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The child support grant and the fertility of recipient parents in Lenyenye Township

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WITS Graduate School of Governance

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management) to the Faculty of Commerce, Law, and Management, University of the Witwatersrand

March 2016

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis/dissertation titled 'The child support grant and the fertility of recipient parents in Lenyenye Township' is my own, unaided work. I have acknowledged and referenced all sources that I have used and quoted. I hereby submit it in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management (Public and Development Management) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I have not submitted this report before for any other degree or examination to any other institution.

Motheo Rabaji

Johannesburg, March 2016

ABSTRACT

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The research aimed to find out whether one of the unintended outcomes of governments' top-down implementation of the child support grant was increased fertility among recipients in the rural areas, which generally have higher levels of fertility in the country. South Africa does not have a fertility problem, but development is still much needed in the rural areas. The plight of government, having inherited one of the most unequal society is not minimised. According to Mcnicoll (1998), public transfers among age groups are fertility related. Government directs public expenditures towards social services benefiting the poor. Such expenditures and transfers may significantly modify the economics of fertility as seen by prospective parents. Rural households are more vulnerable because of the economic unviability rooted in the apartheid system. Our study has tried to show how the environment in Lenyenye Township and surrounding villages could make it a possibility for women to see the increment of births as a rational solution for the survival of their family. The theory of bounded rationality was used to demonstrate that rationality is more adaptive to situations based on the environmental constraints.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is dedicated to my mother Maite, and my brother Mothupi, who were very supportive and made huge sacrifices to make my achievement of this milestone possible, I am humbled and eternally grateful. I would also like to thank all that have encouraged me during my studies, especially family, lecturers and my dearest colleague Mashudu Lefuwa for his Ubuntu and camaraderie. Much appreciation goes to my supervisor Dr Wotela for his incredible dedication to the supervision group. I am so happy to have been one of his students because if it wasn't for his strict work ethic, professionalism and fairness, I would have never completed my degree on record time. He is an incredible leader that has imparted valuable skills, both for academics and life in general.

1 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

1.1 Background

Before getting to the research problem statement (Section 1.2.1) and consequently the purpose of this research (Section 1.2.2) as well as the research questions (Section1.2.3), we briefly introduce the terms that we use in conceptualising our research. Section (1.1.2) introduces the research context generally and more broadly—Section (2.1) has a related but more specific and detailed discussion on the research context. Section (1.1.3) introduces but briefly the programme under study as well as accompanying key terms and concepts on focus. Similarly, Section (2.2) discusses in detail this programme

1.1.1 Fertility transition in South Africa

South Africa does not have a fertility problem; instead, the country has one of the lowest fertility levels, with some racial groups having reached below fertility levels Swartz (2009), Moultrie (2001), Pamuleni, Kalule Sabiti, Makiwane (2007), Lehohla (2007). Despite falling fertility rates in South Africa, significant differences in birth rates still prevail across regions and social groups. According to Lehohla (2007), the literature on racial differentials in South Africa generally shows that fertility is high among black Africans and coloureds and low for Indians/Asians and whites. Russow, Burger and Burger (2012) maintain that apartheid has indeed played a major role in the entrenchment of racial divisions but also assert that racial differences in fertility patterns were apparent even before the implementation of separate development policy by the state. The total fertility rate for White South Africans (3.5 children per woman) was still significantly lower than that of black South Africans in the 1940s.

Poverty affects all racial groups but is still concentrated among Africans, especially those that reside in rural areas. Provincial fertility differentials provided by Census Surveys over the years show that Gauteng and Western Cape provinces have the lowest levels of fertility and the Western Cape and Limpopo provinces, which are predominantly rural provinces, have the highest fertility levels (Lehohloa, 2007). Pulamuleni et al (2007) attribute the observed fertility decline to various socio-economic and cultural systems (such as education, urban rural residence, religion etc.), and to proximate or unobservable factors (such HIV/AIDS, the social role of women and the increased use of contraceptives.) Swartz (2009) however emphasise non-marital fertility and high

contraceptive use as the major causes of fertility decline in South Africa. In his view, various factors converged to create the situation where women virtually had the sole responsibility for childbearing without access to reproductive resources. Their response was to control their fertility, not because of educational and career aspirations or affluent lifestyles but as a survival strategy. According to Bandarage (1997), poor people tend to have relatively large families despite the dismal prospects for their children's future because they are forced to think in terms of immediate survival. Insufficient access to productive resources and income make women depend on children for social esteem and social security. The lack of alternative routes to survival sometimes may even lead to women having children to legitimate claims on income from men. Children are a source of happiness and hope for poor people in this regard, caution must be taken not to extend middle-class, Western rationality and motivations to women living in all cultures and economic systems. This paper focused on what aspects (current and historical), of the South African fertility transition government should have considered in the implementation of the child support grant. Parents and their children have intersecting needs and a comprehensive poverty alleviation intervention should be in alignment with this fact.

1.1.2 South African Townships: Lenyenye

Lenyenye Township formed part of what was the Lebowa homeland and is a semi-rural township (67% urban and 33% rural settlement type) situated in the Greater Tzaneen municipality, which forms part of the Mopani district in Limpopo province. It is a planned settlement area with tarred roads and is similar to a kind of township settlement that one would find in an urban area like Johannesburg but has limited infrastructure and activity. According to the Statistics South Africa (STATSSA) census survey conducted in 2011, there is a mixture of upper middle class, middle class, working class and very poor people residing in the township.

The township is equipped with a South African Social Services Agency (SASSA) satellite office, which also serves the surrounding villages within reasonable proximity. These villages include Ramokako, Marumofase, Lephepane, Motjeteng, Tlhabine, Bokgaga, Makhwibidung, Tikiline, Rita, Mogapeng, Tours, Pharare and Hweetsi. The areas serviced were confirmed by a senior official at a site visit. The research was not limited to the inclusion of formal residents of Lenyenye only. Any respondent that reported

being registered at, and forming part of the Lenyenye SASSA satellite office client base was eligible to be interviewed. This allowed for inclusion and comparison of the views and experiences of child support grant recipients that live in Lenyenye Township and those that lived in the surrounding villages, which are typical farm or traditional settlement. A decision was taken focus on only one surrounding village and Marumofase village was chosen as a second research site due to its close proximity to Lenyenye Township. Figure one below shows the geographical location of our research context and Table 1, shows the key characteristics of Marumofase which were provided by the STATSSA 2011 census.

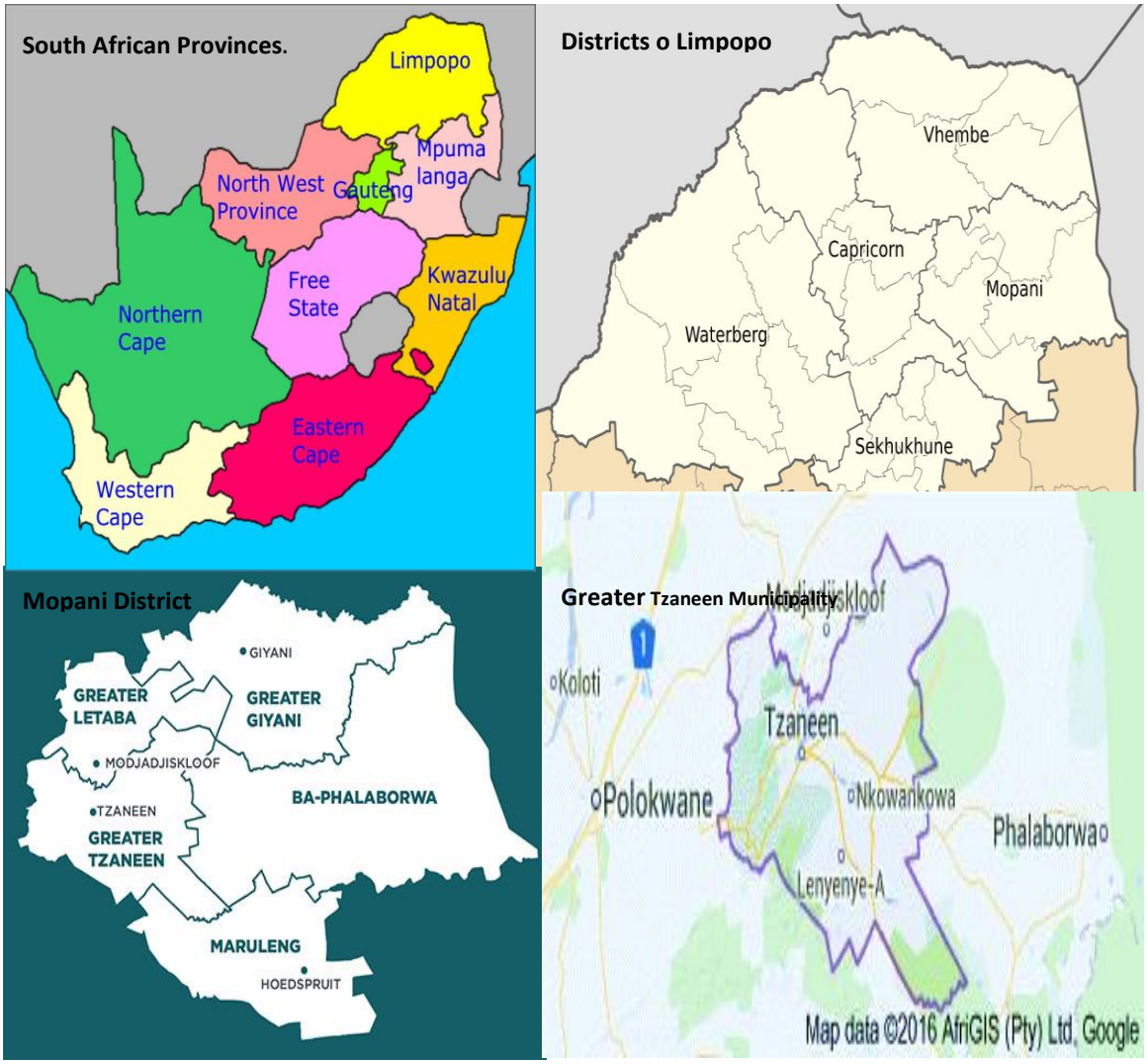

Figure 1 Maps showing location of research context

Key Statistics of Marumofase Village (2011)

Total Population	2097
Population density	2823 persons/ km2
Number of households	591
Settlement Type	100% tribal/traditional or far
Higher education aged +20	16%
Matric +20	19%
Marital Status	75.2% never been married
Piped water inside dwelling	4.2%
Female headed households	44.4

Table 1 Marumofase key statistics: Source Statistics South Africa 20ll census

According to Perret, Anseeuw, Mathebula (2005) South African rural poverty and chronic deprivation may be partly ascribed to the poor endowment in natural resources of former homeland areas. The Greater Tzaneen municipality integrated development plan (IDP, 2014-2015), shows the municipality to have 41% of its total population not having any source of income and 45% earning an income below the minimum living levels of R1 600, 00 per month. Vast numbers of people are unable to find regular wage employment and many are forced to survive in the informal sector. In spite of some visible achievements and successes regarding service delivery, it is clear that few changes actually occurred in rural people's lives during the past 20 years, this can be attributable to lack of efficiency of certain programmes or policies so far. Infrastructural problems dating from the apartheid era, like the provision of running water to households in the Township persist. Residents are used to not having access to running water from 9am to about 5:30pm every day of their lives. Of interest to the research is what context specific institutions should be inspected and what factors should have been considered and circumvented in implementing the grant in rural areas so that it would be impossible for it to have negative and unintended consequences of dependence among recipients. These institutions will be discussed further in section 2.1.

1.1.3 Child support grant

When the ANC came into power, they adopted the reconstruction and development program (RDP), but implementation was stopped and was replaced by the growth employment and redistribution policy (GEAR) in order to address financial distortions by way of fiscal discipline and financial stabilisation. According to Turok (2008) the stabilisation achieved its principle objectives but a heavy price was paid in the persistence of poverty and unemployment. The government set out to develop a coherent, inter-sectoral poverty and developmental strategy to overcome dualism and underdevelopment and to synchronise policy between departments. In 1998, The South African government introduced and rapidly implemented the child support grant as the appropriate policy response to address widespread poverty and vulnerability among children and their households across its provinces. The grant is currently being offered at R320 a month until the child reaches the age of 18yrs, payable to the primary care-giver (who does not need to be a biological parent). According to Lund (2009), the majority of caregivers who apply are women and about 90 percent state that they are the biological mother of the child being applied for.

When the ANC led government replaced the state maintenance grant with the child support grant in 1997, piecemeal improvements were made to apartheid policy in order for it to be racially inclusive and to reverse the urban bias of social welfare services. The focus of government was not on implementing innovative policy which meets the overall service needs of different client groups but on its future affordability. According to Turok (2008), the focus of the ANC led government shifted from addressing the fundamental transformation of the inherited social system and gave almost total concentration to the attainment of economic growth.

Even the most proactive measures to boost the South African economy will not overcome the social legacy of apartheid in terms of unemployment, poverty and inequality. This requires the creation of a developmental state strategy, which includes a focus on overcoming dualism and underdevelopment rooted in the urban townships and former homelands by means of boosting productive capabilities and creating sustainable self-generated development amongst its people. The child support grant policy resulted from top-down actions of high-level politicians of the state, without grass-roots organisations, who would eventually be the beneficiaries of the service.

According to Turok (2008) macro -disciplines need to be perceived by all as aimed towards social and human progress.

1.2 Improvement of social policy through research

1.2.1 The research problem statement

South Africa has undergone democratic political change but many of the distortions and dynamics introduced by apartheid continue to produce poverty prevalence. According to the framework for social welfare (2013) when determining the need for developmental social welfare services on a national, provincial and local level, the socio-economic profile of communities should be considered. There needs to be a direct relationship between the assessment of the environment and the strategies for meeting the population's developmental needs and social challenges. This was however not done in the case of the child support grant as piecemeal improvements were made to apartheid policy (state maintenance grant) in order for it to be racially inclusive and to reverse the urban bias of social welfare services. According to Mcnicoll (1998), public transfers among age groups are fertility related. He stated that "whatever the biological factors involved, fertility decisions at the margin are potentially affected" (Mcnicoll, 1998, pg.27). Government directs public expenditures towards social services benefiting the poor. Such expenditures and transfers may significantly modify the economics of fertility as seen by prospective parents. This research aimed to establish whether the government has pursued a social policy that has fertility change as an unintended by product, specifically in our research context.

1.2.2 The research purpose statement

The purpose of the research is to explore whether there is a relationship between the child support grant and the childbearing decision making of our research participants; and whether the policy could have the unintended outcome of increased fertility among recipient biological parents in the higher order births.

1.2.3 The research questions

- Does the child support grant influence the decision of biological parents (of the Lenyenye SASSA Satellite office client base) already receiving the grant to have more children in order to access more money from the government?
- What is the general attitude of recipients toward the grant in the community?

1.3 Delimitations of the research

The study will not be generalizable and applied to any context except for the Lenyenye Township, it will also not be generalizable to the entire population of child support grant recipients (Mothers) in Lenyenye Township due to the small sample size. Only experiences of mothers that receive the child support social grant will be looked at with the exclusion of other primary care-givers who are recipients of the child support grant, what is done by the other primary care-givers in order to access more money from the state in terms of the cash transfers will not be explored

1.4 Justification of the research

The relationship between the child support grant and fertility levels should be investigated because the large volume of social spending in South Africa is an important income source for many households and a major part of provincial expenditures. There are major challenges faced by the government in bringing services to the poor, both as a way of addressing immediate poverty, and establishing a socio-economic environment that is conducive for economic prosperity, which includes the poor in the economic stream. Policy makers need to make the right decisions with regard to making the kinds of public investments and embark on expenditure programmes that are reputed to confer significant positive benefits for the intended beneficiaries (Black, Calitz and Steeenkamp, 2012). The findings could contribute in choosing and deciding on the best methods, which will address unique context specific problems that affect policy implementation in order to uplift the lives of poor women and their families in the long term. According to Swartz (2009), the basic demographic factors should be integrated in all developmental strategies, planning and resource allocation in order to meet the needs of different clientele.

1.5 Preface to the research report

To this end, the report has six chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 provides a literature review covering the problem, the past studies, the explanatory framework and the conceptual framework. Chapter 3 discusses the research strategy, design, procedures, reliability and validity measures as well as limitations. Chapter 4 and Chapter presents and discusses the findings, respectively, to interrogating our research questions while Chapter 6 summarises and concludes the research

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter has three broad objectives; namely to understand the research problem (Sections 2.2), to develop a theoretical framework for interpreting the findings (Sections 2.5), and to conceptualise the research approach (Section 2.7)). Specifically, in (Sections2.1), the study briefly describes the research context in preparation for (Section 2.2) in which we detail the research problem. In (Section 2.3), we review literature on studies that have attempted to evaluate the link between fertility and welfare. With this knowledge, we situate our research within Demography and its key component and attributes in Sections (2.4) and (2.5). Having identified which theory/ theories explains what determines fertility and offer the most relevant explanatory framework for this research in (section 2.6), we discuss this theory and contextualise it to our research. (The last Section 2.7) provides a road map of how this research intends to assess the relationship between the child support grant and fertility in Lenyenye Township..

2.1 An introduction to Lenyenye Township: population and development

2.1.1 Apartheid and the homeland system

According to Butler and Rotberg (1978) South African township residential areas were established in the apartheid era and were racially segregated, low-cost housing developments intended for African migrant labourers that worked in the towns or urban centres. They served as reservoirs of cheap labour for the Apartheid government. Lenyenye Township is a rural township situated in Mopani District in Limpopo Province. The Limpopo province is now what was formerly known as the Lebowa homeland. Much of the history of the twentieth century in South Africa has been one of the imposition of constraints on Africans rather than the opening up of opportunities for them. The Limitation of so many of these opportunities was caused by policies that controlled the movement of labour and differential access to credit, markets, and education — that so hindered African development (Butler and Rotberg, 1978).

According to South UK Essays (2013), the homeland system was instituted to remove blacks from the urban centres and create black self-governing areas. These areas were, however, significantly different in geographical environment, ethnic composition of their resident populations, political traditions, and in the personalities, policies, and

styles of their leaders. Different ethnic groups were designated to their specific homeland, for example, Kwazulu was for Zulus and Ciskei and Transkei were for Xhosa speaking natives. The South African homelands were abolished on 27 April 1994; the existing nine provinces of a democratic South Africa were formed. There were 10 homelands in South Africa, known as: Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, Gazankulu, Venda, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, Kwandebele Lebowa, and QwaQwa. The Apartheid government did very little to develop the economies of the homelands and most of the men had to migrate to the towns and cities to look for employment. Labour migration has resulted in a greater number of females in the area; this is also the Case for the Greater Tzaneen municipality as statistics in the 2014-2015 IDP report show that Females outnumber males, as they comprise 54% of the population.

According to UK Essays (2013), the homeland system still influences South Africa. Although government has made good strides in providing basic services in Limpopo province, rural women and women on farms still experience day-to-day realities marked by the struggle for pure survival that is compounded by deteriorating socio-economic conditions and lack of development. Limpopo is still a developing area and agriculture is the most important economic sector in the area. There are insufficient hospitals, health centres, clinics and mobile clinics available to serve the needs of the whole population, especially those residing in remote rural areas. More than 50% of the adult population is functionally illiterate IDP (2014 /2015). This presents a challenge to the province because greater access to education and health services, especially for women, and improving their participation in the labour force have been shown to contribute in the postponement of childbearing and reduction in number of children women have over their lifetimes (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2006). Thus, problems associated with the literacy levels in the Greater Tzaneen Municipality may be amongst the contributing factors to the observed higher fertility rate in Limpopo province.

2.1.2 The effect of the apartheid migrant labour system on rural families.

According to Swartz (2009), Kalule-Sabiti, Palamuleni and Makiwane (2007) labour migration and mobility – one of the primary legacies of apartheid, have radically undermined the traditional family and the institution of marriage. Many rural women

were without husbands for long periods, they were left to fend for themselves and their children. This with the high incident of joblessness of the homeland system forced many women to make their own decisions about family maintenance and reproduction. High levels of male migration from rural to urban mining areas during the apartheid era have affected lower marriage rates among Africans. African women have a low prevalence of marriage at all ages but there is an insignificant difference between marital and non-marital fertility in African women in South Africa (Kalule-Sabiti et al, 2007).

Maultrie (2001) maintains that government's early implementation of family planning services is not to be credited for the hastened fertility decline. Contraception was offered to women, and many factors – cultural, political and social – converged and compelled them to practice family planning, it was not enforced upon them by the government. The combination of apartheid policies, the institutional family planning campaigns explains the dynamics of the South African fertility transition far better than simply appealing to any one of these forces, since they were reflexively bound up with, and continually mediated, each other.

According to Bandarage (1997), extreme impoverishment in conjunction with aggressive family planning promotion leads to a crisis-led-fertility decline. In social climates where people are fearful of future survival and where state policy increasingly promotes family planning over social development, many people are compelled to delay or stop child bearing altogether. This kind of postponement was discovered by Moultrie and Timæus (2012) in South Africa, according to them it has played an important role in the lengthening of birth intervals and contributed to the slow fertility decline from the late 60s. According to Anderson (2015), once a high proportion of women have effective control of whether they fall pregnant; women or couples can decide to postpone childbearing if the national or family economic situation is not good. They can decide to have more children than they would have if they feel prosperous or if something changes their view of the desired number of children.

2.1.3 Norms and values prevalent in rural areas

According to Bachrach (2014), cultural influences are widely recognised as important for demographic outcomes but are often background in demographic research. A further assertion is made that culture is important for demographic analysis but many see

definitions of culture as often being vague, variable and encompassing making it difficult to study, especially for quantitative analysis. Culture is about people's total way of life; the way people live, eat, worship, produce, create and recreate. It is the totality of a set of bequeathed ideas, belief system, values and norms, which constitute the common bases of generally agreed social action.

Culture may explain why communities or people living under apparently identical economic conditions but differing in language often behave demographically. The use of culture may elevate contextualisation to a higher level. According to Hammel (1990), the better approach to looking at culture is one that focuses on institutional contexts and their connection to individual behaviours. The emphasis of decontextualized rationality does not help much when dealing with cultural issues. The main point is that constraining influences on the behaviour of actors should be extracted from the commentary of the actors themselves, which are more specific and less general that those of the broad cultural and institutional framework (Hammel, 1990).

According to Bachrach (2014) in demography culture was viewed as highly stable and subject to change only when exogenous forces disrupt it. Change occurred only when set in motion by substantial changes in economic systems, such as those incorporating economic development. In time as economic drivers alone proved insufficient for explaining fertility decline many demographers started to think of cultural changes in terms of spreading of ideas. New cultural ideas permitted by literacy, communication and transportation were playing a significant role. Therefore, we can conclude that policy can have differential impact among various differing contexts. If the government does not have the community specific information discussed so far, any strategy is likely to fail to take account of how rural exclusion is experienced, and will be based instead on policymakers' assumptions (Hammel, 1990)

2.1.4 The institution of marriage in the Greater Tzaneen Municipality

According to Swatz (2009) in the South African context, marriage has lost its value as a determinant of fertility. Sexual activity outside of marriage is a common occurrence as there is an insignificant difference between marital and non-marital fertility, this applies to both rural and urban areas of South Africa.

A provincial profile compiled by STATSSA (2004) showed that the largest proportion of black African and Coloured groups had never been married in Limpopo. The statistics showed that 49.7 percent of people aged from 15 and above had never been married and the province had a higher fertility rate than other provinces at the time. The Greater Tzaneen Municipality IDP (2014-2015) paints a similar picture of a significant number of people of childbearing age never married and others living like married couple.

The number of people having reported living like married people in the area (35853) is significantly lower than of those that have reported that they have never been married (261666). Approximately one in seven South African women have their first birth before their 18th birthday. Exposure to childbearing outside marriage is, therefore, a common occurrence in South Africa, any woman, at childbearing age, married or not, can have children. Anderson (2015) maintains that an increasing number of women are in relationships indistinguishable from marriage and some of which involve more sexual intercourse that is irregular. The argument is therefore made that with the current situation in South Africa, still characterised by high levels of poverty in the rural areas and the introduction of social welfare assistance by the government, poor women could increase the number of births in order to receive more money from the government as a survival strategy.

2.1.5 Total fertility rate information for the child support grant

According to Lehohloa (2007), SA has not achieved a complete reporting of births. Survey/census data is used to derive estimates of fertility levels by using indirect demographic estimation techniques. To date, STATSSA has not published a nationally representative survey that contains information on fertility levels of child support recipients. Information has not been made available either by SASSA or the department social welfare and development as to what is the total fertility rate of women aged between 15 and 49 receiving the child support grant for every district municipality in South Africa and how these rates compare with those of the general population. Table 2 below, shows the number of recipients for the child support grant in Mopani district for the month of January 2016. The numbers shown are of beneficiaries who are either parents or caregivers and for registered children receiving the grant. The table was

provided by the Limpopo SASSA provincial office. Site visits to the office and discussions with employees revealed that this is the only report made available to the public. The report is rather limited in providing meaningful and detailed information about the recipients. Statistics published by SASSA however; show a gradual increase in child support grant recipients over the years, in 2008 there was a national record of 8,765,354 recipients, which had increased to 11,125,946 at the end of 2014. It is not clear from the report whether the increase is caused by new births or not. This increase in dependents is happening in the midst of a stagnant economy and unemployment levels that show little improvement.

SASSA LIMPOPO REGION

STATISTICS ON BENEFICIARIES AND CHILDREN PER DISTRICT,SUB-DISTRICT, AND PER GRANT TYPE
PAY PERIOD : JANUARY 2016
MOPANI DISTRICT

LOCAL OFFICE		CSG BEN	CSG CHILDREN
NAMAKGALE	951300	10393	19442
NKOWANKOWA	951400	27668	49867
TZANEEN	951500	18759	33418
SENWAMOKGOPE	951600	8796	16478
DZUMERI	952000	16852	31198
GA KGAPANE	953000	18306	32148
GIYANI	954000	30844	54218
LENYENYE	955000	19344	34822
LULEKANI	956000	8031	16806
MARULENG	957000	16631	30769
MODJADJISKLOOF	958000	4288	8200
MOKWAKWAILA	959000	14793	26931
TOTAL		**194705**	**354297**

Table 2 Child support grant statistics of Mopani district for the month of January 2016

2.2 Social welfare policy in South Africa: child support grant

In the Apartheid era, Public expenditure and the provision of public services by the state were segregated and deeply unequal in South Africa. The perseverance of poverty and inequality in South Africa despite substantial interracial redistribution during the past two decades is still evident. National household surveys (Lehohloa, 2010) have shown that poverty in post-apartheid South Africa remains concentrated among black, particularly rural, households. Economic growth is needed in order to ensure the benefits of social expenditure can continue to keep up with rapidly expanding needs.

Unless economic growth draws many more people into remunerative employment, the large inequalities in South Africa and wide spread poverty will remain (Black et al 2003, pg. 125).

According to Ntenga (1999), the welfare system adopted during the apartheid years was based on first world models of social welfare, largely American and British, and was also primarily urban based. These factors have resulted in an inadequate and inappropriate welfare system, which did not meet needs of the majority of the people. Current welfare legislation enshrines the fragmented welfare system of the past when stakeholder's involvement was not taken into serious consideration in the legislative process. Existing legislation is not based on the planned implementation and continuous evaluation of a comprehensive welfare policy. The state maintenance grant, developed by the apartheid government provided for both a parent and child allowance. According to Goldblatt (2005), before its termination, the grant stood at R410 for parents and R135 per child under the age of 21 years of age to a maximum of R700 per month. When the ANC led government came into power they discontinued the state maintenance grant on the basis of its future affordability associated with the take-up rate of the grant by Africans.

According to Mkandawire (2001), the adoption of social policies does not entirely depend on their perceived instrumental efficacy. Policies are adopted if they are deemed politically feasible. They are the outcomes of political bargains and conflicts since they touch upon power in society - its distribution and accessibility to different political actors. The study of social policies in developmental contexts must be sensitive to the political contexts within which they are formulated and implemented. Redistributive policies are both the effect and the cause of the manner in which citizens understand and react to sources of inequality, as well as the desirability and costs of alleviating its hardship and consistently with principles of the dominant economic system and power relations (Mkandawire, 2001). For example, the black recipients of the child support grant may see the government still continuing with the apartheid ideology of providing inferior services since the parent allowance was scrapped when the grant was made available to them. According to Turok (2008), the ANC government inherited one of the most unequal societies in the world. It is also accepted that the ANC vision was for the transformation of that society in line with the values of the Freedom Charter. However, the practice of the government has been reformist rather than revolutionary and marked by the orthodoxy of neo-liberal economics. Mkandawire (2001) maintains

that it is important to bear in mind both the ideational and the many structural impediments to the consolidation of policies that hamper democracies from addressing issues of equity and poverty. He is also of the view that South Africa is a dramatic illustration of a new democracy adopting orthodoxy in face of widespread demands for a radical shift in the distribution of income and the ANC's own stated ideological positions. The view was that the combination of high inequality, pent-up expectations for social change, ideological predisposition and high levels of labour militancy and urbanization would lead to a more heterodox policy agenda (Mkandawire, 2001).

2.3 Towards the research gap: discussion of past and current studies on the child support grant and fertility

According to the framework for social welfare (2013) when determining the need for developmental social welfare services on a national, provincial and local level, the socio-economic profile of communities should be considered. There needs to be a direct relationship between the assessment of the environment and the strategies for meeting the population's developmental needs and social challenges. The profile of service beneficiaries should be obtained and reflect individual needs and challenges in the family, and the broader community. South Africa's social welfare policy is said to be based on a developmental approach instead of a remedial one (framework for social welfare, 2013).

The framework for social welfare (2013) refers to the developmental approach as one that aims to empower citizens in order for them to gain sustainable independence and economic freedom. Developmental welfare is an approach that is pro – poor and upholds people-centred development, social investments in human capabilities and the strengthening of social capital. The child support grant can be seen as a remedial intervention in that it offers help to the recipient mothers, it does not necessarily make them become more self-reliant and independent, and it just deals with the problem for the moment. On the other hand, it can also be seen as being developmental in the sense that it has been proven by other studies like Lehohloa (2010) to make a positive impact in poverty alleviation and on the lives of recipient children.

Policy design is very important. Precise goals and objectives need to be determined. Before selecting the best policy option or alternative, available methods and techniques

such as cost benefit analysis should be used to determine anticipated costs and the possible effectiveness of programmes. The challenge is to obtain and process all information relevant to the formulation of government policy, and through rigorous analysis present meaningful and rational solutions.

Brynard (2006) discusses the possibility of the mistargeting of the child support grant and asserts that there is always the possibility that some caregivers could divert the funds to their own purposes rather than for the nutrition, security and health of recipient children. In some instances, the better option would be to offer welfare services by providing food, education and health subsidies. Recipients, however, may not welcome this option, a study conducted by Baloyi (2010) in rural Limpopo found that the social grant helps the recipient family members as a whole in household operations and is sometimes used to generate more income for the families (e.g. a rural woman starting a small business of selling produce at the market).

The issue of fertility among women on welfare has attracted a lot of scrutiny from academics and policy analysts over the years; this has also been the case in South Africa since the implementation of the child support grant. Rank (1989) maintains that such studies, conducted in the United States of America (USA) focused on how the various welfare benefits affected illegitimacy rates and did not address the question of what the fertility rates of welfare recipients are. In order to address this shortcoming, the study used longitudinal caseload data of welfare recipients to calculate the fertility rate. The data allowed for the establishment of the time spent on welfare and whether a birth occurred during that time. Once the fertility rate of welfare recipients was established, it was compared with that of women in the general population. In addition, in- depth qualitative interviews with a matched sample of welfare recipients provided insight into the process of and attitudes towards childbearing. The research aimed to answer the following questions: "*what is the likelihood of childbearing among women on welfare? How do these rates compare with those of the general population and lastly what are the determinants of fertility among welfare recipients*" (Rank, 1989, pg. 298). Both the qualitative and quantitative analyses concluded that welfare recipients had a relatively low fertility rate. The low fertility rate is attributable to their financial and social situation, which is not favourable to desiring more children.

Lehohloa (2007) maintains that the information on the total fertility rates trends in South Africa do not provide a complete picture about women's productive choices and behaviour. It only gives information on the changes of the number of children born but not about the timing and spacing throughout the childbearing years of a woman. As mentioned there is no visibility as to what is the total fertility rate of women aged between 21 and 40 receiving the child support grant for every district municipality in South Africa and how these rates compare with those of the general population

According to Acs (1996), the idea that women have multiple births in order to increase their income and to prolong their stays on welfare caused the implementation of a controversial social policy called family cap in the USA. The family cap policy is motivated by the notion that increasing cash transfer in the form of social grants for each additional child increases a woman's propensity to bear additional children. The research by Arcs (1996) and Kearsey (2004) on the effectiveness of the family cap social policy found that it has no systematic effect on fertility rates. This means that there was no significant decrease in births due to the introduction of the family cap policy and that Women are not responding by having fewer additional births because of fewer resources are provided per child on social welfare. Kearsey (2004) maintains that it is very simplistic to have the view that economic factors (welfare benefits) become the focus when a woman makes the decision to give birth, this decision was found to be influenced by other social, religious and other demographic and personal factors.

Moffit (1998) conducted a review on the literature about the effects of welfare and marriage. He found that quite a number of the studies showed a significant correlation between welfare, marriage and fertility, suggesting the presence of such behavioural effects. According to Moffit (1998), the findings of these studies are however weakened by the methodology used and other differences in specifications across the studies. The disparities in research findings weaken the conclusion. Grogger, Jeffrey, Bronars, Stephen, (2001) who were also interested in the same subject, maintain that before the adoption of family caps policy by some states in the USA, the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program provided benefits to unmarried mothers and their children, which increased automatically when the recipient families grew in size. This policy was blamed for declining marriage and non-marital fertility. Their quantitative study used a twins approach estimation to establish whether higher welfare payments make unmarried women to postpone marriage or to hasten the birth of their

second child. The results indicated that when welfare benefits were higher, unmarried white mothers postponed marriage and black mothers hastened their next birth.

According to Black et al (2013), when coming to social welfare the South African government's focus is on preventative intervention. Preventative programmes have focused on high risk groups who are vulnerable to particular social problems, such as children and youth at risk. As a result, extensive research has been conducted on the link between teenage pregnancy and the child support grant. According to Richter (2009) In March 2007, the Department of Social Development released the findings of a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) study that investigated the relationship between teenage pregnancies and the child support grant showed that there was no association between teenage fertility and the grant.

The study conducted by Makiwane, Desmond, Richter and Udjo (2006), on the link between teenage pregnancy and the child support grant also found no link between the two variables. Their study involved a quantitative assessment of data on teenage fertility and administrative data of the child support grant access. The findings were based on the fact that teenage fertility had stabilised and even started to decline by the time the child support grant was introduced; only 20% of teenagers who bear children are beneficiaries and lastly teenage pregnancy is not only a problem for the poor as it even affects young people who would not qualify for the grant.

Another quantitative study conducted by Udjo (2014) using logistic regression analysis and empirical data in two national data sets found no link between the child support grant and being pregnant with another child. The study reported that teenagers who are recipients of the child support grant are less likely to be pregnant with another child compared with teenagers who are not recipients, controlling for teenage level of education, parental survival as well as population group or area of residence. Mokoma (2008) 's study aimed to link the incentives of the social grant with associated perceived gains, this study also found no link between the child support grant and teenage pregnancy. The triangulation of methods was used to ensure that the study goes further than just a quantitative analysis of data. Both qualitative (in-depth-face to face interviews) and quantitative (data sets from various sources) were applied. Most of the qualitative studies conducted on the relationship between the child support grant and teenage pregnancy analysed secondary data and did not deal directly with the

respondents. The literature review has revealed studies conducted in the USA about the link between fertility and Social welfare that were conducted in the late 198o's and into the 1990's. South Africa's focus has been on the link between teenage fertility and the child support grant; there is very little research that focuses of the fertility of child support grant recipients as compared to that of the general population to see if there are significant differences, which should be investigated further.

Studies were conducted by Brynard (2006) and Goldblatt (2006) to assess the implementation of the child support grant. The studies highlight implementation problems that keep some legible applicants out of the grant system or that make the application process difficult. The unintended consequences resulting from the grant administration that is mentioned by Golbatt (2006) is the requirement that women approach the fathers of children for evidence of joblessness; this is seen as re-establishing relationships where they may have broken down and is introducing the potential for conflict and violence. The main point made by Brynard (2006) on the implementation of the child support grant is that once a policy is determined it should not be cast in stone, implementation of policy should never be static and it should be reviewed from time to time. The question of whether the child support grant addresses the original client is asked and a recommendation is made to re-examine the client of the child support grant to see if revisions need to be made to the policy (Brynard, 2006).

2.4 Broad field of study

The identified broad field of study for the research is demography. The focus of demography is to study human populations; it is primarily concerned with their structure, development and size. According to Chesnais (2002), general theories in demography are rare; there is only the theory of population transition. Traditional demographic transition theory focuses on the decline of fertility resulting from socio-economic development and voluntary contraception use. However as mentioned, this has not happened in South Africa as fertility levels were brought down through intensified family planning efforts in the absence of socio-economic development. According to Anderson (2015), the theory does not have any predictive value because it is based on the experiences and changes in demographic trends, which occurred in western countries during the stages of their industrial and economic development.

Although there was a decline in fertility in the all- western countries, the conditions under which this happened were very different amongst countries.

According to Avaskar (n.d), the application of the theory to developing countries has been questionable because it views the reduction in the birth rate as a by-product of industrialisation and modernisation. The fact of the matter is: developing countries that face very rapidly increasing population are not at leisure to wait for industrialisation and modernisation to bring about the required reduction in fertility, family planning programmes have been implemented to deal with high fertility and has proven to be effective (Avaskar, n.d). On the contrary, one can argue that the application of the transition theory is more desirable in the context of developing countries, it is not deemed attractive to politicians because it does not happen quickly and at a low cost, there is no question though that it is far reaching in terms of the upliftment of the status of women.

Demographers describe population traits at a particular time and analyse the process by which populations change in size and composition. The population events that are seen as manifestations of population process are fertility, mortality and migration. These are the components of demography. Weinstein and Pillai (2001) define mortality as the process of the depletion of a population through death. The event that determines mortality is death and the term mortality is used to the occurrence of death regardless of cause or age. According to Yaukey et al (2007) in more developed countries, the "mortality transition" has doubled life expectancy at birth. The improvement in the life expectancy was caused by the control of infectious, parasitic and respiratory diseases. There are several ways to track and measure the frequency and nature of the occurrence of death. These measures include crude rates, age and cause specific rates and infant mortality.

Migration refers to the population movements that add or subtract from the members of a population of society. Demographers are interested in in-migration and out-migration. These involve residential relocation from an area occupied by one population to the area of another. Studying these movements is important because they bring about new activities and terminate old ones, resulting in social and economic consequences for both the origin and destination. Migration tends to favour population growth at the place of destination at the expense of growth the place of origin (Youkey, 2007).

The component of demography that this study will focus on is that of fertility. A woman's fertility refers to the number of live births she has actually experienced at a specific point in her life. Despite falling fertility rates everywhere, significant differences in birth rates still prevail across regions and social groups. According to Weinstein and Pillai (2001)The social and cultural changes theorized to support the shift to small families are complex, including improved infant survivorship, decreasing economic valuation of children, increasing non-maternal role options for women, the spread of contraceptive use and so forth. The focus of this paper is on macro-level institutional factors that are capable of influencing fertility, the effect of the child support grant policy if, any, on fertility levels in rural households.

According to Yaukey et al (2007) merely describing fertility differences and giving explanation by background is not enough if we want to understand how group differences come about. A more satisfactory explanation of fertility differences involves not only stating which classes of people have higher or lower fertility (describing background differentials) but also specifying how they do it (specifying differentials in the proximate differentials). According to this view, the transition from a high to a low fertility in the pre-transitional stage is largely left to biological principles, although constrained by social behaviours that impact on the parents and not on child bearing. Various customs and constraints in pre-industrial societies affect these intermediate variables to produce a change in fertility. Any level of fertility in a population can always be traced to variations in one of the proximate variables.

Therefore to have a deep insight into the issue of differential fertility one has to have a clear idea about the relationship between independent variables for instance, social, economic and demographic variables and fertility behaviour. According to Debruijn (2005), the Davis and Blake model identified eleven biological factors through which and only which any social, economic and environmental variables can influence fertility. Bongaarts(1978) later revised the model and proposed that a major portion of the change in fertility levels could be explained by only four intermediate variables out of eleven intermediate variables: these variables include: Nuptuality (age at marriage and proportion of non-marriages), period of lactation following childbirth, incidence of foetal wastage and prevalence of contraceptive practice.

This view is useful in our research but sometimes only looking at how proximate variables explain fertility differentials does not give a birds' eye view of the situation. For example if one was to look at marriage in South Africa as an indicator of fertility levels, they would assume the low prevalence to correlate with low fertility levels. A closer look will reveal that this is not the case. According to Swatz (2009), Kalule-Sabiti et al (2007), the destabilisation of black families by the migrant labour system has resulted in a low prevalence of marriage and the acceptance of illegitimacy of children as the norm, there is an insignificant difference between marital and non-marital fertility in South Africa (Swartz, 2009). Figure two, below shows a graphical depiction of the broad field of study, its components and fertility variables that are important for this study.

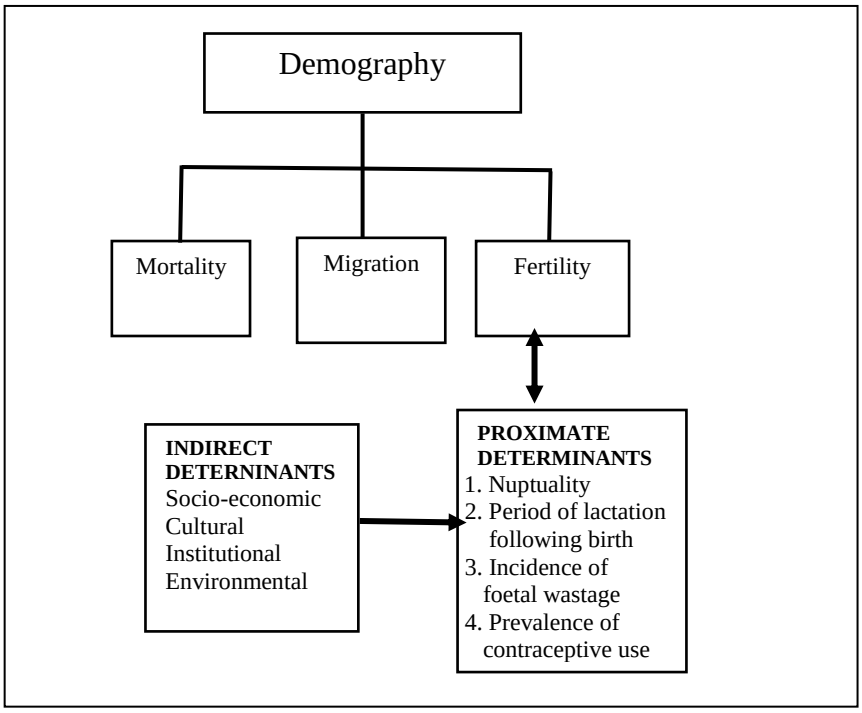

Figure 2: Broad field of study. Source: Author.

2.5 Key variables

According to Moultrie and Timæus (2012) in studies of the determinants of fertility, attention is customarily focused on the characteristics of individuals, households and families than the characteristics of environments in which they are found. The historic institutional structure (for example government policy operating in the environment) that underpins human society is neglected. Our research perceived the implementation of the child support grant as introducing a change in the fertility decision-making environment. It is not clear which proximate decision it works through to effect a

change in fertility presently but in trying to uncover this information, the micro-level institutions of marriage and family formation were chosen, as they are central in the link between fertility and the child support grant. Figure 3 shows the interrelatedness of our variables, government plays a very central the role as it provides the grant income and contraception to recipient families. Culture influences people's decisions about family formation and contraception use. Marriage and contraception can cause a direct effect on fertility.

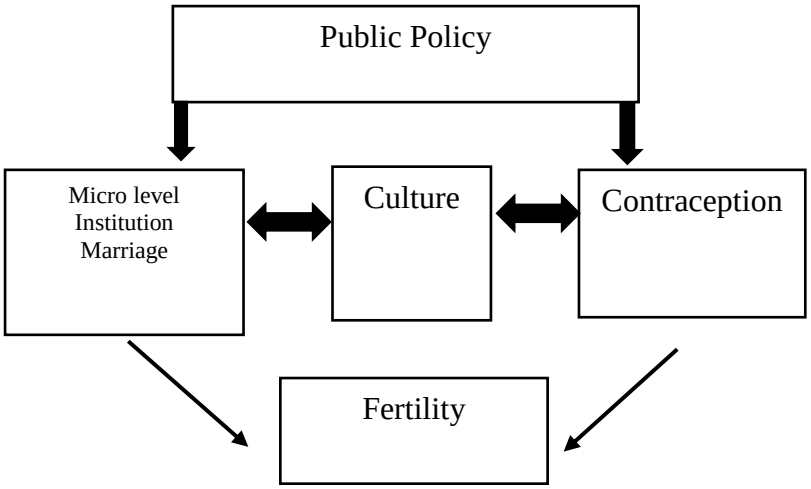

Figure 3 Demonstration of interrelatedness of variables, Source: Author

2.6. Theoretical framework

According to Werding (2013), the study of fertility behaviour in recent times has shifted from being perceived as a mere socio-economic perspective to a multifaceted combination of social, economic, cultural and psychological approaches in order to have a better understanding of the phenomena. Although it is useful to apply the economic approach to fertility because parental fertility decisions have a strong economic dimension, it is also true that these decisions have a biological background, and are deeply embedded in a broad social context that economists are not used to deal with (Werding, 2013). Weinstein and Pillai (2001) maintain that determinants of fertility cannot be understood from one standpoint, and that a multivariate explanation is necessary. No one theory can be judged right and the others wrong because they are not mutually exclusive, there is no static explanatory framework to study this phenomenon. According to Basu and Soni (n.d) some of these theories provide insight into one aspect

of fertility decisions but are incomplete, neglecting other factors that my drive these fertility decisions.

Various economic frameworks were developed to explain human fertility over the years. These theories focus on the ultimate decision maker and advances explanations of the effect of socio-economic development on changing fertility in any micro region. The theories have their limitations as well as sound aspects and each of them provide significant insight into the relationship of fertility and its determinants. According to Moffitt (1998), few of the theorists thought about the threshold values of income, education and economic and social development. Robinson (1997) also maintains that a greater conceptual clarity in the theoretical frame-work and more precision in specifications should be attempted.

Liebenstein (1974)'s economic theory of fertility, proposed that families would balance utilities against disutilities when making the fertility decision of an additional child. The emphasis is on the higher order births. According to Liebenstein (1974) the theory does not presume rational and calculating behaviour with respect to every birth. The assumption is that to a higher degree, people indulge themselves in 'causal' decision making in situations where economic constraints force or create pressures for calculated decision-making. The concept of utility is governed by the overall levels of development of the society. The argument made is that parents accrue three types of utility from having children: (1) a consumption utility: (2) a labour productivity utility; (3) an old age security. According to Robinson (1997) even though children are capable of producing all three types of utilities to parents, this does not mean that all parents in all situations expect to receive them. He maintains that human activity, which produces children, is not undertaken in a rational effort to produce children at all. Sexual activity is desired for its own sake and children can sometimes be an unintended by product.

Becker and Barro (1988)'s reformulation of the economic theory of fertility proposes that the micro consumption theory in economics can be applied to fertility. Variations in fertility can be understood within the framework used in the analysis of durable goods. This means that in the same manner that decisions are made to purchase durable goods by consumers with a given taste , after evaluating its cost and utilities, household fertility decision making happens after the consideration of utilities vis a vis monetary and opportunity cost of the additional child. Children were seen as consumer durables, and

like other consumer durables, were satisfying to parents to the extent that they satisfied their parents' tastes. Anderson (2015) maintains that in Becker's view fertility limitation was motivated by a shift from a concern with "child quantity to chid quality. Higher child quality is usually interpreted as more expensive children due to costs

Caldwell (1976)'s wealth flow theory. Shows that where wealth flows from children to parents, fertility tends to be high. The theory proposes that fertility decisions in all societies are economically rational and based on the economic worth of children. This view argues that modernisation factors such as compulsory education, non-existent child labour, availability of old age security, and others shift the economic benefits of family life from the parents to the offspring. As children become more of a financial burden to parents' fertility is limited. According to Caldwell (2005) fertility transition that paralleled transition from a farming mode of production where children's labour inputs did much to pay for their existence to a capitalist or labour market mode of production where this was not the case. According to Anderson (2015) this theory works well in some countries such as sub-Saharan Africa but less well in others where fertility has declined with little change in extended family structures

Due to the fact that this research investigates the role of state policy in fertility, the framework on institutional determinants of fertility is the most relevant. McNicoll (1980) suggests a list of institutions that, in most situations, have a bearing on fertility- our focus is on role of the state. According to Maultrie and Timæus (2012) the starting premise to this approach is that micro-rational economic choices of individuals do not determine fertility. Fertility behaviour is constrained and affected by the relations and institutions at the local level, which are influenced by and are the product of the wider social, political, economic and historical processes. The theory draws essentially on the notions of bounded rationality developed by H.A Simon. Bounded rationality is about how people reason when conditions for rationality postulated by neo-classic economic theory are not met. The problems that arise in the decision making are not a direct cost of the search for information, or because of poor cognition: they result from the structuring of the decision environment facing individuals set up by the surrounding institutional forms and cultural patterns. The prime concern of the theory is with fertility decision making regarding the marginal child.

According to Mcnicoll (1980) the immediate institutional setting in which fertility decisions are made comes directly into play. The state cannot influence fertility. The theory however disposes of the biological aspects of fertility; and the changes that occur in the fertility decision environment are seen to be eliciting corresponding changes to individual behaviour, but working through a loose articulation that itself becomes a major object of study. The focus on the state is on the grounds that the nature of state-individual relations may bear strongly on individuals' reproductive intentions.

According to De Bruijn (2005) this theoretical approach has a historic path-dependent orientation which recognises history as being important in current decision making and having an influence in strategic decision making. According to Moultrie (2001) the observed trends in fertility in South Africa are a product of the institutional and social effects of apartheid social and population policies. This approach is suitable for our research because it will enable us to look at the historical fertility decision making environment and its complexities that were brought on by the state and the problems that it poses for the understanding of the different contexts, the ways in which needs and priorities are identified, especially among marginalized groups.

2.7 Conceptual framework

As stated already, the last component is the main aim of doing a literature review—establishing the conceptual framework—that is, a detailed discussion on how the research will advance beyond the literature review. To get this right, we should have interrogated literature that discusses sub-components 1 to 6, not necessarily in this order. Therefore, a conceptual framework is an abridged summary of subcomponents 1 through 6. Figure 4 (below) presents a proposed conceptual framework for business and management research. First, we should restate the research or evaluation problem, opportunity, or question. Second, we should present our understanding of the problem symptoms, consequences, and root causes. We derive this understanding from summarising the discussion on the research setting or context (subcomponent 1) and the research problem analysis or the intervention of interest (subcomponent 2). Third, we then present a summary of key procedure and methods, results, and conclusions drawn by past and current studies (subcomponent 3) that have attempted a similar research or evaluation. This review should also provide a research gap. Fourth, our understanding of the broad field of study and its components and processes

(subcomponent 4) as well as key attributes or variables (subcomponent 5) will allow us to propose an approach, if not more, to our research or evaluation. The proposed approach or approaches should also factor in how we will address limitations identified in previous attempts and, therefore, build upon the past and current studies. Lastly, we should point out the explanatory frameworks that we will use to interpret our research findings (subcomponent 6). It is this systematic summarising of and decision-making based on sub-components 1 to 6 of a literature review that provides us with a conceptual framework for our research or evaluation

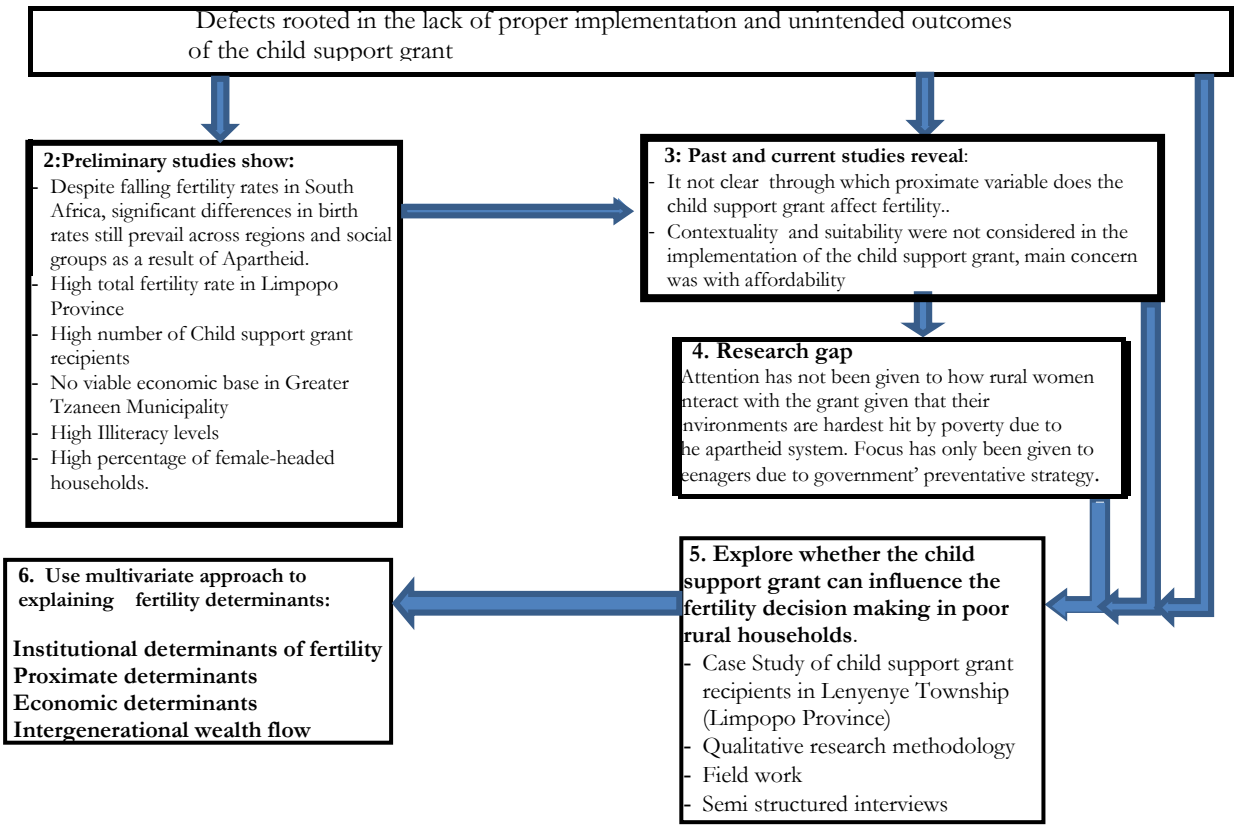

Figure 4 conceptual framework

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research strategy

A research strategy is a "general conduct of social research" (Bryman, 2012). It is a plan that guides a researcher and informs them about how to go about investigating the research problem, and which methods should be used in answering research questions. There are two research strategies, qualitative and quantitative. It is possible though to pursue an interpretive study using quantitative methods (mixed methods research). The qualitative research approach was used for the study. According to Wagner (2012) qualitative research is concerned with understanding the social and cultural contexts, which shape various behavioural patterns.

Although Qualitative research does not produce broadly applicable laws and rules, it is suitable in studying policy issues (like that of the child support grant) because it can provide a deep understanding of social phenomena, that can be logically extended and used by policy analysts and in government service delivery planning . Qualitative research is a generative form of inquiry, which can help create a free and democratic society. This is embedded in its epistemological approach of interpretivism, which seek to understand social members' definitions and how they interpret situations. The focus of our research is in line with the interpretivist approach as it is on the experiences and fertility decisions of child support grant recipients of the Lenyenye Township SASSA office; taking into cognisance their unique contexts and background. According to Mcnicoll (1980) the explanation of domains of consistency relevant to decisions bearing on fertility calls for careful interpretive analysis.

3.2 Research design

According to Wagner (2012), Research Design gives guidance to how the research is going to be conducted. Good research design establishes the evidence that is needed to answer the research question in a convincing way. Babbie (2013) asserts that research design involves deciding what aspects the research will observe, of whom, and for what purpose. Five types of research designs can be found, namely experimental, case study,

longitudinal, cross-sectional and comparative. Case study design which adopts an interpretive approach was applied for the research.

Baloyi (2013) performed a study in a remote village in the Muhumani Tribal Authority in Giyani in order to establish the use of the Social grant in households within that specific area. The results of the study cannot be generalizable anywhere else because the research is context specific. Her study found that the child support grant was not only used for the benefit of recipient children but for the family as a whole in almost all the households. The money was used for basic things like food and to generate more income by investing in small business ventures.

3.2.1 Data collection Instrument

A research instrument is a device used to collect data, such as paper interviews or methodologies used to collect information during an evaluation. Two types of research instruments can be identified when conducting qualitative research, namely: observation schedule and interview schedules. An interview schedule was drawn up and used for this study and allowed the researcher to collect data about the ideas, experiences, beliefs, views and behaviours of the participant. The instrument was based on the research problem, research questions and information from the literature. It was used as a guide and not as a standardised instrument that has to stay with the topic.

Three types of interviews can be distinguished and these include semi-structured, structured and unstructured interviews. Data was collected through a semi -structured interview on an individual basis with 15 women, receiving the social grant, a community worker and a South African Police Service Official working for the community policing section in Lenyenye Township. The interview questions were pre-determined and not put to participant in the same order, respondents were encouraged to express themselves in their own way. The aim was to obtain rich descriptive data that will assist in seeing the world through the eyes of the participants.

The interviews were conducted in Sepedi and averaged between 30 minutes to 1hour. Due to lack of resources, the services of a professional translator could not be procured and the interviews were translated to Sepedi with the assistance of a qualified Sepedi teacher who was also proficient in the English language. Bislin's model of translation, as

discussed by Regmi, Naidoo, Pilkington (2010) was used to ensure that there is minimal loss of meaning and that the instrument still measured what it is supposed to after the translation. The model suggest recruiting at least two bilingual people to translate field notes or interview transcripts from the source language (Sepedi) to the target language (English), this is known as forward translation. Another person will back translate the documents from the target language to the source language. Discrepancies found were negotiated

3.2.2 Target Population and Sampling

The target population can be described as the entire group of people or objects to which the researcher wishes to infer the findings of the study to. The total number of participants is seventeen; it included fifteen women that reported: (1) being child support grant recipients and biological parents; (2) being registered at the Lenyenye SASSA office for the service. A community worker and a South African Police Service official working for the community policing section in Lenyenye Township were also included. The decision to sample from the Lenyenye SASSA office client base population and not only from the population of Lenyenye Township residents was influenced by the fact that the Greater Tzaneen municipality is made up of 34 wards and 125 rural villages. Almost 80% of households reside in these rural villages (IDP, 2014-2015). Focusing on the views of the client base instead of the Township respondents allows for a more diversified inquiry on the experiences and lives of as many people in the municipality. Eight of the women interviewed lived in Lenyenye, seven lived in Marumofase Village.

According to Babbie (2013) sampling involves the selection of people to observe, that will allow the researcher to infer or generalise to people not observed. Two types of sampling can be identified, namely probability and non-probability sampling. Non Probability Purposive sampling was used as biological parents that are known to be receiving the social grant in the research context were approached; there was no random selection of respondents. According to Wagner (2012) the main aim of purposive sampling is to focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest, which will best enable the researcher to answer the research questions. Convenience sampling where the researcher simply uses subjects that are readily available was used.

Snowball sampling was also used as referrals to other respondents were asked from already identified and interviewed respondents.

3.2.3 Ethical considerations when collecting data

The researcher ensured that voluntary informed consent was obtained from research participants by asking them to sign a consent form, which details what the research is about and not what is expected of them. Those that could not read and write in English were given a verbal explanation in their own language, which details what was expected of them in the process. Some of the respondents were suspicious and refused to sign the consent forms because they were not conversant with research protocol. No deception occurred towards participants in the study. All care was taken by the researcher that no physical or any sort of harm befell research participants.

3.2.4 Data collection and storage

According to Wagner (2012), there are three frequently used methods for qualitative data collection and these include Interviewing, Observations and document or artefact analysis. Other data collection techniques include focus groups, observations and projective techniques. Data collection techniques are seldom used in isolation; most qualitative studies employ a combination of observation and interviewing. Field research was conducted mainly in Lenyenye Township at the SASSA office and the local clinic. Some interviews were conducted at the homes of respondents in Lenyenye and Marumofase village. Formal permission was also sought from the Lenyenye clinic to interview women that came for antenatal services. The clinic also has a similar client base as the SASSA office. Permission was asked from respondents to record interviews and only six of the respondents (including the community worker) agreed for a recording device to be used. The rest of the interviews were captured manually as respondents asked not to be recorded. An observation was made that respondents were more responsive in the absence of the recording device. One of the respondents mentioned that she fears that her voice clip will be given to the media.

3.2.5 Data processing and analysis

The information derived from the interviews was transcribed and translated to English in cases where the interviews were conducted in vernacular. Bislin's model of back translation was used to translate interview transcript from Sepedi to English to ensure that meaning of words were not lost in translation. Data that was coded according to categories and sub-categories, identified by reading the transcripts was interpreted in order to create meaning of the responses obtained from the interviews. Codes were based on themes, topics, ideas, phases and key words identified in the data collected through the interviews. Similarities and differences between the data groups and interrelationships between different parts of the data were also looked at. The research data is auditable and was checked to ensure that the interpretations are credible, transferable, dependable and confirmable. According to Learn higher (2008) no set standards exist for evaluating the validity, or authenticity, of conclusions in a qualitative study, but the need to carefully consider the evidence and methods on which conclusions are based is just as great as with other types of research.

3.3 Description of respondents

The respondents were women between the ages of 19 and 49 years of age. The majority of the respondents could not express themselves well in English as they had low levels of education, there were only three that reported having passed or having repeated their matric. The women looked similar in appearance, very clean households except for the respondent who had the most children. The level of poverty in the household was heart breaking, especially because the poverty was physically reflected on the children in the home, they looked unkempt and somewhat malnourished as compared to those of other house –holds visited. Almost all the respondents looked very modern (hair extensions and fashionable clothes) with modern ideas about life in general. They did not fit the profile of traditional rural women that seemed to be left behind by life.

3.4 Research reliability and validity measures

Reliability and validity in qualitative research do not have the clearest and most developed measures. Wagner (2012) maintains that qualitative research can never be value free but it is critical for the researcher to recognise his/her biases in order to

overcome them. According to Shenton (n.d) qualitative researchers use words such as credibility (in preference to internal validity), transferability (in preference to external validity/generalisability), dependability (in preference to reliability) and conformability in (preference to objectivity).

In order to increase the credibility and dependability of the research method, correct operational measures and procedures for a qualitative research were employed. Interviews were recorded accurately, the researcher paid attention to capturing, and interpreting the viewpoints of the individuals studied without imposing her own.

The use of different data sources in our research (recipients and officials) allowed for the verification of differing viewpoints and experiences, which were verified against each other. This is a form of triangulation that involves the use of a wide range of informants. Due to time constraints, only seven of the respondents were consulted in order to verify whether the researcher understood, captured and interpreted the data gathered correctly, and all agreed that the researcher's account was accurate. This process is called member checking

3.5 Research Limitations

The small sample size poses issues regarding the generalizability of the findings of the study in the research context. The sensitive and personal nature of the questions asked to respondents raised the possibility of informant bias as some of them were observed to be physically uncomfortable (fidgety) once certain questions were asked. Other respondents were not free to speak their mind because they feared that they might give information that might lead to the grant being stopped and that would be to their detriment as they rely heavily on the income.

4 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Does the child support grant influence the decision of parents to have more children in order to access money from the government?

4.1.1 Family planning and birth spacing

When asked about their family aspirations, the majority of respondents expressed a desire for small families. Seven women mentioned that they do not want any more children, the rest were open to further child bearing only if their situation improved and are in a marriage with a supportive partner.

The number of children for respondents varied from one to three children with at least two years in between births, no abnormal trends were observed for both Lenyenye and Marumofase participants with the exception of a 47-year woman, who had ten children and seven grandchildren born between 1987 and 2015. Only one set of twins among the children was reported. This respondent lived with her mother, children and grandchildren in a makeshift house made of wood and tents before the government intervened and built two RDP houses for the family. The woman reported never being married and explained that her birth spacing is attributable to the fact that as a single woman she sometimes spent long periods without being in a stable relationship, being on birth control would not make sense to her during those times. Her being on and off birth control made her susceptible to pregnancy when having casual sexual encounters. She did not believe in termination of pregnancy because she feared that the risk of dying is high for "back door abortions" not conducted by health professionals. When asked whether she was not afraid of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, she became tense, shrugged her shoulders and said, "Only God knows".

All the respondents reported being knowledgeable about family planning and having used it, common methods included injectables and condom usage by partners. When asked if having a child was a joint and conscious decision made with the fathers of their children, most of them answered no, with the exception of three women who said they were cohabiting or in a traditional marriage. These women reported having a

discussion (whether formal or informal) and agreeing with their partner, about wanting to start a family. Among the three women, one of them (from Lenyenye Township) mentioned that she really wanted children but was having difficulty conceiving, she consulted both traditional healers and medical doctors in order to solve the problem. She felt she needed children to strengthen her relationship with her partner as they had been living together for 12 years.

All the women were of the view that people in marriages had fewer children and planned their families better. Single women were seen to be having more children because their births are likely to be unplanned. Another reason given was that births among single women happen when women, in unstable relationships, consciously expose themselves to pregnancy without the consent of their partners. This is done in order to have a hold on them, with hopes of eventually getting married or to secure income by way of child maintenance. A respondent (from Marumofase) related a story of how a friend that knowingly had an affair with a married man, consciously decided to stop using contraception in order to fall pregnant and receive maintenance money from him because he had a good job in government. The respondents mentioned that although teenage pregnancy is prevalent in their community child rearing is spread out among women of childbearing age.

4.1.2 Grant vs jobs

All of the women interviewed reported that they had never been in formal, long-term or permanent employment. Ten out of the fifteen women had never worked before. Those that have worked mentioned working for Extended Public Works Programmes (EPWP), domestic work and part-time retail work. When asked how they provided for their family almost all of them mentioned that the child support grant is their main source of income. Only five women mentioned that they receive assistance form the fathers of their children.

All the women indicated that they would be happy to find employment and that the child support grant does not encourage people not to seek employment. One respondent mentioned that she passed her matric and enrolled for a childcare course after that. She believes that it is impossible to find work in government because only people with relatives in government find employment. She mentioned that she had an

idea to start her own day care centre but have not been able to because of the lack of funds. Twelve of the respondents said that they would not mind if the government stopped the grant and provided stable jobs as this would enable them to provide for their children better.

The community worker's statement that about 70% of the youth in Lenyenye are unemployed, confirmed the joblessness of the area. He mentioned that the grant perpetuates the prevalence of poverty because there is currently no exit strategy. Parents are given the money until their children reach 18 years, in many cases the money is the only source of income for the families, what happens to these families when their children no longer qualify for the grant? Job generating initiatives are very scarce in the area and the various grant offered by government are the only stable income that most families depend on.

4.1.3 Extended family

Differences were found between family arrangements among women living in Lenyenye and Marumofase village. Most of the respondents from Lenyenye lived on their own with their children in RDP houses, one respondent had inherited a four-roomed house in the Township and another respondent reported cohabiting in an RDP house. All the respondents from Marumofase reported staying with their mothers and/or siblings. The extended family seems to still be prevalent in the village, even our oldest respondent (47 years) from Marumofase reported living with and caring for her elderly mother.

This is in line with what was said about the extended family by both the community worker and SAPS official as they both discussed the extended family as also being central in the child support grant issues. The community worker explained that most of the poor families in Lenyenye Township are headed by elderly women and survive on the social grants. It is possible to find that the grants received by a family total to amounts of up to R5000; depending of the number of family members and the type of grants they qualify for. Other grants mentioned were the old age grant, HIV related grant and disability grant. He mentioned that the fact that the families receive the money does not mean that their lives become better because the government and community workers are often called upon to assist in organising burials when there is a death in such families. He also mentioned that teenage mothers living with extended families

might present as meeting the criteria for receiving the grant but in most cases do not use it for the intended purpose because they live with uncles, mothers and grandparents that provide for them and their children.

The SAPS official spoke about the overcrowding of families in the rural areas; it is common to have grown and elderly siblings, still staying in their parental home with their spouses and children. This according to her sometimes presents a big problem as there is a high incidence of sexual abuse of children reported in families with such an arrangement. Sometimes the mothers do not do much to assist their daughters because of the fear of losing the little support offered by the male perpetrators.

4.1.4 Marriage

No marital status difference was observed between the Lenyenye and Marumofase respondents. Out of the 15 respondents only three reported being in long term cohabiting relationships, the rest were single and never been married. Amongst the three that were cohabiting, one had mentioned that she was traditionally married. When probed further about whether the traditional marriage process was followed and if lobola was paid for her she responded by saying it was not paid. The respondent explained that her partner has not been able to pay for lobola yet, but her partner's family has accepted her and she has been living with her partner for 12 years, that is why she regards herself as married. Some of the single women mentioned that they were involved with men that they do not live with. All the women expressed a positive attitude towards marriage. Some of the respondents held the view that marriage is the best arrangement for rearing children, as men are more financially supportive when living with their children because they experience their needs first hand and address them immediately. Men that do not live with their children were said not be cooperative with child maintenance at times because they feel that the mothers inflate the needs of the children in order to use the money for he own needs. Out of the fifteen respondents, 10 reported not having any financial assistance from their partners.

The perception held by all the women was that marriage in their community is not as prevalent as it used to be in the olden days and that the quality of prospective husbands has deteriorated. Most women nowadays have children out of wedlock. One of the

reasons for the decline in marriage is that cohabitation is more accepted in the community, this is captured in the statement of one of the respondents below:

"It is only the lucky ones that get married, women have spoiled men by agreeing to "vat en sit" (cohabitation), why should men pay lobola (bride Prize) when they can stay with women for free".

Another widely held view among respondents was that most men are not as willing as their predecessors to take on the responsibility of looking after their families. Nine of the women mentioned that they would still like to get married and the rest of the respondents were indifferent. It was interesting to note that only four respondents mentioned that they had children with the same partner. The rest of the participants reported multi-partner fertility.

Both officials interviewed confirmed the low prevalence of marriage in the area. The community worker mentioned that there has been an RDP house building project in Lenyenye and that a large proportion of the houses were allotted to single women that live with their children, these women have become independent and make their own decisions, and they may not see the need for marriage.

4.1.5 Social and economic value of children

Almost all the respondents had a modern view of child rearing except for the respondent with the most children who asserted that she believes that her children will look after her when she is old. The majority of the mothers from both Lenyenye and Marumofase village mentioned using the grant money to buy "Pampers" (disposable nappies) for their children. The respondents related the costs that are incurred in child rearing and maintained that the grant really assists them in providing for their children. Another interesting observation was that many of the mothers (from both locations) said that they prefer to send their children to crèche (day care) so that they can be exposed to learning early in life. One of the respondents mentioned that: "*I prefer my child to be in crèche so that she can start learning at an early age, she will not learn anything by staying at home with me*". The researcher learnt that the day school costs between R130 to 150 each month and are subsidised by government.

When asked whether the cost associated with child rearing make poor people to limit their births, a mixture of responses was received, seven people said that some people do

limit their births and others do not consider the costs, only two said costs are considered and the rest said they are not. The reason given by one of the respondents was that children are a gift from God and will grow in any environment that they find themselves in. Another respondent from Marumofase explained the curret situation is no longer like in the olden days when it was common for women to farm for subsistence in their communities, children are not raised by home-grown produce anymore, everything needs to be bought and money is very important.

When asked for further elaboration on the reasons why some people that are poor have a larger number of children, reasons offered ranged from poor people always being unemployed and idle, having more opportunity for sex, to wanting to access money from the child support grant. The question of whether the respondents thought it possible for women in their communities to increase births in order to access more money from the government was posed to respondents and only three of them said it was not possible. All the respondents mentioned that the receipt of the grant did not influence their child bearing. One of the respondents said: "*Even if one receives money for 10 children, it still equates to R320 per child, which is very little for covering a child's needs, young or old*".

When asked what evidence do they have that high fertility is associated with receiving the grant because firstly, there are a lot more other reasons and factors that can result in high fertility levels, and secondly, high levels of fertility have always prevailed among the poor in the province before the implementation of the grant. Most of the respondents could not answer that question coherently and conceded to the fact that they assume that the child support grant is behind fertility levels and that they do not know for sure. One of the respondents mentioned that she had encountered some neighbours who came to enquire about the application process for the grant from her. During the conversation one of them mentioned that she would fall pregnant so that the grant money can be close to a thousand rand a month in her household, she said that she would be able to run her family better with that money even if there is a new family member added to the budget. The respondent described her neighbours as illiterate, and having no income and no one to help her, she had lost hope of ever finding a job, unless as a domestic worker or farm labourer. Domestic work is not as readily available in rural areas unlike in urban areas because people have more money there.

Both the community worker and the SAPS official were of the opinion that it is possible for women to increase their births in order to access the grant money. They mentioned cases of extreme poverty and large families living in small overcrowded houses but both agreed that this situation is more prevalent in the surrounding villages than in Lenyenye Township.

The SAPS official mentioned that there is a difference in the care of children by mothers that live in the different locations. There is a physical difference between school children coming from the villages and those that live in the township. The learners from the villages look unkempt and sometimes are not in school uniform because they do not have one. Others come to school without shoes despite the availability of the grant. Such cases are reported by the teachers to either the community-policing unit or social workers, a closer look into such situations often reveals that the mother would be receiving the grant but not attending to the needs of her children. There have been other instances where the parents had not applied for the grant especially because of lack of the required documentation; in such cases, the community workers gets involved in assisting to resolve the situation.

4.2 What is the general attitude of recipients toward the grant in the community

The grant is valued and deemed very useful by respondents. There was a general agreement among respondents that the grant does assist them in caring for their children. The money is seen as being helpful but it does not go a long way. The youngest respondent (19) mentioned that the three hundred and twenty Rands received is very little money and does not do much for her and her child. She has a five month old baby and the money is not enough for her to buy "Pampers" (disposable nappies), food for her child and for her monthly contribution to the burial scheme. Three other respondents mentioned using the grant money to pay for the burial scheme run by a funeral parlour named Two Mountains in Tzaneen Town. When asked if food parcels would be better in addressing the poverty of children only four were open to the idea, the rest of the respondents mentioned that the cash transfer is preferred as it is channelled to various activities that assist the whole family, and not only for buying food. Some of the respondents spoke about the abuse of the grant by mothers who

gamble and buy alcohol with the grant money. The dominant view was that this kind of behaviour is prevalent in teenage mothers than more mature mothers.

The SAPS official mentioned that households need the grant but constant monitoring is needed in rural areas especially by community and social workers in cases where abuse of the grant is reported. The community worker was of the view that the grant encourages dependency and that the government must revise its strategy by working with food and clothing retailers on a coupon system, which will enable recipient to buy food and children clothing. His opinion is that the government must apply itself and come up with better options that are best suited for people in the community

5 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.1 Does the child support grant influence the decisions of parents to have more children in order to access more money from the government?

5.1.1 "Westernisation vs. modernisation"

The findings revealed that both the respondents from the Township and Village had a "modern" orientation towards child bearing and family formation. Marriage was found to be uncommon and single motherhood was found to be high among respondents. A preference for small nucleus families was expressed by the majority of respendents, with the view that they provide the right environment for child rearing. This is confirmed by the fact that the number of children for almost all the respondents varied between two and three children with a minimum of two years between the births, with the exception of one that reported having given birth to ten children over a period of twenty nine years (1987-2015). This respondent reported receiving the child support grant for only five of her children, as the other ones were no longer legible. This shows that South Africa, despite its good provision of family planning services, still has people in the rural areas undergoing pre-transitional fertility.

Late entrance into marriage amongst Africans and the wide acceptance and use of contraceptive methods were also observed. The view expressed by respondents was that married couples have fewer children and is correct because in South Africa marriage has been found to occurs late in African women's lives and this means that they have fewer years of family formation (Kalule-Sabiti, 2007). All the mentioned norms and attitudes expressed by respondents have a decreasing effect on fertility levels and are similar to those that would fit into the second demographic stage if it were used for analysis. According to Yaukey et al (2007), the second transition is characterised by a shift from traditional marriage to a variety of marital and non-marital family structures; and unpredictable fertility levels that often fall below replacement levels. The traditional demographic transition theory, if applied, would seek the reasons of the fertility decline in socio-economic development and voluntary contraception. This was however not the case in Lenyenye Township and surrounding villages, as extreme impoverishment

coupled with the aggressive family planning promotion advocated by the apartheid government led to a Poverty-led fertility decline.

The respondents placed great emphasis in the obligation of parents to cater to the needs of their children, these needs were said to involve high costs. They also perceived education as being important and advocated for early exposure to learning. This is consistent with Becker and Barro (1988)'s shift from child quantity to child quality. They maintained that this preference for quality children came with high income, but the finding in our research context refutes their assumption. Caldwell (1978) coined the term "Westernisation" to refer to the importing and diffusion of European mannerisms and way of life. These according to him are moved around for consumption by mass education and the media. Westernisation is a social process and not an economic one, the exporting of the European social system and its economic system are undeniably a significant feature of our time. Their worldwide acceptance does not make them a pre-requisite for modernisation however, the West was just able to export it because of its economic strength derived for industrialisation (Caldwell, 1978).

5.1.2 Decision under constraints

The majority of the respondents saw it possible for women in their community to increase births in order to receive more money from the government. Some even reported having encountered individuals that verbalised this intention. Their assumption is made on the basis that the child support grant is sometimes the only source of income for female headed families of some discouraged work seekers in the Greater Tzaneen municipality (the number of discouraged job seekers captured in the IDP (2014-2015) is quite significant. Most of the unemployed and single women have been allotted RDP houses where they live with their children as breadwinners (this was the case with some respondents); this arrangement makes them even more vulnerable as they are separated from the extended family which sometimes help them with the costs of day-to-day living.

Mcnicoll (1980) 's theory can assist in explaining what seems to be irrational decision making by recipients seem rational based on the problem-solving choices at their disposal resulting from the context or environment they find themselves in. This is an individual decision making model that shows how institutional factors merge with

conventional income and price changes on the one hand and cultural change on the other hand in influencing decisions bearing on fertility. Fertility behaviour takes place in that environment. Our fertility decision environment is characterised by low prevalence of marriage, non-marital fertility is 'sort' of the norm. Changes in this setting in which the fertility decisions are made can be seen as eliciting corresponding changes in individual behaviour. The implementation of the child support grant for poverty alleviation represent a change in the environment. It is a much needed income to poverty-stricken households. This implementation of the policy may or may not actually achieve the desired goal. There is also the possibility that the resulting behaviour of people in the community would be the outcome of culture, which cannot be uncovered by economic-cum institution-based analysis.

According to Mcnicoll (1980), the historical trends and the fluctuation in fertility are embedded in history to explain changed settings experienced by new generations. This theory dismisses the notion of fertility as resulting from micro-economic rational decision-making; it is seen as resulting from adaptive behaviour within fairly narrow limits. The assumption made is that a person does not experience the decision environment as a whole. Institutional settings can generate a segmented decisions environment- the existence of perceptual boundaries across which what may seem to an observer as inconsistencies in decision-making would not be recognised as such by the particular actor. Therefore, the government has made an oversight in not considering the background context of rural women, which might lead to them seeing the grant income as a long-term stable income for their family. The following constraints were found in the decision making environment which might influence the increase of births: (1) Local municipality statistics (IDP, 2014/2015) show that 41% of the people in greater Tzaneen municipality are unemployed, most of our respondents indicated that they had never worked before (2) These women are being alienated from the support structure of their extended families by being offered RDP houses by the government (3) They live in a community which does not look down upon illegitimacy (4) are able to make autonomous fertility decisions in sometimes very unstable relationship (this was a view expressed by most respondents)

5.1.3 Jobs vs. Grant

All the women had a positive attitude towards employment and saw it as being more empowering to them than receiving the grant. The demographic transition theory

emphasises socio-economic development in fertility decline. Changed or improved socio-economic conditions motivate individuals, couples and families to reduce fertility. Although it is apparent that socio-economic development is mostly absent in developing counties that have achieved significant fertility decline, it is still very necessary when coming to population issues and the better option for uplifting the status of women in the community. According to Bandarage (1997), research conducted in third world countries shows that the biggest reduction of fertility occur when the inequality is reduced and particularly when the income of the poorest group is increased. Improvements in the living standards and opportunities of the poor majority and the absence of wide socio-economic will lead to the overall improvement in population related issues.

5.2 What is the general attitude of recipients toward the grant in the community?

5.2.1 Adaptation vs. Satisfaction

The administrative man is not seen as a global optimiser but is content with adaptive behaviour within narrow limits – he recognises that the world he perceives is a dramatically simplified model of buzzing, blooming confusion that constitutes the real world. A simplification required by his limited computational capacity is acceptable because he believes that most facts of the real world have no great relevance to any particular situation he is facing" (Mcnicoll, 1980, Pg.450).

The participants value and appreciate the assistance of the government, but they feel jobs will present a better solution to their problem of poverty. It was difficult for the researcher to find research participants because of the wide spread perception that women fall pregnant to access the grant, and the women were afraid that they might say something that might make the government discontinue their much needed source of income. The recipients can also be seen as the "administrative man" in relation to child support grant. This is because they have expressed that they have limited options and whatever the government can do to assist them is better than nothing at all. The administrative man is seen as seeking adaptation, he "satisfices", looks for a course of action that is satisfactory or 'good enough" (Mcnicoll, 1980, Pg.450).

6 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary

The research aimed to find out whether one of the unintended outcomes of governments' top-down implementation of social policy was increased fertility among recipients in the rural areas, which generally have higher levels of fertility in the country. South Africa does not have a fertility problem, but has a development problem in the rural areas. The plight of government, having inherited one of the most unequal society is not minimised. According to Turok (2008) the ANC set out to transform society in line with the values of the Freedom Charter but ended up being reformist rather than revolutionary and adopted orthodox policy based on neo-liberal economics (Turok 2008, Pg. 249). According to Mkandawire (2001), Policy must always include contextual considerations and must be based on political and institutional arrangements, and the historical trajectories traversed by its institutions. Social policy must be designed not only residually, to cater to social needs, but as a key component of policies, that ensures the wherewithal for their own sustainability (Mkandawire, 2001, Pg. 23).

The literature review has revealed that the issue of fertility among women on welfare has attracted a lot of scrutiny from academics and policy analysts over the years; this has also been the case in South Africa since the implementation of the child support grant. Rank (1989) maintains that such studies, conducted in the USA focused on how the various welfare benefits affected illegitimacy rates and did not address the question of what the fertility rates of welfare recipients are. According to Black et al (2012) in South Africa focus has been on the link between teenage fertility and the child support grant, there is very little research which focuses on the fertility of child support grant recipients as compared to that of the general population to see if there are significant differences which should be investigated further.

Different theories emphasising different variables were used to examine the existence of the link between the child support grant and fertility. It was not possible to pin point which proximate determinant the grant operates through to influence fertility, but according to Mcnicoll (1998), public transfers among age groups are fertility related. "Whatever the biological factors involved, fertility decisions at the margin are potentially

affected" (Mcnicoll, 1980, pg.). Our study has tried to show how the environment in our research context make it possible for women to think that increasing their births is a rational solution for the survival of their family. The theory of bounded rationality was used to demonstrate that rationality is more adaptive to situations based on the environmental constraints (in our case institutional) impacting on them. The concept of the "administrative man" captures government action in the implementation of the child support grant policy. In this case, it is argued that the government, like the administrative man opted for something acceptable, but not optimal. They looked at poverty in a sequence and simply focussed on the child.

According to Brynard (2006), the government had to take into account that children experience their situation as being closely linked to the economic situation of their parents or caregivers. This, in turn, is directly related to limited job opportunities and high unemployment in the country. "The non-realisation of one basic socio-economic right is linked to the failure to realise another" (Brynard, 2006, Pg.839). The apartheid government had a more holistic approach because the state maintenance grant that was replaced by the child support grant provided for both a parent and a child allowance. The views of participants (both respondents) indicate that the child support grant could be contributing to the higher fertility rates. The child support grant is seen as being very necessary but not enough; jobs are seen as a more favourable solution than the grant.

6.2 Conclusions

In conclusion, the study found that the government did not fully integrate all the population concerns when choosing the social grant as a development and poverty alleviation strategy. The primary issue is that of programme design. Although the child support grant is targeted at children, the caregivers are the ones who receive the direct financial assistance, and make decisions on how the money should be used in the household. The implementation ignored the intersecting needs of women and their children. Children experience their situation as being closely linked to the economic situation of their parents or caregivers. Any policy, which does not address these needs simultaneously, will run into problems. This research has revealed some of the views of the child support grant recipients, in and around Lenyenye Township. Almost all the respondents in the community were of the view that women can view the increment of births as a rational way out of lack of basic income for survival in the environment they

find themselves. The government should pay attention to such research, even if it is conducted at such a small scale, in order to find out more about the type of "client" they have and the types of services they need.

6.3 Recommendations

The first recommendation echoes Brynard (2006)'s suggestion that once a policy is adopted it should not be cast in stone. Implementation of policy should never be static and should be reviewed from time to time. The question of whether the child support grant addresses the original client is asked and a recommendation is made to re-examine the client of the child support grant to see if revisions need to be made to the policy. A recommendation is also made for the government to embark on research on the best way to address poverty customised for South Africans, taking into account the country's history, culture and available resources. The underlying public preferences about what is valued, and to what degree, should involve deliberative processes with civil society. Another recommendation is for government to make meaningful reports about the implementation of the grants that are being administered. Statistics about estimated total fertility rates should be compared to those of the general population. It is advisable for government not take a relaxed approach towards resolving issues relating to fertility and the child support grant based on the fact that the country has the lowest fertility rates in Sub-Saharan Africa. The issues raised in this paper are not about population concerns; they are about the development and upliftment of the status of rural women in the community. Possible future research would be on whether recipients ever exit the child support grant and whether government plays an active role in facilitating employment for them. It is currently not clear if there are people who fall off the grants because of improved life circumstances or initiatives taken by the Department of Social Welfare to link recipients to job opportunities.

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Appendix 1.1: Research Instrument

Interview Schedule: Semi-structured interviews with couples and single (biological) parents who receive the child support grant in Lenyenye Township.

The researcher will introduce herself to respondents, explain the purpose of the research, and take them through the signing of the consent form.

Discussion:

Family arrangement and use of contraception

1. What is your marital status?
2. Do you live with your partner (if not) who do you live with?
3. How many children do you have
4. How old are your children
5. How many children do you receive the child support grant for? For how long?
6. How old were you when you had your first child
7. Who makes the decision on what the money should be used for?
8. What were your family aspirations?
9. Are you aware of the free family planning services offered by the government?
   (Probe: have you used them before and do you need consent from your partner?)
10. Would you say that the births of you children were conscious and planned with the farther?
11. What influenced the planning and spacing?
12. Does the father take equal responsibility in childrearing and support you. have an equal input in the spacing of births in your family

Normative

13. Do you think people still regard marriage as important like people in the olden days did in your community? Give reasons for your response.
14. Would you say childbearing happens within marriages in your community?
15. Are you employed? If not when was the last time, you worked.
16. Does the money received from the social grant help your family?
17. How do you think parents view children in your community?
18. Do you think that people consider the costs and benefits of children when deciding to extend their families?
19. In your opinion do you think couples could consider having more children in order to help their families to survive by receiving more money from the child support grant?
20. The Government has decided on using the child support grant to assist poor families in raising their children, do you think this is the best method for people in

Appendix 2.1: Profile of the researcher and declaration of research interest.

My name is Motheo Rabaji, I am registered for a Masters degree in Public and Development Management at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Invitation to Participate

You are invited to take part in a study about the implementation of the child support grant in Lenyenye Township. In this study you will be asked to take part in an interview in order for the researcher to find out about your perceptions, experiences and opinions about the topic. The interview is expected to last for an hour, note taking and recordings will be done during the interview.

The rights of participants

- Your participation is voluntary and you are also free to stop participating in the study at any point that you wish to do so.
- You have a right to have any question regarding the process answered before and after the interview.
- You have a right not to answer questions that you feel are not appropriate

Confidentiality

The identity of participants will be protected, personal; identifying information about participants will be omitted. The information provided will only be accessible to people from the University of the Witwatersrand that are working on this research and they are required to keep the information confidential.

Risks and Benefits

There are no known risks for you in this study. There are also no immediate benefits but this research study could uncover information that the government could use to revise the implementation of the social welfare policy in order to really help and uplift the lives of the people it is intended for.

For further information or to voice any concern, kindly contact my supervisor: Dr Kambidima Wotela at +27 11 717 3677

Section to be signed by participant:

I hereby agree that I give my consent to participate in the study and that I understand what the study involves and what is expected of me.

…… ……

Signature of participant Date