical powers that bring forth rain (Mulaudzi, 2013). Her ability to bring rain is valuable as it assists with farming activities. This makes her have an important role in the community as the rains help with farming activities. With the provision of the rain, she becomes a great influence on the Balobedu tribe. She can have children by delegating one of her male relatives to procreate with the women she marries. However, these males cannot claim the children as they belong to Queen Modjadji (Mulaudzi, 2013). In a way, she could be seen as a man because she has these 'male privileges', such as marrying many women and fathering a lot of children which is what some men socially do and are allowed to do culturally.

She is able to marry women to increase wealth, she has the same power as lineage as men (Matshidze, 2013). In the past men who married a lot of women and procreated a lot of children were thought to be powerful and wealthy. The same arguably still applies today because a man who is unable to provide financially for his wives is advised not to practice polygamy. Modjadji being the rain queen has such a significant role because she is able to perform her ritual for the benefit of all women and the community at large which leads to the production of food for the community. Rankoana (2016) postulated that women were responsible for the production of food through subsistence farming. Therefore, providing for the family through agriculture was the responsibility of women; and women played a pivotal role in cultural practices with regards to food security norms that are passed down from one generation to the next (Rankoana, 2016). In the same way single mothers are responsible for ensuring food security for their children, not necessarily by doing the rain dance but by having a stable income to ensure that the children's basic needs are taken care of.

Like how Mkabayi led the men of the Zulu tribe while not possessing the characteristics of a 'woman', another powerful woman leader led her people and was also characterised as a ruthless woman. Queen Mantatisi led the Batlokwa, the so-called 'Wild Cat People' during battles, and as Becker (1968) observes, she was memorialised not only as "the most fascinating female African conqueror of all time", but also as a "ruthless conqueror, utterly callous to human suffering" (Rapoo, 2013, p. 8). She seemed to be cold and merciless which are not the typical qualities of a nurturing mother or qualities associated with a woman. She seemed to be like Mkabayi not only in the way she ruled but also in the sense that she became a regent for her son like Mkabayi who became a regent for her son Sikonyela, after her husband passed on and the son was too young to be king (Rapoo, 2013).

As evidenced above, African women were powerful individuals in society. They had an influence that was not restricted to gender specifics. Although not African, another example of powerful women could be found among the Indian Cherokee women who were tasked with male responsibilities such as making decisions about war, what to do with the captives, debating public policy decisions, speaking at men's council and deciding who to marry (Lugones, 2016). In other cultures, war engagement discussions and policy decisions were roles suitable for men. Choosing who to marry and when to marry is largely a decision that is initiated by men.

Women who are still seen as wise community contributors are found among the Vhevenda tribe of Limpopo. They are rightfully known as 'the Makhadzi'. Makhadzi is often called to defuse family disputes and she is there to protect the family's relationships (Matshidze & Nemutandani, 2016). The Makhadzi as the brother's sister is a woman who is held in very high esteem. She can mitigate family disputes

much as a man who is a chief in other cultures. Similar to Makhadzi, another chief's sister who is recognised as able to wield power to settle disputes is the Kalyota found in Uganda, in the kingdom of Bunyoro (Matshidze & Nemutandani, 2016). She is also respected for her wisdom in defusing any animosities within the community.

From the above discussion, these females displayed leadership styles that may have been thought to be unorthodox for females. Mkabayi and Queen Mantatisi became regents even though they were females, Rain Queen, Modjadji of Limpopo could have wives, Makhadzi and Kalyota are respected in society as they are able to mitigate and settle disputes. They had significant roles in their respective communities. Mkabayi for instance, played a prominent role in Shaka's ascendance to and removal from power (Zondi, 2006), while some, such as Queen Modjadji and Makhadzi are still playing pivotal roles in their communities to this very day (Mulaudzi, 2013).

Unfortunately, there is an inverse of the great accolades of the women above, in that there is a side of society that still believes that women cannot be brave and play pivotal roles in society, which points to how patriarchal society is, as seen from the following extract:

"Directly opposite to the heroic woman, the pathetic woman has, unlike the enlightened woman and heroic woman, defined herself in congruence with the essentialist gender roles of the oppressive patriarchal society, roles that attribute a biologically consistent set of behaviours to women and provide a convenient means by which patriarchal society can establish male power as natural at women's expense." (Bowman, 2014, p. 9)

Africans have become patriarchal, with some believing that women cannot lead. For example, in 2013 Minister of Basic Education Angie Motshekga suggested that South Africa was not ready for a female president. Her statement spoke volumes because it is testament to how society has failed to address patriarchy even at leadership levels (Ndikhokele, Masenya & Mtshiselwa, 2016). If leaders of a country hold such patriarchal views, it is astonishing what kind of message is sent out to

young aspiring female leaders of the country. There is a saying in Sepedi or Northern Sotho "Tša etwa ke ye tshadi pele, di wela ka leope", which literally translates as 'once they are led by a female one, that is, a cow, they will fall into a donga' (Ndikhokele, Masenya & Mtshiselwa, 2016). This is concerning especially after brave South African women of all races marched on the 9th of August 1956 for the liberation of all South Africans, irrespective of gender. Despite South Africa embracing the dawn of democracy in 1994, women are arguably still undermined. The 'new' South Africa does not believe in women who occupy position of power, as patriarchy continues to show itself in churches, institutions, political spheres, boardrooms and in our homes (Ndikhokele, Masenya & Mtshiselwa, 2016). Twentysix years into democracy South Africa still has not had its first female president.

If Queen Modjadji is constructed as a 'father' to all her children, as the biological fathers cannot claim any lineage to her children (Mulaudzi, 2013); if Makhadzi could be in charge of solving family disputes (Matshidze & Nemutandani, 2016); and Queen Mkabayi, the great role model to her nephews (who fought and won battles despite their harsh circumstances, ironically she had encouraged Shaka and his brothers [Singujana, Dingane and Mhlangana] to plot against one another (Golan, 1990)); then this shows that African female leaders could occupy powerful positions in society. This speaks magnitude as to what kinds of expectations are weighted on women. They need to accommodate other roles they play in society besides the one-off being a woman and thinking that is good enough. The discussion of powerful women above indicates that society then was willing to accommodate these women for the benefit of the nation and in order for it to continue to be a fortress, like iziGodlo, amaButho and iziGkila were women who had significant roles in the Zulu clan (Hanretta, 1998). It was when globalisation and civilisation became more important than staying true to what Africanism is about, that Africans lost their identities; this is as women were relatively active in pre-colonial politics (Olurode, 2011). Due to globalisation and civilisation, the roles of the Queens and Queen mothers have been downplayed by colonialists (Masenya, 2014). This is presumably the reason that there is not much female reorientation in the politics of the world. The discussion above has shown how important African women were and what roles they played in society. The effects of globalisation that was inflicted onto Africa, has left her with dire effects. The effects of biblical teachings, coupled with patriarchal

cultures which were imported from colonialists as well as the effects of apartheid regime has put women importance at the back (Ndikhokele, Masenya & Mtshiselwa, 2016). This is unfortunate as African ancestors lived in times which were free from outside infiltrations, and they seem to have thrived in such conditions as compared to the hardships that are faced by women in current times.

2.5. Effects of colonialism

Due to globalisation and the need to explore other continents, colonisers wanted to have a footprint in foreign countries by making them operate like their countries of origin. For instance, by introducing Christianity, European policies, and court systems, seen in how South African magistrates and judges use European regalia in courts (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). It is widely acknowledged that Africa was exploited because colonisers had something to gain from Africa as suggested by Bassil (2005) that "industrial revolution expanded Western Europe's appetite for raw materials and markets that Africa became more important to the European powers" (p. 31-32).

Europeans wanted to colonise black people as they believed they could civilise and provide liveable conditions for the latter to their satisfaction. It did not matter where they found these black people. Edward Long, who was the Jamaican historian, contended that "blacks were a brutish, ignorant, idle, crafty, treacherous, bloody, thievish, mistrustful and superstitious people" (Okpeh, 2011, p.107). This tendency of belittling black people was not limited to blacks from Africa. African policies were destroyed, her resources plundered, and her people exploited, dominated, and repressed. Many Africans (and their leaders) were converted to Christianity and given European names (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). This was done as the colonisers did not want to conform to the native way of living, but rather wanted the natives to conform to theirs. Replacing African names with 'Christian' names was the disguise in that the colonisers could not pronounce African names. This was one way that Africans lost their identity of the meaning of what these names signified and where their history came from. Religious teachings constructed Africans as inferior and that even their names were of satanic origin (Adeoti, 2016). The introduction of new foreign cultures could arguably be cited as one of the reasons some Africans began to slowly lose their own identity and started assimilating to foreign practices as Go

(2013) suggested that "the colonised are bestowed with an inferiority complex and thus compelled to disavow their traditional culture" (p. 53). Africans felt inferior in comparison to what the colonisers came with, it could be postulated that more so when they were being told that the African 'gods' [with a small 'g', to signify little importance] would not get Africans to heaven.

With colonisation came the issue of populations being divided in accordance with degrees of humanness (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). For black people this meant that they were seen as non-contributors to the modern societies and the reason why other cultures think that they supersede the black communities, and it is still the case currently. This is evinced in societal status and in how black people are still living in poverty even after colonisation was abolished. It still shows in black students in how they seemingly being the ones affected by school fees and the same graduates not able to find employment. Without adequate income for black people and specifically women, they are not able to provide for their children which puts more pressure on black men. In the South African context, it can be postulated that when the government is trying to expropriate land back to the black people, black people are seen as not able to learn the trades of the agricultural sector and therefore underserving of their ancestral land.

Colonisation has had an immense negative impact on how Africans see themselves and how they are viewed, that the damage is still prevalent to this day. More so, segregation, Christianity, slavery, and apartheid are a direct result of colonialism. Olurode (2011) argues that until Africa learns to forgo of the colonised mind-set, it will never move forward as it is still under the western influences of music, dress codes, food, and behaviour, hence the cultural disorientation. Most postcolonial African scholars implore Africans to move 'backwards' and understand how enthralling their customary and traditional practises were, in order to get to know 'who they are'. That way, all the negative teachings that came along with globalisation may be slowly eradicated. Tiyo Soga postulated that the same pen that represented Christianity and education would ultimately lead to liberation from colonial rule (Nxasana, 2011). In as much as education was good in training the mind, it should also be used to question and change the oppressive system brought by colonisation. These are policies and practices that were predominantly

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established to serve a purpose of oppressing the African people and make them look up to other nations.

2.5.1. Globalisation

Globalisation provides the opportunity for different people from different cultures to be able to interact with one another in a mutually beneficial manner for the progression of humanity. It has opened doors for free movement of capital, people, goods, and services; thus, creating overnight wealth for nations, be it monetary wise and otherwise (Selassie, 2011).

Globalisation can be seen in both a positive and a negative light in how it has affected society and women specifically in terms of patriarchal systems. It can be seen as the universal key to prosperity and peace, but it can also be seen as a disruptive force as Selassie (2011) put it as "exacerbating peoples' problems, causing environmental devastation, destroying native cultures, and widening the gap between rich and poor at the national level as well as globally" (p. 20). The widening gap for women who are oppressed racially, by gender and by social class is exaggerated, as the refusal to be lured by glamour and resistance to globalisation can arguably be said to have caused slow growth in these African women (Olurode, 2011). At times it may not even be their refusal, but rather the limitations that black women have had in accessing economic opportunities in comparison to their white counterparts. Consequently, this then causes black females to lag financially even though their mental capabilities are on par or even better than their counterparts. Globalisation is unpleasant when it takes away from the native riches, be it monetary or culturally. Globalisation should not be at the expense of the good that the nation has built on and needs to preserve for future generations. Unfortunately, in some instance's globalisation is altering gender relations as well as distancing people from their cultural resources within their societies (Olurode, 2011). If one is no longer exposed to their culture, but rather assimilated to the culture of the foreigners, the former may lose themselves in the foreign knowledge and possibly not grow with the wisdom of their own culture. As much as one may want to improve on one's way of life and become more developed, one must be careful not to disrupt the process of development that one allows the dominant powers to 'bomb' one back to the stoneage (Mkandawire, as cited in Gumede, 2015). Although globalisation may expose people to better working opportunities, it also influences brain-drainage where Africa

has lost out on its intellectuals who may have been trained locally. Some intellectuals who were trained abroad often do not come back to their home country and use whatever knowledge they may have gained in order to contribute to their home society. There is a far more damning consequence where globalisation results in ramifications of an impoverished Africa (Olurode, 2011). This is not only monetary improvement, but also culturally. Some feminists are still under the impression that globalisation has not helped the course of improving women's working conditions and wages even if they have high levels of education (Unterhalter, 1999). This is somewhat similar to single mothers, that despite having to move to other areas because of work opportunities and in spite of their work experience and levels of education; they are still marginalised, and those consequences have a negative financial effect for their children.

2.5.2. Acculturalisation

Culture and tradition should be allowed to transition and evolve naturally, without any outside forces. Black people continue to adopt lifestyles and traditions which do not belong to them while letting go of their own identities as Oyewumi (1997) states that "too many Africans display a lack of knowledge of African cultures, while revelling in their knowledge of European classics and dead languages" (p. 25). Africans let go of a life that was conducive to their own standards and adapted a more civilised lifestyle (Bassil, 2005). This they did by allowing themselves to be easily converted to the lifestyle of the colonisers, whereby some countries in Africa still use the coloniser's language as their main language in the workplace, schools and even homes. The pride of being able to speak one's mother tongue is no longer as important as it is used very minimally (Sridhar, 1994), the mannerism with which elders are addressed no longer shows respect and there has been an adoption of the new culture. The township school system is given a sub-standard infrastructure (Simkins, 1996) and township parents want to give their children better educational opportunities despite living in 'sub-standard environments' when it comes to available resources. The black children who are labelled 'coconut' (those who went to model C schools) are seen as betraying their roots by identifying more with white people in the way they speak, dress, and conduct themselves (West, 2010). The lost in identity crosses over to other cultural customs that Africans no longer follow due to the new teachings. Practices such cross-cousin marriages are no

longer seen as the norm (Mulaudzi, 2013). In African cultures, there is a communal family set-up (and communal mind set) where, for instance, a struggling mother could ask for sugar from her neighbour and not feel embarrassed or feel that they are imposing, where the neighbour could reprimand the child without any repercussions coming from the parents. The west brought with them the culture of a nuclear family set up, comprising of the mother, the father, and the children. This is their definition of a family. Whereas in African culture; the family includes extended family members such as aunts, cousins, and grandparents. No man is an island, and the children are in fact raised by the community in which they reside in. If the above were the norm, then fewer single parented children would feel the effects of being raised from within their communities. Mothers would not feel ashamed to ask for sugar or transport money from the neighbours as it would not be frowned upon. Troublesome children would not cause a lot of stress for single mothers as the latter would be fine with someone else reprimanding their children.

With acculturation also comes the adaptation of other cultures and practices, one of them being Christianity. Christianity and colonisation go together because the road that led to black people being colonised would be the same road that was used to bring Christianity to them (Maldonado-Torres, 2014). This colonisation may have limited the native's full potential of being independent individual and instead some had to rely on the 'support' of missionaries. Due to missionaries in support of boy-children being schooled, this impeded the women's ability to be also independent as some were also not employable due to restricted educational opportunities. With some black family living on these missionary homesteads, it could be postulated that they were forced to adopt the Christian way of life and therefore negatively impacted the black family structures. It could be argued that it is this very Christianity that is dominating in the South African religious domain and black families no longer following the traditional family structures and beliefs that kept black families rooted in who they are.

Christianity could arguably have been the biggest movement in not simply converting African believes and practices to Christianity, but also in 'converting Africans to Europeans'. The coloniser came to exploit Africa through Christianity and missionary education. As a result, some Africans then appeared to be helping to destroy traditional culture (Nxasana, 2011) rather than preserving it. Some Africans believed in Christianity instead of their ancestral beliefs, and as a result, some of the African cultures and traditions were slowly eroded and eventually dismissed. For instance, the practice of polygamy became rare with introduction of Christianity and family dynamics were changed when men became migrant labourers (Golan, 1990).

Missionaries were established in Africa in order to teach Africans about Christianity but unfortunately Africa unlearned their own believes of their 'gods' in place of God; for example, the objective of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (ABCFM) was not only to spread the gospel but teach natives to be industrious, help with their social conditions and also break their power of superstitions (van Jaarsveld, 2007). These 'superstitions' comprised of ancestral beliefs or consulting witch-doctors who communicate with the ancestors. By teaching Africans to be industrious, they slowly unlearned how to be farmers and hunters. This is the reason that in today's world, there are plenty Africans who have forsaken their gods in place of God, as the missionary's role was to bring development but unfortunately it was at the expense of black dignity (Nxasana, 2011). What assisted the missionaries in their quest is that they approached the gatekeepers of these communities; for instance, the Zulu King Dingane who gave them land and allowed the whites to interact with them (van Jaarsveld, 2007). This, the whites saw as God answering their prayers and that the land was given to them so they can do the work of God. At the same time, it was the beginning of the land being taken away to be commercialised and Africans having to struggle for land.

2.6. The historical contributions of female headed households and

the politics of fatherhood

2.6.1. Migrant labour system

The discovery of diamonds in 1867 set in motion the intense recruitment of migrant labourers from all over South Africa and neighbouring countries, by the year 1899, there were well over 100 000 migrant labours (Wilson, 1972).

The South African migrant labour system differed from the European and American systems, in the sense that the migrant labourers from the latter countries migrated with their families (Mazibuko, 2000). Although the migrant labour system played an important role in the economy of South Africa, it gravely affected family structures,

leaving many women without partners and ultimately, as single mothers. The black population, especially in rural areas were under pressure to improve their quality of life. Therefore, it was a common occurrence for men, to move around and look for better opportunities which would eventually be concentrated in the mines. South Africa was no exception with mine workers leaving their homesteads for the big cities. The migrant labour system was sometimes not seen in a positive light as Ramphele & Richter, as cited in Richter & Morrell (2006) states that "the migrant labour systems disrupted all aspects of family life" (p. 74). The father would, in most instances, not be around his family as much as he may have wanted to. This means that the Baby Boomers and Generation X would have been mostly affected by the migrant labour system. Baby Boomers are individuals born after the Second World War, between 1945 and 1964. Generation X are individuals born between 1965 and the early 1980s, (Zopiatis, Krambia-Kapardis & Varnavas, 2012). Absent fathers could arguably have created strained relationships with the children, and in turn, not having a relationship with their own fathers could have made their own relationships with their children foreign in terms of how to interact with them. South Africa's migrant system was intense in that men left their families behind for six months and up to two years at a time and these men lived in compound set-ups such as hostels (Mazibuko, 2000). The reason for compounding of these labourers was because Europeans wanted to have control over any diamond or gold smuggling, in addition, it was also a way to save on wages and food expenses on their part (Worden, Kee & Inkle, 1994). The same could be said for the South African hostels. Living in crowded spaces could have meant less opportunities to hide these minerals without getting caught and possibly less opportunities to run away.

The migrant labour system may have stripped the man of his pride and dignity as the provider of his family if he is not physically there to see to it that his family is fed and see if there is economic progress in his homestead. This may have led men to feel disempowerment by not being able to control what is happening back home because men were only permitted to go back home once a year (Makusha, 2013). These are some of the knock-on effects of the apartheid system. Fathers could no longer fend for their families because of this distance; thereby resulting in economic instability, marital disharmony (which sometimes led to the conception of illegitimate children) and mothers playing both parental roles (Booth, 1996). The system was designed to

maintain and normalise the culture of estrangement between a father and his children. Fast forward to democracy, the number of single mothers is still alarming considering the fact that some fathers are no longer forced to migrate away from families. Some are possibly absent voluntarily, although we can accept that some are absent involuntarily due to illnesses and death.

The lack of accountability by some fathers could be attributed to some of their own upbringing as children of migrant labourers who resented their fathers for being absent as Ramphele & Richter as cited in Richter & Morrell (2006) reiterated "the truth...about fathers, money, partnerships, the future...was hard to come by and many people lived with silent confusion and resentment at the behaviour of their parents" (p. 75). While on the other hand, some men who had absent fathers are making sure that they are primary providers for their children, unlike their fathers who were not available to them. In the same light, some fathers who themselves had present fathers sometimes turn out to be absent fathers. One can note that even with absent fathers, there are extended family members who are males that take over the responsibilities and so having a father who is a migrant labourer father did not mean total neglect nor social disconnectedness in those days (Makusha, 2013). Unique circumstances called for certain situations and family members had to adjust accordingly. As time went on, women had to join the economic sector to ensure financial security for their families. Consequently, the 'male breadwinner model' was challenged by the increase of women in paid employment (King, 2015).

The children were also deprived opportunities of emulating their fathers' intellectual capabilities but because the latter were 'absent', it then resulted in lower IQ scores (Dawn, 1994). This arguably had an effect on the employability of these children due to their school performance and this coupled with the apartheid laws, only pushed new black fathers to the mines and factories in order to sustain their families back home. It was a common occurrence for men to leave their wives and children and only come back on annual Christmas leave or when their contracts expired (Makusha, 2013). This caused more damage to the black community than is spoken about. The separation of families normalised estranged family set-ups. In most instances, the children saw their biological fathers once or twice a year, but the family continued with life as if this did not affect them negatively and this then may have negated the role of the biological father unintentionally. Some fathers did

not send money back home and were labelled irresponsible and may have had other new relationships and new children in the city; therefore, abandoning the other family (Makusha, 2013). This was in order to feel empowered by having these new close family relationships which was to be expected; they may have yearned to be part of their children's lives. Due to circumstances, it could not be so, they were then termed 'shadowy heads of homes' because they may have been symbolically important but had little significance in their children's lives (Makusha, 2013) due to their absence. This could have been an unfair judgment as in such instances, one should rather blame the system that governed society. The migrant labourer fathers did not have much of a choice when they could no longer find employment or sustain themselves in their own homesteads. The consequences of long-distance marriages were also obvious, as the conjugal bonds were weakened over the decades of migrant labour as well as the apartheid-era policies, which then resulted in families living apart (Moore & Govender, 2013). As a result of separate living arrangements disparate support networks were built; meaning that alternative reliable support had to be sourced in the form of parents and siblings in order to manage family life during this period (Bozzoli, Jones & Ramphele, as cited in Moore & Govender, 2013). Grandparents often ensured that their grandchildren were cared for with little money they could somehow sum up to assist the mothers.

The study by Banks (2002) in the Eastern Cape, confirmed the importance of the elderly pension in helping raise children whose fathers were away (Madhavan, Townsend & Garey, 2008). This could arguably explain why these children (who had absent fathers) held their grandparents in high regard, often referring to them as their parents.

The migrant labour system caused untold misery to the fabric of the black family, community, and society. This has had a generational effect on the black community, that having an absent father has somewhat become the norm. A man who was technically no longer the head of the family could have felt emasculated by the fact that he was no longer perceived as the provider or respected by his family. Some women had to come up with other strategies for to support their children by taking on new lovers (Ngwane, 2003). This then meant that the mother's role was heightened as she was financially 'independent' from her absent husband as her children became dependent on the new partner.

2.6.2. Apartheid

Apartheid laws and policies contributed more to the complex family and household structures among blacks (Anderson, 2003). It also integrated the black family structure, in particular that of fatherhood and women were made to carry their families alone. Black people were pushed to live on the out-skirts of towns with little or no employment opportunities, resulting in them having to commute to the cities or towns for employment; therefore, this economic employment instability in Southern Africa resulted in fluid living arrangements (Madhavan, Townsend & Garey, 2008). Apartheid has had such an effect on South Africans that they are still able to taste the bitterness of its catastrophe on their taste buds. The marginalisation and dispossession of African groups through colonisation and apartheid was done in a ruthless manner by the white minority group (Ndahinda, 2011). Colonisers came to rule over and steal Africa's mineral resources while apartheid policies allowed (and legalised) the whites to separate the land according to class. Colonisation and apartheid show the domineering characteristics the whites possessed over the natives on the macro and micro levels. Colonisation is linked to the South Africa's apartheid regime in that it was the foreign 'white person' who saw himself as the superior human as Masenya (2014) postulated that:

"in apartheid South Africa, normative humanity was a male white person. Within the carefully racially–segregated South African context, African– descended people came to be regarded as the least human compared to White, Indian, and Coloured people. The legacies of such problematic definitions of humanity continue to impact on us even to this day" (p. 494).

Africa was made to believe that her ways of life were of inferior by denying or belittling the African culture and the status of Africans was put into question (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Apartheid made South Africans feel unwelcomed in their own land by imposing the different Acts on them. The white person believed that the 'negro' was naturally inferior to the white and that there was never a civilized nation other than the white person (Okpeh, 2011). Apartheid segregation by colour could possibly have been based on skin pigmentation because the African skin is of a darker shade than what is 'desired' and deemed to be 'civilised' by the West, the whiter shade. Adopting the western ways of being made some Africans to perceive themselves as better people while living on their own African soil as Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) postulates that it was done by downgrading the black stature in world affairs and what Africans contributed to "human civilisation, progress and development" (p.16) while Bassil (2005) suggests that Europeans constructed inferiority complex into Africans which Europeans have benefited from. This is the reason why in Africa you still find people who have disowned their indigenous beliefs in place of what has been deemed as the better way of living.

2.6.3. Male representation in families

Father absenteeism has two meanings. The first meaning refers to absence caused by factors such as "situations of divorce, domestic instability, social dislocations, including wars" (Richter & Morrell, 2006, p. 18). The second meaning refers to emotional absence. Fatherhood goes beyond mere physical presence because "a father might well be present, but emotionally absent, or physically absent but emotionally supportive" (Mavungu, 2013, p. 68). It is the second definition of father absenteeism that hurts the children the most.

Fatherhood is socially constructed, and fatherhood and fatherlessness are conceptualised differently (Eddy Martinez & Burraston, as cited in Zulu, 2017). It is also difficult for researchers that discuss topics that relate to fatherhood and to distinguish between fathers and fatherhood (Richter & Morrell, 2006). Some researchers propose that having a father figure is more than enough rather than having a man who is not representative of a father figure at all, as social fathers [uncles, grandparents, and stepfathers] are not distinguishable from biological fathers (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010). These non-biological fathers can take care of children as it would be, if their own fathers were responsible.

In the African context, keeping the father's surname is important to the child as it is believed that it is a way for him/her to connect with the ancestors [izinyanya] who are believed to bring success, good fortune, prosperity, and protection (Zulu, 2017). In South Africa, it needs to be considered that even if the biological father is present, men such as the uncles may also play an equally important role. When biological fathers do not avail themselves in times of need, men such as uncles and grandfathers then step in to assist (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010). An example is

when children are about to embark on the journey to marriage which involves important procedures; this is when father-figures and not biological fathers are vitally important as there is an emphasis that getting respect as a 'father' does not only have to do with procreation as much as it has to do with main 'fatherhood' role and activities (Makusha, 2013). It would then be controversial if male representatives were absent for such events, and it should not happen that male roles are conducted by females and vice versa. Each gender is required to play their respective part. Not being a part of these marriage processes and procedures [umsebenzi] is thought to have negative connotations because these gatherings are believed to bring blessings from the ancestors (Zulu, 2017). This is when one often finds fathers who were absent in their daughter's lives suddenly wanting to play an important part in the rituals leading up to important events such umemulo, umembeso [traditional twenty-first and traditional wedding procedures], and their wedding day. This does not imply that only fathers are absent from their daughter's lives, mothers can also be absent from their daughters lives during such monumental events, although their importance is not emphasised.

According to African custom, it is believed that absent fathers may inadvertently cause their children to encounter misfortunes if they do not perform important rituals for them (Eddy, Martinez, Burraston & Mkhize, as cited in Zulu, 2017). In general, society is biased and favours males more than females. In addition, society has high expectations about men, that they should be providers, be superior and stronger than females (Zulu, 2017). As discussed, earlier, boy children are given preference, the missionary schools culture favoured boys, men have more representation in boardrooms. These scenarios show how men are allowed to exercise authority over women. Within the patriarchal biblical culture, boys seem to be more esteemed than girls (Masenya, 2014). This gender disparity is also pronounced in the bible. For instance, 1 Timothy 2, verse 11-14, instructs thus "A woman should learn in quietness and full submission. I do not permit a woman to teach or to assume authority over a man; she must be quiet." It would seem that 'God' made women to be subordinate and serve men (Eagleton, 1991). This could possibly be the root cause of men thinking that they are superior to females. In spite of the fact that some males contribute financially or that they are viewed as the 'heads of the family', children are not necessarily better off in those home settings as some men's

financial priority do not always involve their children's well-being (Kennedy & Peters, as cited in Richter & Morrell, 2006).

According to Frazer & Frazer (1993), Black fathers have been described as ineffective, contribute negatively, and have poor parenting skills (Frazer & Frazer; McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi & Wilson, 2000; Moynihan, 1965, as cited in Ransaw, 2014). Television shows from the 90s such as the 'Bill Cosby Show' showcased a totally different perspective of how a black father interacted with his family, which was opposite to the norm (perhaps not the best illustration with regards to the recent allegations of him drugging and sexually assaulting women). For many years; with a few exceptions, "black fathers have been criticised for their absence and lack of economic contribution but have not been considered as part of the solution" (Misra, Caldwell, Young & Abelson, 2010, p. 100). It is enlightening to see other television programmes such 'My Wife and Kids, The Hughley's and The Fresh Prince of Belair' portraying black fathers in a positive light. Black fathers in these shows are constructed as successful, as providers and taking good care of their children. In addition, these men demonstrate love to their wives. This is enlightening to see, black men being showcased in a positive light as the opposite is said in Richter & Smith (as cited in Richter & Morrell, 2006), that "media reports frequently cast men as dangerous perpetrators of violence, oppressors of women and children, uninvolved in children's lives, externally focused and generally uncaring and unemotional" (p. 155). Therefore, a new paradigm shift of how black fathers were portrayed was refreshing, especially considering real-life examples such as the former president of the United States of America Barack Obama. He was often seen with his two daughters, and also understood the implications of absent fathers as Biblarz & Stacey (2010) captured his speech he made that "children without fathers" are five times more likely to live in poverty and commit crime, nine times more likely to drop out of schools and twenty times likely to end up in prison" (p. 3). In Obama's speech, a father could be interpreted as someone that is required to play a grounding role. Since black men have been viewed negatively through media, men like Barack Obama have shattered stereotypes that view fathers as un-involved and uncaring (Ransaw, 2014). Society looks forward to influential men also showing the better side of being fathers, especially black fathers.

South Africa faces a challenge in estimating the number of fathers in South Africa because some mothers do not know who the father/s of their child(ren) is (Madhavan Townsend & Garey, 2006) and some may know but the biological fathers do not acknowledge paternity (Makusha, 2013). Absent or non-active fathers are often physically and emotionally absent from the children (Eddy, Thomson-de Boor & Mphaka, 2013; Krohn & Bogan, 2001). Some of these men are capable of taking care of their children; but they are not interested in their children (Richter & Morrell, 2006). However, some factors also contribute to their absence. These include work arrangements, death and the presence of another father-figure who has replaced or supplemented the absent father (Mott, as cited in Makusha, 2013). It should also be noted that not all fathers leave out of choice (i.e., it could be work-related or death); therefore, they do not purposely neglect their children. There are also instances where fathers may go away in order to allow their children to grow up in a psychologically conducive environment, especially if their presence could cause harm to the children. For instance, men who are physically abusive or who abuse drugs. This is not to say that all absent fathers are bad fathers for neglecting their children, some fathers are very active in their children's upbringing and want to be just as hands on as the mothers. It is also vitally important though that fathers cement their relationship with their children. This bond could fortify future relationships, which could prevent any antagonistic feelings towards paternal families in the future. What is rather important is the quality of a relationship that a mother and a father share than the residential status (Makusha, Richter & Bhana, as cited in Makusha, 2013).

A father can have a meaningful relationship with his child without having to reside in the same household as the child. Even if it is not a live-in arrangement, physical presence is important, and it could include anytime that the father needs to be around for the child, and this is not necessary every day. Fatherhood needs to go beyond the materialistic provision. Although monetary maintenance of children makes a difference financially, according to Mavungu (2013) "economic fatherhood is recognition that material contribution is neither the full extent of fatherhood nor its most important manifestation" (p. 74). Healthy relationships amongst all parties (parents and children) should be maintained. The unfortunate situation that men find themselves in, is that South African law still defines fatherhood in terms of economic provision rather than care giving (Ntarangwi, 2012). Care giving often includes emotional and physical availability with the exclusion of the financial aspects.

Society has always portrayed fathers as more important than mothers in that without fathers, the children do not function optimally as Rosenberg & Wilcox (2006) point out that "a number of studies suggest that fathers who are involved, nurturing, and playful with their infants have children with higher IQs, as well as better linguistic and cognitive capacities" (p. 12). Fathers who are important to the children engage and show care towards them (Makusha, 2013). Research found that fathers spend a higher percentage of one-on-one quality time stimulating and engaging in playful activities with their infants and toddlers as do mothers (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006). Even though according to Adamsons & Buehler, as cited in Dufur, Howell, Downey, Ainsworth & Lapray (2010) "men are more likely to engage in play, it is less clear whether such parenting differences have long term detrimental effects on children" (p. 1092). Playing rough with dad teaches the child how to deal with aggressive impulses and helps control their emotions during physical contact; therefore, fathers are concerned with achievements while mothers stress nurturing, both of which are important for healthy development (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006). The emotional aspect of a present father is vital for the well-being of the child; finances and education are part and parcel of emotional benefits.

Study shows that father and son quality time enforce good values that the father teaches his son. Leisure time spent together is vital for the boy's developmental capabilities (King, 2015). What this postulate is that rough play for the boy child and even the girl child encourages obedience and competitive skills (Paquette, 2004). Anderson, Kaplan, Lam, & Lancaster (1999), posits that males provide substantial amounts of care and resources to their children and their absence can have detrimental effects on their psycho-social development of the child (Thupayagale-Tshweneagae, Mgutshini & Nkosi, 2012). These resources could include finances and lessons on how to interact socially.

Children whose fathers are nurturing and active in their lives tend to do better verbally, intellectually, and academically (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006). This could be the reason why fathers are seen to have important roles in their children's lives. School-age children whose fathers are involved, are likely to achieve higher results

(Nord & West, 2001). These findings are not surprising as parents are the first teachers and fathers are parents (Ransaw, 2014). "A USA study found that highly involved biological fathers had children who were 43 percent more likely than other children to earn mostly A's and 33 percent less likely than other children to repeat twelfth grade" (Rosenberg & Wilcox.p.12). The above study mentions biological fathers, one may wonder if there was a difference if those fathers had not been biological fathers, but rather good father-role models.

According to Lamb (1977), "boys start to show a clear preference for interaction with their fathers during the second year of life, whereas girls show no consistent preference for either parent" (Paquette, 2004, p. 201). It is in the very early years of development that young boys and girls need attention and affection from their fathers, just as they do with their mothers. Again, the bond between the father and his child is likely what prevents him from harming his own child/ren; it is the initial connection with the child that makes the father less likely to be a perpetuator of abuse. It is shown that fathers who feed and change diapers from an early age are significantly less likely to abuse their children (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006). Being an absent father from the beginning of the child's life has detrimental consequences.

The One Mass-Observation report of 1944 found that fathers are more likely than mothers to encourage their children to read, irrespective of their social class. Seventy-three percent were said to 'encourage' children's reading habit as opposed to 48 percent of mothers who did so (King, 2015). Boys who have engaged fathers had fewer behavioural problems during early school years and were socially more involved than children with less engaged fathers in preschool years (Howard, Lefever, Borkowski & Whitman, 2006). Whereas daughters with involved fathers are more likely to achieve higher academic results than those who do not (Leman & Sorensen, as cited in Ransaw, 2014). The importance of fathers therefore lies in decreased behavioural problems, increased social interactions and better academic results. Fathers need to be aware of the importance of spending time with their sons for them to develop optimally (King, 2015). However, the same developmental time spent with the son should be dedicated to the daughter so that they do not need to fill the void of absent fathers with unsavoury relationships with the opposite sex. In a nutshell, it is not all about paying for an education, but rather also the other

contributions that fathers make towards the education of their children are vitally important. That may be true, but it may be argued that without the father's involvement, the children are at a total disadvantage whereby they may not have father figures in their lives. It is to be noted that not all fathers have the good intention that they should for their children even though they may spend more time caring for their children as some may be physically and sexually abusive (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010). In other words, some fathers may have vested interests in their children with the wrong intentions, but some fathers have a genuine investment in their children and hence the importance of their presence. Fathers are important to both the boy and girl child, the absence of their guidance could have negative consequences on the emotional development and attitude towards other people (King, 2015). Despite the presumed (sic) importance of fathers in the lives of children, Ngobeni (2006) "cautions against what he calls the essentialisation of the father-the assumption that mother care is not good enough, and that children need fathers to adequately develop" (Richter & Morrell, 2006, p. 8). After all, 'father' comes from 'pater' which is a Latin word and means male parent, a person responsible for protecting, caring, and rearing of children (Makusha, 2013). Then rightfully so, this is the role that fathers should be playing in their children's lives and pushing them to be academically fit through play time. Education is vital in raising children who are to be future contributing members in the economy. Yes, there may be individuals who are contributing to the economy without a foundational or formal education, but these are in the minority when compared to those who have a formal education and are able to secure employment with their education.

Fathers with low income are the hardest hit. These fathers do care about their children but may not show their love financially or materialistically due to finances, poor communications skills with the mothers and even their own childhood experiences may prevent them from getting involved (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006). Men may feel that if they do not have anything to contribute, they should isolate themselves (Mavungu, 2013). In poverty context, many South African men feel that their identity, masculinity, self-esteem, and confidence is defined by the ability to financially provide for their families (Makusha, 2013; Richter & Chikovore, 2013). If or when he is unable to meet the [inhlawulo or lobola] requirements or he cannot provide financially for his child, that he denies paternity of that child or is denied

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having access to the child (Makusha, 2013). In the same breath, mothers who struggle financially in this country are capable of taking over both roles. It would then seem as though unemployment only affects fathers' ability to provide for their children (Mavungu, 2013). However, finances are not the only element required in raising emotionally, financially, and psychologically stable children. Yes, in the South African black community men are required to first prove that they are capable of taking up the role of being a father or husband, even with inhlawulo or ilobolo (sic) respectively by validating these relationships. Without such payments, the mother would probably usually wish to have a continuing relationship with the father of her child (Richter & Morrell, 2006), even if her family may not want her to do so. Fathering a child comes with financial responsibilities, meaning the father provides for the child materialistically (King, 2015) but it is also the responsibility of the mother to play her part as well. The same could be said for mothers, that they are also required to contribute more than emotionally, but also financially to the upbringing of their children. Unfortunately, not all fathers who portray themselves to be involved are actually fulfilling those duties, but some absent fathers do get emotionally and financially involved in their children's lives, even if it may be at a much later stage in life or even at a distance. The perception that the fathers' worth is in the financial support of his children is flawed.

Employed men in high income bracket are more likely to be living with their wives and children as compared to men who are unemployed or earn significantly less (Desmond & Desmond, as cited in Makusha, 2013). This is because financially, these men are able to pay lobola, marry and provide a shelter for their families. Many of these men find themselves in frustrating situations of not being able to accept the social roles of fathering and being providers for their families (Ntarangwi, 2012). Without the father and his financial contribution, it seems as though the children are prone to poverty, particularly in a female headed home (Letamo & Rakgoasi, 2000).

Men are financially better off than females due to their access to loans, mutual support, and influence in society (Richter, Desmond, Hosegood, Madhavan, Makiwane, Makusha et al., 2012). This may indirectly indicate that the father is a vital member of the family and without his financial contribution, the family is probably not able to survive. The same could be said if the roles were reversed. A mother's

financial contribution is just as important as the father's financial contribution. It could be that fathers are seen to be the more important parent because they are assumed to contribute more financially. This may be because society makes it seem as if it is the finances that raises a child. There are so many other factors which are as important as finances, such as physical presence and emotional support.

2.7. Motherhood

Mothers have been portrayed as the parent that seem to be more present than fathers as they are nurturing, they bathe, feed, and put their children to bed. These characteristics are all perceived to be nurturing in nature. Historically, it was taboo for a father to partake in such activities that are social constructs of motherhood. Households still indicate that primary child caregiving duties are still predominantly carried by women because men are too busy, they do not have time and are hardly at home to carry out caregiving tasks (Makusha, 2013). Mothers require the support from fathers in raising children to their best potential, but this does not necessarily mean that they cannot do parenting alone. It is often argued that many children who were brought up during or just after the wars by single parents lacked true discipline, but it was not the mothers' fault as it was not in their nature to be disciplinarians hence the presence of fathers was important (King, 2015). In the same way that mothers were not disciplinarians, they can also be guilty of being gatekeepers for their children and preventing fathers from seeing their children because they do not trust the fathers to provide quality care (Craig & Mullan, 2011). Therefore, fathers are seen as irresponsible and mothers as non-disciplinarians. Consequently, in some instances, mothers do not have the same liberty as men to just 'abandon' their children and walk away due to financial constraints especially as women of colour and their lived experiences as a result of restricted economic opportunities (Mendenhall, Bowman & Zhang, 2013). Being a black person already makes it hard to compete economically, but it is worse for black women because of oppression and patriarchy. Although a woman might be aware that she may be financially incapable of taking care of her family, she has no other option but to withstand the hardships of single parenting. This is then what arguably makes single motherhood parenting so much more than what it looks at face value. The mothers are able to raise their children despite limited economic opportunities, but fathers isolate themselves in

periods of hardship to avoid the shame of being seen as a non-provider. Single mothers have raised children who do exceptionally well academically, are healthy, are socially adaptable and are overall adept children, as East, Jackson & O'Brien (2006) postulates that there is a psychological benefit of paternal absence and that "some single mothers can demonstrate positive role modelling, adaptive coping mechanisms, personal strength, and financial independence which can inspire the young person without a father to seek high career outcomes, financial autonomy and responsibility" (Zulu, 2017, p. 11). It is arguably not only the fathers who are able to raise academically adept children, single mothers are also capable (Davidson, 1990).

Mothers are socially constructed to do the daily necessities such as clothing, changing nappies and feeding, while men engage more in child play that is perceived to have a positive effect on the children's development (Dufur, Howell, Downey, Ainsworth & Lapray, 2010). This perception becomes contradictory to the belief that since mothers spend a great deal of time with their infants, they leave an immense and lasting impression on their infants. Even if it was the mother that engaged in the child play as she is the single parent, it does not automatically conclude that the child is at a disadvantage because child play was facilitated by the mother. This could be interpreted to mean that women are less capable of rearing children with cognitive abilities like the fathers are able to (Rosenberg & Wilcox 2006). Also, with absent fathers, this could create tensions such as disciplinary issues for mothers, lack of self-motivation and family tensions in general (Booth, 1996).

Mothers are also capable of being perpetrators of neglect, emotional, financial, and even sexual abusers, as articulated by Rosenberg & Wilcox (2006) who postulated that "mothers are not more likely to be the perpetrator when it comes to sexual abuse; fathers are more likely to be reported for this crime" (p. 16). This could be because children 'spend' more time with their mothers. Therefore, mothers are thought to have a close bond and are more inclined to shield their children from harm and not be the perpetrators. Consequently, if mothers or female relatives sexually abuse children, it is not as widely reported as when fathers and uncles sexually abuse the children. The high unemployment rate in South Africa has an effect on how parents are unable to assume socio and cultural responsibilities (Mkhize, as cited in Makusha, 2013). This says a lot about single mothers who may also be financially incapable of taking care of their children's responsibilities, but 'man' up and assume the role of fathers. It then should also be acceptable that the mothers should run away from their responsibilities, as men typically do, often citing financial restrictions. One has to wonder if the same would apply to mothers who find themselves in similar frustrating situations, if they too do not take care of their children. Socially, women more readily receive assistance from family members, whereas a man may find it difficult or embarrassing to ask for assistance. This could also imply that mothers understand more about the importance of raising their children and therefore possibly do not feel embarrassed about receiving grant money from government. The financial constraints often lead to the inability for men to pay for lobola and provide economically and could therefore affect the fathers' involvement with their children (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010; Richter, 2010; Hosegood, McGrath & Moultrie, 2009). Yet, especially on this continent; you may find women raising their children despite dire situations that they find themselves in and all the while poor men may avoid criticism by keeping their distance from their children (Hunter, 2006). These economically enfranchised women stay with children despite the hardships. This would indicate that women are not afraid of the same criticism. They can face the hardships of life with their children as opposed to parenting from afar. It should be noted that this is not to compare between mothers and fathers, that since the mother may be the present parent, she is therefore better than the absent father. It is rather to amplify that the "quality of resources that the parents provide, rather than gender of the parent, which matters to children" (Amato & Rivera, 1999, p. 376). Time spent with children should be a better measure of quality resource than the amount of money contributed. It is a pity that presumably fathers who bring in more resources, have greater decision powers in the family (Mullins, 2011). The same could not be said for mothers who bring in more resources. They possibly are still not perceived as individuals who could make greater decisions in the family household. This is even though in the more modernised communities, more and more women have financial influence, but it does not necessarily transcend into the overall influence in the home.

Childhood (negative) experiences also plays an important role in how mothers react to circumstances where they find themselves being single parents. It becomes even a trickier situation when the mother had an absent father or had no father-figure at all. Girls who grew up in homes with absent fathers tend to internalise behaviours (Paquette, 2004) as a result of never getting the opportunity to speak about how their own father's absenteeism affected them emotionally. It is often postulated that fatherless females have anger problems, may be frustrated, distressed and are short tempered due to suppressed and unresolved negative feelings towards the absent fathers (Nduna & Sikweyiya, as cited in Zulu, 2017).

These females find it difficult to identify and form relationships with men as they never had someone to form those relationships with while growing up. When the similar situation occurs in their own immediate family, they relive their childhood experiences, except that this time it is their own child/ren who are growing up without a father. Their childhood experiences influence them into thinking that their partners and fathers of their children need to be better than their own fathers who were not present in their lives (Makusha, 2013). The inability to form relations becomes trickier in the sense that they may react in the same way their mothers did, or they could react in a manner that is both beneficial to the affected children as well as themselves as the mothers. The mother could still allow the father who does not contribute financially to be emotionally available to his children by seeing them on a regular basis because she may not want her children to be starved financially and emotionally.

2.8. 'Children raised by single-mothers'

About half of South African children have no daily contact with their fathers (Eddy, Thomson-de Boor & Mphaka, 2013). This is an alarming statistic, but one needs to remember that there are many attributes as to why children are raised by single mothers. This may because of divorce, mortality and many other reasons as mentioned in previous sub-sections. The research on children raised by single mothers was conducted on the basis that more stories need to be told by the children affected by it and to accumulate more data for any future research. It is important to acknowledge that fathers and mothers are biologically predisposed to specialise in different tasks, with the mother's adept at providing early childcare (Amato & Rivera, 1999). Society needs to be cognisant that women and men are different and therefore will parent differently. Mothers raise girls and boys equally, while fathers differentiate between the roles of boys and girls in how they treat them (Mott, 1994). Women are more focused on the daily necessities like clothing, changing nappies and feeding, while men engage more in child play (Dufur, Howell, Downey, Ainsworth & Lapray, 2010). Parents have their own defined roles to play. This does not mean that one is better than the other. Even if that were the case, it would be difficult to measure that, because children also behave differently with each parent.

The relationship between the child and his/her parents plays a role in how motivated these children are in achieving their goals; a positive relationships is more likely to push the child to work harder (Mussen, Conger, Kagan & Huston, 1990). Despite 'social progression' even in urban areas, some African societies still reflect gender-based social roles of parenting (Ntarangwi, 2012). This could mean that the girl child is assigned girl duties only and the boy child is also assigned male responsibilities. This could presumably mean that these children never learn that social roles of men and women can be interlinked and are interchangeable and that no gender-specific role is absolute.

A study revealed that the rate of maltreatment of children raised by single parents was almost as double in comparison to children raised by both parents (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006). Many factors could be attributed to the maltreatment. For instance, the child could be left at the hands of people who abuse them; or that the one parent is responsible for the abuse (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006). Some parents may take out their frustration of being single parents on their children. Research has shown that children who also grow with absentee fathers are at a risk of increased maladjustment and that co-parenting comes with added benefits such as emotional support and influence from both parents (Ntarangwi, 2013).

Almost universally, two-parent household with fathers' present are better than single mother household (Richter & Morrel, 2006). This does not necessarily refer to

cohabiting parents. Some men perform better if they are married to the mothers of their children (Makusha, 2013). There must be something about the legal and social norms associated with marriage that connects a father to his family; therefore, research consistently shows that married mother and father family set-up is a better environment for raising children (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006). Having said that according to Makusha (2013), "however, the benefits that children get from non-corresident biological father involvement have not been systematically evaluated" (p. 19). Even though there seems to be studies showing the negative impact of living with a single mother or even a father, it has not been systematically proven to be worse off than children living with both parents. Children who do not live with their fathers have a higher risk of physical and sexual abuse, including neglect, than those children who have live-in fathers (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006). Again, this indicates that the role of a father cannot be discounted.

In terms of father-absent homes, researchers needed to be specific in clarifying whether they refer to parents who were cohabiting, fathers who were legally married but separated, or fathers who were neither of the above. It almost seems as if the study is implying that when a father leaves his family, there is a hierarchy of 'better neglecting', if the neglecting came from breaking away from a marriage set-up. When a father becomes an absent father, either naturally or unnaturally, the above could imply that there are children who are less destitute depending on the original connection the father had with the family, that is, through marriage. The same could be said for mothers who leave their children with their fathers to raise. Children not raised by their own biological married parents are subject to increased risk of disadvantage and harm (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010). Evidently, the above seems to suggest that children raised within a marriage set-up are at less risk than children raised within a cohabiting or non-cohabiting set-up.

Presumably from the above ascertains, there is something about a marriage certificate that portrays children raised from a marriage set-up as different to those from a non-marriage commitment of parents' set-up. There are some couples who are traditionally married, but still feel the need to go to court or church for 'validation' of their marriage. The above research seems to imply that a marriage certificate makes all the difference with regards to the mother and father relationship, extending

it to the children, which is possibly unlikely. Being married does not necessarily mean that there is stability in the relationship that extends to the children. Even with cohabiting unions and birth of their children, this does not increase the stability their union (Manning, as cited in McClain, 2011).

Research has found common outcomes in the adolescents of the United States and South Africa, that the black adolescents would much rather delay marriage than their white counterparts (Moore, 2013). This could be attributed to the (negative) exposure in their family lives (black community), that influences black children to perceive 'black' marriages in a negative light and consequently, to delay it. Another reason postulated is that men delayed marriage until they father one or more children, sometimes by different women before they commit to marriage (Posel, Rudwick & Casale, 2011). Therefore, for them, delaying marriage has nothing to do with father absenteeism at all.

A national study found that "seven percent of children who had lived with one parent had never been sexually abused, compared to four percent of children who lived with both biological parents" (Rosenberg & Wilcox 2006, p. 39). This is irrespective of the parent's gender. Abuse does not only come in the form of physical abuse, but other forms of maltreatment also include the failure to provide food, clothing, health care, nurturing and education (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006). All these forms of maltreatment could contribute to children living in non-conducive conditions. Therefore, despite having a father in the household, children may not necessarily be much better off than children raised in single mother households.

Living arrangements are critical for many other aspects of the child's life. This may include health, socialisation, and household arrangements (Sibanda, 2011). An absent father is not more important for education than he is for other aspects of the child's life. The same would go for an absent mother; both parents need to play their role in the upbringing of their children. The emotional well-being may transcend to how children deal with relationships of the opposite gender. The children with absent fathers may present with an inferiority complex, feel less guarded and incomplete when they compare themselves to their counterparts who may have been raised by a married couple (Ntarangwi, 2013). Although Biblarz & Stacey (2010), posit that fatherless children are more likely to have behavioural problems, run away or become teenage parents themselves; Rosenberg & Wilcox (2006) argues that "children with good relationships with their fathers were less likely to experience depression, to exhibit disruptive behaviour, or to lie and were more likely to exhibit pro-social behaviour" (p. 14). This implies that a mere presence of a father does not guarantee good development, but rather, good sound relationships build the child's good character. On the basis of an ethnographic study in Botswana, Townsend concluded that "children are not necessarily disadvantaged by the absence of their fathers, but they are disadvantaged when they belong to a household without access to the social position, labour and financial support that is provided by men" (Townsend, as cited in Richter & Morrell, 2006, p. 55). Lack of financial and emotional support could harm children the most. There should not be obvious discrepancies between children raised by either supportive or absent fathers.

Absent fathers should rather focus on attributes such as emotional support if they are unable to be physically present for their children. Raising children is so much more than about financial support. Finances are important, but so is emotional presence. The fact that a child loses his/her father's affectionate guidance leads to far reaching consequences in his/her emotional development and his/her attitude towards other people (King, 2015). Children who have been raised by single mothers do not necessarily all react in the same manner. Since parenting styles differ, the same can be said that the children's cognitive disposition will differ.

It can be said that children raised without fathers may be seen as rebels and delinquents because there is no stern figure in the household that puts them in line. Coley (1998) and Paquette (2004) argue that to some degree, parental control by the father results in fewer behavioural difficulties at school and the child displays more pro-social behaviours towards peers. This is regardless of whether the father is biological or not. African studies on children living in female headed household show that "children do not necessarily face diminished welfare prospects, particularly those related to schooling and health when compared to children living in male headed

households or non-fostered children" (Serra, Shell-Duncan, Castle, Akresh, as cited in Sibanda, 2011, p. 480).

Research has found virtually no difference in problem solving behaviour, selfesteem, or relationship quality of the children of single mothers any more than single fathers (Dufur, Howell, Downey, Ainsworth & Lapray, 2010). This could imply that the education and health aspects of children raised by single mothers is not different from those children who have both parents present in their lives. Children need fathers who not only provide financial security, but more importantly, they need their fathers for emotional support and overall well-being as human beings. The way fathers play and interact with their children has an important impact on their emotional and social development (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006). In Thupayagale-Tshweneagae, Mgutshini & Nkosi (2012), it was clear from findings that there is a need for fathers to get more emotionally, socially, and financially involved with their children. Children are affected the most if their fathers feel ashamed to be part of their lives based on the fact that they are incapable of being providers, because the ability to provide is entrenched and is associated in the culture of being a good father (Hunter, 2006). The more contributing (or more important) parent does not necessarily need to be the mother or father either, but rather a parental figure that provides the child with a home that is conducive to the child's mental growth, physical growth, and physiological growth.

Other issues pertinent to single parenting and not necessarily single mother parenting, include the reality that middle-class families have high work demands. With more women moving into the professional jobs, not as many men have opted to become stay-at-home husbands and there has been a misappropriate shift in the roles. This has not resulted in more equitable distribution of household chores and time spent with the children (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). This has then necessitated the need to delegate household help to nannies who then take over the social and physical needs of the children, including assistance with their homework (Ntarangwi, 2012).

The relationship between children and single parents would seem to be different to those who have live-in parents or co-parenting parents. Single- parent families lack

the generational and hierarchical boundaries, which then leads to the child and parent having a peer relationship (Knock, as cited in Nixon, Greene & Hogan, 2012). The children raised by single mothers could arguably find themselves coming back home to an empty house if the mother has no help from family or she cannot hire help. The children are left to their own devices for long periods, and they could be susceptible to all sorts of danger. The child gets more involved in household chores and becomes a house partner rather than a child. In Nixon, Greene & Hogan, (2012) reports that "adolescents in divorced families were assigned more household tasks and expected to assume more responsibilities than those in non-divorced families", (p.143). Responsibilities could include taking care of younger siblings when the parent is not able to and to be responsible for household chores because the parent is unable to hire a domestic helper due to financial difficulties. The society seems to be unable to see how damaging the peer-peer relationship is and how it could have a negative effect on the psyche of the child. As parent-child relationship is disrupted, and parent's role is diminished, there are salient consequences on the children's family structure (Nixon, Greene & Hogan, 2012). This is true as these children become adults prematurely, which could cause detrimental developmental issues when they themselves become adults.

2.9. Conclusion

In this chapter, I elucidated how the unfairness of the social construction of women has affected women in terms of how society views them, particularly restricting their roles to homemakers and mothers. Such positioning of females is arguably advantageous to men because the latter feels superior to the former. Men could further their careers because women usually stayed at home. This was perpetuated by Christianity, apartheid, racism, and slavery. Women were also relegated to less significant roles, and this may be the reason why black women representation in leadership roles such as politics and management is not as prominent as well as black and white men as well as white women. All these obstacles attributed even further to the strides that women have made in their emotional and financial independence. The migrant labour system and the apartheid policies broke family bonds and forced black people to settle on the outskirts of towns where they had to survive with limited resources. Men had to leave their families in search of work opportunities that would help sustain their families. Due to the nature of their work, black men could only come back home once or twice a year. The children back home could not form bonds with their fathers and the wives were left to fulfil both mother and the father roles. This arguably created a norm of absent fathers in South African families.

The focus in this chapter was to argue that single mothers are able to raise children without any assistance from present father-figures. I also explored whether children need their own biological fathers or any father-figures in their lives in order to be successful members in society. What is important to learn from this chapter is that parental figures that are able to impart life-time values have the same impact as biological parents would.

Parents are able to co-parent if they have a healthy relationship and, in that way, the children have access to both parents. They do not feel unwanted by one of the parents; they are financially taken care of and both their parents are physically present. It is important to note that children who only have a social connection do not necessarily get less nurturing or material support than those who have residential connection (Madhavan, 2008). My intention with this chapter was to highlight that there is no clear distinction between children raised in a marriage set-up, in a co-habiting set-up and with those who were raised by the single mothers. By clear distinction, this refers to the outcomes that they have achieved in their adult lives. As evident from the above, there is not only one single profiling of children raised by single parents.

No matter whether the children are raised by single mothers, this does not have huge negative effects on these children as they are still able to perform well in all spheres of their lives, be it emotionally or academically. The children are able to become full economic participants in society and they do not let their backgrounds hinder their capabilities. No matter what the circumstances are, they can overcome their adversaries. Children need both parents to be present in their lives. However, being raised by one parent does not necessarily impede on the development of the child. All that the children need is a conducive home that will allow them to flourish into the best adults that they were destined to be.

CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL APPROACH

3.1 Introduction

Feminism is chosen as a theoretical approach because it amplifies the political, economic, and social rights of all women. Some of these women became single mothers and the liberations from feministic movements has made it more possible for them to take care of their children. I chose to focus on women because my conviction is that drastic social change is required on issues that affect women. If more women could do research on the plights of women, social change would come to fruition (Kiguwa, 2019). Women have arguably benefited much from all the feminist movements that have made it possible for them to become self-sustainable. They can now own properties, have good careers, be remunerated well and not be compelled to stay in toxic and abusive relationships. As a consequence, women are now able to survive economically and emotionally without feeling the need to depend on males.

In this chapter I discuss five different sections on how women, especially black women have been perceived and marginalised by patriarchal beliefs of society. I begin with the history of feminism by discussing the first wave feminism, the second wave feminism and the third wave feminism. I argue why the independence from men (and husbands) was a beginning of the emancipation of women from other oppressive institutions. Voting rights and rights to property ownership for women gave them a sense of full citizenship. The liberation of women freed them from unhappy marriages. The second wave feminism provided the space where women could fight for the rights to their bodies, specifically concerning their rights to reproduction, sexual liberation, and the right to reproduction choices such as the right to terminate a pregnancy. I further argue how sexuality rights affect all women, irrespective of their race, albeit on a different scale. The third wave feminism focused on some issues that the first and second waves of feminism could not reach a point of consensus on. The third wave of feminism particularly focused on marginalised women's issues such as the exploration and exploitation of sex work, pornography, and prostitution. These are further discussed below.

Second, radical feminism is discussed. In my discussion, I divide radical feminism into two groups, the 'radical feminists' who denounced patriarchy as they believed that it is a root cause of the exploitation of free sex trade, while the 'sex radical feminists' often support sex work as they are of the opinion that some women have no choice or very limited choice but to sell their bodies in order to economically survive. Third, I discuss the contribution of liberal feminism to the emancipation of women by drawing heavily on the sex industry literature. Contrary to radical feminism, liberal feminism attempts to rid of the stigma attached to being a sex worker and to decriminalise and legalise sex work.

Lastly, I discuss African feminism and how it is linked and shares ideologies like black feminism. In my discussion I show how African men feel that black women should be fighting with them against their common oppressors, not against them. I briefly discuss politics and the effects of apartheid and how some women do not believe women themselves could be leaders. Most importantly, I discuss the intersectionality of gender, race and class and how black women and African/black feminists are convinced that their battles are different from the white feminists.

3.2 History of feminism

The word 'woman' comes from femme and Moses (2012) traces the word 'feminism' to the 18th century Europe. Over the decades, feminism has evolved from first wave feminism to second wave and right up to third wave feminism, with variations in between. The suffragette movement focused more on the women's right to vote. Liberal feminism rejected the traditional sex roles and promoted equal employment and higher education opportunities, right up to the expansion of both, where multi-culturalism, right to equality and fair economic compensation became a focus of this branch of feminism (Dekel, 2011).

3.2.1. First wave feminism

The first wave feminism came about in the 19th and early 20th century. It was concerned with political and civil equality; and it was initially incited by violence and arson (Walters 2005). Over the years, it gradually turned to peaceful protests over the right for women to vote. This suffrage movement was mostly active in the United

States, United Kingdom and Canada. It succeeded to lobby for women to be allowed to vote and to have equal property rights. These rights also gave way for women to serve as jurors and to be recognised as tax paying citizens like men (Walters, 2005).

The recognition of these legal rights also led to the liberation of some married women in that the husbands no longer had that much control over them. The institution of marriage had its own disadvantages in that it was constructed in a way that made women dependent on men and it allowed unfair domestic treatment of women in their own households (Auchmuty, 2012). This was important because women became aware of the inequality in society and how this has always been skewed against them. The collective action by women opened doors for other pertinent issues that were oppressing women to be laid on the discussion table to be ironed out.

While women's suffrage, labour laws and workplace issues were the main point of contention for the first wave feminism (Bowman, 2014), some women had to contend with conflicting religious, traditional, and cultural 'laws' that seemed to put men on the pedestal, especially in the home environment. As long as men are still positioned as heads of households and decision makers, then the suffrage movement's mission and vision has not been fully attained, especially in black communities. According to religion, tradition and culture, women should not have as much power as men because they will be deemed to be independent from men; making men dispensable and since men will always use societal advantages to suit their own interest, they are not willing to let go of their power (Bahri, 2009). Although there is some liberation, women are still undermined politically, academically, and especially in their own homes. The authoritative and aggressive behaviour expected from boys to transcend to adulthood is "based on male entitlement to and expectation of respect and deference from girls" (Bhana, 2010, p. 14). Some boys are reluctant to give up on what has benefitted them for generations if it does not serve to be beneficial to them. The entitlement behaviour continues into adulthood, allowing these men to continue undermining women even after women have been liberated. Men do not want to give up their power and their sense of entitlement because it could be argued that it is the very same women who still give them this 'underserved' power. This entitlement is so intense that, for instance, in the run up to the United Kingdom 2010 General

Election, the Conservative Party (CP) constituted tax breaks for married couples in what they believed would encourage family stability (Auchmuty, 2012). This indicates how society is not forthcoming with the changes that first wave feminists had intended to bring about. This stance by the CP could be interpreted that women should get into marriages as this possibly would work to their benefits tax-wise. Even with the right to vote, it was assumed that the wife's interests were identical to the husband, consequently, rendering her choice of vote void. Therefore, full citizenship was indirectly still at the helm of men (Walters, 2005). Husbands are often assumed to have the political acumen more than wives because of their long-standing access to political views and exposure when compared to the wives. This sentiment could be translated to mean that women still do not have a full say in how they vote.

As a result of the first wave feminism advocacy many women became courageous in supporting their children and even have full custody without the need to stay in unhealthy relationships for the sake of receiving financial assistance from their husbands. It also became possible for some women to hold a high position at work, be able to vote. However, back at home they were told to maintain the submissive role as prescribed by religion, tradition, and culture. One could argue that the first wave movement failed in executing these rights of women although women could now vote and own property, presumably the men still had a final say in how women voted. It was probably a very difficult task for women to accumulate money for them to generate enough to be able to afford their own properties. What this means is that first wave women emancipation was good on 'paper' and legally, but probably not in reality. This is because it could have been immediately actioned due to the fact that women were not well educated at the time, could not secure good paying jobs and therefore did not have much collateral to negotiate for property. The first wave was not enough as it did not protect sexual rights of women and their right to decide on the number of times, they wanted to be pregnant. As a result, a need arose to further liberate women hence the 'formation' of the second wave.

3.2.2. Second wave feminism

The fact that women still felt the need to liberate themselves from other oppression meant and perhaps still means that women may never attain the level of equal treatment like men in society. The second wave which emerged around the 1960s and 1970s focused mainly on women's sexuality, reproductive rights (Bowman, 2014), economic inclusion of women and the re-evaluation of domesticated jobs that have a pivotal role in society (Dodge, 2016). The deeply entrenched patriarchal beliefs are still a contention that have not yet been fully overcome. Even though the second wave feminism began in the United States, then Europe, the women from these first world countries cannot position themselves as fully emancipated from the oppression of the 60s and 70s because the same battles are still being fought to this day (Schaal, 2016).

The slogan 'the personal is political' aims to address political and cultural inequalities which engage the effects on the psychosocial level and how that translates to the practical spaces of women (Kiguwa, 2019). This impacts on the personal lives of the women because issues such as career opportunities (besides being home makers) became an option for women. The inception of career opportunities for women brought to the fore another pertinent issue which required to be addressed, the equal wage payment. This was the beginning of liberal employment for women worldwide (Funk, 2013). At the labour history conference of 1970, the four demands by the Women's liberation Movement (WLM) included the "equal pay, equal education and job opportunities, free contraception and abortion on demand, and 24-hour childcare" (Wandor, as cited in Auchmuty, 2012, p. 81). It is interesting to note that these demands came from graduate women who happened to be wives but still felt that after obtaining their education and employment, still felt that they were not liberated enough. They could have been affluent wives but found it problematic that men were paid more than women. These women felt that they had the right to decide when to fall pregnant. They also wanted access to the contraceptive pill and the right to terminate pregnancy. It could be argued that women began to understand that their sexual rights and reproductive rights are important and that they should be in control of their bodies. Their choice to have an abortion should not be passed on as judgement by the religious and social structures.

The second wave feminism advocated for sexual freedom, and some women became free to experiment sexually as they no longer felt that chastity is a requirement for marriage especially since some women were no longer getting married very young (Auchmuty, 2012). During the second wave of feminism women became more liberated and keeping one life-time sexual partner no longer appealed to them much (Bowman, 2014). There was no longer the stigma of having more than one sexual partner (albeit religion expects that from women even today). Even with the choice in terms of reproduction, the National Health Service of 1961 only allowed for the provision of the pill to married women (Auchmuty, 2012). This provision discriminated against unmarried women and limited their sexual freedom because of fear of falling pregnant. The WLM was a forum that advocated for women issues and that would continue the work of the second wave feminists as marriage was still put on the pedestal because of its benefits (Coleman, 2009).

Funk (2013) argues that the second wave feminists did not worry so much about getting paid for care-work and gender hierarchy, but rather that equality should be practiced in the home environment. Women and men can have similar chores in the house in order to be exempted and not fall prey to societal stereotypes (Jackson, 2001) and this may give an opportunity for any gender not to be taken for granted as will be explained below in the French materialism feminism section. There should not be social division between men and women (Jackson, 2001), household chores should not only be the responsibility of girls and women, taking out the trash and garden maintenance should be unisex and not socialised to be done by males.

Women began resisting traditional gender roles and adopted roles that seemed challenging because society did not fully support women's liberation (Bowman, 2014). Women stood in unison against men and denounced the oppression. Through protests, they announced the "pricelessness" that they were worth; that they will no longer buy into traditional and cultural beliefs which only served to please the male species (Smith, 1979). In addition, they pronounced that they are capable to earn their status as equals to their counterparts and not to receive accolades purely based on their genitalia, like men. Women are often required to prove why they need to be recognised as they are often constructed as subordinate to men. A classic example is the fact that historically boys were given more opportunities to pursue their studies, until the university level, but during the 1950s and 1960s, the proportion of young women who entered university had trebled (Auchmuty, 2012). This indicated the willingness and capability of these girls who were previously academically disadvantaged that they are as capable to attain the same status as

the young men. At the same time, these women who were no longer under the watchful eyes of their communities could be freer hence they could experiment with their sexualities, which was possibly why they needed access to free reproductive health programmes.

Unfortunately, the 'freedom' came with the dangers of older men preying on these younger females who were arguably not yet financially independent and emotionally mature; men often manipulate young women financially and emotionally because they arguably could not come to terms with the liberation of the older women (Bowman, 2014). Through controlling the young women, these men sometimes feel empowered as the older women are seen to have taken some of their power away from them.

In her 1963 book 'The Feminine Mystique', Betty Friedan argues that even affluent housewives who portray happy lives are unfortunately also depressed because they are still restricted in their movement by their husbands (Walters, 2005). Child-care is often used as a tool to restrict women because it becomes difficult for them to focus on advancing their careers like men without any impediments. However, this statement does not imply that child-care and raising of children should be an absolute impediment on any sort of progression in one's life. The restriction of career advancement affected all women and therefore, that specific oppression knew no colour or class; the common denominator was for one to be a woman. Although these issues affected all women, point remained that black women were and are still more oppressed than their white counterparts. Education and affluency did not exempt them from this type of oppression.

One of the major concerns that the second wave feminism tried to address was the objectification of women's bodies and how much value is placed on the outward appearance of women (Schmidt, 2015, Walters, 2005). Smith (1978) acknowledges that "politics of sex as well as the politics of race and class are crucially interlocking factors in the works of Black women" (p. 21). Black women professionals had to contend with proving that they were good enough, even though they were assumed to be of a lower class. One therefore wonders whether there is equality within the feminism movement if the outward appearance gives certain 'beautiful' women advantage over others, and when certain opportunities are not as accessible to other

women based on their outward appearances. For instance, some modelling, front desk, and television jobs are reserved for 'beautiful' women, therefore, discriminating against 'normal looking' women.

Every organisational structure has its own internal issues and divisions. In the United States, the second wave focused on radicalism, in Britain, Marxist feminism was dominant, and in France, it was influenced by psychoanalytical discourse (Dekel, 2011). This had a great influence as society became more aware of the many possibilities of women emancipation from men, particularly, the independence of women who are stuck in non-conducive marriages for the sake of monetary benefits. The French second wave feminism was dominated by two discourses, materialism, that focused on the eradication of patriarchal domination and differentialism, which focused on the degree of inequality (Fougeyrollas-Schwebel, as cited in Schaal, 2016). French feminist Simone Beauvoir argues that a woman is seen as the 'Other' as she is denied full human rights; and by living under the shadow on the one who creates and invents, she is objected to such living standards (Walters, 2005). "Second wave is historical by definition, it is by no means past or over or completed" (Greenberg, 2013, p. 15).

One could argue that women have unfortunately not achieved freedom from radicalism, capitalism, materialism and differentialism, especially in South Africa where there is still a glass ceiling barrier and homophobic rapes. South Africa had one of the highest gender-based violence rate which costed the country almost R24 billion (KPMG and the Human and Social Sciences report, 2014). This implies that women have not yet attained their full citizenship, access to power and resources (Segalo, 2015). Some women are still plagued by the same issues of unattainable economic resources and sexual violence. This is especially worse for black women who also have to contend with gender, race, and class discrimination in this country. Studies show that black women have high levels of poverty because of limited access to economic opportunities (Dodge, 2016). In South Africa, perhaps an example would be the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (BBBEE). This initiative was conceived and implemented in order to encourage more employment opportunities for those who were marginalised by the apartheid regime, specifically black women, who were oppressed because of their gender and race. However, this is not the case, as black women are often side-lined.

Although the Women Liberation Movement fought for equal pay, women have not been fully emancipated. Success in education requires dedication and perseverance and is dependent on whether one lives in a conducive environment. A girl child who needs to either look after her younger siblings or her own child does not have the privilege afforded to a boy child who is not burdened by such responsibilities. In some contexts, women have access to free contraceptives and abortion facilities. However, they are often subjected to ill treatment and secondary victimisation from healthcare workers who are women. In terms of 24-hour childcare, a woman could possibly come across contentious issues such as the guilt of not being fully engaged in the nurturing of her baby/children, ridicule from older women who believe that it is the mother's duty to nurture her children. Yet fathers do not come under the same scrutiny.

Even with all the efforts and achievements of the second wave feminism, Black women have not been able to make strides as much as white females because they have not had the support of the movement as much as their white counterparts (Smith, 1979). This meant that another movement was needed in order to address the issues that pertain specifically to black women.

3.2.3. Third wave feminism

The third wave feminism came about because of the dissatisfaction and rejection of some of the first and second waves ideas and their positioning (Coleman, 2009). Initially, this movement comprised mostly of middle and upper classes women who focused on challenging failures of the two previous movements. They focused on female gender issues and the undoing of the past patriarchal wrong doings (Henry, 2014). The third wave feminists were committed to intersectional analysis of ethnic, gender, nationality and religion and the supremacy of the middle and upper classes within feminism (Henry, 2014; Valentine, 2007).

During the third wave of feminism, women who were previously not necessarily in the forefront of the other two waves, made more of an appearance. These were women of colour fighting white heterosexual dominance of the previous waves (Dodge, 2016). Women of colour and lesbian women also wanted to have their grievances heard and felt that they had the right to be treated just as fairly as their counterparts. It was for feminists from diverse backgrounds to collectivise and fight against issues that not only afflicted them directly, but also those of other women who have different problems (Coleman, 2009).

Protests such as SlutWalks were organised where women demonstrated against 'name calling' based to how they were dressed or "not appropriately dressed" (Carr, 2013). Clothing is not a marker of one's identity. Although a woman who is 'appropriately' dressed, according to societal standards, is often perceived as 'self-respecting', that could not be further from the truth. Unfortunately, women are still judged as either "good or bad" because of how they portray themselves through the dress code.

Some men even justify rape by stating that women subtly ask for it (rape) by how they dress. Seldom do women objectify men like the latter do. It is uncommon for a woman to rape a man and then blame it on how the man seduced her because of what he was wearing. Women have been putting men's sexual needs above their own and arguably respecting men's wishes if they do not want to engage. Some women have been having sex in order to please men and for purposes of procreation. Engaging in sex was (and still is) hardly for their own enjoyment and experimentation. However, the third wave feminism advocacy has conscientized women to negotiate who they want to have sex with, how to, and the frequency of indulging in sexual pleasure. Instead of being dictated on the number of sexual partners, where to engage in sex (because societal unwritten sex codes state that a dignified woman does not allow herself to have sex in unsightly places), more women are experimenting with their sexuality.

Pornography and prostitution were reconceptualised as 'sex work' (Dodge, 2016), which was a more appropriate label for some women who were doing the work in order to take care of their families. In some way, feminism problematised the stigma attached to sex work (Snyder-Hall, 2010). Unfortunately, it was women of colour who entered the sex industry in large numbers, and they were susceptible to abuse even by the law enforcement officers because of racism and their racial profiling (Beran, 2012).

The liberal construction of the sex industry came with the dangers of women exploitation as there was a thin line between what could be deemed as sexual freedom and sexual abuse by perpetrators (such as producers of pornographic content or 'pimps' out in the streets). In some communities, pornography and prostitution are still perceived as immoral. Women involved in pornography and prostitution are still ridiculed and disrespected. The society is unsympathetic to these women even though the latter are subjected to danger daily and the law enforcement agencies do nothing or little to protect them against human trafficking (Dodge, 2016). Sex workers who are often subjected to victimisation are reluctant to report incidents of sexual abuse to authorities because they are sometimes subjected to secondary victimisation. It is not surprising that in countries such as India, where women are considered as property, the statistics relating to the crimes of sexual abuse are amongst the highest (Carr, 2013). In instances where women are considered as property, men tend to sexually abuse the former knowing that there will not be dire legal consequences, such as the jail term.

One may argue that the third wave feminism movement succeeded in fixing the injustices of the past through incorporating the ideas of the first and second waves (Dekel, 2011). It also created a legacy where single career women are treated as worthy members of society. The move in the right direction was the abolition of joint tax for married couple (Auchmuty, 2012). The joint tax was an unfair advantage enjoyed by married men over single women and single mothers because of the tax breaks they received since their wives earned less, therefore resulting in reduced marginal taxes. Again, this goes to show how societal practices were skewed to favour men and discriminate against women because the latter were constructed to be powerless.

In the 1990s laws were amended to give parental rights to unmarried couples and to allow same sex marriages (Auchmuty, 2012). As mentioned earlier, the need to marry for young women decreased as there were not as many incentives in a marriage institution as before. All women regardless of their creed or sexual orientation have the right to live in a society that does not define for her what is right or wrong but allows freedom of expression in whatever way or form (Bowman, 2014). The aggressive sexual freedom and free expression (advocated by the third wave feminist movement) has exposed some women to the brutal world of human trafficking, (forced) prostitution and drug use. Young girls are being lured to the world of pornography and prostitution, and not much is done to perpetrators who share sex videos on social media without the participant's approval.

3.3. Radical feminism

Towards the end of the second wave, there emerged issues within the feminism movement whereby some women took a position to be pro-pornography and others anti-pornography (Bowman, 2014). It was not that these women were against prostitution, but their views differed in how these women in the sex industry were perceived and exploited because of the so-called free sex trade. This position was taken by the 'radical feminists' who were of the opinion that any type of sex work was exploitative and patriarchal. However, the position of 'sex radical feminists' is not similar to that taken by radical feminists because the former often supports the right of sex workers to perform erotic sex labour. This position is seen to be undermining the fight against the patriarchal system (Barton, 2002). What these feminists believed was that women do not necessarily choose to be prostitutes but rather that they are forced into it because of gender inequality and oppression (Beran, 2012). In other words, women have limited economic, educational and employment opportunities in comparison to men. Radical feminists are of the conviction that there needs to be a rethinking of how men are perceived to have supremacy over women (Walters, 2005). Changing laws and policies does not necessarily change the root of the issue. The radical feminists advocate for policies that would see the abolition of prostitution because their focus is not the immorality of prostitution, but rather the harm of the sex industry on women who engage in sex work (Dodge, 2016; Beran, 2012). In the past and probably to this day, there are cases where male partners would force themselves onto their female partners, but it was not labelled as rape because of the kind of intimate relationship the two parties have with one other. Radical feminists are of the opinion that it is women who should be roused up to fight this male dominance and ultimately transform the culture of prostitution (Beran, 2012).

Radical feminists also argue how religion has been used as an institute that reduces women power (Bowman, 2014). Being a leader of one's household (as a man) does not and should not automatically transcend to one being a leader in society. Radical feminism challenges and asks uncomfortable questions about traditional and cultural beliefs. Some religious and cultural beliefs are so entrenched that the same women defend female circumcision and believe the western world is posing a threat to their tradition (Bahri, 2009) even if it does not make sense to the very same women who practice those traditions. These traditions do not benefit them, but rather give men sexual power over them. A woman who is emancipated will arguably not accept mutilation, in the name of tradition, she will also not accept that she is inferior to a man because of societal culture (Bowman, 2014).

3.4. Liberal feminism

In the context of the sex industry, liberal feminists are of the view that the main roleplayers (sex workers and their clients) should not be stigmatised so that both parties could engage in sex-for-money exchange without the fear of being arrested. One of the best ways to deal with the stigma is to advocate for the legalisation of sex work. The legitimation and legalisation of the profession would deter the spread of diseases because prostitutes are less likely to transmit HIV/AIDS (Beran, 2012). This advocacy is imperative as women are still marginalised economically and for some, sex work is their only way to be economically enfranchised. Liberal feminists often argue that there was "nothing wrong with prostitution that was not wrong with other forms of work" (Beran, 2012, p. 30). It was important for prostitution to be constructed and seen like any other profession so that single women who did not have the financial support could also provide for their families. Liberal feminists also state that by decriminalising sex work, the sex industry would become safer and more sexual assaults would be reported to the law enforcement agencies, thereby making it an option for financially destitute women.

Another issue that most women had to contend with, was the limited access to education as it was thought that educating them was a waste because there was an assumption that they would not pursue their careers further once they got married (Auchmuty, 2012). This was an unfair presumption because to be a stay-at-home mother was not necessarily a choice. It was socially constructed and thought to be the honourable thing to do as a mother. Liberal feminists often challenge stereotypes that construct women as inferior such as the notion that women are less intelligent than men. It should be emphasized that a girl's academic life was not given preference as compared to a boy's academic life. This practice stifled women progression both academically and economically and is arguably one of the reasons why some women feel that they should get married. Therefore, some stay in unhealthy marriages because of financial dependence.

All the while women have understood that the patriarchal system is entangled with culture and societal norms, one of them being marriage. However, some women tend to lose themselves by choosing to remain in monogamous marriages that enslave them into patriarchal 'rules' that only serve to please the husbands (Bowman, 2014). All the while some married men have extra-marital affairs, or some men want to advocate for polygamous marriages but are not keen on women having more than one partner. Liberal feminists believe that women who choose to remain in heterosexual marriages are enablers of patriarchy because they opt to follow laws and policies that only aim to make males seem superior (Bowman, 2014). Unlike married women, some prostitutes opt for prostitution because they enjoy the liberation that comes with having more than one sexual partner, but it should also be emphasized that the sex industry also includes socially and economically vulnerable women who may have been sexually abused (Beran, 2012). Historically, some women became anti-marriage and over the decades, more women have explicitly stated that they want to own their sexuality (Bowman, 2014). As more women become less interested and attracted to marriage, it is not surprising that women are increasingly becoming career driven with the aspirations of gaining economic independence.

3.5. Black feminism and African feminism

Black womanism is a philosophy that celebrates Black roots and the ideals of Black life while giving a balanced presentation of Black womandom (Kolawole, 2002). Black womandom implies that culturally, black women are cut from the same cloth because they suffer from common struggles. We have been raised to believe women can do everything (Henry, 2014) but that is not true because women are humans before becoming mothers and wives. Therefore, they deserve to be respected and recognised.

Over the years there has been a debate on whether feminism caters for Africans or not. In some circles, feminism is rejected because it is perceived as a western ideology that was imported to ruin the African family structure (Kolawole, 2002). In the same breath, it could be postulated that the black African women were surviving under what the West would term horrendous (or what some white women would term 'non-civilisation') living conditions and that could be the reason why some black women are reluctant to accept feminism for what it is. Feminism is sometimes seen as foreign in African societal settings rather than adaptable to African cultural practices, which may contain patriarchal similarities to the west (Kolawole, 2002).

It would be presumptuous for western feminists to claim that they are aware of the problems faced by women outside the west; or even know how these problems could be solved (Jaggar, 1998). This is because they are 'not living' with the problems faced by black women in general as aptly put by Jaggar (1998) who claims that "it does not manifest genuine cultural respect to assume without question that non-Western women are content with lives that Western women would find constraining, exhausting, or degrading" (p. 21). Therefore, both western and non-western feminists cannot claim that they come from the same background when one finds certain aspects of the other living environment as substandard. One is tempted to ask whether patriarchy existed in Africa before the foreigners invaded it as we cannot claim with absolute certainty that it never existed? Interestingly, some African men believe that patriarchy was imported from the west to create a divisive gap between men and women of Africa (Kolawole, 2002). These African men feel intimidated when realising that some of their indigenous practices constitute patriarchal tendencies. This (painful) realisation often makes them retaliate against women, instead of fighting in unison against other issue such as racism, segregation, and economic oppression.

The history that was 'rewritten' by white historians tends to ignore the political role of Zulu women, and rather focuses on traditions that may be viewed as patriarchal, which in turn suited their patriarchal lifestyle (Golan, 1990). Africans have traditional

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customs which could easily be interpreted as patriarchal (particularly by the west), such as the authoritative demeanour of men over women. African women are not perceived as possessing the capacity to lead men (Masenya, 2014). Some African women do not believe in their own capabilities. Many rural women picked up the burdens of rural production and were left to raise the children on their own because husbands were migrant workers (Manicom, 1992). They had to find other means to sustain their families because of apartheid laws. In a way, women may have felt suppressed by the lack of freedom to move around or have leadership roles like men. In some of our patriarchal African cultures, it is said women cannot lead.

The Sepedi or Northern Sotho proverb Tša etwa ke ye tshadi pele, di wela ka leope, literally translates as 'once they are led by a female one, that is, a cow, they will fall into a donga', is a case in point (Ndikhokele, Masenya & Mtshiselwa, 2016)

The misconception that women are incapable of leading implies that women do not know what they are doing or do not have the necessary skills to be leaders. Men may not necessarily be the ones who harbour this patriarchal sentiment, it may seem that women do not support one another as well. Women leaders do not believe in women empowerment. As stated in the previous chapter, an example is a statement made by Angie Motshekga (South African minister of Basic Education) that the country was not ready for a female president. This was as recent as 2013 (Masenya, 2014). The African National Congress Women's League [ANCWL] whose mandate includes fighting for or against issues afflicting women and children is not as forthcoming in addressing patriarchal issues that oppress women (Segalo, 2015). All this is happening well into the democratic era in South Africa. It then stands that the psychological impact of the apartheid has lingered on, way past the new dawn. Women power does and should not only lie in political acumen, but more so in social development, which will in turn contribute greatly to gender relations (Martin, 1960). This means that if women put more effort on social

development, more women will be empowered not only politically but socially, academically, and economically.

Grabowska (2012) is of the opinion that "we need to move away from Western feminist frames and to re-establish the local genealogies" (p. 392). Bahri (2009) also adds that if more attention is focused on race and ethnicity, the collective spirit of feminism loses its meaning. When one looks at the core ideology of feminism, which is fighting for women liberation, one should be cognisant that black and white women may be fighting from different stances. White women feminists are oblivious to complex and multiple oppressions faced by women of colour (Herr, 2014). It is difficult to speak with absolute conviction if one does not completely comprehend what other women are going through, let alone if that woman is of a different race.

Smith (1978) argues that "any discussion of Afro American writers can rightfully begin with the fact that most of the time we have been in this country we have been categorically denied not only literacy but the most minimalist possibility of a decent human life" (p. 20). This indicates that the black writers in this instance would therefore be fighting a different kind of battle when compared to their white fellow feminist sisters. Smith (1978) also postulates that "as black lesbians we must be out not only in white society but in the black community as well, which is at least as homophobic" (p. 26). Black lesbians still had to contend with the fact that in the black community, lesbianism was still seen as taboo, while in the white community, it may have been somewhat accepted. This somehow indicates that the black sisters were a step behind, therefore it cannot be claimed that they were standing on the same battle line fighting for the same issues.

In the workplace context, women are seen as suitable for occupations that require the so-called soft skills, which arguably do not stimulate but rather mentally enslave women, especially black women (Olurode, 2011). This is a result of economic and social restrictions of slavery and racism (Smith, 1979) which negatively affects black women. South Africa may be twenty-five years into democracy but gender inequality in the workplace is rife. The ramifications of inequality are felt by black women who occupy lower positions at work therefore rendering them powerless in decision making processes (Segalo, 2015).

Black women are unfortunately dealt a triple blow because of the intersectionality of gender, race, and class. In other words, these social structures represent

discrimination that is specifically directed at black women (Brah, 2004). Henry (2014) argues that "gender, race, class, ethnicity and nationality never function in isolation but always work as interconnected categories of oppression and privilege" (p. 672). Women have suffered immense gender oppression up until the apartheid years, whereby they were still not allowed to buy property in their own name (Segalo, 2015). This was a form of institutional racism imposed on black women, in addition to limited education and career opportunities (Beran, 2012). South African men who were excluded from economic empowerment through apartheid were not as badly affected as black women who continue to battle for job opportunities and dehumanised by moral exclusion because of their gender (Segalo, 2012). Black women are still excluded from positions of power and "certain positions are reserved for the dominant gender, class, race and culture" (DeMarco, Campbell & Weust, 1993, p. 31).

Bell Hooks, an American author, professor and feminist, states that the feminism movement is divided by race and class, and that problems raised by white feminists are magnified when it comes to black feminists' issues (Walters, 2005). Black and white feminists fight for different struggles. She further argues that women are "the most fundamentally oppressed people and hence potentially the most revolutionary', and she goes on to examine four areas of their lives that must be transformed: production, reproduction, sexuality, and the socialization of children" (Walters, 2005, p. 106). These four areas remain pertinent even to this day. Bell's thesis posits that "white elites tolerate or encourage racial progress for minorities as long as it also promotes white interests (Wing & Willis, as cited in Butler, 2015, p. 104).

"We have been told that men and women are equal" (Henry, 2014, p. 670-671) but gender inequality is a reality for many women. Gender equality will only become a reality when more women start occupying important positions in corporate organisations and/or elected in presidential positions. A woman will truly be emancipated when she is not made to feel guilty if she relinquishes full custody to the father due to circumstances beyond her control (such as not having a roof over her head for her children) and when she is not frowned upon if she outsources the 'makoti' manual duties during a visit to her in-laws (and is not necessarily seen as a lazy 'makoti'). African feminism is relevant as only African women can identify with issues that affect them. According to African feminism it would seem that white people do not want to fully acknowledge that they cannot comprehend fully the struggles of black people, the oppression of black women and how black women are considered to be beneath, invisible, and unknown (Smith, 1979). Class, gender, and race matter because they are sometimes used to determine whether one gets opportunities or not. These variables also matter because they set the tone to determine an ideological stance for diverse voices within feminism (Brah, 2004).

3.6. Conclusion

The three waves of feminism discussion shed some light on the difficulties experienced by women, particularly single mothers. Single mother parenthood (and how their children interact with them) positions itself perfectly within the three waves of feminism and what each of them stands for. The first wave focused on the right to vote, the right to property ownership and the right to attain full citizenship, which led to financial independence for some women. This emancipation has facilitated a mass exodus for women to be freed from abusive relationships and the control of men. The second wave focused on women's sexuality and that sex is not only for married women. Women were liberated that keeping one sexual partner was no longer appealing. Besides the fight for equal payment in the work environment, second wave was fighting for equality in the home environment. In that chores were no longer gender specific and everyone can help. In the case of single mothers, cooking and cleaning is also the responsibility of male and female children. Third wave feminism gave a voice to women of colour and lesbian women. This was important in attaining rights just as much as the white women have been enjoying. The parental rights given to unmarried couples was significant in that it arguably gave power to those women who were not married but were single mothers.

The reason why I chose feminism as a theoretical framework is because it is an ideal ideology that brings to the fore women issues, especially patriarchal oppression. Women have always fought for equal rights and the struggle continues. Feminism "demands commitment, not simply to ideas, but to a generalised ideology" (Walters, 2005, p. 4). One needs to know exactly what it is that one stands for and that one's

intended outcomes is in line with those affected. African women have had to fight more than one battle and still have a long way before they are fully emancipated from gender, race, and class discrimination.

CHAPTER 4 METHODS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the research process I undertook to conduct my research. I will discuss the reason why the qualitative method was chosen and how the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) allows one to gain access to participant's world (Willig, 2013).

I discussed the paradigm orientation that informs this study, the qualitative research design will specifically discuss the two schools of phenomenology. The research process will then be discussed which includes research participants and sampling techniques, data collection methods and data analysis. This is followed by ethical consideration which includes consent, anonymity, confidentiality, freedom to withdraw and measures of trustworthiness. Lastly, I will discuss the research reflexivity, where I disclose my own personal reflections on the study The conclusion gives a brief outline of what was discussed under this section and how I have applied my mind in ensuring that I give the audience as much as possible in terms of what was extracted from the participants.

4.2. Paradigm orientation

There is a common interest amongst scholars in how they want to contribute to research topic. With qualitative research I am not only abstracting the information from the participants, but I am also personally interacting with them, and they are sharing their parts of the world with me. This is useful for this type of study as it deals with the experiences of the participants.

According to Wertz (2011) the following are the foundations of qualitative analysis; the first being the critical evaluation of data, which entails the reading of data with comprehension. Human science attitude which requires the researcher to empathetically understand the meanings behind what the participants are expressing. Focus on the uniquely human where the researcher is to also look at the aim of what the participant is uniquely contributing to the research. The identification of relevant expressions which the researcher should identify as relevant to the research. Lastly it is the emergent ideation with which knowledge that is generated from the research questions allows for the solving of the research questions.

Below I discuss qualitative research characteristics discussed by (Rapmund, Moore, Osthuizen, Shantell, Van Dyk & Viljoen (2013). I also enlist how they have been applied in this study.

Qualitative research is more **flexible** than quantitative research, with no formal standardised structure to follow. Therefore, I did not follow the same structured way of questioning. I was rather led by how each participant responded to the questions, and at the end of each interview, all relevant questions were asked to the participant. Questioning of respondents was **context** specific. I was sensitive in the manner I posed questions, ensuring that I do not offend participants by overlooking any of their cultural or economic frameworks.

The qualitative research paradigm views reality as **subjective** (Reiners, 2012). Although participants share a common phenomenon of being raised by single mothers, their subjective experiences may differ due to social inferences and different interactions they have with their paternal family. Positivism stems from a correlational relationship between the world, human perception and understanding (Willig, 2013). The world being the objects, events, and phenomena; and that it is "possible to describe what is 'out there' and get it right" (Willig, 2013, p. 40). This research focused on understanding the experiences of participants through their eyes and how they tell their own individual experiences of having single mothers.

4.3. Research design

4.3.1. Two schools of phenomenology

Descriptive phenomenology is concerned with capturing experience "precisely as it presents itself, neither adding nor subtracting from it" (Giorgi 1992, p. 121). A researcher using descriptive phenomenology should be careful in keeping the information collected as original as possible. When descriptive researchers conduct interviews, they may ask interviewee questions such as 'what happened?' This type of probing helps to get to the root information (Willig, 2013). Interpretive phenomenology differs in the sense that it does not take accounts of experiences entirely at 'face value'; instead, it understands the meaning of an experience by stepping outside of it and reflecting on the status of the account and its wider meaning, be it socially, culturally, or psychologically (Willig, 2013). Phenomenology is synonymous with thinking anew; that there are other possible outcomes after having conducted the research, that what the researcher may have originally thought may not be what is the result.

There are two schools of thought within the phenomenology discipline; these are hermeneutic phenomenology and transcendental phenomenology (Willig, 2013). Hermeneutic and transcendental phenomenology scholars try to understand human existence (van Manen, 2014) by focussing on the everyday meaning embedded in occurrences (Reiners, 2012) that include written, verbal, and non-verbal communication (Willig, 2013). The mandate of the researcher while going through the research process is to ensure that the intended message from the participant is conveyed adequately before it reaches the audience. A two-stage interpretation is involved. While the participant is trying to make sense of their world, the researcher is required to interpret the emotional and mental state of the participant (Smith & Eatough, 2007). "Interpretative (sic) hermeneutics is directed toward written words that are encoded in texts" (Davidson, 2014, p.317), meaning after the interviews are transcribed, the themes identified are put in a table format. Transcendental phenomenology was first coined by Husserl in the twentieth century and is more concerned with seeing experiences at face value (Willig, 2013). It also allows the interviewee to reflect on their lived experiences and understand what those experiences meant to them (Schutz, 1967).

I chose the interpretative phenomenological design (hermeneutic) because it allowed participants to relive their past experiences through what they were communicating and the researcher deciphering the meanings after asking critical questions. The latter would be helpful for the analysis phase. It was important that the questions are designed in a manner that would allow the meaning of the transcribed text to be deciphered through the nuances to reflect the actual human behaviour and experience participants went through.

4.3.2. Reasons for choosing interpretive phenomenology

The reason why I opted for the IPA is because phenomenology contributes to the foundations of psychological research methods as it allows the integration of

knowledge from other traditions; this helps to establish research that is more focused on human experiences (Wertz, 2011). This is especially relevant to my study as it is focused on the experiences of the children's upbringing.

Interpretive phenomenological approach is interpreted realities that are based on the lived experiences (Elliot, 2005). "They are committed to increasing knowledge of human behaviour and of people's understanding of themselves and others and to the utilization of such knowledge for the promotion of human welfare" (American Psychology Association [APA], as cited in Kvale, 1994, p.109). By speaking with participants, I wanted to unpack and understand how living with single mothers impacted their behaviour and how it may have shaped their characteristics.

The researcher's responsibility is to define and understand where the other person is coming from, where their stance comes from and interpreted from the participant's experiences (Willig, 2013; Packer & Addison, 1989). I chose the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) design because I wanted to capture participants' own narratives. The reason for using this qualitative method was also to explore any changes in feelings, retrospectively, as opposed to the current viewpoint (Smith & Eatough, 2007). This was to ascertain if any negative feelings had subsided over the years, through the process of healing. I was interested in understanding whether it is possible to change one's viewpoint (from childhood) as one matures. I therefore asked and allowed participants to take me through their journey from early childhood until they were adults.

4.4. Research process

4.4.1. Research participants and sampling technique

Purposive sampling was used to recruit participants. This method uses the strategy of easy access to participants and eventually, it is the sample size representative of the population that is to be investigated (Rapmund, Moore, Osthuizen, Shantell, Van Dyk & Viljoen, 2013). The sample characteristics were mainly that of children raised by single mothers. One participant lived with his grandmother and mother. My participants included those who were contemplating changing their surnames (from paternal to maternal) and those who had their surnames already changed to their maternal side as they felt they identified more with the maternal family. Some

participants' fathers died tragically, and some had fathers who were not interested to be a part of their lives. Purposive sampling was used because I was interested in exploring a specific phenomenon (children raised by single mothers). Therefore, I purposely went out to only find children who were raised by single mothers in order to serve the outcome of my research study. Opting for any other sampling technique such as random sampling could have been time consuming if I found out later that the random participants did not fit the criteria. Snowballing sampling would not have suited my research design as well because I was looking for a small sample of participants.

Qualitative research attempts to understand the meaning of human experiences by making use of historical, political, or socio-economic realities and how these meaning are constructed to form subjective understandings (Cunliffe, 2008; Burr, 1996). This study attempted to uncover the historical perspective of each participant's experiences of being raised by a single mother and how that may have affected their meaning of life.

Participants came from similar demographics in terms of their race, ethnicity, and marital status. The sample consisted of 6 children (who are now adults) over the age of eighteen who were raised by single mothers either from birth or from early on in their up-bringing and consisted of one male and five females. All participants were Black African.

Five of the six participants come from a small town in Northern Kwa-Zula Natal named Vryheid. One participant was born, bred, and is still based in Gauteng. Two participants were sisters, and I was interested in showing if there were any similar or contrasting thoughts on their experience relating to the topic. Four participants had deceased fathers, of which one had separated from the mother by the time of death. Two participants have living fathers, but there is no relationship with them.

Participants' knowledge of what parenting entails would arguably be based on how they make sense of their own lived experiences. That would be their primary 'language' of what a family structure ought to be. With daily human interaction, one creates perceptions and forms knowledge which is constantly ever changing as well in order to accept other ways of understanding (Burr, 1996). By participants providing their insight, it gives readers a glimpse into another person's perception of this phenomenon.

Close relationships are often formed after interviews, which was also the case in my study. I gained more respect for the participants.

4.4.2. Data collection methods

Qualitative research is conducted in a **naturalistic** manner, meaning that participants are interviewed in their natural setting. Participants in this study were interviewed in their own homes except the Gauteng participant who was interviewed online (in accordance to adhering to Unisa's 3rd covid-19 regulations), whereby there were no outside influences that could have had an adverse effect on them. For example, noise and the presence of family members in the room which could have posed as intimidating influences on them.

As mentioned earlier, data was collected through semi-structured interviews, (**see appendix B)** that were conducted by the researcher. Semi- structured interviewing is an appropriate method of data collection because the interview is flexible (Smith & Eatough, 2007) and participants become comfortable to say whatever is on their minds. The interviews occurred over a couple of months due to the fact that some participants lived in a different province to where I resided at the time of data collection (and the covid-19 pandemic also impacted on data collection in terms of also adhering to the covid-19 regulations). The interviews were done face to face at the homes of these participants (with the exception of the Gauteng participant), whereby open-ended questions were asked. Each interview lasted about an hour, so as not to tire out participants and so that the conversations do not drift away from the topic. An interview guideline was developed to remind me what types of thematic areas to cover and to steer the conversation without going off topic. Thereafter the recordings were saved in my laptop for transcribing.

4.4.2.1 Recording and transcribing

All participants were Zulu speaking, so am I, hence I had no difficulty in understanding the language. They were also fluent in English therefore there was no need for translation during the interviews. The participants used a few words in isiZulu in some of their narratives, but those words were translated by me in text so that the non-Zulu audience could follow the extracts from the interviews. I was then able to record the interviews using the Samsung smart phone and a voice recording device. The interviews from both devices were audible therefore I was satisfied with the quality. The recordings were then transferred to my laptop. No one had access to the phone and the laptop as both devices were password protected.

4.4.3. Data analysis

As mentioned, the method of analysis that was used was Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). Phenomenological research focuses on perception in gaining a better understanding of how the world appears to participants and how they perceive the world (Willig, 2013). IPA was appropriate for this research as it allowed me to choose which extracts were relevant for the research study by identifying different themes. It allowed my participants the opportunity to reflect on their interviews and how it made them feel during the interviews and that is why I opted for one-on-one interviews instead of group interviews.

"The goal of a phenomenological study is to understand ways in which individuals perceive the world around them and make sense of their lived experiences" (Murray & Holmes, 2014, p.17). I used a combination of common qualitative interview types to get the life history of the participants or social background and life events by identifying common themes amongst the participants which was used to link similarities between them (Taylor, Bogdan, & DeVault, 2015).

I listened to the interviews repeatedly so I could take note of the nuances in their voices in order to try and identify the type of feelings accompanying the narratives. I also used the same strategy to identify more common themes amongst the participants. According to Smith and Eatough (2007), one must follow the following four steps in order to unpack participants' narratives. These are (a) initial reading of the transcript, (b) identifying and labelling themes, (c) linking themes and identifying thematic clusters and (d) producing a summary table of themes with illustrative quotations. Below I outline the steps in depth.

Stage 1: Initial reading of the transcript. After the interviews have been transcribed, it is important for the researcher to spend time going over each one of them. From doing this exercise repeatedly, I was able to make notes of my initial

thoughts which could have potential significance. I transcribed the interviews myself, which allowed for an opportunity to listen to the audio repeatedly. I was also able to identify any nuances which could have meaning beyond just the spoken words. This allowed me to be more sensitive to the content of the text and to do a more rigorous job in understanding what the participants' meaning of their words were (Smith & Eatough, 2007).

Stage 2: Identifying and labelling themes. I returned to the transcribed material and transformed my initial thoughts and initial ideas to specific themes (Smith & Eatough, 2007). By labelling the themes, it became easier to identify them from the remaining transcripts. I needed to be careful in ensuring that only themes originating from the participants' narratives were identified and labelled, not any of my preconceived thoughts.

Stage 3: Linking themes and identifying thematic clusters. This stage introduces uniformity and structure to the analysis (Willig, 2008). This is done by establishing connections between the preliminary themes and clustering them accordingly (Smith & Eatough, 2007). The cleaning up section gives room for some new subordinate themes.

Stage 4: Producing a summary table of themes with illustrative quotations.

The final stage produces a summary of results in a table form that show each theme and subordinate theme accompanied by quotations from participants, page, and line numbers from the transcripts (Willig, 2008). The table is under the discussion section and shows extracts from participants.

I worked thoroughly on each step with a co-coder in order to find some form of uniformity. The aim of this research was to produce knowledge about the subjective experiences of research participants. "Good IPA studies tend to tap into 'hot cognition' engaging with issues that are current, emotive and sometimes dilemmatic" (Storey, 2007, p. 53). Even though phenomenological researchers try to capture feelings and perceptions, they cannot claim with certainty what causes these feelings and perceptions (Willig, 2013). There were no assumptions made about the children's feelings as they each told stories about their experiences while growing up. I made use of a technique called member checking whereby I went back to the

participants to confirm whether the themes were a true reflection of their narratives. Some of the participants agreed to a follow up when I asked for permission during the interviews.

4.5. Ethical consideration

Psychology researchers should respect the dignity of their participants. They should be most concerned with preservation and protection of their fundamental rights (Kvale, 1994). What this basically means is that I did not harm the participants. I needed to have enough "sensitivity to identify any ethical issues and the responsibility to feel committed to, acting appropriately to such issues" (Eisner & Peshkin, as cited in Kvale, 1994, p.117). Since this was an academic project, I was required to get permission from the Department of Psychology at UNISA in order to conduct this research. I explained the nature of the research to participants before I commenced with interviewing. It was only then that I gave the consent forms for them to sign in my presence in case they had any queries. I was aware of the ethical conduct I am bound by as a research psychologist in training. "To the layperson, ethics represents certain standards according to which a particular community or a particular group (Christians, soccer players, or social workers) agrees to regulate its behaviour" (Rapmund, Moore, Osthuizen, Shantell, Van Dyk & Viljoen, 2013, p. 109). In order to abide by ethics, I ensured that I adhered to the behavioural norms that include the "communality which has to do with the accuracy of reporting the methods, purpose and motive of the findings" (Rapmund, Moore, Osthuizen, Shantell, Van Dyk & Viljoen, 2013, p.111), respect which is required to protect participants' basic human and civil rights, and disinterestedness. Even though disinterestedness implies that personal gain should not be the main reason for doing the research, in my case yes, I will gain another gualification, but I wanted to contribute to the psychology field in terms of what my research study would add to future researchers undertaking similar topics.

4.5.1. Consent

According to Charlotte & Lindsay (2002) participation in a study must be voluntary; participants should not be forced as that would be unethical. I ensured that everyone had the cognitive ability to be part of the research. Informed consent involved

informing participants about the purpose of the study. In return, they had to indicate their understanding by signing the consent form. This included informing participants about the overall purpose of the investigation, main features about the design and any risks and benefits from participation (Kvale, 1994). The consent form also stipulated that the interviews would be recorded.

4.5.2. Anonymity

I ensured anonymity of the 'children' raised by single parents to make sure that their identities were not known. I used pseudo codes which were allocated to each participant. For instance, participant one, participant two, participant three, participant four, participant five and participant six.

4.5.3. Confidentiality

I stuck to the agreement that I would not discuss what the interviews were about especially to persons to which both parties were acquainted to. With regards to ethics and data collection, there is another element that was considered carefully; that was how data was to be stored in order to maintain confidentiality that I as the researcher had promised the participants. I ensured that nobody who should not have access to data got a chance to see where I stored it. The only other authorised person who had access to the interview transcripts was my supervisor. I also had hardcopies that were put in a file and stored in a cabinet that was always locked. I was the only individual who had access to the keys. The data that was obtained was purely for academic purposes therefore it will not be distributed to any other party.

4.5.4. Freedom to withdraw

This was an overly sensitive topic for some of the participants as it was about their personal encounters regarding their experience of being raised by a single mother. "Informed consent further involves obtaining the voluntary participation of the subject, with his or her right to withdraw from the study at any time, thus counteracting potential undue influence of coercion" (Moustakas & Yow, as cited in Kvale, 1994, p.112). As participation was voluntary, participants had the liberty to pull out from the study any time. There was one female participant who pulled out as she felt that I knew her too well and she was not comfortable allowing me to get to know her on another deeper personal level.

4.5.5. Measures of trustworthiness

As part of keeping with ethical standards, researchers are required to ensure that their findings are trustworthy. This can be done by following Lincoln and Guba's model of trustworthiness (1985) which includes principles such as credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, and authenticity. I attained **credibility** by using peer reviewed sources such as IPA and convenience sampling to find the right credible participants. My research study was conducted over a prolonged period and was submitted to examiners to confirm its credibility. Transferability was attained by purposively seeking out children (now adults) who were raised by single mothers and understanding their experiences of being raised by single mothers meant to them. **Dependability** was attained by identifying similar themes amongst participants and to confirm any similar patterns. I ensured that I used the same methods in collecting data for all participants to ensure accuracy of data. I attained **confirmability** by maintaining my objective preconceived opinions about absent fathers, that way all my findings and interpretations were supported by data in the absence of my personal input. Lastly **authenticity** was confirmed by going back to do member checking in order to confirm whether the themes were a true reflection of what was said during the interviews.

4.6. Reflexivity

My personal experience of this study confirmed to me that being a child raised by a single mother did not disadvantage me in any way, that was the same sentiment I got from the participants. I felt connected with each participant as I experienced similar emotional traumas that they all experienced. My family went through financial difficulties just as some of my participants went through. This research therefore let me know that my own personal experiences were not isolated and that being raised in a single parent home has made me who I am today and therefore has pushed me to be a positive contributor to society.

I had a few preconceived ideas on the topic as I was also raised by a single mother, but it was important to immerse myself in the participants' natural setting and listen to whether there were any underlining meanings to what they were saying (Dey, 1993) and not to focus on imposing my own feelings on their perceptions. I focused on the emic perspectives that allowed me to examine the experiences, feelings, and participants' perspectives of the topic (Harris, 1976).

What this research allowed me to ascertain in terms of the lived experiences of participants was a consolation that my own experiences were not in isolation. I was also raised by a single mother in the Northern parts of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Vryheid. I had no contact with the paternal side of my family until much later in life. I often wondered how it would have been if I had contact with them when I was younger and whether that would have made much of a difference in how I feel towards them. I am grateful that I am now in contact with my paternal side and grateful that besides my one full sibling sister, I have fourteen other half brothers and sisters from my father's side (and one maternal half sibling) who I talk to on a regular basis. All my half siblings, like the participants experienced being raised by single mothers. I have somewhat of a relationship with my own father where I go visit him, despite my mother's displeasure. My full sibling has no relationship with our father at all. It was interesting how each participant related to their paternal family when compared to their maternal family. The relationship between some participants and their mothers has evolved and they are grateful for the sacrifices their mothers made for them. I am also grateful to my own mother who made so many sacrifices to raise three children as a single mother. It was also pleasing to see that they all had post-matric qualifications and some even had post-graduate qualifications. This goes to show that despite the struggles most of them went through, they were still able to attain their academic goals. Like the participants, I have completed my post-graduate qualification with the hope of commencing my PhD studies soon.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter the methodology used to conduct my study was outlined. I tried to show how and why qualitative research was a suitable form of inquiry. I also outlined the IPA method and how it was applied to this study. Although I experienced certain challenges, overall, I enjoyed the interaction with the participants. I am grateful that they shared their lived experiences of being raised by a single mother with me. The methodology used allowed for the provision of insight into the lives of these 'children'; which will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter I will provide a brief overview of participants' background, who they are, and their family set up. I will then present the themes extrapolated from the transcripts in a table format. Finally, I will discuss these themes (and subthemes) in depth. The themes to be discussed are as follows: the presenting problem(s), family dynamics, types of support the participants receive, parenting styles, psychological state and the effects of absent-presence of parents.

5.2. Background of participants

Pseudonyms are used throughout the discussion to protect the identity of the participants.

Participant one attended school at the Nuwe Republiek Skool (significance to research context) and later moved to Vryheid High. She has a diploma in agriculture, obtained from Mtashana FET College. She is the second child out of three half siblings, and she has two sons. Her mother became involved in another relationship after separating from her father, but she never married.

Participant two attended primary and secondary school at Nardini Convent and Vryheid High, respectively. He possesses the Bachelor of Science qualification from the University of Johannesburg (UJ). He is the only child from his mother's side and the first child from his father's two children. He has no children yet. His mother never married nor had another child after him. His father remarried and he has a good relationship with his stepmother whom he visits often.

Participant three also attended school at Nardini Convent and later moved to Vryheid High. She then moved to the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal (UKZN) where she obtained the Bachelor of Arts degree, majoring in Psychology. She continued with her studies at the University of South Africa (UNISA), where she obtained the Postgraduate certificate in Education (PGCE). She is the last child of three daughters from her mother's side and last child out of her father's nine children. She has two sons.

Participant four is born and bred in Johannesburg. She completed her primary, secondary, and tertiary schooling in Johannesburg. She undertook tertiary studies at UNISA where she obtained a degree in Social Sciences and Communication. She is the first child out of the two children from her parents and second child from her father's four children. She has no children yet. Her mother never remarried after a frantic divorce, and she never had other children.

Participant five attended Nuwe Republiek Skool and Vryheid High, respectively. She enrolled at a private nursing school called New Horizon Nursing School in Ladysmith. She is currently registered for the Bachelor of Arts Honours in Counselling Psychology through UNISA. She is the third child from her mother and father, and there are two older sisters and two younger brothers. She has no children yet. Her mother was the third wife, so she was the seventh child out of nine children from her father's side. The mother also never remarried nor had any more children after the death of the father.

Participant six attended Nardini Convent and later moved to Vryheid High School. Thereafter, she registered at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal (UKZN) where she completed the Bachelor of Social Sciences in Geography and Environmental Management. She is the first child from her parents and the seventh child out of her father's nine children. She has two daughters of her own. She is sisters with participant three and their mother never remarried after the death of their father, and she never had more children after participant three.

5.3. Summary of themes with illustrative extracts

Table 1: Main themes and sub-themes emerging from illustrative extracts Please note that P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6 represent participants' pseudo names. Numbers such as 918, 268, 262-266 etcetera indicate the line numbers from a transcript. Direct quotes are taken from the transcripts.

Main Themes	Sub-themes & illustrative extracts
Theme 1: Traumatic experiences	Abuse
	"like we heard this one story that he woke her up in the middle of the night and he had his gun next to the bed" (P6, 918)
	"They did not fight in their room or somewhere else where instead of, they fought like right here" (P4, 268)
	Divorce/separation
	"You know what even though my parents divorced I felt like it was a little bit of a relieffor everyone in the world" (P4, 262-266)
	Death
	"I get a phone call from my, his eldest brotheruBab'wakho ushonile {your father passed away} like to this day I have not cried for his death" (P2, 349, 625)"
	"Okay my father was shot forty-eight bullets, he was a, he was a taxi owner" (P5,539)
Theme 2: Family dynamics	(Un)healthy relationships
	"You know you know, there is a saying in Zulu that 'abafazi ababili abahlali endlini eyodwa {two grown women cannot stay in one household} Yezwa {do you hear me}. I'll say it in Zulu, its true abafazi ababili {two bulls cannot stay in one house}" (P1, 224)
	"my mom and I never got along" (P4, 88)
	"Mmm, I do, I didn't have any contact, so it took me like eleven years to forgive my dad, let me start there" (P4, 310)
	"My father was a douche" (P2,723)
	Evolution of relationships

	So, our relationship got better when I was out of home" (P4,138)
	Sibling rivalry/favouritism
	"I only recently started communicating about how she may have treated us unfairly as siblings and how you know, we'd notice that" (P3, 48)
	"And I also thought there was favouritism with my mother, with my brother and I…" (P4, 104)
	"She has a favourite, and she bends over backwards for that one favourite and her children" (P6, 450)
	"Your parents have favouritism, am I lying? Yes, ja they have favouritism, so I don't like that conflict so I prefer not to be at home" (P1, 324, 328)
	Paternal (be)longing/lack thereof
	"Coz I feel as though, if they did careabout me they would have done something" (P2, 499-501)
	"No hate, no love, indifferent completely indifferent" (P4, 436)
	Maternal connectedness
	"Good morning ja, I still get a message from her every morning" (P2, 143)
	"I'm using my mother's surnameCoz I changed my surname" (P4, 10-12)
	"ja we go out for lunch, we buy her gifts, take her out for lunch, my mother love, loves renovating" (P5, 475)
	It's like last week I got her a card saying thank you and chocolates" (P3, 144)
Theme 3:	Financial support
Support	
	"She provided a roof, she made sure that there was always food and I think that's how she showed us love and affection" (P6, 44)

	"Ja my mom did everything and actually even if my parents were together, my mom was paying for everything" (P4, 36)
	"My dad did not believe in education. I remember when my mother was struggling, he would be like 'why do you take her to that school in anyway, there's schools here in the townships'" (P4, 458)
	"So, she was paying for my feesMy other sister would pay for my booksMy other would clothe me" (P5, 1103- 1107)
	"Ja, even felt like for example with itertiary {tertiary}I did not have debt coming out of tertiary" (P2, 84-86)
	"So, to a certain extend she told me that I don't have to worry about black tax" (P2, 92)
	"[sight] what can I say, you never, I never had a day whereas I said I don't have shoes" (P1, 66)
	Emotional current
	Emotional support
	"You understand what I mean, and like my mom used to take us to therapy as well because she was going through it. She was going through it, because she was going through the whole traumatic divorce experience right. So, she also had to help us emotionally" (P4, 64)
	"Ja, but again my grandmother and my mother everyday would check up on me. They didn't really care about the car" (P2, 277)
	"You know I would, I would go to her crying and she would just let us sing a song and let us pray [laughs], ja" (P5, 146-148)
Theme 4: Parenting styles	Authoritarian
	"Okay, when I was growing up, my mother was very strict, even now" (P5, 122)
	"And the thing is I understood my mom's role, she was very mother neh? My mom was not my friend" (P4, 90)
	Permissive

	"No, no, she's not a confrontational person so she's not going to go confront them about it" (P6, 208)
	"Not, like she will keep quiet and say okay. That's it, like it's just very disconnected I could say" (P3, 76)
Theme 5: Psychological state	Resilience
	"She made me a very strong woman and above it all, she made me love God" (P5, 1181)
	"In a way it's a good thing I feel personally raised by a single mother, it's a very good thing coz it makes an individual very strong" (P1, 30)
	"There is nothing that is lacking from me because I was raised by a, a single mother" (P2, 711)
	Longing for a father (father-figure)
	"Well, of course, there are days where I wish my father was a factor in my life maybe I would have had better opportunities' (P1, 94)
	"I think the only negative would be that I don't know the true feeling of having a father, someone that could guide you" (P2, 685)
Theme 6: Absent- presence	Shifting of responsibilities
	"He did not care, if I went out and got raped, it would have just been a, you know, coz He was just like not responsible at all" (P4, 100)
	"everybody just decided that since I have nowhere to goThen they can just dump all the responsibilities on me, even without asking me" (P6, 214-216)
	"Okay, okay my mother is supposed to be taking care of her Okay, so I end up being the mother" (P5, 269-271)
	Consequences of absenteeism
	"Definitely for me the daddy issues and I'm talking about negative now. Uhm and for me its relationships, coz even if I look at my entire relationship history, I feel like I've never met a good man. To this day, actually I don't think I have met someone who I can say 'this is different to my father" (P4, 512)

"That I would say with 100% with lack of success coz maybe you know I would have had the opportunity to further my studies or somewhere, so ja." (P1, 148)
Sheltered from scarring
"so yes, so the positives are he died when we were young, so we didn't see his philandering ways. Because that would have scarred us" (P6, 904)

This study focused on the lived experiences of children who were raised by single mothers. I hoped to unpack how their experiences impact on their view of life. The participants were asked how it came about that they were raised by single mothers, whether it was due to separation, divorce, or death. I also wanted to ascertain whether they are emotionally involved or not with their paternal family. The social learnings emanating from their maternal family and how they have used them to navigate through life was also discussed. Some of the participants display psychological issues such as resentment towards their (absent) fathers and the paternal family for not trying harder to get to know them. This has arguably caused further animosity between participants and their half-siblings even in their adult-life. Below I discuss major themes and subthemes that emanated from the interviews.

5.3.1 Theme 1: Traumatic experiences

5.3.1.1. Abuse

One of the study's aim was to unpack adverse effects (if any) of being raised by a single mother. It was unsurprising when some participants cited financial, physical, and emotional abuse.

The Will and testament of participant five's father was fraudulently altered by the first wife. This led to financial trauma for her mother (who was the third wife). Consequently, she (mother) experienced many years of financial difficulty. The financial abuse by the first two wives (who did not share any of the proceeds from the estate) led to the resentment between the half-siblings. As a result of the financial abuse, her siblings and she were deprived of having a normal childhood experience.

"She bought me two shirts. She bought me a short sleeve and a long sleeve." (P5, 1069)

"I I I used those those shirts from standard six, from grade 8 to matric and they were ripped." (P5, 1073)

Although participant five was embarrassed she managed to hide the torn school shirts and the rundown shoes from her schoolmates. These were the consequences of the financial abuse that the first two wives infringed on the third wife's children. On the positive side, this taught them resilience.

Some absent fathers were forced to pay maintenance and take up the financial responsibilities of their own children. Consequently, some participants developed low self-esteem as they did not receive concurrent financial and emotional support from both parents. This is reminiscent to the early days of migrant labour when fathers left their families and some subsequently failed to financially support their children back home, leaving mothers to find other means to support their children.

Participant six's father was financially abusive to his girlfriend's children as he was often forced to pay for maintenance, she narrates.

"No, he didn't coz apparently their mothers used to sue him for maintenance, and he maintained most of them I don't know if all of them. I think all of them through the courts system." (P6, 750)

In this instance it was participants six's half-siblings who were growing resentful towards her mother as they expected her to give them a share of her deceased husband's estate. This misdirected anger is common against such family set-ups and made worse by lack of open communication. When she refused, she typically was blamed for his death. The continuous torment of financial demands from his family and ex-girlfriends resulted in guilt that she gave into some of their demands (contributing to the financial needs of the in-law's-like wedding expenses). This ultimately resulted in the depletion of her children's college-fund which delayed their studies.

This mother also endured physical and emotional abuse from participants six's father as she narrates below: "But we remember the fights and we remember that the one night he took one of her high heels and he was hitting her on the head, that all we could see was just blood." (P6, 946)

"…like we heard this one story that he woke her up in the middle of the night and he had his gun next to the bed." (P6, 918)

She once asked her mother why she had stayed in the abusive relationship and her response was "...that was not just something you did at the time, so you didn't leave your husband because he was abusive, you stayed in a marriage and you made it work, like so you would take the beatings and move on." (P6, 958). The quote above shows how patriarchy often socially constructs women to be submissive even when conditions are not conducive for them.

First wave feminism was fighting for women independence because women, who were dependent on men, often allowed unfair domestic treatment of women in their own households (Auchmuty, 2012). The mothers of participant six and four (below) were both working women. This indicates the leadership characteristics of African women leaders discussed in chapter 2 as she was able to put food on the table but because of African customs (lobola cows cannot be brought back to the groom) even independent women stick it out to avoid the negative stigma of being a divorcee. Unfortunately for them it did not spare them the emotional and physical abuse perpetuated by their husbands. This shows that abuse does not distinguish between levels of education, class or even calibre of women, abuse is abuse regardless.

Participant four narrates how her father often spent money on alcohol with his friends and was never home while her mother took care of all the household financial responsibilities.

"But another big thing in terms of her being the the the main one, even when my father did have a job, it was just [pause], my my dad had a lot of parties by the way he loved to party. He would spend time with his friends and drink his money and go and do this and do that." (P4, 42)

The emotional outcome of his negative actions was anger from the mother that led to their verbal alteration. By the father removing himself from the situation, he would further aggravate the mother by coming back the next morning and they would continue their arguments as she narrates below: "And my mom would be waiting, waiting, and and then, it's not like {in a calm voice-'where were you}. {Screaming}- 'where were you', like it starts in a high pitch. Like my parents just were shouting and screaming at each other. That is why for me the separation was like aahh thank goodness there's peace..." (P6, 270)

Participant four feels that her parents were disrespecting her and her younger brother and when they divorced, it was a sense of relief for both her and the brother.

5.3.1.2. Divorce/separation

An important subtheme that kept recurring was the impact of divorce or separation between the parents and how each participant processed it. Participant four felt that the divorce was not only a relief for her but 'the whole world' because of the constant fighting and partying that occurred in her home. Divorce is often associated with sadness and devastation. However, the participant showed relief and happiness. She felt that the new situation was a better set-up as her father liked partying which also caused nuisance and disturbance for the neighbours. Therefore, the divorce could have also relieved the neighbours from the noise as well.

The feminism movement, especially women (and men) who advocated for gender equality and the liberation movement undoubtedly played an important role in the reconstruction of identity, selfhood, freedom, and self-awareness. It could be argued that the mother who felt it was necessary to file for divorce drew courage from the role played by these aforementioned movements.

Participant one longs to know why her parents separated as she used to (and still do) unexpectedly encounter her father frequently but they do not openly discuss that they are related, as seen from this quote: *"No I just greet him, coz I know, he knows, and I know."* (P1, 78). This shows that the mother has never had the intention of creating a relationship between her children and the ex-partner. The participant yearns to know what happened, but she too cannot ask him that question whenever she sees her father for fear of 'betraying' her mother. She so wants to keep her loyalty with the parent that raised her. Her interaction with her father does not go beyond a simple greeting. This could be one of the reasons why participant one does not have a healthy communicative relationship with her mother. She could arguably

be experiencing subconscious resentment directed at her mother because she denies her a relationship with her father.

5.3.1.3. Death

People deal with death differently and this becomes complicated if the deceased is an absent father. The narrative of participant two shows the negative effects an absent (and dead) father can have on his son. After being informed about his father's death, he was asked to do the eulogy and poem, but he refused on the basis that there was never a relationship between them. He expressed that he has not cried over his father's death to this day because there was never an emotional connection between the two. In chapter two I discussed fatherhood and the effects a father-son bond has on the relationship with boys. In the case of participant two, he is making sense of the situation by opting to purposefully not deal with the emotional trauma of losing the absent parent.

Participant five had a more traumatic experience as her father was involved in her life. Her father was shot forty-eight times and she still remembers driving past the crime scene. The memory of her mother crying and screaming still lingers on in her memory. She mentions that: *"I would cry over my dad, even now…Okay I recently stopped…."* (P4, 963; 965). Participant five choses to deal with her father's death as what society would deem acceptable. This contrasts with participant two's experience of his father's death. Psychologically both participants experience their fathers' death differently and it could be attributed to the relationship (or lack thereof) that they had with them.

The narratives above indicate that some participants miss their fathers and still feel the void of their absence, while others are pleasantly content with no interactions with their fathers. This arguably shows that fathers reap what they sow in terms of how they interacted with their 'children'.

5.3.2. Theme 2: Family dynamics

Participants were asked to describe their relationships with their mother's, paternal family, and siblings. This was done to ascertain if there were any family dynamics that were detrimental to the participants' psychological well-being.

Some participants indicated that mothers are too strict and therefore they struggle to sit down and have an adult conversation with them, while others have relationships that have evolved for the better.

5.3.2.1. (Un)healthy relationships

Participant one has no relationship with her absent father, and she also does not communicate at all with her mother, yet they live in the same household. There seems to be an emotional disconnection between the two and it could be attributed to her mother not acknowledging the relationship with her father. She says she would "rather shut-up" fearing that she may be chased out of home. She puts it thus: *"It's her house, at the end of the day, it her house, if she says get out of my house where you going to go."* (P1, 276). Due to women being socially constructed as nurturing and loving as mentioned in chapter two, participant one's mother seems to be emotionally disconnected from her daughter because they only seem to greet each other and nothing beyond that.

According to Rosenberg and Wilcox (2006) mothers are capable of being perpetrators of neglect, emotional and financial abusers. This mother financially provides for her children, but what participant one lacks is the emotional connection with her mother and possibly feels neglected because of that. She wants to find answers about her absent father but due to the psychological fear of the consequences of talking about him, she rather keeps to herself and does not interact with her mother. This participant is not free to express her emotions to her mother and it seems futile for them to stay under the same roof. This mother and daughter have a negative relationship.

The relationship that participant four had with her mother evolved for the better as she never got along with her mother. As she matured so did their relationship also mature that they now have a healthy relationship.

Participant four only sees her father and her half-siblings during family gatherings. She states that forgiving her father took eleven years. She does not understand why he insists on his children seeing him while he does not reciprocate the same gesture as seen from the quote below:

"...he was sick, and he almost died, he almost had heart failure. This is last year, and I went to go see him because of that, you know because he was complaining to *my mom, 'oh my kids don't ever want to see me anymore and they don't come visit me'. And my problem is what do you expect?"* (P4, 322)

Colonisation brought Christianity where one is often taught about the power of forgiveness. Although participant four is a staunch Christian, it still took her years to be able to forgive her father and hence the reason she changed her paternal surname to the maternal surname.

Participant four has a strained relationship with her father. The father wanted his children to be emotional there for him while he failed to be psychologically and physically present for all his children. This participant ended up being emotionally coerced by the mother in seeing the father, although she had forgiven him, she is not keen on building any relationship with him. Her emotions towards him seem to supersede her Christian faith. This participant is angry and has negative emotions towards her father. She seems to still have resentment towards him even after forgiving him.

Participant six speculates that her father must have had a bad relationship with the mother of his other children as she remembers her half-brother telling her mother that he was told not to eat anything given to him by the stepmother. She narrates: "So she washed an apple for him and gave it to him. And he said no, my mother told me not to eat anything that you give me." (P6, 772)

It could be argued that there could have been bad blood amongst parents already. In this case even if it were precolonial times, had the father entered into a polygamous marriage with all the mothers, there would be no guarantees of good relational interactions especially if the father were more involved with the one set of children than the others.

By participant six speculating that her father also had negative relations with the other women could mean that he was not a good partner and father and possibly never had loving relationships with the women and children. He also failed to have smooth transitions from the one relationship to the next. The anger by the women from the past may have been misdirected to participants six's mother. This may have perpetuated more resentment amongst the half siblings which may have been based on false accusations. In turn this turns the children against each other, making it difficult for them to build relationships which are outside of the parents' influences.

There seems to be animosity between the half siblings since participants five's halfsiblings got money that was meant for her mother (as the third wife who had the youngest children). In addition, everyone was aware that none of the older children were in the Will and that the first wife also decided to sell the petrol station that was co-owned by participant five's parents as narrated below:

"Okay, so they possessed everything, they didn't give us anything. They took all the taxis and... they decided to sell the garage..." (P5, 811). For those reasons, when they congregate at family gatherings there is a lot of pretence between them as they know what they did was wrong and illegal.

For participant five, it is emotionally painful that her mother was financially strained whereas she was entitled to her late husband's estate. She had resigned and taken her package and got into business with her husband and when her lifesavings were forcefully taken away, she resorted to letting things be rather than to stand up and fight the first two wives. She embarked in other small business which was what financially sustained her and her children.

While women's suffrage, labour laws and workplace issues were the main point of contention for first wave (Bowman, 2014); this indicates that participants five's father showed a level of support to the first wave feminism in that he partnered up with the wife in business instead of letting her play the role of the third wife. By making her the business partner (taking into consideration that she was the youngest wife) shows that he had a level of respect for women, and he did not undermine her capabilities because of her age. She was the only wife who worked while the first two were housewives.

However, it seems that she may have played a submissive role when the first two wives psychologically and financially abused her and her children. She decided not to retaliate in fear of being also murdered like her husband. In doing so it resulted in negative relationships with the half-siblings because of third wives' children being angry at what the first wife did and disappointed in the second wife that she was aware of all the legalities and fraud that conspired; yet she did nothing.

Participant two feels he is still a whole person and lacks nothing from not having a father. He does not put any blame towards his mother and states that his father was an obnoxious person. It could be interpreted that he would not have minded had he never seen his father again.

This participant has negative feelings towards the two-year relationship he had with his absent father. He also states that seeing him for those two years opened wounds that he thought had healed. He had decided to have a relationship with his father because of his younger half-sister. It shows he was never emotionally ready to have an encounter with his father and was not interested in rebuilding this relationship.

From the above narratives the families involved have decided to purposefully leave unhealthy relationships as they are, and not to consider the possibility of fixing them. Absent fathers should take the responsibility of fixing unhealthy relationships with their children and this could prevent any further psychological damage to future generations.

5.3.2.2. Evolution of relationships

Participant four had mentioned how she was 'daddy's girl' but due to the constant emotional, physical, and financial abuse perpetrated by her father towards her mother; she felt disappointed by him. While participant four's relationship with her father disintegrated, her relationship with her mother improved once she moved out of home. It evolved from perceiving her mother as *"not a nice person"* (due to her unhappiness with having a girl child as a first born) to them having frequent spa and dinner dates together. The close relationship with her mother may have stemmed from both seeking emotional support from each other due to the traumatic abuse they experienced from her father. The counselling sessions organised by the mother may have also propelled them to gain emotional trust in each other. Due to the close relationship that they developed, they would immediately message each other if they felt offended. This indicates that they have an open relationship, and she no longer serves the purpose of just being the mother.

The narratives from participants indicate that those who had a difficult relationship with their mothers experienced a turn-around and became closer as their entered adulthood while those who had an "okay" relationship have maintained that status.

5.3.2.3. Sibling rivalry/favouritism

Most participants indicated that they have a great relationship with their mother's children (full siblings) and not good relations with their father's children (half-

siblings); with the exception of participant two who has a good relationship with his father's only other child. He says she was the main reason behind fostering the relationship with their father when he reconnected with him again. He sees her often and has had a serious talk with her about future plans.

Participant two is the only child from his mother and possibly yearned to have a sibling and he found one in his early twenties. He was willing to forgo of his negative emotions towards his absent father in order to gain a relationship with the sibling he has wanted. The father is now deceased, but he still communicates with the younger sister regularly which indicates that it was her he wanted to connect with.

Participant three and participant six agree that their mother favours the middle sister. Favouritism has even transferred to their children as recounted by participant six: *"Suddenly you know there were plastics and plastics of clothes that granny had bought for my sisters' children that... but she had kept."* (P6, 472)

The two participants do not have any negative feelings towards their mother for buying clothes for the middle sister's children only; their contention is why she always keeps it a secret. This is especially because the middle sister comes home occasionally, so some of the clothes would outgrow her two children. They empathise with their sister as both her children do not have fathers and the sister is also unemployed (she is studying). The mother could also be cognisant of how participants three and six would feel if it looks like she purposely does not buy the other grandchildren clothes. This ultimately is projected as the mother favouring the middle sister as it has always been since childhood. By having this assumption by the other sisters, it strains the relationship they have with the middle sister even more and hence when the middle sister is back home, she usually keeps to herself in her bedroom.

The two older sisters of participant five attended boarding school and she then became responsible for the two younger brothers. This is the reason why she feels their mother was being unfair as she still does not recognise all the hard work she does in the household in comparison to her older sisters. This unequal treatment and non-recognition of participant five can be synonymous with how women have been treated in the workplace in comparison to the race and gender of the other. Since participant five was the only girl child staying full time at home, she then assumed a peer-to-peer role to her mother as is the case in some single mother households (Nixon, Greene & Hogan, 2012). By also looking after her younger brothers, she became more of a house partner rather than a child (Hetherington, 1999). Participant five was frustrated because when the older sisters came back on some weekends and school holidays, she only got temporary relieve (older sisters are extroverts and are hardly at home). According to second wave feminism (Jackson, 2001) women and men can have similar chores in the household to get away from social divisions. In this case had the mother delegated some of the household chores to the younger brothers, this would have relieved participant five so that she does not have subtle resentment towards her older sisters. In this case the females are still being socialised as household keepers. Ironically, it is still the females (all three girls) who are financial reliable for the upkeep of the household and not the younger boy siblings (they are not employed).

Participant one avoids confrontation and engaging in arguments with her siblings. This participant shows an overall distain for her siblings as it is obvious to her that she is not the favourite. Due to her mother having favourites, this has unfortunately had a negative impact on how she interacts with her siblings. She purposely distances herself by ensuring that she comes home when everyone has gone to sleep and on weekends she goes and visits friends.

Some common themes from participants which relate to half-sibling include "we not close", "we see them at funerals" and "we don't see them", which indicates that there is no relationship at all. This informs me that the parents may have not tried to create relationships between the half siblings and participants. In addition, most participants were not interested in building any relations with their half siblings.

The narratives showed that participants treated their mothers' children differently in comparison to their fathers' children.

5.3.2.4. Paternal (be)longing/lack thereof

The experience of losing a father for participant five subsequently led to a disconnection with her paternal family. She recounts how they went from having braai's every Fridays to them not seeing one another anymore. According to the

participant, the paternal family distanced themselves as seen from the quote below: *"They pulled back from us ...At the time we needed them the most."* (P5, 763) She believes that one of the reasons could be that they thought her mother would ask for financial assistance, seeing that she had already resigned permanently from work and had five children to look after.

The family gatherings must have been particularly important for the half-siblings because their father spent four days in a week with the third wife. This left three days that wife one and wife two shared, so these children did not see much of their father (although some were out of school). Participant five relates how her father *"loved family…he tried to unit."* (P5, 745, 747). This shows that without his conscious efforts, none of his family members continued the tradition of gathering.

Participant three says: "They didn't try as adults I think they failed to try to build a relationship with us, that is why I don't see a point." Her sister (participant six) concurs that they did not see their paternal family from the time their father passed on until they were in Grade 8 and Grade 12 respectively: "We grew up and they were not part of our lives at all, so we only met them, when...I think I was in grade 8..." (P3, 218). Her sibling adds that: "No, not at all coz also we didn't have a relationship with them until I was almost out of high school. So, from a when my dad passed away at five years old till I was 18 years old, we didn't know these people." (P6, 806) Both sisters have the same sentiments towards their paternal family. This is because they showed disinterest in all the children (including the half-siblings) and lack of compassion to their mother who had lost a husband.

According to participant two, one of the positive aspects is that a boy could embark on social learning as he interacts with his father. He notes that if they cared, they would have done something, indicating a yearning to have had a relationship with them earlier on in his life. He disapproves of the non-action taken by them until it was too late (he was in tertiary when his grandfather pushed his son to contact participant two).

Some common phrases used to describe the relationships included the following: *"they failed us, they didn't care, indifferent and they deserted us."* With this information, I can conclude that participants display anger and resentment towards the paternal family. Participants also display negative attitude because of their fathers' absence (whether through death or a separation) irrespective of whether they understood the cause of the absence and whether they have fully dealt with it. I was able to have insight of the dynamics of the relationship between the participants and their fathers. Most participants thought that they did not have great fathers and that cascaded to other paternal relationships. For some, it was because they purposely left the family, for some it was because of the bad treatment their mothers experienced from their fathers and the neglect they experienced. Participants also felt disappointed by their paternal family in how they handled the separation, either from divorce or death. Most participants were not willing to make amends and reconnect with their paternal families. In most instances the maternal family stuck together and assisted where possible while there was not much social support from the paternal family. Instead, some of the participants experienced being exorcised by the paternal family. The interviews revealed that there was not much of an attempt from the paternal family to connect with the participants even now in their adult years.

5.3.2.5. Maternal connectedness

Participants were asked whether they got along with their mothers and what do they usually talk about. Participant two who happened to be the only male interviewed seemed to have the most contact with his mother. He still receives daily 'good morning' messages from his mother, and they continuously communicate throughout the day. He indicated that he is closer to his maternal grandmother who lived with them and that he tries not to get too close to his 'ladies' so as to keep them away from any stressful encounters that he may be going through. He is appreciative that his mother sacrificed her youth so she can provide for him. She never married nor had another child after him. His father remarried and he has a good relationship with his stepmother who he also visits frequently.

Participant two had considered changing from his paternal surname to his maternal surname. It was his maternal grandmother who denied him that opportunity. In chapter two I discussed the importance placed on the paternal surname. In African custom, one is required to honour and respect his/her ancestral connection through preserving one's paternal surname (Zulu, 2017). Participant two stated that his current surname served no purpose in his life, therefore confirming that he had no

connection with his paternal ancestors. This is not a surprising sentiment as his maternal family do not acknowledge any cultural practices.

Participant four decided to change her surname back to her mother's as she felt more connected to her maternal family. As a result, she was perceived as disrespectful by her paternal family (father found out after surname change). She further relates how her mother struggled financially to raise her and her younger brother. For that reason, she may have attributed financial support as deserving of the surname change.

Participant five also had a strict mother who is still not approachable. They do not spend much time together even though they live in the same house. She is thankful her mother is very spiritual and that she still managed to raise five children without a stable income. This is also synonymous with mothers who raised children with no stable income while their husbands were migrant labourers. She says the way they show their appreciation to their mother is by taking her out and taking turns to renovate their mother's house which makes her incredibly happy. This shows they want to see their mother happy when she decides that she wants an improvement in her home. There is always a project leader then the other two sisters assist where they can.

I attempted to ascertain if there has been any good relational changes and growth from both the mothers and participants. Some participants had cited that their mothers were strict, and it was hard to get close to them. Participant four confirmed that *"my mother and I never got along,"* but now enjoys monthly dates with her. Participants were provided a platform to reflect on the difficulties they experienced with their single mothers while growing up. Most participants therefore became aware of the sacrifices made by their single parents, and as a result, they appreciate them more. I was also able to ascertain the general upbringing of the participants by looking at their main providers and what type of relationship they have with their mothers. Some cited that they have 'good' and 'not so good', relationships, while others indicated that they share a strictly mother-daughter relationship and others have become friends over the years. It was interesting that none of the single mothers ever remarried after the father was deceased, left the family, or divorced nor did they have any other children.

5.3.3. Theme 3: Support

5.3.3.1. Financial support

As stated above, participant three and participant six's mother did not show any physical affection, but participant six acknowledges that her way of showing affection was through what Maslow's hierarchy of needs hypothesise, manifesting through physiological and safety needs. It entails ensuring there was food on the table and there was shelter over their heads. The provision of food security could be likened with pre-colonial women who were farmers and responsible for food security as mentioned in chapter two (Rankoana, 2016).

For participant six, she mentally had to compartmentalise that although she never experienced the emotional love from her mother, she understood that nourishment was a way of receiving affection from her mother. Her mother continually worked over-time to provide for them that she had an over-sight that her children also yearned for her emotional side.

Participant five recounts how their financial situation got better after her two older sisters started financially supporting the mother and their siblings as seen from the following quote: *"Ja, in tertiary I felt like other kids. Yes, for the first time... It made me feel human; it made me feel like a person."* Apartheid policies made it hard for many black people to find employment which meant that other family members (who were fortunately employed) had to financially support each other.

For this participant to feel like a person only once she started seeing herself like other students in tertiary is evidence that she did not feel worthwhile as an individual and perhaps in a depressed space. The children with absent fathers may have inferior complex, feel less guarded and incomplete when they compare themselves to their counterparts who may have been raised with a married father and mother (Ntarangwi, 2013). Participant five states *"we lived a good life…ja, we lived a larney life."* (P4, 557); when describing life before the murder of her father to feeling incomplete and inferior to her peers shows the emotional trauma she experienced. She also shows symptoms of low self-esteem.

The apartheid policies created financial constraints which were specific to black women regarding restricted economic resources (Mendenhall, Bowman & Zhang, 2013). This participant's mother could not find employment again after she resigned but managed to sustain her family by having a small shop in town that she ran from 1997 to October 2019.

While on the other side participant two knows that he will not be required to pay any 'black-tax' in his family because his mother could adequately provide for herself. He also relates how his mother told him *"I've paid for your fees. There's no, there's no loan that you have to pay for..."* (P2, 90)

Specific to this country where black women have had to contend with gender, race, and class discrimination on top of being economically excluded (Dodge, 2016), employment opportunities were limited for black mothers. Despite the hardship (apartheid policies, gender, race, and class) third wave feminism was about fixing the injustices of the past and advocating more women to become career women (Dekel, 2011). This is how the mother and grandmother were able to gain financial freedom which also gave participant two financial freedom. This cannot be said for some other students who first have to pay off debt before accumulating financial assets for themselves (liquid investments and properties).

When it came to support from the fathers, there was a contrast between participant four and participant five's father's position on education. Although both fathers did not finish school, participant four's father discouraged her mother from taking his children to expensive schools. By advocating that she takes his children to less expensive schools; in doing so the mother does not have to struggle to pay for the fees. This may have been a calculative way in ensuring that the mother does not ask him for financial assistance.

She says her mother was always the breadwinner "my mom was paying for everything as per usual uhm, and there was a time he came to give me like R200 bucks, I remember this so well. He came to give me R200 and yes I bought groceries and that and I remember when I asked him for money again, I think it was another month or two months later, and he was like 'what did you do with the other R200 that I gave you?'" (P4, 32) This father showed a lack of financial accountability towards his children and his wife (even when they were married). His behaviour shows a lack of cognitive understanding that having a family comes with a financial responsibility towards them.

By the mother being the breadwinner and the house belonging to her; put the children in a better Maslow's hierarchy of needs hypothesise because the mother afforded them their basic needs and security as well as their safety needs. This first wave feminism was an important driver in fighting for women property rights (Walters, 2005). This is important to note as according to the father's temperament he was psychologically and financially incapable of providing the first two basic needs.

Participant five's father encouraged the educational programmes and sent all his children to expensive schools (not necessarily because he was wealthy) but because he was emotionally invested in his children's education. She states that *"Dad did not want umuntu ongamqedi isikhole {someone that does not finish school}, so they were fighting about that and the second born failed matric, yes."* (P5, 835). He attended parents-day at the school and helped with their homework. This father only went up to Grade 4 level; he was willing to make financial sacrifices to ensure that his children attain what he possibly was systematically unable to attain (he was a herd boy).

It is evident that majority of the single mothers were in support of their 'children's' educational journey, not only financially but also by being there for school activities. With the previous notion that it was a waste to educate a girl child because they would not pursue their careers further once they got married (Auchmuty, 2012) is what the liberal feminists where against. As it is thought that poor educational achievement is one of the attributes that come from children raised by a single mother (Zulu, 2017); these mothers have proved otherwise. Since the suffrage movement also included higher education opportunities (Dekel, 2011), this proves how the women participants of this study have benefited immensely from these feministic movements. The above mothers of these women dispelled that notion and proved that education for their girl-children was important for their economic liberation for the future regardless of whether they got married or stayed single.

Participant one, participant two, participant four and participant five all refer to shoes in their narratives. Participant two recounts how his dad bought him a red pair of shoes which did not fit him because he was never around to confirm shoe sizes. Participant four believes "...like you need to be like going to a shop with your father to see that he's buying you shoes, you know..." (P4, 364). For her this quote amplifies what a father should be to a child. He should be present and be a provider. Participant five (having worn the same netball takkies for two years) also had to contend with wearing the same three school shirts until matric and school shoes that had holes in them.

The narratives above indicate that there is a psychological link between fathers' presence in ensuring materialistic provision for their children and feeling the need to have fathers providing these material goods (financial support). There seems to be a sense of psychological need for absent fathers to have been able to physically buy clothes as this transcends to the emotional cover up of having an absent father to the rest of society. Fortunately for all the participants, the financial support and emotional support from the mothers was adequate.

5.3.3.2. Emotional support

Participant two went through therapy (for children who had lost their fathers) in primary school but knowing fully well he was alive, as he says; *"in all honesty, in my head, he was dead to me,"* so he had already given up on their relationship due to him inflicting emotional trauma.

This participant wanted to mentally forget his father's existence because to him he was not just physically absent, but he offered no emotional support. The emotional support from his mother and grandmother was also inadequate in covering the void of the absent father as he showed signs of anger and resentment towards his father.

Participant five says that when she cries to her mother, the latter holds a prayer session with her where they sing a hymn. Her ending words of the interview were as follows:

"She made me a very strong woman and above it all, she made me love God." (P5, 1181)

She continued:

"Yes, the confidence. And eny'into {another thing}, yangenza {another thing that made me} like she helped me with is ukuthi {it's that} uhm, I always knew that God had my back." (P5, 1247)

The quotes above show she is routed in God. The emotional issues this participant felt was alleviated by the spiritual connection she had with God which is how her mother learnt to let go of the anger that would have emanated from losing her husband and material goods to her sister-wives. The mother also leaned on participant five for emotional support and it sometimes made participant five feel uncomfortable as she relates *"I think she was scared to tell her friends maybe or anybody else, so she ended up talking to me. Even most of the things, like, most of the things I didn't understand were adult things."* (P5, 951). The mother and daughter had a psychological understanding of the issues they faced since they interacted with one another the most, that even if the daughter felt it was inappropriate of her.

Participant four confirms that although her mother may be supportive in other areas, she still discourages her from discussions involving a potentially great husband because she feels that all men are cheaters. She is cognisant about her not being able to go to her mother for advice as her mother would not have anything positive to say to her about relationship concerns. It is interesting to note that even after they went through therapy sessions, the mother still has animosity towards the father of her children. She said:

"I would just maybe speak to somebody else about that. So that is why I'm saying I select what I speak to my mother about. There's a lot my mom does not know..." (P4, 186)

Her mother's negativity towards marriage stems from her own experiences with having an emotionally and financially abusive husband, that she possibly does not have her daughter to experience the same trauma. It is said that black adolescents would much rather delay marriage than their white counterparts (Moore, 2013); this could be also attributed not wanting to be emotionally scarred. Participant four also believes in women being financially and emotionally secure in supporting themselves before looking for affirmation in someone else. She states below: "We saw men leaving and we're like flip, you have to have your own money. You have to stand on your own two feet. You have to have a career. You cannot be sitting there waiting for a man to marry you so that you can have a life, so that he can pay for a house and pay for everything. You have to do your own thing." (P4, 598). It is undoubtedly clear that most of the mothers have been pillars and the participants have a great sense of gratitude and somewhat still rely on them for support, whether financially or emotionally. Some mothers also have relied on their daughters for the same support. These symbiosis relationships have proved to be positive as some mothers are now financially and emotionally well taken care by their daughters and sons.

5.3.4. Theme 4: Parenting style

During the interviews with participants, it became clearer that the nature of the relationship between a participant and his/her mother is one of the determining factors in the well-being of the latter. I extrapolated two types of parenting styles that will be discussed below.

5.3.4.1. Authoritarian parenting style

Participant five confirms that even today her mom is still unapproachable, as seen from the quote below:

"Even now she wants to be closer, she asks about boyfriends and stuff but [laughs], I can't really open up to her and talk about basics..." (P5, 128).

Her authoritarian parenting style she believes, is because she has a lot on her mind as a single mother and she is focused on raising her children as opposed to being 'friendly' with them.

"Yes, she would be calling and stuff. The next morning, nje useyathetha" {she's shouting}. (P5, 247)

Participant five understands her mother was frustrated as her sternness and short temper were due to her wanting to protect her children. The mother wanted to stem her position of motherhood so her children would understand that she is not their friend. For this participant, the gap caused by her strictness has caused an intimate gap even when the mother now wants to establish a friendship with her children. Participant four knew her role the mother-daughter relationship as strictly that of being a daughter which has evolved today. She said:

"She was mother. I take care of you I do this for you, I cook for you. You're a child in my house, you respect me, you don't back chat me, my mom was like that." (P4, 92). This participant knew that if she wanted to go out with friends, she would never approach her mother because of her strictness. She would rather go to her father as he did not concern himself about her safety. She says, *"My dad was laissez-faire."* (P4,98) and was intoxicated most days so he was not cognitively aware what was happening in most cases.

From the two participants, authoritarian mothers are strict. In terms of participant five, their mother-daughter relationship is still strict although the mother wants to change the relationship, but she is not allowing her to get closer. While with participant four, her mother has become a 'friend' to her where they have special monthly dates just for the two of them, she even mentions that they are able to be both adults and have wine together and no longer act as 'mother-and-daughter'.

5.3.4.2. Permissive parenting style

Participant three and participant six confirm that their mother is a person of a few words and avoids confrontation, but it gets frustrating when she does not intervene as the parent when misunderstandings amongst the girls come up. That is the reason why both sisters think the mother always lets the middle sister get away with issues that need to be addressed.

Their mother may portray a permissive parenting style, but it could be due to her quiet nature which is misconstrued as permissible. It could be that she did not want to be stern for fear of driving her daughters away from her. It is said that single parents lacked true discipline, but it was not the mothers' fault as it was not in their nature to be disciplinarians (King, 2015). Had she had the father help raise her daughters then this would have given her the opportunity to display more warmth and connect with her daughters. There are still issues to be addressed by this family because they are unable to honestly confront issues and they then build up on another which could end up affecting the children of the participants. The family is not outright confrontational in general.

5.3.5 Theme 5: Psychological state

Bringing up historical accounts is bound to evoke some emotions. While engaging with participants, it became apparent that some displayed resilience and shared how their past made them stronger while others felt discomfort in narrating their life histories, especially in relation to their fathers. I discuss these two themes below.

5.3.5.1. Resilience

Participant five is grateful to her mother for fortifying her strength through the love for God. Due to financial constraints, her mother could never afford to take her to a preexam lunch dates like her peers, but she imparted words of wisdom through a message that was written on a school ruler she received. She narrates thus: "...what my mother got me before my exams was a ruler. It was written 'if others can pass matric, so can I''' (P5, 1135). It has also become a consistent reminder that, "people can take everything from you, they can possess everything, but they can't possess your education" (P5, 1143).

Participant three has learned that one needs to be focused on their goals and that extra support is not necessary to attain those goals. This is because she witnessed her single mother going through difficulties, but she was able to remain strong and afford a good life for them without any support from anybody.

"I think as an individual, I'm I'm capable of doing absolutely anything I put my mind to. Err...Yes, by yourself, you don't need extra support, or you know someone to push you around. As long as you have your mind set and focussed and you have goals, and you can do it." (P3, 250-252).

Her mother was her only example of resilience and because she never had a partner as a support system, she too does not think that one needs to have a partner to be an exemplary mother (she is currently thinking of filing for divorce)

Participant two also confirms that he did not lack anything by being raised by his single mother, and whatever failures he encounters would entirely be his own irresponsibility. He would not blame anyone but himself." *Uhm, I, again, whatever failures that I do have I'm not going to blame them also.*" (P2, 519)

This indicates his level of maturity as he is aware that his bad decisions may have severe consequences for which he cannot blame on being raised by a single mother. That being raised in hardships should not be a reason for bad behaviour.

Participant four (along with her younger brother) ceased expecting certain material goods from their mother because they knew that their home financial situation is in dire straits. Growing up in a financially restrained environment effectuated strong characters into them. Therefore, they were moulded to prevent their mother from going through unnecessary emotional stress.

"And when I say understanding I mean we ended up like not asking like for Christmas clothes. We ended up not asking for what we wanted like even if you wanted to have like a cell phone coz like other kids have cell phones, you knew you couldn't because you knew the situation financially you know." (P4, 24) These two siblings were cognisant of not asking for the material goods they wanted because they knew that there would not get them. They had to be content with the needs that their mother provided for them.

The above subtheme can be looked at from a positive perspective as it displays the important role that single mothers play in moulding resilient young people who are not deterred from facing any adversaries. This as (Zulu, 2017) puts as "some single mothers can demonstrate positive role modelling, adaptive coping mechanisms, personal strength, and financial independence which can inspire the young person without a father to seek high career outcomes, financial autonomy and responsibility" (p.11).

Looking back at circumstances that black people as a nation have gone through (i.e., colonisation, apartheid, and racism); it is not surprising that most arguably display (and have built up) a sense of strong resilience against difficulties that they come across.

5.3.5.2. Longing for a father (or father figure)

Participant three does not think she was any worse off than her friends that had lived with their fathers. According to her, they were as irresponsible as those who had absent fathers who were still alive because of physical and emotional contributions by fathers. Their friends still longed to have 'present' fathers in as much as they stayed with their fathers.

"From my experiences with my friends, there's not much of a relationship with their fathers." (P3, 182)

The same sentiments were felt by her older sister participant six as seen below: *"I think in just everyway uhm coz also these are trying who uhm had the, our friends who do have dads, their dads aren't particularly very present, like you know just on a physical, emotional level with them. Even though they lived with them."* (P6, 882) Participant six admits that although her mother did fine without her father, she acknowledges that she wants to raise her children with a present father as she enjoyed his presence when he was alive.

Both sisters' experiences with friends' fathers as negative. Even outside of their home, they were not exposed to good father role models. These exemplary fathers they got to witness in the fathers of their own children.

Participant two feels that seeing his father for those two years opened wounds that he thought had healed. He wants to be an active father for his children one day and says he does not want to see his children's milestone via videos; he wants to be physically there for his future children.

This participant understands the importance of the role that a father plays in their children's lives, and should he experience fatherhood; he wants to be fully involved in the early development of his own children. This is an indication that he longed for his own father to have been around in his early stages of life. That by meeting him opened emotions about him he thought he had buried.

As mentioned in the fatherhood section, some children have a yearning to be connected to their paternal side, despite the immense support that mothers provide for them. For the majority of my participants, they do not view fatherhood in a deplorable way as they want to have their own families even though they had missing fathers, they are extremely optimistic about their futures. The experience taught them to be resilient, above anything. Participants who grew up without present fathers acknowledged that the social impact that they have had to deal with long periods of time was not bearable at times. Some expressed the real need to have a father's guidance in life and how much of an impact it would have made in terms of having better opportunities in life (mainly monetary opportunities).

5.3.6. Theme 6: Absent-presence

Some themes (and subthemes) are clearly demarcated within the participants narratives but there are certain absent-presence themes. I discuss these below.

5.3.6.1. Shifting of responsibilities

Participant four feels that her father was extremely irresponsible when he had to become the stern parent. He would rather make her mother an unpopular parent. She said:

"My dad was just like aagg, like where do you want to go. Like even if I had said, I'm going with four boys, he probably would say said go, you know. He was that type of leader; he was that type of father. He did not care, if I went out and got raped, it would have just been a, you know, coz my father was just like not responsible. He was just like not responsible at all." (P4, 100)

Therefore, his absence in the end did not have much of an impact on them as he already displayed absent characteristics earlier on in their lives.

Ironically according to Craig and Mullan (2011), mothers were not seen as disciplinarians, in this family the mother took on the responsibility of being the disciplinarian. This indicates that parental roles are not necessarily subjective to gender and single parents can play both roles.

Participant six feels that her mother is not confrontational. As a result, she ends up with the bulk of home responsibilities. Her father was hands-on; therefore, she feels his presence would alleviate a lot of the responsibilities.

"Then they can just dump all the responsibilities on me, even without asking me." (P6, 216)

"He was very active in our lives and he's the parent that we remember that you know, was he was more nurturing." (P6, 558)

For participant six, she feels her mother's lack of disciplining her sisters in terms of house-chores, leaves her with the bulk of responsibilities. It frustrates her because she feels she is portrayed as the help by her family. She would like for everyone to

be responsible for their children and respect each other. She yearns for her father's presence as he was nurturing, and he would have assisted with the children (his six grandchildren).

Participant five also feels that her siblings use her as a babysitter prodigiously. She ends up playing the mother role in addition to playing the 'mother' to her two younger siblings.

"Yes, the two younger brothers, so I had to clean the house, take care of my younger brothers, cook. I started cooking only in standard four up until matric back-to-back, every day." (P5, 335)

"...come back and do the ironing, Sunday I had to be at church, I had to wake up at, you know I had to wake up at five. Every Sunday up until this day; I had to wake up at five, cook Sunday meal." (P5, 349)

Her mother was working at her shop in town; she delegated her motherly duties to participant five because there was no one else to look after them. For participant five, she feels her mother and sisters are shifting the responsibility of their grandchildren and children respectively to her. The younger brothers have grown but there is now another generation that is looking up to her for nurturing. Second wave feminism women were resisting socialised gender roles (Jackson, 2001). It seems participants five mother is in support of patriarchal segregated roles by still making her cook every Sunday while she has two adult sons who are just as capable of preparing Sunday lunches.

5.3.6.2. Consequences of absenteeism

Participant one feels that she would have been afforded better career choices if her father were present in her life as there would have been funds for her to further her studies.

"That I would say with 100% with lack of success coz maybe you know I would have had the opportunity to further my studies or somewhere, so ja." (P1, 148) Participant one is not blaming her mother for the outcome of her life, but she is aware that father absenteeism has negative consequences. In her case she could not further her studies due to lack of finances. Participant four is not able to have long term relationships as she encounters men who are similar in characteristics to her father.

"Definitely for me the daddy issues and I'm talking about negative now. Uhm and and for me its relationships, coz even if I look at my entire relationship history, I feel like I've never met a good man. To this day, actually I don't think I have met someone who I can say 'this is different to my father'" (P4, 512)

"Coz I'm just like, maybe 'my daddy issues are still not fixed', you know." (P4, 528)

This frustrates her as she is now ready to have a family of her own but not at the cost of her psychological well-being. She does not think the emotional trauma from her past is fixed and this is negatively preventing her from finding a partner to build a good life with.

5.3.6.3. Sheltered from scarring

In as much as participant six confirms that her father was a great father, but he also displayed a negative side to his personality that affected their mother the most. With his 'presence' she thinks her mother would have been tormented but knows that she would have divorced her father eventually. She feels it must have psychologically and emotionally freed her mother when the father passed away thus making him an absent father despite the sadness of the occurrence.

"Yes, the evidence is there that you know he was a philanderer [laughs], but uhm another positive is mom was able to, you know I think it freed my mom that my dad passed away." (P6, 912)

"Yes, and I and I I would have supported her, now I would have supported her leaving him because he was extremely abusive." (P6, 914)

There is sadness in the death of her father, at the same time there is joy because her mother was no longer abused by him. The father's death also emotionally and psychologically freed his children as participant six confirms that she would have supported her parents' divorce because of his abusive nature.

Children of migrant labourer fathers could be forgiven for thinking, believing, and interpreting their fathers' absence (and being away) as a ploy to shift their fatherly duties to mothers and other men (to play father figure roles). Children and wives of migrant labourers experienced emotional and financial trauma as a result of the absence of a father figure in the household. While some participants still had fathers alive, they still felt they were not physically available because of their actions. Their actions transpired to other paternal relationships which are important and would have been great if initiative were taken. Other participants felt that it made no difference whether their fathers were absent or present, all that mattered was being blessed with the single mother who is capable of raising well-rounded 'children', who would contribute positively to society and become a good law-abiding citizens of this country. These are participants who look forward to starting their own families or who are already raising their own children.

5.4. Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter allowed the researcher to ascertain the general upbringing of participants by looking at their main providers and what type of relationship they have with their mothers. Some participants cited good and not so good relationship, while others indicated that it was strictly mother-daughter type of a relationship and others have become friends over the years. It was interesting that none of the mothers remarried after the father was deceased, left the family, or divorced from the mother. Participants narrated their feelings on how their mothers raised them and how their relationship has grown and evolved from childhood to adulthood. Some participants reflected on the difficulties experienced by their single mothers while they raised them. As a result, they realise the sacrifices made for them and hence appreciate their mothers more.

Some of the literature review put more emphasis on the importance of fathers in their children and that without their role, children raised by single mothers have difficulty succeeding in life from a societal perspective. That the children may have inferior complexes and that specific to girl-children; that they may feel angry, frustrated, and

distressed. From the participants, there was none who did not feel that they had succeed from their perspectives. They all exhibited confidence in who they had become, whether it was career wise, parenthood-wise, or academically. Most of the female participants displayed no negative emotions towards being raised by single mothers, this is especially important to note as the majority of my participants were females. From the above the literature review contradicts some of the findings from this study.

From all of the above it is evident that participants who were raised by single mothers for the most part grew up to be 'normal' adults who seemed to have not uncounted any legal issues, drug abuse or any social awkwardness that is arguably often associated with troubled children who do not have fathers in their lives.

CHAPTER 6 SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

6.1. Summary

One of the aims of this study was to explore psycho-social effects of being raised by single mothers and the type of relationships they have with their mothers and their paternal family. mostly how the participants view their lives then and now. From the interviews, it would seem the majority of them have a positive outlook on their lives in how they were raised and bear no heartache over being raised by single mothers. Another aim was to see the sort of support received from mothers and the sort of financial and emotional difficulties they came across and how all parties managed to triumph over it. This is because some 'children' who had supportive fathers are now deceased and those who have fathers who are alive but are nonsupportive. It should therefore be noted that a father can be present in the physical sense but still be emotionally absent, or vice-versa, whereby they are physically absent but are emotionally supportive from afar (Mavungu, 2013). The participants from this study gave praise to their mothers for experiencing great upbringing from them. One objective was to investigate emotional connections with family and ascertain whether there were any relations between participants and the paternal side of their family. There seemed to be minimal contact with paternal families, if at all. I also noted that some mothers kept children away from their paternal family because fathers were absent voluntarily or not paying any child maintenance. Another objective was seeing if they experienced financial and emotional difficulties. Children need more than financial support from their fathers. They need an emotional connection to their paternal side of the family as well. However, children who do not have a connection to the paternal side, are not any less fortunate or lessprivileged as seen with the participants who are successful, are emotionally sane and have great relationships outside of their immediate families. The quality of resources provided by the parent matters the most than the gender of the parent providing that security (Amato & Rivera, 1999). One of the objectives was to determine if the parents had different parenting styles. This was confirmed by some participants citing their mothers as stricter, while others cited that their fathers would have played great guiding roles.

Another objective of this study was to trace whether there was any form of physical, emotional, and financial abuse experienced by the participants. Data revealed that the majority of the participants experienced more than one form of abuse. Ironically, the form of abuse and lessons learnt seem to have shaped them to be exceptional adults who contribute positively to society. The general overall objective was to examine the emotional impact experienced by the participants and how this had affected them to this day. All the above summarises what outcome of life they have attained despite being raised by single mothers.

In as much as Africa and to be specific South Africa, has overcome colonisation and apartheid, their ramifications cannot be taken for granted (Gumede, 2015). To some extent, the current problems are deeply rooted from the effects of colonisation (Bassil, 2005). It may have changed the way Africans look at family set-up where single parenting became a norm although evidence seem to suggest that this was exacerbated by the migrant labour system where the children were deprived opportunities to be raised by their fathers (Dawn, 1994). According to Richter & Morrel (2006), this disrupted all aspects of family life as it became a norm for families not to represent the nucleus family status-quo. The disruption inadvertently may have affected the children's well-being because it was also not always possible that the two parents contribute to family expenses as some fathers neglected their responsibilities. If mothers did not have any external assistance (as was the case with most of my participants), they were left to their own demise. If one reflects to precolonial times, women oversaw crop farming. Therefore, with the provision of food (Rankoana, 2016), any financial difficulties that mothers could have come across would have been mitigated because they could barter and be able to adequately sustain the household. It should be noted that majority of the participants were females. Society has come a long way in promoting conducive, fair, and adequate labour laws for females as well as female education and equal (with their male counterparts) wage payment (Bowman, 2014).

Two participants know that they do not want any more children. Therefore, their decision could be linked to another aspect of feminism, the right to women's sexuality and reproductive rights (Bowman, 2014), which was a great stride in ensuring women do not have more children than they can afford. Some may have

rejected feminism and may have seen it as an ideology brought about from the western structures (Kolawole, 2002). However, one cannot deny the positive impact it had on African women as well. Even though it was colonisation that brought missionary schooling that promoted boy-child education (Olurode, 2011; Oyěwùmí, 1997) and it was colonisation that brought Christianity with the teaching that 'men were the head of the house and women the weaker sex (Walters, 2005); the works of feminism cannot be denied in bringing women empowerment to the forefront. One cannot deny the pivotal role that single mothers are playing now, similar to the leadership roles they played in precolonial times and during times of nation building (Shamase, 2014). It is no wonder that the mothers of the participants are portraying their genesis roles of being leaders in their own home and raising children who are nation builders of future generations. All the above paragraphs summarise the aim that entails life-lessons imparted to children raised by single mothers and how these participants have positively utilised them in navigating through life.

In relation to the research topic what was found was that experiences of being raised by single mother for the participants did not in anywhere impede of their drive to succeed in life. Some may have had difficulties in terms of financial and emotional challenges but that did not make them think that they were any less fortunate than those who were raised by both parents. This may be attributed to that some participants did not see their upbringing as lacking because they had supportive mothers. Although some did not have adequate clothing, they are grateful for the efforts that their single mother made in ensuring that they were well taken care off.

6.2. Limitations

One of the main limitations was that I did not get enough male representation in the study as men tend to be uncomfortable talking about their psychological and emotional trauma, especially if they are not yet ready to deal with them head on. Another limitation was the familiarity between me and the participants which may have limited them in terms of opening up about their experiences. Most participants were also not able to interpret their feelings appropriately, regardless of their gender. Therefore, I was unable to probe deeply in terms of getting their true feelings about being raised by single mothers. The biggest disruption to this study was the delays caused by covid-19 which limited interaction and traveling during the higher level of lockdown.

6.3. Recommendations and contributions

More studies should look into how 'children' are psycho-socially affected as a result of being raised by single mothers. Perhaps a longitudinal study should investigate their lives from childhood into adulthood in terms how they fare (i.e., succeed or fail) through life. The intention of this study was also to fill the gap in literature wherein the past the focus was on fatherhood and motherhood and not necessarily on the children.

I hope that this dissertation has contributed to South Africa by retelling stories of children who do not feel inadequate or inferior because they were raised by single mothers. It was also to inform those who will never know their paternal family that it does not mean that they are destined for less of a life or that they will not live fulfilled and sustainable lives if there is no interaction with the paternal family. I was hoping to show the effects single parenting had on the self-esteem and dignity of the 'children' with regards to having absent paternal parenting. As a result, this research has found virtually no difference in problem solving behaviour, self-esteem, or relationship quality of the children of single mothers any more than single fathers (Dufur, Howell, Downey, Ainsworth & Lapray, 2010). Meaning single mother children thrive just as much as any other child.

The children should not feel incapable of being fully-fledged participants in society, economically and socially. Children should not feel any sort of resentment towards their fathers (who were absent either due to natural occurrences or whether it was by choice or any other circumstances for that matter) or the parental side of the family specifically relations with their half-siblings.

I also hope to expand the literature on children and their mothers, specifically, how they relate to each other. More research needs to be done specifically on the psychological aspects that impact these 'children' who grow up to be adults. These aspects include psychological exclusions, trials and tribulations, joys and frustrations. Overall, specific research is required to unpack the emotional toll (on the children) that comes with being raised by a single mother. The important conclusion here is that the participants experienced financial and/or emotional difficulties from being raised by single mothers, but this has not negatively affected their positive future prospects.

CHAPTER 7 REFERENCES

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APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

I, ______ (participant name), hereby agree to take part in the research on "A phenomelogical study of children who were raised by single mothers". I have been told about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.

I have been assured that I will be treated with respect during and after the conduction of the interview session.

I agree to the recording of the semi-structured interview.

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I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.

I have been made aware that psychological assistance can be arranged should I feel any level of discomfort during and after the interview.

(places print)

Participant Name & Sumame	(please print)
Participant Signature	Date
Researcher's Name & Surname(p	lease print)
Researcher's signature	. Date

APPENDIX B: Interview guide

Questions to ask Participants

- 1. Who is...?
 - a. Tell me about yourself (age, educational background, career etc)?
 - b. Where did you grow up?
- 2. Do have siblings?
- 3. Whose surname are you using?
- 4. What it was like to be raised in a single-mother house?
- 5. Do you feel your mother contributed much to your life?
- 6. Describe how you got along with your mother?
- 7. Do you tell your mother private things?
- 8. Did you tell your mother everything that made you unhappy, while growing up?
- 9. What kind of things do you not talk to your mother about?
- 10. Do you argue with your mother?
- 11. What do you argue about?
- 12. How do you make up?
- 13. What things does/did your mother do for you?
- 14. What things do you do for your mother?
- 15. Did you father pass away or did your parents separate
 - a. At what age did this occur
 - b. Do you think life would have been better had it not occurred?
- 16. Did you ever have any contact with your biological father?
 - a) What memories do you have of him?
 - b) How often would he visit?
 - c) Did he contribute financially
 - d) Did he contribute emotionally
 - e) What relations do they have to the paternal family if any?
 - f) Why have you kept in contact with the paternal family or why have you not kept contact with the paternal family?
- 17. How do you feel about your paternal side of the family, is there any contact with them?
 - a. Did they contribute to your success?
 - b. Did they contribute to your lack of success?
- 18. 'Are there any social benefits derived from having a father?'
- 19. Let us talk about how having a father would have helped you?
- 20. Are there any positives or negatives that you have experienced by not having a father?
- 21. How do you relate to yourself being raised by single mothers?



COLLEGE OF HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

14 May 2020

Dear Athandile Slindile Hadebe

NHREC Registration # : Rec-240816-052 CREC Reference # : 2020-PsyREC-45585806

Decision: Ethics Approval from 14 May 2020 to 31 August 2023

Researcher(s): Athandile Slindile Hadebe

Supervisor(s): Dr. Khonzi Mbatha

mbathk@unisa.ac.za

A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF CHILDREN WHO WERE RAISED BY SINGLE MOTHERS.

Qualification Applied: MA Psychology

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Unisa Department of Psychology College of Human Science Ethics Committee. Ethics approval is granted for three years.

The *low risk application* was reviewed and expedited by Department of Psychology College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee, on **14 May 2020** in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment.

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that:

1. The researcher(s) will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.



- Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the Department of Psychology Ethics Review Committee.
- 3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.
- 4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing, accompanied by a progress report.
- 5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.
- 6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data require additional ethics clearance.
- No fieldwork activities may continue after the expiry date (31 August 2023). Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.

Note:

The reference number **2020-PsyREC-45585806** should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.

Yours sincerely,

Maadise

Signature :

Prof K. Masemola Executive Dean: CHS E-mail: masemk@unisa.ac.za Tel: (012) 429 2298



Signature :

Prof I. Ferns

Ethics Chair: Psychology

Email: fernsi@unisa.ac.za

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