

**PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY ON
CHILDCARE PRACTICES IN DURBAN, KWAZULU-NATAL**

Master of Development Studies

in

School of Built Environment and Development Studies

at the

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

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Abstract

Women working in the informal sector need quality childcare services to be productive in their work and make enough money to provide for their children and the household. Women are facing dual responsibilities, that is, productive and reproductive work, which are often in conflict with each other. Poor working conditions, the absence of social protection and low incomes hinder women's ability to best care for their children. The aim of this study was to obtain informally working women's perceptions on how they care for their children while pursuing their livelihood. This study adopted a qualitative approach where in-depth interviews were conducted with 28 women who had children between 0-5 years and with three key informants from the Department of Social Development. Twelve of 28 mothers were taken from a cohort longitudinal study consisting of 24 participants. A thematic analysis was performed where the researcher developed coding themes based on the study objectives. All research protocols were observed.

Results showed that women were struggling to balance work and childcare. Financial needs forced women to invest most of their time in paid work. This affected childcare practices such as feeding and the mother-child relationship. Most mothers who had children aged 0-6 months failed to adhere to feeding practices as recommended by the World Health Organization, namely, to breastfeed infants for six months before introducing complementary foods. Mothers who were able to adhere to those recommendations took six months off work, or worked with the child or expressed breast milk to feed the child when away from the baby. Mothers were working long hours with most of them working between five to seven days a week. Some of the mothers were not living with their children. Family members, non-relatives and crèches assisted mothers in caring for the child while mothers were at work. Some mothers were working with their children, particularly home-based workers and breastfeeding mothers. While mothers with children older than three years used crèches during the day (08h00-16h00), family members or neighbours took over childcare until the mother returned from work.

The study concludes that lack of income compromised childcare practices among informally working women. Although mothers had people assisting them with childcare, the quality of mother-child relationship was adversely affected. According to attachment theory, this means that the children of such a population are experiencing maternal deprivation which has a life-long effect. The study recommends that financial assistance during the early part of a child's life is required among informally working women to promote optimum childcare. Furthermore, affordable but quality childcare services must be available to such women to promote early childhood development and prevent intergenerational poverty.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank God Almighty for giving strength and courage to complete this journey of mine.

To my family, thank you so much for the support and respect you gave me while pursuing my studies. You gave me space and allowed me to focus on my studies. Special thanks to my mother who ensured that my daughter is taken care of while I am away studying and working.

To my daughter, Melokuhle, thank you for allowing mummy to pursue her dreams. You never gave me hard times, and you understood when mummy needed space to do her work.

To my colleagues, thank you so much for the support and encouraging words. Special thanks to my boss Dr Christiane Horwood for allowing and creating time for me to further my studies. I would also like to thank Lyn Haskins for always being there for me. You fulfil many roles in my life. Sometimes you are a mother to me, a colleague and life coach. To my friend, Silondile Luthuli, thank you for always being there for me and listening to my frustrations whenever I needed someone to talk.

I would also like to thank Sihle Mkhize for assisting me in transcribing and translating my data.

Mostly I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Oliver Mtapuri, for availing himself and embarking on this challenging journey with me. Despite the difficult times we were facing during this Corona pandemic, he supported me and responded to my emails as we shifted more to virtual learning and communication. I appreciate your commitment, support and guidance.

Abbreviations List

ARV	Antiretroviral
ANC	African National Congress
CBD	Central business district
CCMA	Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration
CDP	Community development practitioner
CHCs	Community health clinics
CRH	Centre for Rural Health
DSD	Department of Social Development
EBF	Exclusive breastfeeding
ECD	Early childhood development
GATA	Ghana Association of Traders
GDP	Gross domestic product
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
HSSREC	Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
IDI	In-depth interview
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INK	Inanda-Ntuzuma-KwaMashu
PPT	Project Preparation Trust
SA	South Africa
SARS	South African Revenue Service
SEWA	Self-employed Women's Association
SMMEs	Small, medium and micro enterprises
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WHO	World Health Organization
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The informal economy has been, and still is, defined as the economy that comprises activities, jobs and workers that are not protected by government. Informal jobs include agricultural work, domestic work, market traders, self-employment or employment by a firm or a person who does not pay tax (Nightingale & Wandner, 2011). Growth in the informal economy has increased rapidly over the years, especially in developing countries. In this sector, women make up the highest percentage of the total informal workers. These are women who mostly poor, lack skills, are semi-literate and cannot be employed in the formal sector (Legodi & Kanjere, 2015). For such women, the informal economy is the only sector where they earn income to take care of their family and most importantly to raise their children. Informal employment is the only way of life for most of these people. But the nature of this kind of employment exposes women to vulnerability. They work in an unsafe and unhealthy environment, sometimes with their children, and there is no legislation protecting them as workers (Bertulfo, 2011). In this study, the researcher was interested in examining the perceptions on childcare practices of women working in the informal sector. This study also included the Department of Social Development with the aim of getting their perception on the informal economy and the role that it plays for poor people, especially women.

The informal economy has been recognised by many scholars (Cassirer & Addati, 2007; Daudi, 2015b; Legodi & Kanjere, 2015) and government as a sector that makes a major contribution to the economic and social life of many people. It is a main source of employment for many women and men, especially in developing countries. Most people work in the informal economy to provide for their families. Some people joined the informal sector because of retrenchment in the formal economy. In this sector, there is no legislation protecting workers' health and safety, and security. They are vulnerable people who get exploited by employers, they are not socially protected and they have little or no access to childcare (Bertulfo, 2011).

The most vulnerable group of people in this sector are women (Bertulfo, 2011; Cassirer & Addati, 2007; Daudi, 2015b). Women are faced with many responsibilities other than working. They have to perform reproductive work, which includes taking care of the family, raising the children, caring for the husband and maintaining the household, all without being paid. This reduces the time they have to spend in pursuing their economic activities (Otobe, 2017). In addition, they earn less than their male

counterparts, and they are being discriminated against in the work place because of patriarchal power. In most countries, women and girls are denied the rights to have access to or further their education; having little or no access to assets or financial resources, women are not allowed to work or travel far away from home unless they are accompanied by a man (Otobe, 2017). All these factors exacerbate poverty, inequality, and social and economic deprivation in women.

Nevertheless, most women commit themselves to taking care of their families and most especially their children. The informal economy is the only sector that provides them with work since they have little or no education or training. The Durban Informal economy Policy (2001) reported that, in 1996, there were about 2 000 street vendors in the Durban Metropolitan Area, and 60% of these were women. These women are involved in economic activities where they work part-time, irregular hours, under a very poor environment, and with no social protection (Kabeer, Milward, & Sudarshan, 2013a). While they are working, they also have domestic responsibilities to take care of. Childcare has been the primary concern for most women to get employment or to return early from work in order to provide for a child's basic needs (Cassirer & Addati, 2007).

Women who do not have extended families or who cannot afford to pay a neighbour or crèche to look after their children, take their baby with them to work. These children get exposed to the hazardous environments that these women work at (Bertulfo, 2011). Children get exposed to extreme weather conditions as these women are mostly working outside; they are also exposed to dangers and traffic in the markets (Cassirer & Addati, 2007). These children have been denied their right to be brought up in a safe, healthy and conducive environment. However, there are women who leave their children in the care of an older person at home (grandma) or in the care of an older sibling who may also not be fully capable of taking care of the child. Leaving children with such people may have effects on the quality of care and wellbeing of the child.

In this study, the researcher solicited informally working women's perceptions on childcare practices in the workplace or while the mother is at work and leaving the child in care of other people at home. The researcher wanted to know how women balance work, childcare and other responsibilities, the challenges they encounter and possible solution to make their lives better. The researcher also wanted to get the perceptions of the Department of Social Development (DSD) on this issue of informally working women and childcare. In South Africa, the DSD has a mandate to ensure that vulnerable people are protected by creating an enabling environment for provision of a comprehensive, integrated and sustainable social development service. The DSD's strategic goals include improving

and expanding early childhood development and enhancing the capabilities of communities to achieve a sustainable livelihood and household security (South Africa yearbook 2015/16, 2016). Involving the DSD in the study was relevant because it is a department that is understood to deal with issues affecting people's lives, including poverty alleviation, economic development, job creation and social advancement. Nugundu (2010) argues that to liberate people from social ills, it is important to integrate social policies with economic development. Women in the informal sector are participating in economic activities to address their social challenges, including raising children. Therefore, the DSD need to be included in this research to develop interventions on how mothers' and children's lives can be improved.

Horwood et al. (2019) suggest that these women need appropriate interventions that will balance both women's right to work and the rights of children to receive optimum care. When the mother is working, the child's right to optimum care is affected by the inevitable circumstances that come with work, such as spending more time at work than with the child. However, being employed enables mothers to provide for the child's needs. Literature on informally working women has shown that these women are having challenges in balancing work and childcare due to their nature of work, which does not provide social benefits such as paid maternity leave, unemployment insurance fund (UIF) or paid leave. To avoid losing a job or income, women go back to work early and some of them are seen on the street working with children on their back. As stated above, such work environments are not conducive for raising a child. Therefore, based on the literature and the observed situations of an informally working mother, the researcher wanted to get mothers' lived experiences of balancing work and childcare and how that affects children's health and development as well as the mother's livelihood.

The South African government has realised that investing in early childhood development (ECD) has long-term benefit for children and helps address intergenerational poverty. The role of ECD is to reduce socio-economic inequality. Therefore, a package of interrelated and integrated services has been developed to cover the period from pregnancy to six years of age. This includes maternal, newborn and child health (MNCH) services; nutritional support; support for primary caregivers; social services and protection; and quality early learning programmes. The main purpose of such a package is to reduce risk factors and their impact on children's development. Risk factors include poverty, malnutrition, stunting, low-birth weight, infectious diseases in pregnant women, infants and children, exposure to violence, psychological risks, disrupted caregiving and disabilities (Hall K et al., 2019).

The abovementioned risk factors are visible among informally working women, hence their children are at risk of suffering from one or more of such factors. Such children are born and raised in an environment that reduces their chances of developing to their full potential, and they have limited access to services that promote quality of care and early learning. Informally working mothers cannot afford to pay for ECD centres, hence they take their children to informal childcare centres, or leave a child at home with an elderly person or someone who does not practice nurturing care, or take a child to work, which is not good for the child's development. This is a serious challenge that needs attention from potential stakeholders. Therefore, the aim of this research is to reveal the circumstances that informal workers face in raising their children, reveal areas that have been missed by government and other stakeholders in improving ECD in SA and also help in improving the livelihood of informally working women.

1.2 Aim and objectives

The aim of this study is:

- To examine the perceptions of women working in the informal economy on childcare practices in Durban.

The objectives of this study are:

- To examine experiences of women working in the informal economy and their childcare practices.
- To explore the challenges of informally working women in balancing time for childcare and work.
- To explore the survival strategies applied by informally working women to overcome the existing challenges.
- To examine perceptions of Department of Social Development officials on the issue of informally working women and their childcare practices.
- To develop guiding principles that can be applied in supporting and developing women working in the informal economy.

The main research question is: What are the perceptions of women working in the informal economy on childcare practices in Durban?

The subsidiary questions are:

- What are the perceptions of women on informally working women and childcare practices?
- What challenges do informally working women face in balancing time for childcare?

- What are the surviving strategies applied by informally working women to overcome the existing challenges?
- How does the Department of Social Development perceive informally working women and childcare practices?
- How to develop guiding principles that can be applied in supporting and developing mothers in the informal economy?

1.3 Structure of the study

This study has included five chapters. Chapter one introduces the subject of the study, describing the background and the study setting. It further includes the objectives, research questions and highlights research methodology.

Chapter two includes the conceptual framework which this study is based on. A literature review on the informal economy is included in this chapter, where the researcher presents the composition of the informal economy in South Africa. The researcher further reviews the involvement of women in the informal sector and how that affects their roles as mothers. The role of DSD is also reviewed in this study since the main participants are women with children, the most vulnerable group in society.

Chapter three describes the research methodology undertaken by the researcher. The research methods, sampling, data collection, data analyses and ethical consideration are main topics that are discussed in this chapter. Chapter four presents the research findings and a discussion of the study results. Chapter five gives a summary of the results and recommendations.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter gives the background and the rationale for the research topic, which is about the perceptions of informally working women on childcare practices. The researcher recognises that children born to informal women are at risk of not developing to their full potential due to the challenges faced by their mothers in providing nurturing care. As a result, the researcher included the DSD in the study to get their perceptions on the topic and to make the department aware of social issues affecting women and children. The study aims, objectives and research questions are presented in this chapter. Furthermore, the researcher highlighted the overview of the study and what is expected in the following chapters. The following chapter will

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Informal sector is a greater source of employment and make a major contribution in providing income for people both in developing and developed countries. In developing countries, approximately 70% of the population derive income from the informal economy (OECD/ILO, 2019). In these countries, informal activities include subsistence farming; trading on the streets or in markets; selling cooked food in taxi ranks or in kiosks; transporting people and goods; repairing shoes, clothes or cars; building; domestic work; hairdressing; waste-picking and many more (Blades, Ferreira, & Lugo, 2011).

2.2 The informal economy in the South African context

In South Africa (SA), the informal economy is small in relation to other developing countries or emerging economies (Rogan, 2018). There are more than 2.5 million South Africans who work in the informal economy (Michael Rogan & Skinner, 2017). This economy represents thirty percent (30%) of total employment. Of that percentage, 24% represents employment in the eight major South African metropolitans (M Rogan, 2019). These are people who are striving for livelihood as a result of racial legacies of apartheid and the dynamics of rural-urban migration. Racial stratification in the labour market denied many African people the opportunity to have access to different kinds of employment in the formal sector; hence, they created their own economy (Mabilo, 2018). These are people who are poor or very poor, located in remote or peripheral areas, who have little or no education and are socially excluded. They entered the informal economy to escape from poverty. Generally, the informal economy is dominated by the African population (Michael Rogan & Skinner, 2017; Wills, 2009). Informal workers are mostly found in urban centres, and most informal trading occurs in both large cities and small towns, in industrial zones, and in locations where there is high human traffic such as bus stops, train stations, streets and taxi ranks (Africa Consultancy, 2013a).

Although the informal economy in SA is smaller than our developing country counterparts, it offers an alternative and a means of livelihood for many South Africans who cannot find jobs in the formal sector (Blaauw, 2011; Michael Rogan & Skinner, 2017). Since the public and the private sectors are unable to provide or create jobs for the expanding labour force, the informal economy is an alternative for many unemployed people, especially the youth and the poor (Ndabeni & Maharajh, 2013). The informal economy contributed approximately 16.7% of total employment in the country in 2014 (Michael Rogan & Skinner, 2017). Statistics South Africa (2016) estimated that informal enterprises contribute 5.2% to Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Although relatively small, the informal economy in

SA is long term in nature. Blaauw (2011) found out that 50.2% of informal day labourers once worked in the formal sector, while Viljoen (2014), in his study, established that 52.4% of waste pickers once had a full-time job with benefits. This is evidence that most people who have been retrenched in the formal sector search for an alternative job in the informal economy in order to survive.

Growth in the informal sector tends to be associated with a number of factors, including increased urbanisation of Blacks, the slow pace of economic growth, the prevalence of jobless people, decreased incidence of formal employment, promotion of small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs), costs and regulatory barriers of entry into the formal economy, limited education and training opportunities, increasing demand for low cost goods and services, and migration motivated by economic hardships and poverty (ILO, 2013; Ndabeni & Maharajh, 2013). One of the main reasons why people stay in the informal economy for an extended period is their low educational level. Therefore, people find it hard to shift into the formal sector as they do not possess the skills or education level needed to be hired.

In SA, informal trade, also known as street vending, is one of the largest categories of informal work. It has been difficult to get statistics for street vendors in SA since the nature of this job comprises various categories of street traders who are scattered across the country (Mkhize, Dube, & Skinner, 2013). African women are the most prevalent street traders, selling sweets, chips, fruits and vegetables, or second-hand clothes. Household and reproductive responsibilities, together with poverty, are the push factors for women to be involved in the informal economy (Sassen, Galvaan, & Duncan, 2018). These women have limited access to appropriate healthcare services for themselves and their families. Most often, they do not seek medical attention when they are unwell because they are concerned with losing income since they will not work on that day. In addition, they sometimes do not have enough money to pay for expenses associated with medical attention (Sassen et al., 2018).

It has been noticed that certain types of work activities within the informal economy are dominated by one gender or another. For example, street trading is dominated by both women and men, while domestic jobs are dominated by women, and construction is dominated by men (Budlender, 2011). Neves and Du Toit (2012) found that most women in the informal economy run businesses to make income for daily survival rather than for accumulating profit to grow their businesses. Women in the informal economy are facing socio-economic barriers and structural restrictions which inhibit them from growing their businesses, supporting their families and having control over their lives. Furthermore, political barriers which include lack of government support, no security of tenure,

restrictive legislation and limited participation in decision-making, affect women's ability to function productively in their work place (Sassen et al., 2018). Their role as mothers, caregivers, workers and businesspeople are not acknowledged because society has defined women's role as household caretakers.

As been stated elsewhere in this literature (ILO, 2016; Vanek, Chen, Hussmanns, Heintz, & Carré, 2012), women in the informal sector have low levels of education, and there is a need to place emphasis in sharpening them as a valuable human resource. The International Labour Organization (2013) stated that lack of education and inadequate skills have pushed people, especially women, into the informal economy to find a livelihood for survival. Most women in the informal sector possess practical skills, such as making goods to sell in the streets, cooking skills, sewing skills and so on. Investing in developing women's skills assists them in moving away from subsistence activities and becoming valuable businesswomen (Ndabeni & Maharajh, 2013). This enables women to improve and change their perspectives of taking their business not only as a mode of survival but as way of creating a meaningful livelihood for themselves, their family and the community at large. In addition, these women are so committed in their jobs that improving their entrepreneurship skills will also improve the local economy, hence creating employment opportunities and alleviating poverty.

2.3 Women in the informal sector

A considerable amount of literature has acknowledged that women are mostly concentrated in the informal economy (Budlender, 2011; Horwood et al., 2019; ILO, 2016; Narayan, 2011; Sassen et al., 2018). Women make up 39% of employed informal workers (Budlender, 2011). Different authors have given reasons why women choose to be involved in the informal sector. These factors include, among many, level of education, poverty and demand for women to perform household activities (Bonnet, Vanek, & Chen, 2019; Budlender, 2011; Daudi, 2015a; Davies & Thurlow, 2010; Horwood et al., 2019; Ngundu, 2010; Nugundu & Lombard, 2012; Rodin, McNeill, Vite-Leo'n, & Heymann, 2012; Michael Rogan & Skinner, 2017; Williams & Gurtoo, 2011). A number of social discriminatory practices limit women from having access to property, assets and financial services; educational opportunities; and social protection (Ngundu, 2010; Sassen et al., 2018). Also, strong cultural norms inhibit women's ability to upgrade themselves professionally (Bertulfo, 2011). These factors reinforce social exclusion and exacerbate poverty among women.

The decline of employment in the formal sector resulted in a high unemployment rate among women; it also resulted in retrenchment of men who were the breadwinners at home (Mabilo, 2018; Ngundu,

2010). Furthermore, the absence of men at home due to various reasons, such as labour migration, divorce, death or women choosing not to marry, leaves women with the responsibility to take care of the household alone (Nugundu & Lombard, 2012). Therefore, women remain a very vulnerable group in society, as they do not have access to integral aspects and resources that can enable them to have a positive quality of life, such as education, health, employment and decision-making.

Women join the informal sector as an escape from the poverty trap, where they create job opportunities or find employment (Bertulfo, 2011; Mabilo, 2018). They are concentrated in different kinds of jobs that are low paying and offer an unstable income. They are found in multiple and varied working sites which include streets, waste dumps, agricultural fields, domestic work and their own homes. They also work irregular hours, unscheduled overtime, and have no maternity or childcare benefits (Moussié & WIEGO, 2016). Above all, women are a hard-working group of people within society. They are traditionally expected to bear and care for children and also to provide for family's health and wellbeing. Bearing of children and motherhood are perceived as primary roles for women, especially in African countries (Waterhouse, Hill, & Hinde, 2017a).

Additionally, women also play a significant role in the productive labour system, as they are involved in the informal sector. They play a paramount role in alleviating poverty within the household and society at large. Their involvement in the informal economy proves that they can do whatever it takes to provide for their families, regardless of the dangers they face. A number of studies, for instance (Bhan et al., 2020; Narayan, 2011), have found that the informal economy is the main source of income and livelihood that allows women to provide household necessities, create sustainable livelihoods while also enhancing their level of economic independence. Ramani et al. (2013) reveal that women's attraction to the informal sector is based on the flexible nature of this economy, as it allows women to fulfil their needs and serve the social norms while pursuing entrepreneurship.

However, challenges within the informal sector limits women's ability to flourish. These challenges include the lack of government support, gender inequality and discrimination, sexual harassment, poor working environments and lack of social security such as maternity leave, pension and so on (Mabilo, 2018; Magidimisha & Gordon, 2015). It can be said without any hesitation that the informal economy does not offer decent work to the people engaged in it. According to ILO, decent work is the kind of work that is constituted by four pillars: employment opportunities, rights, protection, and voice (ILO 2008). The informal sector does not possess all of these inter-linked features of decent work. People working in this sector are vulnerable to different kinds of abuse and exploitation (Blaauw,

2011). However, women do not have a choice but to work in this sector since their main priority is to provide and care for their children and the household at large. Nevertheless, childcare for many women is a full-time job, as it requires them to spend most of their time nurturing and breastfeeding their children.

2.4 Characteristics of the informal economy

2.4.1 Lack of infrastructure

The informal economy has poor infrastructure, which includes poor transport, poor electricity provisioning, inadequate storage facilities, inadequate water and sanitation, and poor working premises (Mkhize et al., 2013; Sassen et al., 2018). Most of the informal workers working within the CBD cannot afford to pay for trading permits, and some have difficulty in accessing accommodation because of overcrowding which is an offshoot of urbanisation. Therefore, such informal workers operate their businesses on street pavements, in an open space or in peripheral areas (Mkhize et al., 2013; Sassen et al., 2018).

2.4.2 Overcrowding and competition

Growth within the informal economy has resulted in significant overcrowding (Arias, 2019). This is because there is no structured regulation, and people find it easy to enter work in this economy. Overcrowding in the informal economy is dominant among street traders. As a result, they compete with each other over customers, the products they sell and over space (Kabeer, Milward, & Sudarshan, 2013b). As mentioned above, some street traders use street pavements to run their business. Therefore, there is competition for space between street traders and pedestrians (Chen, Harvey, Kihato, & Skinner, 2018). The competition is not only among informal workers; it is also created by larger firms who are in market production.

2.4.3 Low income

Income in the informal sector is very low. Wills (2009) stated that informal workers in South Africa earn considerably less on average, when compared to formal workers. In South Africa, the national minimum wage is R20 per hour which amounts to R3 440 per month. However, this policy is not being practice in the informal economy. In 2011, the average income for informal workers was R1 733 per month (Michael Rogan & Skinner, 2017). There are also income differences within the informal employment sector, where those who are self-employed make more income than those who are wage employees. In addition, women in the informal economy, whether self-employed or employed, tend to earn a lower income than their male counterparts (Ramani, Thutupalli, Medovarszki,

Chattopadhyay, & Ravichandran, 2013). Evidence based on a survey showed that gender earning gaps are greater within informal workers; a survey in Bangladesh, South Africa and Tanzania found that men who are self-employed earn three times more than women who are self-employed (Kucera & Xenogiani, 2009). The differences are caused by the fact that working hours are not equal, including other dimensions of work conditions, seasonality of work and multiple activities.

The wage that women get in the informal sector is often not enough to cover their expenses. Children are also affected, as the mother cannot afford to cover their needs. Rodin et al. (2012) found that some women in Mexico could not afford to educate their children for as long as they wanted. This implies that children will face the same challenges of not finding proper employment as their parents, hence regenerating poverty. Unpaid work responsibilities affect women's income. Unlike men, women have to attend to their reproductive roles, such as caring for the baby and domestic chores, which is time consuming. Absence of social protection, such as maternity leave, adds stress to women's income since they do not earn when they are away from work (Bhan et al., 2020). Therefore, disproportionate sharing of responsibilities between men and women creates income disparities.

2.5 Informally working women and child care

It has been argued that the responsibility of being a mother or child-rearing is intensifying, since women have a greater responsibility in parenthood. In the past, there were collective tasks within the family in raising a child. However, that has changed now due to the fact that household members are now actively involved in economic activities, particularly in low-income households, hence leaving the childcare responsibilities to the biological mother (Moussié, 2016). Studies (Moussié, 2017; Waterhouse, Hill, & Hinde, 2017b) have discovered that most women in the informal economy are working with their children accompanying them. This is their coping strategy in balancing work and childcare, since some of them cannot afford to pay for childcare. However, combining work and childcare means that one will take precedence over the other. Daudi (2015a) conducted a study in Tanzania and found that 46% of women who sell food spent two to three hours in doing childcare. This shows that a majority of women lack time to effectively care for their children since they are occupied by their productive role. Women in the informal sector work long hours and sometimes seven days a week. This has caused a significant conflict in balancing work and childcare.

The conflict between these two responsibilities has an effect on a mother's income and on child development (Alfers, 2016). In a study done by Waterhouse et al. (2017), mothers mentioned that breastfeeding routines were interrupted after returning to work; as a result, they introduced

complementary food at an early stage of the infant's life. The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends that all mothers globally should exclusively breastfeed their infants for the first six months. This helps achieve optimal growth, development and health of the baby. The WHO suggest that complementary food be introduced after the first six months of exclusive breastfeeding, and also that mothers should continue breastfeeding their children until they are one year or beyond (WHO, 2011). Achieving this is difficult for working mothers, whether working in the formal or informal economy.

Breastfeeding duration decreases when mothers return to work after having a baby (Bonet et al., 2013; Jama et al., 2017; Mandal, Roe, & Fein, 2010). However, duration of exclusive breastfeeding is higher for women working in the formal sector because of the privilege that they are entitled to stay at home for few months after giving birth while getting paid (Chai, Nandi, & Heymann, 2018). For informally working women, it is quite the opposite. Lack of financial security during pregnancy forces them to return to work, interrupting breastfeeding practices. Vilar-Compte et al. (2019) implemented a costing methodology to examine the effect of maternity benefits among informally working women in Mexico, in the context of improving breastfeeding, and the results were positive. The authors recommended that such intervention be implemented by policy-makers and provided a step-by-step costing methodology that can be replicated by government and other stakeholders to design practical policies to offer maternity protection for women in the informal economy.

The unstructured nature of the informal job means that women are working without following labour regulations. This means that their working hours are not fixed and do not coincide with other organisational structures, such as childcare centres, that might assist in caring for the child while the mother is at work. Rodin et al. (2012) and Daudi (2015a) found that women leave their children in the care of other children, alone at home or in the care of an older person who may not adequately care for the child. Older siblings may miss school to look after the child, since the mother cannot miss a day from work as she will not get paid. This is a risky thing to do, because children cannot adequately care for one another. Rodin et al. (2012) further postulated that allowing children to miss school and to work creates long-term educational and employment effects, since most of these children drop out of school. As a result, intergenerational poverty continues within the household.

The challenge for informally working women in finding reliable and organised child care is affordability. It is costly for them to pay for day-care with the little money they earn (Moussié, 2016). The cost for childcare includes transportation, food, aftercare fees or paying someone who will care

for the child after crèche in the afternoon while the mother is still at work. As indicated above, these are women who live in poverty, who earn a low income, and most of them are single parents and breadwinners in their homes. Therefore, these women depend on themselves to maintain their livelihood. However, in pursuit of livelihoods, women find it difficult to integrate their roles as mothers and working women (Alfers, 2016; Horwood et al., 2019). Because of these difficulties, mothers find alternative supportive measures such as working with the child, or taking the child to live with grandparents or family members (Rodin et al., 2012; Waterhouse et al., 2017b). However, some single mothers do not have support from family members and rely on neighbours and friends to care for the child while at work.

Brewer, Bryson, and Park (2012) described childcare from non-parent family members as informal childcare. Just like the informal economy, informal childcare is not regulated and providers do not get sponsorship from government. Therefore, this type of care is under-resourced, with poor infrastructure and facilities (PPT, 2014). However, parents overlook such conditions and trust that the carer will take good care of the child (Mbarathi, Mthembu, & Diga, 2016). This is because informal carers provide their services at an affordable rate compared to organised early childhood development (ECD) centres or private childcare centres (PPT, 2014).

Women working in the informal economy are being neglected by government whose primary focus is on workers in the formal sector. In SA, the DSD has the mandate of ensuring that vulnerable people are protected by creating an enabling environment for provision of a comprehensive, integrated and sustainable social development service. Some of the DSD strategic goals are to improve and expand ECD provision and to enhance the capabilities of communities to achieve sustainable livelihoods and household security (South Africa yearbook 2015/16, 2016). These improvements do not include the informal childcare centres that most people from poor communities, including informally working mothers, utilise for childcare. There are number of informal childcare centres that have been offering their services for a number of years to local parents. An article by Johnson (2017) reported about an informal childcare centre named 'Happy Feet Daycare', owned by a couple, that has serviced the community of Bushkoppies informal settlement for approximately eight years. This centre has been operating in a poorly built structure, with limited equipment for educating children. Atmore, Van Niekerk, Lauren-Jayne, and Ashley-Cooper (2012) concluded by saying that there is much to do to improve the quality of South African children's lives.

2.6 Social development

Social development is about putting people at the centre of development. Its mandate is to provide social protection services and assist government in building partnerships that will enable individuals, groups and communities to be empowered and take ownership of development (DSD, 2019). Social development is about improving the wellbeing of people within society, in order to enable them to reach their full potential. Ngundu (2010) further stated that empowerment and development are rooted in investing in people's human resources, as well as social and economic capital, which will enable them to improve their welfare status. Thus, social development is required to remove all obstacles that may prevent people from moving forward on their journey to self-efficacy.

The DSD has declared its strategic goals to achieve its mandate. These goals include, among others, improving and expanding ECD; deepening social assistance and extending the scope of the contributory social security system; and enhancing the capabilities of communities to achieve sustainable livelihoods and household food security (DSD, 2016). This is the department that is meant to assist women in the informal economy in fighting their challenges concerning childcare and their working conditions. As has been stated above, the DSD must remove all barriers that inhibit people from reaching their dreams. Therefore, intervention from the DSD will help informally working women to grow, develop their skills and support their families in a meaningful way. If women are equipped with adequate skills, are well educated, healthy and socially protected, they can be able to compete in the workforce and also successfully meet the basic needs of their families. It has been very clear from the literature that the most challenging role for informally working women is to balance childcare and work responsibilities. Thus, an affordable, high-quality childcare system is needed for these women to improve their children's quality of life.

Although the South African government provides social grants to vulnerable children in the country, it is not enough to cover all of the child's needs, not to mention the potential misuse of this money by parents or caregivers. The South African government has paid much attention to formal employment policies, but ignored the informal economy which has accommodated a number of people in providing job opportunities. The informal childcare centre system is another structure that has been ignored by government, yet it provides care, education and safety to millions of children who are living in poor households (PPT, 2014).

In order for government to assist or to intervene, it is important for informal operators to form structural organisations to create unity (Kabeer et al., 2013b). Their interests can be best served when

they are able to reach an agreement from a position of strength and confidence. They need strong and stable partners to represent them in negotiating with other stakeholders, in order to get the service they want. Women in the informal economy possess similar qualities which can be used in building a shared identity. They are spatially dispersed, have no social protection, and frequently operate under casual conditions. They do not have a clear distinction between their productive and domestic work, or between their roles as workers, mothers, wives and members of the society (Kabeer et al., 2013). Kabeer et al. (2013b) stated that it is essential for an organisation to have a shared identity and interests in order to develop effective collective actions. Now, since women in the informal sector have a shared identity, they need to voice their concerns so that they obtain resources, gain recognition of the value of work that they do, are respected as workers and are able to have a voice in all decisions which affect them as workers and citizens of the South Africa (Kabeer et al., 2013).

The Self-employed Women's Association (SEWA) is one perfect example of an organisation that was formed out of this shared identity. This organisation was founded in India in 1972. It grew out of the Textile Labour Association, India's oldest and largest union of textile workers. In 1999, this organisation had about 220 000 members, who were organised into three broad categories of self-employed workers. These categories include small-scale vendors, home-based producers and workers selling services in rural and urban areas. Their shared identity was that they were all women, self-employed and poor. The organisation organised women as producers and provided services such as childcare, training and legal aid. It also established a bank that provides credit and saving facilities. The childcare centre opens from Monday to Saturday from 09:00 am to 5:00 pm for children under the age of six years old (Moussié & WIEGO, 2016). SEWA has taken the initiative to promote women and their empowerment, support their means of living, and hence help in alleviating poverty. Therefore, replicating what this organisation has done would assist informally working women in South Africa to form their own organisation or unions. Supporting cooperatives is another goal of DSD, particularly when they are formed by women to promote women empowerment.

2.7 Theoretical framework

2.7.1 Attachment theory

Attachment theory was first formulated by John Bowlby in 1951. In this theory, the author revealed the mental effect that can happen on a child if he or she experiences maternal deprivation or separation. For children to be mentally healthy, they need a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with their mother or caregiver (Bowlby, 1951). There are two categories of maternal deprivation, namely partial and complete deprivation. Partial maternal deprivation exists when the

mother is not giving loving care to the child or when the child is removed from the mother and is being care for by someone else who fulfils the mothering role but is a stranger. Complete deprivation occurs when children lose their mother (or primary caregiver) and do not experience warm loving affection from a secondary caregiver (Bowlby, 1951). Complete maternal deprivation can lead to negative consequences for character development, including what Bowlby calls affectionless psychopathy. This is a state in which the infant lacks affection for others. Ainsworth (1969) stated that in less than 12 months of life, the baby starts to undergo a profound transformation where he or she starts to differentiate self and non-self, and respond to the external world; he or she can distinguish between people but forms a firm attachment to the mother or primary caregiver.

The mother is usually the main person who is at close proximity to the child and responds to their needs. When the baby is less than six weeks they do not fully know the mother but understand her as the object that responds to their states of need, such as feeding, bathing etc. During the first six months, the baby starts to recognise its parents, and becomes more attached to the mother or primary caregiver. After six months, the child misses the mother/caregiver when she is not present, even though their needs are being fulfilled by someone one else. When separated from the mother, the child becomes distressed for a longer time and finds it difficult to form an attachment to a new figure (Ainsworth, 1969). This is what Bowlby refers to as maternal deprivation, when the child loses or is separated from the mother, or fails to develop an attachment to the mother due to the mother's continuous absence. Maternal deprivation causes long-term emotional damage to the child, including affectionless psychopathy, as mentioned above. This condition involves a lack of emotional development which includes lack of concern for others, lack of remorse and failure to form permanent and meaningful relationships (Bretherton, 1992).

Attachment theory emphasises the importance of the mother (or primary caregiver) relationship for a child's development. Children require nurturing care from their mothers or primary caregivers in order to thrive in life. Everyday interaction between the child and the mother or caregiver in the early years of the child's life is also essential for cognitive, language and socio-emotional development. To achieve this, parents or caregivers must practice key activities such as playing with the child, reading and telling stories, and singing to the child (Tong et al., 2009). However, low-income households find it difficult to engage in such activities, as parents are more involved in pursuing livelihoods (Hall et al., 2019). When mothers are working, this may affect the child's development through their inability to bond and responsively care for the baby, which promotes security and attachment. In such cases where the mother is not always available, it is of paramount that she provides an alternative primary

caregiver who is responsive, nurturing and protective, lives in a physically safe environment, and provides adequate nutrition and health care (Heinrich, 2014).

Children of informally working women are more likely to experience maternal deprivation, resulting in them being exposed to the dire consequences of maternal deprivation. Due to the absence of social protection within the informal economy, mothers are more likely to return to work soon after child's birth because they are afraid of losing their jobs; also, they need the income. A study conducted in Durban and Delhi among informally working women found that some mothers return to work within three weeks after giving birth, and most return in less than two months (Bhan et al., 2020). This is a very critical stage in the child's life, where the child needs warmth, love and care from the mother. It is also a very important phase of breastfeeding in order to ensure that the child gets all the nutrients they need for optimum development.

Working hours or work schedules pose a conflict for women in their role of motherhood, since a working mother may find it difficult to balance work and childcare roles (Waterhouse et al., 2017b). The literature (Alfers, 2016; Horwood et al., 2019; Mabilo, 2018) discovered that mothers either take their children to work with them or leave the children with a carer at a convenient environment. These options are not the best for the child's development; although at work the child is with the mother, the environment is not usually conducive to raise a child. When the child is left with a carer, this option is not favourable for the child and the mother as well, since they are separated from each other.

Attachment theory emphasises how the mother is the foundation and the source of support for the child's development. Therefore, this theory is relevant to this study since mothers and childcare practices are the theme of this research study. The researcher assumes that women in the informal sector are experiencing some difficulties in balancing their work and childcare responsibilities. As Bowlby (1951) stated in attachment theory, the mother and the child should find satisfaction and enjoyment in their relationship. The researcher aims to find out if such relationship exists between informally working women and their children. If not, what are the challenges they are experiencing and how can they overcome them?

Attachment theory has its weakness for this study since its main focus is on the child's mental health and development. It is also important to include a theory that will help develop insight into issues women face in balancing their lives as working mothers within society. Therefore, the researcher

introduces a second theory, socialist feminism theory, which will help understand the ways in which women are incorporated in the world of work.

2.7.2 Socialist feminism theory

Hooks (2000) defines feminism in very simple terms in her book *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics*: “feminism is a movement that aims to end sexism, sex exploitation and oppression”. The author of this book is clearly stating that feminism is not against men but against people and systems that perpetuate sexism. Feminism originates from the strong beliefs that women play a significant role in contributing to every aspect of the world and that women have not been, and are still not, able to achieve their full potential or gain full participation in society because of their sex (Pasque & Wimmer, 2012).

Social feminism argues that women’s oppression was, and still is, caused by different systems, including culture, class, gender and the capitalist system, which limits women from finding economic and social freedom (Ehrenreich, 1976). Socialist feminist theory began in the 1960s, based on views from Marxist feminism and radical feminism. Marxist feminism claims that capitalism is the main source of women’s subjugation, and radical feminism states that women are oppressed by men through the patriarchal system (Mumporeze, 2020). In this view, capitalism provided jobs to men and left women with the responsibility of taking care of the homestead. This gives rise to the system of patriarchy, which has oppressed women for many years. Based on these views, socialist feminism wants to scrutinise gender inequality and examine women’s social roles, as entrenched in both capitalist and patriarchal systems (Mumporeze, 2020).

Socialist feminism contends that freedom for women is not just bound to economic equality but argues for equality between the sexes, and freedom from oppressive family life, restrictive sexual choices and compulsory motherhood. Therefore, socialist feminism is not against men but is against sexism regardless of who perpetuates sexist thinking and action (Hooks, 2000). Historically, women have been fighting to gain access to the economic world and be included in development initiatives. Women want to be treated as equitably as men and to be valued within society. Although there are some areas where women are liberated, they are still performing dual responsibilities, in terms of their productive and reproductive roles.

In a family where both women and men are working, their working hours may be equal within the work environment, but when they get home gender inequality resumes and the woman is expected

to perform reproductive roles (Chant & Pedwell, 2008). Women perform multiple roles within the household; they are mothers, wives and daughters-in-law (Sadiq & Ali, 2014). Therefore, women work more than men, yet they do not get paid for performing reproductive responsibilities. Muyoyeta (2007) argues that these roles must be acknowledged so that women can have meaningful development. The feminist approach argues that women have always played an integral part in the economy. Therefore, they must be acknowledged for the work that they do, both inside and outside of the household, as it is critical for the maintenance of society (Muyoyeta, 2007).

Socialist feminism, together with the Marxist approach, believes that women will be liberated from oppression once the capitalist system is destroyed. There is a firm opinion that the capitalist system created patriarchy system to subordinate women (Eisenstein, 1979). Women are frequently faced with vast amount of work within the household, which limits their ability to do productive work (Daudi, 2015). Men are actively involved in productive work, which is labour market and ignore the household duties.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter described the informal economy in the South African context and illuminated the involvement of women in the informal economy. The responsibilities of women as mothers and workers were also described. According to the literature, the informal economy has accommodated most vulnerable people, such as women, who have been denied opportunities to advance themselves. However, being informally employed has its own disadvantages, particularly for women who are in the reproductive stage, as they face difficulties in balancing motherhood and livelihood. This means that children born by these mothers are exposed to disadvantages such as maternal deprivation, poverty, malnutrition and poor opportunities for learning. Attachment theory expanded more on this issue of maternal deprivation and child development. Furthermore, socialist feminism theory guided this study based on women's rights issues.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher describes in detail the methodology the study implemented in order to answer the research questions, highlighting literature that guided the data collecting process. The first section defines and describes the research methodology which includes research design, study areas, sampling procedures and data collection tools. The chapter further defines and describes the data analysis process, and lastly, covers the ethical considerations of the study.

3.2 Study location

The study was located in two different areas within eThekweni (Durban) Metropolitan Municipality, namely Durban central business district (CBD) and in Inanda, Ntuzama and KwaMashu (the 'INK' area). These two areas were chosen because the researcher wanted to get different experiences of how people earn their livelihoods. Most informal workers are concentrated within the CBD. They work on the side of the streets, taxi ranks, while others have no fixed location as they move around the CBD selling products to people. The other informally working population is found in suburban areas, near shopping malls, industrial areas and within townships. The research visited these places to find potential participants. The researcher sought to get the perspective of women working in the CBD and those who are working in townships, which is the INK area. Therefore, half of the sample was women who work within the CBD and the other half was women working in townships.

3.2.1 Description of Durban CBD

The Durban central business district (CBD) was used as one study area. Durban is the biggest city in KwaZulu-Natal, with a population of approximately 3 702 231 (Statistics South Africa, 2016). The CBD consists of harbour and industrial areas that play a crucial role in the contribution of the municipality to its gross domestic product (GDP). Since the apartheid era, there has been transformation within the CBD with regard to livelihood, allowing everyone to participate in economic activities. There has been a growth in the informal economy and informal employment within the CBD over the years. There are street traders on the side of every street of the CBD, especially the busiest streets. Some people are trading under shelters and some just lay their products on the ground.

3.2.2 Description of the INK area

The researcher also used the INK area, which comprised three townships Inanda-Ntuzuma-KwaMashu, combined into a single area. These three townships are close to each other, and there are no clear physical boundaries. The INK area is situated 30 kilometres north of Durban and encompasses a mix of formal residential townships and informal settlements. The area accommodates a population of approximately 510 000. In 2001, then-president Thabo Mbeki identified the INK area as a critical node to be included in the urban renewal programme (URP). Since then, various developments have occurred within the INK area, road infrastructure, railway infrastructure and a new hospital, which is still under construction. Inanda has shopping centre called Mtshebheni which has store like Shoprite, Pep, Checkout, Buildit, Cashbuild, Furnco and many others. On the Southern part of Inanda there is a mall called Dube Village mall name in honour of the late Dr John Langalibalele Dube who played paramount role fight apartheid and was the first president of the African National Congress (ANC) (Hughes, 2011). In October 2009 the biggest shopping centre call Brigde City started to operate within the INK area and it attracted investors and other businesses. Other infrastructural development within Bridge city are Ntuzuma Magistrate Court, the regional hospital called Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme Memorial Hospital named after the Pixley ka Isaka Seme who was one of the first Black lawyers in South Africa and the cofounder of the ANC (Ngqulunga, 2017). Bridge City also include the underground railway station.

Kwamashu area has a Shopping centre Located on Mandela Road and include various store such Spar, Ackerman's, Jet, Cashbuild and many more. There is also another shopping centre in Kwamashu L-section called Nyala Centre which consist of stores such as Boxer, Buildit and others. Economic development within the INK area has created both formal and informal job opportunities for local people.

3.3 Research methodology

According to Rajasekar, Philominathan, and Chinnathambi (2013), research methodology refers to the use of systematic approaches in solving a research problem. The aim is to show a work plan for how the research was conducted. The researcher must describe the research strategy, the research method, the research approach, data collection methods, sampling techniques, data analysis process, ethical considerations and possible limitations (Angos, 2013). This study applied a qualitative research method. Qualitative research is described as a method where the researcher is more interested in the lived experiences of participants, and in how participants perceive their world and their relationships. In qualitative research, truth is not viewed in the absolute sense of the word, but it is viewed as human-constructed meaning about people's lived experiences of the world in which they live (Bless,

Higson-Smith, & Sithole, 2013). Using this type of qualitative research in this study was useful as the researcher was able to gain in-depth knowledge from the participants' stories.

3.4 Research design

A research design involves a construction of a plan informing how the research questions will be answered. The research design informs what information is needed, the methods that are going to be used to collect and analyse data, and how the research question is going to be answered (Van Wyk, 2012). A qualitative case study method was used by the researcher to get an in-depth understanding of the circumstances that informally working women face in caring for their children while pursuing their work duties. Baxter and Jack (2008) stated that this approach is a valuable method for a researcher to use when wanting to develop a theory, evaluate a programme and develop interventions.

Helping and supporting women in the informal sector is one of the objectives of this research. Therefore, the case study method helped in focusing on the issues that affect women's productive and reproductive work. This study will create a platform where the voices of the informally working women will be heard, since it also involved the DSD. Zainal (2007) further mentioned that case study research allows researchers to explore and understand complex issues; it can be also viewed as a valuable research method, especially when a holistic in-depth investigation is needed. It is a very relevant tool to use when dealing with issues such as education, sociology, and community-based problems, such as unemployment, poverty illiteracy, drug addiction etc. Using a case study approach in this study was beneficial as it assisted the researcher in getting an in-depth understanding of informal work and the challenges it brings into the lives of women, especially mothers.

The case study approach also allows a researcher to explore a phenomenon within its context, using different data sources, which ensures that the subject of the research is viewed through different lenses, allowing various aspects of the phenomenon to be discovered and understood (Baxter & Jack, 2008). In view of what has been mentioned by Baxter and Jack (2008), this study aimed at exploring perceptions of informally working women on issues concerning their work and childcare responsibilities. Women were the main subject of the study as they are the ones who work in the informal economy. The researcher was interested in getting to know how mothers balance childcare and work responsibilities, and to understand the challenges they encounter as informally working mothers, as well as possible solutions. The DSD was included in the study because it is the department which focusses on issues related to poverty alleviation, economic development, early childhood

development and social advancement, with the aim of improving people's lives. Therefore, the researcher was interested in exploring the department's opinion on the matter and what possible interventions it could generate to address issues within the informal sector.

Daudi (2015a) used a case study method in a similar study done in Tanzania. The author strongly believed that this is an exhaustive method which allows a researcher to thoroughly study different aspects of the phenomenon. Baxter and Jack (2008) highlighted two approaches that guide case study methodology. These approaches were proposed by Stake (1995) and Yin (2006), to ensure that the subject of interest is well explored and the essence of the phenomenon is discovered. Therefore, according to the approach by Stake (1995) and Yin (2006), the case study approach is based on a constructivist paradigm which claims that truth is relative and depends on one's perspective. This approach allows the researcher and the participants to be in partnership during the study. It also allows participants to tell their stories, which enables them to describe their views of reality, giving the researcher a better understanding of the participants' actions (Baxter & Jack, 2008). To better understand the childcare practices and life circumstances of informally working mothers, the researcher gave mothers a chance to tell their stories, and share their experiences of being a mother and a worker simultaneously.

3.5 Research methods and techniques

3.5.1 Sampling

Creswell (2014) defined a sample as "a subgroup of the target population that the researcher plans to study for the purpose of making generalisations about the target population". The most common and rigorous sampling technique is random or probability samples. Most researchers choose this sampling technique because it makes it easy to generalise the findings to the whole population. However, it is not an effective method of developing an understanding when dealing with complex human issues (Marshall, 1996). (Robinson, 2014) agreed with Marshall (1996), stating that the sample is not the only factor influencing generalisability, but it is part of the picture. A random sampling approach is most prevalent in quantitative studies. For qualitative research, the number of participants does not matter that much, but choosing the right participants who will adequately answer the research question is very important (Marshall, 1996). Therefore, the sample in qualitative research is selected for the purpose of gaining deeper understanding on the phenomenon being studied, given the fact that the selected individual is part of the group of interest (Daudi, 2015.)

A snowball sampling technique was used in this study to select participants. Snowball sampling is defined as a repetitive process where the researcher is informed by participants about other participants who may be eligible to participate in the study (Noy, 2008). This sampling technique made it easier for the researcher to identify mothers in the informal sector who had children younger than five years. In most cases, people who work in the same environment know each very well; in this case, women in the street know who is or who is not a mother. The sample for this study consisted of 24 women and three stakeholders. Below is full description on how these participants were recruited.

At first, the researcher targeted any woman who was an informal worker (street traders). A screening questionnaire (see appendix 1) was used to assess if the participant was eligible or not. If eligible, the woman was asked to participate in the study and also asked if she knew any women who were also working informally and who had a child. The screening tool was used with every woman approached by the researcher to ensure that the participant was eligible. In ensuring that eligibility was met, the participant had to be older than 18 years of age, be an informally working mother who had a child/children less than five years old, who did not make contributions to UIF, or pay tax to the South African Revenue Service (SARS) if self-employed, and who agreed to participate in the study. The researcher chose children under five years because this is a stage where children most urgently need maternal care for nurturing. The first few years of a child's life are important because it where vital developments occurs in all domains (Grantham-McGregor et al., 2007). This is the period where children need nurturing care to ensure that they are safe, healthy, and well nourished. They also need caregivers who respond to their needs and interests, and they need to be given opportunities for early learning (WHO, 2018). Based on the literature, informally working women are a group of women who do not have maternity benefits or other social protection. This study wanted to explore how that impacts on raising a child, since these women's livelihood depends on the work that they do.

Sixteen informally working women were selected to participate in the study, and the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with them. Boyce and Neale (2006) stated that in-depths interviews are advantageous when a researcher wants to get detailed information about participant's thoughts and behaviours or wants to explore new issues in more detail. To date, there has been little agreement on what constitutes a sufficient sample size for qualitative research. Mason (2010) highlighted a number of authors who gave different suggestions on how many participants should be recruited for a qualitative research study. Mason (2010) felt that these authors did not present empirical arguments as to why they chose certain numbers. Therefore, in this study the researcher believed that data saturation would be reached with 16 participants.

The researcher divided the participants into two equal groups, one that works within the INK area and the other group that works within the Durban CBD, in order to get perceptions from women who work in different locations. For those women who work in the CBD, the researcher recruited them on different streets. There were four women who worked within the Workshop area, two Joe Slovo Street, one on Monty Naicker Road and one Dr Pixley KaSeme Street. The aim of recruiting participants on different streets was to ensure rigour and avoid prejudice, since participants from one area might have influence on each other, as they would know about the study.

Eight participants from the INK area were recruited at Inanda and KwaMashu. In Inanda, women were recruited in two areas, namely Mtshebheni and Bester. These are economically busy places with taxi ranks. Three women were recruited from Mtshebheni, and two from Bester. In KwaMashu, three women were recruited. Women from KwaMashu were street traders selling their products near the local shopping centre. The researcher also applied the same technique of recruiting women in different areas within the INK area. The main aim was to represent women from the three different areas within the INK area, and, secondly, to access the perspectives of different participants in different areas to try to find common interventions. It is important to state that some women were not staying in the recruitment site for example there was a women who was staying at Ntuzuma but working in Kwamashu and there was also another women who was staying in Maphephetheni but working at Mtshebheni.

In addition, purposive sampling was used to include three officials from the DSD. Purposive sampling, also known as judgment sampling, is the process where the researcher deliberately selects participants with a specific purpose, based on her judgement (Maree, 2007). Using this technique, the researcher decided which participants to include, based on what needed to be known and if the participant was willing to give information based on their knowledge and experiences. The researcher thought that three participants from DSD would be enough to give their insight on the issue of informally working women and child care. When recruiting these participants, the researcher first asked for permission from the DSD to have interviews with three staff members, the social worker, the community development practitioner (CDP), and the local economic development practitioner (LEDP).

The researcher wrote a letter (see appendix 2) to the DSD director for gatekeeper's letter, where after an interview appointment date was set to present the purpose of the study. Permission was granted

to work with participants from the DSD. The researcher recruited a social worker and a community development practitioner who work for the DSD in offices within the INK area. It was a challenge to find an LEDP; therefore, the researcher recruited a stakeholder who worked for the eThekweni Municipality under the Business Support Unit. This was someone who was very relevant for the purpose of the study as their work scope was similar with that of the LEDP. Challenges were encountered in trying to set appointments, especially with the DSD director. This was due to the nature of the director's job and the fact that the study occurred in a critical period where the city of Durban was faced with a heavy storm which left many citizens vulnerable.

3.5.2 Data collection tools and procedures

The researcher collected data personally from 16 recruited informally working women and three DSD officials. Additional data from 12 informally working women was used in this study. This data was taken from a cohort longitudinal study that was conducted among 24 women between July 2018 and October 2019 by the research organisation called centre for rural health (CRH). The study was based on informally working women living in KwaMashu and Inanda and was led by doctor Christiane Horwood. The women were recruited during their antenatal visits to two community health clinics (CHCs), one in KwaMashu and one in Inanda. They were recruited during their last trimester of pregnancy and followed until their children were one year old. This sample included women who were working as domestic workers in nearest sub-urbans such as Phoenix, New Germany and Newlands. but there were staying within the INK area. In-depth interviews were conducted with these women at four different time points, namely at pregnancy, post-delivery, pre-work, and when they had returned to work. This was done to explore and obtain an in-depth understanding of informally working women's lived experiences through this time, regarding work and childcare responsibilities.

This additional data was collected by two researchers who were each given 12 women to follow up on at different time points. The researcher of the present study was one of the two researchers who collected data in the cohort study. Not all 24 women were included in the present study; the researcher used data from only 12 women. In selecting data, the researcher chose women who had completed all four interviews in the cohort (i.e. baseline interview, post-delivery interview, pre-work interview and return-to-work interview). Some women in the cohort did not participate in the pre-work interview and returned to work. The pre-work interview was supposed to be done before the mother went back to work; however, some mothers skipped this interview because they went back to work earlier than anticipated. Some mothers did not do the return-to-work interviews because they lost their job after delivery. Therefore, the researcher only selected those who had completed all of

the cohort interviews and that comprised 12 women. These 12 women were staying in KwaMashu and Inanda, working in different informal jobs. Some of them were working from home, some were domestic workers in different places such as Phoenix and New Germany, and some were working in CBD or in commercial zones within the INK area. Participants recruited from Durban CBD were staying in neighbourhood townships such as Chesterville, Mayville, Umlazi, Ntuzuma, KwaMashu, Inanda and some were staying within the CBD area. However, the researcher classified participants according to their working place not where they are staying.

In collecting data with the recruited participants, the researcher visited women in their working environment. In-depth interviews were conducted using an interview guide (see appendix 3 & 4) with open-ended questions. This allowed the participants to share their thoughts and experiences based on the topic. Furthermore, open-ended questions give the researcher or interviewee the freedom of probing further to gain more insight into the topic being studied (Turner III, 2010). Probing allowed the researcher to request more information, hence reaching data saturation. All interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of the participants, and field notes were used. This was to ensure that the researcher captured everything by audio-taping and taking notes of important points using a field notebook.

Since interviews were conducted within the work environment, disturbance was experienced where the participant needed to attend to their customers, resulting in the interviews taking longer than anticipated. In addition, the quality of the audio-recording was not good, since the place was noisy and recorder captured all the sound in the vicinity. However, the interviews with the DSD officials were conducted in a private room where there was only researcher and the participant. Interviews with all informal traders were conducted in the *isiZulu* language. Interviews with DSD officials were conducted using both *isiZulu* and English.

3.6 Data analysis

Data analysis of qualitative data is defined as the method where the researcher systematically arranges transcribed data, categorising it into manageable units to increase an understanding of the topic and deciding what to present to the audience (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). This means that the researcher reduces the transcribed raw data into significant patterns that will build meaning from the data (Wong, 2008). Simon (2011) summarises the definition of data analysis by stating that it is the process of making meaning from collected data. In getting the meaning from the data, the steps implemented by the researcher are described below.

Data were transcribed verbatim and translated into English. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. Thematic analysis is widely used in qualitative research. Braun and Clarke (2006) defined thematic analysis as the process of identifying, analysing and reporting themes that emerge from the data. A theme is used to identify important topics in the data in response to the research questions; it helps to arrange a set of repeating responses within the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen, & Snelgrove, 2016). The researcher used the research questions to develop themes before coding commenced; these themes are known as *a priori* themes since they were developed before data analysis. Emerging themes were added during data analysis. The researcher used NVivo v12.3 software to code the data. NVivo is described as the most widely used computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, which assists researchers to analyse qualitative data (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2011). Coding was done by the researcher alone, where data were labelled and categorised into different themes.

Since data from CRH cohort study were collected longitudinally at different time points, the researcher took advantage of the nature of the study and analysed the data longitudinally. NVivo made it easy to analyse such data, as the researcher developed cases (folders) within the software where interviews for each participant at different time points were placed into one folder. This allowed the researcher to code from baseline (first interview) to the return-to-work interview. It further allowed the researcher to get an in-depth understanding of the dynamics informally working women faced in relation to work and childcare.

3.7 Trustworthiness and rigour

The trustworthiness of the study is very important in a qualitative research; therefore, in accomplishing this, the researcher implemented research methods that are well established and have been successfully used by other researchers doing similar research. Creswell (2014) emphasised the importance of validating research findings and advised on ways to achieve this. For qualitative research, the researcher needs to concentrate on credibility, confirmability, transferability and dependability. Confirming findings requires the researcher to implement strategies that will determine the credibility of the findings. Triangulation is one of the strategies that can be used for confirmability. Triangulation is the process of collating data from different sources, or types of data, or methods of data collection (Creswell, 2014). In this study, the researcher used different data sources, that is, informally working women and DSD officials. Informally working women, who were the main participants of the study, came from different work environments and shared their stories.

Based on the data, these women have similar experiences with regard to work and childcare. Therefore, the researcher believes that this study can be replicated with another group of women and give the same findings.

It has been stated above that the study also used three DSD officials as participants. These officials came from different departments, yet they provided useful information which added different insight to the topic of interest. In addition, it complemented what was said by the informally working women. Drawing information from various multiple sources contributed to the credibility, reliability and validity of the study process. The researcher believes that the findings from this study can be generalised to the broader population of informally working women.

3.8 Ethical considerations

In every research study, it is compulsory for a researcher to protect participants from any harm that might arise as a result of being involved in the study. Therefore, before the study commenced, the researcher had to apply for ethical clearance from the department of Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC), University of KwaZulu-Natal. The ethical clearance certificate (see appendix 5) (HSS/Z033/018M) was issued to the researcher in October 2018. A gatekeeper's letter (see appendix 6) was also issued by the DSD to allow the researcher to interview the staff members.

During data collection, each participant signed an informed consent (see appendix 7 & 8) form agreeing to be part of the research study. The additional 12 participants have already consented during cohort data collection and the researcher got permission from CRH guided by HSSREC to use data for this study. Before signing the consent form, the researcher explained the purpose of the study and elaborated participant's rights. Each participant was given a unique study number to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. The collected data are kept safe in a password-secured computer and were only shared with the supervisor. All data will be destroyed after five years. There is no identifying information of any participants included in the final document to assure anonymity.

3.9 Conclusion

The chosen study methodology allowed the researcher to gather critical information related to the study objectives. The researcher was able to gain in-depth views from the participants through the use of IDIs as a data collection instrument. Although challenges were met during the data collection due to the heavy storm that occurred in Durban and because many informal workers were not

working, the researcher managed to reschedule appointments and continued with data collection. As a novice researcher, the literature on data analyses gave guidance on how best to interpret the results and using NVIVO software made it easy for the researcher to categorise themes and nodes. Thus, the data analysis process enabled the researcher to fully understand the topic and the issues faced by study participants. The study was guided by the HSSREC to ensure that the participants were protected and the researcher did not breach ethical rules.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the study findings from the participants who included mothers and stakeholders from Department of Social Development on their perceptions on informally working women and childcare practices. The researcher will also discuss the study findings in relation to the literature and also include the theories that guided this study. The structure of this chapter will include the participants' demographics, their work environment, the mothers' responses to pregnancy, childcare arrangements and practices, role of the father, challenges, benefits of the informal economy and participants' future plans.

4.2 Profile of participants and a description of their work

Table 1 shows the demographic information of all participants, and this is further discussed below.

Table: 1 Demographic profile of participants

Mothers (n=28)	
Age	
Age mean (years)	30.4
Age median (years)	30.5
20-24	3
26-29	8
30-34	8
35-39	6
40-44	3
Relationship status	
Married	2
Single	13
In a relationship; living with the father of the child	6
In a relationship; not living with the father of the child	7
Work information	
Type of work	
Street trader (non-cooking)	9
Street trader (cooking)	3
Domestic worker	5
Home-based worker (includes making goods for sale)	3
Hairdresser	4
Other	4
Type of employment	
Employee	11
Self-employed or own account	17
Work location	
Central business district (CBD)	8

KwaMashu	5
Inanda	8
Phoenix	5
Newlands East	1
New Germany	1
Years of working	
Less than 1 year	4
1-3 years	9
4-5 years	6
More than 6 years	9
Working day per week	
3-4 days	7
5-6 days	12
7 days	9
Child information	
Age of child	
Less than 1 year	13
1-2 years	4
3-4 years	9
5 years	1
Childcare	
Child's grandmother	7
Father of the child	1
Other relative	3
Non-relative or nanny	3
Crèche	5
Both crèche and nanny/relative	5
Mother works with the baby	4

Most women were between the age of 30 and 39 years, with the age average of 30.4 years and median of 30.5 years. Two participants were married, and 13 were single. However, some mothers were in a relationship with the father of their child, with some staying in the same house as the father of the child. Participants in this study included street traders (cooking and non-cooking), domestic workers, home-based workers and hairdressers. Street traders were selling different products, mostly women's cosmetics, food, clothes, fruit and vegetables. Home-based workers were working at home doing different activities such as braiding hair, sewing at home, doing bead work to sell in town, and one was selling products such as snacks and sweets at home. Most of the participants were working between five and six days a week, Monday to Saturday, from early in the morning until late in the evening and most of them were self-employed. Some domestic workers worked specific days in a week. The number of years women had worked ranged between one and ten years.

Women who were street traders described their work as very competitive, where they did not obtain enough income, but the work demanded most of their time. The following excerpt shows those sentiments:

I do not have working days; I work every day which is something I have noticed. It is getting too much for me although it gives me money. I normally work during the time when other vendors are not here. That is time I am able to make money because everyone buys from me (Street trader 1, 44, Inanda Bester)

Sentiments were expressed that self-employed participants were making better earnings than employed ones. This was one of the reasons participants preferred to be self-employed. A participant said:

When I was in Pietermaritzburg, I tried to sell for someone else but then I thought I should come back to start selling for myself. There is a very big difference because I can see the money when I am making working like this. You can work for someone the entire month then get paid R900, but here it better. (Street trader 12, 34, KwaMashu)

Domestic workers had flexible working hours; they were allowed to go home whenever they finished their work of the day, regardless of time. They also had a good relationship with their employers; this was shown by the level of support domestic workers got from their employer when they fell pregnant and took time off from work. A participant had this to say:

My relationship with my employer is good. We talk about everything. He would ask me whether I am still fine and I would tell him that I am. They are cognisant of my situation. I did not want to stop working early, but because I get tired, I had to stop. My employer also said that it is not because I do not do my work diligently, but I have to be considerate and think about the unborn baby, and so I must take a break from work. He then said that he will pay me my normal leave pay-out since I am not yet registered [as a permanent employee]. And also said, in his own words: 'You will have some money to sustain yourself while you are still at home for two months'. (Domestic worker 1, 39, Phoenix)

There were number of reasons why participants were working in the informal economy. Lack of job opportunities was one of the main reasons women were working in this economy. A substantial body of literature provided evidence that, due to high unemployment, people chose to work in the informal economy (Chant & Pedwell, 2008; Davies & Thurlow, 2010; Mabilo, 2018; Moussié, 2016; Ngundu, 2010; Rogerson, 2015). Most participants stated that they had been applying for employment in different industries, and even in the municipality, but they never found a job in it. One of the participants had a qualification in Human Resource Management but she has not yet found a job she is qualified for; hence, she joined the informal business as a hairdresser. This is what she had to say:

There are no other places that I have tried to work at; the problem is that there is no work. When you go for job hunting, you will find a notice posted at the door, you can go now to Honchos, you will find a paper written "no vacancies". You have a qualification but there are no jobs. You have to take care of yourself because you cannot be taken care of by your parents after they have raised you and gave you an education. You must start providing for yourself. I have grade 12 then I did obtain a computer certificate. After that I did Human Resource management at EThekwini College but I am sitting here. (Hairdresser, 28, CBD Workshop Mall)

Lack of job opportunities were also mentioned by the community development practitioner (CDP) who mentioned that some informally working women are educated but they cannot not find jobs; hence they joined the informal economy.

Some, they are educated but very hard to get a job. So they are out there. When they started, it was because they wanted a job so they can feed their children... (CDP)

Job migration was another reason participants in this study joined the informal economy. Urban areas tend to attract people from rural areas as a result of availability of infrastructure and job opportunities. However, this gives rise to high unemployment as the urban population increases; hence, people join the informal economy to earn a living (Narayan, 2011). There were a number of participants who left their home in a rural area, and came to Durban to find job opportunities. One of the interviewees said she left her home in the Eastern Cape because it is rural and there are no job opportunities. She explained:

Because my sister from Eastern Cape was here too. And after completing school, there are no jobs and the parents are also depending on you. Then I changed places to try a better life here in Durban. (Street trader 5, 33, CBD Workshop Mall)

A poor background also played a role for some participants to join the informal business system; for example, one of the participants stated that her parents lack resources to assist her in furthering her studies, therefore after she finished her secondary school, she joined informal business. Concerning self-employed women in the study, some of them reported that they were employed within the informal economy; however, they left their job, stating that they did not earn much, they were overworking and being exploited. This was a common view for most participants who left their employment and became self-employed within the informal economy. It was also discovered in this study that informal business was inter-generational, where one would find a participant owning a business that had previously been owned by a family member. A cooking street trader said:

My mother was working here so she got retired, then I took over because I was at home, so I started like that. (Cooking street trader 2, 31, Inanda)

This is a common tradition within informal business and may be caused by being raised in a household where parents are self-employed and running their own business. A child can acquire informal business training from parents, and the work environment provides practical skills and experiences (Pasquier-Doumer, 2013).

The job profiles of the participants from this study are congruent with the literature which claims that working in the informal economy is associated with poverty, low levels of education, unemployment and a decrease in the economic growth of the country (Alfers, 2016; Daudi, 2015a; Horwood et al., 2019; Mabilo, 2018; Mkhize et al., 2013). Statistics from (Bonnet et al., 2019) showed that the informal economy has grown in developing countries (90%) compared to developed countries (18%), with a higher percentage of informally employed women (92%) compared to men workers (87%) in developing countries. Increased participation of women in the informal economy is associated with a number of socio-economic factors (Mabilo, 2018). However, based on the socialist feminist theory perspective, gender inequality, socio-cultural practices and capitalism are the causes women are concentrated in the informal economy, because their roles have been domesticated with no room to be involved in economic activities (Mumporeze, 2020). Although women are challenging these structures and becoming economically active, they are still expected to fulfil childcare and household duties.

4.3 Work environment

Most street traders described their work environment as very poor, with limited access to basic services such as electricity, water and sanitation. A number of participants were working in an open space with no shelter, and were exposed to sun, heat and rain. Some participants were using an umbrella to protect their stock from the sun or rain. There were participants who had shelter for trading; however, it was not completely closed. During bad weather conditions, such as rainy days, they used big plastic sheets to cover the open sides of their trading shelter to protect their stock and continue working. Participants who were selling food used containers for trading but some of them did not have electricity. Some participants reported that they do not work on rainy days since they do not have shelter. A proper working environment is a challenge within the informal economy, resulting in a negative and serious impact on the health of informal workers, as they are exposed to precarious

working conditions, pollution, bad weather conditions, and inadequate access to basic services such as water and toilets (Mabilo, 2018; Narayan, 2011).

In response to the poor working environment, participants from DSD mentioned that the municipality has provided shelters to informal workers. However, not every informal worker has access to trading shelters, as they are accessible only to those who have trading license. The participant explains:

We ensure that we give them shelter just to provide a conducive environment for their businesses because the weather is unpredictable: today is raining, tomorrow has sunshine, so those shelters assist the during inclement weather conditions. We are also trying to regulate the sector so we are avoiding to have an influx of unlicensed or unpermitted street traders. So, business support, we ensure that we give them permits and also the trading stalls. (Local economic development practitioner)

The requirement to have a trading license is one of the bylaws that municipalities implemented to regulate and permit informal trading spaces (Hodgson et al., 2018). Space is viewed as a primary object that shapes economic, social and environmental outcomes (Chen, Harvey, Kihato, & Skinner, 2018). Therefore, municipalities control public spaces to ensure free movement of people, cars and occurrence of economic activities. Informal workers who do not possess a trading permit do not get the privilege of having a trading stall or shelter.

Not only were trading shelters a challenge, but also access to water was a big challenge for most participants. Mothers would carry their own drinking water from home to use at work or sometimes buy this. Most participants reported that access to toilet facilities was another challenge in their work environment. In places where there are no public toilets, women would go to the nearest store, restaurant or a mall to access toilets, which at times they had to pay to access. A participant revealed:

It is a bad shame there are no toilets. For toilets, we must go inside the Workshop Mall where you pay R2. If you do not have R2, you go to Havana. [mumbled unclear] Sometimes they will let you in and sometimes they do not let you in. But for peeing and water we pay. (Street trader 5, 33, CBD Workshop Mall)

In places where public toilets are available, women stated that they are poorly maintained in terms of cleanliness. Some toilets were in bad condition, with leaking water, and sometimes there could be no water coming from the sink taps. A street trader explained:

There are but if you, yourself, happens that you want to use a toilet now, you will see that no I cannot use such a toilet. There are no people who are cleaning these toilets, that is the first

thing. Next to the toilets there is water to drink, that is why I decided that the best way is to carry my own water to drink. If it happens that I need to use a toilet, I will go across and ask people unless they deny me or if they did not have them, it is then when I will come back and use these ones. Because even this place that we are working at does not have a shelter; we get wet on rainy days, the sun burns us... (Street trader 1, 44, Inanda Bester)

Some participants did not have a problem in accessing water and toilets; for example, one of the interviewees working in the CBD stated that there are toilets provided to them by the Business Support Department of the municipality, and they are in good condition with water. A street vendor said:

The municipality under its Business Support department has provided us with such amenities to use; I don't know whether you have seen white shelters when you were coming here. (Street trader 7, 39, CBD Workshop Mall)

Women complained about the level of crime within the work environment. They were trading in a busy environment with a lot of passers-by. There were many vagrants in these areas, which compromises women's safety, and pick-pocketing was common. One of the women in the study stated that vagrants broke into her working place and took her stock, resulting a loss in her business.

Sometimes they do break-in, sometimes they do not break-in. If they do break-in that means its my loss and I have to start afresh. (Cooking street trader 2, 31, Inanda Bester)

There were some areas with low levels of crime because the environment was dominated by men, or women were working next to a taxi rank or a police station. Participants who were trading in places like taxi ranks mentioned that they were safe from crime and vagrants, since men dominated their working environment and there were guards who were hired to look after the taxi business. However, in the same context, women were exposed to danger because taxi wars usually start without any warning.

But with regard to crime there is none and this is one thing that kept us here because this is a rank and there are security guards. You cannot tell that this is a rank because there is no shelter but you can tell by the presence of taxis. Those people who are protecting the taxi business also help us as street vendors because we are protected as well. That is why we love working here, even though the conditions that I have mentioned are good but we persevere. We persevere because we know that there is no crime where we are working. (Street trader 1, 44, Inanda Bester)

Some street traders reported that they did not have a fixed working environment; they kept moving to a busy location to find customers. One of the participants said:

I work at Commercial, there at the corner of Grey and Commercial. If that place is not busy, they take me to work at the corner of Pine Street and Field. If there is someone here, they take me to West Street near Pie City. (Street trader 8, 38, CBD Joe Slovo Street)

They usually work on corners of the streets next to traffic lights (robots) to attract people who are waiting to cross; others would work near big retail stores to attract people coming in and out of such stores with their fresh and affordable stocks. One of the street traders said:

We are selling here next the robot because there are lots of people. (Street trader 9, 23, CBD Monty Naicker Road)

Domestic workers and home-based workers had access to water and other services such as electricity and toilets. They were not facing the work environment challenges faced by street traders. However, working at home sometimes disrupts a mother's productivity, as she would attend to other home-based activities such as cleaning, cooking and caring for the child.

In general, the informal economy is a poor economy that accommodates vulnerable people. It is also viewed as an environment of vulnerability, where most people are working under precarious environments and earning little. The study findings confirmed what is already known about the characteristics of the informal economy. A number of complaints were voiced about the lack of basic infrastructure and absence of amenities such as water and toilets, as well as high competition and low income. Working under such conditions affected women's productivity and their wellbeing. The working environment should include safety for employees, job security, good relationships with co-workers and proper supporting facilities (Raziq & Maulabakhsh, 2015). Such characteristics are not present within the informal economy, and this is due to the fact that it does not have proper regulating and supporting structures. Unlike the formal economy, where workers have representatives such as unions, and the Department of Labour and other organisations, such as the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA), which ensure that that employees' needs and rights are met for the benefits of all parties involved.

Maternal benefits and childcare services are also provided within the formal economy, where companies provide space and time for women to express breast milk at work; some companies even

provide childcare facilities within the premises to make life easier for working mothers. The informal economy does not provide such services within the work environment. However, in countries such as Brazil, Ghana and India, women within the informal economy took the initiative and formed cooperatives that provide childcare services to informally working mothers (Moussié, 2017). This could be copied by other women working in the informal economy.

4.4 Response to pregnancy

Most mothers in this study did not plan their pregnancies; most reporting they did not adhere to family planning measures. They were shocked when they found out about the pregnancy and some of them took a while to accept such news. Most of them were worried about the cost of raising the baby, since they were struggling economically. This mother said:

I was not happy because he is a third child, I thought of all the expenses that I had to face on top of other existing ones, but I accepted it because he was there. They say a baby is a gift from God. I accepted my situation as it is not that it was something I planned; no it just happened. (Cooking street trader 2, 31, Inanda Bester)

For most mothers, this was not their first pregnancy; therefore, they felt ashamed of having children out of wedlock. This was mentioned by a woman who said:

Oh no, a shock happens to everyone because no one wants to keep on having children out of wedlock because I am not married. But after some time, I accepted. (Street trader 7, 39, CBD Workshop Mall)

For some mothers, falling pregnant affected them negatively in their lives. One of the mothers who was an orphan dropped out of her secondary education and had to find a job, and her social welfare grant lapsed as a result of pregnancy. Another mother was angry about her pregnancy, stating that she was planning to improve her life to be able to provide for herself and her older child:

I did not want to have a child living in a place like this, in a bad area like this, until at least I achieve everything that I wish to achieve. My older child does not get everything that she needs. Sometimes she asks for something only to find that I do not have it. So if there are two of them, it will be problematic, but then there is nothing I can do. Things will fall into place [cries]. (Home-based worker 1, 31, Inanda)

Some did not have a problem with the pregnancy although they did not plan it. A mother who was selling food stated that she was happy to have a child because most of her peers have children. This is what she said:

Yes, I was alright because I finished grade 12 in 2013; it just that I could not find a job but my peers had babies and it looked like I have a problem. So, I was happy to know that finally I can have a baby. (Cooking street vendor 4, 25, Inanda Mtshebheni)

Based on the findings motherhood was not a priority for most informally working mothers; livelihood is a priority to them. This could be because raising a child is a full-time job and demands time and money which most working women lack. Regardless of their limited resources and challenges, these mothers embraced motherhood and raised their children with love. It is important to note that this was not the first pregnancy for most women, which means they had other children who they were taking care of, thus an additional child added strain to their livelihoods. It is also culturally unacceptable for women to have children out of wedlock and this creates humiliation in a woman's life when she keeps having children out of wedlock. There are different contraceptive methods that are accessible in local clinics to avoid unplanned pregnancy, but women are struggling to adhere to their appointment dates due to their busy schedule and other commitments. Apart from women's busy schedule, Harries et al. (2019) found that the duration of contraceptives, the social networks, side effects of using contraceptives and health system factors, such as poor counselling and health workers' attitudes towards women, all affect adherence in taking contraceptives.

4.5 Childcare arrangements

Half of the participants were interviewed at different time points during their pregnancy, post-delivery, before they returned to work, when they had returned to work and when they had left the child in care. At these different time points, participants were asked about their planned childcare arrangements and how that played out when they had to leave the child and return to work. During the pregnancy and post-delivery periods, mothers planned that the child would be cared for by family members, neighbours, or crèche, or they planned to go to work with the baby. These are some of the mothers' quotes:

She will be cared for by her grandmother. (Domestic worker1, 39, Phoenix)

She will go to crèche. There is one nearby. I think I will send her there. (Hairdresser 2, 25, Inanda Mtshebheni)

However, not all mothers were able to implement their childcare plans due to challenges they encountered such as lack of finances, breastfeeding, unreliable child-carers, returning to work earlier than planned or the child's health. For example, some mothers changed their childcare arrangements because they did not trust the carer or the mother had a problem with finding a good nanny. In another example, the child became too attached to the mother; hence, it became difficult to leave the baby with the carer. One particular mother changed her initial plan of using a carer (nanny) and took a child to crèche because the nanny was not performing her duties. The mother explained:

The baby's father and I sat down, and we talked about it. We looked at how the nanny was treating her and compared with the crèche. Her father said crèche is better. I also felt like the crèche is better because I ended up doing the nanny's job, and the nanny would sit and do nothing. (informal Petrol attendant, 29, KwaMashu)

Another mother planned to take her child to the local crèche, but when she returned to work, her plans changed because she heard disturbing stories about how the children were being cared for at the crèche. Instead, she took the child to her neighbour who was an old woman. When the mother was asked if she was taking her child to crèche, as she originally planned she said:

No, I did not send her to crèche that side. There is a woman who lives close by that looks after children. So, I take her there now ... There is another girl that was complaining that her child came back from crèche with swollen eyes and she always has spasms because she is not receiving good care at the crèche. (Domestic worker 2, 27, Phoenix)

Asking neighbours to care for the baby was common, particularly among mothers who were not staying with family members. There were mothers who succeeded in executing their childcare plans. For example, one mother who was a student and also working from home planned that she would leave the child with the neighbour when going to school and when working from home, she would care for the child herself. She explained:

My child is cared for by my neighbour. If I am working here in the house, I care for her [baby] myself because I work mostly in the morning. Most of the time, she [baby] is able to sit on her own. She does not cry a lot. So, I am able to do my work except for when she is crying or she wants to sleep. I then put her to sleep with her father and then I continue with my work. (Home-based worker 3, 30, KwaMashu)

Multi-tasking among women is a traditional norm. Women in general, whether working formally or informally, are faced with the challenge of balancing work and other responsibilities, which include

childcare, family care and household activities. This results in a conflict between the two responsibilities; as Gani and Ara (2010) stated, these are two different worlds for working women and it is difficult for them to equally balance the two, as one takes dominance over the other. For women who are working from home, their attention is not in one place; the mother has to care for the baby while working. This affects the mother-child relationship and also affects the mother's production, which leads to a decrease in income. A strong support system, family members and spouse, has proved necessary to assist mothers in balancing their multiple roles (Imbaya, 2012).

Mothers expressed concerns when it comes to childcare because they spend most of their time at work. As has been stated above, most mothers were working six to seven days a week from early mornings until late in the afternoon; therefore, they had minimal time to spend with the child. This was what the mother said about being away from her child:

Another thing is sometimes I miss spending time with him; spending time with him on Saturday only is not enough. (Cooking street trader 4, 25, Inanda Mtshebheni)

This is due to the nature of the informal economy which comprises long working hours, low income and lack of social protection, making it difficult for mothers to have quality time with the child (Alfers, 2016; Waterhouse et al., 2017b). As a result, the mother-and-child relationship may be compromised, since they are spending limited time together. Attachment theory clearly states that maternal deprivation or separation can have serious effects on the child's upbringing and suggests that the child must have a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with the mother or primary caregiver (Bretherton, 1992).

Although mothers had different childcare arrangements, the most common were the crèche, the babysitter/nanny or a family member. Those who took the child to crèche relied on support from family members (mostly grandmothers), their older children or hired a babysitter who would further care for the baby when returning from crèche and on weekends. Having different child-carers was because the crèche operates at specific times, usually from 07:00 in the morning to 05:00 in the afternoon and not on weekends. One mother explained:

Yes, the crèche closes during weekends; I leave her with her older siblings and I just instruct them that they would take this and that. I would leave porridge, bread which I bring the day before. Everything for them must be up to date because I know that when they have porridge, everything will be Ok – that porridge that is easy to make. (Street trader 1, 44, Inanda Bester)

Another reason mothers used both crèche and a child-carer was that they did not want the child to spend most of the time with the carer. They preferred taking the child to crèche during the day, where the child would be among other peers. They also stated that crèche is the right environment that stimulates early childhood development (ECD). This is one mother's comment:

He goes to crèche and he is also being cared for by the grandmother; there is no old person who stays at home, all of us are working so I was forced to take her outside and have a nanny from outside The baby must develop and it becomes easy for the child to develop when he is not at home all the time. The baby must be able to play, so now when he stays at home with the nanny and there are no other kids, the baby's mind develops slowly. (Street trader 10, 36, Durban Workshop Mall)

Taking children to crèche was also encouraged by the social worker from the DSD, who emphasised the importance and benefits of ECD. The social worker stated that these crèches are designed to train children, preparing them for the school environment. She further stated that these centres have trained teachers who are able to trace the child's milestones, and teach them and guide them according to their capabilities. According to the social worker's perspective, it is not good for children over 24 months to be cared for at home, especially with someone who does not pay attention to child development signs. She also mentioned that children at this age are very active and exposed to danger, for example, running around the house, eating substances, or playing outside which is more dangerous, especially now that there are high cases of child abduction and rape. She advised parents to take children to childcare facilities where safety, responsive caregiving and early learning are guaranteed. The social worker stated , at this age, the child has developed some sense of independence; they are mobile and active, and they can talk. Therefore, it is important for them to be in an environment that will stimulate cognitive growth and interaction with other children. This is the social worker's explanation:

But from 24 months and upwards, child needs to be in a school environment like ECD [early childhood development] so that she can be able to with other kids, to be able to communicate and also check other milestones. It would be easier because the child is mobile, she can talk, I think by then you can take the child to crèche, which is [a] good environment for the child. (Social worker)

It is important to note that some of the crèches in townships and informal settlements are not registered. This means that these crèches are not being monitored by the DSD and they do not receive funding from the Department. Although this study did not cover this phenomenon, it is important to

state that some mothers take children to such crèches because they are accessible and affordable, but they do not provide a high quality of care and education, considering that they are operating informally. The community development practitioner raised a strategy that informally working women can implement to solve their childcare challenges. She said women can solve this challenge of working with children by coming together as informally working mothers and form a crèche within their working environment. Developing a childcare facility would enable them to get funding, assist other members of the community by providing childcare services, and also help their children to grow up in a secure and healthy environment.

Moussié (2017) provided examples of childcare facilities that were developed or managed by informally working women in countries such as India, Ghana and Brazil. However, the community development practitioner felt that this idea seemed impossible because there is competition within the informal economy and within the business of childcare provision. The community development practitioner also made an example of the number of childcare services available in the townships, including those women who care for children in their homes. This makes it difficult for the DSD to fund such organisations, because there are rules to be followed; for example, they cannot sponsor a crèche with fewer than ten children or who are in close proximity

4.5.1 Choosing a child-carer

When choosing a child-carer, mothers stated that they preferred someone who was older, who had experience in caring for children, and affordable. A mother said:

Firstly, it is because she [nanny] loves children; she lives in a clean environment, you feel comfortable to leave your baby. A baby needs someone with love, not someone who would make a baby cry. (Street trader 10, 36, CBD Workshop)

Some mothers were not paying for childcare since their family members, particularly grandmothers, assisted them in kind in caring for the baby. It was a common practice that grandmothers took care of the child while the mother was at work. One mother explained:

It was not difficult because there is a granny in this household, so she helps me out by looking after my child. So the first time I returned to work, it was not difficult because doing people's hair is something that I am used to. But when it comes to the child care, the granny helps me to look after her. (Home-based worker 4 (hairdresser), 24, KwaMashu)

Some mothers did not live with their child; they left the child with the carer in homesteads while pursuing their economic activities. One of the participants stated that she left the child aged three months old because she had no choice but to look for a job since she was a breadwinner at home. The grandmother was caring for the child. The mother would visit home after two months or when she had enough money to go home. This mother stated that:

It because there was no one who can put food on the table at home, so I was forced to come back here so that they can get something to eat and I be able to support my baby ... After I have given them money for food and I see that there is some money to take me home, I use it. Maybe after 2 months. (Street trader 13, 34, KwaMashu)

Another mother mentioned that she was staying with her child but as the season changed to winter, she was forced to take the child to stay with the grandmother (mother of the father) because she could not travel with the child in cold mornings. The mother explains:

Since it is winter now he [child] lives at his father's home because I cannot go with him in the morning, it is cold now. (Cooking street trader 4, 25, Inanda Mtshebheni)

Few mothers mentioned that the father of the baby looked after the baby when the mother was at work. The following quote is from a mother who was a petrol attendant who left the baby with the father when working night shift:

When I work night shift I leave her with her father. He said he volunteers to look after her because it is his child; he said we should not bother other people. (Petrol attendant, 29, KwaMashu)

Although the child spent most of the time without the mother, mothers played a prominent role in providing and ensuring that the child's necessities are available. A common view amongst mothers was that they tried their best to balance work and childcare. Before leaving for work, the mother would first prepare for the child's needs, and when coming from work, she would attend to the baby's needs before going to bed. However, this was challenging for the mothers, as they would come back from work tired and had to perform motherhood duties. One mother said:

At work, because I explained that I have a child. When you have a child, you tend to do things slower. You are not really doing things slower, it is just that you become forgetful. I have to wake up and bath her, feed her, prepare her bottles that she will take with to crèche, and I also bath and prepare to go to work. I first drop her off at crèche and then I go to work. When I come back, I fetch her from crèche and then I start cooking and doing other household chores.

I first have to feed her when she wakes up. They sleep. Most of the time, I find her sleeping at crèche. When a child was sleeping, they wake up hungry. I feed her and then do my chores.
(Hairdresser 3, 29, Inanda)

Working accompanied by the baby is common in the informal economy. However, there were few mothers in this study who mentioned that they cared for the child in their work environment. These were mostly mothers who were breastfeeding or who could not afford to pay for childcare. Working while caring for the child was difficult, as childcare needs would take priority over work, resulting in low productivity. This mother describes her experience:

It really gets difficult sometimes because the baby wants to take up all your time. If I have to do my work, because I work from home, I have to check first that she is sleeping. I started working again last week. If she wakes up, I have to stop whatever I am doing and I end up not finishing my work on time. (Home-based worker 3, 30, KwaMashu)

Street traders who were working accompanied by the child had techniques for creating a comfortable space for the baby within their working area. They would put a blanket inside a cardboard box to make a sleeping area for the baby; they also used umbrella as a shelter to protect the baby from the sun. The mother explained:

Yes, when he was young maybe 6/7 [months] before I found a crèche, he stayed here with me. I used to put him in the cardboard box. In cold weather, I would put him in the box and cover him with a blanket ... I used umbrellas to cover here [mother's working spot] then he stayed in the cardboards [laughs], then I would bring his blankets and jackets to wear. (Street trader 12, 34, KwaMashu)

Although informally working mothers were lacking resources to better care for their child, stakeholders did not support the idea of mothers working with the child. They believed that these women are vulnerable, have limited support from their family; hence they need proper intervention from the municipality and other structures to provide them with suitable and convenient childcare facilities. The stakeholder said:

I witness every day women working on the street with their children at their back, but I think due to lack of proper family structure. I think that is one of the compelling reasons why women find themselves in such situation because having a child does not necessarily mean you must stay at home, because at the end of the day the child needs to be fed and need to be developed. So I think as the municipality, I think we can accommodate such situation by ensuring that we

organise some facilities for the early childhood development centres where these women can keep their children while they are still working on the street. (LEDP practitioner)

This coincides with the argument made by Alferts (2016) that intervention in the public sector is the key solution in providing accessible, affordable and quality childcare facilities to enable informally working mothers to balance their economic and social roles. Informally working mothers face tough situations of ensuring that the child is receiving the best care while also ensuring that their livelihood is being maintained. In order for the child to be adequately cared for, the mother needs money to provide the child's necessities and also pay for childcare. Lack of finances may contribute to mothers choosing the cheaper childcare alternative, which is not best for the child's wellbeing. For example, for those mothers who were not living with their children for more than 30 days, this can affect the mother-child relationship, which, according to attachment theory, is important for the child's development. It was interesting to discover that some fathers played a major role in caring for the child while the mother was at work. This means that men and women are challenging the division of roles according to gender by jointly assisting each other in domestic and childcare activities (Imbaya, 2012).

It is important to stress the benefits of taking children into childcare facilities such as crèche or daycare, as it contributes enormously to ECD. The Department of Social Development must ensure that mothers within the informal economy are aware of the benefits of taking their children to crèche; these include safety, responsive and nurturing caregiving, and appropriate nutrition. Moreover, investing in early childhood care and education increases the chances of success when the child is older and breaks the cycle of poverty for many families and society at large (WHO, 2018). Therefore, extensive support must be given to local crèches where mothers take their children to, ensure that all childcare facilities have a suitable environment, qualified teachers and provide nutritious food to children.

4.5.2 Feeding practices

Work had a huge influence on the feeding practices performed by the mothers. Chosen feeding practices mostly depended on the capabilities of mothers and whether they could sustain the chosen practice. Financial availability and time away from work determined the feasibility of a chosen or planned feeding practice. Some mothers chose not to breastfeed the child from birth, because they knew they would return to work quite early. When the mother was asked why she chose not to breastfeed, she replied:

Eh. it's work, because I have to go back to work. That is why I chose to feed her formula.
(Domestic worker 1, 39, Phoenix)

Some mothers chose to mix-feed the child, that is, breast milk and formula milk. During the day, the child would feed on formula milk and breastfeed in the afternoon when the mother returned from work. This particular mother explained how she was practising her feeding choice:

I make sure that I feed her before I leave. She eats Nestum and Cerelac. She eats [baby food] and drinks milk and I have introduced her to formula and she has gotten used to it. Initially I had said I would express breast milk for her but she eats a lot. So now she eats Infacare. If I leave her with expressed milk, she does not get full and it runs out quickly. So, I leave her with formula and when I come back, I breastfeed her. She does not have a problem. (Self-employed (selling Avon products), 31, Inanda)

Few mothers chose to breastfeed the child and very few mothers succeeded in maintaining exclusive breastfeeding (EBF) as advised by the WHO. The WHO recommends that mothers breastfeed their children soon after birth and continue to exclusively breastfeed for the first six months; after that, the mother can add complementary food but continue with breastfeeding until the child is 24 months or older (WHO, 2018). EBF was common among mothers who were home-based workers, HIV-positive mothers and those who took the child to work with them. Not all home-based workers were successful in maintaining exclusive breastfeeding; however, those who succeeded were expressing breast milk to be used when the mother had to leave the child behind.

I express the milk for her [baby], maybe up to two feeding bottles. I do not stay away for too long. I come back home early as soon as I am done with what I was doing. When I come back, I breastfeed her. (Home-based worker 5, 30, KwaMashu)

HIV-positive mothers adhered to the WHO breastfeeding recommendation. The fear of infecting their children with the virus made them reluctant to mix-feed the child. Therefore, they followed health workers' advice to maintain exclusive breastfeeding for six months. One mother said:

Well the nurses said [mother laughs] we should breastfeed, and I enjoy breastfeeding. It would have to be a certain situation that would force me to not breastfeed Well, the fact that I have to go back to work and that they have said that it has to be 6 months because ... if a person is sick it is 6 months. You cannot go over that. (Hairdresser 2, 29, Inanda)

In contrast, some mothers chose not to breastfeed the child because they were scared of infecting the child irrespective of the advice they got from the clinic. This quote was extracted from an interview with a mother who was HIV positive, explaining why she chose not to breastfeed:

Yes, that was the reason for me, because I was going to return to work early, and I also chose formula because I am on ARV treatment. I did not want to risk exposing her by breastfeeding because she was born negative. They say you have to exclusively breastfeed for six months [if you are on ARV treatment]. I was not going to be able to do that. So, I decided that I will start feeding her formula straight away. (Domestic worker 5, 36, New Germany)

Fear of infecting the child with HIV was a common feeling from all mothers who were HIV positive. However, this fear may have caused the mother to maintain exclusive breastfeeding for the recommended six months or not to breastfeed at all. Jama et al. (2017) discovered that fear of infecting the child with the virus played a massive role in HIV-positive mothers maintaining exclusive breastfeeding as recommended by WHO, and those who chose not to breastfeed introduced formula milk from birth.

Early introduction of complementary food was common among mothers, who stated that the child was not getting full by feeding on milk only. Furthermore, going back to work added pressure for mothers to introduce solid food quite early to satisfy the baby so that the mother could focus on her work. The mother explained:

Yes, because I was not going to have enough time to breastfeed her; yes. So that is why I just decided to give her porridge then give her breast milk and she will just sit afterwards [sound of baby playing] and be fine. (Domestic worker, 36, Phoenix)

This was a domestic worker who was working with her child because she could not leave the child at home since she was breastfeeding. However, she introduced solid food to keep her child full so that she could balance work and childcare. Although mothers wished to follow the WHO guidelines on breastfeeding and complementary feeding, circumstances prohibited them. This was also confirmed by an informally working mother in a study conducted by Waterhouse et al. (2017), who stated that returning to work interrupted her ideal strategy of breastfeeding, and that she had to introduce complementary feeding at four months because she could not maintain exclusive breastfeeding while she was away from her child.

There was major conflict between work and feeding practices, resulting in mothers compromising high quality of childcare and feeding practice. Some mothers who were practicing EBF failed to express sufficient breast milk to feed the child when they were away. They would feed the child alternative food such as Purity (commercially produced baby food), sugar water or formula milk. One of the mothers stated that her child did not want anything except breast milk, not even expressed breast milk. One day, she left the baby with her family members, and the baby was hungry and crying, and did not want to feed on the expressed milk. The family members gave the child Purity, but the baby became ill after being fed the Purity. The mother narrated:

It is a big challenge, not a small one, a big one. I even made a mistake. She now has mouth ulcers because I went to the clinic and decided to express milk for her to feed on while I was gone. She did not want to feed from a bottle. They ended up having to feed her Purity that belongs to my sister's child. My sister's child is six months old. So they gave her that Purity. After three days she had mouth ulcers and I realised that it was probably because of the Purity. I did not know for sure but I do suspect that it was the cause of the mouth ulcers because she was crying the whole time until I came back. She continued to cry even after they had given her a bath. She just kept crying. (Home-based worker 3, 34, Inanda)

Another mother who was working at home stated that work affected her breastfeeding moments as a customer would come while she was feeding the baby. The mother would stop breastfeeding and attend to the customer. The mother explained:

Yes. If someone knocks on the door while I am still feeding my child, I have to stop feeding and go and help the customer and take the money and sell them whatever that they want. The baby does get disturbed, but I do go back to feed him afterwards. (Home-based worker 1, 31, Inanda)

Some mothers returned to work only after six months because they wanted to maintain exclusive breastfeeding.

She completes a month in the middle of the month, on the 19th. She was born on the 19th. So, I wanted to make sure that she was 6 months old and had been exclusively breastfed for the entire period. (Hairdresser 2, 29, Inanda)

Studies have shown that unemployed mothers are more likely to maintain EBF for six months, due to the fact that they spend most of the time at home with the child and are able to meet the breastfeeding demands of the child (Elyas, Mekasha, Admasie, & Assefa, 2017; Liben et al., 2016).

Therefore, socio-demographic and economic factors influence feeding practices and choices. Informally working mothers do not have social benefits, such as maternity leave, which may have enabled them to breastfeed the baby without worrying about a source of income. These mothers' main reason for returning to work was that they needed income to support the child and the household; hence, they could not adhere to breastfeeding recommendations. One mother said:

It is because I want to work. I cannot be sitting at home all the time breastfeeding him [baby]. So when I introduce him to the bottle, it will be both the bottle and breast. He will not stop breastfeeding totally. (Home-based worker 3, 34, Inanda)

Mixed feeding is not recommended, particularly when the infant is under six months old. Breastfeeding and infant feeding counselling is provided in clinics and other health facilities where pregnant women attend antenatal clinics. This is done to ensure that mothers are equipped with knowledge of infant feeding and of the importance of breastfeeding. Mothers are encouraged to breastfeed instead of formula feeding because of the great benefits breast milk provides to the baby; breastfeeding benefits the mother as well. According to the WHO, breastfeeding promotes both physical and cognitive growth in children, protect infants against diseases, and breast milk contains essential nutrients which protect infants from being food insecure. For mothers, breastfeeding helps reduce risk of getting diseases such as diabetes, or breast and ovarian cancer; fertility is also reduced during breastfeeding, allowing spacing of pregnancies (WHO, 2015).

It is important to promote and support breastfeeding among informally working mothers, since most of them are living in poverty and are very food insecure (Horwood et al., 2019; Narayan, 2011; Wright, Noble, & Ntshongwana, 2014), thus loss of their livelihood can have serious consequences in the child's life. Hirani and Karmaliani (2013) presented interventions to be implemented within the workplace to allow mothers to maintain breastfeeding. These interventions include educating mothers on how to manage breastfeeding and work, and providing private space and equipment for lactating mothers, which includes breast pumps and milk storage facilities.

Children who are fed formula milk are at risk of getting infectious diseases such as gastrointestinal disease and respiratory tract infections; they are also at increased risk of non-infectious diseases such as allergic diseases and type 1 and 2 diabetes (Gribble & Hausman, 2012). It is important to also stress that formula milk is expensive, consuming money which could be used to address other needs. Parental income is among other factors associated with malnutrition in children which may result in the infant being underweight, stunted or wasted (Mengistu, Alemu, & Destaw, 2013). Therefore, to

avoid such consequences in the child's life, mothers need to be encouraged and supported to breastfeed their children.

4.5.3 Mother-and-child relationship

Although most mothers did not plan to have a child, they still developed a strong bond with the child. Most mothers did not experience postnatal depression; however, they did experience anxiety and concerns regarding childcare, and that they did not spend time with the child. One mother expressed this by saying:

No. I am just unhappy because I am at work and cannot be with my child, so I can give her enough time and attention. However, the circumstances are forcing me because I cannot sit here when there are needs that I have to fulfil. We have to work together. (Hairdresser 2, 29, Inanda.

Mothers provided security, safety, affection and comfort to their infants, which are signs of secure attachment (Britto et al., 2017). Although work created a barrier for mothers against spending time with their children, they developed means of creating quality time with their little ones. Knudson-Martin (2012) suggested that attachment theory must be viewed in a specific context, since there are social context influences that hinder mothers from giving responsive childcare. These influences include maternal support, healthcare, daycare and economic resources. The socio-economic status of these mothers was very poor. Therefore, trying to improve their living conditions meant compromising their relationship with the child. Financial need was the main reason that made mothers go back to work, so that they could take care of the child, the family and household necessities. This dynamic is captured in this excerpt:

It was the financial circumstances. The child needs nappies. We also need money in the house. We were relying on the child support grant money but it is insufficient. There are too many things that are needed. It was the money [that I needed] so I could get a few things and be able to cover here and there and so on. (Domestic worker 4, 29, Phoenix)

Financial desperation made mothers compromise their relationship with the children by leaving them at an early stage and returning to work. A social worker gave an example of a mother who was working as a nanny to a child which was the same age as her child. The mother would go to work even when her baby was sick to care for another baby, not because she was neglecting her own child but because she needed money. However, this act is the violation of child's right as the South African constitution clearly state that every child has the right to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services and

social services (Constitution, 1996). This subjected the mother to great emotional strain; the social worker narrated:

I will make a scenario of this lady, she is a client. She has a child that 10 months old I think, she is caring for someone child who is almost the same age as hers. So, her baby was sick yet she needs to be at work; she ended up neglecting her own child because she needs to take care of somebody's child so she could get money to support her child. While she's busy making money to support her child, the child is suffering. So, this person is caught in between, if she leaves the job, how is she going to support her child and if she goes to work, she will come back to a sick baby while she is busy taking care of the somebody's else baby. She will develop hatred to this baby that she is caring for because she is supposed not be here but at home taking care of her child. (Social worker)

Literature reveals that lack of income plays a huge role in shaping mother and child relationships. For example, a mother with no finances to provide for the child's necessities may develop psychological stress or use harsh parenting behaviours against the infant, resulting in negative effects on childhood development (Duncan, Ziolo-Guest, & Kalil, 2010). Lack of financial resources was the main factor that stressed mothers when they found out about their pregnancy, because they were thinking of another financial burden that would be created as the baby consumes a lot of money. However, regardless of the financial strain the mothers had, they accepted their pregnancy and raised their children with love. Mothers bonded the most with the child during their time off work. Hence, they were anxious when they returned to work and left the child in care. When asked about their first day or week at work, mothers expressed that they were worried and very anxious about the kind of care the child was receiving from the carer. This mother articulated how she felt when she returned to work:

I was missing home. I was missing my child. I was working but I was thinking about my child and wondering what she was up to, whether she was crying or not, whether she had eaten, whether she had drunk her milk and so on. Crèche is not the same as when the child is with you because you know when your child needs to eat or drink milk. So I was worried. (Hairdresser 4, 25, Inanda Mtshebheni)

This shows that mothers have developed a strong bond with their children and they cared deeply about their wellbeing. Furthermore, mothers were attached to their children, which created an emotional reaction when they were away. According to attachment theory, not only the baby is affected when the mother is away, but the mother also experiences distress and difficulties being away from the baby. Pendley (2016) asserted that mothers with infants less than six months old

experience more anxiety when away from the baby than baby does. This author stated that, as long as the baby's immediate needs are being met, the baby does not stress over the absence of the mother.

Breastfeeding mothers bonded the most with their child. They stated that they enjoyed seeing the child feeding and the way the child enjoys the milk. They define breastfeeding as the most precious moment between the mother and the baby, which creates firm bonds between them. Hence, it was difficult for the mother and the baby to be separated when the mother returned to work. The mother explained:

There is that thing; you know when you look at him and he is feeding he smiles and plays with his hands; he plays with his feet. I guess that is a sign that shows that he is enjoying this. There are certain things that he does when he is suckling; he looks into my eyes and I think it is one of the ways in which he is learning. It is very nice to breastfeed, I do not want to lie. (Home-based worker 3, 34, Inanda Maphephetheni)

Based on her theoretical review of the infant-mother relationship, Ainsworth (1969) recorded that, in 1953, Freud specified that the mother's breasts are the child's first love object, and that breastfeeding is a preliminary to all love relations. Hence, breastfeeding is one of the most important methods of developing mother-and-child attachment and is encouraged to be practiced by women as stated above. The mother-child relationship is best developed when the mother responds to the child's needs such as hunger, crying, bathing, disturbance of sleep etc. Satisfying the baby's oral impulse creates gratification for the baby which automatically forms attachment (Ainsworth, 1969; Bowlby, 1958). This means that the mother is a strong pillar to the child's development, and her absence may have a lifelong effect on the child, such as depression and incapability of developing relationships (Bowlby, 1951).

4.6 Role of the father in childcare

Data shows that, in most cases, fathers of children older than one year played a minor role in caring for or providing for the child's needs. Most mothers stated that the father of the child only provided for a few months when the child was still young and then stopped. When one mother was asked about the support she received from the father of the child, she responded:

No, there is none because he started playing games while I was still pregnant, then we broke up. Even after the baby was born, I thought things will be better. When the baby was still

young, he cooperated but also left when the [baby] was 6 months. (Street trader 13, 34 KwaMashu)

This was also discovered by Alfery (2016), who reported that single parenthood was common in South Africa; furthermore, even in African countries where the marriage rate is high, women were playing a leading role in childcare. In a sample of 198, Wright et al. (2014) also discovered that 97% of the women in their study were single parents. Fathers play a minimal role in raising children and this has become a norm in the society, because childcare is perceived as the responsibility of the mother (Van den Berg & Makusha, 2018). Although it was difficult for the mothers to care for their child alone, they had accepted the absence of the child's father. One mother said:

He does not help me with anything, instead we fight. He lives at his home and I am staying alone; he does not help me with anything. It is me who sees that nappies are running out, milk is running out, he does not help me with anything. I also do not have time to follow him because I know that I am working. (Cooking street trader 2, 31, Inanda Bester)

Some scholars postulate that childcare attitudes and practices have been socially constructed (Craig & Mullan, 2011; Richter, Chikovore, & Makusha, 2010). This is based on the view that, globally, childcare responsibilities are not evenly shared between the two parents, regardless of their economic status. The disproportionate childcare responsibility of women raises the issue of gender inequality within the parenting role. Mothers are expected to play a leading role in childcare and household responsibilities, while the father plays a leading role in economic activities.

Some of the mothers in this study were no longer in a relationship with the father of the child, where fights over the pregnancy or the child were the cause of the breakup. When asked how the father responded to the news of the mother being pregnant, participants expressed that the father was not happy. Some fathers asked the mother to terminate the pregnancy, telling them they would not support the baby if the mother continued with the pregnancy:

After he found out that I am pregnant, he told me to go and do an abortion. If I do not do that, it will become my problem that I will take care of the baby alone. I then decided not to do abortion, the baby will live just like other kids. I will take care of him. I broke up with him. (Street trader 2, 38, CBD Joe Slovo Street)

Whilst the majority of participants experienced negative attitudes from the father of the baby, there were some mothers who were getting support from the baby's father. For example, one mother said

that she does not provide for the child's needs; the father was providing. It was discovered that, in some cases, the father of the baby played a major role in caring, providing for the child and the mother. This what the mother said:

The father of the child ensures that I do not run out of nappies and he also makes sure that I have everything I need here at the house. (Domestic worker 2, 27, Phoenix)

In such cases, fathers were the strongest support system in the mother's and child's life. These results coincide with the study done by Horwood et al. (2019), who discovered that fathers were present in the child's life and played an active role such as caring for the baby while the mother was at work and taking the baby to the clinic. A study about fathers in attachment theory denoted that both mothers and fathers played a huge role in child development, with the mother providing a caregiving role and the father as a play figure (Bretherton, 2010). This was also confirmed by Craig and Mullan (2011) who stated that mothers played an intensive role in childcare compared to the father, who normally provides educational and recreational activities to the child, and provides care when the mother is not present. Furthermore, the parents' relationship with the child depends on the age of the child: Where children from 7-13 months showed attachment to both parents and children from 15 to 24 months were more attached to the father; also girls were attached to the mother and boys to the father (Bretherton, 2010)

Most mothers did not take well the news of their pregnancy; however, some of the fathers responded well to the news and supported the mother in dealing with the news, the mother explained:

That one [father] is very excited. If it were up to him, the baby would be here by now. He has even bought everything [for the baby]. I sometimes ask him what his hurry is. He is very excited. (Petrol attendant, 29, KwaMashu)

When the child arrived, the father provided for child's needs and acted as a financial provider to the mother during her time off work. Some mothers mentioned that the father would play with the baby, bathe the baby and also fed the baby. Some mothers often left the baby with the father when they were working.

Fathers' involvement and support are important as this allow mothers to ease the pressure of taking care of the baby. It is difficult for fathers to be fully involved in their child's life because of African tradition. According to the tradition, if the father is not married to the mother or has not paid damages (*ihlawulo*), he is not allowed to spend time with the baby. Most of the mothers in this study were not

married and did not live in the same house with the father of the child. Hence, mothers were doing most of the work of caring for the baby, both physically and financially. Researchers views on father-child relationship are that it is affected more by traditional restrictions which cause the father to be absent from their child's life. It is important to note that many members of Black society are living under poverty, with minimal job opportunities, and so most men cannot afford to pay a cow for damages or cows for *lobola*. Therefore, there is a need to review such customary laws and allow (and encourage) men to be involve in child's upbringing

4.7 Challenges

This section presents the significant challenges mothers faced in their daily lives concerning work, childcare and the household.

4.7.1 Work, childcare and other responsibilities

Balancing work, childcare and household activities was a cause of strain for most mothers, especially those who did not have a support system. Mothers find themselves juggling different responsibilities, trying to balance two conflicting roles, the productive and the reproductive, with the latter taking most of their attention. A considerable body of literature asserts that childcare responsibilities disproportionately fall on women, with limited or no support from their male counterparts (Alfers, 2016; Bretherton, 2010; Craig & Mullan, 2011; Horwood et al., 2019; Mabilo, 2018; Moussié, 2016, 2017; Narayan, 2011; Ngundu, 2010). Before leaving for work, a mother would first prepare for the baby, and other children as well, to go to crèche or school. After work, the mother attends to household chores and spends little time with the child before bedtime. This is consistent with the views of socialist feminists who argue that the sexual division of work within the family organisation is disproportionate, with women doing more household work, including childcare, than men (Mumporeze, 2020). The following quote is from a mother who voiced her concerns about how she would balance her roles as a mother and a wife:

I am worried about finding a balance between my duties as a wife and as a mother. I do not know how I am going to manage doing laundry, cleaning, cooking and also caring for my small child. I really do not know how I am going to manage all that. I will just cross that bridge when I get to it. It is already difficult where I am right now. It is not easy. It is difficult. (Hairdresser 14, 30, KwaMashu)

Another mother, who was selling muffins, stated that after work she had to attend to her children's needs, the household chores and work, which was very demanding for her. She explained:

At home there are things that are important such as making sure that you don't go to bed without eating. That is a challenge because I make sure that there is something to eat but I will not put it on the table and eat it. Cooking is a challenge, I have to cook and bake at the same time; that is another challenge. I cook at the same time I have to prepare for work. Before I go to bed, I must check the stock for tomorrow, if it is balanced. I must check the children if they are up to date. I must check the house to make sure that it is clean, then I check my work, if everything has balance, adding everything that I sold from the morning until the afternoon. What have I gained, what has run short in the house, and buy it with the money that I have gained that day. (Street trader 1, 44, Inanda Bester)

Regardless of the amount of work responsibilities (paid and unpaid work) mothers do, they ensure they put their child's needs first. This mother tells how she prioritised her child's health and education over work:

I do not go to work; I take the baby the baby to the clinic or sometimes you would find that there is a school meeting, so I do not work. (Hairdresser 1, 28, CBD Workshop Mall)

This aligns with the literature which indicated that many women compromise their paid work to accommodate care responsibilities (Mabilo, 2018). In contrast, work was described as a central activity which enables mothers to gain income to provide for their child's needs and the household at large. Although some mothers from this study had financial assistance from their partners, as well as additional income from the state social grant, it was not enough to fully address their financial needs. In addition, having a source of income created a source of independence and freedom in women's lives. But childcare responsibilities negatively impacted on mothers' income, because mothers would minimise their working hours or sometimes did not go to work to attend childcare responsibilities. When asked if there was any difference in their income now that they have a baby, this mother responded:

Yes, there is a difference because I no longer go with the same pace that I used to go with before. I used to leave in the morning and come back late. I was not in a hurry to come back. However, I now have to manage my time and minimise the time that I am away from home. If I go somewhere I have to come back early. I cannot decide to just wake [??] up and go in the morning. I have to prepare everything for her and feed her before I go. It is not the same as before. In the past, I used to wake up and leave in the morning and come back at 17h00 without any problem. Yes, it is not the same anymore. (Self-employed (selling Avon products), 31, Inanda)

Responses from the participants made it obvious that they care more about their child's wellbeing than business. Reducing working hours is a common practice which most informally working mothers do to fulfil their childcare responsibilities, and the flexible nature of informal work tolerates such practice (Alfers, 2016; Moussié, 2016, 2017; Waterhouse et al., 2017b). This aligns with the study by Enchautegui, Johnson, and Gelatt (2015) where mothers chose to work in a job with flexible working schedules to better accommodate childcare responsibilities. A majority of mothers mentioned that they do not work when the child is sick or has to go to the clinic for immunisation. This means they lose money for that particular day since in their nature of work, they earn when they have worked, in the application of the 'no work, no pay principle'.

Balancing work and childcare differed based on the type of work mothers do. This corresponds with the work done by Alfers (2016) in four different countries, including Brazil, Ghana, India and South Africa, where women working in different types of informal work expressed how childcare interferes with their economic activities. Home-based workers were struggling to fulfil different roles. Balancing work, childcare and household responsibilities was a challenge, especially for those who were breastfeeding and living alone. They spent most of their time caring for the baby and this affected their productivity, and hence their income. As this mother explained:

It was difficult. It was really difficult because a child requires that you pay them full attention and while you are at work, your mind is supposed to be fully at work and focus on it. However, my mind was thinking about the child and whether she is alright. Fortunately, because I work from home but you find that I did not finish my work because I had to go and care for the child. The weather also makes things difficult. You find that it is too hot or too cold and all that just compounds the difficulty, but I am trying. I cannot neglect my work because it is important and it helps the child, especially because I can afford to buy her important stuff. (Home-based worker 4, 30, KwaMashu)

This mother expressed the conflicting roles that she had to play (i.e. caring for the child and work), which are both important and demand her attention. Home-based workers who had the strongest support system were better able to balance work and childcare. A home-based working mother explained how she managed her roles:

It was not difficult because there is a granny in this household, so she helps me out by looking after my child. So the first time I returned to work it was not difficult because doing people's

hair is something that I am used to but when it comes to the child, the granny helps me to look after it. (Hairdresser 15, 24, KwaMashu)

Domestic workers and street traders had people who were caring for the baby; however some of them minimised their working hours to be able to go home early to the child. In contrast, a domestic worker who was working with her baby stated that she would start working earlier than she used to and go home late because she wanted to make up the lost time that she spent with her child while working. This mother could not leave her baby at home because she was breastfeeding, and she could not express breast milk to leave with the carer. The mother agreed with the employer to come to work with the baby, but to avoid conflict, the mother made arrangements on how she would balance work and childcare. This mother explained how she balances work and childcare:

You are able to do that; I am able to do that as I have mentioned that I get to work at half past seven. The first thing that I do when I get to work is breastfeed my baby, and then I perhaps carry her on my back until she falls asleep. After that, I start doing my work. I never take a break because the time I would have used to take a break I spend it on caring for my baby; I am preventing my employer from complaining you see, yes. (Domestic worker 4, 36, Phoenix)

The mother over-worked herself to keep her job. Working with the baby meant she had to sacrifice her tea and lunch breaks to use that time to feed the baby. When the child is sick or the mother has to go to the clinic to immunise the baby, she would arrange with the employer not to come on that day, but she would had to repay that by coming to work on a non-working day to be able to get her full salary. The participant explained:

I used to work Monday to Friday. If for some reason I could not work for a day during the week, such as an appointment at the clinic, I would then make it up on Saturday. (Domestic worker 1, 39, Phoenix)

Lack of social protection in the informal economy affects mothers' incomes and wellbeing. Since they are not entitled to social benefits, such as family responsibility leave, they overwork themselves to earn money. This mother used her resting day to make up for the day she did not work, because she could not go to the clinic on weekends since clinics also have operating hours or days for services they deliver.

4.7.2 Poor income/poorly paid work

Most mothers in this study complained about their income or earnings, stating that this was low and there was no assurance that they would go home with money, especially with street traders. Poor income was also mentioned by the social worker, who stated that, within the informal economy, the level of salary is a hindrance, because women are working yet they are failing to adequately support their children and families. This is what the social worker said regarding mothers' income:

There are disadvantages even with the salary. You will find that a domestic worker is getting low paid; she cannot use that money to support her family. Her family is suffering; yes she is working. Those are the things that caused frustration and [those mothers] end up being our clients where we intervene where we can, but the support we give is not long termed. We only deal with the situation you have brought, solve it then you move on. You will find that we take the baby from the mother, yet she works as a nanny. We would take her baby to children home because the child has been neglected, yet the mother is a nanny. (Social worker)

The social worker painted a picture where the mother lost her baby because she could not afford to provide for the baby, yet she was working as a nanny taking care of the other woman's baby. These are the circumstances that most poor earning women face when failing to care for their baby. If the family do not intervene to help the mother to care for the baby, the Department of Social Development intervenes. Unlike other mothers who are earning well, some informally working mothers could not afford to hire a nanny. This particular participant used a phrase "win or lose", implying that there is no guarantee that one would go home with money:

...Hiring a nanny might cost me more as I'm working like this; doing such work is a win or lose. (Street trader 12, 34, KwaMashu)

This mother was explaining that her work does not give her a fixed income, therefore she cannot hire a nanny to care for the child since a nanny is expensive compared to the crèche. Based on attachment theory, a nanny is the preferred form of childcare since the baby gets individual attention and responsive care. A nanny can stand in as a mother figure while the mother is away, since she is in close proximity to the child and provides protection and a sense of safety to the child (Sullivan, Perry, Sloan, Kleinhaus, & Burtchen, 2011). However, most informally working mothers cannot afford to hire a nanny since they earn low and irregular income.

Self-employed mothers revealed that they were also uncertain about their daily, weekly or monthly income, since it varies all the time. This was the same challenge faced by employed street traders, who were earning according to how much they made a day. In the following quote, a mother who was an employed street trader explained how she made her income:

It is like when you made R100 you will earn R50. If you made R120 you will earn R60. If it R175 you will get R70. And then you find those who are placed on busy spot would make R240 and you will find that they are will earn R80. Yes, with R300 they earn R90. (Street trader 2, 38, CBD Joe Slovo Street)

These findings are consistent with those of Mabilo (2018), where participants were unable to quantify their average income because of inconsistency, seasonality and the uncertainty of the informal business. Uncertainty of income generated anxiety amongst the informally working mothers, since they need money to fulfil their responsibilities such as providing the child's needs, food, school fees, paying for childcare and other expenses. Additional costs, such as paying for storage, maintenance of stalls and transport, consume a large proportion of their income.

Mothers mentioned that they sometimes run out of transport money; for example, a mother who was staying in Mayville stated that when she does not have the transport fee, she walks from home to work. However, she then does not arrive on time and that affects her job as the boss will be displeased. The mother narrated:

I leave Mayville to here by foot, if I did not borrow money for transport, and I arrive here at 8. He [employer] will shout at me, telling me that this is not the time to come to work. I then tell him my story that I was walking by foot, then he would tell me to go and work. I will then continue with my work but, I will not leave work with people who came at 07:15; I will go at 5:30. (Street trader 2, 38, CBD Joe Slovo Street)

Coming late to work decreases this mother's income, as she earns according how much she has made. A spatial mismatch between work and home creates a significant burden of transport costs, as women who travelled from areas away from the CBD were spending large amounts of money on transport (Mabilo, 2018).

As stated above, having a child also played a huge role in decreasing mothers' income, since mothers had to divide their attention into two roles of productive and reproductive. One mother said:

My income has been interrupted because, when the child was not here, I was able to work any time, but I cannot do that anymore. My income is not the same as it was before. I just do the

work that I can do. If I cannot do more, I leave it like that and you find that I make only R300 a month and it is not sufficient to meet my needs. (Home-based worker 4, 30, KwaMashu)

Decrease in income was also caused by the lack of support with regard to childcare responsibilities, as they were largely fulfilled by mothers with limited or no support from the father of the child. The disproportionate childcare responsibility of mothers constrains women's economic empowerment, especially for informally working mothers who are vulnerable and do not have social protection, such as a maternity grant to sustain themselves financially during their time off work (Alfers, 2016). Being away from work for a longer period of time, mainly for employed mothers, created challenges, since they may come back to find changes whether in their working schedule or income, or sometimes they lose their job. One of the mothers who was a domestic worker was no longer working the same number of days when she returned to work; her employer decreased her working hours, resulting in a decrease in income:

They have decreased; I work for 2 days; I used to work for 3 days but I now work for 2 days. I was not very pleased, I do not want to lie; I was not pleased because you see in the past I used to work for myself and I was okay. Just when I have a baby and really need the money more, that is when the situation at work changes for the worst. (Domestic worker 4, 36, Phoenix)

Participants who were street traders expressed that, due to lack of income, they sometimes fail to meet business expenses such as paying for their trading license, storeroom, and trolley boys; they even have difficulties in adding more stock. Thus, they trade illegally which puts their business in jeopardy, and they could be arrested or their stock could be confiscated by the police. Participants from KwaMashu stated that they have tried to get their trading licenses, but they were denied permission to trade in the location they were using because it belongs to the shopping centre. They were offered another space but they did not use it because it is far from customers. Working without a trading permit limited their work since they could not add more stock because it is risky. This mother explained:

When you have [a] permit, you can sell whatever you want to sell; for now as I do not have one, we get ill-treated by the police, we cannot sell anything that could maximize profit. (Street trader 12, 34, KwaMashu)

Such challenges affect the mothers' businesses, lower their income and could contribute to negative childcare choices or practices. Money is essential for every human being to be able to survive. Mothers went back to work so that they could provide for their children and family. These challenges hindered

their potential for making income. Some of the women make dire decisions, such as working with the baby in an unsafe environment and exposed to different weather conditions, in order to make a livelihood. Some mothers choose an inappropriate child-carer because they cannot afford childcare costs. Sandstrom and Chaudry (2012) also discovered that mothers, particularly parents of infants, struggled to pay for quality childcare and opted for affordable alternatives. In a nutshell, poor income affects child development since these mothers lack the ability to provide adequate and nutritious food; they cannot afford to meet basic needs such as proper housing, water and medical care. In addition, parents who earn a low income are often stressed and that also affects child-rearing (Chaudry & Wimer, 2016). Research has shown that children who are brought up in a poor, low-income household are more likely not to finish school, to have children at an early age and to perpetuate the poverty cycle (Ratcliffe & McKernan, 2012).

4.8 Survival strategies

Working within the informal economy was a surviving strategy on its own. This statement is evidently argued by Companion (2010), p. 165 who said: "I argue that petty trading and street vending activities are critical coping strategies used in times of larger food/livelihood security crises". Mothers shared that they had nowhere else to work; they joined the informal economy because they needed money to support their children, family and themselves. As this mother said:

There are no jobs. After I finished school I did not get the job; I was sitting at home so it is better to hustle the way we are doing. Because we are coming from different backgrounds, our parents do not have means to take us to the university, it is better not to sit at home and work. (Street trader 16, 42, CBD Workshop Mall)

Due to the high unemployment rate in South Africa, informal work presents as an escape mechanism from poverty. Although these women were not making much income from their work, they were able to put food on the table at the end of the day (Mabilo, 2018; Waterhouse et al., 2017b).

A majority of the women in the study played a huge role in providing for their families, including extended family members. The informal economy provides daily income for women to support their families (Ngundu, 2010). A stakeholder from the Business Support Unit stated that they have created programmes to equip informally working women with business skills to help them sustain their businesses and avoid spending most of their income on household purposes. This is what the stakeholder reported:

Yes, we do run some business management workshops so that these women can have an understanding or can have the skill of how to run their business successfully and how to do

their record keeping and so forth, because the fact that they are trading informally doesn't necessary mean they must not be equipped with relevant business development skills. We offer them business development skills, bookkeeping and accounting and finance skills ... because most of them, all they do is just hand to mouth. They sell something today, they use money for household purposes, then tomorrow they do not have any profit left. So, we've made some positive impact on those programmes. (Stakeholder, Business Support Unit)

Such training was also confirmed by one of the participants who attended workshops. The participant stated such workshops equipped her with the business skills, about which she knew nothing, and that helped her manage her business. The participant explained:

They alright, they teach us because I have gain experience. When I first came here, I knew nothing about business. But going to those workshops taught us how to save money, how to do things, how to make, manage, you see, thing like that. (Street trader 10, 36, CBD Workshop Mall)

This is a very useful intervention that the municipality has implemented for informal workers since they are struggling in making profit. Such skills enable women to keep track of their income and expenses, maximise profit and grow their businesses. Furthermore, such programmes empower women to fight poverty and enable them and their children to escape poverty.

Women developed some strategies for coping with the adversities of their informal work. Since they were working in an open environment, exposed to sun, heat and rain, women used umbrellas or cover the exposed side of their trading shelter with plastic sheets. One street trader explained:

When there is big storm, we do not work on that day, when it is a reasonable rain we are able to cover ourselves [with plastic] and remain inside [the stall]. (Street trader 9, 39, CBD Workshop Mall)

Such techniques were also used by street traders who were working with their baby. As stated above, mothers used a cardboard box to lay a child to sleep in and used an umbrella to create shelter for the child. During data collection periods, there were heavy storms in Durban and the surrounding areas. When participants were asked how they coped with such dire weather conditions, they mentioned that they were not working. Whenever there are severe weather conditions such as rain and wind, participants do not work on such days. Although they lose money, their health and safety come first.

Availability of a support system played a major role in helping mothers cope with their hardships. Most participants relied mostly on their family members to assist them with childcare. Family members, neighbours, their employer and the child's father were the most mentioned people who supported mothers. One of the mothers described her support system as follows:

I will start with my employer. They have been very supportive. They gave me a lot of things that I had not yet bought. They said I must not buy them. They will buy them for me. The baby's father also supports me. If I see something that I need while I am with him, he buys it for me. My brothers are also supportive. My partner's family is also supportive. I get support from many sources, including my workplace, because they gave a whole lot of things. (Domestic worker 5, 36, New Germany)

Support within the work environment exists where co-workers help each other by keeping an eye on someone's stall when she goes somewhere. Co-workers also helped each other to save money by creating social saving groups, such as stokvel groups, where they pay certain amounts monthly. This is what one participant said:

You see, since we are working here as street vendors, we play stokvel; that is our way of saving as vendors. Monthly, it rotates for a year. (Street trader 10, 36, CBD Workshop Mall)

This is a common practice for saving money within the informal economy. Such support systems are similar to ones discovered by Ngundu (2010) with informally working women in Zimbabwe, where they received support from immediate family, friends, extended family, church, colleagues, neighbours and community members. Having a strong social support system allowed mothers to balance work and childcare responsibilities. It has been stated above that these women are not earning much; hence, they often cannot afford childcare cost and are struggling to fulfil basic needs. Having people to look after the child at low cost enables mothers to fulfil other basic needs. Furthermore, social saving schemes have proved to be a very useful system for saving among women where, at the end of the year, a person would get a lump sum of money which enables women to fulfil their needs as mothers. Stokvels promote income security and therefore act as a form of social protection for informal workers.

4.9 Benefits of informal work

When mothers were asked about the benefits of working in the informal economy, they stated that they were able to get income at the end of the day and provide for their child and household necessities.

The benefit here is that I am able to send home money amounted to R1 000 at the end of the month. I am able to send R1 000 because I earn twice in one month. I know that, at the end of the month, maybe on the 15th, I send money at home. At the end of the month, I will cover my needs in the household that I live in. (Street trader 2, 38, CBD Joe Slovo Street)

This response was mostly common among self-employed mothers, who were grateful that they were making their own income without having to rely on a salary from an employer. In addition, self-employed participants were making money daily which made it convenient for them to provide necessities at home. One respondent said:

What I like is that you get money every day, you do not get broke. You are able to buy, able to do things and do your budget; maybe because today is Sunday I will get maybe one or two clients then do this. (Hairdresser 1, 28, CBD Workshop Mall)

Ngundu (2010) mentioned that the informal economy created a platform for women to open small enterprises for livelihood and survival. This author added that the informal economy enhanced women's self-esteem, enabling them to feel confident, respected and independent. A common view among self-employed participants was that the informal economy gave them an opportunity to open their own businesses and be their own boss. They liked the freedom of working alone and not having supervision. This was one mother's response:

What I like about my job is that there is no one supervising me, I am responsible on how I should operate my work so that I could win more. If I failed, I know that, ok, today I failed here but tomorrow I must make sure. (Street trader 1, 44, Inanda Bester)

These women have achieved a number of things with the income they get from their informal work. Achievements include sending children to school or college, building a home, providing for the family and creating job opportunities for other people. As this mother explained:

Too much, for example, I have built a home, I took children to the right schools, life is continuing well with the money I make here. (Street trader 10, 36 CBD Workshop Mall)

Although responses vary in a study by (Narayan, 2011), most participants stated that their participation within the informal economy contributed enormously to their livelihoods. Focus group discussions on the importance of 'dignity' among low-income mothers revealed that women's dignity must be protected and respected, because they raise children and provide for the household (Wright

et al., 2014). All participants in this study played a major role in providing not only for the child but for the family and extended family.

Job opportunities are another benefit of the informal economy. Participants complained about limited job opportunities in the formal economy. As has been shown elsewhere in this chapter, most mothers applied for jobs in the formal economy but they were not lucky enough to be employed. The informal economy provided them with an opportunity to generate income for living. Furthermore, the flexible nature of the informal work was advantageous to the participants, as they were able to balance work and childcare responsibilities.

4.10 Future plans

Participants had future plans regarding their personal development, work-related plans and securing a future for their children. With regard to personal development, some mothers wanted to further their studies. Two mothers stated that they want to go back to school to further their studies. One mother wanted to study electrical engineering. The other mother was studying but dropped out due to financial challenges. However, she applied for financial assistance, which she got, and she was ready to resume her studies the following year, while continuing working in her current job. This what the mother said:

Hmm, boiler maker, I would like to do boiler maker [training]. Since this year I had problems, next year I will go back to school, maybe I would work here on weekend only because even before I used to work on weekends or during school holidays. (Street trader 16, 23, Inanda Mtshebheni)

There was one particular mother who had lost hope for elevating her life. She expressed that her focus was on parenting; however, she wished to do something great for her grandmother who played a motherhood role in her life, because she grew up without a mother. When asked about future plans, the mother responded:

My plan is that I wish I can have powers, since my mother left me with my grandmother, I just wish I could do something that would make her happy before she leaves us. (Street trader3, 23, CBD Joe Slovo Street)

When talking about work-related future plans, most participants' bigger plan was to generate more income. Both employed and self-employed mothers wanted to be successful and be able to provide for their families. A majority of self-employed mothers had similar ambitions, that is, to grow their businesses. This is what one of the employed street traders said:

Is to see myself grow and move from this place, maybe own my own store. I do not wish to end here; I just want to have my own store. (Street trader 15, 42, CBD Workshop Mall)

Work and personal plans revolved around providing a better future for their children. The mothers' wishes were to be able to provide for their children and give them what they themselves never had. Educating children was the main theme for women to better secure children's future. As one respondent said:

One of my kids, my son is in grade 7. I always tell him to focus in school because I did not go to school for certain reasons so he has to study; then he says he will try to study. I then told him not to tell me that he will try; he must say he will do it, so that he can have a bright future. I even went on as to tell him that, should I die one day, they must be able to stand on their own feet and not depend on people. They must not think that they can only survive because so and so is in their lives; they must be able to stand on their own feet. (Home-based worker 3, 34, Inanda Maphephetheni)

This quote clearly indicates that the mother wants better life for her children, for them to be independent and to be able to provide for themselves. Furthermore, mothers wanted to have their own home so that children would also have a place called home. Most of the participants in this study did not own a home; they were staying in their parents' home or renting. Most of them were staying in informal settlements, an environment that is not conducive to raising a child. Owning a home would empower women and allow them to implement their own childcare practices without being influenced by other family members.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter interpreted and discussed the results based on the perceptions of informally working women on childcare practices and also triangulated the result with what has been reported by stakeholders who were part of the study. Topics such as work environment, type of work and mother's income were discussed, since they are amongst the important factors that shape mothers' decisions on childcare. Lack of income was discovered as the main challenge for informally working women to provide nurturing care to their children. Informal work conditions do not pay for social benefits such as maternity leave, UIF, family responsibility leave etc. to allow women to stay at home and care for their children. Furthermore, the level of income within the informal sector is low, making it difficult for mothers to afford to pay for quality caregivers, including ECD centres. Therefore, women settle for cheaper caregivers who do not possess qualities to stimulate children's growth and development.

Although the father's presence and support are important in their child's life, in this study, there was no significant difference between mothers who were still in relationship with the father of the child and those who were not in a relationship. Most of the mothers were playing a leading role in ensuring that the child's needs were covered, regardless of the state of the relationship they had with the father. However, the father's contribution to the child's needs eased the burden of some of the mothers. Support from family members and neighbours with childcare allowed mothers to balance work and childcare responsibilities. Nevertheless, mothers carried out most of the activities, including house chores, work and childcare responsibilities. Such a workload hinders women's opportunities to pursue their livelihood. The socialist feminism theory states that women's roles within society must be revised in order to liberate women from socially constructed norms which prevent women from reaching their potentials and allows men to thrive.

This study also discovered that being an informal worker gave women resilience to cope with their challenges, particularly in ensuring that children's needs are met. However, mothers were more focused on providing for the physical needs of their child and sometimes neglected emotional needs. In attachment theory, Bowlby emphasised the significance of the mother-child relationship and the consequences of failing to meet the child's emotional needs. Therefore, mothers need to be made more aware of the possible consequences of their actions by creating awareness campaigns that will educate women about importance of mother-child relationship. Such awareness campaigns can be done in clinics in maternity and child health departments.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study sought to understand the experiences of informally working women in carrying out their childcare practices. This research was motivated by how the researcher perceived the nature of the informal economy and the obvious challenges, such as the inappropriate working environment, that female informal workers face. In other words, seeing women working with their babies on their back, on their stalls, on the street, was the main motivation for this study. This chapter summarises the results, provides recommendations that will inform policy-makers on how to tackle the challenges faced by informally working mothers, and suggests possible interventions.

5.2 Summary of results

5.2.1 The informal economy and working mothers

The informal economy is providing a source of income to many women who are struggling to find jobs in the formal economy. It is the section of the economy that enables mothers to make money daily to be able to provide for their children's essential needs, since most of them have limited support from the father of the baby. The flexible nature of the informal work enables mothers to balance work and childcare. However, there is always conflict between motherhood and childcare responsibilities, resulting in one having dominance over the other. Although mothers love and care for their children, work took dominance over childcare as it enabled mothers to provide necessities for the child and the family at large. The lack of social protection, such as maternity benefits, sick leave and unemployment benefits, proved to be the main hindrance against mothers achieving optimum childcare practices, as they were forced to return to work sooner in order to make an income. In a nutshell, lack of income was the main barrier for women against practicing optimum childcare behaviours.

These findings are in congruence with many other studies that have been done relating to informally working women and childcare. Providing financial assistance and other interventions to assist them with their childcare and work challenges will ease the burden which informally working women face. Equipping these women with entrepreneurial skills will help them to maximise their profit and raise their income. Some of the participants within the study were already receiving business training skills, such as bookkeeping, which was conducted by the Business Support Unit within the eThekweni municipality. Such training proved to be beneficial to women as they were able to save and track their

daily income. However, this training did not reach the majority of the population of the informal workers.

Informal workers in general are neglected by the structures which have the power to help them. Regulatory and environmental challenges are the main barriers for informal workers in working productively. They are being harassed by the regulating officers, such as police and municipal officials, since some of them cannot afford to obtain selling permits or licenses. Women reported that these officials would confiscate their products, arrest them or sometimes ask for a bribe. Chen (2012) argued that regulations employed in the informal economy are not ideal for the informal workers and proposed that stakeholders should amend these regulations, recognising the realities faced by informal workers. Similarly, Mkhize et al. (2013) suggested that policy-makers should draft new street trading bylaws since confiscation of goods proved to have serious implications for the livelihoods and the families of street traders. Therefore, this study approves the suggestions made by Chen (2012) and Mkhize et al. (2013), which it is critical for policy-makers to implement policies that would not make life of already poor people even harder.

This cannot be achieved without improving the work environment which makes it hard for women, particularly street traders, to work productively. There must be a mutual relationship between informal workers and the municipality in order for them to be able to work in harmony. Decision-making must be informed by the bottom-up approach, where informal workers are participating in every agenda concerning their livelihood. The workers would adhere to the policies given to them if they received the services that would make their livelihood easy. Therefore, the municipal council needs to provide essential services such as water and sanitation, and a proper working infrastructure. This can be achieved by utilising the money which they collect monthly for trading fee licenses; they can also involve other stakeholders and businesses to assist in transforming the working environment of the informal traders. It is important to mention that informal workers are the main stakeholders of their development; therefore, they must not be excluded from the process of improving their lives. For domestic workers, further research needs to be done to check if domestic employers do adhere to the minimum wage policy

5.2.2 Childcare arrangements

Findings showed that mothers relied mostly on family members, neighbours and daycare to care for their child while they were at work. These are the most common support systems for childcare for working mothers, whether working informally or formally. However, for mothers working informally,

affordability determined where the child would be cared for. The type of informal work also determined the childcare arrangements; for instance, women who were working at home were able to look after their children while working, but domestic workers and other street traders had to leave their children with a carer.

The study also revealed that some mothers left their children in the homestead with their family members, and they would visit the child at the end of every month. Based on the results it was clear that these mothers were not bonding with their children as they were in pursuit of income. This could have serious consequences as the child grows; as John Bowlby (1951) mentioned in attachment theory, maternal deprivation could result in long-term cognitive, social, and emotional difficulties for the child. The first two years of the child's life are critical in bonding with the mother, but the risk continues up to five years. Therefore, based on attachment theory, children of informally working mothers are at risk of not developing to their full potential, as the absence of their mothers threatens their psychological wellbeing. This is also worsened by the environment in which they grow up. Most of the mothers are staying in poor informal settlements, an environment which is not conducive to raising a child. Considering the environmental settings of informal settlements, children growing up in such environments suffer from not getting essential things such as adequate nutrition, safe drinking water, decent shelter, decent sanitation facilities, security, health and education. This means that the environment hinders optimum childhood development.

The government has been emphasising the importance of early childhood development (ECD) and has invested in intervention programmes that deal with educational services, health services, parental services and nutrition. In achieving this, the South African government integrated the three departments, i.e. the Department of Social Development, the Department of Education and the Department of Health, to promote ECD. The Department of Human Settlements is not included, which in my view is not ideal; it should be included as the environment in which the child grows plays a vital role in their development. When mothers go to work, they leave their children with family members, neighbours or daycare, all of which are within the informal settlements. This means that children are trapped in this environment which threatens their wellbeing and livelihood.

5.2.3 Balancing work, childcare and household activities

The findings also revealed the burden faced by women due to the dual responsibilities they hold due to the traditional gender division of activities within the household. Work, childcare and household activities added pressure onto women's daily lives; women's daily lives start and end with these

activities. A perfect example from the findings was the woman who mentioned that before leaving for work, she would wake up early in the morning to prepare her child for day-care, help other children to get ready for school, clean the house, and then go to work. When she comes home from work, she cooks, helps the children prepare for the next school day, baths children, bakes muffins to sell the next day and spend times with the little baby. This is a very exhausting job to do daily. It has been proven that many working women cannot cope with these dual responsibilities and are prone to stress due to the numerous roles they play both at home and work.

Unlike women working in the formal sector, who have proper working hours, women in the informal economy are working longer hours and do not have fixed payment. Informally working women are already vulnerable individuals who face number of challenges, within both the work and home environments; therefore, they need a strong support system to cope with their difficulties. This can start by challenging social structures which have created, and continue to create, inequality between genders. The structural division of work within the family must be altered by involving men in doing household chores and carrying out childcare responsibilities. Similarly, boys should be trained at an early age to be more involved in household activities, in order to eliminate the sexual division of labour and patriarchy. The disproportionate sharing of responsibilities within the household among boys and girls, men and women, exacerbates gender inequalities.

The prevalence of unpaid care work among women must be challenged so as to liberate women from being trapped in a system that was created to disempower them. Socialist feminists argue that all women must be categorised as a member of working class, irrespective of their contribution in the “capitalist-dominated domain of production” (Ehrenreich, 1976, p. 4). Feminists are helping women to recognise their worth by revealing how much they are oppressed by political, economic and social structures. The feminists encourage women to challenge these structures and bring social change into their lives (Turner & Maschi, 2015). In addition, Ehrenreich (1976) views women as being part of the working class because of the major role they play in raising children, sustaining families, and maintaining the cultural and social networks of the community.

5.3 Realisation of the study objectives

- To explore the work and childcare experiences of informally working women

This study showed that informally working women love and care for their children. Although it was a challenge for them to go back to work, leaving their child behind, being able to provide for their child’s needs put them at ease. Being an informally working mother was difficult, since they do not get

employment benefits as do formally working woman. Mothers who were working from home with the child or taking the child to work with her were experiencing difficulty in balancing work and childcare. However, working with the baby enabled mothers to breastfeed the baby and develop a strong bond. Once they stop breastfeeding, they leave the baby at home. Family members, siblings, or childcare facilities took care of the baby while the mother was at work.

- To explore the challenges of informally working women in balancing time for childcare and work

Conflict between work and childcare was experienced by all the mothers, with work responsibilities having dominance over childcare activities. This is due to the fact that the mother is earning income from work in order to be able to provide for their child's needs. Also, many mothers had people who were supporting them in caring for the child, which made it easier for them to undertake their work activities. These supporting people include family members, neighbours and the crèche. Most mothers were paying for childcare services given by these people, either by paying in kind, for example, buying food for the household or providing other household necessities. Lack of support, both financial and emotional support, from the father of the baby was a challenge, since mothers were working hard to provide for the child and this compromised their time with the baby.

- To explore the survival strategies applied by informally working women to overcome their existing challenges.

Women viewed working in the informal economy as the key to resolving their challenges. The informal economy gave them jobs, and they are able to make a livelihood through informal work. The government social grant for the child and other children enabled mothers to have an extra income and this money was most useful during the time of unemployment after giving birth. With regard to poor essential services in their workplace, such as lack of water and sanitation, mothers provided their own water, either buying water or carrying water from home to work. Mothers would pay for public toilets or asked the neighbouring store for services. In balancing work and childcare, mothers had support system but they were hands-on in carrying out most childcare activities. They prepared for the child's needs before leaving for work and also took over childcare when they came home from work. Mothers also had saving plans to keep their money; the most common way of saving money was through a stokvel. This encapsulates the strategies applied by informally working women in the study area.

- To examine perceptions of Department of Social Development officials on the issue of informally working women and their childcare practices

The officials from the Department of Social Development were aware of informally working mothers and the challenges they experience in raising their children, especially while working in an economy where there are no benefits. The study found that there are supportive measures in place for vulnerable people in society, especially women and children; however, people are not informed about these and, when the department visits, the community people are not interested in attending. These services include supporting informal businesses by providing entrepreneurial skills, provision of childcare services, such as awareness of the importance of early childhood development (ECD), supporting ECD centres and support for cooperatives, business and non-profit organisations.

- To develop guiding principles that can be applied in supporting and developing women working in the informal economy

Based on the challenges informally working women experience in all spheres of their lives, an intervention is required by relevant departments. First of all, the policies relating to the informal economy must be reviewed to ensure that these policies do not make the livelihood of already vulnerable people more vulnerable. Provision of a safe, clean working environment is a must, because that is where workers spend most of their lives; therefore, their health must be a priority. Access to water and sanitation must be provided to informal workers. With regard to childcare, it is important to create an awareness of ECD among these women and make ECD centres available and affordable to them. This can start by supporting the informal crèches in townships, integrating them and upgrading them into proper ECD centres, as per the DSD recommendations. The study also suggests that the Department of Human Settlements be integrated with other departments that have been integrated with the Department of Social Development for the provision of ECD. This is based on the empirical findings from research stating that their environment has a major impact in raising a child. This study found that most participants and their children are staying in informal settlements, an environment which is not conducive to raising a child. Such an environment compromises children's health and wellbeing, and can create inter-generational poverty.

5.4 Recommendations

Since lack of money is the main barrier preventing informally working mothers from providing optimum care to their children, and their jobs do not provide social support such as paid maternity leave, I would advise women to build or strengthen their financial support networks which will be used in time of financial crises. These would include the first three months after birth or when a person

cannot come to work for a long period because of wellbeing problems. Such financial networks can even open a trust fund, where women put certain money aside for their children's education. This will help them furthering their children's education after finishing secondary level. In doing so, the family will break out of poverty by ensuring their children's future is secured. For domestic workers I would also suggest that they must create an insurance policy, where the employer and employee each contribute a certain percentage from the remuneration to be kept and used only during times of need, such as maternity leave, sick leave or retirement and unemployment. This insurance can act as an unemployment insurance fund but there must be transparency between the parties involved.

With regard to childcare, it would be of great benefit for informally working mothers to form cooperatives that would provide childcare services closer to their work environment. There are a number of informal workers globally who have worked together, formed a cooperative and built childcare services for informally working mothers. These organisations include Unidades Municipais de Educação Infantil, known as UMEI Carlos Prates, based in Brazil, which provides childcare services for waste pickers. The Makola Market Child Care Centre in Ghana is run by the Ghana Association of Traders (GATA) and provides childcare services for street traders. Lastly, the Self-employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India built childcare facilities in response to the demands of informally working women. Among others, SEWA members comprise agricultural workers, construction workers, domestic workers, home-based workers, street and market vendors, and waste pickers. SEWA now runs 33 centres since its establishment, as well as 20 centres in the rural areas. South African informally working women can also achieve something like this, if they work together in addressing their childcare needs. The DSD and other stakeholders are there to assist cooperatives in achieving their goals, particularly the DSD, in addressing childcare services.

Furthermore, I suggest that the Department of Human Settlements be integrated into the intervention programmes for ECD, to address housing challenges faced by informal dwellers. The Department of Social Development must assist those informal crèches that accommodate the children of the poor while pursuing their livelihood activities. These crèches have poor infrastructure and facilities, and they do not meet the requirements to be registered under the DSD. However, they played a critical role in keeping children safe, and in educating and feeding them with the low and irregular income they receive from the fees they charge parents. It is of importance to recognise such facilities and assist in developing them, as they play a critical role in ECD.

Lastly, I would recommend that society needs to review the cultural norms that oppress women and challenge them in order for women to be fully liberated, both economically and socially. Most women take all the burden of raising a child, while men are living free. This is exacerbated by the cultural norms that prevent fathers from being fully present in the child's life. We are living in a country with a high rate of poverty and unemployment, and the country's economy is vulnerable to address such issues. Now it is unfair for the family to deny the father his right to have a relationship with the child because he has not paid damages (*ihlawulo*) or bride's price (*ilobolo*). To be able to pay such, one must have money or a job, which for many is hard to find. Therefore, I would suggest that such cultural customs must be eased to allow fathers to have a relationship with their children.

Further research is required to understand the perceptions of fathers regarding cultural norms and childcare. Also, further research can be carried out on the roles of informal daycare or child-carers to get insight and understanding of the roles they play in childcare and of what can be done to improve their services in order for children to get optimum care and quality of education

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher gave a summary of the findings and gave recommendations on how to address the main issues regarding informally working women and childcare. This study was guided by research objectives and questions which were addressed and which enabled the researcher to rigorously study the research topic and come up with the above-mentioned conclusion and recommendations. Doing this study also allowed the researcher to identify research gaps that will build on what has been found in this study and other previous related research topics. The researcher believes that this study will improve children's lives and women's livelihoods only if potential stakeholders can develop initiatives and implement interventions that would address the identified challenges.

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Appendix 1: Screening tool

Screening tool to identify women working in the informal economy.

Section 1: Administration

A1.1 Site of interview Indawo yenxoxo yemibuzo								
A1.2 Interviewer name Igama lobuza imibuzo								
A1.3 Date of screening Usuku lwenxoxo	D	D	M	M	Y	Y	Y	Y

Section 2: Screening questions

S2.1	What is your date of birth? Luthini usuku lwakho lokuzalwa?	D	D	M	M	Y	Y	Y	Y
S2.2	How old are you? Uneminyaka emingakiyears				If aged <18years → end interview			
S2.3	What type of work do you do? (Specify) Ingabe wenza hlobo luni lomsebenzi? (Cacisa)								
S2.4	Is this informal or formal employment? (as defined) Ingabe umsebenzi ofomali noma umnotho osafufusa? (Cacisa)	1=Informal or unsure				2= Formal END			
S2.5	Do you work for an employer? Ingabe ukhona umuntu omsebenzelayo?	1 = Yes				0 = No → SKIP to 2.12			

S2.6	Does your employer pay UIF on your behalf? Ingabe umqashi wakho uyayikhona imali ye – UIF?	1 = Yes → End interview	0 = No
S2.7	Do you have a written contract with your employer? Ingabe ikhona inkontileka ebhalwe phansi phakathi kwakho nomqashi wakho?	1 = Yes → End interview	0 = No
S2.8	Are you self-employed? (You receive your earnings from yourself) Ingabe uziqashile? (Uwena oziholelayo)	1 = Yes	0 = No → Skip to 2.14
S2.9	Is your business registered for tax (SARS) purposes? <i>Does not include a permit for the city traders or municipal charges.</i> Ingabe ibhizinisi lakho libhaliselwe kwa – SARS?	1 = Yes → End interview	0 = No
S2.10	How long have you worked in this environment Ingabe ususebenze isikhathi esingakanani kulomkhakha?	1 = More than 6 months	0 = Less than 6 months → End interview
<p>Permission to contact participant again</p> <p>Briefly explain the study to the participant and ask permission for the researchers to contact her to set up an appointment for a home visit. Explain that the researcher will explain the whole study during that visit and then she will sign informed consent.</p> <p>Imvume yokuxhumana nomhlanganyeli futhi</p> <p>Chazela umhlanganyeli ngalolucwaningo bese ucela imvume yokuthi abacwaningi bamuthinte mayelana nokumvakashela ekhaya. Uma sebesekhaya, umcwaningi uzomuchazela kabanzi ngocwaningo futhi uzosayina imvume yokuba inxenye yocwaningo</p>			
S2.20	Did the participant agree to allow the researchers an opportunity to explain the study Ingabe uvumile umhlanganyeli ukunikeza abacwaningi ithuba lokuzochaza ucwaningo?	1 = Yes	0 = No → End interview with thanks
S2.21	Name of participant Igama lika mhlanganyeli		
S2.22	Telephone contact number of participant Izinombolo zocingo atholakala kuzo umhlanganyeli		
S2.23	Address or place where you will meet the participant		

Appendix 2: Letter to DSD director

Mazisi Kunene Road,
Glenwood
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Durban
4041

THE CHIEF DIRECTOR
Department of Social Development
214 Dr Pixley Kasememe Street
Private bag x1503
Durban
4000

22 January 2019

Dear Ms Mbatha

My name is Sphindile Mapumulo, a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College. I am currently beginning a research project for my Masters programme in Development Studies and my supervisor is Professor Oliver Mtapuri.

My research topic is **“Perceptions of informal working women and child care”**. The purpose of this research is to get the views of mothers who work in the informal sector on issues related to child care practices. I am interested in getting to know how do mothers balance child care and work responsibilities, the challenges they encounter as informal working mothers and possible solutions. I am also interested to get the views from the Department of Social Development (DSD) on this topic. It is understood that this department focus on issues related to poverty alleviation, economic development, job creation and social advancement with the aim of improving people’s lives. The objective of women and development sub-programme for programme number five state that “ it

wants to create an environment to help women to develop constructive, affirmative and sustainable relationships while concurrently providing opportunities for them to build their competencies and needed skills to engage as partners in their own development and that of their communities". Therefore this study will contribute by informing the department about the challenges that these women face in trying develop themselves and can help in forming new policies that will address issues in the informal sector. I would like to state that this study is being adopted from similar a longitudinal study that is currently being conducted by the research organisation, Centre for Rural Health (CRH) based in UKZN, Howard College. This organisation is working with the World Health Organisation (WHO) in conducting this study here in South Africa and in India.

Subject to approval by Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics this study will be using a questionnaire to explore the views of the staff members from social development on the topic. Humanities & Social Science Research Ethics is a board that approves all research proposals taking into careful consideration a number of ethical issues with the interest of protecting participants.

I am writing to ask your permission to be allowed to interview three staff members in your department. I would like to speak with a social worker, LED practitioner and community development practitioner. I would ask them few questions about the work that they do, opinions on informal working women and childcare. Three staff members will be enough since this is a small study. I purposely selected these people because they mostly work with the issues related to this research topic. This should not take a large amount of time, maybe 30 to 45 minutes and can be conducted at a convenient time and date to be arranged. I would be very pleased if I get the opportunity to talk with you and arrange the convenient time to come and conduct interviews with your staff members I have mentioned above.

All information gathered during interviews will be kept strictly confidential. There will be no identifying information. The research paper will only talk about the perceptions of DSD on informal working women and child care. Once the data has been collected and the result have been analysed, I can share with you a copy of this work.

If this is possible please could you E-mail me at 217076781@stu.ukzn.ac.za, or call me on (031) 260 1740 or 0731161070. You can also contact my supervisor Professor Oliver Mtapuri on (031) 260 1031, mtapurio@ukzn.ac.za.

Yours sincerely

Sphindile Mapumulo

Appendix 3: In-depth interview guideline for informal working women

In-depth interview Guideline for informal working women

Perceptions of women in the informal economy on childcare practices in Durban, KwaZulu Natal

I would like to thank you mothers for availing yourselves today and meet with me. My name is Sphindile Mapumulo and I would like to talk to you about your experiences of being an informal working mother. I would ask you few questions regarding your experiences as an informal working mother, child care and feeding practices, work environment, challenges and possible solutions. The interview will take about 45-60 minutes. I will be tape-recording the interview, reason being I want to grasp everything you are saying and used it for analyses. However all responses will be kept confidential, to ensure that I will give you unique codes to use instead of your real name. For example, M1 for mother number one.

Ngithanda ukubonga mama ngokuvuma ukuhlangana nami namhlanje. Igama lami ngingu Sphindile Mapumulo, bengithanda ukukhuluma nawe mayelana nama-experiences akhon okuba umama osebenza kulomkhakha osafufusa. Bengingathanda ukukubuzisa imibuzo embalwa mayelana nama-experiences akho njengomama osebenza kumkhakha osafufusa, ukunakekela nokondliwa kwengane, indawo osebenzela kuyo, izingqinamba ohlangabezana nayo nokuthi yini engaba lusizo. Ingxoxo izothatha imizuzu ewu-45 kuya kwewu-60. Ngizocela ukuqopha ingxoxo, isizathu ukuthi ngifuna ukuthola konke okushoyo ngikusebenzise ekuhlaziyeni imiphumela yalolucwaningo. Kodwake konke ozokusho kuzogcinwa kuyimfihlo, ngizokunika ikhodi ozoyisebensisa esikhundleni sokusebenzisa igama lakho langempela. Isibonelo, M1 uzomela umama wokuqala.

Can you please describe the work that you do? *Ngicela uchaze ngomsebenzi owenzayo?*

Probes: What do you do and for how long have you been working in this job?

Wenzani futhi sekunesikhathi esingakanani usebenza kulomsebenzi owenzayo?

How many days you work in a week and how many hours in a day?

Usebenza izinsuku ezingaki evikini futhi usebenza amahora mangaki ngosuku?

Describe your relationship with your employer and coworkers

Ngicela uchaze ngobudlelwane onabo nomqashi wakho kanye nabantu osebenza nabo?

Describe your work environment.

Ngicela uchaze ngendawo osebenzela kuyona

Why did you choose to work in this sector and describe how it is like to work here?

Kungani ukhethe ukusebenza kulomkhakha, futhi kunjani ukusebenza lapha?

Are there any challenges you are experiencing as a women in this type of work that you do?

Kungabe zikhona izingqinamba ohlangabezana nazo njengomuntu wesifazane osebenza kulomsebenzi owenzayo?

What are the benefits of working in the informal sector?

Zithini izinzuzo zokusebenza kumkhakha osafufusa?

What do you like the most about the job that you are doing?

Kungabe yini oyithanda kakhulu ngalomsebenzi owenzayo?

Can you tell me more about the baby that you have and how you are caring for him/her?

Ngicela ungitshale kabanzi ngalomntwana onaye nokuthi umunakekela kanjani?

Probes: What is the name of the baby and what do you like the most about your baby?

Ubani igama lomntwana, yini oyithanda kakhulu ngomntwana wakho?

How did you feel when you find out that you pregnant with (name)?

Ingabe wazizwa kanjani ngenkathi uthola ukuthi uzithwela?

How did the father of the baby responded to the news of having a baby? And how is he supporting you? **Ingabe ubaba wazizwa kanjani ngezindaba zokuthi uzoba nengane? Ingabe ukusaphotha kanjani?**

Since you are a working mother what are your childcare arrangements? Do you have any concerns?

Njengoba ungumama osebenzayo zithini izinhlelo zakho zokunakekela umntwana, ingabe kukhona okukukhathazayo?

Describe the environment where your child is being care for? **Ngicela uchaze indawo lapho umntwana anakekelwa khona?**

Why did you choose that person or place to care for your child? **Kungani ukhethe lomuntu noa lendawo ukuthi inakekele umntwana wakho?**

Are you paying for childcare? **Ingabe uyakukhokhela ukunakekwelwa komntwana?**

IF THE MOTHER TAKES THE CHILD TO WORK WITH HER: How do you feel about bringing your baby to work? *Uma umama esebenza nengane: Ingabe uzizwa kanjani ngokuletha umntwana awakho emsebenzini?*

Ingabe indawo osebenzela kuyo iyakuphazamisa ekunakekeleni umntwana wakho? Chaza ngezinqinamba ohlangabezana nazo uma usebenze nomntwana wakho

How do you manage to do your work and care for your baby? **Ingabe uwumenenja kanjani umsebenzi wakho nokunakekela umntwana wakho?**

Are there any people supporting you in caring for the baby at work, if yes please describe them and how they help you? **Ingabe bakhona abantu abakusizayo ekunakekeleni umntwana wakho la emsebenzini, uma kunjalo ngicela ubachaze nokuthi bakusiza kanjani?**

Describe how your colleagues or employer have responded to you bringing your child to work? **Ngicela uchaze ukuthi ozakwenu noma umqashi wakho uzizwa kanjani uma uletha ingane emsebenzini?**

What can be done to make things easier for you in balancing child care and work responsibilities? **Yini engenziwa ukuthi kubelula kuwena ukubhalansisa umsebenzi kanye nokunakekelwa kwengane?**

*If breastfeeding in the workplace: how do you feel about breastfeeding while at work? Are there any challenges? **Uma encelisela ibele endaweni yokusebenza; Ingabe uzizwa kanjani mayelana nokuncelisa ibele usebenza? Ingabe zikhona izingqinamba?***

Describe all the activities you do in a day to daily basis. *Ngicela uchaze ngemisebenzi oyenzayo ngosuku, zinsuku zonke*

Probes: What do you do when different activities are clashing, which activity do you prioritise to do first? **Ingabe wenzenjani uma imisebenzi eyahlukene kumele uyenze ngesikhathi esisodwa, imuphi umsebenzi owenza kuqala?**

Do you have people supporting you in doing all these activities? Who are they and what do they do? **Ingabe bakhona abantu abakusizayo ekwenzeni lemisebenzi? Bangobani futhi yini abayenzayo?**

What challenges do you face in balancing work, child care and household activities? **Iziphi izingqinamba ohlangabezana nazo ekubhalansiseni umsebenzi, ukunakekelwa kwengane nokwenza imisebenzi yasendlini?**

How do you manage these challenges? **Yini oyenzayo ukusombulula lezingqinamba?**

How sustainable is your income in the informal economy? Do you have any dependents who rely on this income and are you able to meet their needs including yours and the baby? **Ingabe uyakwazi ukuphila ngemali oyisebenza kulomkhakha osafufusa? Ingabe bakhona abantu obanakekelayo ngalomholo futhi ingabe uyakwazi ukuze idingo zabo kanye nezakho?**

What are your recommendations regarding issues within the informal sector, recommendation that can improve the informal sector? **Ungaphawula uthini mayelana nezimo ezithinta umkhakha osafufusa, yini engasiza ukuze uthuthuke?**

What are your future plans within this sector? **Ingabe athini amaplan akho?**

Appendix 4: In-depth interview guideline for DSD officials

In-depth interview Guideline for Department of Social Development Official

Perceptions of women in the informal economy on childcare practices in Durban, KwaZulu Natal

I would like to thank you for availing yourself today and meet with me. My name is Sphindile Mapumulo and I would like to talk to you about your perceptions on informal working mothers. I would ask you few questions regarding the work that you do, the department mandate on women and childcare and your opinions on informal working women. The interview will take about 45-60 minutes. I will be tape-recording the interview, reason being I want to grasp everything you are saying and used it for analyses. However all responses will be kept confidential, I will give you a unique code to use instead of your real name.

Can you describe the work that you do?

5. How long have you been working here?
6. What is your position and what are your work responsibilities?
7. Why did you choose to work in this sector?
8. **Do you know about informal working women? If yes what have you noticed about them?**
9. **Where are they concentrated?**
10. **Can you please describe their working environment if you have noticed?**
11. **What constitute a good environment for child care?**

12. What can you say about women who bring or raise their children in the work environment?
13. It has been found that women are working under pressure like raising children, household work and their paid work. What can you say about that?
14. One of the DSD strategic goals is to improve and expand early childhood development provision and to enhance the capabilities of communities to achieve sustainable livelihood and household security. Are there any programmes that are helping women who are struggling in terms of improving their livelihood and childcare?
15. Is there anything you can change about informal work?

Appendix 5: Ethical clearance certificate



**UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
CHAPTER 1 YAKWAZULU-NATALI**

14 February 2019

Ms Sphindile Mapumulo 217076781

School of Built Environment & Development Studies Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Mapumulo

Protocol Reference Number : HSS/2033/018M

Project title: Perceptions of women in the informal economy on childcare practices in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal

Full Approval — Expedited Application In response to your application received 31 October 2018, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted FULL APPROVAL.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully



.....
Dr Rosemary Sibanda(Chair)

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

**Cc Supervisor: Professor Oliver Mtapuri cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Oliver Mtapuri cc
School Administrator: Ms A Msomi**

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

**Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email:
ximbap@ukzn.ac.za | snyrnanm@ukzn.ac.za | mohunp@ukzn.ac.za Website: www.ukzn.ac.za**

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Howard College

Medical School

Appendix 6: Gatekeepers letter

Mazisi Kunene Road,
Glenwood
Durban
4041
Social Sciences, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Howard College Campus,

Dear Participant

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

My name is Miss Sphindile Mapumulo, I am a master's candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard collage, South Africa.

I am interested in getting to know how do mothers who are informal workers balance child care and work responsibilities, the challenges they encounter as informal working mothers and possible solutions. I am studying cases around Durban central and INK (Inanda, Ntuzuma, Kwamashu) Township. To gather the information, I am interested in asking you some questions.

Please note that:

- Your confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in person, but reported only as a population member opinion.
- The interview may last for about 1 hour and may be split depending on your preference.
- Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.
- Data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.
- You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- The research aims at knowing the perceptions of women in the informal economy on childcare practices.
- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.
- If you are willing to be interviewed, please indicate (by ticking as applicable) whether or not you are willing to allow the interview to be recorded by the following equipment:

	willing	Not willing
Audio equipment		

I can be contacted at:

Email: 217076781@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Cell: 073 116 1070

My supervisor is Professor O Mtapuri who is located at the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, Howard college campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Contact details: email: mtapurio@ukzn.ac.za Phone number: 031 260 1031

You may also contact the Research Office through:

P. Mohun

HSSREC Research Office,

Tel: 031 260 4557 E-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

DECLARATION

I..... (full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

Mazisi Kunene Road,
Glenwood
Durban
4041
Social Sciences, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Howard College Campus,

Mbambiqhaza

INCWADI YESIVUMELWANO

Igama lami ngingunkosazane Sphindile Mapumulo, ngifunda eNyuvesi yakKwaZulu-Natal, Howard College, eMzansi Africa. Ngenza izifundo kwi-Masters in Development studies. Nginentshisekelo yokwazi kabanzi mayelana nomama abasebenza kumkhakha osafufusa ukuthi babhalansisa kanjani umsebenzi wabo Kanye nokunakekela banatwana babo, iziphi izingqinamba abahlangabezana nazo nokuthi zikasombululwa kanjani. Nginentshisekelo yokukwazi kabanzi ngalabomama abasebenza phakathi edolobheni laseThekwini Kanye nabasemalokishini okungaba Inanda, Ntuzuma Kwamashu (INK). Ukuze ngikwazi ukuqoqa ulwazi, ngidinga ukuba ngikubuze imibuzo

Please note that: Ngicela wazi ukuthi

- Konke ozobe ukusho kuzogcinwa kuyimfihlo angeke kubandakanye wena kepha kuzobekwa kuriphothwa kuphela njengomunye wabasebenzi
- Ingxoxo ingathatha imizuzu engangehora futhi ingahlukaniswa kuzoyangokuthi uthanda kwenzi wa kanjani
- ukuba kumelane nawe, futhi lonke ulwazi oluqoqiwe luzosetshenziselwa lolucwaningo kuphela
- Lonke ulwazi oluqoqiwe luzobekwa endaweni ephaphile, ehluthelwayo futhi emvakweminyaka emihlanu izobhujiswa
- Unelungelo lokuba uvume noma unqabe ukuba yingxenye yalolucwaningo noma uyeke ukuba yingxenye yocwaningo. Angeke ujeziswe uma wenza lezizinqumo
- Lolucwaningo luhlose ukwazi kabanzi ngemibono yomama abasebenza emkhakheni osafufusa mayelana nokunakekelwa kwezingane
- Ukuzimbadakanyeka kwakho kulolucwaningo kungokwezemfundo kuphela, awukho umhlomulo wemali okhona
- Uma uvuma ukuba kuxoxwe nawe ngicela ukhombise (ngokuthi uthikhe ibhokisi) ukuba uyavuma noma awuvumi ukuba ingxoxo iqoshwe ngesiqophamazwi:

	Ngiyavuma	angivumi
Isiqophamazwi		

Ngiyatholakala kuleminingwane:

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Tel: 031 260 4557 E-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Ngiyabonga kakhulu ngokubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo

ISIVUMELWANO

Mina..... (amagama aphelele) ngiyavuma futhi ngiyaqondisisa isivumelwano salolushicilelo nohlobo yalolucwaningo futhi ngiyavuma ukubamba iqhaza kuloluxwaningo.

Ngiyaqondisisa ukuba nginelungelo lokuhoxa kuloluxwaningo nanoma isiphi isikhathi engifisa ngaso.

Ukusayi kwalobambe iqhaza

Usuku

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Appendix 9: Turnitin report

PERCEPTIONS OF ²⁴ WOMEN IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY ON
CHILDCARE PRACTICES IN DURBAN, KWAZULU-NATAL

¹⁵ Master of Development Studies

In

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