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The debates on Social Reproduction in South Africa focusing on Grandmother Headed Households in Diepkloof, Soweto.

Nokuthula Nokuphiwe Nkosi

Supervisor: Professor Ran Greenstein

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts by Dissertation (Development Studies). Johannesburg, 2020

DECLARATION

I, Nokuthula Nokuphiwe Nkosi, solemnly declare that the research report hereby submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand for the degree Masters of Arts in Development Studies has never been submitted by me or any other person at this or any other University, that this is my own work in design and execution, that I am aware of the implications of plagiarism as academic dishonesty, and that all sources of reference used have been duly acknowledged.

_____ _____

SIGNATURE DATE

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ABSTRACT

The primary aim of the study was to describe and explore social reproduction in a black family headed by grandmothers in post-apartheid South Africa using a descriptive case study of ten grandmother headed households in Diepkloof-Soweto. Women headed households is not a new phenomena, but they are the outcomes of the imbalances of apartheid and the migrant labour system which negatively impacted on family life. Now that South Africa is a democratic country and the apartheid laws have been abolished, the prevalence of women headed households in post-apartheid South Africa develops a number of issues that need clarification through theorization and continuous research. This study therefore fills the gap in the literature of social reproduction by focusing on the grandmothers whose families rely on the social grant as their source of income. The argument was that the OAG is crucial to the social reproduction of poor households and the reproduction of daily life in these households. The study shows that social reproduction is still done by women even in old age, which is what has been happening during apartheid, and also the fact that the unpaid care work which is done by women is still not acknowledged. On the other hand, this unpaid care work during apartheid was actually a wage employment for the grandmothers when they worked as childcare givers or as domestic workers to sustain their families. Beyond the material bases of the social reproduction of the families, the study indicates that the care provided by the grandmothers for their families is done for what they perceive as the good of the future generation. This is the grandmother's 'axiological' intervention to ensure for the good of the future so that when they pass away one day their families do not have to suffer.

Key words: Grandmother headed households, grandmothers, social reproduction, old age grant

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS – Acquired Immune Deficiency Virus

ANC – African National Congress

CPS - Cash Payment Services

CSG – Child Support Grant

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GEAR - Growth with Employment and Redistribution

GHS - General Household Survey

HAI – Help Age International

HIV – Human Immune Virus

ILO - International Labour Organisation

MIPAA - Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing

OAG – Old Age Grant

RDP - Reconstruction and Development Programme

SA - South Africa

SAPO - South African Post Office

SASSA - South African Social Security Agency

SMG - State Maintenance Grant

WHO- World Health Organization

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

Poverty is a pervasive reality in a democratic South Africa (SA). This could be because of inequality in the distribution of

wealth traced as far back as colonial times and the apartheid era. But even after the democratic dispensation the state's inadequate measures to deal with these inequalities have added to widespread crisis. Authors such as Wolpe (1972) and Leggasick (1974) have been hailed for exposing the engine of economic growth in apartheid which was the cheap labour power of black migrants who left their families in the countryside. At the same time, black people were not covered by any social welfare policy. The welfare systems during apartheid emphasised racial categorisation and were discriminatory, which meant "inequality among the various racial groups when it came to accessing the country's resources. These racial groups had been classified by the previous government as African (Black), Coloured, Indian and White" (Chigali, Marais and Mpofu, 2002: 21). Whites, Indians and coloured people were eligible for state-welfare resources, which had been extended from the 1920s in an attempt to solve the poor white problem (Patel, 1991). On the other hand, blacks were mostly excluded from the social-welfare system. The first welfare system was a social relief in the form of vouchers for food and minimal financial assistance and all the racial groups benefitted from it; the second system being the special relief which was introduced as an emergency measure to provide financial aid for six months to people who were retrenched, but only white and coloured people benefitted from this provision (Joseph, 2012).

In 1943, a Social Security Commission was set up under the Minister of Social Welfare, Jan Hofmeyer, to review the full range of social welfare services in SA, including social pensions (Devereux, 2007: 543). The Social Security Commission brought about important changes with regards to the different races as well as coverage levels, which also resulted in the 1928 Old Age Pensions Act (Act No 22 of 1928) being duly amended (Joseph, 2012). In 1944, the commission also recommended that black employees employed in urban areas receive the same benefits as other races; however, this was by no means carried out because the government then subscribed to a policy of apartheid and differentiation between various races (Joseph, 2012). One may argue that the Social Security Commission did exceptionally well despite the government that was in place during the time of its operations. Joseph (2012: 42) states that "the extension of the social pension to the Coloured and Indian population was an attempt to make the three-chamber parliament politically palatable." The extension to other racial groups was a starting point for further social security extensions.

It was only in 1944, when the Pension Laws Amendment Bill was approved for the first time that the social grants were rolled out to all the South African racial groups. However, the money that was received was still prejudiced as well as racially biased. Pensions were to be paid in the ratio of 4:2:1 to whites, coloured's, indians, and blacks (Sagner, 2000). However, the Act received strong prejudiced opposition from the National Party. It opposed it on the following grounds: that there would be administrative problems determining age and nationality; white taxpayers would pay more; it would cause more urbanization (Department of Social Development, 2002). Therefore, their view was that it was not needed. "The Nationalist Government having at first opposed the introduction of the scheme, later realized that the old age pension was a good tool of propaganda overseas and was in accordance with apartheid policies as it helped to reinforce the patriarchal family and the control of the older generation over the younger generation" (Sagner, 2000: 540).

Devereux (2007:544) states that:

> by 1947 the Native Affairs Department estimated that 367 000 Africans were eligible for social pensions, but only 197 000 (57%) actually received them. This is clearly indicative of the fact that, although legislation and policy made them qualify, enough had not been done to ensure that all eligible people were on the system.

The Social Assistance Act No. 59 of 1992 implemented the processes and procedures to remove racial characteristics when it comes to accessing the social grants. In 1993, pension equality was achieved and discrimination was eliminated; the government paid equal monthly social pensions to qualifying women and men regardless of race or creed; the payment was R370. The course of this shift from 1992 to 1993 was to do away with the discriminatory practices when it comes to accessing social pensions. "In 1994 the newly elected democratic government had the task of reforming apartheid-created structures by amalgamating the 14 separate social security systems into one" (Department of Social Development, 2002:20). Each of the social security systems had its own information systems and own management and rules, as well as procedures, leading to ambiguities that could be exploited by officials and members of the public (Department of Social Development, 2002). Regardless of the "radical increase in social welfare, the vast majority of households still remain poverty-stricken. The poor are heavily reliant on the state for income in

the form of social grants, but the majority of people are not eligible for them. This means that the insufficient income derived from grants has to support many people besides their intended beneficiaries" (Mosoetsa, 2011: 1). According to the General Household Survey report (GHS) published by Stats SA (2018), there has been an increase in the proportion of households receiving at least one type of social grant, for instance the child support grant (CSG) and old age grant (OAG). In 2003, 29.9% South African households were recipients of a grant - that number grew sharply to 44.3% in 2018 (Stats SA, 2018).

People depend on their families as well as households for survival, and generally people regard their families and households as the main essential social institutions. Even though traditional family structures are changing, they continue to be imperative in countries like SA where a huge proportion of the population is subjected to high unemployment and poverty (Stats SA, 2018). Stats SA defines:

> households as all individuals who live together under the same roof or in the same yard, and who share resources such as food or money to keep the household functioning. The definition is much more restrictive than the concept of a family which usually refers to individuals who are related by blood and who may live very far apart. Although household members are usually related, blood relations are not prerequisite for the formation of a household (Stats SA, 2018: 4).

According to Lund (2002: 682), SA "family structures have been deeply affected by centuries of colonial and apartheid policies and these have affected the role played by those who receive social pensions. White supremacy took firm root in South Africa and developed into a systematic and legalised discrimination process shaping the economic, social and political structure of the whole country". In SA, family life has never been easy to describe or to understand. The notion of a nuclear family has never captured the norm of all SA families, especially black families (Bozzoli, 1991). Thus, when we speak of SA families, we talk not only of the nuclear family but also of extended families as well as caregivers or guardians (Eddy and Holborn, 2011). Bozzoli (1991) argues that the nuclear family form failed to develop among black families in SA and to the extent that it did exist, the nuclear family form was weak. In SA, the typical black child is raised by their mother or grandmother in a single-parent household (Eddy and Holborn, 2011. Seventy per cent of children also live-in households with unemployed adults (Eddy and Holborn,

2011). At least 37,6% of households comprised of two generations whereas 14,2% comprised of three generations. On the other had skip generation households that paired grandparents with grandchildren stood at 5,1% of all households (Stats SA, 2018). Stats SA (2018) also states that, 37,9% or 6,1 million households in SA were headed by women. SA has several unique circumstances that affect the structure and situation of families, including the history of apartheid, particularly the migrant, labour system (Eddy and Holborn, 2011; Wolpe, 1972). According to Stats SA (2017), the Poverty Trends Report for 2006 to 2015, showed that 30.4 million people (55.5% of the South African population) were living in poverty; up from the 53.2% or 27.3 million people reported in 2011. In today's South African economy, these figures are likely to have increased since then but these are Stats SA latest figures.

Throughout human history, grandparents have played pivotal roles in raising their children and grandchildren. There is limited information which exists on the role reversal of grandparents providing care to their families. "The role of a caregiver has traditionally been attached to women due to deeply entrenched gender and socio-cultural practices. Traditionally, persons hold an important role as bearers of culture and have been responsible younger family members, as the raising of grandchildren is mainly the task grandmothers. In African languages 'to be old' refers to someone who has wisdom" (Bohman 2009: 446). It is argued that traditionally, older people in societies were absorbed into and cared for in extended families. However, the structure and functions of families in societies are undergoing rapid transformation due to HIV/AIDS related deaths as well as migration patterns of young parents. As a result, there has been a reversal in roles whereby many of the older have taken on the role of sole caregiver to the younger generations (Mtshali, 2016). In SA, "this was aggravated during the apartheid era, the absence of young adults means not only the loss of the individuals, resources invested in them, which adversely affects older people. Their role and contribution on caring for their families as well as grandchildren, as well as sustaining the integrity of the family structure has not been recognized or supported. Older women are increasingly heading caring for AIDS orphans, their capacity is stretched due to lack of resources, of traditional support mechanisms, poor health and HIV/AIDS among able-members" (Kimuna and Makiwane, 2007: 99-100). The subject of grandparents transitioning into the role of primary caregivers for orphaned children is increasingly the main focus in the current literature on HIV/AIDS pandemic as well as social reproduction. There is growing recognition that grandparents' taking on parenting responsibilities

again have raised a period of significant readjustment for many (Bullock, 2004). Bigbee (2010) states that there has been a dramatic rise of grandparents raising or providing significant caregiving for their grandchildren as well as their families in the past two decades, particularly in rural and urban areas. The most common reason why grandparents assume a custodial role include parent incarceration, death, mental substance abuse, and neglect and abuse of children (Bigbee, 2010). The aim of this article is to offer insights into the experiences and adjustments made by some of the elderly in Diepkloof, Soweto as they transition from the role of grandparent to that of parent for grandchildren, while still fulfilling that role for their own adult children. This paper is trying to contribute to the understanding transition from the role of grandparent to parent as well as the main caregiver in their households in Soweto in post-apartheid South Africa. According to Bullock (2004), there is a dearth of data which looks specifically at rural elders giving primary care to grandchildren, particularly Africa. Globally, one is witnessing an unanticipated role of the elderly due to the scourge of the AIDS pandemic. Older people takeover caregiving roles because they have shown to do so when they were raising their own children (Bullock, 2004). When grandparents come in and take over the role of being primary caregivers, there is little support available to assist with this transition.

This stepping in of the grandparents results from the crisis confronting the family that they need help adjust to (Bullock, 2004). This leaves the grandparents a new reality to face; despite their incapacity to do so, which often has detrimental effects on their health (Phetlhu and Watson, 2014). It is argued that traditionally women have been caregivers and continue disproportionate share of the effort that goes into meeting the basic needs (Bullock, 2004; Vershuur, Ntsoane, 2015). Many of the caregivers in South Africa are older women above the age 60 years. In South Africa, Africa, the elderly often lives in multi-generational households and become caretakers of the sick, of the children of the sick and of the orphaned (Schatz and 2007). Grandparents are increasingly becoming the head of the households, as well the primary caregivers of grandchildren infected or affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic as well as migration of their parents in pursuit of employment opportunities (Mtshali, 2016).

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has also affected the health and well-being of several family members and has consequently placed an added burden on children and their grandmothers (Eddy and Holborn, 2011). Some 19,8% of children stay with neither of their biological parents, whereas

33,8% stay with both their parents, and 43,1% stay with a single parent, their mothers. Almost 11,7% of children were orphaned, losing one or more parents due to the pandemic (Stats SA, 2018). Mosoetsa (2011) has argued that in such circumstances the grandmother becomes the fulcrum of the family. Others have also shown that, as soon as the grandmother passes away, the children are forced to fend for themselves (Mudavanhu, 2008; Myeza, 2010; Baloyi, 2015). Therefore, child- and youth-headed households are caught in the trap of being responsible for younger siblings quickly, and they usually have little or no resources to help them cope (Aldridge, Shute, Ralphs and Medina, 2009). This disruption in family life is one embedded in South African history.

When analysing how older people used to survive during the apartheid era, one cannot ignore "the historical inequalities such as land deprivation and limited access to education which manifest through high levels of unemployment and underdevelopment in the country" (Makiwane and Kwizera, 2006: 298). Before 1994, the standard of living of white South Africans was equivalent to the standard of living of developed countries in the world, whereas the majority of black South Africans lived below the poverty line and attained low levels of education (Makiwane and Kwizera 2006). Lower levels of educational attainment translated to poor living conditions and this has an influence on the type of income and employment level as well as one's ability to be economically independent after retirement (Stats SA, 2017). In SA, older people generally have lower levels of educational attainment, especially the black and the coloured populations. Stats SA (2018: ix) states that "the percentage of individuals aged 20 years and older who did not have any education decreased from 11,4% in 2002 to 4,5% in 2018, while those with at least a grade 12 qualification increased from 30,5% to 45,2% over the same period. Inter-generational functional literacy has also decreased markedly. While 57,8% of South Africans over the age of 60 years did not at least complete a grade 7 qualification, this figure dropped to only 4,4% for those aged 20−39 years of age. Less than six per cent (5,5%) of adults over the age of 20 years were considered illiterate". This was just an overall summary; it was not categorized according to races.

Illiteracy refers to individuals who have either received no formal schooling or who have not completed Grade 7 yet. The percentage of individuals over the age of 20 years who could be regarded as functionally illiterate has declined from 28,5% in 2002 to 13,0% in 2018 (Stats SA,

2018). People above the age 60 years have constantly continued to be more likely functionally illiterate, followed by people in the age group of 20–39years as well as 40–59years. The increased access to education has resulted in the substantial decline in the proportion of functionally illiterate people in the age group of 20–39years. Among the years 2002 and 2018, the occurrence of functional illiteracy in the 20–39years age group decreased remarkably for both women 15,8% to 3,5% and men 17,1% to 5,3% (Stats SA, 2018).

Stats SA (2018: 22) revealed that "with the exception of women in the age group 20–39, women remain more likely to be functionally illiterate across all age groups. The difference between men and women has, however, declined significantly over time. Although a higher percentage of women than men over the age of 60 years were functionally illiterate in 2018 (43,3% compared to 35,4%), the difference has declined in each successive age group, to the point that, in 2018, a smaller percentage of women in the age group 20–39 were functionally illiterate than their male peers (3,5% compared to 5,3%)".

The first democratic government that was elected in 1994 devoted all sectors to restructuring and developing the new South Africa and previously disadvantaged individuals (blacks, women, and people with disabilities) that were affected by the imbalances of the past, such as apartheid and colonialism (Patel, 2001). When the SA government started the rollout of pensions and the various social grants, as well as the large-scale development projects like the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), these systems did little to improve the very deep poverty that persevered across the political transition (Patel, 2001). This is because the post-apartheid welfare system is made of contributory insurance schemes, non-contributory social assistance, as well as private or family transfers (Mosoetsa, 2011). Contributory insurance schemes are contributions made by recipients as well as their employers to influence entitlement to benefits. They usually cover employees, in a number of countries also registered self-employed. Social insurance schemes grant access to health care and other social services (long-term care) or pay periodic cash benefits throughout the specific contingency covered (old age, unemployment, employment injury, maternity, and sickness, to name a few). The International Labour Organisation (ILO) defines non-contributory social assistance as "normally require no direct (financial) contribution from beneficiaries or their employers as a condition of entitlement to receive benefits. They are usually financed through tax or other state revenues targeted to the poor" (ILO, 2017: 16).

Mosoetsa (2011) indicates that this system is inadequate, since social insurance plans benefit people employed permanently who can contribute to unemployment and pension schemes, whereas we live in a country where the majority of people are either temporary workers or are unemployed. On the other hand, the benefits in these schemes do not provide effective protection because they are too low (Mosoetsa, 2011). Most poor people rely on social grants and family support. Even though most people have families, it does not necessarily mean that family members are willing to assist and provide for them. Most South Africans are not eligible for social grants but then they must depend on other people's grants (Mosoetsa, 2011). Most vulnerable people tend to move to households where there is a stable income, and those households that have a stable income have a tendency of being overcrowded (Mosoetsa, 2005). Hence, in this study, the majority (eight grandmothers) had between four or more household members. Nearly all grandmothers stated that the old age grant was not enough because it ends before all their basic needs were met. They also highlighted the fact that their grant was insufficient to meet their basic needs as well as their family's basic needs. In this instance, most households in Soweto rely on the grandmother's grant to provide for them. There is a need for Stats SA to provide more evidence on this.

The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) was established on the 1st April 2006; the purpose was to administer and manage the payment of social grants to eligible beneficiaries (RSA, Minister of Social Development, 2009). The establishment stemmed from a recommendation made by the Committee of Enquiry into a Comprehensive Social System of Social Security for South Africa (Taylor Committee). One could view SASSA as the result of the work done by all the different committees and commissions comprising the Lund Committee; the Chikane Commission; the White Paper for Social Welfare; and the Taylor Committee (RSA, Minister of Social Development, 2009). Since its beginning, the focus was on the establishment and the strengthening of the core business (grant administration; RSA, Minister of Social Development, 2009). Barchiesi (2000) argues that South Africa displays features of a highly commodified current welfare regime; it is characterised by a means-tested system, individual contributions rather than policies of redistribution and cross-subsidisation, very high participation of individual customers who want to access basic social services, and a high level of dependence on the labour market for income.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE STATE MAINTENANCE GRANT

As indicated, the apartheid system was extremely prejudiced when it comes to its ordering of society. One of the consequences of this was a highly developed sense of state responsibility to provide for the basic needs of the people (Ferguson, 2007). Therefore, the African National Congress (ANC) led government that came into power in 1994 inherited an exceptional welfare system of social pensions, dating from 1928 for whites and 1944 for black Africans (Ferguson, 2007). However, it also inherited considerable poverty and inequality. Triegaardt and Patel (2005:130) argue that the "State Maintenance Grant (SMG) did not comply with the equality provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (No. 200 of 1996) at the time when the new democratic government came into power". This was because the State Maintenance Grant was accessed mainly by a small percentage of white people, especially white single parents and coloureds, as well as Indians (Triegaardt & Patel, 2005). In 1998, the child support grant was introduced and it replaced the SMG. At first, the child support grant was primarily restricted to children under the age of seven years but was successively extended to children under the age of 18 years (Triegaardt and Patel, 2005).

The deracialisation of the pension system during the years leading to the 1994 transition brought forth a substantial rise in pensions for black people. During the time of the transition, the standard old-age pension payable to women 60 years of age and over as well as men 65 years of age and over was almost comparable to a domestic worker's hourly wages of R3.67 for full-time domestic workers in urban areas (Ferguson, 2007). Historically women became eligible at the age of 60, but until 2008 men became eligible at the age of 65. Between 2008 and 2010, male age-eligibility decreased incrementally to age 60 (Ralston et al., 2016). Other state transfers currently comprise the child-support grant, which is paid to the primary caregiver for children under the age of 7 years; the disability grant, which is paid to people who are over the age of 18 years who are medically certified as disabled; the foster care grant paid to parents of foster children; as well as the care dependency grant for parents of a disabled child. As from 2005, more than 10-million people were receiving grants, at an annual cost of R48 billion (Stats SA, 2017). This is a huge increase from the 1994 figures of R2.6 million beneficiaries and R10 billion in expenditure. Much of the increase is due to the fact that the child support grant programme has been extended numerous times to include the number of children under the age

of nine years in 2003; children under the age of 11 years in 2004; children under the age of 14 years in 2005; as well as children under the age of 18 in 2009 (Stats SA, 2017).

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR OLDER PEOPLE IN SA

The Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) provides the mandate for all legislation and policies, as well as socio-economic rights in SA (Lombard & Kruger, 2009). Section 27(1) of the constitution states that everyone has the right to have access to adequate food, water, health care services, as well as social security for those who are unable to support themselves and their dependents to receive appropriate social assistance (Mathiso, 2010). Similarly, Section 26(1) of the Constitution states that everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing. Section 27(2) specifies that, within its available resources, the government must take reasonable legislative and other measures to achieve the progressive realisation of these rights. These rights are applicable to everyone, without discrimination (Mathiso, 2010). The Aged Persons Act (No 81 of 1967) provided mostly for the regulation of institutional care for older white people (Lombard and Kruger, 2009). It was therefore anticipated that older black people would be taken care of by their families and communities. The aim of the Aged Persons Amendment Act (No 100 of 1998) by the new government "was to accelerate the implementation of the new social welfare policy directives with the focus on transformation and community care." (Lombard and Kruger, 2009: 121). The Act was also designed to make sure that older people from all racial groups accessed subsidised homes as well as restricting subsidies to residents with poor health. This resulted in the decline of the welfare budget for older people (Lombard and Kruger, 2009). The result of the decline in government subsidies was the closure of many services and community organisations, along with many homes for older people. Turok (2006) argues that, in the year 2000, the abuse of older people in residential homes was exposed; this resulted in the Minister of Social Development Dr Zola Skweyiya and his Ministerial Committee investigating the neglect and maltreatment of older people. Amid everything that was investigated, the committee established that there were no comprehensible policies for older people. This also indicated that there were no strategies put in place to deal with the neglect and maltreatment of older people (Turok, 2006).

The investigation played an important role in influencing the types of policies that are needed for older people. Following the results of the investigation, the South African Policy for Older

Persons and the accompanying South African Plan of Action were established in 2002, which shaped the foundation of new legislation and policies for older people (Lombard and Kruger, 2009). The South African Plan of Action on Ageing focused on three important priorities which were outlined in the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA) namely, "Older People and Development, Older Persons and Development, Advancing Health and well-being into old age; and Ensuring an enabling and supportive environment. It has also incorporated the fourth priority area that is based on the recommendations of the investigation committee on abuse, ill-treatment and neglect of older person, a committee that was put in place to investigate the extent of abuse of older persons in the country" (Skweyiya, 2006: 1). The priorities were also included into the Older Persons Act, Act 13 of 2006 which was passed by parliament in June 2006. Among other things, the South African Plan of Action on Ageing strengthened the partnership between government departments. It comprised of the roles and responsibilities of the government departments as well as civil society when it comes to providing services to older people (Skweyiya, 2006).

Several failed attempts were made by the government through policies that provided assistance but then failed to address structural problems affecting SA society (Frisoli, 2016). For example, during the 2001/2002 budget speech by Minister Trevor Manuel, much emphasis was made on the many difficulties faced by older people and a pledge was made to focus on improving the disturbing state of abuse of older people that was reported by the Ministerial Commission of Elder Abuse (Frisoli, 2016). The policies that were endorsed as a follow-up to the vow that was made, on the other hand, were discovered to be more detrimental than progressive. As a method of eliminating exploitation and fraud, in 2001, the Department Social Development embarked on an immense task of re-registering all pension recipients. During the re-registration period, many older people became penniless because they were lacking an income for this duration. Social Development acknowledged that the social grant system was not operating in the manner which it was approved for, because of the postponement in processing of applications and the negative attitude of the officials, as well as the lack of reimbursements to those who were affected (Frisoli, 2016).

The MIPAA was approved and signed, in April 2002, and South Africa was one of the countries that devoted itself to its implementation (Mathiso, 2010). The focus of MIPAA is on HIV and

AIDS, poverty, retirement, social and economic exclusion, as well as the abuse of older people. Regardless of the country having signed it, little is known about MIPAA. This could also be because it does not have the binding force of an international convention (Mathiso, 2010). However, the country does have the draft South African plan of action, but the steps being taken for its finalisation are relatively slow. The fact that the rights of older people are not explicitly covered within a specific international convention, to some extent, may clarify why numerous important issues in respect of older people are not prioritised in development agendas (Mathiso, 2010). An indication of this is possibly the recently created Ministry for Women, Children and People with Disabilities. Although these vulnerable groups are very important, it is somewhat indicated that older people were left out despite the cry from that sector (Mathiso, 2010).

The South African Parliament passed the Older Persons Act 13 of 2006 (OPA), in 2006, which provided a comprehensive framework to advance the rights of older persons. However, it is very disturbing and disheartening that older people's respect and prestige continues to be undermined by rape and abuse, as well as a variety of the other social ills that are currently predominant in the country (Baloyi, 2015). The Act upholds and protects the rights of older people, their status and wellbeing and the care and protection of older people; it emphasises the change from institutional care to community-based care as a way of ensuring that the older person resides in his or her home within the community; it legalises the registering, establishing as well as managing the services and residential facilities for older people; it also contests the neglect and maltreatment of older people and it also protects the rights of older people in both the community and residential facilities (Lombard and Kruger, 2009). However, budgetary constraints have limited the full implementation of the Act (Mathiso, 2010).

Regardless of the legislation and policies that were adopted, which were discussed above, it can be argued that the rights of older people are not accorded the importance they deserve. In fact, the absence of a specific international convention for older persons indicates their relegated status (Mathiso, 2010). Additionally, in the present context of extreme levels of poverty, as well as the HIV and AIDS pandemic in South Africa, older people are required to carry the burden of being caregivers as well as breadwinners. This is a societal reality that is often overlooked, and given their relegated status, the rights of older people are often violated by those who are meant to take care of them. This minor policy review was intended to show that at the level of elderly

social policy framework, the South African post-apartheid state has attempted to put necessary policies to protect the previously disadvantaged. Through this research with grandmothers in Diepkloof, I move beyond policy frameworks to a qualitative focus of the life histories of the grandmothers, their everyday struggles as heads of households. This is to show the nature of the crisis of social reproduction today in South African black households, where the grandmother through OAG has become the pillar of stability in many households which are tormented by unemployment, inequality, poverty, and HIV/AIDS.

The figure of the grandmother has not been explored in-depth in South African history and the role she plays beyond the social reproduction of the future proletariat. The seminal work by Belinda Bozzoli (1991), titled *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983*, is one of the studies that has accounted for the consciousness of the grandmother and related it to her everyday life. This is the entry point of this research: it is interested in hearing the voice of the grandmother and wants to know in-depth who this grandmother is. How does she go about her everyday life, mainly since she no longer work and has to rely on the social grant? What is this care she performs in the household? This study is one that seeks to broaden the literature of what has become known as the studies in the crisis of social reproduction in South Africa (see Mosoetsa, 2011; Scully, 2012; Verschuur, 2013; Fakier and Cock, 2009; Van Driel, 2012; Fakier, 2010; Bezuidenhout and Fakier, 2006; Benya, 2015).

This perspective is essential since social work training has given me the ability to not only interview people as most social sciences methods do but to go more deeply into seeing them as humanly as possible. Therefore, social work has been one of the fields that have allowed me to see every day human interaction in-depth. At the same time methodologically, I employ a life history perspective, something similar to what Bozzoli (1991) does in her book, and to focus in-depth on the everyday life of the grandmother before we focus on the social grant itself. In so doing, the study locates itself within qualitative methodology - bringing the figure of the grandmother in her everyday life to the fore, her past and her concerns for the future of her family members. This study reminds us of the importance of the figure who relays stories of the past, who ensures that the grandchildren are taken care of, who is concerned that the next generation grows with dignity and respect. Taking into cognisance such matters, in the foreword of Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life (1991:8) he argues that:

> The remarkable way in which modern techniques have penetrated everyday life has thus introduced into this backward sector the uneven development which characterises every aspect of our era. Manifestations of the brilliant advances in the 'ideal home' constitute sociological facts of the first importance, but they must not be allowed to conceal the contradictory character of the real social process beneath an accumulation of technological detail. These advances, along with their consequences are provoking new structural conflicts within the concrete life of society. The same period which has witnessed a breath taking - development the application of techniques of everyday life has also witnessed the no-less-breath taking degradation of everyday life for large masses of human beings.

While the state seems to address itself to advancing the cause of those who can speak about their deprivation, whether through protest or social media, we find in this the voice of the youth, the young female feminist, the unemployed and the landless but the voice of the grandmother is missing. Therefore, in this study I insert the voice of the black grandmother in the 'everyday' and how she seeks to construct her future, despite her age. I focused on the life histories of ten grandmothers in Soweto-Diepkloof who are receiving old age grants. From their life histories, the intention is to show how they use their money, what are the constraints they face and how do they navigate around them. Who are they; where do they come from? Who lives with them and what kind of future do they imagine for themselves and for those with whom they stay with?

The theoretical framework of the study is social reproduction. In this study, the grandmothers survive through their OAG as their monthly source of income and they are also the heads of households. This is to say that they dedicate most of their time doing household chores, they provide care to their families, they provide care to the sick, they sustain emotional needs of their families and they carry the burden of social reproduction on their own.

PRIMARY AIMS AND SECONDARY OBJECTIVES

The primary aim of the study was to explore and describe social reproduction in a black family headed by grandmothers in post-apartheid South Africa, using a descriptive case study of ten grandmother-headed households in Diepkloof-Soweto. The focus was on the challenges, what

they encounter or undergo, and the dynamics involved when it comes to supporting their families with the OAG as their only source of income.

The objectives of the study are:

- To explore the life histories of the grandmothers, how they grew up and how they became the head of their households.
- To get an understanding of the type of care work that is performed by the grandmothers in the households
- To investigate the means of survival of the grandmother-headed household
- To explore the impact the OAG has on the beneficiaries under the care of the grandmother.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The main research question was:

- What are the personal experiences of the grandmother in the households they head?

The ancillary questions were:

- What are the challenges faced by the grandmothers on a daily basis when taking care of their families?
- Is social reproduction in post-apartheid South Africa still done mainly by women?
- What impact does the OAG as the only source of income have on the household?

Chapter Outline

The study is divided according to the following chapters:

Chapter 2: Research Methodology – This chapter focused on the qualitative research methodology and how the grandmothers were selected in this study. It also focuses on the method of data collection/analysis as well as ethical considerations.

Chapter 3: Social Reproduction as a theoretical framework, focusing on the unpaid care work which is mostly done by women in the household.

Chapter 4: The Migrant Labour System in South Africa: The invisibility of the grandmother – The chapter focused on the migrant labour system and how it fragmented the family resulting in the grandmothers becoming migrants themselves at a young age so that they could improve their standard of living; the rise of women headed households as well as the dilemma women face as heads of households.

Chapter 5: Challenges faced by grandmothers in South Africa– This chapter focused on the old age grant, the grandmother's burden as the head of the household, the increasing role of grandmothers as caregivers as well as challenges faced by grandmothers namely poverty and unemployment of the family members burdens the pensioner; fatherless children as a burden on the pensioner; health care, physical, economic and social challenges. This chapter will also focus on Diepkloof, Soweto as the research site

Chapter 6: The grandmothers of Diepkloof and their everyday struggles – this chapter focused on the histories and the difficulties that grandmothers were faced with in pre- and post-apartheid SA since they are heads of households; their life histories focused on how they grew up; how they became the head in their households; as well as the challenges they have been faced with; poverty in their households classified into three categories namely coping, declining and improving households; education in their households; as well as changes in the lives of the grandmother.

Chapter 7: My husband, the social grant – this chapter focused on a much broader analysis of social reproduction since it is the theoretical framework of the study. The focus was on the grandmother's survival strategies as heads of households through the OAG as their only source of income. This chapter also explored whether grandmothers were facing a burden or they are caring for their families hence the work of social reproduction entails the unpaid care work which is done in the household.

Chapter 8: Conclusion – This chapter provides a concluding discussion of the research study on the nature of social reproduction in the grandmother headed family, the conclusion discusses the position of grandmother headed households in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH APPROACH AND DESIGN

Qualitative research is a strategy for exploring and understanding the meaning that individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem (Creswell, 2009). The current research project used the qualitative research design. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations as to the meaning of the data. "Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honours an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation" (Creswell, 2009: 4). When seeking people's input on a subject, it is important to interact with them and establish their needs in their own words. Therefore, this made the qualitative research approach the most appropriate in the present case. Conducting qualitative research assisted the researcher to explore and describe the experiences of grandmother-headed households by focusing on the challenges they were faced with when supporting their families on their OAG.

Since qualitative researchers are mainly interested in the meaning subjects give to their life experiences, they have to use some form of case study to immerse themselves in the activities of a single person or a small number of people to obtain an intimate participant lives, words and

actions in the context of the case as a whole (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport, 2011). Case studies are designs of enquiry found in any fields especially evaluation, in which the researcher develops an in-depth analysis of a case, often a programme, event, activity, process or one or more individuals. Cases are bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period (Creswell, 2014). In a case study, a researcher may thoroughly explore one or two cases or compare a limited set of cases, focusing on several factors. A case study uses the logic of investigation rather than an induction. That is to say that the researcher carefully selects either one or a few critical cases to illustrate an issue and critically studies it or them in detail (Neuman, 2011). Neuman (2011) continues to say that case studies assist researchers in linking micro-level or the actions of a person individually, to the macro level, the large-scale social structures and processes. This research comprised of the descriptive case study, also called the intrinsic case study. This type of case study aims to describe, analyse and interpret a particular phenomenon (De Vos et al, 2011). Grandmothers and the households in which they reside reflected characteristics of the intrinsic case study as a way of exploring the means of survival of the grandmother-headed home, and also to identify the sustainability of the old age grant in these homes. The purpose was not to understand a broad social phenomenon but merely to describe the cases being studied (De Vos et al, 2011).

History of Diepkloof

The grandmothers reside in Diepkloof which was the research site for this study. Diepkloof is Soweto's eastern suburb, located approximately 15km south-west of the city of Johannesburg. Diepkloof was established in 1959 as an immigration township to accommodate victims of forced removals, mostly from Alexandra (Lebelo, 1988). Diepkloof's political history, whose thrust was a search for citizenship, could widely be seen to have risen out of a desire to address social injustice, such as the social dislocation that resulted from unfair administrative decisions, which resulted in forced removals (Marks, 1995). The older settlement is divided into six zones (Carr, 1990). The affluent area, which is called Diepkloof Extension, comprises three phases and is the most developed area in Diepkloof. Motswaledi (also pronounced as Motsoaledi) is an informal shack area behind the Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital (Carr, 1990).

Lebelo (1988) argues that land in Diepkloof has been, and still is, dominated by residential use, due to its history of being a township. Under the Black Communities Development Act, No 4 of 1984 and the Black (Native) Laws Amendment Act No 46 of 1937, no property rights were given to black people before and during the Apartheid era when residential areas were racially divided (Lebelo, 1988). In the same period in which Diepkloof was established, the government played an essential role in ensuring that residential areas for blacks were of low quality and poorly serviced, especially compared to those of whites (Carr, 1990). The people of Soweto are black South Africans belonging to virtually all the indigenous groups found in South Africa, although Zulus, Xhosas and Sothos predominate (Hoosen and Mafukidze, 2014). The population is estimated at 3.5 million, although the precise figure is difficult to determine due to the flow of people, with large numbers of illegal immigrants from neighbouring states and other parts of Africa finding easy access to Soweto's informal settlements (Hoosen and Mafukidze, 2014). Hoosen and Mafukidze (2014) also state that women are in the majority, and account for approximately 57% of the total population.

POPULATION SAMPLE AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

A researcher draws a sample from a larger pool of cases or elements. A sampling element is the unit of analysis or case in a population. It can be a person, a group, an organisation, a written document or symbolic message, or even a social action (for example, an arrest or divorce) that is being measured (Neuman, 2011). The large pool is the population, which has an important role in sampling. To define the population, a researcher specifies the unit being sampled, the geographical location, and the temporal boundaries of populations (Neuman, 2011). The population of the current study comprised of grandmothers from Diepkloof-Soweto who are sole breadwinners in their households. The purpose of sampling in qualitative research is to collect the richest data (Creswell, 2009). The type of sampling used in the study was purposive or judgmental sampling. Purposive sampling is an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations. It uses the judgement of an expert in selecting cases or selects cases with a specific purpose in mind. With purposive sampling, the researcher never knows whether the cases selected represent the population (Neuman, 2011). The sample size of this study comprised ten grandmothers who were the area of focus of the research.

Purposive sampling was suitable in the following three situations. Firstly, the researcher used it to select unique cases that were especially informative (Creswell, 2009). This thesis focuses on the personal experiences and challenges of the grandmother-headed households who depend solely on the OAG; it is a very informative study because one will learn about the struggles that grandmothers go through on their day to day lives. Using the sample of grandmothers and the households in which they reside, one will learn more about their experiences and perceptions of social reproduction. Secondly, the researcher made use of purposive sampling to select members of a difficult-to-reach specialised population (Creswell, 2009). It may not be easy to get participants from the population because they may not want to talk about their personal experiences and they might not want people to know about the challenges that they are faced with; some people may not wish to be included in the study at all. Lastly, the researcher uses purposive sampling when he or she wants to identify particular types of cases for in-depth investigation (Creswell, 2009). The researcher used purposive sampling to explore in-depth the challenges grandmothers encounter or undergo and the dynamics involved when it comes to supporting their families through their OAG only. The purpose is to gain a deeper understanding than to generalise (Neuman, 2011).

The population of the study received their OAG from the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) Pay Point, Diepkloof Welfare Centre. The centre makes provision for several types of grants being the Old Age Grant, Foster Care Grant, Care Dependency Grant, Disability Grant, Child Support Grant and War and Veterans Grant. The researcher began by requesting permission from the manager for entry to the Diepkloof Welfare Centre and to be allowed to speak to the grandmothers to recruit them and inform them about the research to be undertaken in the Welfare Centre. The researcher asked the manager to talk to the grandmothers and tell them about the research so that she could recommend prospective participants. The researcher also asked the manager to provide her with a list of grandmothers who head households and who might fit the selection criteria for the research if they accepted to participate.

The selection criteria for participants from the population comprised of grandmothers:

1. Who reside in Diepkloof-Soweto
2. Who are 60years of age and above
3. Who received their OAG at the Diepkloof SASSA Pay Point Welfare Centre

4. Who received the old age grant every month.
5. Who are sole breadwinners and depend on the OAG but have an alternative income to support their family members.

The selection criteria was created so that the grandmother's personal experiences would make the most valuable contribution to the objectives of the study. Also, they had wealth of experience that could be unearthed not only by using their personal experiences but also observations that they have made. During the time of data collection, the grandmothers were no longer getting their OAG at the Diepkloof Welfare Centre, but at the Post Office or ATM. However, I continued to focus at the Welfare Centre using a list supplied by the manager, of grandmothers who were sole breadwinners and who also received the OAG. The grandmothers were meeting during the week for three hours as a social club, where they talk about their problems, they pray, sew and also cook and share meals. I interviewed the grandmothers who formed the social club. The participant's information sheet is attached as Appendix A, consent forms for participation in the study and also consent forms for the audio taping of the interview are attached in Appendix B and were supplied to all participants. Participants must receive the information sheet for informed consent so that they know what is involved and what is expected of them before the actual study begins (Neuman, 2011).

Demographics of participants

The study comprised of 10 women (grandmothers) only. They were all black women living in Diepkloof, Soweto. Below are the demographics of the grandmothers, I used pseudonyms for all 10. All the grandmothers stated that no one is working in their households therefore the only source of income for the families was the OAG, except for the four families who were receiving the CSG.

Name and Age	**Marital Status**	**Educational Level**	**Number of people in their households**	**Any other form of Social Grant in the household**	**Number of years worked in their lives**	**Place of birth**
MaNdlovu 81	Widowed	Primary	3	CSG	30 years	Swaziland

MaMkhize	72	Divorced	Secondary	8	None	25 years	Lesotho
MaNgwenya	68	Single	Primary	5	CSG	15 years	Gauteng
MaSithole	75	Widowed	Primary	9	None	23 years	Eastern Cape
MaDlamini	70	Widowed	Secondary	8	None	18 years	Eastern Cape
MaZulu	77	Widowed	Primary	6	None	22 years	Lesotho
MaSibeko	66	Widowed	Primary	7	CSG	11 years	Gauteng
MaVilakazi	80	Widowed	Secondary	7	None	32 years	Swaziland
MaRadebe	75	Widowed	Primary	8	None	22 years	Western Cape
MaSibiya	69	Single	Primary	10	CSG	17 years	Eastern Cape

Table 1: Demographics

DATA COLLECTION METHOD

I used semi-structured, open-ended interviews to gain a detailed picture of a participant's beliefs about, or perceptions of, accounts of a particular topic. This method gives the researcher much more flexibility (De Vos et al, 2011). The researcher can follow up on particularly interesting avenues that emerge in the interview, and the participant can give a fuller picture (De Vos et al, 2011). Semi-structured interviews are especially suitable when there is a particular interest in complexity or process, or when an issue is controversial or personal. With semi-structured interviews, the researcher has a set of predetermined questions on an interview schedule, but the interview was guided rather than dictated by the schedule (Creswell, 2012). Participants share more closely in the direction the interview takes, and they can introduce an issue the researcher has not thought of. In this relationship, participants can be perceived as the expert on the subject and should, therefore, be allowed maximum opportunity to tell their story. The one-on-one interview is a data collection process in which the researcher asks questions and records answers from only one participant at the time. One-on-one interviews are ideal for interviewing participants who are not hesitant to speak, who are articulate, and who can share ideas comfortably (Creswell, 2012). The open-ended interviews assisted the researcher to give grandmothers the opportunity to tell their stories such as their life histories, how they grew up, their migration patterns as well as how they ended up residing in Diepkloof Soweto.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENTATION

Researchers obtain information through a direct exchange with an individual or a group that is known or expected to have the knowledge they seek. The interview is a social relationship designed to exchange information between the participant and the researcher (De Vos et al, 2011). Creswell (2012) argues that a qualitative interview occurs when researchers ask one or more participants general, open-ended questions and record their answers. The data was transcribed and typed into a computer file for analysis. Open-ended questions were used so that the grandmothers could best voice their personal experiences in a manner that was not restricted by the focus of the research and the questions posed to them by any perspectives of the researcher or past research findings. Interviews in qualitative research have both advantages and disadvantages. Some advantages are that they provide useful information when one cannot directly observe participants, and they permit participants to describe detailed personal information. Another advantage is that the interviewer will have better control over the type of information received because they have the opportunity to ask specific questions to gain the information needed (Creswell, 2012). Some disadvantages are that interviews only provide information derived from the view of the interviewers (that is, the researcher summarises the participant's views in the research report); however, in this study, the researcher had independent observations as well. Another disadvantage may be that the data may be misleading and provide the perspective the interviewee wants the researcher to hear (Creswell, 2012). I made it a point that during the interviews I probed and also had follow up questions so that the information received was truthful and not misleading.

The interviews were conducted in the participant's home language and translated into English during transcription. The advantage of conducting research in a participant's home languages is that the participants will express themselves freely in a language that they understand, for that reason the researcher obtained detailed information regarding the participant's experiences and personal feelings. The researcher had an opportunity to ask follow-up questions, probe for additional information, and go back to critical questions later on in the interview as a way to generate an in-depth understanding of what was said by the participants. Lastly, the researcher was the one doing the interpretation for isiZulu, isiXhosa and Sesotho phrases. The disadvantages are that data can be misinterpreted, the process of translation might take time, and some phrases (depending on the language) may be difficult to translate to English (Creswell,

2012). I made it a point that in instances when I couldn't translate certain words to English, I approached family members and friends who are very fluent in these languages.

TESTING THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

It is essential to test the research instrument before conducting a full research project so that it can be seen to be valid and that the research design can capture the data required (Creswell, 2009). Testing the research instrument comprises carrying out all the data-collection aspects on a small scale. Probability does not usually play a significant role in the pre-test, especially not in the qualitative paradigm because the researcher does not plan to generalise the findings. However, the pre-test must take all the various factors into consideration, such as people who participate in the pre-test should not participate in the actual study (De Vos et al, 2011). Babbie (2007: 250) states that: "no matter how carefully a data-collection instrument is designed, there is always the possibility of error, and the surest protection against such error is pre-testing the instrument". Babbie (2007) continues to say it may appear from the pre-test that a significant number of respondents skip a certain question or misinterpret it. Furthermore, the research instrument should not restrain participants from saying what they want to say. The research instrument was pre-tested during the first interview with two grandmothers who were not added later in the findings of the study. The researcher approached the participants at the SASSA Diepkloof Welfare Centre after gaining permission from the government organisation where grandmothers receive their OAG between the 1st and 7th of every month. The researcher conducted the pre-test at one of the offices at the Diepkloof Welfare Centre. The actual interviews were held at the social club in Diepkloof Extension as, at the time of data collection, the welfare centre was no longer a pay point. When testing the research instrument, the researcher established that the interview questions would assist in answering the research questions, and also got an understanding of how comfortable the research participants would answer the questions; the researcher became aware of areas of improvement and also what worked well before the commencement of the actual study.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The concepts of ethics, values, morality, community standards, laws and professionalism differ from one another without necessarily being mutually exclusive. The term ethics entails preferences that influence behaviour in human relations, conforming to a code of principles, the

rules of conduct, the responsibility of the researcher and the standards of conduct of a given profession (Babbie, 2007: 62). Babbie (2007: 63) continues to say: "values indicate what is good and desirable, while both ethics and morality deal with matters of what is right and wrong". Ethical guidelines serve as standards and a basis upon which each researcher ought to evaluate his or her conduct. This is an aspect which should always be kept in mind (De Vos et al, 2011). Ethical principles should thus be internalised in the personality of the researcher to such an extent that ethically guided decision-making and the humane and sensitive treatment of participants become part of the total lifestyle (De Vos et al, 2011).

For the paper the following ethical issues were identified, permission, avoidance of harm, voluntary participation, informed consent, privacy, anonymity and confidentiality.

Permission

Permission for the study was given by the South African Social Security Agency Pay Point, Diepkloof Welfare Centre. Ethical clearance for the study was given by the Ethics Committee (non-medical), at the University of the Witwatersrand and also from the Faculty of Humanities Postgraduate Office.

Avoidance of harm

Babbie (2007: 27) argues that: "the fundamental ethical rule of social research is that it must bring no harm to participants". The participants were informed of the potential impact of the study and given an opportunity to withdraw from the study if they wished to. The grandmothers were informed that, if they felt any harm of an emotional manner, counselling would be provided for them at the Diepkloof Welfare Centre (see Appendix A).

Voluntary participation

Participation should, at all times be voluntary, and no one should be forced to participate in a project (Neuman, 2011). Participants should be told what is being studied without giving too many details about the aim of the study (De Vos et al, 2011). Too much detail is a very wide term and can be interpreted in many ways (Babbie, 2007: 26). Even if participants are told that their participation is voluntary, they might still think that they are somehow obliged to participate (De Vos et al, 2011). The grandmothers were notified that participation was voluntary; if they felt uncertainty or discomfort, they were allowed to withdraw from the study. It was also explained that they would not incur any penalties for non-participation or refusal to participate.

Informed consent

Respect for people requires that participants be given the opportunity to choose what shall and shall not happen to them (De Vos et al, 2011). Obtaining informed consent entails that: all possible or adequate information on the goal of the study, the expected duration of the participant's involvement, the procedures which will be followed during the study and the possible advantages and disadvantages and dangers to which respondents may be exposed to (De Vos et al, 2011: 117). Therefore: "voluntary participation and avoidance of harm become formalized in the concept of informed consent" (Babbie, 2007: 64). Documents such as informed consent and participant information forms were supplied and were completed and signed by the participants before the commencement of the interview sessions (Appendices A and B). The grandmothers were also informed of the purpose of the research, how confidentiality would be protected, and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time without negative consequences and that participation was voluntary.

Privacy and confidentiality

Violation of privacy, the right to self-determination and confidentiality can be viewed as being equal. Privacy means to keep to oneself that which is normally not intended for others to observe or analyse (De Vos et al, 2011). De Vos et al (2011) continue to say every participant has the right to privacy and it is within their right to decide when, where, whom and to what extent his or her attitudes, beliefs and behaviour will be revealed. It is important to take into consideration the fact that this principle can be dishonoured in numerous ways, and it is important that researchers be reminded of the importance of safeguarding the privacy and identity of participants, and also to

act with the necessary sensitivity where the privacy of subjects is relevant (De Vos et al, 2011). The grandmothers were informed of the steps that were taken in ensuring that no breach of this principle would take place. The researcher made use of pseudonyms instead of the participant's real names as a way of ensuring that the participants were not identifiable. The researcher made use of pseudonyms to refer to various participants and not their real names, for example, MaNdlovu, MaMkhize. The interviews were done at the social club at Diepkloof Extension, in a private room so that the grandmothers could express themselves openly and freely.

METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative data analysis refers to the ordering, categorisation and summarising of data to obtain answers to research questions (Creswell, 2009). Creswell (2009: 183) continues to say "it involves preparing the data for analysis, conducting different analyses, moving deeper and deeper into understanding the data, representing the data, and making an interpretation of the larger meaning of the data". De Vos et al. (2011) therefore argue that data analysis is a period when the researcher analyses theories and makes sense of the data an inductive approach. Qualitative data analysis is the stage of the research process in which the researcher will organise the huge amount of data collected into coherent units (De Vos et al., 2011). Creswell (2009) argues that data analysis is a process that follows the following steps:

Step 1- Organise and prepare the data for analysis

The first step comprised of transcribing interviews, typing field notes or sorting and arranging the data into different types depending on the sources of information (Creswell, 2009). The researcher started by transcribing the interviews, and sorting and arranging data in accordance with the research questions and aims.

Step 2- Read through all the data

The researcher read through all the data as a way of obtaining a general sense of the information and reflected on its overall meaning. The aim is to get a general idea of what the participants are saying, the tone of the ideas, and the impression of the overall depth, credibility and the use of information (Creswell, 2009). When I had finished transcribing, I made it a point to obtain a

clear understanding of the meaning of data. This was done through writing notes as a way of gathering general thoughts based on the data.

Step 3- Begin a detailed analysis with a coding process.

Coding is a process of organising the material into chunks before giving meaning to those chunks. The coding process generated descriptions of the setting or people, as well as the categories or themes for analysis (Creswell, 2009). The process involves taking data or pictures gathered during data collection, segmenting sentences (or paragraphs) or images into categories, and labelling those categories with a term, often a term based in the actual language of the participant (Creswell, 2009). The researcher did a detailed analysis by going through the transcripts thoroughly and identifying themes and coded them to assist in the write-up of the study.

CONCLUSION

The chapter provided a depiction of the processes and procedures involved when conducting the research study. A qualitative research design was utilized hence it enabled the researcher to gain an understanding of the impact of the old age grant in grandmother headed households. Ten grandmothers were purposively sampled. Data was collected using semi structured in-depth interviews that lasted from 30 minutes to an hour hence the schedule provided the researcher with the platform to ask open-response questions, and also exploring the grandmother's experiences, perceptions and challenges about being the head and sole breadwinners in their households. Data was analyzed using thematic analysis by carefully identifying significant themes that emerged from the grandmother's experiences. In chapter 6 and 7 I will provide an in-depth analysis on the themes that emerged and will link them with the literature reviewed in this study.

CHAPTER 3:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY: SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

DEFINITION OF SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

It was acknowledged by socialists in the 1960s, and women's liberation movement in the United Kingdom and Germany (less so in the US) that there was a close relationship between gender oppression and class oppression (Barret, 1980). This approach gave rise to critical theoretical work among Marxists and feminists influenced by socialists, which was then used to analyse the foundation of women's oppression within capitalism (McGregor, 2018). Historically the oppression of women was located within the home and the role of women within the family structure was always that of the reproducer. This tendency was understood and first proposed by Karl Marx in *Das Kapital* as social reproduction Marx referred to social reproduction as the production of the totality of the capitalist mode of production, comprising of production of all goods and services in the public sphere and circulation, as well as reproduction in the private sphere and the reproduction of social relations (McGregor, 2018). The term comprises of a variation of his extensive ideas of reproduction. Marx's idea of social reproduction can be read in tandem with Bourdieu's (1986) concept of capital.

According to Bourdieu (1986) there are four forms of capital that impact on social reproduction in society, namely financial capital which alludes to the wealth and income of a person; financial capital impacts on the cultural capital one receives. Cultural capital is the shared position, attitude, knowledge, beliefs as well as skills that are passed from one generation to the next. It impacts on human capital, which alludes to the education and job training that one receives;

human capital creates the ability for one to attain social capital which is the social network one belongs to. Social capital can mainly impact on one's ability to find opportunities, specifically employment. The four forms of capital play a role in social reproduction because capital is passed from one generation to the next, and it sustains people in the same social class as their parents before them. This breeds a cycle of inequality through the system of social stratification (Bourdieu, 1986).

Bhattacharya (2017b: 6) defines social reproduction as:

> The activities and attitudes, behaviours and emotions and responsibilities directly involved in maintaining life, on a daily basis and generationally. It involves various kinds of socially necessary work-mental, physical and emotional- aimed at providing the historically and socially, as well as biologically, defined means for maintaining and reproducing population. Among other things, social reproduction includes how food, clothing and shelter are made available for immediate consumption, how the maintenance and socialisation of children is accomplished, how care of the elderly and infirm is provided, and how sexuality is socially constructed.

The above definition is extensive and it applies to the various family forms, the state, as well as the private provision of housing, healthcare, education, and the care of older people and the ill. Social reproduction can be defined as the biological reproduction of the labour force, the unpaid production in the home of both goods and services, and the reproduction of culture and ideology (Benya, 2015). Brown, Dowling, Harvie, and Milburn, (2013) make use of the idea of everyday social reproduction that incorporates a more expansive field of everyday life. They argue that "social reproduction is about the creation and maintenance of social relations including the recreation of life" (Brown et al., 2013: 89). They further argue that it also incorporates the ability to replenish or reproduce labour power on a daily basis; whereas the necessary labour of looking after the sick, keeping safe, feeling warm, feeding people, satisfying emotional needs as well as maintaining a sustainable environment mostly falls on women (Brown et al, 2013). The daily burden of reproductive work does not only reduce women's time and energy, but it defines them, restricts them, it shapes their lives, their very existence as well as relationships (Benya, 2015). Benya (2015: 546) continues to say in short, "the actors who become visible when emphasizing the everyday necessities involved in social reproduction are women and their work in the household".

Bakker and Gill (2003: 32) define social reproduction in terms of three aspects. Firstly, it is defined as "biological reproduction, which refers to the procreation of people" and comprises of an emphasis on the social context of and social importance assigned to motherhood. Secondly, "reproduction of the labour force" which refers to "the daily maintenance of people through subsistence, education and training". Lastly, the "reproduction of provisioning and caring needs" (Bakker and Gill, 2003: 32) which refers to how the need for resources and care depend on unpaid and paid labour in the family and could be combined with services provided by the market, public sector as well as the state (Fakier, 2010).

Evidently there is a common thread in this literature about the domestication of women, minimising their efforts to duty as opposed to meaningful labour power. This paper therefore departs from this point, defining social reproduction as the emphasis on the activities and structures that spread social inequality from one generation to the next. Social reproduction of households and families primarily remains the responsibility of women, regardless of whether they are residing with their families on a full or part time basis (Bakker and Gill, 2003). That is why, as indicated above, the work by Bourdieu (1986) becomes crucial if one wants to understand how social inequality is maintained in the household, as is the case in the Sowetan households that I have dealt with. It can also be argued that the household, as much as it is a microcosm, can help us understand the macrocosm, the social inequality that exists in our society. Looking at the South African context of insufficient social provisioning by the government and the withdrawal of social benefits linked with employment, social reproduction is included in economic production and placed within the household (Fakier, 2010).

In most patriarchal capitalist societies (including South Africa) the family used to consist of the male breadwinner who is taken care of by a dependent wife and children. The wife's unpaid domestic labour is important with regards to the social reproduction within the household. The unpaid labour of many (not all) women was seen as secondary to that of their husbands (Bakker, 2003). Women are expected to perform most of the household duties. As a result, their leisure time tends to be more fragmented than that of men. The state in turn, guaranteed a family wage through policies comprising of progressive taxation, collective bargaining as well as social welfare (Bakker, 2003).

Tax policies, to varying degrees, were designed to impose more of the costs of reproduction to the owners of capital through the social wage. Bakker (2003) continues to say that the state, through the tax system as well as expenditure policies, was an active agent in constructing a gender order based on assumptions and incentives around the availability of unpaid caring labour in the household. The issue becomes much complicated if one reads it in relation to my study of the elderly. In this study, the grandmothers are the heads of households and they survive through their OAG as their monthly source of income. They devote much of their time doing household chores, taking care of their families and carrying the burden of social reproduction on their own.

This section will focus on the debates of social reproduction comprising of gender and migration, care, poverty and unemployment, the feminization of poverty, the role of the OAG in poverty alleviation, education, and rising food prices. The reason why I am focusing on these debates is because I am trying to show how some of the macrocosm issues usually related to state policies play themselves out in the household the chosen sphere of social reproduction in this study.

SOCIAL REPRODUCTION: GENDER AND MIGRATION

Women and men have always migrated. The movement of people is widespread, even when it is not measured or controlled. First, the feminization of migration does not indicate that women were not migrating before or are now migrating more than men. Women have always migrated, as men have, with many differences in historical contexts, countries of origin or according to their social and racial belonging (Verschuur, 2013). The concept of black women as migrant workers was explored in depth in the section of migrant labour in South Africa (please see women as migrant workers). As stated earlier, in SA women have always migrated and as Bozzoli (1991: 5) argues that "migration (of women) did not involve spending the long lonely periods away from home which the more distant migrant would experience". Instead the migration of women "was a response to the crisis of social reproduction in the country of origin, may secure better livelihoods, reducing the deficit in the ability of migrants to reproduce their households" (Randriamaro, 2013: 3). With time women took it upon themselves to improve their livelihoods because the money sent home by their husbands was insufficient and could no longer sustain them. They took it upon themselves to find jobs, even though these jobs had low income, and precarious forms of work, they took them to sustain their livelihoods (Van Driel, 2012).

Since the burden of social reproduction was allocated to women, it resulted from the challenges that households were faced with comprising of internal issues for instance land ownership and income, in addition to external issues for instance the increasing patriarchal ideology through capitalism (Bozzoli, 1991).

The domestic workers who reside where they work are habitually not in contact on a daily basis with their families, therefore they may go through a major level of deprivation of family life (Smit, 2001). Migration especially female migration is important since the grandmothers in the study were migrant workers and worked in the cities, they also worked as domestic workers who resided at their employer's residence, leaving behind their burden of social reproduction to their family members, on the other hand some of the grandmothers in the study had children who migrated to in search of employment opportunities, they had to assume the burden of social reproduction that their adult children left behind. The paradox being that the woman must leave her household to take care of another household. This is also the case in the households that I encountered in the study where the grandmother becomes the primary caregiver of her grandchildren, in the absence of their mother. There is obviously then a gap where the migrant working-class woman has left her household to take care of another household. In her absence, the responsibility of social reproduction then falls on the remaining female household members, even in the presence of men. The study of social reproduction of migrants in the South is crucial hence it focuses on how employers at destination sites of more developed centers benefit from migration of economically desperate workers. These migrants leave behind the responsibility of social reproduction in their communities and households of origin where it is assumed by other women: grandmothers; mothers and sisters of migrants (Fakier, 2010).

It is common for grandparents to take on the responsibility of providing care to the young ones when adult members in the family engage in labour migration. Despite that, it is essential to take note that traditionally it is common practice for African grandparents to take on the responsibility of nurturing their grandchildren when the need arises (Smit, 2001). Even though the grandchildren are raised by caring grandparents, there is an opinion "that some of these older relatives responsible for taking care of younger children do not have adequate resources to nourish, clothe and educate the young" (Smit, 2001: 543). Fakier (2010) argues that there are expectations that grandparents, especially grandmothers as well as other family members will

step in to fill the care gap, there is also the belief that grandmothers "are present, willing and able to take care of migrants' responsibilities" (Fakier, 2010: 19). It was therefore important to do such a study so that it can identify the aforementioned statement whether grandmothers were willing and able to assume the role of social reproduction left behind by their children through migration. The findings will also build on the literature on migration and explore and describe the social reproduction in an urban black family headed by grandmothers in post-apartheid South Africa, who were also migrants' workers during the migrant labour system, who also left behind their responsibilities with their parents.

SOCIAL REPRODUCTION AND CARE

I now turn to the issue of social reproduction and care because care is a vital component of the process of social reproduction and it depends on the unpaid care work that is mainly performed by women for maintaining households (Randriamaro, 2013). In this regard the grandmothers who heads the households and also perform the care work in order to maintain their households. The feminist debates on work have highlighted the male bias attached to the concept of work (Walker, 1990; Fakier, 2010; Ntsoane, 2015; Bhattacharya, 2017). Not only was waged work believed to be for men but, for a long time, classical economics also did not consider work that was unpaid or carried out in the domestic sphere. Since the 1960s, feminist movements have highlighted the issue of unpaid work carried out by women, invisible, not for oneself but for others, "in the name of nature, love or maternal duty" (Verschuur, 2013: 153). Female migrant labour is not only constrained to domestic and care work. In the new international division of labour, industries are employing a large number of women who come from other regions or countries. Since the late 1980s, in many middle-income countries, the demand for women's labour (often internal migrants) in export-oriented manufacturing has been weakening, as export production has become more skill and capital intensive (Verschuur, 2013).

When looking at non-marital childbearing and female migration, several grandmothers undertake the role of being the primary caregiver. The presence of a pensioner within the household allows adult household members (comprising women of working and childbearing age) to become labour migrants, implying that income from the old age grant provides a means to migrate, and/or the means for the pensioner to care for children of the migrant (Verschuur, 2013). It becomes necessary to do a study that aims to understand the experiences of those who have taken

on the hidden burden of social reproduction for those who migrate in this regard the grandmothers. My study is driven by this lacuna, which social reproduction studies by Vershuur, 2011; Fakier, 2010; Bhattacharya, 2017; Bourdieu, 1986; Bakker and Gill, 2003; Benya, 2015 have not explored in detail. There has been a change in feminists thinking when it comes to social policy, their emphasis has moved away from focusing only on gender discrimination, and it has shifted towards a more reasonable distribution of care duties in society, comprising of a huge support from the public for care responsibilities performed by women in the household (Moller and Sotshongaye, 1996; Budlender, 2004; Lombard and Kruger, 2009; Sidloyi, 2016). Care services are considered as a public good, a social investment in current and future social well-being (Patel, 2016). That is why my study is linking the identified gap with the issue of social policy.

Care is a vital component of the process of social reproduction and it depends on the unpaid care work that is mainly performed by women for maintaining households, families and societies on a generational as well as daily basis (Randriamaro, 2013). Care can be defined "as the work of looking after the physical, psychological, emotional and developmental needs of one or more other people" (Fakier, 2010: 17). Vershuur (2013) on the other hand argues that care comprises of activities such as physical care and concern for persons known to the caregivers, family members, children and the elderly. It also comprises of caring for non-dependents, which is not always taken into account in studies. Care comprises of unpaid tasks such as preparing meals, cleaning, washing clothes, shopping and so on. In countries with limited infrastructure, care work may also include fetching water, collecting wood, all of which form part of social reproduction (Vershuur, 2013). Still within the guise of care is the provision of social support as well as emotional care.

Women endure the utmost personal cost of care. This is to say that a woman with care responsibilities is frequently not able to be employed. This may result in her experiencing social isolation, not caring for her own emotional needs, and may lose opportunities for education, engagement in livelihood activities and wider social participation (Patel, 2016). Such a situation is aggravated by the deprivation of access to basic services such as electricity, water, sanitation and transport, and may possibly intensify the physical work and time of caring. The aforementioned may increase the effort of caregiving, the physical energy consumed, as well as

the hidden financial costs that caregivers and their families and households have to bear (Patel, 2016). Women spent three times more time on unpaid care work than men. Despite the assumption and association of women with love and care, it should be noted that care does not mean that the work is always done with love or willingly. Whether the work is done willingly depends on the relationship between the caregiver and the receiver and perhaps other people in the family or society. In some cases, the care is given unwillingly because the woman feels forced psychological, social or even through physical pressures (Budlender, 2004).

Care can be paid or unpaid (Verschuur, 2013). Unpaid care work refers to tasks such as housework, cooking, caring for children, old people and sick people where the person doing the work is not paid. The concept comprises of work done for the family as well as what is sometimes called 'volunteer' work, where individuals assist other households or the community more generally (Budlender, 2004).

- "The word 'unpaid' stresses that the person doing the activity does not receive a wage for it.
- The term 'care' stresses that the activity serves people and their wellbeing
- The term 'work' stresses that the activity has a cost in terms of time and energy. It also stresses that the activity arises out of a social or contractual obligation, such as marriage or less formal social relationships" (Budlender, 2004:2).

Moreover, this unpaid care work is not included into the calculation of a country's gross domestic product (GDP). Therefore, it is not regarded as important, and it is also non-existent to policy makers as well as policy planners (Patel, 2016). Budlender (2004) estimated that the unpaid care work in SA fluctuates between 11% and 30% of GDP.

With the crisis of social reproduction in the Global North (cuts in public services, insertion of women into the labour market, unquestioned sexual division of labour at home between men and women, an ageing population), there is a growing need for migrants to realize these activities. Social reproduction is globalizing and the concept of care has gained a lot of attention (Fakier, 2010). However, the concept of care does not merge with the concept of social reproduction and has its limitations. First of all, there are different activities and institutions where the activities

are fulfilled, such as those mentioned above (agricultural production, petty commodity production, and so on) and which are part of reproductive activities, are generally not included in the studies on care (Verschuur, 2013). Second, studies on care are mainly centered on care of dependents (children, the elderly, sick or less able persons, and so on). In other words, the focus is on a certain category of people, those who will constitute or have constituted the potential workforce, they generally do not pay attention to the entire workforce. But people in good health and with the capacity to work, even if at some point they have been or will be dependent, are also cared for (Verschuur, 2013).

Furthermore, they do not explain the inequalities of gender, class, race and nation in the organization of care regimes. They do not give satisfactory explanations that comprehend the strong female and racial dimension of care work and ignore the fact that men, too, carry out this type of work (Verschuur, 2013). My study has gone beyond this gap, it has linked care and social reproduction hence care is an important element of the process of social reproduction, the study focused on the crisis of livelihoods and the reproduction of the future labour force in a country where unemployment is high (in a context of a decline in wage labour).

SOCIAL REPRODUCTION: POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

In general, poverty is described as the inability to reach a minimum standard of living which, according to the World Bank, is determined in terms of basic consumption needs or income required to satisfy those needs (Kehler, 2001). For that reason, poverty, in its limited description, can be understood as "a reflection of the inability of individuals, households or entire communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living" (Kehler, 2001:41). When including the factors of well-being, low levels of achievement in education and terrifying health standards, in addition to people's helplessness, and voice lessness are essential to measure all aspects of poverty hence poor people are faced with it (Kehler, 2001). This is emphasized by the "understanding that poverty is a reflection of pronounced deprivation of well-being" (Kehler, 2001:41).

There is a growing need to address extreme poverty, risk and vulnerability specifically when it comes to women. This need has pushed governments to implement more determined goals on the reduction of inequality, women empowerment as well as poverty alleviation for which South

Africa has made prominent changes and improvements since 1994 (Dubihlela and Dubihlela, 2014). Poverty is a multifaced concept "capturing a wide range of definitions which may include deficits in income or consumption, deprivations, social exclusions and lack of various capacities" (Dubihlela and Dubihlela, 2014: 160). The policy instruments employed by most governments to reduce poverty comprise of the development of a set of mechanisms generally categorized as social protection. Fiszbein, Ringold & Srinivasan (2011) as cited in (Dubihlela and Dubihlela, 2014: 160) argue that "social protection refers to a collection of programs that address risk, vulnerability, inequality and poverty through transfers in cash or kind and the government social grants are an example". The South African government is providing older people with a means-tested non-contributory old age pension, which was envisioned to be a poverty relief programme for the aged. However, it has turned into a poverty alleviation programme within households, intended for older people but also providing for adult and younger generations (Legido-Quigley, 2003). Seemingly, old age grants have to be stretched within the household to accommodate almost all other household expenses.

Pension earning parents live with their children due to inadequate employment. This is because South Africa does not have a big enough formal sector that can absorb those who are unemployed leading to increased reliance on the old age grant (Makhalima, 2010). It is proposed that the old age pension has progressively taken on the role of family capital (Legido-Quigley, 2003). In Diepkloof the issue is twofold, the grandmother's children depend on them because of the high rate of unemployment, and secondly, they also support their grandchildren. This means that there are at least three generations dependent on the one old age grant. In SA, the OAG is a significant safety net for older people in addition to their households because they provide a stable and reliable source of income. Even though the OAG was intended to support older people, it was the only source of income for the grandmothers in this study. The grandmothers stated that the grant was insufficient to meet their basic needs as well as their family's basic needs hence they also have large families. This is why I now turn to feminization of poverty, to show that the grandmother headed households may have the grant as their stable monthly income, but they continue to live in poverty.

According to Devereux and Waidler (2017) social grants are dominated by the Child Support Grant (CSG) and the OAG. The child support grant reached 12.8 million poor children under 18

years of age, nearly two-thirds of all SA children and paid R425 per month and it was R430 by October 2019. On the other hand, the old age grant reached 3.7 million people over 60 years of age and paid R1 780 per month, but R1 880 to over 75-year-olds in April 2019 (Ngcobo and Bhengu, 2020). Finance Minister Tito Mboweni announced an increase in social grants of up to R309 billion during the 2020 budget speech. For 2020, the OAG was increased by R80, this means the grant now stands at R1 860, for over 75-year old's it is now R1 870 and the CSG increased by R20 now it stands at R445 (Ngcobo and Bhengu, 2020). According to Stats SA (2018) since 2002, the proportion of people as well as households that benefit from the social grant has increased. In 2018, 44,3% of households received one or more grants, whereas 31% of people benefitted from a grant. Social grants contribute 45,2% of household income in poor families, making grants the second most important source of income for households, since salaries contribute only 64,8%. Nationally, the grant is the major source of income for 19,9% of households (Stats SA: 2018). Receiving social grants especially the Old Age Grant and the Child Support Grant has a positive impact on household food security and on individual nutritional status in South Africa (Devereux and Waidler, 2017).

Feminization of poverty

Budlender (2004: 7-8) suggests that the term feminization of poverty has at least three (different) meanings:

- "Women have higher incidence of poverty than men i.e. a higher percentage of women are poor
- Women's poverty is more severe than of men i.e. poor women are even poorer, on average, than poor men
- The rates or levels of poverty among women is increasing. In particular, the rates and levels might be increasing because of an increase in the number of female-headed households".

Though poverty and economic inequality continue to reveal racial inequalities, they also engrain gender inequality. In SA, poverty has a gender aspect that tests the equal status of women in law, it also poses a threat to their human rights in practice. The feminization of poverty is significant because, according to the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), women experience poverty in a different way compared to men (Bentley, 2004). It also tends to be more severe, as well as posing a greater challenge for women who bear the burden of caring for children under

such circumstances. Female-headed households are generally more prone to being poor compared to male-headed households. There are a number of factors that are accountable for this higher poverty prevalence in female headed households such as female headed households have a greater dependency ratio than male headed households; a woman is more prone to being the main breadwinner compared to men or at times women are also more likely than men to have nobody employed in the household (Bentley, 2004). I will now focus on the role of the OAG as a method of poverty alleviation.

The role of the Old Age Pension on poverty alleviation

The Old Age Pension has been endorsed by academics to have an important redistributive effect in the South African population. It is regarded as the most effective social programme aimed at reaching economically vulnerable groups (Legido-Quigley, 2003; Lombard and Kruger, 2009; Makhalima, 2010; Joseph 2012). The Committee of Inquiry into Comprehensive Social Security (2002) states that the old age grant is the main source of income for older people who would otherwise be living in poverty and it was estimated to reduce the poverty gap for older people by 94 percent (Committee of Inquiry, 2002). In 2/3 of African households where there is a pensioner, the old age grant seems to be the main source of income (Sagner, 2000). In my study the grandmothers are heads of the households, the grant is the only main source of income which becomes difficult and inadequate to sustain the households for the whole month. This is to say that the old age grant, to some extent, acts as the stabilizer in households of the unemployed.

The Help Age International (1999) did a study on the contribution of older people in South Africa. The study provides valuable information in relation to the living arrangements, how the old age grant is spent and how the grant is reallocated within the household. The study found that the main portion of the grant income is spent on their grandchildren's school fees and food, which contributes to the economy of the household. The study highlights that the situation is more difficult in urban areas where municipal rates and taxes for electricity and water become major expenditure items (Help Age International, 1999). This is also the case in Diepkloof hence Soweto has a high Eskom debt, which makes it difficult for grandmothers to pay their electricity expenses on a monthly basis. The Soweto township, which is region D under the City of Johannesburg metropolitan municipality, owed Eskom R15 billion in 2018 to R18 billion in 2019, this figure is extensively reported in the media, however these figures are not included in

its integrated reports (Khumalo, 2019). The people of Soweto cannot afford electricity, they are unemployed which is the reason why some of them have connected their electricity illegally; some of the residents depend on social grants (Khumalo, 2019).

Older people still enjoy customary respect from the younger generation, although there is a growing tendency of abuse and violence against them, mostly by members of their own families (Help Age International, 1999). On the other hand, Fakier (2010) argues that older people are also at risk of being forced to give up their grant money, and this is where the violence stems from. This is common in households where there is an overdependence on older people, which results in "coercive income pooling and in some instances in serious abuse of the elderly" (Fakier, 2010: 80). In addition, the results of the Help Age International (1999) reveal that many older people are burdened with the role as child-minders, on the other hand they lack support from their family members. Based on that, it should be taken into consideration that older people have little or no choice to share their grant money with their family members (Legido-Quigley, 2003). This goes back to Budlender's (2004) point earlier that in some cases, the care is given unwillingly because the woman feels forced psychological, social or even through physical pressures (Budlender, 2004).

It can be argued that while the old age grant is the major source of income in many households, the grant cannot be certified as the only method of eradicating poverty since its worth or value is insufficient in terms of meeting other human needs (Legido-Quigley, 2003). Even though grandmothers have control of their grant, the majority of the grant is transferred to their family members, and most of them stated that not even half of the pension money was spent for their own personal use because of the support they provide to other household members. The old age grant was not enough because it ends before all their basic needs were met. That is why in my findings, I look at how the grandmothers use the social grants, their struggles, and their role as 'heads' of the households. In so doing, I show the agency of the grandmothers and the unspoken satisfaction of taking care of the family as an exercise of securing a future for the young generation. I will now turn to the last debate which is the rising food prices because they are important to the wellbeing of the poor, hence it is part of the crisis of social reproduction.

SOCIAL REPRORDUCTION: Rising food prices

Rising food prices have a negative impact on food security in South Africa, thus food insecurity has been a major contributing factor to poverty in the country. South African households were largely negatively impacted during the global and national food price surge between 2006 and 2008 (Van Wyk and Dlamini, 2018). According to Maunder and Wiggins (2007), rising food prices came at a time when South Africa was going through chronic food security crisis and South Africans were exceptionally vulnerable to food insecurity. The constantly rising food prices as well as the scarcity of access to money make it very hard to strengthen food security among households in South Africa. On the other hand, global trends suggest that food prices will increase year on year and consequently affect the welfare of households (Van Wyk and Dlamini, 2018). Rising food prices are important to the wellbeing of the poor; hence it is part of the crisis of social reproduction. It was therefore important for this study to focus on how the rising food prices were and will continue affecting the grandmothers who only rely on their old age grant for survival. Hence these were poor households given the high employment rates and limited income within the households.

According to Attanasio et al. (2013:136) the considerable rise in global food prices over the last decade has concerning effects on the welfare of poorer households. The instability caused by price hikes is not a short-term problem and can have a lasting effect on poverty. Whether the consumers are poor or wealthy, the amount and quality of a consumer's food basket depends on its affordability, related to the consumer's income. South African households depend on household income for consumption. According to Sebagala (2016:1) "rising living costs have caused South African households to focus more on utilization of income for consumption expenditure instead of savings". SA household consumption expenditure was recorded at an average of R16 522 per month (Van Wyk and Dlamini, 2018).

Most of the grandmothers in this study relied on the OAG as their only source of income within the households they were heading, and they had to spend more than R500 on food per month. This resulted in them reducing the quality and quantity of the food they eat; they were at risk of malnutrition. Mkhawani, Motadi, Mabapa, Mbhenyane, Blaauw (2016) argue that social security measures are viewed as safety nets to prevent absolute poverty in families, and to attempt to move such families out of poverty. Although the amount of the grant is small, it plays a key role

in reducing income poverty among the very poor, and especially among female headed households. When food prices increase, the social grants do not, thus making it difficult for older people to afford other necessities, such as medication, prepaid electricity and school fees (Mkhawani et al., 2016). Because of constant rising of food prices, the grandmothers are faced with food insecurity. It was stated during the interview process that in their households, the grandmothers are largely food insecure because they are constantly faced with the challenge of obtaining sufficient food for the entire family. Social grants in SA are provided to eligible poor households as an essential contributor in food insecurity as well as poverty (Devereux and Waidler, 2017). It was therefore important to focus on the issue of rising food prices since social grants were given to poor households so that they can reduce poverty, in this study the OAG was not adequate in reducing poverty in the grandmother headed households, this was because the grant was the only source of income in these households, therefore they could not only buy food, they had to pay debts, buy food, cater for the needs of the whole family for survival. I now turn to education and look at educational related issues of reproduction of inequality amongst generations.

SOCIAL REPRODUCTION: EDUCATION

Establishing a system that delivers quality education and training for everyone regardless of being young or old, race, gender as well as class, is undoubtedly the utmost evolving challenge the SA government is faced with. In SA and throughout the world, numerous people are still surprised by the country's transition from an apartheid regime to a democratic government (Martineau, 1997). The government is faced with the challenge of transforming SA into a country in which its population has equal access to resources, and it can completely partake in the democratic process. Education is one of the essential areas in need of serious change (Martineau, 1997). Under the apartheid government, basic primary and secondary education was not generally available to all. In the year 1799, the first school was established particularly for black people nearby what later became King Williams Town. In 1663, the first public school for whites was opened, more than a century earlier. The missionary groups started other schools for black people in the borders of immigrant societies. Therefore, up until 1948, missionary education was the trend for black students (Martineau, 1997).

When the National Party rose to political power in 1948, it started a program of separate development for the different racial groups. The policy on Bantu Education was introduced by the government of the National Party in 1953, whereby the control of education for black students was taken out of the missionary groups, and it merged its control within the government (Tabatam 1959; Martineau, 1997). Bantu Education was intended to meet the new labour demands of modernization as well as industrialization without intimidating the advantaged position of white employees, it "helped in practice to prepare black children for a place as subordinate workers" (Martineau, 1997:385). Molteno (1984: 92) opposes the above mentioned and states that the primary aim of Bantu Education was partially to decrease the "number of blacks with medium-level (semiskilled) academic qualifications to the minimum required to supply teachers and functionaries for the Bantustan (the South African equivalent of the Native American reservations) bureaucracies". He concludes by saying Bantu Education "was never intended as a simple denial of educational opportunities but represented a more calculated attempt to subvert the political and economic aspirations of Black South Africans" (Molteno, 1984:94).

According to Bourdieu (1984), inherited cultural capital turns out to be important when it comes to being accepted into certain prestigious schools, and when one is accepted, they need to prosper regardless of being in a 'elite school' or a public school. And because school education favours those students with higher-class habitus, the education system functions in such a way that it reproduces and legitimates class differences and inequalities (Olivier, 2017). This is to say that education is the method that is being used to allow those in underprivileged classes a chance to move up; however, it is failing in many different ways. Regardless of the extension of education for black people in SA, the manner in which education has been delivered has always been grossly inadequate with poor facilities, under-qualified educators and inadequate classrooms. A major share in the cost of this education has been sustained by black parents, who are the lowest paid workers in SA. However, many women especially black women, benefited from the extension of provision that took place, though the circumstances were distressing (Unterhalter, 1990).

Bantu Education started since the beginning of the century, and for those categorized as Indian and Colored started in the 1970s and the 1980s. "In 1985, less than 5% of the Black adult female

population in South Africa had completed secondary school, and African girls throughout the nation did not have access to compulsory education until after 1994" (Martineau, 1997:386). Since the beginning, SA schools guided both females and males into a distinct curriculum designed for 'girls' and boys'. Pells (1970) as cited in Martineau (1997: 386) describes the distinct curriculum "girls were instructed in domestic duties and boys were taught a trade. Early schools also gave less priority to the education of females. In the mission schools, women were not encouraged, if even allowed, to obtain an academic education or skill training". Martineau (1997: 386) continues to characterize mission education for girls as "vocational, domestic and subservient suited to Africans, to women and to subordinate classes". In the 19th century, the goal of the mission education was to prepare African women to become good Christian mothers and wives, along with teaching them domestic skills such as cooking, laundry work and sewing. Without a doubt, numerous missionary institutions for instance St. Matthew's, Healdtown, Blythswood, as well as Lovedale were created precisely to train African girls as domestics (Martineau, 1997).

On the other hand, Hunter (2014) in his study *The Bond of Education: Gender, the Value of Children, and the making of Umlazi Township in 1960s South Africa,* he found that a woman's education was believed to be a potential barrier to marriage, which was by far the most important social achievement for a young woman. Elderly woman stated that an educated rural girl developed the fear that they would leave their rural homesteads. One sensitive and derogatory word that was used to criticize educated women and question them for not being good wives was 'isifebe'. Hunter (2014: 474) translates the word as "prostitute, an occupation associated with urban women (that is, women who had abandoned rural homes) and more generally 'loose' or 'immoral' women (in this context strongly implying that she was unlikely to be seen as marriageable)". Hunter (2014) continues to say fathers would persuade their sons to leave school and find jobs to increase the family income or herd cattle.

Furthermore, Bozzoli (1991) argues that a few well-educated Christian families did see the importance of investing in a girl's education as advantageous to charm a good Christian son-in-law, and various women who went to school imagined a period of being employed in the city as a step towards marriage. Based on the aforementioned, even though fathers would persuade their sons to leave school, during the 1960s, it was becoming a trend for unmarried woman to raise

their children alone whom they considered their security and comfort for when they reach old age, more importantly their daughters being especially faithful to them (Hunter, 2014). For a lot of these unmarried women, the key to success was seen as education, they imagined their sons as lawyers or doctors, and their daughters as teachers or nurses. Hunter (2014: 477) states that their "their hopes for the future focused on and education was seen as the means whereby their children could escape life. Something no one can take away from you".

Today's grandmothers were the last generation to be called names and mocked for acquiring education. They emphasize the importance of education and also fund their grandchildren's education. This notion of being called names or even persuading children to leave school like what was done in the past does not only show how people did not value their independence, but rather dependence to a man was seen as a norm. It is also important to remember "that education is one of the most powerful examples of an institution that promotes individualism and yet creates profound that cut across and help to form kinship" (Hunter, 2014:489). It was important to focus on education in this study because the grandmothers had limited educational opportunities; hence most of them only acquired primary education. They have taken it upon themselves to invest in their own children as well as grandchildren's education so that they can have a better future compared to the one they had.

CHAPTER 4:

THE MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM AND WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE MAKING OF THE MIGRANT SYSTEM: SOUTH AFRICA'S POLITICAL ECONOMY

The findings of the study have built on the rich literature on migration which is discussed below, it has also described and explored social reproduction in an urban black family headed by grandmothers in post-apartheid South Africa. These elderly women were migrant workers during the migrant labour system hence some of them started working from 1950-2005. The findings focused on their personal experiences, challenges, what they encountered and the dynamics involved when it comes to supporting their families through the old age grant as their only source

of income in post-apartheid SA. The argument that was made is that the migrant labour system in SA negatively impacted on family structures, it resulted in women living without their husbands/partners, as an alternative to growing poverty that women were faced with, they also migrated to look for employment opportunities, leaving behind their responsibilities with their parents, this is also applicable to Soweto which will be explored in-depth in the findings.

The white population of South Africa traces its roots back to 1652 when the first permanent European settlement was established in the Cape of Good Hope – the beginning of the country's extensive colonial history. The settlers found the land inhabited by the KhoiKhoi and San tribes whose ancestors had lived in Southern Africa for 10 000 and 20 000 years (Coovadia, Jewkes, Barron, Sanders and Mclntyre, 2009). During the following century, despite a cycle of wars of resistance, these indigenous people were forcibly deprived of their cattle as well as land, and they were also forced to work on settler farms (Coovadia et al, 2009). The settlers expanded their livelihood eastwards into the lands of the amaXhosa, one of several black African tribes living in the area. Slaves were imported to the Cape from West Africa, Madagascar, Indonesia, Mozambique, and India, to work on the settler farms from the year 1654. These farm workers and slaves were to become some of the ancestors of the people classified as coloured under apartheid (Coovadia et al, 2009). The year 1806 marks the commencement of a century of continuous British rule, hence the Dutch East India company politically restricted slaves from the developed area of the Cape (Jeeves, 1985) and in 1859, the ancestors of the Indian population were brought as labourers from India to Natal, to work in the sugar plantations. According to Jeeves (1985) it is during this period that the British military expansion as well as the internal migration from the Cape Colony of armed Afrikaner farmers saw the occupation of the land area of modern South Africa. The presence of the native population was reduced to that of being tenants or wage-labourers. They were also required to be off land or taken into underprivileged and restricted areas of rural land (reserves).

Moreover, war and violence were used to institute supremacy between the settler powers, and to overcome the indigenous population. In 1902, the British victory in the Anglo-Boer War brought together the two Afrikaner republics (Orange Free State and Transvaal) and two British colonies (Cape Colony and Natal Colony) under one flag (Coovadia et al, 2009). When the Union of South Africa was founded in 1910, the colonies became provinces within the state, which was

power in the British Empire. Walker (1990) argues that the transformation of the country from an agricultural to an industrial economy, following the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1867 and gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886, brought about profound changes in society. Mining became the core of the economy until the 20th century, and the growth of the manufacturing sector became associated with mining.

Through massive foreign investment flowing into the country, and the potential for a generation of wealth through the mining industry, there was call for cheap black male labour and brutal methods were used to secure it (Coovadia et al, 2009). The methods comprised of taxes such as income tax and "the introduction of hut and poll taxes forced African people to supplement their subsistence economic activities with money earned by selling their labour" (Smit, 2001: 534). On the other hand, coercive legislation such as Masters and Servants legislations, Native Land Act, as well as limits to access to land and means of production, disciplinary measures for absconding assisted in make compulsory migration of male labourers to the towns. The manner in which the migrant labour system was introduced to black South Africans is also unique in the that before the Europeans arrived in South Africa, black people were very much reliant on farming and hunting (Mazibuko, 2000). Black people had rich land for their traditional ways of farming. The colonization of South Africa was strange for two reasons: firstly, the land was a site of significant mineral wealth; secondly there was a white migrant population that was strong-minded about improving and sustaining their group power and status (Bezuidenhout and Fakier, 2006). This created a problem, despite the fact that the mining industry required cheap labour, the white migrant population saw the urbanization of black people as a political and social threat. As a way of combating the problem, the migrant labour system was introduced. On their arrival in Africa, the Europeans changed black people from their standard ways of living., they took their land and moved them into the Native reserves (Mazibuko, 2000).

The size of the land that was set aside for Native reserves was too small for black people to continue with their traditional farming and hunting methods. For instance, because of the Land Act in 1913 and 1936, ownership of land for Africans was limited to only 13 percent of South Africa's land area, consequently limiting opportunities for African farming (Amoateng & Ritcher, 2007). However, Walker (1990: 174) argues that "in the longer term, independent African producers were unable to sustain such production in the face of settler competition, land

losses, legislative and administrative controls designed by the colonial state to force them into wage labour". As a result, black people became reliant on the Europeans through selling their labour (Mazibuko, 2000). Most of these migrants were recruited from the then Ciskei, Transkei, Mozambique, Namibia and other parts of Southern Africa. The farmers from KwaZulu Natal managed to solve the problem of shortage of workers in the sugar cane plantations through the migrant labour system by employing migrant workers (Mazibuko, 2000). The migrant workers from the then Ciskei were employed by sheep farmers in the Orange Free State as well as Eastern Cape. Mazibuko (2000) continues to say in 1866 there was a discovery of diamonds near Hopetown and this impacted on the migrant labour system. This resulted in "1874, a mere eight years later, there were 10 000 blacks employed in the Kimberly" (Wilson 1972:2). Most of these men were migrant workers who came to the diamond fields for a limited period of time before returning home to Swaziland, Ciskei, Lesotho, or wherever they had left their families (Wilson, 1972).

The shift of the black male labourers from the rural areas meant a decline in agricultural activity in the rural areas - a system that critically undermined the rural black agricultural economy (Coovadia et al, 2009). In 1889, the number of miners doubled from 10 000 to 20 000 in 1910, and 400 000 in 1940. Thereafter, cheap migrant labour became, and continued, to be the backbone of economic, social, and political development in urban areas. Migration also contributed to the spread of diseases like tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS among other things, both in South Africa and in neighbouring countries that also sent migrants to the South African mines (Jeeves, 1985). The migrant labour system has long been recognized as one of the key institutions in the development of modern South Africa, a source of immense profits for white capital and immense hardship for the majority of the black working class (Walker, 1990). The migrant labour system is a universal phenomenon however it varies from one place to another. In African countries, migrant labourers leave behind their families whereas in American and European countries migrant labourers frequently migrate with their families (Mazibuko, 2000). Nonetheless both systems of migrant labour mentioned above, be it that the migrant labourer is migrating with his family or leaving the family behind it has negative effects on the family system (Mazibuko, 2000). The common negative effects on the family comprises of experiencing language barriers in the new environment. Negative influence on socialization can be witnessed with new neighbours; resulting in the family feeling secluded from the community as a whole

(Mazibuko, 2000). The apartheid system did not allow South African migrant workers to bring along their wives and families to their places of work, consequently this gave rise to a circular or fluctuating pattern of migration whereby labourers would retain their permanent home in the rural areas and return regularly (Walker, 1990). South Africa's migrant labour system comprised of migrant labourers who were adult, single men or husbands who are unaccompanied by their wives and children, who left their families behind in the reserves. Secondly, these migrants were contracted to the employer for a short-term period ranging from six months up to a year or two years (Mazibuko, 2000). Lastly, the migrant workers were provided with accommodation in hostels and compounds.

WOMEN AS MIGRANT WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The migrant labour system has led to many changes in the South African household structure, family life and various roles played by both men and women within their families. Women have been participating for a long time in the migrant labour system (Ntsoane, 2015). However, regardless of a very rich literature on the system of migrant labour in South Africa, many studies have concentrated on the lives of migrant men (Wolpe, 1972); Jeeves, 1985; Mager, 2001; Nagla, 2008; Pheko, 2011; Camlin, 2014). This perspective has repeatedly erased women's views as well as their personal experiences (Phillips & James, 2014). This is to say that when analysing the system, since the 1930s and 1940s the migrant labour system had frequently depended on black men in the factories, in the mines as well as their homes. On the other hand, it is a product of the hidden nature of much of migrant women's work (Phillips & James, 2014). It also has to do, to some degree with the delayed entry of gender in social science (in SA and elsewhere) and when it arrived, it was separated from the main stream (Phillips & James, 2014). For example, Wolpe's (1972) analysis did take into account the essential parts of women as part of the migrant labour system, but they remained as rurally-based nonentities, they were only working to reproduce the household whereas migrant men sent money home from urban South Africa. This viewpoint did not open a platform for women's personal experiences based on the struggles of housing and work. This research begins from this lacuna and aims to broaden the scope of our understanding of gender and age especially through a less studied subject, the role of the grandmother in the household.

Bozzoli (1991) in her study shows a historical research on women migrants, she argues that women faced and resisted different kinds of domination- by chiefs, husbands, brothers, as well as by employers and by the state in the form of pass laws. She showed how different forms of gender hierarchy together shaped who migrated and who stayed at home, and she saw resistance in women's migration from rural areas. According to Walker (1990: 168) "the most pervasive image of women under the migrant labour system is as victims, those left behind, lumped along with children, the old and the sick into the emotive blurry category of dispossessed or surplus". Women migration is said to be motivated by the desire to escape economic difficulties (Ntsoane, 2015). In the development of migrant labour in SA, numerous black women first arrived to the cities to work in the informal sector. This migration to the cities happened rapidly in the two decades after the 1930s, and black women, especially Basotho women, were an important feature (Van Driel, 2012). In 1937, Johannesburg experienced an exceptional arrival of Basotho women, many of whom engaged in beer brewing (Bonner, 1990). Bonner (1990) continues to say with the increased migration to the city, many women exercised their power and made an independent life for themselves and their children. On the other hand, Walker (1990) argues that numerous factors comprising of urbanization and proletarianization influenced black women's attitude including escaping the authority of male figures such as chiefs.

M. B Smith of the Basutoland Chamber of Commerce identified four main categories of Basotho women's migration to South Africa in his evidence to the Fegan Commission of 1947 (Bonner, 1990). The first category was women who had trouble with their husbands. Secondly, the category comprised of widows who had a rough time. Thirdly, it comprised of girls who had eloped and were deserted by their partners. Lastly, women who had been properly married with cattle, but were deserted by their husbands (Bonner, 1990). Mager (2001) also argues that women were pushed by poverty, some went to escape the tediousness of rural life, and others were in the hope of pursuing their education and to assert their independence. The women described above were all women who in one way or the another, were experiencing difficulties in their marriage and were particularly exposed to the forces of poverty, landlessness as well as banishment within rural society, women in unhappy marriages, widows, and women whose husbands have been (typically migrants themselves) had deserted them (Walker, 1990).

Basotho women started entering urban areas in huge numbers, as the migrant labour system started taking its toll on family life and survival strategies such as agriculture in rural areas was put under enormous strain (Phillips & James, 2014). Women arriving in the Free State towns in the 1900's who were not already members of middle-class families had two basic options, firstly they could work as domestics, or they could engage in informal income generating activities comprising of beer brewing, petty trade or prostitution (Bonner, 1990). During the 1910s after agricultural production had been disrupted by the Anglo-Boer war, Basotho women, specifically from share-cropping families from the former Orange Free State had been forcefully removed off the land (Van Driel, 2012). This resulted in Free State towns experiencing continuous shortages of female domestic labour. It is argued that the women were seen as either 'undisciplined or unreliable' because they flitted between jobs or they refused to present themselves for certain low paying jobs (Bonner, 1990).

In 1911, 3 000 women were verified absent from the Basotho land, and in the following decade one-quarter of the women were verified as absent. Basotho women were proletarianized relatively earlier than other women, this was reflected in their migration to the cities (Van Driel, 2012). The state was mostly concerned about beer-brewers and prostitutes, however migrant women's informal sector activities also comprised of laundry, sewing, dressmaking, hawking, traditional medicine, trading as well as gambling (Phillips & James, 2014). During this time, government was making an attempt of controlling black urbanization, mainly the brewing of beer. According to Bonner (1990), the loss of control over Basotho women can eventually be traced back to the failure of the South African authorities to implement an effective system of pass controls over South African women as a whole. Bonner (1990: 27) continues to say the root cause of the loss of control "can be tracked down to campaigns against women's passes which burst out in a number of Free State towns between 1913 and 1923." In 1913, it was no surprise that major protests against the pass laws for women took place in Bloemfontein in the Free State, because of Basotho women being the first group to migrate to the cities (Van Driel, 2012). Their resistance was constructed on the back of a successful anti-pass campaign by the women of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) - the reason for the success was that the government was incapable of controlling women's movements through passes and their beer brewing activities in urban areas were equally challenging. Through it all, women successfully

fought attempts made by the police and government in controlling their presence (Phillips & James, 2014).

At least 356 000 black women had migrated to the cities by 1936. Apart from this substantial migration, until the 1970s, black women remained a minority in the cities, and worked mainly in the informal sector, in domestic work and later in some factories (Bozzoli, 1991). Another important transformation in the patterns of labour migration was seen during the 1990s when the South African gold mining industry entered a long period of restructuring and downsizing as a consequence of declining mineral reserves, rising costs and a stagnant gold price (Ntsoane, 2015). The price of gold and strikes resulted in a lot of migrant workers losing their jobs. There were 477 000 migrant workers employed in 1987, however by 2001 the number had decreased to just 200 000 and rose again to 260 000 in 2006 with the increasing gold prices (Ntsoane, 2015). Ntsoane (2015) continues to say this radical growth in job losses affected numerous households as they depended on the money received from the migrant worker. As a result, men's unemployment contributed to the increase in women's migration to urban areas seeking employment in order to sustain their families. The increase in male unemployment resulted in the decrease of transfer of funds to households, this resulted in the increase of women headed households encouraging women to enter the labour market and engage in labour migration (Ntsoane, 2015). Fakier (2010) argues that the study of social reproduction of migrants is very important hence it focuses our attention on how employer's destination sites in more developed centres benefit from migration of economically desperate workers. The migrant men who left behind their responsibility of social reproduction in their households and communities is left shouldered by their wives, partners as well as grandmothers (Fakier, 2010). The implication of migration for social reproduction lies much on transference of care responsibilities of migrants, as well as domesticity imposed on women wherever they live and work.

In SA, families were separated by the migrant labour system through employing both men and women. Women who went to the cities to look for employment left their children with their grandmothers. This is to say that the black women left their social reproduction in the hands of their mothers (Fakier, 2010). This was due to the fact that "the social organization within hostels has changed noteworthily since the entry of women and children into the hostel environment in the 1960s" (Smith, 2001: 541). In 1986 influx control was eradicated, this resulted in a lot of

women to join their husbands in the urban areas. Regardless of the policies on the exclusion of families in hostels, many women moved into hostels to share a single bed with their husbands, irrespective of sharing a room which was occupied by three or four other hostel occupants with their families (Smit, 2001). The women's survival depended "on their attachment to a bed - thus creating the notion of men, women and children being members, not of a household, but a bedhold" (Ramphele,1993: 20). A lot of the women who resided provisionally in hostels, moved back and forth between rural and urban areas. According to Ramphele (1993: 72): "They are torn between the responsibilities of looking after the rural 'home', bringing up children and fulfilling wider family responsibilities on the one hand, and maintaining a personal relationship with their husbands on the other." This shows that women did not only migrate to towns to lessen the time of separation between them and their husbands, but then again to also make the much-desired money, particularly in the informal economy, in order to sustain their rural based families (Smith, 2001).

Consequently, customary family roles were being reversed because older family members shouldered the responsibility for the psychosocial as well as physical needs of their grandchildren, rather than being taken care of, they are the ones who provided care (Mtshali, 2016). The family, "in African culture, exists in an extended family framework within which the welfare of its members is ensured, and no child may stay alone even if their biological parents have died" (Mtshali, 2016: 371). The family, as an institution provides love, support, care, and stability to its individual members. However, the family has always been confronted by challenges that threaten its very own existence (Mtshali, 2016). Nhongo (2004) states that one of the challenges families are faced with is survival. The overwhelming effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, poverty and high unemployment has left many families to cry out for help in order for them to cope, to remain strong so that it can continue to perform its important roles as well as responsibilities to its members. Women who were migrants shifted their burden and pattern of tasks and responsibilities to their family members (older people) that are too frail to carry them out or believed that they had done their part (Mtshali, 2016). It should be noted that it is a time in their lives whereby in general they envision to be beneficiaries of support and care; but a lot of older people have no choice but to turn into 'Africa's Newest Mothers' (Mtshali, 2016). Since this study is on grandmother headed households, the aim was to show how they shouldered the burden of social reproduction that is being left behind by their children, some of them worked as

migrant workers and they also left their social reproduction at the hands of their mothers. The grandmothers had to leave their children when they were young mothers, however they were in contact with their children even though it was not on a constant basis. This will be further explored in the life histories of the grandmothers

Women migration in South Africa is often associated with economic benefits accrued by the female migrants and their families. Lefko-Everett (2007) argues that migration offered women the opportunity to gain gender equality and empowered them by providing them with freedom, the ability to earn an income which boosts their self-esteem and economic independence, and status amongst other things. Migration also allowed women to gain access to education, opportunities for training and skills development. Ntsoane (2015) argues that the benefits of female migration also spread to the families left behind. This is to say, that there is a difference between the usage of money between men and women when they are paid. Women send large portions of their salaries home and they uphold a strict control over the use of money that they send Ntsoane (2015).

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM

The overall consequence of migrant labour for black people can be summarized in one word, that is 'disadvantaged'. It was disadvantaged in all aspects of life, that is, economically, politically, socially and other aspects (Mazibuko, 2000). The position of the migrant within the family was changing quickly, this is to say that the male migrant was both the head of the household and also a wage earner. A head who was not present for a lengthy period, in his absence the family had to fend for themselves (Walker, 1990). Walker (1990: 193) continues to say, “relationships between the sexes were also in a state of flux”. While the migrant labour system tied the male migrants long term security to his rural home, thereby increasing the importance of the marital relationship to him, the prolonged absence of men from their wives and children strained the emotional and economic bonds holding the family together. This resulted in women who were used to fending for themselves to be less submissive to the authority of their husbands based on their irregular visits at home. This also resulted in the increase of the domestic responsibility of the women as well as their spirit of freedom (Walker, 1990). African families are traditionally patriarchal in nature, regardless of the aforementioned, they still perceive the position of the man as the head of the household. However, because of the migrant labour system, there was a

decline in paternal authority, “which in turn contributes to the disintegration of what refers to as the traditional marital relationship” (Smith, 2001: 539). The persistent absence of fathers and husbands from home leaving behind women to head households and raise their children negatively impacted on the family. When this is linked with the restrictions in terms of the living arrangements of fathers as well as husbands in their workplaces, the inadequate space in hostels resulted in men sharing their rooms with other men (Sidloyi, 2016). Ramphele (1989: 389) argues that “the exclusion of families from the migrant worker's living spaces denied the reality of these spaces”.

The migrant labour system in the short term had an advantage for migrant labours hence it provided them with job opportunities. On the other hand, there were various consequences associated with these jobs. The migrant labour system prevented several migrants from attaining skills in their workplace, as Wilson (1972: 175) argues that “for if a man's contract in a job is for only one year, it will not be worth either his, or the firm' while to invest money and time in training him to become more skilled”. There was also a period when men came back home when they were sick, they returned home to die (Sidloyi, 2016). An overabundance of family forms developed, reflecting the continually shifting living arrangements or cohabitation which was influenced by migrant labour and influx controls. For black men during segregation and apartheid, having multiple partners may have started (objectively) as a means of survival (also as way of socially reproducing themselves in the city), by having access to two family-households – one in the reserves and one in the city (Van Driel, 2012). This is to say that men who were migrant workers were tempted to start intimate relationships with women in urban areas while they were working there.

Van Driel (2012) argues that the dependence of the rural areas on payments for consumption rather than investment, influenced men’s fidelity and their relationships with their family whom they hardly saw during the prime of their lives. This negatively impacted on the nature of black families resulting in fragile relationships as well as marriages. The idea of black men having multiple partners has continued into modern South Africa, hence the experiences associated with ‘absent fathers’ and ‘absent husbands’ (Van Driel, 2012: 111). This was perceived as cultural polygamy by some and deemed acceptable because it was protected by cultural norms; while some others simply considered it promiscuity. The rise of multiple-partner relationships seems to

have been influenced by the material circumstances of living and working under different capitalist governments of accumulation that comprised of migrant labour (Van Driel, 2012).

On the other hand, the migrant labour system increased ‘illegitimate’ children both in the reserves and in towns. Migrant workers' wives were left alone in the rural areas for a year or more at a time. Some of these married women would fall into temptation to be in love with other men. The result of these extramarital relationships was a rise in the births of illegitimate children (Mazibuko, 2000). As Wilson (1972: 182) argues that this led to the breakdown of parental authority. "Any woman knows how difficult it is to bring up children when their father is not around to exercise his authority. Small wonder then that in a society where thousands of women are having to do just that, many children are growing up in a manner deeply disturbed to adults”. The migrant labour system negatively impacted on the men's dignity and self-respect. Wilson (1972: 183) continues to say:

> the men themselves, living as migrants, are degraded by the whole system. For they too, are powerless. How does a man retain his integrity and self-respect in a situation where he is away from home for as much as eleven and a half months in every year far away from his wife, unable to watch or influence his children growing up, struggling to earn money to send home, surrounded only by men in similar positions, tempted by the beer hall which is one of the few places of recreation and finding, when he arrives home once a year to visit his family, that his children regard him as a stranger.

The migrant men could not even build better houses for their families, hence income per household was used mainly for food, clothes and school fees, money to buy building materials was scarce (Mazibuko, 2000). Migrancy has been the fulcrum of South Africa’s political economy which has been based on cheap labour. At the same time migrancy is at the centre of the disintegration of the African family and its value systems. I now turn to the rise of women headed households in SA, to show how grandmothers in the study assumed the different roles of being the heads in their households especially in a township setting, to also show the kind of burden women were faced with when acquiring the position of being the head. Although the migrant men worked in the cities, their wives or partners immediately became the actual heads of the household. The women worked, produced, maintained and were caretakers of the household,

they were also responsible for social tasks and the domestic economy in the absence of their husbands and partners (Bozzoli, 1991).

THE RISE OF WOMEN HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In SA, women-headed households are not a post-apartheid phenomenon, instead they are common amongst SA families (Sidloyi, 2016). In post-apartheid SA, women are still responsible for the aforementioned tasks even in urban areas. This shows that a particular form of social relations existed and continues to exist where women tend to be overburdened with numerous roles and expectations that are placed upon them by society (Sidloyi, 2016).

The absence of the father resulted in critical changes in how the household functions, in particular, changes in women's household responsibilities and their position within the family. In addition to their own work, women were responsible for taking over their husbands' farming responsibilities. In the context of the disadvantaged condition of several rural areas, women found it very challenging to take care of their families (Sidloyi, 2016). Even though their husbands did send them money, they still shouldered the financial burden of poverty. The women who remained in the rural areas became more disregarded and impoverished because of the restrictions in the rural area which were portrayed by the lack of adequate education as well employment opportunities (Sidloyi, 2016). This shows that the grandmothers in the study were heads of households even when their husbands were still alive. They assumed the role of being heads of the households when they were still residing in the rural areas, before moving to Johannesburg, particularly in Diepkloof, Soweto. On the other hand, in instances where the wife of the migrant labourer lived within the background of a larger kinship system, "the members of (family) support networks collaborate in coming up with household survival strategies such as sharing in the responsibility of taking care of the children", this resulted in a situation where two or more mother-child/ren family units form larger woman-headed households" (Sidloyi, 2016: 539). Hoosen and Mafukidze (2014: 20) argue that:

> sites in Soweto for instance the former hostels, monstrous prisons like buildings, were originally designed as single sex accommodation for male migrant workers from rural areas and neighbouring countries while workers who were allowed to live temporary in Soweto were tenants in the houses with 99-year leases.

Such a situation resulted in married men being obliged to live in a "bachelor" barrack, and also becoming an absent father/husband, leaving behind their wives as well as children in rural areas as a way of protecting their property rights (Sidloyi. 2016). Gordon (1981: 61) argues that “the migrant wife is pictured as remaining under her husband's ultimate power and control: although she is left to shoulder an unbearable burden of responsibility for family affairs, and property, particularly fields and livestock”. This is to say that she has limited decision making power, this not only puts the wife in a difficult position, it also adds stress to her life (Mazibuko, 2000).

Women who head households in the absence of the migrant husband made use of power related to the customary sexual division of labour comprising of housework, childcare, cooking for the family, planting and producing, and so forth. This was all within a defined traditional and patriarchal framework (Bozzoli, 1991). Therefore, this is to say that being the head of the household is not a linear process, it does not belong to one person and it has shifted between male and female heads depending on access to work, housing, and relationships (Van Driel, 2012).

Van der Vliet (1991) argues that unlike in the rural areas, the urban women headed household cannot be explained as an effect of the migrant labour system. This is to say that the source of the single women headed households were diverse and comprised of separated and single mothers, divorced, widowed women, as well as those who chose to rear children without the children’s father. However, the growth of women headed households was the reproduction of the growth of urban black household types, besides the nuclear family form. The women who managed the economic unit of the household in urban areas were different to those in the reserves; they were in effect the head of families. These women who now managed the economic unit of the household in urban areas were not waiting for the head of family to return: the roles of head of household and head of family were now merged (Van der Vliet, 1991). My study is important because it shifts the focus to the agency of women in the urban area in contemporary SA. the study will unpack what we see in the context of Diepkloof and how prevalent it was. It will also show how the grandmothers in Diepkloof were affected by this.

THE DILEMMA WOMEN FACE AS HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD

The argument so far has been that the struggle of being a woman who heads a household started during the apartheid regime, hence migrant labour became the prevalent form of labour, and therefore women headed households existed before the democratization of South Africa (Van Driel, 2012). Given their objective locations as black women, they had to undergo the transition of being a wife, to a woman who heads the household. Because of this change, black women's socialization (comprising of their upbringing and nurturing) did not prepare them to become women heading households (Van Driel, 2012). Based on the fact that being in the position of being the head of the household comprises of patriarchal notions, this puts women on a conflicting position. This is because historically, women's social roles were established within a society whereby the relationship between colour, class and gender have been influential forms of poverty and social stratification (Van Driel, 2012). This has meant that black women's social roles comprise of being mothers, caregivers, and nurtures in their homes, communities as well as in their workplaces.

Van Driel (2012) argues that the social roles associated with black women did not prepare them both emotionally and psychologically for being the head of the household or taking upon a leadership position within the family. In general, this is to say that women are groomed to a role as nurtures which does not comprise of exercising the role of control and authority (Van Driel, 2012). It appears as though the problem women are faced with when taking upon the role of being the head is to either find different forms of leadership or to compete with men (Olsson & Walker, 2004). Regardless of the fact that women in South Africa have been heads of the household, their roles have not been only unrecognized, but their lived experiences have been mainly invisible (Van Driel, 2012). Black women's lived experiences are largely affected by their socio-economic status that emanated from the past racial politics in South Africa. This means that the grandmothers in the study who are heads of households especially from a township setting, they frequently have to negotiate their livelihoods on a daily basis while facing the challenging effects of the socio-economic structures that shaped their lived experiences. Sidloyi (2016: 388) argues that it is very important to recognize:

> "the fact that women are not the same; elderly women too are not the same; they are however different and their lived experiences are different too as shaped and influenced by the context within which those women negotiate their livelihoods. Rather than seeing

> the experiences of elder women who are the head of households as multiple jeopardy and/or double-disadvantages it is important to understand the effect that the overlapping of these experiences has on their agency".

This is significant in the SA context because of the increasing number of households that are headed by older women (Sidloyi). The migration of men from rural areas to urban areas opened gaps in the household for women – we can say the same for the townships like Soweto, questions like where are the men in the townships? where did they go? How do the households in Soweto end up being headed by women? This is the gap in literature which has not been explored enough, my study aims to contribute to this literature especially when exploring in depth the life histories of the grandmothers.

CONCLUSION

HIV/AIDS illnesses and deaths, high unemployment and teenage pregnancies, high unemployment are amongst the key aspects that have compelled women specifically older women to head their households in many instances they become the only financial breadwinner. Older women especially in disadvantaged areas in SA such as in Soweto had to intervene and take on the responsibility of taking care of the ill, becoming mothers to their young orphaned children, as well as using their old age grant not only to put food on the table but also to ensure the health needs of their dependents. The aforementioned are some of the challenges and the issues that the research focused on. The grandmother's burden and the dilemma that they are faced with as the only provider in their households in a township setting in Diepkloof through their old age grant will be explored more in the findings chapter.

CHAPTER 5:

CHALLENGES FACED BY GRANDMOTHERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE OLD AGE GRANT

South Africa was the first country in Africa to introduce a government pension as well as having an extensive history as a country with provisions for social welfare. The OAG is the most significant grant made by the state in financial terms (Ncube, 2014). In SA, older people receive a non-contributory state pension every month, paid to them in terms of the Social Assistance Act of 2004, Section 10. Beneficiaries of the OAG receive a monthly payment of R1 860 per month which is made subject to a means test (Ngcobo and Bhengu, 2020). In history, women became eligible at the age of 60 and, until 2008, men at age 65. Between 2008 and 2010, male age-eligibility decreased to age 60 (Ralson, Schatz, Menken, Gomez-Olive and Tollman, 2016). In 2006 the distinction in terms of gender and age was challenged, as it appeared biased, male eligibility for OAG was restricted as well as opposing the right to equality for all which is enshrined in the Constitution (Ncube, 2014).

The differences concerning age and gender challenged the efforts to attain an all-inclusive framework of social protection. The Social Assistance Amendment Act (No. 6 of 2008) was amended to resolve the differences based on gender and age, and male eligibility was reduced from 65 years to 63 years (Government Gazette, 2006). Further amendments were made to the Act in 2008 so that male eligibility could be reduced to 61 years and, following this, equality was reached in 2010 when it was further reduced to 60 years, the same as for females (Government

Gazette, 2006). The standard criterion for the commencement of old age is 60 years, so an older person is defined as anyone who is 60 years of age or older (Stats SA, 2017).

More than four million older people depend on the old age grant paid out by the government (Stats SA, 2018). The government currently provides social assistance in the form of an old-age grant to 3.7 million vulnerable older persons at a current rate of R1 860 per month (Ngcobo and Bhengu, 2020). Even though the GHS Stats SA (2018) did not indicate which grants were being received, the highest percentage of grant beneficiaries was in the Eastern Cape with 59%, followed by the Northern Cape with 57.4%, Free State at 5.7%. Gauteng 30% and the Western Cape 36.7% had less beneficiaries. There remains enormous pressure on grandmothers whose grant money is being used to support unemployed children and grandchildren (Raborife, 2017). Most of these grandmothers were previously disadvantaged by the apartheid system, resulting in them not having a formal education or formal work (most of them being former domestic workers). The pension and grant system have turned out to be very important; regardless of the improvements of political democracy, the majority of poor black South Africans have become poorer since the end of apartheid (Baker, 2000). This emanates from the massive shedding of jobs under the neoliberal Growth with Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy, especially the low skilled, low tech jobs most often held by the poor (Ferguson, 2007).

During the period 2003 to 2015, the old age grant recipients fluctuated between 65% and 70%. After the year 2008, there was an increase; this can be explained by the amendment of the Social Assistance Act in 2008 to decrease the male age-eligibility for a state pension from 65 to 60 years, hence including more men in the state pension beneficiaries (Stats SA, 2017). The amendment was implemented between the years 2009 and 2010; in 2009, the qualifying age was 61, and in 2010 the age was further reduced to 60 (Stats SA, 2017). During this period, the number of older people who were benefitting from the OAG increased by 1.9% (from 67.9% in 2003 to 69.8% in 2015). The figures indicate that the state needs to continue supporting the elderly. Concerning the distribution of the OAG, the number of pension recipients increased between the years 2010 and 2015, and 14.4% of adult people are living in pension-receiving households (Stats SA, 2017).

Scully (2012) argues that "… fact remains that despite the removal of apartheid, individual's reproduction and well-being is not determined solely by their wages, but by the diverse sources of livelihood that their household and broader social networks connect them to" (Scully, 2012, 97). Scully (2012) further states that another source of the reproduction of the workforce that has been forgotten and is covered in the subsidy thesis is the household. The subsidy thesis:

> … was the argument that (Black) wage labourers in South Africa could be paid below the cost of reproduction because their reproduction was subsidized by non-wage forms of income earned by members of their extended households [in the reserves or homelands] (Scully, 2012:93).

Ferguson (2007: 78) describes the everyday life of grandmother-headed households and argues that:

> [I]n this climate, access to pensions and grants has often proved to be the only thing keeping poor households and communities on their feet, as the pension-receiving grandmother has replaced the wage-earning man as the economic centre of gravity in many poor households.

This is to say that the pension grant caters for the household's basic needs for survival, including the needs of those who are unemployed. Ferguson (2007: 78) shows that the target of the social grant in SA is: "… nominally … individuals (based on age, disability or parental status), but it is widely recognized that it ends up supporting not individuals, but rather large multigenerational households". When focusing on the OAG, it is essential to take into consideration how it gets distributed in the households and also the level of coverage so that the state can realise that the subsidy cannot fully cover all the needs that the state fails to provide for its people.

When a grandparent has to take on a parenting role in old age, it brings up many issues as they are expected to deal with the biological changes associated with growing old such as physical deterioration, menopause, reduced income, which are usually associated with retirement and old age (Mokone, 2006). These changes become problematic for the grandparent as a person before adding on the responsibility of taking care of another person. In addition, the generation gap is more profound between grandparents and grandchildren than between parents and children. Thus, older persons cannot rely on past parenting experiences to raise their grandchildren. It is

against this background that it is imperative to study problems that grandparents, especially those who are aged, face in raising grandchildren (Mokone, 2006). A household that is dependent on an old age grant is left destitute when the pensioner passes away (Mosoetsa, 2011).

CHALLENGES FACED BY GRANDMOTHERS

Before SA became a democratic country, most black people worked in low-paying jobs as a means for survival. As a result, they were not able to build good houses and lived out their old age in shelters and shacks because the government pension barely covered their basic needs (Baloyi, 2015). Stats SA (2018) points out that the number of older people in South Africa continues to grow (in 2016, 4.5 million people or 8.1% of the South African population were 60 years and older and the Stats SA midyear report for 2018 revealed that approximately 8.5% or 4.89 million of the population were 60 years and older). Their needs for economic security, access to health and human services, adequate housing and personal safety, continued to require attention. Elderly people suffer as a result of the lack of proper housing or shelter (Baloyi, 2015).

The challenges faced by older people are often neglected and sometimes ignored because not many pastoral givers take an interest in considering their issues as matters of importance. This section will unveil some of the challenges with which these elderly people have to deal.

Poverty and unemployment of the family members burdens the pensioner

Myeza (2010:20) argues that: "there is a general belief that older people's debts will be settled and their children will be self-supporting by the time they retire, leaving them as the sole beneficiaries of the monthly pension". However, in SA, this is not the case, and the majority of the population, specifically black people, still live and retire in poverty (Myeza, 2010). For many grandmothers, unequal employment opportunities and past discriminatory laws forced them to continue working until old age (Lunga, 2009). Bezuidenhout and Fakier (2006:466) argue that: "African women from townships commuted to suburbs to clean houses, rear children and cook food for white families, they were only allowed to do that if they possessed passbooks, signed by their employers." They managed to survive on low-paying, physically strenuous jobs in the informal sector (Lunga, 2009). However, in 1986 as part of a process of removing some apartheid laws, the SA government lifted the requirements to carry passbooks, although the pass law system itself was not revoked at that time.

Unemployment is an undeniable reality for many people, including those who have children and families to look after. As a result, grandmothers who receive the OAG, or any other retirement benefits, find themselves burdened and obligated to take the responsibility of caring for their children and grandchildren (Baloyi, 2015). Legido-Quigley (2003:12) as cited in Baloyi, 2015, argues that, for many families, the OAG is often their only source of income. The grandmother has no other choice but to use the small amount of money to support the family. The OAG is often too small to be an effective measure of poverty eradication, but it is still regarded as the primary source of income to support poor families (Lam, Leibbrandt and Ranchhod, as cited in Baloyi, 2005).

Lombard and Kruger (2009:126) argue that: "… older people sustain their livelihoods by delaying their retirement from economic activity. They remain in the labour force in different ways, including business ownership, casual work, paid domestic work, unpaid family work, or farm work." Most of the grandmothers receive payment from casual work; this is to say that most grandmothers heading households do not have full-time employment. Based on this, it can be concluded that the majority of grandmothers in SA do not enjoy financial and material well-being (Makiwane and Kwizera, 2006). Stats SA (2017) revealed that the primary sources of income for households headed by older persons for the years 2011 and 2015 comprised social grants, wages, salaries and commissions. In urban areas, the majority of grandmother headed households depend on the OAG as their primary source of income (Stats SA, 2017).

Grandmothers are inevitably faced with financial challenges in terms of money and resources for daily use (Mudavanhu, 2008). Grandmothers who are breadwinners usually face a lack of sufficient funds and the resulting financial strains, poor housing and lack of space. The economic challenges are further intensified by the fact that the family the grandmother is head of is bigger than they had anticipated when they were preparing to retire. Moreover, most grandmothers are no longer employed, and for that reason, do not have a reliable source of income (Ngwenyenyi, 2016). Mudavanhu (2008) argues that their unemployment status makes it extremely difficult for them to provide their family members with food, clothes and shelter. Also, due to deteriorating health, grandparents would have difficulty in affording their own medication (Ngwenyenyi,

2016). The responsibility of having to take care of the whole family burdens the already economically strained grandmother

Fatherless children as a burden on the pensioner

Children who have been abandoned by their fathers or whose fathers are deceased often become a burden to take care of and provide with decent education (Baloyi, 2015). Ernest (2003:24) cited in Baloyi (2015), researched the effects of divorce on children globally by identifying a large number of problems that resulted from the separation of parents. In his study, he found that one of the consequences of divorce for many children is that they end up being raised by single parents with inadequate financial support (Baloyi, 2015). On the contrary, there are also children whose fathers have abandoned them by being unfaithful to their mothers; this is often experienced by both adult women and teenage girls. Based on this, where single parents have parents who receive a grant, the grandmother would then try to assist by reducing the burden on his or her child by using the little money she receives as a way of ensuring that her grandchildren are provided with food, shelter, clothing and education (Baloyi, 2005). This means that the grandmother is then responsible for supporting the family financially.

Over the years, research studies have confirmed consistently that the old age pension not only reduces hunger and extreme poverty among older people but also facilitates household access to basic services and economic opportunities (RSA, Minister of Social Development, 2009, Van Wyk and Dlamini, 2018; Legido-Quigley, 2003; Makiwane and Kwizera, 2006). The pension also has a substantial impact on a child's well-being as it enhances school attendance and better nutrition as well as contributing to breaking down intergenerational poverty (RSA, Minister of Social Development, 2009). Nevertheless, despite the positive impact of old-age pensions, the financial hardship of supporting a household forces older people to seek other sources of income. As caregivers, they can, under certain conditions, access additional grants such as the care dependency grant, the disability grant, or the child support grant (Baloyi, 2015).

Health Care Challenges

Older people's health is influenced by their nutritional status, access to medical care, protection against infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and recreation. South Africa has a pluralist medical system, with traditional and western healers operating side-by-side (Darkwa and Mazibuko, 2002). Only a few elderly people have private medical schemes and hence access to

private doctors and hospitals (Chigali et al, 2002). Primary health care is free for all South Africans and, as far as secondary healthcare is concerned, the elderly in receipt of a pension are eligible for free secondary healthcare services at public hospitals, but physical access is uneven as is the quality of the services received. (Lombard and Kruger, 2009).

The Stats SA (2017) report revealed that the three most common health conditions among older people were arthritis, diabetes and high blood pressure. All three were more likely to affect women than men. Most elderly people made use of public health facilities, and only 23% were covered by medical aid. Once again, stark divisions along racial lines were noted. Coverage was the highest for elderly white people (74%) and lowest for black Africans (6%). The most common underlying causes of death among the elderly were diseases of the circulatory and respiratory systems and neoplasms (Stats SA, 2017).

The GHS Stats SA (2017) revealed that life expectancy of women increased in 2002 from 56.6 to 65.1 in 2016, whereas the life expectancy of men was still below 60 years. In 2015, 22.9% of older people in the country were members of medical aid schemes. Medical aid coverage among older people was much higher for whites at 73.5%, accounting for approximately 75% of the coverage share; black Africans had minor coverage with a share of 6% (Stats SA, 2017). Gender inequalities in medical aid coverage among older people have become apparent as males enjoy a higher coverage of 26.4% than females at 20.7%. The figure for older people who made use of the public sector for their health care needs was 67.8% in 2015 (Stats SA, 2017). Stats for 2018 on health care have not yet been released.

Physical challenges

Grandparents are expected to care physically for smaller children, even though they might be weak and frail. Grandparents caring for their orphaned grandchildren describe more limitations in performing daily activities. Further, caregiving stress may result in worsening of health problems (Williamson, 2000) cited in Wood (2011). The grandparents also tend to face the challenge of chronic pains such as back pain. These chronic pains interfere with sleep and daily functioning mobility issues exacerbated by childcare, and the pressure of managing their own medical conditions as well as their grandchildren's. Studies have cited the frequent presence of multiple health problems, such as hypertension and diabetes (Ngwenyenyi, 2014).

Social challenges

Mtshali (2016) state that grandparents may also have difficulties in relating to the young parents of their grandchildren's friends. In school activities, for example, they are often the oldest guardians present. Consequently, custodial grandparents may feel more isolated. Also, it is evident that grandparents face stigmatisation because of the death of their children, especially if they died due to AIDS. Many grandparents believe that there is a stigma attached to the grandparenting role, that they are usually blamed for having to raise their grandchildren, and are in some way responsible for what goes wrong with them (Mtshali, 2016).

It has been argued by Makgato (2010) that grandparents have limited space for accommodation since the orphans add to the number of family members. The fact that grandparents live with the orphans makes small houses over-crowded with limited space to share. This inevitably leads to overcrowded living conditions given the generally tiny houses in which people live in rural areas. Aronson et al (2005) cited in Makgato (2010) states that limited physical space makes it difficult for the grandparents to move around as freely as they wish and lower feelings of control. The limited space in the home takes away privacy from the grandparents. The World Health Organization (WHO) supports this view by stating that accommodation is a major problem in households caring for orphans as there are usually too many people in a house. The WHO (2002) went on to point out that the presence of orphans in the household brings limited space, underlying frustration and disharmony and therefore it is difficult for grandparents to cope in such a limited space (Ngwenyenyi, 2014).

Old people and abused

Older people are now and then physically and emotionally abused by their children or relatives. Brennan and Heiser (2004:57) report that the predominant types of abuse are physical, psychological and financial. Such abuse is often accompanied by neglect in the form of refusal or failure to provide older people with necessities such as food, shelter, clothing, comfort and hygiene. Some families are so poor that they simply have no resources to help elderly people, while others are guilty of deliberate neglect. In some cases, family members say that they find elderly people stubborn and difficult to deal with, while others argue that they receive a pension and so should be able to take care of themselves (Ferreira and Lindgren, 2008). This kind of betrayal and neglect often causes emotional distress for older people and undermines their trust

in young people (Baloyi, 2015). Stats SA (2017) states that between 2011 and 2015, the proportion of older persons living alone increased by 1.4% (from 8.8% to 10.2%). This increase was observed across all provinces, with the exception of the Western Cape, where it dropped by 1.9% (from 12.9% to 11.0%).

Changes in living arrangements and care-giving

Although people receiving pensions in the developed countries are usually self-sufficient, receiving a pension in South Africa does not increase the likelihood of an elderly person living alone. Instead, it is associated with increased household size and changes in the household, with children frequently migrating to the home of the elderly pensioner or pensioners (Ncube, 2014). This is very common in black African communities. In most cases, it is left to the elderly women to assume the role of primary care-giver, as the middle generation is often forced to migrate in search of employment, and some will have been lost owing to the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Ncube, 2014). South Africa's high prevalence of HIV/AIDS resulted in a nation having many elderly and very young people, as a great many people from the middle generation are dying from the pandemic. This has, in turn, led to widespread hunger among the people left behind, making them vulnerable and in great need of social protection. When an application for an Old Age Grant is assessed, the means test is applied to the income of the individual beneficiary and his or her partner, if the applicant is married, but not to the income of the members of their households (Ncube, 2014). This makes conditions extremely difficult for households comprising many members who are solely dependent on the grant as the primary source of income for the whole family. Consequently, there is, at present, only a limited understanding of the dynamics pertaining to the lives of those who receive the OAG and the state of their food security (Ncube, 2014). These challenges reveal that access to the OAG has frequently proved to be the only thing keeping poor households and communities on their feet: "… as the pension-receiving grandmother has replaced the wage-earning man as the economic centre of gravity in many poor households" (Ferguson, 2007: 78).

CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on the old age grant, the grandmother's burden, the increasing role of grandmothers as caregivers as well as the daily challenges that are faced by grandmothers especially those heading households. The next chapter which will be divided into two sections

will explore in-depth the challenges that were highlighted in this chapter, because it will be based on the grandmother's personal experiences. The focus will also be on the impact of the OAG in their households as well as what they encounter and undergo, and how they navigate through the challenges they are faced with.

CHAPTER 6:

THE GRANDMOTHERS OF DIEPKLOOF AND THEIR EVERYDAY STRUGGLES

INTRODUCTION

Black women in their 60s, and even older, in many South African townships are responsible for social reproduction (Van Driel, 2012). Their various roles comprise of being caregivers, childminders, being the breadwinner in their families and households, as well as being the head of women-headed families. In this chapter, I will discuss the role and place of grandmothers in women-headed households in social reproduction in Diepkloof, Soweto. The discussion is

organized around the lives of ten grandmothers who are heads of their families, and who survive on their old age grant as their only source of income for their households. The aim is to describe and explore social reproduction in a black family headed by grandmothers in post-apartheid SA. The aim is to show that the work of social reproduction is still performed by women even in old age, and that the unpaid care work performed by women is still not recognized, but rather it is still labeled as 'women's work'. I will explore the challenges they are faced with such as grandmothers have large families, decision making in the household, lengthy ques to access the grant, grant money ends the same day, health and providing health care to family members, stokvels/burial societies, mashonisa and paying off debts, abuse and crime. I will also focus on what the grandmothers encounter or undergo, their means of survival, the impact the grant has on them and their families, as well as the dynamics involved when it comes to supporting their families through the old age grant as their only source of income, for instance the OAG they receive is stretched extensively to cater for a family that often has no other income, putting strain on the woman who also has to ensure this grant provides for schooling needs.

This chapter is divided in two sections, the first being the life histories and the difficulties that grandmothers were faced with in pre- and post-apartheid SA since they are heads of households; their life histories will also focus on how they grew up; how they became the head in their households; poverty in their households classified into three categories namely coping, declining and improving households; education in their households; as well as changes in the lives of the grandmother. The second section will focus on a much broader analysis of social reproduction where I will focus on their survival strategies as heads of households through the OAG as their only source of income, I will also explore whether grandmothers are facing a burden or they are caring for their families. The reason for this division is because of the theoretical framework of the study which is social reproduction, the work of social reproduction entails the unpaid care work which is done in the household, and on the other hand the study has shown that this unpaid care work is not always done with love or willingly. It is therefore important to explore if the grandmothers feel that they are facing a burden because of the various roles that they are playing or they are willingly taking care of their families with love. This section will focus on the life histories as well as challenges that they have been faced with.

THEME 1: LIFE HISTORIES OF GRANDMOTHERS IN DIEPKLOOF

The Grandmothers were born between 1935 and 1958 and they all went through the full range of the National Party's apartheid legislation and policies. Van Driel (2012:197) argues that "women survived apartheid's harsh repression, oppression and exploitation as women, mothers and workers". Because of Apartheid harsh conditions, the grandmothers were not able to keep their families together or even maintain their children and families. All the grandmothers in the study are beneficiaries of the OAG. Most of them worked as domestic workers; some as child minders, cleaners, and others in retail. Some of the grandmothers indicated that they suffer from high blood pressure and arthritis. With such conditions it means that the grandmothers are physically exhausted; however, they continue to be caregivers of their own children and grandchildren. The purpose of detailing their life stories is to show the daily struggles that grandmothers were faced with as women in pre- and post-apartheid SA especially from a young age, and how they continue to navigate through these challenges even in old age.

During the colonial era, in Swaziland, women's movement was controlled and limited by male dominance which was imposed by colonial officials as well as patriarchy; this was based on the fact that women's labour migration would leave local farmers without labour (Ntsoane, 2015). Nonetheless, as soon as the second decade of the twentieth century, Swazi women participated in migration, starting from rural to urban areas of Swaziland whereas others took part in external migration and they went to places like Nelspruit, Paul Pietersburg, they also went to industrial centers of Piet Retief, Witbank, as well as the Witwatersrand in SA. For some, they participated in cross border migration as a way of running away from customary Swazi customs for instance "the levirate custom, which purports that a woman who had lost a husband through death, was expected to marry the brother of the deceased" (Ntsoane, 2015: 16). The aforementioned are some of the challenge's women are faced with even in SA, below is a story of MaNdlovu and how she had to run away from home to escape traditional customs in Swaziland:

1 was born in Swaziland in 1939, I am the second born, at home we were eight comprising of my mother and father, three sisters and two brothers. Education was not an important aspect for us because me and my sisters we were always encouraged to look after my father's cows, we were taught how to thoroughly know how to clean, cook, fetch water, the general chores which were designed for women so that we can get married and our husbands would take care of us. So that

was my daily life, in grade two I was taken out of school because it was a struggle for my parents to take me to school. When I was 13years, I was told that by the age of 16years I have to get married so that I can no longer be a burden to my family. Unfortunately, my aunt passed away in 1954 and I was only 15years at the time. That very same year I came to Johannesburg because I was running away from an older man that I was supposed to get married to, the reason being this old man was married to my aunt so when my aunt passed away, I was told that I should get married to him. I was then woken up in the early hours in the morning by my father who said that I should run away, I then boarded the first train to Johannesburg. This still makes me sad because after that I never saw my father and my family ever again, I couldn't even go to his funeral. At the time I had cousins in Pimville in Soweto, who came to fetch me at the Johannesburg Park Station because I used the train to come this side. I then stayed in Pimville for years until I met my first husband, we got married and then we moved to Orlando in Soweto. It was difficult for me to find a job because I ended school in grade two. My husband had children so I stayed at home and raised them. I was getting insults from my in-laws because I couldn't have children so when my husband passed away after his funeral, I was told to mourn for him, I did that and then after the cleansing ceremony I was chased away (MaNdlovu, interview, 04 June 2019).

Many women, at the time, left their place of birth, as "a personal choice, fleeing from patriarchal controls hailing from pre-colonial society and the deterioration of rural life under the impact of colonial and apartheid rule" (Walker 1990: 189).

I was born in Eastern Cape in a plaas (farm) called Culmstock in 1940. I did not go to school. All I did was to work on the farm. When I was 16, we were kicked out of the farm. I had to get married so that I could survive, I then moved to another plaas called Groenvlei. One night my husband never came back and I was chased away because as a woman I couldn't stay there alone. I had to leave my 6 children with my mother in pursuit of a job in Johannesburg so that I could work as a domestic worker (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019)

African families were mostly disadvantaged especially those who had been farm workers during the 1970s they were removed from the white owned farms and lived in isolated bantustans during the period of limited access to schools, high unemployment, low levels of education, they

were relocated and deprived of access to land, they were condemned to lasting poverty (Fakier, 2010).

When I moved to Gauteng after running away in Lesotho in 1962, I started working nightshift at a hospital as a cleaner, however I did not have a valid ID because white people wanted us to have them with us all the time. I don't even remember how much I was getting paid because it was too little. At least the standard of living at the time was low so I survived unlike now. My second job I worked at the factory in Faraday, after that I also worked at another factory that deals with knitting jerseys, so I would iron them but still the money was very little, so everywhere I worked the money was very little. (MaZulu, interview, 18 June 2019)

One grandmother was born in Diepkloof (MaSibeko), the rest of the grandmothers were in other provinces (MaSithole, Eastern Cape; MaRadebe, Western Cape) and some as far as Lesotho and Swaziland (Mandlovu and MaVilakazi, Swaziland; MaMkhize and MaZulu, Lesotho)

Their life histories show that they took on any job for survival and those jobs had little or no pay. Because of the imbalances of the past, such as staying on a farm, staying in large households with high levels of poverty, falling pregnant and being forced into marriage at a young age are all the factors that were a barrier for them to even finish school and have a better life. Their life histories also show that they started being the breadwinners a long time ago, even when their parents were still alive.

Surviving abuse at the hands of their husbands

Caritas Internationalis (2010) indicates that the motivation behind women migrating is based on the wish to run away from male-controlled structures thus in many households, men exert authority restricting their freedom, in other instances women use migration as a way of escaping domestic violence as well as abusive marriages, whereas other women migrate to achieve equal opportunities. The grandmothers in the study were also survivors of domestic abuse, these are some of the stories:

I got married at the age of 22, I had my dream wedding which was a white wedding. For 12 years my marriage was perfect, we had enough money to support our family and we were very

happy. My husband would buy clothes and food for my children, and supported us the best way he could. I thought things would stay that way forever but then everything changed when he resigned at the mines. He decided that we go back to Qunu where we were born because at the time, we had relocated to Mpumalanga in Siyabuswa. That's where everything changed, we settled in very well but after some time things changed, my husband was not getting any job and we were not surviving because I was also not working at the time. He got depressed because we were very poor and he could not provide for his children, that is when he started beating me. He would come home drunk and demand food in front of the children, then he would pick a fight and start beating me. One night after beating me and he was fast asleep, I took my kids and we ran away. I went back to my mother and she accepted us but going back home made me feel like a failure. After two months I decided to come to Gauteng and look for a job so that I could support my mother and my children, I worked as a domestic worker in Sandton until I retired. When he passed away, I went back home so that I could mourn him, after my cleansing ceremony I came back to Johannesburg (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019).

Infidelity, especially for those who were married, was an additional problem related to the migrant labor system. Smit (2001) argues that men who migrated urban areas for employment started second families in the cities. Smit (2001: 539) continues to say "so many men .... when in town for long periods of time away from their families, ... have developed new relationships, new commitments, and found it increasingly difficult to save money to send home". The grandmothers in the study stated that the most common consequence of infidelity that was done by their husbands was not only economic (their husbands not supporting their families) but rather the quality of their marital life was disadvantageous and also damaging towards their emotional state.

My husband and I we had children after we got married, before then he had never laid a hand on me but after having our first child, I started experiencing abuse from him. He was a lazy man and I think that he was pressurized by the fact that we were having children so he had to support us since I was not working, he used to work in people's houses as a gardener or plumber sometimes and when he was paid he wouldn't even give me a cent. The only person who used to take care of us was my mother in-law because she didn't approve of how my husband was treating me. He used to beat me even when I was pregnant with our second child, he would come

home drunk and demand food even though he was not giving me money to buy food. He got angry when he wanted us to have a third child because I refused taking into consideration of standard of living. He decided to take a second wife but we were not living in the same household. At the time he was working in Gauteng as a miner in 1974 but he didn't tell me, he pretended as though he was working part time jobs and at times he was without a job, his sister told me about his mining job. I was very hurt because he provided for his wife and neglected me and our children. During that time, he was still abusing me regardless of taking a second wife without my concern. I then decided to look for a job so that I could support my children, I worked as a clerk for some time, I also worked as a child minder and then ended up working as a domestic worker for the very same family. In 2002 I filed for divorce, he begged me not to go through with it but I was tired of his abuse. In 2005 he passed away and that time we had officially divorced (MaMkhize, interview, 07 June 2019).

The issue of abuse shows the daily struggles that the grandmothers have been through especially as women. The issue of abuse also reveals the resistance that grandmothers had from a young age, this also shows that they were strong enough to take care of their families while going through abuse, it also shows how the grandmothers ended up heading households from a wound of being abused by their partners and also being cheated on. Because of the abuse that they faced, it is also the reason why grandmothers chose to migrate and leave their children behind so that they can be able to support their children as well as families. This issue will be explored in-depth below.

Leaving my children behind

7 out of 10 grandmothers stated that they left their children behind in pursuit of employment opportunities, and these children were left with their grandparents, and mostly their grandmothers. They migrated from provinces where they were born and came to Gauteng where they largely worked as domestic workers and child minders. When grandparents assume the role of being the main caregiver, there is inadequate support from family during this transition. The children left behind have to depend on impoverished as well as aging grandparents who are no longer emotionally and financially fit for this responsibility. This results in the grandparents having to assume this role regardless of their inability to do so, which also affects their physical and mental health (Mtshali, 2016). Since the study is on social reproduction, this section shows

that the grandmothers left their social reproduction at the hands of their parents especially their mothers, this is also the same fate they find themselves faced with, hence in the next section of the findings it will show how grandmothers have assumed the role of being mothers again to their grandchildren. It will be indicated that through the care for their grandchildren it is as if they atoning to their children for not spending time with them. As much as my frame of analysis is social reproduction, by focusing on their life histories, I was also trying to understand how the grandmothers perceive the care they provide for their families. So, the past has come to determine how they deal with the present conditions of their families.

When I arrived in Diepkloof in 1982, I worked for Mrs Smith in Kensington, she was very good to me because she allowed me to stay with her while I was working as her domestic worker, so that made me very happy because I couldn't stay with my husband at the Diepkloof hostel. I left my children with my parents in Pretoria-Soshanguve, so I would visit them on some weekends. However, everything changed when Mrs Smith went overseas; I then lost my job. I then worked as a cleaner at Baragwanath hospital, then it was very tough for me because I could not travel from Soshanguve to Diepkloof on a daily basis. I rented a shack in zone 6 just so that I could be closer to work and my husband. But my only worry was my children, even though my parents were good to them, they were too old to take care of them, I feel like I did not play the motherly role that I was supposed to play since I was away from them for most time of their lives (MaNgwenya, interview, 10 June 2019).

Women as migrant workers largely worked as domestic workers, and a lot of these domestic workers are obliged to live-in (living in their employers' premises) because of the absence of adequate housing and strict working conditions made by employers. The domestic workers who reside in their workplaces are not in regular contact with their families (Smit, 2001).

When I came to Gauteng in pursuit of a job in 1958, I left my children in Swaziland, it was a very difficult decision to make but I had to leave them behind because we were living in absolute poverty and I wanted a better life for them. I worked in Lenasia in Johannesburg as a domestic worker, even if I wanted to bring my children with me I couldn't because it was a racially segregated Indian township and they wouldn't have allowed me to stay with them. I was a mother to the three children I was looking after; I would prepare them in the morning for school,

I would make them lunch when they came back, prepare dinner for them, do their laundry, I was doing everything for them. This saddened me because when I was doing all of this for them, who was taking care of my own children? I used to see my children once or twice in a year and at the time there were no cellphones so I could not call them constantly. It was the most difficult time in my life as well as my children's lives (MaVilakazi, interview, 24 June 2019).

Bozzoli (1991), in her study, gives insights about the history of women's migration and how it negatively impacted on their lives. However, the study does not investigate the women's motherhood role and how their choice to migrate was encouraged by this significant part of their lives. It was therefore important in this study to focus on this aspect and how grandmothers felt about their motherhood role towards their own children, especially those who migrated. Smit (2001: 542) argues that in SA children who are living apart from their mothers because of domestic services can be described as "children living in difficult circumstances. Crucial family social and emotional support which acts as a buffer against the hostile not experienced by members of migrant families... (which may even) contribute to delinquency and teenage pregnancy". As indicated, because of this missed opportunity, as a result of the historical tough conditions that the women had to endure, their relationship with the present problems observed in their families, is treated as part of the decisions they took in the past. So, the presence of the past in the families is treated by the elderly as something that requires their care. I do not want to reduce it to survivor's guilt or metaphysical guilt (ala Jaspers, 2001) and that is why I see it as a care for the future generation so that the next generation does not get to live in the tough circumstances of the past. Thus, the care provided, is that of also giving guidance to the next generation in the households they lead. This care is based on the fact that their past cannot be fixed, but the present is now what confronts them, and how they deal with the present, will affect the lives of the next generation.

I came to Johannesburg in 1970, I was 28 years old and I already had two children. For us in Swaziland having children at an early age was not a taboo. I had to leave my children behind because I came here in pursuit of a job because we were living in absolute poverty, so my children couldn't come with me. I worked as a domestic worker my whole life, that means I did not spend enough time with them growing up. Whenever I went home it was very surreal because they wanted to come with me to Johannesburg, they were always afraid that I would never return

home, it made me sad because I was not there to guide them and also teach them about life. My daughter fell pregnant at the age of 15 years, I couldn't blame my parents because I myself wasn't there to play my motherly role, but I didn't blame myself too much because I didn't leave them behind for fun but I left so that I could be able to provide for them (MaZulu, interview, 18 June 2019).

On the other hand, it is not only the grandmother's children who were affected by this separation, the grandmothers themselves largely alluded to this. They also stated that even though their children were left in the care of older people, their wellbeing was important to them. The reason why they migrated was because they were determined to work and provide for their children so that they could have a great future compared to their own. This shows how female migration negatively impacted on the motherhood role of the grandmothers in this study. Female labour migration produced physical separation which resulted in role changes as well as household responsibilities in some families (Ntsoane, 2015).

Living in a hostel

Female migration negatively impacted on marriages because it resulted from physical separation between spouses and the new economic role acquired by women. This new role resulted in adjustments when it comes to women's position of power in their marriage as well as families while they acquire economic independence (Ntsoane, 2015). For some husbands, it was a challenge to adjust to this change, concurrently with the challenge of being physically separated for those whose wives who worked in other countries, in some instances it resulted in divorce (Caritas Internationalis, 2010). The grandmothers stated that their husbands were away for long periods, some would come home once a year, but when they decided to migrate it became a challenge in their marriages because their husbands did not want them to be away from home and they did not want them to be independent.

It was an issue for my husband for me to come to Gauteng because he didn't want me to be independent, he always said he will look after me, however I took this decision because his wages was very little, it could not sustain our family. Already our marriage was strained, it became more strained when I migrated because we hardly spent time together hence we were

always both working, things got better when we moved to Diepkloof in 1980, we managed to fix our marriage (MaZulu, interview, 18 June 2019).

My husband has always worked at the mines, he left me and our children in Eastern Cape and came to Gauteng in 1970. At first it was very difficult for him to adjust because he was always used to being taken care of so living alone was hard for him. So, he would visit often, his migration did not impact on our marriage at that time. However, after three years everything changed, he was no longer the same man, sometimes he wouldn't send us money so it would be difficult for me and my children, sometimes he would only come home during Christmas and leave immediately saying he needs to go back to work, it got worse in 1978 when he did not come home for the whole year. I then decided to go to his workplace because I had the address. I came to Joburg announced because I didn't trust him anymore, I actually made it a habit to visit him announced because I wanted to know the kind of lifestyle he was living. In 1979 I found him with a woman in his room in the hostel, I was very hurt, he chased the woman away and asked for my forgiveness. I then told him to ask for a transfer so that we could go back home in the Eastern Cape but he made several excuses, I then decided to move in with him in the hostel so that he could stop his infidelity (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019).

MaSithole's story is an example of how some women relocated to the men's hostels just so that they could sustain their marriages. Smit (2001) argues that even though policies excluded women and families in hostels, they still moved into hostels, irrespective of sharing a single bed with their husband and sharing a room which had other men living with their families. Even though children do not come with their migrant labour parents to urban areas, and the hostel is no place for children the truth is, since the 1960s there have been children living in migrant labour hostels, where they have had to share a bed with their parents (Smit, 2001). According to Ramphele (1993: 84) the lack of privacy may be "the expression of love and emotional attachment between children and their parents. Constraints may limit the members of the family to function socially as a coherent unit. Children are, for example, forced to spend their time outdoors during the day to allow workers on night shift to sleep during daytime hours". "Noisy children may cause friction and animosity between parents and children, other hostel dwellers and children even the parents of children and other hostel dwellers" (Ramphele, 1993: 59). MaSithole stated that it was

hard living in the hostel especially when she had to fetch her children from Eastern Cape so that they could reside with them:

My mother passed away in 1980, I had no other choice but to fetch my three children because I couldn't leave my children with my father, he is a man and he wouldn't have known how to take care of them. I couldn't leave them with my aunt as well because I didn't want to burden her. After fetching them we all stayed in the hostel and it was very hard because they were not attending school, and they were not living comfortably. Sometimes there were fights between children resulting in us parents having to get involved, sometimes they would have to play outside during the day just so that their father could sleep because he would work nightshift. Things got better when my husband got a house in Diepkloof, we managed to move out of the hostel in 1991 and had our own house (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019).

Hoosen and Mafukidze (2014: 25) argue that during "the 1950s a group of architects at the prestigious University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg proposed to solve the 'native housing problem' by designing a series of matchbox houses whose sterile forms became ubiquitous across the sprawling township landscapes". However, people in the townships especially Soweto, Diepkloof have renovated their houses. On the other hand, Carr (1990: 245) argues that during apartheid:

> the townships were highly controlled bedroom communities, often located at some distance from the 'white city'. Getting to work often involved a long and expensive commute to a job that could be three hours away. Transport was limited to state-owned buses and trains, and the scarcity of commercial development forced many township residents to shop in faraway white-owned centers, or in licensed white-owned or Indian-owned shops dispersed around the townships".

The grandmothers stated that even though they moved to Diepkloof, they still did not have the opportunity to enjoy their freedom. It was better during the weekends because they could go to town and move around, but during the week they had to be indoors because they could be asked for passes. Even though they had their own houses, their husbands were still working in the cities and they were hardly home but it was better because they would come home more often compared to when they had to go back home to their rural families.

Having our own house was the best because it also gave me the opportunity to work and assist my husband. My children were grown when we moved to Diepkloof in 1991, they were able to look after themselves because during the day I was working as a cleaner in Kensington. It was very difficult getting to and from work because of the limited transport but I survived. I was just happy that finally me and my children had a place we called home (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019).

The life histories are a clear reflection of some of the challenges the grandmothers went through as women, even though the theme on how they became heads of households will be explored in-depth below, the life histories have also shown how grandmothers acquired the role of being heads of their households even from a young age, which also impacted on their decision to migrate in pursuit of a job so that they could assist their husbands, and also try to improve the standard of living of their families. Unlike in the literature of social reproduction, where the women play the role of socially reproducing the proletariat and the future proletariat (the children) while being at home and unpaid; in this case we see women also being active in their selling of labour power to assist the household.

THEME 2: BECOMING THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD

There are various paths to becoming the women head in the family. Van Driel (2012: 203) argues that these paths are:

…the product of structural factors, age, history, personal and collective experiences, choice and agency, and a certain level of preparedness both emotionally and psychologically. But despite the particular path taken towards becoming a woman-head of a family, irrespective of the levels of emotional and psychological preparedness, the process of becoming a single-woman-head of a family remains a difficult and traumatic one, and it informs the self-identity of the women as heads of their families.

The grandmothers in the study gave various reasons in terms of how they acquired the position of being the head of the household:

My husband used to abuse me and he loved women, he did not respect me and I loved him so much. When he passed away, I was only 40 years, I could have easily remarried again but because of his actions I despised man, I then decided to raise my children and grow old alone (MaSibeko, interview, 20 June 2019).

I never got married because I was always working from one province to another, as soon as my daughter got sick, I had to stop working and take care of her, unfortunately she passed away and I now look after her children (MaSibiya, interview, 28 June 2019).
My husband got injured in the mines, I cannot remember the year clearly… but when he came back, I had to take care of him, he ended up losing his mind then later on passed away… Till this day we were never compensated for his injury and I have been taking care of my family since then (MaRadebe, interview, 26 June 2019).

The aforementioned are various factors that led to how the grandmothers became the head of the households. Some of the grandmothers had to go and work as early as when they started having children, since they were leaving their children behind with their parents, they had to make it a point that they support their families. During the interviews, what was also common was the fact that they all became head of the households when their husbands worked in the mines, meaning at a very young age whilst they were married. South Africa's migrant labour system comprised of migrant labourers who were adults, single men or husbands, unaccompanied by their wives and children, who left their families behind in the reserves. Secondly, these migrants were contracted to the employer for a restricted period ranging from six months up to a year or two years (Mazibuko, 2000). This is to say that their husbands were migrants, they were earning a wage and also the head of the household, but because they were not present for a lengthy period, the grandmothers automatically became the heads, became decision makers hence they had to fend for themselves and their families.

Growing up I used to picture myself having a good job, I wanted to work so that I could send money to my father and I did not want to get married. However, since I was staying at someone's house, and she would tell me that her adult children are getting married and having kids, as for me I am a barren, and my barrenness will also curse her children to be just like me. After she said that, life was very difficult for me, I was then forced to get married. However, I thank God

because I got married to someone who took me to Diepkloof zone 6, after a while he passed away, he was killed by people. He had four sons, we didn't have a house and at the same time we didn't have children of our own. The way things were so difficult I had to sell the house because he did not finish paying for it before passing away. My conscience did not want me to get married for the second time, but because of the situation I found myself in, I asked the Lord to bless me with a man who didn't have a wife, I did not want to get into a polygamous marriage. Even if he was divorced or widowed it didn't matter… Luckily, I found a man that was divorced, after all these years I managed to have a child with my second husband. The problem is she does not help me with regards to anything. She doesn't care about me as her mother, and this pains me. I clean and cook for her; she just sleeps and won't do or say anything. She has two kids, her ex-boyfriend enrolled her at a school, unfortunately she did not do well, her mother inlaw also did the same thing but this time at a different school but still she did not pass, I don't remember what it is that she was studying for. After her boyfriend paid for the damages, she did not want to stay with him hence he had bought a house. She is just bitter, she doesn't want to find a job, she gets the child support grant for her two children but she doesn't spend the money on them, she uses for herself. I then decided that I cannot let my grandchildren suffer, I look after them with the help of their father, I do everything in that house, even though she gets the grant, I still support my daughter (MaNdlovu, interview, 04 June 2019).

The grandmothers also spoke of HIV/AIDS and living with orphaned grandchildren as heads of the household. The high unemployment rate has also made grandmothers to be the heads. They are the only ones in the household who have a stable income (OAG), their children and extended family members are unemployed, resulting in the OAG being the only source of income for these households and also catering for every family member's needs. What we saw in the previous theme; that as young women, the grandmothers took a decision to go seek employment to aid their family income, and now because of the mentioned socio-economic challenges in the country they are once again called upon to aid their families through the OAG. The grandmothers have not only been performing the unpaid work of social reproduction but they have been carrying their families through the wage and now through the OAG.

My focus on the life histories of these women, the findings also revealing a nuanced understanding of social reproduction instead of only focusing on the household unpaid work, this

work through following the life history of women is showing that the women's contribution to the family has not only been economic nor social; that is why I used the notion of care to look at their role. Walker (1990: 426) argues that "an important aspect of the women's transition is not so much that they make the decision (to live on their own), but that the concrete experience of daily living on their own as woman-heads of families assists in their ideological transition being heads of families". The study shows that the grandmothers may have migrated when they were younger and left their social reproduction at the hands of their mothers, however they did not abandon their motherly roles but they struggled on a daily basis to take care and also provide for their families.

I live with my orphaned grandchildren, I lost two of my daughters because of HIV/AIDS, on the other hand they are fatherless, so I had to take them in. I am all that they have (MaNgwenya, interview, 10 June 2019).

Unemployment in our country is the biggest problem because no one is working in my household, my daughter has certificates but she can't even get job, so they all know that I receive the OAG that is why they stay with me, even extended family members have come to stay with me, my grant caters for everyone in my family (MaSibiya, interview, 28 June 2019)

Van Driel (2012: 353) argues that "in previous (capitalist) regimes of accumulation, for example, under social democracy, the role of the 'income-earner' on the one hand, and the caregiver, immediately and directly involved in the work of social reproduction, on the other, was separated. Within the nuclear family the male tended to work and earn a wage while the role of caregiver was assumed by a woman, a 'housewife', with responsibility for the daily functions of social reproduction, and who remained in the home". The life histories have shown that being the head of the household was associated with being the income earner. In this regard for most of the grandmothers in their families, the head was the husband hence most of them were migrant workers. The husband or male worker who was the wage earner or breadwinner was supported by the family wage; the wage was at a level that was feasible for the husband to sustain his family (Van Driel, 2012). However, in SA capital accumulation did not provide black workers with a family wage, it was only meant for white workers. Because of the absence of a family wage, the grandmothers through their life histories have shown their struggles and also the fact

that the social reproduction of their families in both rural and urban areas was a daily struggle. When the grandmothers took the decision to also migrate or look for a job, they largely worked within the informal sector, this reflected the continuous position of black women as the most unskilled and poorest within the workforce, working in low paying jobs. This is to say that they were not in a position to earn the amount of money that was equivalent to their husbands. Since their wages were very low, they qualified for the OAG hence it is means tested. None of grandmothers ever had any formal benefits from an employer such as the unemployment insurance, provident fund or medical aid. This indicated the precarious nature of their work under apartheid (Van Driel, 2012). Regardless of the aforementioned, they still make it a point to provide support and assistance to their household members.

THEME 3: POVERTY IN THE HOUSEHOLDS

Households move in and out of poverty "according to threats, risks and shocks that they face" (Mosoetsa, 2011: 48). Each of the ten households in the study can be placed in three categories: seven coping households, two declining households, and one improving household. Coping households are vulnerable but they have a few resources and they are also able to meet their basic needs. Declining households are faced with various sources of risk and vulnerability, for instance lack of food and income, health issues to name a few. Improving households are not so much vulnerable, they have resources and assets. However, these categories are not fixed (Mosoetsa, 2011). These categories will give a clear description of the type of household's grandmothers in Diepkloof live in, as well as the challenges they are faced with, and how they navigate through those challenges. All of the grandmothers in the study were beneficiaries of the OAG and they had control over it. However, for most of them grant is transferred to their family members, and this is largely due to the high unemployment rate as well as high level of poverty they found themselves in. The stories of three grandmothers will show how they fit into the three categories mentioned above and also their means for survival.

Coping Household

In the study there were seven coping households. "These are households that are just surviving, meeting their basic needs but unable to move up or out of poverty. Their assets are limited and the threats are deeper" (Mosoetsa, 2011: 170). MaRadebe lives with her unemployed children and grandchildren. She lost her husband in the mines which resulted in her being the

breadwinner since 1985. She is a very sick person suffering from high blood pressure as well as type 1 cancer, because of her sickness she was retrenched because she was always absent from work. She shared her painful story of her daughter (under health and providing health care to family members) who passed away from HIV/AIDS who left behind her two children. They live in a four roomed house; however, the house is now too small to accommodate everyone because she lives with her three children and eight grandchildren, they then decided to add two shacks outside for her two sons so that there could be space. The source of income for the household comprises of the OAG which is the only stable income, her two sons work on a part time basis, during the weekend (packing at PnP Diepkloof Square) which at times they do not work for two following months. Even though sometimes her sons are working, they do not always contribute towards the household, they satisfy their own individual needs, which then becomes a financial strain for the grandmother. The family cannot pay for their electricity bill, they then decided to connect their electricity meters illegally because of insufficient money. Based on the above, this is a household because they are just surviving, meeting their basic needs but they are unable to move up or out of poverty.

Mosoetsa (2011: 171) "while it is possible to celebrate the coping abilities of poor people and acknowledge their means of compensating for the impossibility of their everyday lives", it is also essential to acknowledge the fact that a lot of people are not coping. A growing number of SA households have been identified as declining and they are on the brink of collapsing (Mosoetsa, 2011). MaRadebe's family is no exception it is a declining household, if it wasn't for the grandmothers OAG it would collapse, reason why the grandmothers become worried about how their families would become destitute if they were to pass away.

Declining Households

The study comprised of two declining household. Declining households are households that are deteriorating and sinking more deeper into poverty. These households do not have access to a regular income from employment or state grants (Mosoetsa, 2011). There were two households that were under the category of declining households, however in these households the grandmothers were receiving the old age grant but there was no regular income from employment. MaSithole is raising her orphaned grandchildren even though she does not classify them as orphans, she classifies them as her own kids and that she is all that they have. The

grandmother stated that she lost her job at the factory in 1993 and after that she never worked again. She was a stay-at-home mother who raised her children. She lost her husband in 2000 and lost her eldest daughter in 2001. She used her late husband money to bury her daughter, in 2005 she lost her youngest daughter and son in a car accident. That is how her grandchildren became orphans. Her eldest granddaughter finished school; she has been trying to enroll in varsity/college but because of lack of funding she hasn't been successful. She has tried several times to apply for a child support grant or foster care grant but she is always sent from pillar to post.

It is very difficult for me because sometimes we go to bed hungry especially when my grant money is finished. It would have been better if the father of my grandchildren were assisting me but that is not the case. It is more difficult for me when I am sick because I cannot manage to be sick, who will look after them when I fall asleep? Who will take care of them if I die? I suffer from arthritis, look at my hands they are fractured because of the washing, look at my legs they are always swollen because I only rest at night so I need all the help I can get (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019)

Improving Households

Improving households are not so much vulnerable, they have resources and assets. MaVilakazi was the only grandmother who has an improving household, she has resources and assets, as well as an income. When her second husband passed away, her son provided an income; he has worked as a driver at Rich Products Corporation Africa and has been promoted to being the manager. The company has also compensated her after her husband's death, she managed to save the money and extend her house. She managed to build two outside rooms which she is currently renting out. Because of unemployment and the standard of living in Diepkloof, she decided to rent each room for R600, making it a total of R1 200 per month as her monthly income. Her son is also supporting her financially on a monthly basis. She is also investing in her grandchildren's education because she is taking her two grandchildren to a university and the other one is at a culinary school. She lives in a three-bedroom house, compared to the four-room house that the other grandmothers interviewed live in. She is able to pay her monthly electricity bill and often times saves a little bit of money for emergencies.

The grandmothers stated that their solution to their poverty was employment:

The government needs to do something with our current situation, the need to create jobs especially for our children and grandchildren for the future, they don't know the joy of having a full-time job with benefits, they just know that we depend on my grant, which is not enough for everyone (MaMkhize, interview, 07 June 2019)

During the apartheid era things were much better, there were jobs and our standard of living was not this bad. Today the government cannot even create jobs for us, all they know is corruption, if only our children can get jobs because we are too old to work now, things would get so much better (MaNgwenya. Interview, 10 June 2019)

Mosoetsa (2011) argues that historically households used to depend on the local labour market, however because of financial income, there has been limited development of alternative livelihood activities. Hence, the vulnerability in many households is attached to the changing nature of the labour market comprising of retrenchments, workplace restructuring, unemployment as well as casual or part time work (Mosoetsa, 2011). Based on the nature of households in terms of how they were described above, the OAG does not assist the families to change the cycle of poverty, the grant only alleviates poverty. The grandmothers were amongst the lowest-paid workers resulting in them not being able to accumulate assets as well as resources to support them. Based on their age, illnesses and physical limitations, it is challenging for them to find alternative means of survival (Van Driel, 2012). The grandmothers are also aware of the socio-economic challenges that make it difficult for them to provide care to their growing families.

THEME 4: EDUCATION OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

In the past a woman's education was believed to be a potential barrier to marriage, which was by far the most important social achievement for a young woman. Elderly woman stated that an educated rural girl developed the fear that they would leave their rural homesteads (Hunter, 2014). The grandmothers in the study shared their experiences in terms of why they did not acquire good education:

In Swaziland I went to school up to grade 2, after that my grandmother told me that I had to stay home and cook, clean, fetch water and do other chores… I really enjoyed school and it pained

me not to go to school… at the time we were discouraged not to go to school because after grade 12 a lot of girls wanted to leave and study in places like Gauteng. So, we were always encouraged to be good women so that men can marry us and take good care of us (MaNdlovu, interview, 04 June 2019)

When growing up in our village there was a tendency that a lot of young girls and boys would be taken to work in white owned farms. At the time working in the farms was very fascinating because a lot of girls dropped out of school and left their homes to go work and earn money in the Uitenhage Rural. As a young girl myself I then decided to follow suite, and that's how I started my journey of being a migrant worker in 1962 by leaving my home and going to work in Modderfontein. At that time young girls chose to work rather than go to school. This is one of the decisions that I deeply regret because I wish I took a different route and completed my education because now I see that acquiring education would have given me the opportunity to get a good paying job. Sometimes I look at my friends who remained in school because now they enjoy their old age, they were able to save for retirement and they don't even rely on the OAG, they are retired teachers, nurses and social workers. I always wished to be a nurse, had I finished my education I would have worked as a professional nurse and not as a domestic worker (MaDlamini, interview, 14 June 2019).

For a lot of women, the key to success was seen as education, they imagine their sons as lawyers or doctors, and their daughters as teachers or nurses (Hunter, 2014).

Growing up I wanted to be a teacher, I loved teaching but because of the past, after completing my secondary school, back then after passing what we used to call JC you could study further and do something, when I had to go for teaching, I fell pregnant. Back then you were not allowed to go back to school once you have a baby. Then that's how I suffered, I had to go and work because my child was born in 1971, then the following year in 1972 I started working. I had to go and work because at home the situation was bad, we were very poor and since I was leaving my child in the care of my mother, I had to make it a point that I financially support everyone. After that I started working until I retired in 1989. I started working as a domestic worker, after that I went to work in Aeroton Cash and Carry as a clerk. After that I always worked office work, admin work all the time. The first-time pick n pay was opened I worked there, I also worked at

Checkers doing account administration. All the time we were being retrenched so I would have to look for another job. My last job I worked at the salon as a cleaner during the year 1985-86. When I retired in 1989, I had a child in 1990. So, I had my first child in 1971, second child in 1990, they have a 19-year age gap between them. My second born is unemployed, he is just trouble, I don't know if it's because of the fact that I had him when I was old, he is not completely okay. He was a slow learner, and sometimes he would be hyper maybe he has Autism, now I take care of him because my first born moved to Eastern Cape after finishing his matric to find a job, but since then we lost contact. (MaRadebe, interview, 26 June 2019).

Fakier (2010:58) states that "bantustan households were unable to sustain themselves, and children and adults suffered severe malnutrition, stunted growth and starvation. Opportunities to escape these conditions were limited to leaving households to take up jobs as unskilled or domestic workers, with the little benefit that these jobs entailed"

My children failed me, only my daughters finished their grade 12… my sons on the other hand they did not finish school, they smoked and the other one just decided to leave school because it was hard for him. Because of money I was not able to send my daughter to college or varsity and she couldn't get a bursary so my dream of having an educated child will never come true (MaZulu, interview, 18 June 2019).

On the other hand, for some grandmothers, acquiring an education was no longer seen as a feasible dream because of the lack of money to help their grandchildren to further their studies:

My eldest granddaughter finished her matric in 2016, unfortunately I do not have money to send her to a college or university because my pension money is little. She tried applying for a bursary but has always been unsuccessful. She has then started looking for a job but since then has never found anything, she feels as though her matric certificate has no value and it pains me seeing her in the state she is in (MaDlamini, interview, 14 June 2019).

The grandmothers placed a high value on the education of their grandchildren. They stated that the support of school-age children was the most useful contribution of pension income to their own and their family's wellbeing. This was largely influenced by the fact that they did not have

the opportunity to study and further their dreams and aspirations because of the imbalances of the past, their children were not educated as well, some had matric, so seeing their children and grandchildren being educated would give them the best satisfaction in the world. This is why I made the above argument regarding how the grandmothers see the present; how the present is seen as a moment to help aid the future of their grandchildren to avoid structural issues of the past being repeated. This deep concern for the future is expressed by the fear of what will happen to their family if they die. All is done in the present to ensure that when the inevitable future of meeting death, their family's livelihoods and future is much better. Mosoetsa (2011: 149) argues that:

> …scarce income had a negative effect on education spending. School fees were rarely paid, and often children were often sent home at the end of the year with no report to show whether or not they are proceeding to the next level or not. It was also often the case that at the beginning of each school year many children could not go back to school, before the previous year's fees were paid up.

The grandmothers have more than three grandchildren in their households and they are mostly faced with financial hardship especially at the beginning of the year when they have to buy new uniforms and pay school fees. The grandmother's answers imply that they are the ones who sponsor their grandchildren's education since their parents are unemployed, deceased and also negligent:

I decided to enroll my grandchildren at a private school because I want them to get the best education hence, I failed as a mother to provide that to my own children, because of lack of money… the painful thing is that in these schools they don't understand that I am pensioner and I cannot pay school fees and buy uniform for my three grandchildren at the same time (MaSibeko, interview, 20 June 2019).

On the other hand, the grandmothers stated that they were concerned about who would take care of their grandchildren and also invest in their education if they were to die:

I always look at my grandchildren and wonder what would happen to them if I were to leave this world, I just pray that they finish school because education will give them a better future (MaMkhize, interview, 07 June 2019).
I pay for their transport, school fees, and transport, and I am proud of that because I am all they have, their parents passed away (MaSibiya, interview, 28 June 2019).

Based on such circumstances, sometimes grandmothers chose not to take their grandchildren to school until they had money. Mosoetsa (2011) argues that the scarcity of money has led to the disinvestment on education. This will result in long-term consequences for households and communities, such as the cycle of poverty will continue as short-term decisions for survival become a priority over long-term strategic investment on education.

THEME 5: CHANGE IN THE LIVES OF GRANDMOTHERS

When the grandmothers were busy talking about their life stories and everything that they have been through they kept on alluding to the fact that their lives have changed tremendously since they started receiving the OAG. Many of them stated that because of their working conditions, they did not have pension benefits and they received little money as their wages resulted in them not being able to save money for retirement. This shows the importance of OAG in the lives of the grandmothers as well as their households. The reason could be the fact that the grandmothers are the ones who control their grants and how it should be used. Even though they have control of their grant, the majority of the grant is transferred to their family members, and most of them stated that not even half of the pension money was spent for their own personal use because of the support they provide to other household members. State cash transfers such as the OAG should be considered as transfers to households and not to individual recipients (Tanga, 2008). This is to say that the grandmothers used the OAG as their family source of income and not their own money.

My mother used to suffer a lot because she was not working and she largely depended on my father, pensions were only meant for white people so she never had the privilege of being the old age grant recipient so that pains me… I also never had a stable income and most of the time I was not working, so I had to depend on my husband a lot. Accessing the grant is a blessing for

me because it is the very first time in my life that I am able to receive a stable monthly income (MaVilakazi, interview, 24 June 2019).

The old age grant was normalized so that black people would receive a monthly income like white people. I wish if this was normalized in the past because I know that my mother would have used the money to take care of us, the very same way I am using this money to take care of my children. The money may be little but since I started being a beneficiary, I have never been to bed on an empty stomach unlike before, things have changed for the better because of the grant (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019).

The amount of the pension has for several years been equal to that of a domestic worker's salary. “In the case of women who have never held down a job, the amount may be the largest sum of cash that they ever had at their disposal” (Moller and Sotshongaye, 1996: 14).

CONCLUSION

The life histories of the grandmothers have shown how their lives transitioned from a young age up to old age, how they migrated from their homes to come to Gauteng in pursuit of jobs, how they ended up in Diepkloof and now being the head of their households. The grandmothers have not only been performing the unpaid work of social reproduction but they have been carrying their families through the wage and now they are the breadwinners through the OAG. The burden of the physical reproduction of the future generation was being placed on women in the twilight of their lives. My focus at the life histories of these women, reveals nuanced understanding of social reproduction instead of only focusing on the household unpaid work, this work through following the life history of women is showing that the women’s contribution to the family has not only been economic or social; which is why the notion of care was utilized when focusing on their role. The study shows that the grandmothers may have migrated when they were younger and left their social reproduction at the hands of their mothers, however they did not abandon their motherly roles but they struggled on a daily basis to take care and also provide for their families, this is something that they are still doing. The next section will focus on the survival strategies of the grandmothers through the OAG as the head of households.

CHAPTER 7:

MY HUSBAND, THE SOCIAL GRANT

INTRODUCTION

This is the second section of the findings, it will focus on a much broader analysis of social reproduction, the focus will also be on the survival strategies of the grandmothers as heads of households through the OAG as their only source of income; I will also explore whether grandmothers are facing carrying the social reproduction burden as described by scholars in the field (Bezuidenhout and Fakier, 2006; Mosoetsa, 2011; Van Driel, 2012; Verschuur, 2013; Bhattacharya, 2017) or they are caring for their families. This is not to say this care does not form part of social reproduction as it is apparent in this work. I am merely showing how social reproduction occurs in such families and through care I am revealing a number of concerns that grandmothers are attending to within the household. This is the contribution of this study. In the previous chapter, by walking the reader through their life histories, we saw how through their individual decisions in the past due to socio-economic or structural constraints, the grandmothers are engaging with the presence of the future in their families. Thus, the findings through the exploration of care reveal an axiological stance taken by the grandmothers. That is to say, the role they are playing is for the good of the family and it is an ethical action for the elders to take care of the future generation, no matter the size. At the same time the grandmothers are at an age where they are supposed to be provided with care by their families but the roles are reversed. Due to the socio-economic challenges in the country, the young are the ones which are taken care of by the grandmothers through the OAG. I will now explore the challenges they are faced with, what they encounter or undergo, their means of survival, the impact the grant has on them and their families, as well as the dynamics involved when it comes to supporting their families through the OAG as their only source of income.

THEME 6: CHALLENGES AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

Grandmothers have large families

The first theme that emerged under the challenges and personal experiences was the fact that grandmothers have large families comprising of their own children, grandchildren as well as extended family members who are also unemployed. Throughout the apartheid era, families were affected by numerous legislations, particularly the construction of bantustans as well as the migrant labour system. Townships were not created with the notion of sustaining kinship systems as well as African families, but rather with the notion of making them labour reserves coupled with homelands (Mosoetsa, 2005). Extended families were established and kept strong through labour migration and remittances. Consequently, in SA "there is nothing novel about families coming together to alleviate their poverty, and in fact extended families are the most common traditional form of clustering" (Mosoetsa, 2005:33). Most of the grandmothers in the study indicated that they have large families. Because the households are large, the grandmother's grant is usually finished within three days after collecting it and they end up with nothing. Though, most of the grandmothers did not see it as a problem to have large families, but for one it was a huge challenge because she was living with her orphaned and fatherless children:

I live with ten people in my house plus me which makes it eleven and I don't see it as a problem because we are family, in our culture it is important to stay with family… I just wish that my children could get jobs so that things can be better and we can be able to extend the house (MaSibiya, interview, 28 June 2019)

It's better if you have a small family, but if your family is big, it's very difficult because I lost my two daughters to HIV/AIDS and I stay with their children. I also stay with my two grandchildren who are fatherless so they all depend on me (MaNgwenya, interview, 10 June 2019).

Fakier (2010: 107) argues that "in the South African context of inadequate social provisioning by the state and the retraction of social benefits associated with employment, social reproduction is disembedded from economic production placed on the household". Most vulnerable people tend to move to households where there is a stable income, and those households that have a stable income have a tendency of being overcrowded (Mosoetsa, 2005). Hence, the majority (eight grandmothers) had more than four household members. The grandmothers also had three or four generations living in their households. Mosoetsa (2005) argues that clustering is prompted by the

necessity to have food and income. Also, the absence of good health especially with the rise of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the subsequent intensity of HIV/AIDS orphans, has largely transformed the size and family structure of households. This is also evident in this study hence it will be explored further in the theme of health and providing health care to family members. Grandmothers are the main breadwinners and caretakers in many of these households. Traditional and cultural values are quoted as the reason for taking in extra household members. "In fact, they viewed it as part of their extended parental role" (Mosoetsa, 2005: 134).

I stay with my two daughters and their children because they are not married… my two sons are married but they do not have their own houses so they stay with me. We cook together in big pots, we do everything together… they largely rely on me because they sometimes get piece jobs and most of the time they are not working, so we are a large family but I don't mind staying with them because I cannot chase them away, they are all my children and it is my role responsibility to take care of them (MaMkhize, interview, 07 June 2019)

The increasing size of households in a situation where there is growing unemployment and commodification of crucial services such as electricity and water (as is the case in diepkloof) is not a reasonable solution. Mosoetsa (2005) argues that expanding households with unemployed individuals become a burden on the household and it also weakens the household due to lack of resources. Diepkloof is in an urban area, therefore it is obliged as a township to pay their electricity and water bills. It was obvious that for some families, electricity was the main expenditure for them. On the other hand, electricity was considered a huge cost that was taken for granted in more than half of the households, but it was still included on their to do lists.

The electricity meters are too expensive, if I did not find guys to bridge (connect illegally) the electricity for me, I wouldn't have survived, but I still pay my electricity bill and also the house rent, for water I don't pay anymore because I also bridged (MaZulu, interview, 18 June 2019).

I always make it a point to buy basic needs such as mealie meal, flour and oil so that they can last for the whole month. I sometimes do not pay my electricity bill because after spending I am left with nothing (MaSibeko, interview, 20 June 2019)

As indicated in the previous chapter that grandmothers are terrified of the fact that their families would be destitute if they were to die and their pensions were no longer paid out. They alluded to the fact that it would make them happy if they could save money on a monthly basis, but due to the fact that they have large families their circumstances do not allow them:

At least I make it a point to pay my burial society as well as funeral cover whenever I receive my grant, so even if I die today my children will be able to bury me, but my biggest concern is how will they survive without my grant. If only the government can create jobs it would be better because my family would suffer without my grant (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019).

The size of the households that grandmothers stay in indicates a "considerable burden of care that – in terms of the dominant gender order – fall upon the women members" (Fakier, 2010: 76). Given the willingness of the beneficiaries, who are already close to the poverty line, to share in the extra burden of accepting orphans, grandchildren and extended family members into their households is a testimony to the continuing strengths of the welfare safety-nets that families are able to provide (Tanga, 2008).

The grandmothers had different compositions when it comes to their family members. MaNgwenya, MaSibiya and MaMkhize their households are multigenerational families. MaZulu's household was a skip-generational household, the middle generation was missing hence she also resides with her orphaned and fatherless grandchildren. The fact that most of the grandmothers in the study have large families points out that within the women headed households the woman is a caregiver and a breadwinner. This has increased "the levels of stress in the woman-headed family, and the family-head now has to confront the difficulties of finding work in a difficult labour market, and to also deal with the difficulties of the daily functions of social reproduction. Fundamentally, this is the meaning of the concept of the crisis of social reproduction" (Van Driel, 2012: 354-355). The grandmothers were old and could not find alternative means for survival (such as finding a job) therefore they shouldered the burden of social reproduction through their old age grant (as the only income earner) as well as taking care of their families on a daily basis.

Decision making in the household

Since the grandmothers in the study are the heads of households, and the OAG was the only source of income for all of them, their typical response was "I do everything", "I make all the decisions with regards to how the money is spent" as well as "I pay for everything". Most of the grandmothers stated that they use the money to buy food for the families, clothes, pay school fees, electricity, rent, debts, stokvels, health care and burial societies. It is therefore important to note that the OAG is progressively the only source of income for pensioners who also socio-economically care for their children, grandchildren as well as other family members who reside with them (Tangwe and Gutura, 2013). The following are examples of how the grant money is spent:

Before I collect my grant money, I already know what should be done, so every decision that I make is according to what should be done in the house (MaVilakazi, interview, 24 June 2019).

I pay for everything and also provide for my grandchild because my money is the only source of income in the household, my daughter receives the child support grant for her 8year old daughter, but she doesn't contribute anything towards the household, the money is used for herself only (MaDlamini)

There is a shop that I pay R100 every month for the whole year so that at the end of the year in December I can get groceries. Following that I go to Roots Butchery at Diepkloof square, I also pay R100 so that in December I can get meat. So, every month regardless of debts I might have, the R200 is a must for me to pay (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019).

Women headed households are also classified by the variability of its composition. It is different from the nuclear family in the sense that the composition is unchanging and predictable, whereas women headed families experience persistent change. Existing members leave the family, whereas new members join the family with the result that the limitations of this family form are continuously changing (Van Driel, 2012). The grandmothers alluded to the fact that because of unemployment and poverty, their own children are constantly migrating to other provinces in search of employment opportunities. On the other hand, their extended family members come

and stay with them especially when they want a job at Dipkloof Square (shopping centre). This negatively impacts on their decision making as the head because the constant changing size of the family means that they have to constantly change their decision making in terms of how their grant money is spent (hence the family members are not working, even those who come and look for a job). This tendency results in the reversal of "traditional family roles for grandparents since they become the sole breadwinners in many African households. As a growing phenomenon it has challenged the traditional view that older people represent a burden to younger family members" (Mtshali, 2016: 371). The younger generation is the one that is being the burden to older people in African families. This is to say that the "traditional household arrangements that accommodated the integration and care of older people are gone, and in place, new residential arrangements and roles for older people are emerging that include those who are primary breadwinners in different types of households" Mtshali, 2016: 371). However, the situation of older people providing care to their children and grandchildren is not a new phenomenon in SA as indicated in chapter 6, he grandmothers of Diepkloof and their everyday struggles

My daughter migrated to the Western Cape since 2013, she has been working there for almost 6 years now but she does not consider taking her children with her, sometimes she doesn't send us any money because she complaints of rent and not having a full time job, my grandchildren rely on me, sometimes she does send their grant money, sometimes she doesn't… she had another child that she is currently staying with in the Western Cape, she always makes excuses about the child when she doesn't send us money (MaSibiya, interview, 28 June 2019).

Fakier (2010: 88) argues that "the burden of care of migrant workers adds to the responsibilities of remaining members in households struggling to cope with the crisis of social reproduction. Migrant workers leave behind care responsibilities of their children, spouses and parents. These responsibilities are taken up by those members who remain in the household. Yet, these households have little recourse to public support for their care needs". Based on the above quote, this results in the traditional family roles being reversed as older people take the responsibility for the psychosocial as well as physical needs of their grandchildren, instead of being taken care of, they are the ones who are providing the care (Mtshali, 2016).

Lengthy queues to access the grant

This section speaks to the lengthy queues to access grants. It is very important section because it reflects the first struggle that grandmothers are faced with when it comes to accessing their grant. The grandmothers have no choice but to endure the lengthy queues because of the change in the manner in which grants are being paid out. At the time of data collection, grandmothers were no longer collecting their grant money at the Diepkloof Welfare Centre, the system had changed and grandmothers had to either collect their grant money at Pick n Pay or the Diepkloof Post Office which are both located at Diepkloof Square. Most of the grandmothers complained of having to wake up very early and being at Diepkloof Square from 05h00 in the morning to collect their OAG.

It was very easy at the Diepkloof Welfare Centre… I did not have to wake up very early, there were a lot of stalls, and I could buy myself clothes even for my grandchildren as well as groceries, but now I need to do everything at Diepkloof Square which can take the whole day or even two days (MaNdlovu, interview, 04 June 2019).

SASSA terminated its contract with the Cash Payment Services (CPS) in 2017; it then signed a new contract with the South African Post Office (SAPO) to take over the system in 2018. As a result, 8 086 pay points that were assigned for the collection of social grants have been closed down. SASSA recipients now go to the post office, retailers as well as ATMs to collect their social grants (Yauger, 2019). Another issue is that older people have to wait in long queues without shelter, proper seating, without water or even having the access to go to the toilet. One grandmother stated that:

> *I now have to use the bathroom when I go back home after collecting my grant because I once left the queue and went to the toilets at (Diepkloof) square, when I came back I lost my spot in the queue because everyone forgot that I was in the queue I had to go to the end of the queue. I then decided to go back home because I was so sad because I had waited for several hours, I couldn't do it again, so I went back the next day* (MaZulu, interview, 18 June 2019).

When one explores how the SA grant system works, it has changed from the one that was designed for grant recipients, to the one in which they join existing public queues. In March 2019, SASSA released a progress report, issues of proper seating arrangements as well as long queues are some of the things that they are working on and will be fulfilled over a period of time as they will be evaluated and monitored as well (Yaunger, 2019). To show that this has not been done since March 2019, City Press released an article on the 17th February 2020 stating that Post Office bleeds R60m a month due to distribution of social grants (Mashego, 2020). In the article it was clearly stated that SAPO is running at a loss, alongside accusations of misconduct, the money for grant recipients hangs in the balance (Mashego, 2020). This situation is so severe to the point that the SAPO is of view of closing cash pay points throughout the country. It has been projected by SAPO insiders that for every R100 they obtained from the agreement to deliver social grants on behalf of SASSA, it was spending R500 more. However, regardless of this, grant recipients get their money on time (Mashego, 2020). However, in a shared statement, SAPO and SASSA denied "running at a loss", saying that this R60m was standard procedure and the cost is related to a number of things but mostly security associated with transporting that amount of money across the country (Mntambo, 2020). The acting CEO Ivumile Nongongo stated that the SASSA is a national project, they are shifting a lot of money into various SAPO branches therefore they need all the security they can get from the cash in transit vehicles. Nongongo stated that it is a massive task to pay social grants on a monthly basis and to make sure that money is received in the various branches, she continued to say they are working with the SA Police Service as well as other intelligent agencies as a way to end these challenges. They will continue to pay social grants on time hence millions of South Africans rely on the grants (Mntambo, 2020).

Yaunger (2019) argues that it is more costly to collect social grants through retail outlets and ATMs. In retail outlets, beneficiaries can only withdraw their money if the shops had acquired cash first thing in the morning. If not, they can only withdraw a portion of their grant resulting in them having to go back the next day. This results in service fee for additional withdrawal. On the other hand, in rural areas beneficiaries spend 6% of their grants on fees as well as travelling for access. With regards to ATMs, in 2019 Nedbank has a R5.50 withdrawal charge, and a R14 service fees, whereas Capitec has a R6 withdrawal charge, and a R5 service charge (Yaunger, 2019). The aforementioned is a reflection of the fact that the transition of the payment method

especially the post office does not have facilities to supply social grants in large, it is also a huge concern because if this persists, it will affect the payments of grants, resulting in many beneficiaries not getting their grant money on time. The closure of SASSA pay points has resulted in physical as well as financial burden for the grandmothers. These are some of the things that SASSA needs to focus on when improving on their new system.

Grant money ends the very same day

In SA, the OAG is a significant safety net for older people and their households since it provides a stable and reliable source of income. As indicated that although the OAG was designed to support older people as individuals, in most of the developing countries where it has been introduced, it has become a source of income for household members (Tanga, 2008). Nearly all grandmothers stated that the old age grant was not enough because it ends before all their basic needs were met. They also highlighted the fact that their grant was insufficient to meet their basic needs as well as their family's basic needs.

Someone might think R1 780 is a lot of money, it is actually not, I get it today, same day it is finished because I have to buy food and take care of my eight dependents (MaMkhize, 07 June 2019).

On the other hand, grandmothers were appreciative of the compassion that the government has shown towards them by providing them with the old age grant as a way to take care of their wellbeing:

I always hear some pensioners complaining when we go and collect our grant that the money is little, but honestly there is nothing to complain about because this money is a gift to us, we don't work for it we just get it so I am grateful (MaSibeko, interview, 20 June 2019).
Even though the money is little and I am not satisfied with it, I am thankful because the government makes sure that we get money every month (MaNgwenya, interview, 10 June 2019).

We are poor people; without the grant we wouldn't survive… I wouldn't know what to eat, my children are not working, no one in the family is working so I am grateful for the grant but the government needs to increase it (MaZulu, interview, 18 June 2019).

Before the Minister of Finance Tito Mboweni delivered his budget speech for 2020, the elderly staged a sit in outside the Department of Finance in Church Square, Pretoria. They travelled from Tembisa, Vaal and as far as KZN to join hands with the elderly in Tshwane as a way of persuading the government to increase their OAG from R 1 780 to R2 500, and to also give them a 13th cheque every year (Pretoria News, 2020). They raised various points as to why the wanted an increase in their pension such as: they stated that their pension was not enough to survive with the inflation rate, and that exposed them to poverty. They had banners that encouraged the government to bail out gogos by taxing the rich; they specified that they were tired of eating beans, chicken feet and atchar as a way of stretching out their pension money for the whole month; they also alluded to the fact that even if they wanted to work they couldn't because of their age (Pretoria News, 2020). The organizer of the campaign Noxolo Mfocwa of Amandla Mobi stated that the movement was started by older people in Pietermaritzburg in KZN but then it has increased nationwide. She also stated that the memorandum that they came to submit at Church Square had over 51 000 signatures of people who support their movement. Noxolo stated that the elderly take care of a lot of children as well as grandchildren who cannot find employment in the country; when the unemployed youth want to print their CVs and go to interviews, older people pay for that; when clinics don't have medication they take it from their grant money (Pretoria News, 2020). These are some of the reasons that grandmothers in the study alluded to in terms of how they spend their grant money.

The movement was started in 2018 by Pietermaritzburg pensioners which is called Pietermaritzburg Pensioners Forum, who went to strengthen their petition for Christmas bonuses to the national Parliament. They decided to go to Cape Town because they felt that the government was ignoring them and they were invisible (Khanyile, 2018). They stated that with their grant of R1 700 means that they continue to live in poverty, some stated that they live with their grandchildren whom they look after, they can only buy necessities such as maize meal, sugar and beans. On the other hand, they have to pay for water and electricity, the cost of living for them is too much and they cannot continue to live like this (Khanyile, 2018). The reason why they wanted a 13th cheque was because December and January are challenging months for them, so having a bonus would assist them a lot in dealing with some of the burdens of extra expenses in December, so that they can be in a better position financially in January and for the school

year. Grandmothers have not backed down from demanding the 13th cheque, even though it was not included in the 2019 budget speech they are still continuing with their fight. Unfortunately, the 2020 grant was only increased by R80. For the 2020 budget speech, Finance Minister Tito Mboweni announced an increase in social grants for up to R309 billion (Ngcobo and Bhengu, 2020). Grant beneficiaries were not happy with the increase, they stated that they can barely survive with the R1 780, so increasing it with R80 is absolutely nothing. But for some grandmothers stated that every extra money assists them, they stated that because they are not working, even if it was increased by R10, they would have accepted it because no one can give you R1 860 for free (Ngcobo and Bhengu, 2020).

The female heads:

> are different to male-heads in the choices that they make as family-heads. The woman-heads' approach to their role in social reproduction is different to male heads, they reorganize the way in which social reproduction occurs in their homes at the general and specific levels. For instance, the reproduction of material life was implemented in a relatively egalitarian manner, in support of all their children, and all children were treated with equity (Van Driel, 2012: 356).

The above-mentioned themes (having large families, decision making in the household, lengthy queues to access the grant and grant money ends the very same day) shows that grandmothers are treating their family members equally regardless of the person's age. For example, they support their own children as well as grandchildren, the grandmothers make it a point that they receive clothes, food and they also pay for their grandchildren's education. Regardless of the low income as well as tough conditions that they find themselves in, everyone's needs in the family is fairly provided for, often times on a rotating basis because of limited resources.

Health and providing health care to family members

Older people in underprivileged as well as township communities play a significant role in sustaining the health and well-being of their children, family and communities. They endure their role regardless of emotional and physical distress as well as imposed-health functional limitations. Health services could be restructured to support their contributory roles and therefore enhance their health and wellbeing as well as that of their family and communities (Tangwe and

Gutura, 2013). The findings in this study revealed that the stereotypical role of older people being care recipients is reversed, they have become care providers. The grandmothers in this study play a significant role towards the wellbeing of their family members, however when playing this significant role, their own health and wellbeing is affected. Health was a major expense for the grandmothers, it is anticipated that older people experience health related problems as they get old. Poverty, malnutrition as well as poor access to medical services were also factors that negatively impact on the grandmother's health. Even though they access the OAG, several grandmothers stated that it was too costly to address their health needs, for some they were grateful for the grant because they could use it to go to the doctor:

It pains me because I cannot go outside and play with my grandchildren like I used to before, my legs ache, I have diabetes and high blood pressure… look at my hands, I also have arthritis and on the other hand I use my hands to do the washing, I no longer go to the Diepkloof clinic because all the time they say they don't have medication (MaRadebe, interview, 26 June 2019).

I always go to the Zulu sangoma when I am very sick, I sometimes pay as little as R20 just to get assistance because going to the doctor is very costly and I cannot use my grant because you find that sometimes it is already finished… and at the clinic, they are always short of medication, sometimes they refer us to Koos (Lillian Ngoyi clinic) at zone 6, when we get there they tell us that they need to save the medication for more serious health related issues, so I trust the sangoma because she once assisted my daughter when she was very sick (MaMkhize, 07 June 2019).
It helps me because If I get sick 1 go to the doctor using my pension money and I get well quickly (MaNdlovu, interview, 04 June 2019).

Another concern that the grandmothers alluded to was the fact that when they are not well, they cannot take care of themselves, meaning that they cannot take care of their families. Being the breadwinner in the household has made them to become conscious of their health and what they eat:

I cannot afford to be sick because I am all they have… so I try to eat healthy and also go to the clinic as often as I can (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019).

I prefer to do things myself because I don't want to be a burden… I have 3 boys, I don't have a girl child, when I got sick last year I remember how difficult it was for them because they don't know how to care of a sick woman, if only I had a girl child it was going to be much better (MaSibeko, interview, 20 June 2019).

Caring for their grandchildren and their family members is a huge challenge. This massive responsibility is often shouldered by older people, who in several cases are sick and are not financially adequate to take on such a role (Phetlhu and Watson, 2014). This role reversal creates stress for grandmothers when they become caregivers. Older people have poor health themselves and they are physically frail, this role can also negatively impact the daily functioning of the family (Mtshali, 2016). Grandparents who become caregivers often experience "higher rates of depression, poor health, psychological stress, anxiety, diabetes, hypertension, insomnia, and limitations with activities of daily living than their non-caregiving peers" when they shouldered time consuming roles (Mtshali, 2016: 373). Older people in SA are overwhelmed by non-communicable diseases such as high blood pressure, diabetes hypertension and stroke. Phethlu and Watson (2014) indicate that older people from time to time experience a higher level of stress due to overcrowding in their living space, particularly when they reside in a smaller space. This is also the case for the grandmothers in the study hence they largely spoke of these challenges in the above quotes.

The self-sacrifice of the grandmothers, putting the needs of their families above their own is remarkable. Another challenge which is noteworthy is the growing socio-economic burden on the older person's grant which arises from the HIV/AIDS pandemic, because of the continuously growing cost of social insurance as well as social assistance (Tangwe and Gutura, 2013). HIV/AIDS increases the older person's socio-economic responsibilities by extending psychological and economic care to their unemployed children, orphaned grandchildren as well as their family members. HIV/AIDS continues to intensify the dependence of households in the OAG. The grant, which is meant to support and assist older people, may perhaps be inadequate to sustain households with several members, many of whom are still of school age (Mtshali, 2016). The "loss of income and support previously provided by those who become sick or are lost to AIDS, older women's pensions play a potentially crucial role in multi-generational

households during crises and for day-to-day subsistence" (Schatz and Ogunmefun, 2007: 14). The OAG is considered as the key financial factor to endure a sense of normality in daily life. The grandmothers use their grant to clothe, feed, and provide shelter for their families. This is to say that older people cannot fully experience the benefits of their OAG. Grandmothers described caring for their sick adult children comprising of various activities as well as financial responsibilities. They comprise of bathing, feeding, washing their clothes and blankets, as well as traveling with the sick person to the clinic, hospital, private doctor and traditional healer to receive care and their treatment:

When my son was very sick, he probably had AIDS, he was too afraid to tell me what was wrong… I used to wake up very early in the morning and boil water for him to bath, I would then cook soft porridge for him for breakfast and also cook soft food for him because he couldn't eat solid food anymore, it was really painful seeing my son in that state (MaDlamini, interview, 14 June 2019).

Money was a huge challenge for some grandmothers based on the cost of taking care of their sick children who had HIV/AIDS:

It was very difficult in terms of money because I had to move my daughter up and down to clinics and hospitals, I had to hire a car so that she could go to the to the hospital because she couldn't walk properly anymore. I sometimes borrowed from my neighbours to send her to the hospital…. I am still in pain even today because I suffered a lot when my daughter was sick in terms of transport and also buying her food to boost her immune system but still, she passed away (MaRadebe, interview, 26 June 2019)

Even though her daughter passed away at the Diepkloof Hospice, she still played an important role in taking care of her because she made it a point to visit her every day during her last days and also bathing and feeding her. Grandmothers are not only affected by HIV/AIDS, as the main caregivers for their sick adult children as well as orphaned grandchildren, they are also in a way abused by their own grandchildren through neglect and absconding, "they are used to taking care of grandchildren without the support of the parents, and the money transferred to them for their own needs is used up by their own children. The grant thereby becomes inadequate to satisfy

their needs" (Tangwe and Gutura, 2013: 633). A lot of grandmothers stated that their adult children were not living with them in the household, however when they became ill, they were brought home for care. Grandmothers also alluded to the fact that caregiving is a mother's responsibility. This is to say that the HIV/AIDS pandemic is gendered; there is also the demand on women's time and resources as they form the majority of care givers (Fakier, 2010).

In our culture, any child who becomes sick while their parent is still alive, the mother must take care of him or her (MaSibeko, interview, 20 June 2019).

My daughter in-law did not properly take care of my ill son; I was forced to take over the responsibility of taking care of him. They also live in Soweto but in Pimville. When I went to visit him, I found him alone in the house, he was coughing very badly and he was very thin. I took him home with me, he told me that he tested positive for HIV, I then took care of him, now he is better and the wife came to fetch him, I know that if he can fall sick again he will be my responsibility and she will run away (MaSibiya, interview, 28 June 2019).

Grandmothers in the study also largely spoke of raising their fatherless grandchildren and also their grandchildren who lost their parents due to HIV/AIDS. In SA, older people reside in multi-generational households become caretakers of the sick, of the children of the sick and of the orphaned (Schatz and Schatz, 2007). Grandparents are increasingly becoming the primary care givers of grandchildren infected or affected by the HIV/AIDS (Mtshali, 2016). The grandmothers alluded to the fact that their daughters who are single parents are not working and some of them use the child support grant for their own needs and not for their children's needs. Therefore, the grandmothers try to assist by using their OAG in making sure that their grandchildren have food, clothing and also receive an education.

I use my grant money to take care of my grandchildren because when my daughter broke up with the father of her child, she was very depressed and I had to admit her to an institution so that she could recover, after that she started resenting my grandson so I saw that it was important for me to love my grandson as if he were my own (MaDlamini, interview, 14 June 2019).

With regards to their orphaned grandchildren they do not regard them as orphans because they have taken the role of being a parent and providing them with love:

My daughter left behind three kids, so it is my responsibility to look after them. They have different fathers and they all denied their paternity to these children. I cannot send them to a welfare center because I am all they have and to me they are not orphans they are my grandchildren… I just pray that God blesses me with many years so that I can see them grow old (MaRadebe, interview, 26 June 2019).

Based on the aforementioned, the issue of care should be noted. As defined earlier, care comprises of "the work of looking after the physical, psychological, emotional and developmental needs of one or more other people. In an attempt to provide the definition to diffuse activities involved in caring for others, the term unpaid care work refers to direct and indirect care activities such as care of family members and housework (Fakier, 2010: 107-108). This study has shown that older people are caring for the sick, the dying and the children orphaned or made vulnerable by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. "In both the rural and urban areas, older women are at the front of providing care to orphans. including a good proportion of older men. This reflects more traditional gender roles, with women typically taking on caring and domestic roles while men assume responsibility for income generation" (Mtshali, 2016: 371). Older people are providing social, economic, and psychological care, as well as support for their orphaned and fatherless grandchildren with very little resources with no assistance and no gratitude (Nhongo, 2004). Through inadequate resources and limited support, older people are not well prepared to occupy this level of caregiving; hence emotional consequences such as sadness, stress, being worried as well as tension, are unavoidable (Mtshali, 2016). The findings of the study have largely revealed and will keep on revealing the type of care work that grandmothers provide towards housework as well as their families.

Stokvel/Burial Societies

South Africa constitutes of extreme poverty, high levels of unemployment and inequality which is approximately 49,2% of the adult population who live below the upper bound of poverty line (Stats SA, 2018). This makes the poor rely on support provided by community-based initiatives as part of their strategy to survive. Stokvels are among the major poverty alleviation strategies

that have been practiced by black South Africans for many years (Matuku and Kaseke, 2014). A stokvel can be described as "an informal group saving scheme in which members voluntarily agree to contribute a fixed amount to a common pool on a regular basis, which can be weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis" (Matuku and Kaseke, 2014: 504). Even though stokvels are very widespread in SA, "no official recognition is given to this vital savings mechanism in official statistics, which contributes to an underestimation of the importance of these organizations both as saving institutions and as mechanisms of poverty alleviation and social advancement" (Matuku and Kaseke, 2014: 504). A lot of grandmothers in the study stated that they were part of a stokvel or burial societies. The reason why they joined stokvels was to supplement their income from their grant. Many of them stated that they joined stokvels when their husbands/partners were still around:

It was always difficult for me to have money because I was unemployed since my husband was the only one working and he was earning little. It was even worse when he was coming home for Christmas because at the time he was not even getting a bonus, we could not afford to buy food and clothes for our children, and when they had to return to school in January we had to spend more, after joining the stokvel it became better because even when he passed away the burial society assisted me with the funeral, now I use my grant money to pay my monthly contributions (MaNgwenya, interview, 10 June 2019).

Savings and credit-co-operatives, village banks, burial societies as well as stokvels all symbolize the financial system in the majority of communities nationwide (Nyandoro, 2018). Nyandoro (2018:184) continues to say "for instance, there are R800 000 stokvels, burial societies and ROSCAs or Accumulating Savings and Credit Associations (ASCAs) in SA with R8,25 million adult members and accounting for approximately R400 million in monthly savings". One grandmother stated that being part of the stokvel has given her the opportunity to save a little on a monthly basis, which has resulted on her being able to extend her house:

My son sends me money on a monthly basis, so I used that money as savings for my stokvel. I was able to extend my house and add extra two rooms because I stay with my grandchildren, the rooms are finished, now I am saving for tiles and curtains that I want to buy, I am so happy because I never thought I would finish building them (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019).

Another factor that the grandmothers spoke about a lot was the burial societies/stokvel. The Grandmothers in the study alluded to the fact that they started burial stokvels because of the challenges they were confronted with when faced with death. The burial stokvel provide them with mutual support especially in times of need.

The burial stokvel has supported me a lot because I ran away from home to come to Johannesburg, so when I buried my husband, my family from Lesotho did not come and the stokvel ladies were my source of support (MaNdlovu, interview, 04 June 2019).

On the other hand it is not easy for them to be part of a stokvel(s) because sometimes they have to miss payments for certain months due to the challenges that might arise in a certain month, such as health care, paying school fees/school transport or school trips, paying off debts, having to buy more groceries or clothes, to name a few. It becomes more of a challenge because when one misses payment, they would need to pay double the following month, which negatively affects their plans and not being able to do everything that they were supposed to do for that specific month:

Sometimes it is difficult to pay for my burial or grocery stokvel especially when a lot of needs arise in a certain month, like having to pay for my granddaughters transport or school trip I would have to skip payment for that month which becomes a problem the following month because I have to pay double (MaSibeko, interview, 20 June 2019).

The findings of the study confirm the argument that women participate in stokvels because the Van Driel (2012: 357) argues that "nothing just happens to the woman-heads passively, and even though emergencies arose, the women tend to respond collectively, drawing on their social network, which although informal, contains within it the underlying perspective of a more socialized response to key aspects of social reproduction such as childcare, illness and death". The findings also reveal that grandmothers use stokvels as a method to fight poverty.

Mashonisa and paying off debts

Similar, to stokvels as highlighted in the paragraphs above, another form of African women's agency in SA is emphasized through the operation of mashonisas (money lenders/loan sharks). It is also another survival strategy that is being used to address poverty (Nyandoro, 2018). Nyandoro (2018:185) continues to say "sometimes women's economic situation (in a country where extreme poverty, high levels of inequality and unemployment exist) compelled them to approach smaller if not illegal moneylenders (loan sharks) for credit". Most of the grandmothers in the study stated that their grant money was insufficient to cater for their needs as well as their family needs, therefore they have to resort to other methods of having money, with the use of stokvels, others end up taking debts for survival. Six grandmothers stated that they borrow from people that they know as soon as their grant money is finished because of the debts they have to pay, they also mentioned that they buy a lot of goods and services in instalments or on credit such as appliances and furniture, groceries as well:

"I borrow from people that I know, could be a neighbour, friend or family member and then I pay them back at the end of the month when I get my pension… I bought a fridge on credit at OK Furniture, and I am still paying for it in instalments. My TV just broke as well, I am thinking of taking it as well" (MaSibeko, interview, 20 June 2019).

I once worked with a mashonisa and it was a lady, we worked so well together no complaints, she would sometimes give me more credit on top of what I owed her during the month if I had things to do or I was running out of food, the only problem was the interest it was too high, but if I can contact her now she would be able to assist me (MaZulu, interview, 18 June 2019).

The Pakistan shop owners help me a lot because they know that I will pay them back as soon as I get my pension… I just ask them for food, they even know my grandchildren so I sometimes send them to go and take bread or mealie meal (MaVilakazi, interview, 24 June 2019).

The overall impression is that stokvels or mashonisas are linked with good things such as helping poor households with challenge of poverty that they are faced with, however when it comes to mashonisa's that was not the overall impression for the grandmothers. The main critique of the

mashonisas is that even though the township money lenders seem to be approachable when it comes to the needs of low-income households, the lenders use manipulative measures that place the vulnerable households in debt spirals which result in emotional and financial distress (Nyandoro, 2018). Three grandmothers shared their horrible experiences with mashonisas in Diepkloof:

Never again in my life will I ever go to a mashonisa, it was the worst six months of my life, a nightmare… The guy was a smooth talker and I thought that we would work well together, I borrowed money from him and unfortunately my sister passed away, I had to contribute towards her funeral so I ended up going back to take more from the mashonisa, after the funeral I couldn't pay him back because everything was just too much at the time, I tried negotiating but he wouldn't listen… He sent his guys in the early hours in the morning to come to my house and take the fridge because I owed him a lot. They took the fridge with the food that was inside, my neighbours tried to intervene but they didn't want to listen. It was very bad and I was scared of going to the police thinking of my safety… I ended up negotiating with my neighbor and he paid the full amount, they brought the fridge back and then I am paying my neighbor in instalments, I am left with four months and then I am done (MaSibiya, interview, 28 June 2019).

According to Nyandoro (2018:186) "cases have been recorded of loan sharks (mashonisas) who gobble borrowers' social grants as soon as these are disbursed by the government. At the pay point, usually a community hall, young women who receive social grants and pensioners join the que coming out of the hall". Two grandmothers have also had a similar experience based on the aforementioned:

During the time when we were still collecting our grant money at the Diepkloof welfare centre, a number of women and men would wait in cars outside the gate because they were coming to collect loan repayments from us because we never got out of debt. I was once in such a situation whereby my SASSA card was kept by the mashonisa, so they use women so that people won't notice that they came to collect, so the woman would give me my card, I would withdraw the money then follow her outside to give her the money and my card, the same thing happened for a long time until I finished paying and I was always left with little money (MaDlamini, interview, 14 June 2019).

It was towards the festive season and at the time I had a lot of financial challenges, so I realized that I was not going to have money for Christmas, and for January when schools open since I stay with my grandchildren. I then went to the mashonisa who gave me money without hesitation because he knew that I am a pensioner I will pay back the money, but I had to give him my ID and bank card as a guarantee that I will pay back the loan (MaNgwenya, interview, 10 June 2019).

Even though the rotating saving schemes (stokvels and mashonisas) have been confronted with negative criticism, some of the grandmothers felt that the stokvels and mashonisas are not always bad. Nyandoro (2018) argues that stokvels and mashonisas are challenging (although not on the same footing) formal financial institutions in post-apartheid SA and they are attending to the loan needs of their clients. "Debt is one of the social ills in our country", such an attitude also indicates the malfunction of stokvels as well as mashonisas to financially support poor households (Nyandoro, 2018:188). The grandmothers have shown that the OAG is inadequate in catering for their needs. While the state is aware of the significance of the woman-headed family form no specific support has been extended to these women (Amoateng and Heaton, 2012). The grants are important in preventing hunger for whole families; however, they do not enable people to break the cycle of poverty (Van Driel, 2012).

Abuse and crime

Another major theme that came out was the issue of crime and abuse that grandmothers are faced with. Verbal and emotional abuses were the main types of abuse/ill treatment that they received, and these are caused by the old age grant that they receive from the government. This largely occurs when their pension money or SASSA card is being stolen from them. Two grandmothers stated that before receiving the old age grant, they did not experience any form of abuse:

I started experiencing verbal abuse after getting my old age grant, from my children and grandchildren, they disrespect me a lot. I always suspect them when my money is stolen… the reason could be that I don't give them the money which they always demand… I can't give it to them because I already have to cater for all of their needs (MaMkhize, interview, 07 June 2019).

I am really suffering… My son drinks a lot and he is always demanding alcohol money from me because he is unemployed and I receive the grant… My grandson on the other hand is now smoking nyaope, he steals my money or sometimes steal things in the house so that he can have money to smoke (MaSibeko, interview, 20 June 2019).

In most African countries, it is a taboo for a child or an adult person in the community to verbally/physically abuse or illtreat an older person. On the other hand, with the increase of alcoholism and drugs, this African integrity of embracing older people with respect is increasingly being worn out in many communities (Tanga, 2008).

Another concern that grandmothers spoke about was the issue of crime when they have to collect their pension money. This is also because of the system of having to collect their money at ATMs, retail outlets and post office. They largely spoke of insecurity at the aforementioned withdrawal sites after collecting their money.

Sometimes I end up going to three different places to try to withdraw money because of the length of queues and the fact that there are a lot of tsotsis (criminals) at Diepkloof square… There are security guards but we always hear stories of how pensioners are robbed especially during the end of the month (MaNdlovu, interview, 04 June 2019).

One grandmother shared her painful story of how she became victim of a card scam in February 2018; she stated that she lost her grant money for that month. The scam comprises of duplicating the grant recipients (all types of grants) cards and then emptying their accounts.

I went to the SASSA pay point at Diepkloof, when I was withdrawing money the lady who was assisting us told me that I have already withdrawn my money. I was very shocked because no one knows my pin and I haven't used my card since the previous month, we tried it countless times but it was still showing that there is no money, I was very sad because I struggled that month… I then went to SASSA offices in JHB CBD to find out what happened and they said that my card was re-issued somewhere in Vaal in mid-January and all the funds were drawn out on February 1. I was very shocked because I have never been to Vaal, I don't even have a family or friend there so why would I go very far just to issue my card (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019).

She further stated that when she was at the SASSA offices there were a lot of people who had the very same problem that she had, and it seems like the scam was largely targeting pensioners. They all went to the police station to do an affidavit stating what had happened, luckily, she was compensated after three months of investigation.

I kept on going to the SASSA offices just to check on my case because I knew that if I didn't go, they were not going to pay attention to it. It was a very difficult month because I stay with my two grandchildren and their mother is not working, their child support grant is used to pay for transport and their school fees so we really struggled that month, we had to borrow money from people, it was just difficult. But I am grateful because they compensated me (MaSithole, interview, 12 June 2019).

SASSA is aware of the scam however it cannot determine how many people are affected. This has resulted in the SA Post Office to issue SASSA fraud affidavits for affected beneficiaries so that they can submit them at the SASSA offices and be given their grant (Pillay, 2019). The affidavit clarifies to SASSA that the beneficiaries have another card opened under their name, it also has a line that states 'It is clear to me that my identity was stolen and a false ... account was opened in my name'. SASSA spokesperson Mbizeni Mdlalose advised beneficiaries who are affected to submit their affidavit as well as their ID to SASSA, which will be sent to the Post Office for an investigation, which could take between seven and 21 days. It was also clearly stated that beneficiaries will be compensated only if it can be proven without hesitation that the scam was not due to negligence (Pillay, 2019).

THEME 7: IMPACT OF THE OLD AGE GRANT

OAG caters for everyone in the household

The grandmothers in the study regard their pension as a grant for their households, specifically for their grandchildren and not just for their own sustenance. In this study, "the woman-headed family form itself represents a particular socialized and solidaristic response to the crisis of social reproduction as they care for those who are 'marginalised': the orphaned, the elderly, the infirm and the unemployed" (Van Driel, 2012: 357). Given their position within the family and within

SA society as heads of households, women are mostly accountable for family consumption, this is to say that they buy the food and the goods needed to sustain the standard of living of their families (Van Driel, 2012). This was also evident in the study especially in the themes of decision making in the household with grant money ending the very same day.

A number of grandmothers stated that every now and then they dislike the fact that their grant was spent in their households. They long for the day when they would be eased of some of their financial responsibilities for their families and spoil themselves. They imagined having beautiful clothes and eating nice food at a restaurant. This statement tells us that women headed households are bound to experience the struggle of becoming the heads of their families.

To tell you the truth I am not happy at all because instead of doing what I like with my money, I have to think of my family they need me, so I cannot spoil myself not even once (MaSibiya, interview, 28 June 2019).

My pension money supports everyone in the household, I am supporting my children, now I am also supporting my grandchildren. I wonder if I will ever stop supporting them and use the grant money the way I want to (MaMkhize, interview, 07 June 2019).

Regardless of the aforementioned, many grandmothers stated that this was a predicament for them, regardless of the fact that they cannot spoil since they have to take care of their families, they genuinely cannot allow their families to suffer. Additionally, they spoke of how teenage pregnancy is negatively impacting on them because of the lifestyle that their grandchildren choose to live, especially their orphaned grandchildren:

These children don't listen when we reprimand them, they fall pregnant and their boyfriends don't support them, it then becomes my problem. They neglect their own children because they know that granny is here… if you tell them to go back to school they say they will be a laughing stock, if you suggest that they look for a job, they say the youth unemployment rate in SA is high, it's like they have an answer for everything… when they get the Child Support Grant they do not buy anything for their children, they pamper themselves, I would then have to be the one who

takes care of my great-grandchild, this is very stressful for me (MaSibeko, interview, 20 June 2019).

The lack of discipline is another challenge confronting older people. The grandmothers in the study belong to an age group where corporal punishment, and grounding was once supported as tools for child discipline, while the children belong to a generation where human rights are commonly advocated and taught at school. The grandmothers felt that sometimes their grandchildren were disrespectful, too demanding, and they did not completely understand the circumstances they were in. The disciplinary issues highlighted by the grandmothers were teenage pregnancy, drinking, smoking and drug use by their grandchildren. Just like MaSibeko, she had a difficult time disciplining her teenage grandchildren; her method of tackling discipline was through talking and giving her grandchildren information and real-life examples. The aforementioned shows that the presence of a grandmother in the household made a huge difference in taking care of their grandchildren however, the grandmothers emphasized that a mother's presence and care cannot be compared to that of a grandmother. They stated that a mother plays an important role in their children's life. The grandmothers have associated their grandchildren deviant behavior with the absence of their parents in the household. They believed that if their grandchildren had the presence of their parents (mother and father) in the household, they would not engage in crime, drugs or teenage pregnancy.

Access to another grant- Child Support Grant

Only four grandmothers had household members who had access to another grant which is the Child Support Grant (CSG). However, the grandmothers were not the direct beneficiaries of the CSG, it was their daughters. The Social Assistance Act of 2004 clearly states that the primary caregiver of the child should be accountable for accessing the grant and make sure that it assists the child as obliged by the law. This is to say that the CSG must be accessed by the primary caregiver (Triegaardt & Patel, 2005). However, for the grandmothers in the study this was not the case, two grandmothers stated that their daughters have moved out and are staying in JHB CBD in search of a job but they left their children behind. This is to say that the daughters are using the CSG as their means for survival while the children are left in the care of the grandmothers.

My three grandchildren receive the child support grant; however, their mother is unemployed so she uses the grant for her personal use. She only contributes when I have a crisis for example during a school trip, she will send money because she knows that I have used all my grant money and I cannot pay for it… she hardly even visits her children, her boyfriend is driving her crazy" (MaNgwenya, interview, 10 June 2019).

My daughter found a job and moved out of the house, now she is staying in KZN because she went to look for a job there and found it. I have never been to that place because we had a huge fight about it. She is the one collecting the grant money for her kids but she doesn't support her children, she does not understand our daily struggles… I tried talking to her about this but she didn't want to listen, she has a salary now for goodness sake why can't she leave the card with me for the sake of the children, if I could I was supposed to chase my grandchildren away so that could be an eye opener but I know that my grandchildren would be the ones who would suffer so I wouldn't do that to them, they need me (MaSibiya, interview, 28 June 2019).

The above quotes show that even though there is someone in the house who has access to another grant, it does not mean that they contribute to the household, this is to show that the OAG is still the main source of income in many households in Diepkloof. Fakier (2010: 87) argues that "women are part of a local and global care chain moving from poor to rich communities which involves the feminization of survival. This refers to migration of economically desperate women who leave behind the responsibilities of social reproduction in their households where it is shouldered by other women; mothers, grandmothers and sisters of migrants". Fakier (2010: 87) continues to say "while there are no racially-determined restrictions on residence in post-apartheid South Africa, migrants often leave their children behind because of the precarious nature of work, unsafe or cramped accommodation, or higher costs of living in the city". This is to say that the grandmothers shoulder the social reproduction left behind by their daughters. The grandmother also stated that her daughter thought it would be better if she went to work in KZN because they are a large family, they are not working and the cost of living in Gauteng is too high, change of scenery would do her good and it might change her life for the better. However, an unexplored factor in women's decision to leave their homes may be the fact that they believe that they are capable of mobile care; for instance, care over a distance. This means that the grandmothers children look for employment opportunities and leave behind their

social reproduction at the hands of their mothers, they provide care to their children over the distance, through telephone calls, only seeing them twice or three times in a year.

Another grandmother alluded to the fact that her daughter does not receive the CSG because she has illegitimate children, meaning that the burden of caring for everyone largely lies on the grandmother.

My children are not working; my daughter has illegitimate children, even though she is South African she cannot access the child support grant. I am the only one who supports them because their father ran away and we don't even know where he comes from. We rely through my pension which does not last us for the whole month (MaSibeko, interview, 20 June 2019).

The grandmothers and their grandchildren are therefore vulnerable in this case because of the financial pressure they are faced with. The findings reveal that even though in the household of the four grandmothers there was someone accessing another type of grant, it was not meant to assist the household or the designated beneficiaries. Grandmothers were still the ones who had to be the breadwinner with their OAG grant and this was a contributing factor towards them having feelings of helplessness and financial insecurity. On the other hand, one grandmother stated that her daughter helps her a lot with the CSG that she receives for her child, she also contributes towards the household:

My daughter helps me a lot because she receives the child support grant for her two children, she is unemployed however she makes sure that she buy's groceries and other things needed in the house, the father of her children recently got married but he still supports my grandchildren (MaSibiya, interview, 28 June 2019).

Tanga (2008) argues that even in SA where the OAG is five times larger than the pension in Lesotho, and households access other cash transfers for instance disability grant and child allowances, beneficiaries usually have no money left after basic household expenses. This is a suggestion that "in developing countries such as those in Southern Africa, a non-contributory pension will never meet more than a basic social protection instrument" (Tanga, 2008:195).

CONCLUSION

This section focused on the challenges and survival strategies that grandmothers utilize through their old age grant since they are the heads of their households, it has also shown the impact that the OAG has on the grandmother's families. It is difficult to determine whether grandmothers are facing a burden or they are caring for their families because for most of them caring for their families brought so much joy and they were proud of the fact that through their grant they can sustain their households because they live in multigenerational families. It is important to take into consideration that social reproduction as the theoretical framework of the study impeccably explains the various roles being played by the grandmothers. On the other hand, the grandmothers are overburdened with the care of the household members resulting in them not enjoying the benefits that were intended for their well-being since they cannot work, and their responsibilities make them unable to provide for their own needs. Regardless of the aforementioned, caring for the wellbeing of the families instilled a strong sense of purpose in their everyday life.

CHAPTER 8:

CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of the study was to describe and explore social reproduction in a black family headed by grandmothers in post-apartheid South Africa. The method employed in this study is that of a descriptive case study of ten grandmother headed households in Diepkloof-Soweto. The focus of the study was on the challenges faced, what they encounter or undergo as well as the dynamics involved when it comes to supporting their families through the old age grant as their only source of income. The study focused on the life histories of the ten grandmothers earning the old age grant and from the life histories my intention was to show how they use their money; what are the constraints they were faced with and how they navigated around those constraints. Who were they; where do they come from? Who stays with them and what kind of future do they imagine for themselves and even for those that they stay with, what kind of changes would they like to see happen in their lives and those who they stay with? These are some of the questions used to ascertain their histories. The sample was limited to ten grandmother headed households, consequently it is limiting to give a broader overview of households headed by grandmothers in Diepkloof, Soweto. Therefore, further research is imperative for a broader overview. The ten households that were chosen do not represent the whole of Diepkloof, Soweto as a township or SA as a whole.

The main research question was:

- What are the personal experiences of the grandmothers in the households they head?

The ancillary questions were:

- What are the challenges faced by the grandmothers on a daily basis when taking care of their families?
- Is social reproduction in post-apartheid South Africa still done mainly by women?
- What impact does the OAG as the only source of income have on the household?

Below I will be focusing on the summary of the key themes of the findings and the key argument which I have been making.

LIFE HISTORIES

In my intellectual pursuit, I located my study within the South African literature focusing on the crisis of social reproduction. I explored deeply the theory of social reproduction and through it I was interested in the idea of care. The literature of social reproduction in South Africa debates how neoliberal policies have placed a burden on the working poor, the casualized women (or precarious workers), and the old. However, my focus on the grandmothers was to expand more on the dynamics of social reproduction in families that only rely on the social grant as their source of income. While looking at the OAG as a form of social protection for the elderly, I was still within the material basis of the arguments of the scholars that have focused on social reproduction… that the little income from the grandmothers is crucial to the social reproduction of poor households (as I indicate below). We have seen in the chapter that the work of social reproduction is still done by women even in old age, and also the fact that the unpaid care work which is done by women is still not acknowledged, but it is somewhat still considered as women's work.

The life histories were also a reflection of some of the challenges that the grandmothers went through even as young women. Through their life histories they have also shown how they acquired the role of being heads of their households from a young age; this influenced their decision to migrate in pursuit of employment opportunities so that they could support and assist their husbands, and also try to improve the standard of living of their families as well as their children. While working in the city, the grandmothers as young women, had their children taken care of by older people. As workers in the city, they never forgot about their children back home and worried about not being present for the daily functions of social reproduction in their families and their children's lives. That is why they made it a point to work hard so that they could provide for their children. When they came to Johannesburg they were largely employed as live in domestic workers and child minders (still performing the role of social reproduction although paid for it), this resulted in them leaving their children behind, this meant that they left the burden of their social reproduction at their hands of their parents especially their mothers

who were frail and had little resources to take care of their grandchildren. This is something that they are faced with currently.

Even though they left their children behind because of migration, living conditions for the grandmothers were not easy because some had to be live in domestic workers with limited movement and some had to reside at the hostel. Some had to relocate to hostels, often reserved for men, so that they could sustain their marriages because their husbands would only return home once or twice a year. The notion that grandmothers left their families and migrated in pursuit of jobs, shows that women were also committed in trading their labour power so that they could support and assist their families. This also shows that the grandmothers did not leave behind their motherly roles; instead they struggled on a daily basis to provide for their families, and this is something that they are still doing even in old age. In all of these scenarios, the role pf these women and grandmothers was to always be the glue that holds together the family, at all costs necessary.

The life histories reflected the fact that all the grandmothers became head of the households when their husbands worked in the mines, meaning at a very young age whilst they were married. My argument has been that the issue of headship for the grandmothers started a long time ago in their lives and they carried it through to old age. The findings indicate that another contributing factor to why they became heads was the fact that from a young age, a girl child was not encouraged to go to school, instead education was seen as a barrier to marriage, hence marriage was the biggest achievement for a young woman. The grandmothers were encouraged by their parents to master their chores such as cleaning, cooking, fetching water to name a few, as a way of preparing them for marriage. Young girls and boys were taken to white farms, this is to say that they were encouraged to drop out of school, leave their homes, go work and earn money, and the very same money that they earned was sent back to their families. However, this is one of the decisions that grandmothers regret because had they taken a different route, they would have acquired an education for themselves and had a better life.

In their plight in the city, the grandmothers spoke of the difficulties of marriage and how they ended up being the ‘head’ of households. For some of the grandmothers in the study they have exposed the fact that the reason why they separated from their partners or husbands or they chose

to divorce and never get married again was because of the various forms of abuse and violence that they suffered at the hands of their husbands. They largely alluded to the fact that abuse they suffered was part of their daily lives, they experienced physical as well as emotional abuse from their partners (MaSithole, MaMkhize). Even for those grandmothers who did not encounter any form of abuse, infidelity was also another decision that influenced the grandmothers to live on their own. However, the grandmothers chose to keep good memories of their deceased husbands and partners; this shows the contradiction to the extensive experiences of violence and abuse against women. The endurance of abuse by the grandmothers and women in general raises critical questions about the relationship between poverty and the limited choices women have when it comes to staying in abusive relationships and marriages, which is what we have seen in the findings in relation to the grandmothers. Because of the aforementioned challenges and the low wages that their husbands acquired from their employment, and the absence of their husbands from their homes for long periods of time, the grandmothers took it upon themselves to migrate to Johannesburg hence most of them are from other provinces such us Eastern Cape, Western Cape, and some come from as far as Lesotho and Swaziland.

Through the focus of their life histories, my intention was also to go beyond the material basis in which the studies in South Africa have focused on social reproduction and I introduced how the care grandmothers provide is one seen by them as what I term as an 'axiological' intervention, that is say, they are caring for their families for the good of the future generation. I linked this question of the future generation with their past, how they lived in the past as migrants who could not look after their own children. Through this past decision to look for work in the city, it became apparent that the grandmothers were concerned with the presence of the past in their families. This is to say, they intervened in the care of the future generation so as to provide guidance to those family members they lived with. That is why they were worried about the future, and this worry about the future expressed itself through death. They indicated that they worry what would happen to their family members if they were to die. That is why they made sure that in the present they do all they can to make sure that when that indeterminate date set by fate comes, those they care for have a good future.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic was another contributing factor to the issue of headship, hence they had to stay with their fatherless and orphaned grandchildren, high unemployment and poverty

was also another factor because in all the households no one was working, it was only contract or part time work which was not on a regular basis. Because of the absence of a family wage, the grandmothers through their life histories have shown their struggles and also the fact that the social reproduction of their families in both rural and urban areas was a daily struggle. Even though they migrated and got jobs, the study has cleared the gap that they were in no position to earn the amount of money that was equal to their husband's wages. Instead because of their low wages they became eligible for the OAG, which is the safety net for all the households in the study.

IMPACT OF THE OAG

The paper has shown the notion that often when large families live together, they often share everything, especially money. What emerged in the study was the fact that most people depended on households for survival, this was largely because of the old age grant. The study has shown that the grandmothers viewed their grant as their individual income hence they make the final decision in terms of who gets what as well as what is bought in the household, but it was their families only source of income. Although the grandmothers live in multigenerational households and their households were also large, they were sharing their pension with their family members. Hence, the majority (eight grandmothers) had more than four household members. The grandmothers also had three or four generations living in their households (comprising of their children, grandchildren and extended family members). For that reason, the grandmothers perceive themselves as poor and the grant money as inadequate, regardless of the fact that this is the highest and most constant monthly income that they have ever received in their lives. The grandmothers were also conscious of the fact that the reason why they were poor was because they put their family's needs above their own. Nonetheless they felt that it was inappropriate of them to use their grant money for their individual needs.

Regardless of the fact that in the past obtaining a wage protected families from poverty, the absence of a wage in post-apartheid SA is still a huge problem as studies in social reproduction in South Africa have alluded to. Wage employment has in history shielded families from poverty in townships. Undoubtedly, in this study all the households did not rely on wage employment, but they solely relied on the OAG. Of the ten households which were studied, seven were coping households, they were coping because they were able to make ends meet and they had a few

assets but they were still vulnerable. Two were declining households because they had limited access to food, limited income as well as ill health, they are declining further into poverty; and one was an improving household because the family had access to resources and had more assets, the household was less vulnerable. The households gave a clear description of their daily struggles, and also showed the important impact that the OAG has on the families, and the fact that if it was not for the grandmother's grant, the households would collapse.

A lot of the grandmothers were particularly concerned about the high unemployment in the country, reason why they were so determined to invest in their grandchildren's education so that they can have a better future. They also wish that their granddaughters can remain in school and receive the best education so that they can be independent from men, and not go through what they went through. They believe that the solution to their problems would be for the government to create and increase employment opportunities for their children and the future generations, so that they can be independent and the grandmothers can be relieved from the burden of having to take care of their families. The study found that the OAG was largely used for basic needs in their households. For instance, they provide support and assistance to their own children as well as grandchildren, they made it a point that everyone in the household receives food, clothes and they also pay for their grandchildren's education. Regardless of the low income as well as tough conditions that they find themselves in, everyone's needs in the family were fairly provided for.

There were four grandmothers who had someone in their households who was accessing another form of grant (CSG) but it soon became clear that this does not always translate to an additional income. Only one grandmother stated that her daughter does assist her with the CSG, she also contributes towards the household. This is to say that the grandmothers were still the breadwinners regardless of having someone who might be receiving another source of income, in this instance the CSG.

The study has been successful in describing social reproduction in a black family headed by grandmothers in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as the dynamics involved when grandmothers have to support their families through the old age grant as their only source of income. The aim of the study was to insert the voice of the black grandmother and how she seeks to construct her future despite of her age.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the study found that the OAG played a significant role in alleviating the poverty facing many families, linking it with financial freedom, as well as power. However, the impact of the OAG was limited by the large families typical of a Soweto household thus reducing the buying power of the OAG. Despite the financial capacity that the grant offered to the families at large, some of the grandmothers suffered emotional and verbal abuse for being grant recipients. The grandmothers did not have alternative means of getting an additional income since most of them stated that their grant money was inadequate, they were too old to work again, they then resorted to stokvels, burial societies, as well as mashonisa to supplement the OAG and as a means of keeping up with their growing debts. Stokvels and burial societies are amongst the main poverty alleviating strategies, the grandmothers participated in them because they were poor and unemployed. On the other hand, mashonisa as well as taking debts were also used as a way of surviving poverty as well as responding to the challenges that grandmothers are faced with. Even though in the households we have seen that it was a family tradition to share the OAG, which encouraged a strong sense of perseverance in their everyday life, gestures of bitterness were exposed especially when they alluded to the fact that they cannot do anything for themselves. Some of the grandmothers stated that from time to time they get upset at the fact that there is always nothing left of their OAG to cater for their personal needs, reason why a lot of them had the hope that the government will create jobs for their children and the future generation so that there can be other sources of income in their households, in that way they may be able to enjoy their grant money and also cater for their own needs. In so doing we see that while the care provided for the good of the family, the grandmothers has had to deal with the fact that sometimes they cannot provide for their own needs. A bitter pill to swallow especially given that at their age they need to be taken care of and have various diseases that come with age. An Ode to the Grandmother:

You have seen the past. You have lived in the future.

Through your wisdom and ability to discern right and wrong... You look quietly at the present with its freedom.

With young ones unemployed, sick, and not educated.

Still you remain hopeful like you did when you left home many years ago to start a new home.

You have kept to the principal of making sure that no stomach should make noises of hunger.

That no young one should grow up without knowing love and knowledge. Through your care we discover your love. Through your frailty we still see your strength.
Gogo Siyabonga. Enkosi Makhulu. Ndza khensa kokwani. Ndo livhuwa Makhulu .Ka leboga koko. Kea leboha koko. Baie dankie ouma.

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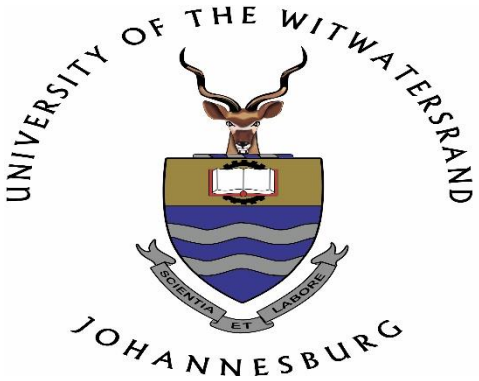
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APPENDIX A



PARTICIPANTS INFORMATION SHEET

The debates on the Social Reproduction in South Africa focusing on Grandmother Headed Households in Diepkloof, Soweto.

Good day

My name is Nokuthula Nkosi. I am a post graduate student registered for the degree Master of Arts by Research in Development Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting research on the sustainability of the Old Age Grant on Grandmother Headed Households. The primary aim of the study is to explore and describe social reproduction in a black family headed by grandmothers in post-apartheid South Africa, through a descriptive case study of ten grandmother headed households in Diepkloof-Soweto. The focus will be on the challenges, what they encounter or undergo and the dynamics involved when it comes to supporting their families through the old age grant as their only source of income.

I therefore wish to invite you to participate in my study. Your participation is entirely voluntary and refusal to participate will not be held against you in any way. If you agree to take part, I shall arrange to interview you at a time and place that is suitable for you, please not that I will not be collecting any personal or identifiable information. The interview will last approximately for an hour. You may withdraw from the study at any time and you may also refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with answering. With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded. No one other than my supervisor will have access to the tape recordings. The tapes and interview schedules will be kept for two years following any publications or for six years if no publications emanate from the study. Please be assured that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be included in the final research report. Participation in the study does not include payment nor cost.

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to ask anytime; feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a dissertation which will be accessed by the supervisor, examiners and will be made available to the public online through the wits e-portal: WIReDSpace. Counselling services are available should you experience any emotional and/or psychosocial difficulties and these will be provided for free by the social worker at the Diepkloof Welfare Centre Mr Dineo Sebake who may be contacted on 011 528 0093. If you have any queries, concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this

study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (non-medical), telephone + 27(0)11 717 1408, email Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za.

Thank you for taking time to consider participation in the study.

Yours sincerely
Nokuthula Nkosi

Student: Nokuthula.Nkosi3@students.wits.ac.za
Tel no: 076 903 4704

Supervisor: Professor Ran Greenstein
Ran.Greenstein@wits.ac.za
Tel no: 011 717 4455

APPENDIX B

Consent Form for Participation in the study

The debates on the Social Reproduction in South Africa focusing on Grandmother Headed Households in Diepkloof, Soweto.

Name of Researcher: Nokuthula Nkosi

I …….. agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve.

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous	YES	NO	(please circle)
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in her research report	YES	NO	
I agree that the interview may be audio recorded	YES	NO	

Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX C

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. IDENTIFYING DETAILS

1.1 Age:

60 - 70 years
71 - 80 years
81 years and above

1.2 How many years did you work in your life?

0-10 years
11- 20 years
21-30 years

31 years and above

1.3 How many people do you live with in your household?

0 -3 people
4 – 7 people
8 and above

1.4 Do you live with the following within the household?

CATEGORIES	YES	NO
Children		
Grandchildren		
Siblings		
Extended Family Members		

1.5 How many people are working within the household?

None
1 -3 people
4 and above

1.6 Does anyone in the household receive any form of social grant?

CATEGORIES	YES	NO
Child Support Grant		
Foster Care Grant		
Disability Grant		
Other		

2. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

2.1 Please tell me more about yourself, where and when were you born?

2.2 Could you tell me about your employment history? (future dreams and aspirations, school, year started work, year of retirement etc)

2.3 What are the main sources of income for your household?

2.4 Can you give the history of events that led to your role of being the breadwinner?

2.5 Please explain what do you do with your old age grant when you receive it?

2.6 Does the old age grant assist you in catering for all your needs? Please elaborate

2.7 How does the grant benefit every member within the household?

2.8 With regards to other sources of income within the household (any other form of grant, wages, salaries etc) how do these assist within the household?

2.9 What are the challenges you are experiencing because of the old age grant?

2.10 Describe what is useful or helpful when it comes to managing these challenges?