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Attitudes of people towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa: an analysis of the demographic and socio-economic determinants

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Attitudes of people towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa: *An analysis of the demographic and socio-economic determinants*



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A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HEALTH DEMOGRAPHY

Declaration

I, Pelisa Nongena declare that this paper is my own original work, submitted to the Department of Demography and population studies (DPS), University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts Degree in Health Demography. To the best of my knowledge, it has not been submitted before in part or in full for any degree or Examination at this or any other University.

……..

…….. Day, of……, 2019

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Glory be to God Almighty for the mercies, grace, guidance and blessings that he gave me to gain the strength and courage to make a success of this research report.

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To all my friends and colleagues at DPS who helped me in one way or the other, may God richly bless you.

DEDICATION

This paper is heartily dedicated to my late mother, Marion Nozintombi Mtyida.

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ABSTRACT

Background: *It is widely recognized that the institutions of marriage and family have been undergoing transformation, especially during the second half of the twentieth century. The increase in the number of same-sex marriages and parents is soaring in the African continent. Changes in laws and developments in reproductive technologies have made it possible for same-sex partners to become parents in many African countries, including South Africa. However, the practice remains highly stigmatized by the general public.*

Methods: *This study used secondary statistics acquired from the 2016 SA Social Attitude Survey. The Survey consisted of 3500 male and female residents of South Africa aged 16 years and above. However, the analytic sample size used in this study was 2679 respondents who were citizens of South Africa, and the remaining 821 non-citizens were dropped. The Descriptive variables used in the study include age, sex, race, religious affiliation, educational attainment, employment status, marital status, income, satisfaction with health, access to TV, and access to radio. The outcome variable was attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa. A chi square test and multinomial logistic regression was carried out to determine the socio-demographic factors associated with attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children in South Africa. The multinomial logistic regression was divided into five models, the first one showing socio demographic characteristics, second one outlining socio-economic characteristics and a third one showing success to media. The fourth model shows access to media and the fifth one is an all-inclusive model.*

Results: *The study found that 56% of the respondents agree that same-sex couples must be allowed to raise children in South Africa. Results from the multinomial logistic regression all-inclusive model indicate that the only sociodemographic characteristics significantly associated with attitudes are Race, type of residence and access to TV.*

Conclusion: *These findings are expected to inform policy interventions and programs such as the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Intersex and Questioning National task (LGBTQI+IQ NTT), the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and IMPACT-which are aimed at reducing same-sex stigma and promote childcare.*

Definition of Terms

Transgender/Trans: encompassing term of many gender identities of those who do not identify or exclusively identify with their sex assigned at birth.

Queer: A term for people of marginalized gender identities and sexual orientations who are not cisgender and/or heterosexual.

Gender Expression: The physical manifestation of one's gender identity through clothing, hairstyle, voice, body shape, etc. (typically referred to as masculine or feminine).

Gender Identity: One's internal sense of being male, female, neither of these, both, or other gender(s). Everyone has a gender identity, including you.

Sexual Orientation: A person's physical, romantic, emotional, aesthetic, and/or other form of attraction to others.

Heteronormative / Heteronormativity: These terms refer to the assumption that heterosexuality is the norm, which plays out in interpersonal interactions and society and furthers the marginalization of queer people.

LGBTQQIAPP+: A collection of identities short for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, a romantic, pansexual, polysexual (sometimes abbreviated to LGBT or LGBTQ+).

Chapter 1: Background and Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

It is widely recognized that the institutions of marriage and the family have been undergoing transformation, especially during the second half of the twentieth century. Same-sex marriages are one of the institutions of marriage that are gaining a foothold in the international arena. Same-sex families are couples of the same-sex raising children as parents or foster parents (Lubbe, 2007). Since 2001, countries such as Argentina, Canada, Iceland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Portugal, Mexico City, Spain, South Africa, and some regions within the United States began to legally formalize same-sex marriages, (Lubbe, 2007). Same-sex marriage has been legal in South Africa since the Civil Union Act came into force on 30 November 2000 (Chapter 2 of the constitution of South Africa, section 9). The Constitution of South Africa prohibits 'unfair' discrimination, whether of a direct or indirect nature on any ground, including on the ground of sexual orientation (Amended text of the constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

There has been an increase in the number of same-sex marriages and parents in the African continent over the years, (Chammie & Mirkin 2011). However, it is difficult to obtain an accurate count of same-sex parent families because many are not open about their sexual orientation due to the fear of discrimination, such as loss of employment, loss of child custody, and antigay violence (Soeker et al., 2015). However, in 2010, about 3000 same-sex marriages were recorded in South Africa (Dan, 2010). Further, an estimated 8% of children in South Africa live with same-sex parents (Perry and Whitehead 2015).

Changes in laws and developments in reproductive technologies have made it possible for same-sex partners to become parents in many African countries, including South Africa (Meezan & Rauch, 2005) Same -sex families are becoming more common, along with other diverse family forms. The second demographic transition has also played a role in the changing family structures, (Gates, 2015)

A highest level of injustice can be found in relation to the issue of adoption of minors by same-sex couples, (Tombolato et al., 2018). Culture and religion are one of the factors resulting in poor acceptance of same-sex parenting in Africa, (IEC booklet, 2015). Furthermore, in a study by (Meezan & Rauch, 2005) seven and eight in ten people, aged 40 years or older, reported they "disagree" or "strongly disagree" with the idea of same-sex couples adopting girls and boys; the disagreement is higher among older people.

1.2 Problem statement

While same-sex unions are legalized in South Africa, the practice remains highly stigmatized by the general public (Loves et al,2008). One study found that the causes of stigmatization include cultural and religious practices (Lubbe, 2008). A study found that religion rejects same-sex intimacy, particularly Christianity and the African traditional religion (Becker, 2008). The Christian and African traditional religions condemn some forms of prejudice, such as racial or ethnic prejudice they still practice others like prejudice on the basis of sexual orientation, (Nkosi, 2017;Vahakangas ,2019).This shows inconsistency in these religions.

A person's religion influences their views on same-sex unions (Costa, 2012). While many same-sex couples believe they must abandon their religious faith (nearly 50% of this community sample no longer endorse a "formal religion") in order to accept their sexuality. In addition, 37% of a sample of same-sex couples (n = 487) had experienced verbal harassment or abuse because of their sexual orientation while 15% had been asked to leave their faith or religious community because of their sexual orientation (Polders and Wells, 2009). Same-sex couples are subject to violence, social isolation, heteronormativity (assumption that heterosexuality is the only sexual orientation or the only norm, and that sexual and marital relations are only fitting between people of opposite sex), discrimination, homophobia and families disowning members (Plannui, 2007).

Same-sex couples are understood as arising from a crisis in the family institution, but rather, it is a reflection of recurrent changes in society, thus, same-sex couples raising children is seen as peripheral or illegitimate, (Goldberg & Gartrell, 2014). As afore mentioned, laws recognising same-sex marriages were passed in countries across the world, followed by laws permitting them to adopt and raise children. These events represent a milestone victory for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBTQI+Q+) rights. In the everyday life of same-sex families, this means a legal protection that can contribute to change the way society look at these family configurations, to break down prejudice and discrimination, and to deter violence, (Golombok, 2015). According to literature these attitudes are driven by lack of knowledge, religion, culture and other social barriers. One reason, amongst many others why same-sex couples do not adopt or bear biological children could be related to the overall attitudes toward same-sex couples having children which only a few studies have been done in the country. One study found that people think same-sex couple adoption is wrong as a matter of principle and not good for children, (Dobrin ,2016).

1.3 Justification

Same–sex families have the same rights as all other citizens in South Africa, including the right to raising children (Lenity, 2007). The constitution of South Africa prohibits unfair discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (Perry and Whitehead, 2015). The terms of the new constitution give same-sex couples permission to advocate their right to establish life partnerships, become eligible to adopt children, keep custody of their own children in divorce proceedings, and, more recently, to be able to establish co-parenting (Ozturk,2011).

Furthermore, children in South Africa have the right to safe, supportive and healthy living arrangements. With HIV/AIDS and other causes of death contributing to adult mortality and leaving a substantial proportion of orphans in the country, same-sex couples offer an avenue of adoption for these children. These couples can provide children with both physical and financial resources that otherwise may not have been available to them (Adoption care center, 2018).

South Africa is characterized by the co-existence of progressive legislation upholding the rights of same-sex couples (Civil union Act, 2006). In 2002, the court granted same-sex couples the same financial status as that enjoyed by heterosexual partners. Also in 2002, the court allowed adoption by same-sex couples. In 2003, the court entitled same-sex couples to the same financial benefits as unmarried cohabiting heterosexual couples. In the same year, it granted legitimacy to children born to same-sex couples as a result of artificial insemination. In 2004, the Supreme Court of Appeal ordered that the government extend full civil marriage status to same-sex couples, (Lin and Button, 2016). It can be concluded that this has made people more accepting to what was earlier known as a “queer” or an unnatural act.

This study investigated the attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children in South Africa. This research hopes to contribute to understanding the prevalent positive and negative attitudes and the characteristics of the population which perpetuate these attitudes, while informing policies (the LGBTQI+ National task team) and programs (the Housing and Urban Development and Impact). The LGBTQI+ National Task Team (NTT) was established by the department of justice. The purpose of the NTT is to develop a national intervention strategy to address gender and sexual orientation-based violence against same-sex couples, especially in the criminal justice system (Ozturk, 2011). There are programs like Impact and HUD, which are aimed at improving the lives of same-sex couples through research (Ozturk, 2011).

Socio-demographic characteristics were also measured to provides data regarding research participants and to determine whether the individuals in the study are a representative sample of the target population for generalization purposes, (Costa et al.,2012). These characteristics are likely to influence people's attitudes and opinions.

1.4 Research Objectives

- To determine the levels of attitudes towards same-se couples raising children in south Africa and the factors associated with those attitudes? and factors associated with attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children
- To identify the attitudes towards same sex families raising children in South Africa
- To investigate the demographic and socio-economic factors associated with attitudes towards same sex couples raising children in South Africa

1.5 Research Question

What are the levels of attitudes towards same-se couples raising children in south Africa and the factors associated with those attitudes? and factors associated with attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children?

1.51 Sub questions

1. What are the attitudes towards same sex families raising children in South Africa?
2. What are the demographic and socio-economic factors associated with attitudes towards same sex couples raising children in South Africa?

Chapter Two: Literature review

This chapter explores the different perceptions individuals have regarding same-sex parenting. Relevant literature related to the study were collected through Google search engine, Google Scholar, JSTOR, PubMed, Research Gate, and reports. Access to some of the articles was secured through the University of the Witwatersrand's Library. Keywords and mesh terms for literature search included: same-sex families or gay couples and raising children or homosexual couples. Studies were included if they examined the same-sex parenting. This chapter was presented under seven sub-headings: The changing context of family, the legal state of same-sex unions in Africa and South Africa, same-sex Couples raising children in South Africa, Attitudes toward same-sex unions, the socio-demographic correlates of attitudes, Comparison between children raised by same-sex parents and those raised by Heterosexual parents and the gap filled by same-sex couples.

2.1 The changing context of family

In almost all cultures, individuals are brought up with the (heterosexist) concept that the 'family' consists of a mother, a father and children, all of whom are biologically related. This conceptualization of 'family' may still be valid for many people, it is obvious that there are many other family configurations beyond the traditional one. In fact, ''the nuclear family is becoming more of a myth as divorce rates and the number of single female-headed households increase"(Neophytou, 1994), especially within the South African context, where the number of single-parent and child-headed households increase daily. Thus, while the nuclear family is no longer the norm, it is still widely considered the (heteronormative) ideal.

The ideological and value predisposition keep on affecting the acceptance and recognition of the changing family systems (Becker, 2012). Researching same-sex unions on the African continent has proven to be very challenging because of the nature of the topic. Dominant public discussions on same-sex unions are mostly negative, although same-sex and non-normative genders have been recognized and localized in the African society (Rootman, 2009). However, the prevailing denial of its existence and the heated political and social tensions surrounding the topic make it difficult to research.

The first country to introduce legal recognition of same-sex unions was Denmark in 1989 (Kavannagh, 2009). Civil marriage rights are now in place in eight jurisdictions. These include Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Canada, South Africa, Massachusetts, California and Connecticut (Costa et al., 2012).

2.2 The legal state of same-sex unions in Africa and South Africa

Many African countries do not recognize same-sex marriages. They have criminalized same-sex acts between consenting adults on the basis that it amounts to a threat to the traditions of families (Acquetta, 2010). However, the African culture itself is diverse, recognizes diversity and embraces inclusiveness.

In 1996 South Africa was the first country in the world to safeguard sexual orientation as a human right in its constitution. The constitution of South Africa prohibits 'unfair' discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (Amended constitution of South Africa: section 9, 1996). Same-sex couples have historically been victims of discriminatory laws and prejudices in South Africa (Iyayambwa, 2012). Legislation prior 1994 denied people in same-sex unions their rights and reduced them to social outcasts and criminals. This oppression served its purpose for many years keeping the practice invisible.

2.3 Same-sex Couples raising children in South Africa

Increasingly, same-sex couples are choosing to become parents through various avenues, including artificial insemination, fostering and adoption. However, because same-sex couples do not conform to the "basic biological mandate" of the heterosexual couple (De Wet, 2007) of being able to create children, they are therefore not only faced with the usual difficulties and adjustment that come with a new child, but they may also have to contend with social perceptions of their sexual orientation, and therefore their abilities as parents.

Some same-sex families are formed after the dissolution of a heterosexual marriage, which can result in single-parent homes and or stepfamilies. Others are planned families that are formed after the individual has already ''come out.'' This latter form is established in a variety of ways, such as through artificial insemination by a known or unknown donor, adoption, surrogacy, or foster parenting.

After passing the passing a law allowing same-sex couples to legally solemnize their union, Du Toit minister of Welfare and Population Development (2002) allowed same-sex couples to adopt children jointly. Since then, it has been reported that 1033children have been adopted by same-sex couples in the country between April 2017 and March 2018, (Vorster 2018).

2.4 Attitudes toward same-sex unions

In spite of the greater acceptance of sexual diversity in many quarters, heterosexual couples remain enshrined as the normative form for adult sexual relationship. Among religious conservatives, there are a number of mechanisms that potentially lead them to oppose same-sex relationships, especially Christianity which explicitly condemns same-sex unions on the basis of heteronormative, patriarchal

typifications found in the New Testament (one man, one woman and their biological children) thus reject same-sex unions as deviations from the "proper" standard (Becker, 2009). Religious conservations are typically to "traditional" definitions of the family "Perry and Whitehead, 2015).

The practice is seen as a rejection of traditional gender roles; it presents a stronger threat to the self-concept of individuals who are highly invested in traditional gender roles. Societal attitudes toward same-sex orientations vary greatly in different cultures and different historical periods, activity and relationships in general (Webb and Chonody, 2014). All cultures have their own values regarding appropriate and inappropriate sexuality. Some sanction same-sex love and sexuality, while others disapprove of such activities. As with heterosexual behaviour, different prescriptions may be given to individuals according to their age, social status or class.

Some religions, especially those influenced by the Abrahamic tradition, have traditionally censured same-sex unions and in some cases implementing severe punishment for offenders. Since the 1970's, much of the world has become receptive of same-sex sexuality between partners aged 18+. The Pew's research centre's 2008 global attitudes survey found that people in Africa and the Middle East strongly object to societal acceptance of same-sex relationships. On the other hand, the acceptance very high in Europe and United States. Many Latin American countries including Brazil and Mexico also have an accepting majority.

2.5 The socio-demographic correlates of attitudes

Literature has shown various socio-demographic correlates of attitudes toward same-sex couples. These include socio economic status (SES), age, gender, type of residence, sex education, experience and internet use among young people. Many studies have constantly found that young individuals with a higher SES (measured in terms of family income and parental education level) generally hold more tolerant attitudes than people living in in rural areas (Lubbe2007 and Kavannagh 2011). Moreover, open same-sex subcultures are less common in poor and rural areas of South Africa. In addition to these sociodemographic correlates, prior research has found that receiving sex education helps to reduce the negative attitudes (Kohath, 2013). A study based in a Chinese University has revealed that exposure to the internet significantly predicts more positive attitudes (Lee, 2011).

Age

Generational differences have been identified when it comes to attitudes towards homosexuality in general. It has been noted that younger generations may report more positive attitudes about lesbian women and gay men (Morrission, 2008). In a comparison study about people's tolerance of

homosexuality, from 1981-2000 (Andersen and Fetner, 2008) young people were more liberal than elderly people and also more tolerant of homosexuality. Younger cohorts of participants were more in favour of social change for same-sex couples. Other national studies have gathered similar results from younger respondents (Evan B. Donaldson, 2002; Gates, 2007).

Past studies that yield results that show positive attitudes of younger populations include studies of college students. These studies included questions about transracial adoption and perceived family satisfaction (Bonds-Racke, 2009; Whatley, Jahandgardi, Ross, and Knox, 2003). While research with college students may suggest that their attitudes toward lesbian and gay adopters may be more favourable since college students typically fall into a "younger" aged population, other research has investigated arguments of college students against gay and lesbian parenting (Clarke, 2001).

Gender

Past research has found that heterosexual women have more favourable attitudes toward homosexuals than heterosexual men, and men tend to have less favourable attitudes toward gay men than lesbian women (Herek, 2000; Herek, 2002; Steffens& Wgner, 2004; Yang, 1997). Possible explanations supporting this line of research indicate that the differences are associated with the sex of the participant/respondent and the sex of the target, as heterosexual individuals tend to express less favourable to homosexual individuals of their same sex with notable differences between men and women. Myths about Same-Sex parenting include the idea that same-sex parenting is sinful, unnatural, and selfish. Negative effects on the children from same-sex parents cantered on psychological and sociological disadvantages. In the research by Clarke, 2001, opinions of lesbian and gay parenting were unfavourable because many of the respondents in this study thought that there was no gender balance in same-sex coupled families and therefore the children would lack positive role models. Respondents were concerned for the identity formation of children of a particular sex, i.e., a female would identify with the opposite sex if raised by two gay males and produce a "tomboy" like identity. In the case of a male child growing up in a lesbian household a child may have been thought to develop an "effeminate" type of identity

2.6 Comparison between children raised by same-sex parents and those raised by Heterosexual parents

Many studies have been conducted to assess the wellbeing of children raised by same-sex couples in comparison to those raised by heterosexual couples (Lamme and Lamme, 2001; Berk, 2009). Many studies serve to contradict the prejudices and stereotypes many individuals have in relation to the upbringing of children by same-sex couples while many argue that it is not right for children to be raised by a couple of gays or lesbians as it is against the norm, and as a consequence, children's development will be negatively

influenced. However, none of these studies found significant differences in the development of these children but rather differences in how society treats them. Children in same-sex families become part of the LGBTQI+ community and "as such, they likely face a homophobic, heterosexist and anti-gay society, particularly at school" (Lamme and Lamme, 2001).

Some studies have found that children raised by married same-sex parents have high depression, unhappiness and daily fear compared to their counter parts, unmarried same-sex couples. These children experience fear of being disliked or bullied at school because of their parents' sexual orientation (Fedewa & Clark, 2009). Because of such reasons, many parents and children hold back from disclosing their sexual orientation with school staff and administration (Fedewa & Clark, 2009; Kosciw & Diaz, 2008; Lamme & Lamme, 2002). Furthermore, when Hart et al. (2012) conducted interviews with children belonging to same-sex families who were still in the closet, most of the replies involved words with negative connotations such as 'sad', 'lonely', 'ashamed' and 'worried'. Children involved in this study also explained how "they would intentionally not invite friends over, avoid conversations and questions about their families, and would actively advocate against both same-sex parents attending school events" (Hart et al., 2012, p. 279). People's concerns with regard to children brought up in same-sex families include the idea of affliction when it comes to gender identity, inclination towards a particular sexual orientation and effects on the physical and mental wellbeing (Solodnikov & Chkanikova, 2010).

However, there are studies that have shown positive findings in this regard. Berker, (2009), found that that the incidents of bullying and teasing are rare, mainly due to the fact that same-sex parents and children of homosexuals are careful about the information they reveal to others regarding their family situation. Furthermore, in their study, Crowl, Ahn and Baker (2008) concluded that "children raised by same-sex and heterosexual parents were found not to differ significantly in terms of their cognitive development, gender role behaviour, gender identity, psychological adjustment, or sexual preferences". Furthermore, various studies show how, in many cases, lesbian and gay parents have "better relationships with their children than did heterosexual parents" (Crowl, Ahn and Baker, 2008, p. 398; Kosciw & Diaz, 2008; Stacey & Biblarz, 2001; Potter, 2012. What is important is the parental style rather than the parental status; (Fedewa & Clark, 2009) argue that what matters the most is the parents' warmth, control, discipline practices and responsiveness amongst other variables and not the parents' socio-economic status, ethnicity, race or sexual orientation.

2.7 The gap filled by same-sex couples

The lack of certified foster and adoptive homes affects many individuals. The first to be affected are the youth in the foster care system. The youth in foster care who are unable to find permanent placement are left to age out of the system (adoptuskids.org). The Department of Social Development at times, have had to decline the admittance of new children due to the lack of certified homes (Jacobs, 2015). Same-sex couples are affected because they are deemed as not “traditional" families. Gay and lesbian couples who are interested in becoming foster and adoptive parents are met with more obstacles to become certified, than their heterosexual counterparts (Patrick, 2006). With such a high number of foster children without homes, all potential homes should be considered for the certification process regardless of their sexual orientation. Studies have shown that there is a shortage of foster and adoptive homes, accounting for the large number of foster children in the system at any time nationally, (Vorseter, 2018)

Moreover, some agencies may discriminate against same-sex couples, making it very difficult for them to manoeuvre through the certification process. Historically, gay individuals and couples have been faced with much discrimination. Indeed, there are several fictions about same-sex couples that may cause many individuals, including social workers, to oppose allowing same-sex couples and gay and lesbian individuals the opportunity to become foster and adoptive parents. People sometimes say that “Homosexuality can be cured, or an LGBTQI+Q is a danger to children” etc, (Hellisa, 2015). As a result, there are some social workers who may harbour homophobic attitudes and are reluctant to support same-sex couples in their quest to adopt. In a study by Hall (2010), some negative bias was found by adoption social workers toward same-sex prospective adoptive parents.

However, due to their direct experience with the couples, allowing the opportunity to dispel myths about same-sex couples, the majority of the social work respondents viewed the couples positively at the end of the adoption process. Brown and her colleagues studied the experiences of gays and lesbians becoming adoptive parents and found that the majority of the couples identified perceived discrimination as a barrier from the agencies (Brown, Smalling, Groza & Ryan, 2009). Thus, discrimination against same-sex potential foster and adoptive parents is very real, and although some agencies may not flat out deny same-sex couples the opportunity to adopt, they are still conveying to these couples that their unions are inferior to their heterosexual counterparts by making the certification process more challenging and even denying same-sex couples the ability to foster/adopt children in need, (Goldberg &Smith,2011).

2.8 Gaps in literature

There are few studies that have been conducted recent enough to include all of the latest literature. In addition to this, the few studies that have been conducted used American samples (e.g., Biblarz and Stacey 2010a, b; Biblarz and Savci 2010; Bos et al. 2005; Marks 2012; Meezan and Rauch 2005). A lot has changed over the years. Moreover, much of the research also relies on convenience samples of college/University students. Therefore, the findings of such studies cannot be inferred to African population and the general public, (Manning et al.,2014)

2.9 Theoretical framework

The human rights-based approach (HRBA) is the theoretical framework on which this study relies to explain people's perceptions of same-sex couples. The approach aims to support better and more sustainable development outcomes by analysing and addressing the inequalities, discriminatory practices (de jure and de facto) and unjust power relations which are often at the heart of development problems (United Nations, 2014). According to United Nations, (2014), the HRBA is a framework for the process of human development that is based on international human rights standards and directed to promote and protect human rights. It seeks to analyse inequalities which lie at the heart of development problems and redress discriminatory practices and unjust distributions of power that stand in the way of development progress. The approach has four elements, availability, accessibility, acceptability and quality (AAAQ) which are essential to the enjoyment of the right to health by all (United Nations, 2014) The approach has six principles, among these human rights principles are: universality and inalienability; indivisibility; interdependence and interrelatedness; non-discrimination and equality; participation and inclusion; accountability and the rule of law (United Nations, 2014). These principles serve as the foundation for this framework and therefore this approach is suitable for this study.

2.10 Conceptual framework

The study's conceptual framework is drawn using the four elements from the Human Rights Based Approach (2014) and socio demographic characteristics have been added to show how they can influence attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa. The elements are described below to suit the study;

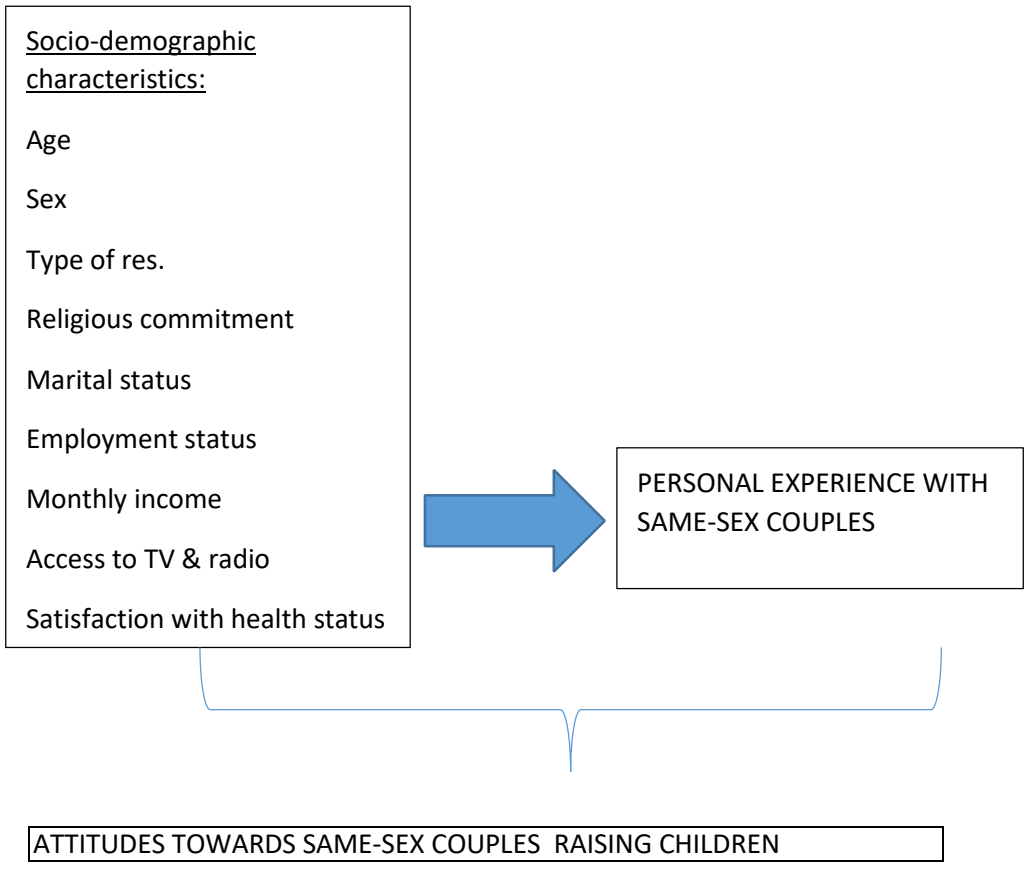
For the purpose of this study, **Accessibility** refers to the interactions between heterosexual people and Gay/Lesbian people which then determines their acceptability. This is determined by an individual's socio-demographic characteristics.

Acceptability in this study is defined as the way in which heterosexual people interact with Gay/Lesbian individuals. This is the outcome of this study, attitudes.

Quality refers to appropriate policies and programs in place put in place to protect their rights of same-sex couples. This study sought to make recommendations to strengthen these policies.

Availability refers to the presence of a homosexual person in a society.
This study assumes that accessibility, availability and quality are all influence acceptability. If people would have more interactions with the LGBTQI+Qi community, they would pose more positive attitudes towards the, (Rolle et al.,2018). In the model all four elements have been summed up to "personal experiences".

Figure 1: Conceptual framework



Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Description of Study Area

South Africa has been selected as the study country for this research. The country is situated in the bottommost part of Africa. The country is divided into nine (9) provinces which vary by size, from Northern Cape province which covers nearly 30% of the country's land area, to Gauteng province, which takes up a mere 1.5%. The 2011 national population Census estimated the country's population to be 51,770,560 while the current mid-year population of the country is estimated at 57,73 million (Statistics South Africa, 2018).

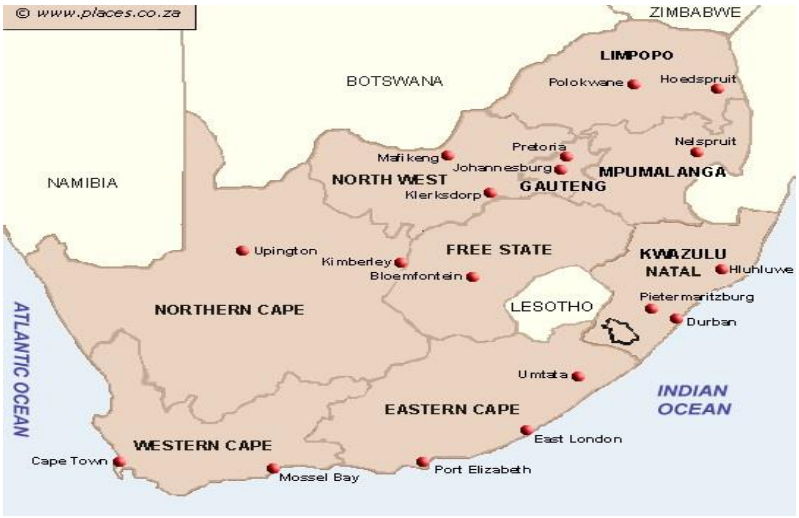


Figure 2: South African Map: Source- places to go.com

South Africa has undergone significant socio-political transformation in the last six decades, from the "legal" adoption of apartheid in 1948 to the first democratic election in 1994, and a new constitution two years later (Butler et al.2005). Same-sex relationships in South Africa are at the forefront of constitutional and socio-political reform. While significant strides have been made towards ensuring equality for all, there are still differences in many aspects. These include Issues such as equal access to antiretroviral HIV/AIDS medication, protection of LGBTQI+ people against homophobic hate crimes, homophobic abuse and bullying in secondary education, protection of same-sex domestic partnership rights, equity and removal of discrimination in the workplace, and decriminalization of same-sex conduct which are primary areas that LGBTQI+ advocacy and lobbying groups are placing on the national agenda. These inequalities

make the country the best place to study people's attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children and the socio-demographic factors associated with those attitudes.

3.2 Data Source

The study design is a cross-sectional analysis of the 2016 South African Social Attitudes Survey datasets. The South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) is a nationally representative, repeated cross-sectional survey that has been conducted annually by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) since 2003. The survey series charts and explains the interaction between the countries' changing institutions, its political and economic structures, and the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns of its diverse populations. HSRC collected the data through administered questionnaires using a sample drawn from the HSRC's Master Sample. There is however missing information in the data, this might lead to disadvantages in the data analysis stage. For the purpose of this study, data was accessed through HSRC's site. The researcher registered on the HSRC website and downloaded the data on open access.

3.3 Sampling Design

The South African Social Attitudes Survey was designed to yield a representative sample of adults aged 16 and older. The sampling frame used for the survey is based on the set of the 80,787 enumerator areas (EAs) as were designed for the 2001 Population Census (Roberts & Struwig, 2012). Estimates of the population numbers for various categories of the census variables were obtained per EA. These estimates were annually updated to coincide with Stats SA's midyear estimates in respect of the variables province, gender, population group and age-group (Roberts & Struwig, 2012).

In all these created sampling frames special institutions (such as hospitals, military camps, old age homes, and school and university hostels), recreational areas, industrial areas and vacant EAs were excluded prior to the drawing of the sample (Roberts & Struwig, 2012). In the sampling, enumerator areas (EAs) were used as primary sampling units (PSUs) and the estimated number of dwelling units (taken as a visiting point) in the EAs as secondary sampling units (Roberts & Struwig, 2012).

3.4 Study Population

The study population consists of a random sample of 3500 adults, both males and females aged 16 and older. Only participants who are South African citizens were considered from the nine provinces of South Africa. A total of 821 Non-South Africans was excluded because the study is looking at the attitudes of South African citizens only. These citizens were identified using questions q259 which asks "Are you a South African citizen". Therefore, for the purpose of this study, a total sample of 2679 was used.

3.5 Study Variables 3.5 1 Outcome Variable

The dependent variable of the study is attitudes of people towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa. The variable has three categories, agree which are coded as (1), disagree coded as (2) and don't know coded as (3). It was derived from variable q138 in the SASAS dataset, asked as: "Gay men and lesbians should be free to have their own families" under a section called moral issues.

3.5.2 Control Variables

The predictor variables included in the study are age, sex, race, educational attainment, employment status, marital status, income, satisfaction with health, access to TV, access to radio and religion. Variable type of place of residence refers to rural (1) and or urban (2). Age of respondents had seven levels but for the purpose of this study it was be categorized into three levels (16-20, 21-35 and 36+) and coded 1, 2 and 3 respectively. Education consists of four levels none (1), primary (2), secondary (3) and tertiary (4). Employment status has two categories, employed (1) and unemployed (2). Religion has three categories: Christian (1) African traditional (2) and other (3) Race will have four categories, (1) black South Africans (2), colored (3) white (4) and Indian/Asian (5). In addition to this, Marital status has three categories, (1) Never married, (2) Separated and (3) Married. Satisfaction with health also has three categories, (1) Satisfied, (2) Neutral (3) Not satisfied, while Access to TV/radio each have two categories
(1) Yes and (2) No.

Table 1: List of Variables used in the study

Independent	**Variables: Definitions**	**Description**
Type of Residence	Type of place of residence which refers to rural (1) and or urban (2)	Categorical
Age	Age of respondents had seven levels in the original survey but for the purpose of this study it is categorized into three levels (16-20, 21-35 and 36 plus) and coded 1, 2 and 3 respectively	Categorical
Level of education	Education consists of four levels none (1), primary (2), secondary (3) and tertiary (4).	Categorical
Employment status	Employment status has two categories, employed (1) and unemployed (2). The employed category includes people who are employed part time and also full time. The unemployed category includes students and people who are actively looking for work.	Categorical

Religion	Religion has three categories: Christian (1) African traditional (2) and other (3)	Categorical
Race	Race has four categories, (1) black South Africans (2), colored (3) white (4) and Indian/Asian (5).	Categorical
Marital status	Marital status has three categories, (1) Never married, (2) Separated and (3) Married	Categorical
Satisfaction with health status	Satisfaction with health also has three categories, (1) Satisfied, (2) Neutral (3) Not satisfied,	Categorical
Access to TV/Radio	Access to TV/radio each have two categories (1) Yes and (2) No.	Categorical
Dependent Variable		
Attitudes	Attitudes of people toward same-sex couples raising children. Agree (1) Neutral (2) and Disagree (3).	Categorical

3.6 Limitations of the study

The first limitation is the likelihood of social desirability bias. Secondly, there was a relatively high number of missing values and don't knows particularly for religion and monthly income compared to other variables.

3.7 Ethical Issues

Data that will be used in this study is from a secondary source and are completely anonymous so as to protect the identity of the respondents and minimize any risk of harm that this may cause by meticulously removing personal, confidential and identifying information of respondents. The necessary procedures were followed to gain permission/access to the data. The data was accessed on the HSRC link: http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en. After registering on the website and a password was created, the password allowed the researcher to download the data which is free access

3.8 Data Management

To achieve the objectives of the study, the SASAS dataset will be used. The statistical software Stata version 15 will be used for all data management and analyses. The renaming of variables will be done to clearly define the variables and converting from SASAS naming system. The data was not weighted. All missing values and don't knows were excluded from the analysis.

3.9 Data analysis

Data will be analysed using Stata v14. To investigate the levels of attitudes towards same-sex families raising children Africa and to investigate the determinants of attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children in South Africa:

The examination of the statistics obtained in the 2016 SASAS was conducted in three phases. The first phase included a descriptive analysis of the variables utilized in the study through a series of frequency tables and discussions. Results for this objective are presented in pie charts.

Secondly, attitudes were cross-tabulated with selected socio-demographic characteristics. A Chi-square test was used to detect significant differences in attitudes and socio-demographic characteristics. The results are shown differently by demographic characteristics, socio-economic status, satisfaction with health status and access to media (Radio and TV), these are presented in tables. The chi-square is used because it examines the relationship between two categorical variables

The demographic and socio economic factors correlated with the attitudes towards same sex couples raising children:

A multinomial logistic regression model was used to examine this association. The multinomial regression is in two levels, there is an adjusted model and an unadjusted model. A multinomial regression is best for this study because it is more robust to violations of assumptions of multivariate normality and equal variance-covariance matrices across groups; and it is similar to linear regression, but more easily interpretable diagnostic statistics.

A multinomial regression is a multi-equation model. For the purpose of this study, the logistic regression equation is applicable:

logit (p) = α + b1X1 + b2X2 + … + biXi Where logit (p) is the log of the odds that the dependent variable is 1; α is the intercept; b1, b2, …, bi are the regression coefficients. (Knoke, Bohrnstedt & Mee, 2002). The logistic regression model gives the probability that the outcome, occurs as an exponential function of the independent variables.

Chapter 4: Results

This section focuses on the findings obtained in the study. The objectives of this study were to assess the levels and determinants of attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children, determine the attitudes towards same sex families raising children in South Africa and the demographic and socio-economic correlates of attitudes towards same sex couples raising children in South Africa.

An examination of all the demographic and socio-economic characteristics by the outcome variable was conducted with the aim of describing the background profile of the respondents. In addition, a multinomial regression is also presented in order to determine the levels of attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children in South Africa across all the other covariates.

4.1 Percentage distribution of respondent's demographic characteristics

Table 2: Percentage and frequency distribution of respondent's demographic characteristics

Respondent characteristics	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Total	2,679	100
Age		
16-35	1,053	39.31
36-55	863	32.21
56+	763	28.48
Level of education		
No schooling	85	3.17
Primary	406	15.15
High school	1,802	67.26
Tertiary	386	14.41
Type of residence		
Urban	2,016	75.25
Rural	663	24.75
Sex		

Male	1,081	40.35
Female	1,598	59.65
Race		
Black African	1,611	60.13
Colored	430	16.05
Indian/Asian	312	11.65
White	326	12.17
Marital status		
Married	1,082	40.69
Separated	473	17.79
Never married	1,104	41.52
Missing values	**20**	
Religious		
Yes	2,299	85.82
No	380	14.18

The table above depicts that more than half (60%) of participants were females, while (40%) were males. In terms of age, it is evident from the table that youth respondents aged 16-35 years made up majority of the population with a percentage of 39%, followed by 32% of respondents who are between the ages of 36-45 years. In addition, respondents between 56 years and older made up 29% of the population. Out of the total respondents, 60% were Black South Africans, followed by 16% who are colored and 12% who are white. Another 12% of the respondents was composed of Indian/Asian people.

The percentage distributions of highest educational level shows that majority of the respondents in the study have gone as far as high school level (67%), followed by 15% with primary education. Subsequently, 14% of the respondents are tertiary graduates and as little as 3% have no education. There was almost an equal split between participants who have never been married (41%) and those who are married (40%). Only 18% indicated that they have separated with their partners.

In terms of religious practices, a great number (86%) of respondents are religiously committed and only 14% of them reported that they do not fall under any religious denomination. With reference to type of residence, majority of the respondents reside in urban areas (75%) and only 25% are from rural areas. The table above shows that majority of the respondents fall within the unemployed group (72%) and only 28% are employed. With regards to monthly income, most of the respondents earn between R1501-R10000, (41%), followed by those who earn more than R10000 with 38% and those who earn between R1-R1500 (18%). Respondents who do not have a monthly income make up 3% of the study.

Concerning media consumption/access, over half of the respondents (52%) do not have access to TV. However, 58% of the respondents have access to radio, while 42% do not. There is a clear indication that the most common form of media consumption in terms of keeping with times among respondents is through radio. The table above also reveals that more than half of respondents are non-satisfied with their health status (67%), with only 23% who were reportedly satisfied. Only 10% of the respondents are not satisfied with their health status.

4.2 LEVELS OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS SAME-SEX COUPLES RAISING CHILDREN IN SOUTH AFRICA The first objective was to assess the levels of attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa. Descriptive statistics and chi-square test was carried out and the results are presented below.

Figure 2: Levels of attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa

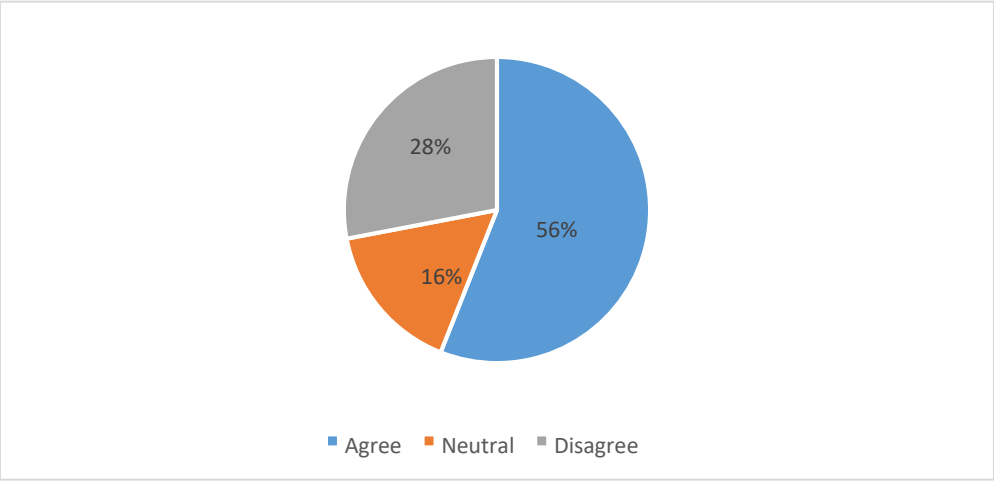
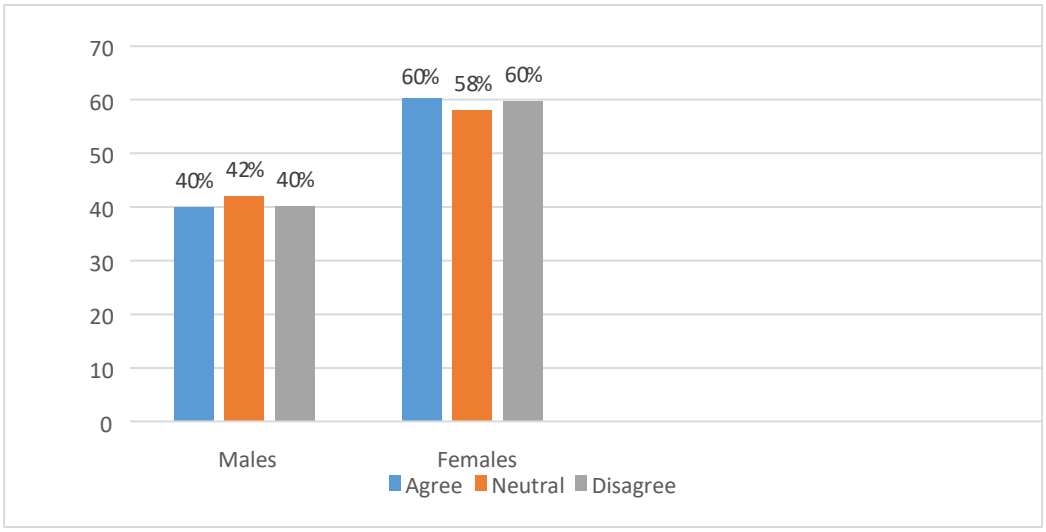


Figure 2 above depicts the overall attitudes of South Africans toward same-sex couples raising children in South Africa. The majority of the respondents agree that same-sex couples should be allowed to raise children (56%), followed by those who disagree (28.3%) and those who are neutral with 16.09%.

4.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

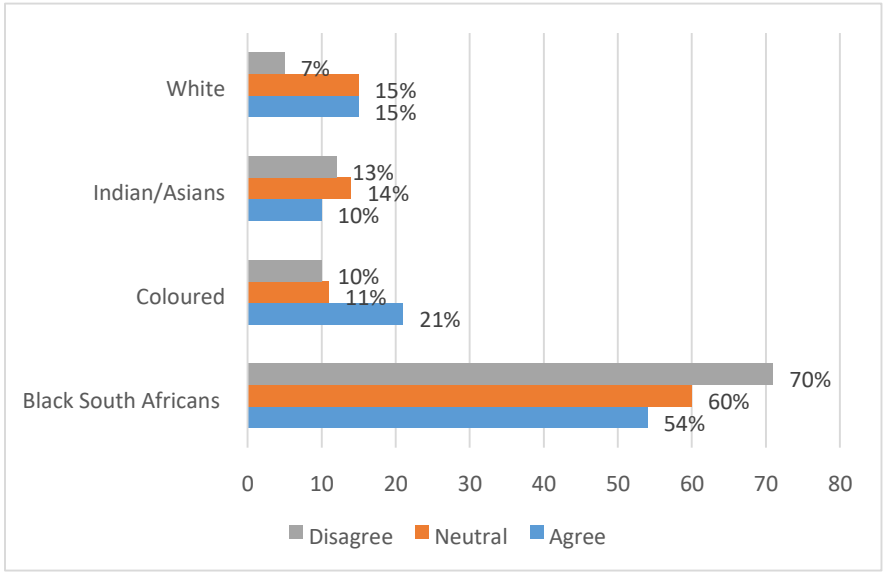
Figure 3: Percentage distribution of the association between Attitudes and sex of respondent



Pr=0.745

Figure 3 above shows that females have positive attitudes (60%) towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa than males (40%). This association is not statistically significant, pr=0.74.

Figure 4:*Percentage distribution of the association between Attitudes and Race of respondent*



Pr=0.000

The figure above shows that when compared to other races, Black people have negative attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa (70%), followed by Indians/Asians (13%), Colored people (10%) and white people with only 7%. The relationship is statistically significant, pr=0.00.

Table 3: Percentage distribution of Attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children by Sociodemographic characteristics

Independent variables	**Agree**		**Neutral**		**Disagree**		**Total**	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Age								
16-35	634	60.21	142	13.49	277	26.31	1053	100
36-55	468	54.23	149	17.27	246	28.41	863	100
56+	387	50.72	140	18.35	236	30.93	763	100
Total	1489		431		759		2679	
Pr=			***0.001***					
Marital status								
Married	592	54.71	190	17.56	300	27.73	1082	100
Separated	231	48.84	95	20.08	147	31.08	473	100
Never married	653	59.15	144	13.04	307	27.81	1104	100
Total	1476		429		754		2659	
Pr=			***0.000***					
Type of res.								
Urban	1176	58.33	333	16.52	507	25.15	2016	100
Rural	313	47.21	98	14.78	252	38.01	663	100
Pr=			***0.00***					
Employment status								
Employed	470	61.68	115	15.09	177	23.23	762	100
Unemployed	1019	53.16	316	16.48	582	30.36	1917	100

Total	1489		431		759		2679	
Pr=				***0.000***				
Monthly Income								
No income	36	48.65	15	20.27	23	31.08	74	100
R1-R1500	241	41.69	61	12.58	183	37.73	485	100
R1501-R10000	617	56.76	159	14.63	311	28.61	1087	100
>R10000	584	57.65	194	19.15	235	23.20	1013	100
Total	1478		429		752		2659	
Pr=				***0.000***				
Access to Tv								
Yes	777	59.82	219	16.86	303	23.23	1299	100
No	712	51.59	212	15.36	456	33.04	1380	100
Total	789		431		759		2679	
Pr=				***0.000***				
Access to radio								
Yes	845	54.66	259	16.75	442	28.59	1546	100
No	644	56.84	172	15.18	317	27.98	1133	100
Total	1489		431		759		2679	
Pr=				***0.438***				

Satisfaction with Health status								
Dissatisfied	140	53.23	36	13.69	87	33.08	263	100
Neutral	1012	56.47	320	17.86	460	25.67	1792	100
Satisfied	337	54.01	75	12.02	212	28.33	624	100
Total	1489		431		759		2679	
Pr=				***0.000***				

The table shows the percentage distributions of attitudes by demographic characteristics. With regards to age group, the table shows that shows that the youth (16-35 years) exhibited higher levels of positive attitudes toward same-sex families raising children, (60%) compared to the other age groups, pr= 0.00. The table further shows that respondents who have never been married have positive attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children in South Africa (59%), followed by married people (55%) and those who are separated (49%), pr=0.00. In addition, Majority of the respondents from urban areas have positive attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children (58%), pr=0.00. The association between these variables and the outcome (attitudes) is statistically significant, pr<0.05.

The table further shows a statistically significant relationship between all the socio economic characteristics (except access to radio). A higher percentage of the employed respondents (62%) agrees with the idea of same-sex couples raising children. Additionally, the majority of respondents who have positive attitudes (Agree) toward same-sex couples raising children are those earning R10000 and more, 58%. With regards to access to media, the largest percentage of respondents with access to Tv (Dstv & Mnet) (60%) agree that same-sex couples should raise children, pr=0.00, while a majority of those who have radios disagree (57%). This association is not statistically significant, pr=0.43.

In addition to this, the table shows that respondents who are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with their health status (56%) have positive attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children, followed by those who are satisfied (54%). Respondents who are not satisfied with their health status constitute 53% of the study. This relationship is statistically significant, pr=0.00.

4.4 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CORRELATES OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS SAME-SEX COUPLES RAISING CHILDREN IN SOUTH AFRICA

The second objective was to identify the socio-demographic characteristics correlated with attitudes same-sex couples raising children in South Africa towards. To achieve this, a multinomial logistic regression analysis was done at 5 levels. The models included;

- Model 1 analysed the demographic characteristics and outcome variable
- Model 2 considered the socio-economic characteristics and outcome
- Model 3 analysed health status and the outcome variable
- Model 4 analysed media access and the outcome variable
- Model 5 is an all-inclusive model

Table 4: Multinomial regression showing RRR and the 95% confidence interval of socio-demographic characteristics and attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Variables	**RRR (95% CI)**	**RRR (95% CI)**	**RRR (95% CI)**	**RRR (95% CI)**
Age				
16-35	RC	–	–	–
36-55	0.88 [0.695-1.126]			
56+	0.86 [0.649-1.164]			
Race				
Black	RC			
Colored	2.58 [1.93-3.45]	–	–	–
Indian/Asian	1.00 [0.73-1.36]			
White	2.31 [1.62-3.29]			
Sex				
Male	RC			
Female	1.08 [0.89-1.31]	–	–	–
Religious Commitment				
Yes	RC	–	–	–
No	0.91 [0.70-1.18]			

Level of Education				
No Education	RC			
Primary	0.70 [0.41-1.19]	–	–	–
High school	1.18 [0.70-1.97]			
Tertiary	1.46 [0.82-2.60]			

Type of residence				
Urban	RC	–	–	–
Rural	0.68 [0.55-0.84]			
Marital status				
Married	RC	–	–	–
Separated	0.92 [0.70-1.20]			
Never married	1.21 [0.95-1.53]			
Neutral				
Age				
16-35	RC	–	–	–
36-55	1.09 [0.78-1.51]			
56+	0.99 [0.67-1.46]			
Race				
Black	RC			
Coloured	1.07 [0.71-1.62]	–	–	–
Indian/Asian	1.08 [0.73-1.59]			
White	1.99 [1.28-3.08]			

Sex				
Male	RC	–	–	–
Female	0.92 [0.71-1.19]			
Religious commitment				
Yes	RC	–	–	–
No	0.90 [0.63-1.28]			

Level of Education				
No Education	RC			
Primary	0.97 [0.47-1.98]			
High school	1.31 [0.65-2.64]	–	–	–
Tertiary	1.14 [0.52-2.48]			
Type of residence				
Urban	RC	–	–	–
Rural	0.70 [0.52-0.94]			
Marital status				
Married	RC	–	–	–
Separated	1.13 [0.81-1.58]			
Never married	0.84 [0.61-1.16]			
Socio-economic characteristics				
Employment status				
Unemployed	–	RC	–	–
Unemployed		0.73 [0.59-0.90]		

Monthly Income **No income** R1-R1500 R1501=R10000 More than R10000	–	RC 0.83 [0.47-1.46] 1.18 [0.69-2.04] 1.45 [0.83-2.51]	–	–
Neutral **Employment status** **Unemployed** Unemployed	–	RC 0.99 [0.74-1.31]	–	–

Monthly income **No Income** R1-R1500 R1501=R10000 More than R10000	–	RC 0.51 [0.25-1.04] 0.78 [0.39-1.54] 1.26 [0.63-2.49]	–	–
Satisfaction with Health Status Not Satisfied Neutral Satisfied	–	–	RC 1.36 [1.02-1.82] 0.98 [0.71-1.35]	–

Neutral **Satisfaction with Health status** **Unsatisfied** Neutral Satisfied	–	–	RC 1.68 [1.11-2.54] 0.85 [0.53-1.36]	–
Access to Tv Yes No				RC 0.59 [0.49-0.70]
Access to Radio Yes No	–	–	–	RC 1.16 [0.97-1.40]
Neutral **Access to TV** Yes No	–	–	–	RC 0.64 [0.50-0.81}
Access to Radio **RC** No	–	–	–	RC 1.00 [0.78-1.28]

The relative risk of having a positive attitude (agreeing) towards same-sex couples raising children versus a negative attitude is the same for both colored and white South Africans. This association is statistically significant, PR=0.00.

In terms of type of residence, the relative risk of having a positive attitude towards same-sex couples raising children versus a negative attitude decreases by a factor of 0.001 among adults who reside in rural areas in relation to those who reside in urban areas, CI 0.55-0.84.

Model 2 shows that the risk of having positive attitudes is 0.73 times less for unemployed people relative to those who are employed (RRR 0.73, 95% CI 0.59-0.90). Further, the model shows a 0.83 less risk for people who earn between R1-R1500 compared to those with no income. There is no difference in the risk for those who earn R1501-R10000 and those who earn more than R10000. R1501-R10000 (RRR 1.18, 95% CI 0.69-2-04). More than R10000 (RRR 1.45 95% CI 0.83-2.59).

People who are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with their health status are 1. 36 times more likely to pose positive attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa compared to those who are satisfied, (RRR 1.36 95% CI 1.02-1.82). People who are satisfied with their health status have a 0.98 less risk of having a positive attitude (Agree) toward same-sex couples raising children in South Africa relative to those who are not satisfied (RRR 0.98 95% CI 0.71-1.35).

The probability of having positive attitudes decreases by 59% in people who have no access to TV (RRR 0.59 95% CI 0.49-0.70), while the probability increases by 1.16 in people with access to radio (RRR 1.16, 95%CI 0.97-1.40).

MODEL 5:

Table 5: Multinomial regression showing RRR and 95% confidence interval of all the socio-demographic characteristics and attitudes

Variables	**RRR**	**p-value**	**[95% conf.interval]**
Agree			
Age			
36-55	0.83	0.146	.649- 1.06
56+	0.84	0.285	.628-1.14
Race			
Colored	2.49	0.000	1.85-3.34
Indian/Asian	1.02	0.898	.743-1.40
White	2.20	0.000	1.52-3.18
Sex			
Female	1.10	0.31	.910-1.34
Religious commitment			
No	0.94	0.702	.726-1.24
Level of Education			
Primary	0.66	0.141	.391-1.14
High school	1.09	0.737	.649-1.84
Tertiary	1.27	0.422	.706-2.29
Type of residence			
Rural	0.71	0.003	.568-.881
Marital status			
Separated	0.92	0.599	.706-1.22
Never married	1.24	0.074	.979-1.58
Employment Status			
Unemployed	0.84	0.157	.672-1.06

Monthly Income			
R1-R1500	1.07	0.808	.601-1.92
R1501=R10000	1.28	0.382	.729-2.27
More than R10000	1.17	0.595	.653-2.09
Satisfaction with Health status			
Neutral	1.11	0.481	.821-1.51
Satisfied	0.76	0.129	.546-1.07
Access to TV			
No	0.77	0.015	.628-.952
Access to radio			
No	1.19	0.075	.982-1.44
Neutral			
Age			
36-55	1.09	0.583	.786 -1.53
56+	0.96	0.856	.647-1.4
Race			
Colored	0.97	0.902	.642-1.4
Indian/Asian	1.01	0.947	.676-1.51
White	1.55	0.061	.980-2.45
Sex			
Female	0.94	0.692	.732-1.22
Religious Commitment			
No	0.91	0.638	.640-1.31
Level of Education			

Primary	0.96	0.92	.468-1.98
High school	1.23	0.564	.607-2.49
Tertiary	1.014	0.971	.456-2.25
Type of residence			
Rural	0.76	0.081	.563-1.03
Marital status			
Separated	1.18	0.333	.842-1.66
Never married	0.88	0.465	.639-1.22
Employment Status			
Unemployed	1.09	0.562	.805-1.48
Monthly Income			
R1-R1500	0.55	0.11	.267-1.14
R1501=R10000	0.77	0.484	.387-1.56
More than R10000	1.05	0.885	.516-2.15
Satisfaction with Health status			
Neutral	1.51	0.057	.987-2.31
Satisfied	0.78	0.326	.482-1.27
Access to TV			
No	0.86	0.286	.652-1.13
Access to Radio			
No	1.11	0.418	.859-1.43
Disagree	(base outcome)		

Results from the multinomial logistic regression all-inclusive model indicate that the only sociodemographic characteristics significantly associated with attitudes are Race, type of residence and access to TV.

The probability of having positive attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa is 0.00 times less for coloured and white South Africa, relative to black South Africans, pr= 0.00 , CI 0.64-1.06.

The relative risk of having positive attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa is 0.003 less among respondents from rural areas compared to those who are from urban areas, pr=0.003 CI 0.56-0.88.

People who are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with their health status have a 50% reduced probability of having positive attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa. This association is statistically significant, pr= 0.051, CI 0.98-2.31.

The relative risk of having a positive attitude towards same-sex couples raising children versus a negative attitude decreases by a 0.01 factor among those who have access to TV relative to those who do not, pr= 0.01 CI 0.65-1.13.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This paper has addressed two specific objectives. The first objective of the study was to investigate the attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa. Subsequently, the second objective of the study was to assess the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics correlated with the attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children in South Africa. This objective was achieved by using a chi square test and unadjusted multinomial logistic regression. A thorough discussion of the findings obtained in this study that encompass both objective one and objective two are presented below and they are addressed with particular reference to each demographic and socioeconomic characteristic. These are discussed in relation to existing literature in South Africa and sub-Saharan Africa.

5.2Discussion on levels of attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children in South Africa The study found that 56% of the respondents agree that same-sex couples must be allowed to raise children in South Africa. This is consistent with the results which found that majority of South Africans think that gay and lesbian people should have the same human rights as other people and should be part of the cultures and traditions of South Africa, (Sutherland et al., 2016). Similarly, another study found that Gauteng citizens feel that sexual minorities should have equal rights, (Mohamed, 2016).

However, these findings are counter to the findings of other studies which found that the practice is highly rejected in the country, (Adrews, 2011; Mohamed, 2016, & Parkinson 2015 & Allen, 2015). A considerable proportion of respondents held negative views toward same-sex couples raising children, with close to two fifths of respondents believing that same-sex relationships are against the values of their community, (Mohamed, 2016). Some individuals asserted that same-sex couples should not marry or have children, because they believe a child has a fundamental right to both a mother and father (Andrews, 2011). Others suggest that same-sex parenting leads to children who have poor outcomes, or who are abused (Parkinson, 2015). It has also been suggested that the social validation of one child's family, by allowing their same-sex parents to marry, would cause harm to school friends through increased awareness that homosexuality exists, or becoming gender fluid themselves as a result, (Allen, 2015).

5.3 Discussion on demographic characteristics factors associated with attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children in South Africa.

The study shows a significant association between race, type of residence, access to radio and attitudes. According to the findings of this study, White and Colored South Africans, people from urban areas and those who have access to radio have more positive attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children.

Communities in rural areas are associated with a lower tolerance for difference (including non-binary gender expression and queer sexuality) compared to urban environment (Roberts, 2008). This is consistent with the findings of this study. Rural communities place a heightened value on "traditional moral standards", which reject various social norms and values, including those related to same-sex attraction, behavior, relationships, (Youth Central, 2018). As a result of this, they are less accepting to the idea of same-sex couples raising children.

Studies have demonstrated that encountering diverse social norms and values and having first-hand social contact with gay and lesbian individuals significantly predicts more positive attitudes (Kostar, 2012). Rural areas place a heightened value on traditional moral standards because for them the heterosexual family unit is a dominant lifestyle (Dahl, Scott, & Peace, 2015). This makes them reject the idea of same-sex couples raising children. This can be used to explain the reason why black people are less tolerant of the practice as compared to other races. Black people in general are less supportive of homophobic policies being written into law (Icard, 1986).

Black people tend to express more negative attitudes, but this is since black people are educated at a rate of 2/3 that of their white and colored counterparts. Less educated black individuals are less likely to approve of same-sex couples raising children, and more likely to be religious which endows a socially conservative world view, which condemns same-sex relationships (Bohler-Muller, Davids, & Roberts, n.d.). In addition to this, Mucherah et al.,(2016) found that increasing levels of education tend to be predictive of relatively positive attitudes toward homosexuality.

The results of this study further show that people who have access to Radio have positive attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children. There has been an increase in the representation of same-sex couples in news, (Gross, 2002), exemplified by high profile people who have been coming out on national radio stations. There are entertainment shows and news covering gay rights topics, which has made the issue a "trend" and a lifestyle that many want to practice or understand. Radio transmits popular trends and cultures across borders, this contributes to thepositive perceptions that people have of same-sex relationships, (Gonta, 2017).

The study also found an association between age and attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children. Elderly people are less tolerant as compared to young people. Many studies have results

similar to these (Cohut, 2013). Younger people have more contact with same-sex couples than elderly people and they are more impressionable. A study by (Perry and Whitehead, 2015) proved that mediated contact with homosexual people changes one's perception of them. In addition to this, the youth has access to more diverse and positive information on same-sex relations, that information is impactful. According to sociologists, John Watson, behaviour is learnt through group interaction, and young people spend most of their time in group settings, (Watson, 1913), thus leading to a likelihood of what is learnt/ spoken about in those groups stabilizing. This leads to them having positive perceptions about same-sex couples raising children.

With regards to religion, one study found that religious people hold greater sexual prejudice towards same-sex couples raising children than those who are not religious, (Lubbe, 2008). This is similar to the findings of this study. It was interestingly surprising to find that religious people hold negative attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children. Attitudes amongst same-sex relationships vary among and between religious groups.

All over the world, traditionalism and Christianity are often seen as mediating factors in explaining the relationship between religion and negative attitudes towards same-sex couples (Roggerman, 2015). The traditional division of roles between men and women is a crucial value in every traditional religious belief, and homosexuality is a violation of this belief (Ting, Kwin, & Xinyi, n.d.). Negative attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children, as the reasoning goes, arises as a consequence of the perceived violation of traditional gender roles. Additionally, Christianity denominations forbid sexual relationships between people of the same sex, thus discouraging these couples to raise children.

Furthermore, this study found that women have positive attitudes as compared to men. Various explanations have been offered for the gender difference in attitudes towards same-sex couples in general. From a gender-role belief system perspective, men hold more negative attitudes towards same-sex couples as they place higher value on female dependence, gender differentiation, and heterosexuality (Patterson, n.d.). Because this type of sexual relationship is seen, in part, as a rejection of traditional gender roles, same-sex couples raising children would present a threat to the to individuals who are highly invested in traditional gender roles. The violation of traditional gender roles may be particularly aversive to men because of the perceived threat this may pose to male power and privilege, (LGBTQI+ study, 2011). It has been reported numerous times that women generally have less negative attitudes mostly because they are not subject to the same heteronormative and

patriarchal social pressures that are put on men (Grabovac et al, 2014; Gruszka,& Schrimshaw, 2018;Moskowitz, 2015) .

This is substantiated by findings which state that males have more negative attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children than females and might even engage in anti-gay behaviour as a form of self-reaffirmation, demonstrating the magnitude of their rejection of same-sex families (Kite & Whitley, 1998). Females might be showing more positive attitudes as a result feminism which has expanded women's roles in South Africa. Furthermore, women t displays more empathy for the social status of lesbians and gay men because of women's greater care-giving roles, as well as their subjective experience of sexism (Francis & Msibi, 2011). In addition to this, as mothers, women are generally more accepting of all types of families as long as children are cared for, (Rolle et al., 2018)

It was interesting to find that the majority of unemployed people hold positive attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children. Being unemployed might provide people with an opportunity to be aware of the people around them and understand them better. Equally, spending more time in the society (with same-sex couples) may reduce ignorance that may result in doubting their ability to raise children.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

6. 1 Conclusion

This paper sought to determine the association between socio-demographic characteristics and attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children in South Africa. Indeed, there is an association. With attitudes toward same-sex couples raising children in South Africa being generally positive, adoption, fostering and other childcare services should see same-sex couples as an avenue of support for orphaned and abandoned children. It will take more than just improving public education to address the problem. Although, the current study contributes to the existing body of knowledge on attitudes toward same-sex couples, it rejects the existing literature. The study demonstrates that social differences are still prevalent in contemporary South Africa. Although the attitudes have improved towards same-sex couples raising children, compared with earlier international studies, more still needs to be done to increase the positive, neutral attitudes (neither positive nor negative attitudes) to enhance the wellbeing of same-sex families.

6.2 Recommendations

Introduction of more laws that promote positive attitudes towards same-sex families. This can be done through criminalizing all acts of prejudice against same-sex couples. introducing school-based and community based interventions is also necessary to reduce prejudice and stigma against same-sex couples by incorporating same-sex issues in schools' curricula and sponsoring social events in communities that enhance understanding of and reduce stigma, prejudice, and hostility toward sexual minority could combat the widespread homophobia prevalent. This is in line with the IMPACT, HUD, OUT, PFLAG, GALA programs which are aimed at improving the well-being of LGBTQI+i people and increase social acceptability towards them.

Educate communities about gender identity and sexual orientation issues and come up with forums that fight discrimination, harassment, and violence against same-sex couples. I addition to this, address cultural barriers through

Direction for future research

This study has opened up a variety of topics for further studies as it was not possible to thoroughly explore all the issues around same-sex couples raising children. Further research can be conducted to assess how children in same-sex families cope with the 'difference' that their parents embody; the parents' feelings regarding same-sex parenting, even if these feelings were largely unconscious; and the ways in which same- sex parents negotiate childcare responsibilities. This type of research would provide knowledge on the emotional and mental well-being of children growing up in same-sex families. It would also be interesting to assess the development of children living with same-sex parents in relation to those who live with a male and female parent in the African context. Attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children may become progressively more positive—much in the same way that religion, over the past few decades, have attenuated (Moskowitz et al., 2015). Future research might find the other variables aside from religion that influence heterosexual attitudes towards same-sex couples raising children.

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