

October 2020

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Recommended Citation

Martin-Howard, Simone (2020) "Efforts to Diminish Social Inequity in South Africa: Evaluating Life Skills and Income Generation Programs on Maternal Socioeconomic Position in Cape Town," *Journal of Public Management & Social Policy*. Vol. 27: No. 1, Article 5.

Available at: <https://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/jpmmsp/vol27/iss1/5>

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Efforts to Diminish Social Inequity in South Africa: Evaluating Life Skills and Income Generation Programs on Maternal Socioeconomic Position in Cape Town

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The purpose of this case study was to explore perceptions of the impact of program participation on diminishing social inequity using in-depth, semi-structured interviews with marginalized Black and Coloured mothers at a civil society organization (CSO) in the Western Cape Province of South Africa (SA). Narratives from a total of thirty-seven interviews form the basis of this paper. Interviews provide examples of extreme poverty and the importance of within-in program social support networks. This case study highlights the successful efforts of one CSO to alleviate social inequity—through life skills and income generation programming—among impoverished women. Findings indicated that women benefited from participation by gaining a social support network, improving their knowledge and skills, increasing mother-child bonds, and inspiring female entrepreneurship. The goal of this study was to provide much-needed insight into this marginalized community by presenting a variety of voices that are underreported in the literature.

In areas of immense poverty, such as the Western Cape Province (WCP) of South Africa (SA) – the location of this study, life skills and income generation programming by civil society organizations (CSOs) are vital to maternal well-being and child development. Specifically, CSOs that incorporate life skills development programs are extremely valuable, including computer and business courses, along with sustainable income generating projects that are culturally relevant in the local context, such as sewing and beading programs. These types of programs and projects empower Black and Coloured women in the WCP to learn basic computer skills and encourage mothers to use the proceeds from their sewing and beading crafts to start small businesses within their communities. According to Paver et al. (2019), “CSOs come in various forms, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs) and faith-based organizations (FBOs).” “CSOs

invest a great deal in the development of communities, which often include services for the unemployed, such as job training programs, vocational rehabilitation, vocational counselling and guidance” (Chitiga-Mabugu et al., 2013). In the WCP of SA, nonprofit organizations provide services for mothers and children who have historically been socio-economically disadvantaged. As important as the services that CSOs provide to lift marginalized women out of poverty is, they need social support networks for these women from family members, friends, and neighbors, as well as within-program support from the organization and its staff and volunteers.

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to explore perceptions of the impact of program participation on behavioral change using observations and in-depth semi-structured interviews with Black and Coloured mothers. This study addressed the following main research questions regarding the success of Table Views’ Computer and Business Course (CBC) Program and Sewing and Beading Project (SBP) and the impact of participation in these programs on participant behavior in the WCP, SA:

- 1) What are the barriers and/or facilitators to becoming self-sufficient and/or independent in an underserved context as perceived by low-income mothers? And*
- 2) How has program participation improved life skills development and/or changed mothers’ ability to partake in income generating activities?*

This exploratory, descriptive study illustrates the contextual factors that Black and Coloured women in the WCP face, as well as provides insights into potential ways of reversing the effects of apartheid on maternal poverty by improving life skills development and providing social support networks for low-income, underserved populations. The author used qualitative research methods requiring data from the bottom-up—perceptions, understandings, and the voices of research participants (Bair et al., 2009; Floersch et al., 2010). This study provides evidence of the importance of sharing insights from the voices of those who are underrepresented in the literature. Findings from this research add to the knowledge of CSOs for low-income and underserved populations in SA and internationally and is of interest to scholars and practitioners in numerous disciplines. The programs evaluated in this study can be replicated in other cities and countries throughout the world.

Poverty and Racial Inequity in South Africa and the Western Cape

South Africa, classified as an upper middle-income country by the World Bank, continues to experience high levels of inequality (Coovadia et al., 2009). Many South African families live in isolated communities characterized by extreme poverty where access to resources and professional services is limited (Meth, 2013). Unemployment as reported by Statistics South Africa (2016) stands at an alarming rate of 27.1%. These adverse conditions have placed severe pressure on ordinary South Africans who are already struggling to meet their basic household needs (Labadarios et al., 2011). According to a recent report by Statistics South Africa (2017), although poverty in the country declined between 2006 and 2011, poverty levels rose in 2015, and the poverty headcount increased to 55.5% from a low of 53.2% in 2011. This translates to over 30.4 million South Africans living in poverty in 2015 (Statistics South Africa, 2017). In general, children (aged 17 years and younger), black Africans, women, people from rural areas, and those with little or no education are among the main groups to experience poverty in South Africa.

The Western Cape Province in South Africa, the location of this study, is an urban

district with diverse living conditions, ranging from wealthy suburbs to underdeveloped informal urban and rural areas (Smit et al., 2017). In the WCP, high levels of poverty exist (Klasen and Woolard, 2009). The province's broad unemployment rate stood at 25.5% in 2014, and these are the driving factors of multiple social ills (Western Cape Provincial Strategic Plan, 2015). In addition to high levels of poverty and unemployment, South Africa (and in particular the WCP) remain stratified by inequity. Indeed, "South Africa stands out for being a highly unequal country, with these inequalities largely based along racial lines between the largest white minority in Sub-Saharan Africa and the more numerous population of African origin" (Gradin, 2015, p. 921).

The South African population is diverse and consists of three major reported groups, namely South African Blacks (80.2%), whites (8.4%) and Coloureds (8.8%) (Liebenberg et al., 2015). The remaining 2.5% of the population of South Africa consists mainly of individuals classified as Asian and Indian (Statistics South Africa, 2014). Black South Africans are divided into a number of broad cultural groups, including the Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga, and Venda (Magubane, 1998; West, 1976). "The Nguni form the largest group and include groups such as the Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele" (Sibanda, 2011, p. 483). The Black African classification refers to the indigenous groups found in South Africa, such as the Xhosa and the Zulu ethnic groups (Isaacs, 2014).

Coloured, a term historically and currently fraught with conflict and contradiction, refers to a heterogeneous racial group primarily consisting of persons of mixed racial ancestry (Goldin, 1987). Being also partly descended from European settlers, Coloured individuals have historically held intermediate social status in the South African racial hierarchy (Adhikari, 2006). According to Gradin (2015), "the aboriginal population in the area consists of the Khoisan people, two nomadic groups of hunter-gatherers and herders (previously known as Bushmen and Hottentots) that settled in the Western part of Southern Africa." "For their lighter skin color, their descendants were categorized by Whites as Coloured, not as Africans, jointly with descendants of the former Malaysian slaves and people of mixed race and adopted Afrikaans as their home language" (Gradin, 2015, p. 922). As stated by Isaacs (2014), the term Coloured is not a derogatory identity in South Africa but a racial classification used by both apartheid National Party (NP)-led and post-apartheid African National Congress (ANC)-led governments. This current study focuses on the responses of Black/Xhosa and Coloured women in the Western Cape, specifically.

The government of South Africa has, for some time, put in place socio-economic policies and programs to alleviate poverty, such as affirmative action and programs to promote education and skill acquisition (Serumaga-zake et al., 2005). Indeed, the South African government spent ZAR 1.5 trillion or 27% of the annual gross domestic product (GDP) on employment programs in 2018 (Ramaphosa, 2018). Okeke-Uzodike et al. (2018) contend that "...female entrepreneurs in formal and informal sectors play crucial roles in building and sustaining economic growth and development. In South Africa, however, women's participation in entrepreneurial activities remains on the periphery of formal government policy." In the extant literature, we can see the benefits of entrepreneurship. Self-employment through entrepreneurship improves the livelihoods of people in communities in which the entrepreneurs are imbedded (Fatoki and Chindoga, 2011). CBOs, like Table Views, were created to fill the much-needed gap where the South African government has fallen short as it relates to female entrepreneurship and empowerment.

Social Support Networks in South Africa and the Western Cape

Using a program process evaluation, this study investigated a CBO that uplifts the local community through nutrition and health support groups, parenting skills, and counseling. Specifically, this study focuses on the impact of life skills programs and income generation opportunities on participant behaviors and outcomes. Based on responses from thirty-seven participants, it became apparent that social support networks play an important role and work in tandem with these programs. Social support networks are defined as a network of people to include extended family, neighbors, and friends and is generally used in the human services field (Whittaker and Garbarino, 1983). Social support is a multifaceted construct that provides emotional, informational, appraisal, and tangible resources for coping (Berkman et al., 2000; Kaniasty and Norris, 2000). Women in South Africa deal with different issues that require coping skills. The country still struggles with several remnants of its apartheid past, such as large socio-economic imbalances and gender inequity (Karanda and Toledano, 2012).

Women's choices are influenced by social networks that convey behavioral norms, health information, social support, and other resources that impact women's social capital (Story, 2013). According to Halberstadt and Spiegler (2018), "...in women's relationship networks, the household as well as the family thus plays a more important role." A growing body of international evidence suggests that strengthening the determinants of health and well-being beyond the provision of health care services, such as housing, social support, and income, is essential to prevent or reduce inequities in health (Commission on Social Determinants of Health, 2008; Health Council of Canada, 2010). Other CBOs in the Western Cape, such as the Parent Centre, have implemented programs and initiatives that focus on peer support groups facilitated by mothers from the community. Therefore, this study looked at this new integrated approach by asking participants about their social support networks both within the programs and outside the programs through friends, family, and neighbors.

Research Setting- The Case Study

The Western Cape Province and Maraval Township¹

The WCP is the southernmost province of South Africa's nine provinces and is divided into six municipalities. According to the Western Cape Community Survey (2016), the province was home to almost 6.3 million people in 2016. The WCP is an urban district with diverse living conditions, ranging from wealthy suburbs to underdeveloped informal urban and rural areas (Smit et al., 2017). After the new democratic government came to power in 1994, Blacks migrated in large numbers, especially to areas where they had previously been denied the right to live and to areas from which they had been forcibly removed during apartheid (Serumaga-zake et al., 2005). Many large informal settlements were established and grew dramatically in or near the cities during the 1990s (Serumaga-zake et al., 2005). Established in the first few decades of the twentieth century, Maraval is one of the oldest informal settlements in the WCP. It was created as a Coloured township during apartheid.

Table Views Foundation – Programs and Goals

Table Views (located in the rural township of Maraval, WCP) is staffed by 18 paid and volunteer administrative and programmatic staff dedicated to improving the lives of the people of Maraval. The organizational goal of Table Views is: To accomplish social and economic improvement through various programs that educate, inform, and support the people of Maraval and its surrounding communities. Table Views has a total of six programs

¹ Maraval is a pseudonym for the township.

which encourage people in the community to take responsibility for their own lives, their families, and the impoverished situation in Maraval. Table 1, located in Appendix A, illustrates each program's goals. However, for purposes of this current study, the author focuses on only four of those six programs with particular attention to the outcomes for women who participated in the Computer and Business Course (CBC) and the Sewing and Beading Project (SBP).

Table Views' Scope

The participants in the CBC Program receive a small stipend, a hot meal every day, as well as training covering life skills, English, and computers. Participants from the community can attend free basic computer courses in the afternoon and become proficient in Microsoft Word, Excel, and PowerPoint, as well as receive general internet skills. While the Computer Course reaches a larger population, the Business Course educates the unemployed who desire to become business owners. The goal of the CBC is to reduce the unemployment rate and create new income opportunities for women in the community. This goal is measured through short-term, mid-term, and long-term outcomes obtained from the Organization's General Report.

The short-term outcomes of the CBC Program are: 1) students begin to develop knowledge of computers and how to start their own business, and 2) students obtain greater knowledge of how to become more marketable in order to receive job opportunities. The medium-term outcomes are: 1) students are referred to job opportunities by Table Views based on their newly developed and marketable skills, and 2) students are able to assist their children with homework assignments because of the skills they learned in the Program. The long-term outcome is: 1) closing the socio-economic gap of at-risk Black and Coloured women in the WCP.

If a potential client currently engages in home-making skills, like arts and crafts, she is also placed in the Sewing and Beading Program (SBP) where she can expand on her basic skills. Created in 2011, the SBP was started by three women from Maraval specifically for destitute and abused women. Historically, rural South Africans engaged in multiple economic activities, including agricultural production, small and micro-enterprises (May et al, 1998, 1999, 2000), handcraft making, selling cooked food, dressmaking, selling fruit, and informal employment (Seethal, 2002; McCusker, 2002). The South African legacy of handcraft making and dressmaking still exists at Table Views. Since its inception, the project has grown to approximately twenty women who work out of shipping-like containers on the foundation's lot. The containers are industrial equipment that businesses use to house their staff and participants when they are unable to afford buildings.

The short-term outcomes of the SBP are: 1) students begin building their self-esteem and professional skills to generate their own projects and 2) obtain greater knowledge by learning a new trade, so that they can start their own independent sewing or beading program out of their own homes. The mid-term outcomes are: 1) students are referred to job opportunities by Table Views' partnership with local manufacturing companies based on their new developed and marketable skills and placed in other companies doing administration and 2) students learn skills to develop into a CMT (Cut, Make & Trim) operation so that ladies can begin to earn decent wages. The long-term outcome is: 1) closing the socio-economic gap of at-risk Black and Coloured women in the WCP through independent income generation businesses.

Methods

Data Collection

Purposive sampling was utilized in this research via the (CSO). Recruitment of female participants was conducted with the assistance of the Director, Program Manager, and Adherence Counselor who were familiar with the social status of the women. The women then volunteered for the study. The semi-structured interview, located in Appendix B, was the primary data gathering instrument. The research was carried out at the CSO's site location in a private room. The questions were carefully designed to offer sufficient coverage for the purpose of the research. Eligible participants were: (1) aged 18 years or older; (2) English, Afrikaans, or IsiXhosa-speaking; (3) mothers; (4) not pregnant; (5) able to give informed consent; and (6) willing to be audio-recorded. Narratives from a total of thirty-seven interviews form the basis of this manuscript. Interviews were assisted by a translator, independent of the CSO, who spoke English, Afrikaans, and IsiXhosa fluently lasted between thirty minutes to one hour, were audio-recorded (with permission), and transcribed word-for-word into English. Topic areas included personal background, experiences as program participants, and perceptions of the program's impact on individual behavior and choices. Parent participants were compensated with various items for personal use and for their children, including bars of soap, combs, brushes, barrettes, rulers, pencils, pens, erasers, small notepads, toothpaste, deodorant, bracelets, infant clothing, crayons, and small sewing kits.

Data Analysis

Through this study, attempts were made to gain a better understanding of Black and Coloured mother's perceptions about the impact of program participation on behavioral changes. Data was analyzed using the inductive thematic analysis approach to identify, report, and analyze data for the meanings produced in and by people, situations, and events (Braun and Clarke, 2012). Recurring themes were isolated, and the data were translated into two overarching categories: 1) maternal poverty and 2) within-program social support networks, as well as three key themes relevant to the mother's experiences: 1) improved knowledge and skills, 2) increased bond with child/children, and 3) ideas to start their own business. Data saturation was attained during the in-depth interviews with the thirty-seven research participants (Tutty et al., 1996). Major themes were identified based on the study objectives, manually coded, and analyzed using Dedoose.

Ethical Considerations

Full ethical approval was obtained from Rutgers University and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in Pretoria, SA prior to commencing fieldwork. Consent was obtained from individual participants prior to all interviews. For the purpose of confidentiality, the names of the township, the organization, and the clients have been replaced by pseudonyms.

Participant Demographics and Characteristics

Thirty-seven female participants were recruited to participate in one-to-one semi-structured interviews. To obtain information about the parent's individual backgrounds and to start the conversation, participants were asked the following question: *Tell me a little about yourself?* Responses to this question included racial identity, age, employment status, and level of education. Behaviors and personal background were also obtained from responses to this question, in addition to questions asked later in the interview. The interview questions are listed in Appendix B. Table 2, located in Appendix C, describes Participant Characteristics

and Demographics for all 37 mothers broken down by program.

Of the 13 women whose primary program was the CBC or SBP, 54% (n=7) of women participated in the CBC as their main program, while 46% (n=6) of women volunteered in the SBP as their main program. Most women in this sample identify as Coloured (9/13). However, while Black women only comprise approximately 35% of participants in the overall sample (n=13/37), more Black women (43%) participated in the CBC Program compared to the SBP (17%). The sample is almost equally divided into women who fall between the ages of 18-35 (54%) and women between the ages of 36-70 (46%). Interestingly, the four Black women fall into the 18-35 age category whereas the nine Coloured women range in age from 36-70.

Forty-six percent (n=6) of women have a lower than high school (LTHS) level of education or have never attended high school, and 54% of women have some high school or high school diploma (SHSD). More specifically, as it relates to race and educational attainment, all the women who have a LTHS level of education are Coloured (n=6). Variation exists among the SHSD women: 3 of the women are Coloured and 4 of the women are Black. Black women have higher levels of education than Coloured women in the CBC/SBP sample. Almost 62% of the women are divorced, widowed, or single. For confidentiality reasons, marital status is divided into married or single (which includes divorced, widowed, or single). Overall, the women in the CBC Program are more racially diverse, younger, and have higher levels of education than the women in the SBP.

Of the 12 women who participated in the Nutritional and Health Support Group (NHSG) as their main program, half also participated in either the CBC or SBP. Unlike the homogeneous racial composition of the women who participated in the CBC/SBP, there was more diversity among the NHSG sample – half of the women (n=6) identify as Black or Xhosa, while the other half identify as Coloured. No variation is seen, however, among the ages of the women in the NHSG when compared to the CBC/SBP sample – all of the women are between the ages of 36-70. Fifty percent (n=6) of women have a LTHS level of education and have never attended high school, while the other half have a SHSD level of education. This is similar to the educational attainment levels of the women in the CBC/SBP sample. More specifically as it relates to race and educational attainment, Black women in this sample have higher levels of education than Coloured women. Over 83% (n=10) of the women are divorced, widowed, or single.

Three of the twelve women in the NHSG also participated in the CBC Program. The participants vary in race and educational attainment. It is difficult to make any inferences here as to why these women decided to join the CBC Program, except that perhaps their marital status may have impacted their decision to improve their knowledge and skills to better provide for their children. Two women in the NHSG also participate in the SBP. These women only vary in race. They have the same level of education and are both single. Only one woman participates in the NHSG, CBC Program, and the SBP.

Lastly, of the 12 women in the Parenting Workshop/Counseling Program (PW/CP) sample, most identify as Coloured (n=9), illustrating less racial diversity in this sample than the NHSG sample. Some variation is seen, however, among the ages of the women in this sample – 67% (n=8) of participants were between the ages of 18-35, and 33% (n=4) are between the ages of 36-70. This is more variation than the women in the NHSG sample, who all fall into the older age group; however, there is less age variation among the women than in the CBC/SBP sample who were almost equally distributed. Interestingly, of the three Black women in this sample, all of them fall into the 18-35 age group. This is similar to the CBC/SBP sample in which all of the Black women were also younger than the Coloured

women. Ninety-two percent (n=11) of women have a LTHS level of education and have never attended high school, while only one woman has some high school or a high school diploma. The educational attainment levels of the women in this sample are considerably lower than the women in the CBC/SBP (46% LTHS) and NHSG samples (50% LTHS), respectively.

Findings and Discussion

The thematic results are presented in four sections. Among the entire sample: (1) maternal poverty (n=18/37) and (2) within-program social support networks (n=18/37) were expressed as a barrier and facilitator, respectively, for almost half of all women in the study. As it relates to the CBC and SBP specifically: (3) the impact of the Computer and Business Course Program on Participant Behaviors (n=7/7) and (4) the impact of the Sewing and Beading Project on Participant Outcomes (n=5/6) were positive outcomes for almost all women in the sample. Maternal poverty and the importance of within-program social support networks was the response by participants to the study's first research question: *(1) What are the barriers and/or facilitators to becoming self-sufficient and/or independent in an underserved context as perceived by low-income mothers?* Responses from these two categories have been compiled from the four programs – the CBC, SBP, NHSG and PW/CP. The third and fourth themes, which relate to the impact of two programs (the CBC and SBP) on participant behaviors and outcomes, were derived from responses to the study's second research question: *(2) How has program participation improved life skills development and/or changed mothers' ability to partake in income generating activities?* Illustrative extracts of responses from the experiences and perceptions of programmatic impact of these thirty-seven women is presented and juxtaposed with analysis in the relevant extant literature.

Common Themes among Computer and Business Course Program and Sewing and Beading Project Participants

Category: Maternal Poverty

Women indicated that living in a state of poverty affected their ability to come to the CBC or SBP. Poverty is a contextual factor that affects every woman in this sample and all of the women in the overall study. Poverty is linked to government assistance, low levels of educational attainment, and unemployment. However, when discussing poverty, five participants shared that, in their opinion, mothers in the community are taking advantage of Table Views' services. The South Africa Social Security Agency (SASSA) provides grants to mothers for their children. According to Brianna, mothers (many of them who are high school dropouts) receive approximately "R350 (\$20)² per child a month from SASSA" and "sit on the corner begging for R2." In a study by Peter (2010) in SA, for example, many women were dependent on social assistance and remittance incomes. Fielding-Miller et al. (2015) contend that the country currently provides a range of social grants and services for its most vulnerable citizens.

Brianna explained that, "the mothers in the community "just sit at home, they don't go out...they want to rely on the social grant [SASSA]." She was appalled that some of the other mothers have:

Better lives than me but still don't want to do anything about it. I mean for four hours to sit there and listen [to the facilitators in the CBC Program]

² Conversion rate as of June 15, 2020.

then you get a certificate for it. You never know maybe this can open many doors for you.

According to Rachel, Table Views is “very good [for mothers] because then they don't have to sit at home, they can at least come here and at least learn something and equip themselves.” Like Brianna, Rachel highlights a common practice of mothers in the community – those that sit at home and do nothing. Savannah stated: “...I think they are abusing this organization.” Savannah’s response also mirrors Brianna’s statement and the responses indicate that women are taking advantage of Table Views’ services. Brianna, Rachel, and Savannah are referring to what they consider a growing trend in the Maraval community. According to them, as more women are learning about Table Views and the various free services that they offer to women, they are coming in droves to register and receive a handout. The mothers in the community are aware that if they look the neediest or impoverished that the organization will assist them and their children.

Category: Within-Program Social Support Networks

Five women (3 CBC participants and 2 SBP participants) expressed how helpful it is to receive social support from within the programs. Social support mainly takes the form of talking to someone about the problem encountered and gathering information on possible solutions and other resources in order to cope with the problem (Marivate and Madu, 2007). Savannah found support from staff members when she first came to the organization: “they told us that if we have problems we can talk to [the Adherence Counselor] and lawyers as well.”

A CBC participant, found support from the organization for many needs:

I think it is more of a financial situation whereas they helped me out when I was in college and they gave me books which I couldn't afford and calculators, pencils, and stuff like that for college.

Porsha stated: “I received plenty of support...the main thing that they have given me is mental growth. They have actually taught me to be the strong person that I am today.”

Rudy expressed that the organization:

Is something very good for people because here they can train you as a beader, can train on the sewing machine, you can have computer class and business class...at the end of the day when you walk out of here you have a lot of qualifications. You see, it is how you build up as a woman.

Rudy’s response implies that the program is holistically supportive for women in the community. According to Haley, the program “looks after me here, they support me.” Because she volunteers, she is able to eat and “take my medication on time.” Two of the six SBP participants provided examples of support within the program, while three of the seven CBC participants provided examples. Based on the interviews, it appears that social support networks within the programs are almost equal among the women in the SBP and the CBC Program.

Common Themes among Nutritional and Health Support Group Participants

Category: Maternal Poverty

Maraval is an extremely impoverished community, and, as a result, many of the women receive public assistance from the South African government. Analysis of the data found that almost sixty percent of mothers in the Nutritional and Health Support Group (NHSG) (n=7/12) receive government assistance to alleviate their financial burdens which falls under the category of overall maternal poverty.

Sub-category: Government Assistance

Every woman in the NHSG has health issues, and, therefore, examples of their medical complications are included in this section because it is linked to why they receive government support. Seven of the twelve women stated that they receive money from the government each month as a result of their disability as a “chronic” individual or for their children. The grant is made possible through SASSA and assists women with money to buy medication, support their children, and pay for monthly expenses like rent and utilities. The SASSA grant complements the stipends that some of the women receive from the organization. Table Views also assists women with the SASSA application process (and reapplication in some cases) which can be difficult because of varying literacy levels. Furthermore, the women in the NHSG suffer from a range of illnesses, including high blood pressure, heart disease, diabetes, gastrointestinal pain, epilepsy, arthritis, and HIV/AIDS. The most common medical condition is high blood pressure.

When asked about any difficulties to program participation, one participant spontaneously disclosed that she is a “medical client and HIV positive” and is “getting a child support grant from SASSA.” Another participant spontaneously disclosed that in addition to a child support grant from SASSA, she:

Received a grant also for my disability because I am chronic...I've got [multiple medical conditions] and HIV...so I qualify. The medication is just for relief or to make you live longer.

While a total of four women disclosed their HIV status during the interview, only two discussed the government assistance they receive as a result of their medical status. It appears that although they were willing to divulge personal information about their status, they were reluctant to reveal that they receive support from SASSA. Three other women believe that the South African government can do more for mothers, particularly single mothers. The amount of money that they receive from SASSA still makes it difficult to pay rent each month. The grant is also not enough money to purchase food for themselves and their children.

Category: Within-Program Social Support Networks

As it relates to the program specifically, social support networks within the NHSG can be very helpful to participants who come from challenging backgrounds and need this support. When compared to the women in CBC and SBP, women in the NHSG do not lack social support networks and do not receive social support from outside networks. Eight women or 67% of all NHSG participants expressed how helpful it is to receive within-program social support. Women have received money to pay for their children's school fees, have received stationary, medical apparatus such as wheelchairs, and were given moral support after the death of children and finding about their positive HIV status. One woman learned she was HIV positive after talking to a staff member who realized that she didn't look right and told

her to “go and check myself out.” She continued, “The staff member interviewed me, motivated me, and talked to me...and I feel like a better person.”

Another participant who also has HIV found the NHSG great because “we are all in the same boat, we are all sick so we support each other and console each other in everything...we would bond.” She is referring to group sessions that chronic patients attend and believes that this is now her support system within the program. According to another participant, “They give good support; they talk to me and make me feel comfortable; and they ask me questions about what I am going through.” Finally, another woman stated that:

...The best support was love...because the people here, they all are wonderful and they treat you with respect and love you for who you are and not judge you and I actually learned that is how I was going to get stronger...I did not have to feel shy to cry and sob in front of someone.

The majority of women receive government assistance, which is subsumed under poverty, because of their socio-economic status and various medical conditions. However, some of the participants do not believe it is sufficient and are appreciative of the stipend that they receive from Table Views to supplement their income. Women found that the program provided support financially and through moral support after dealing with life-changing situations.

Common Themes among Parenting Workshop and Counseling Program Participants **Category: Maternal Poverty**

Analysis of the data found that spousal unemployment is a cause of poverty for half of the mothers and that half receive government assistance to alleviate their financial burdens.

Sub-category: Spousal Unemployment

Five of the twelve women (42%) stated that their spouse/partner was unemployed. When explaining more about her background, Mariah discussed financial issues in her marriage: “He did not work, I did not work.” Summer, a PW participant, talked about her husband when asked how she learned about the organization: “[I came here for assistance] because there is no income at my home; my husband is not working...I am the only one working.” Indeed, in some communities in South Africa, women are the breadwinners for their families, as well as taking care of the domestic obligations (Singh, 2012). While she gets a small monthly stipend from the SBP, she does not get assistance from SASSA. When asked how she survives, she simply replied: “We just survive.” Women in this community basically do what they have to do to live.

While discussing break-ins in Maraval, Nancy explained: “I built my bungalow myself...because the [children’s] father is not really working...” Although her partner wasn’t working, Nancy took it upon herself to provide housing for her children. Gloria and her boyfriend are both “unemployed at the moment,” which would imply previous or recent employment. Lastly, Barbara “...was the only breadwinner for [her husband] and his children...he did not work.” These five women are the head of their households and have to take on the role of sole provider. SASSA and Table Views help so that many women are able to make ends meet, to a certain extent.

Sub-category: Government Assistance

Five of the twelve women (42%) stated that they receive money from the government each

month through SASSA. In addition to the support that she receives from the organization, Chloe receives “SASSA for my child” and Carrie “...only receives R360 (\$27) a month for my child...” Aisha “...receives help from SASSA and the program helps me with services, such as getting my ID” and Barbara gets “R1500 (\$113) from SASSA a month.” It is clear that the monthly amount of government assistance that participants receive varies depending on different personal factors. Lastly, Gloria, a CP participant, gets “support from SASSA for [one of her kids], but I am still in the process of finalizing support for my [other child].

Category: Within-Program Social Support Networks

Five women expressed how helpful it is to receive social support from within the program. Women are able to talk freely about their problems in group sessions, had staff call their doctors on their behalf to make appointments, and were given moral support to deal with children who are members of one of the rival gangs and on drugs. According to Mariah, the social support that she receives from the PW is valuable because, “Sometimes you don’t want to talk about things, but it is killing you inside, and you can talk about it, and you see that [talking to someone] can be powerful.” Aisha also finds refuge in the PW because she is able to talk about her problems in a group and said the women “...would talk about how their lives were compared to our lives.” According to Carrie:

Everybody is caring here. Because things are bad...when you have social problems, you can just come speak to [the Adherence Counselor] and she will help you through it.

Barbara is very pleased with the staff in the CP and the organization as a whole:

There is so many good stuff that they are doing in our community, and I look up to everyone that works in this organization. I admire them. They are amazing people. They are full of love and support for our community...and they are doing a great service.

Lastly, one PW participant compared Table Views to another daycare facility that her children previously attending. According to her, “being here has made a huge difference because now I can speak to someone, I have more support here than I did [at the other crèche].”

While only mentioned by one group of parents, lack of social support networks is also a challenge in the community. The SBP fills this gap informally by giving participants a stipend, providing mothers with an opportunity to receive social support, and supplying women and children with food. However, the program can diminish the vulnerability of participants if the women would go into the environment and create broader social networks and support groups with other women in the area by talking to women about their situations and developing relationships around shared challenges.

Programmatic Impact on Participant’s Behaviors Computer and Business Course Program

The women were asked several questions to measure the program’s impact: 1) *How have the Computer Course and Business Course helped you in finding employment?*; 2) *Do you think the services were sufficient?*; 3) *Would you think of using what you learned to start your own business;* and 4) *Now that you have attended the Computer Course, what change has it brought to how you are raising your child or children?* Analysis of the data showed that two themes emerged: improved knowledge and skills (N=7) and increased bond with

child/children (N=6).

Theme: Improved Knowledge and Skills

All seven women explained that completing the Course has improved their knowledge and skills. Women compared the learning materials in the program to previous course materials that were not as informative. Brianna explained that the program taught her a lot because previously:

I didn't even know how to open an email address before. I had to wait for my son to come home to help me. Before if I saw a laptop, I didn't want to touch it, but now I know how to use it!

Furthermore, she would like to use the skills she learned from the Business Course to start her business and now knows how to advertise online. Pearl expressed that in addition to learning how to use the complete Microsoft Office Suite Programs, she learned how to job search and learned "How to make your own email address! And we learned how to make a budget. That was very helpful."

According to Savannah: "I can put the certificate on my CV and maybe I can get something better. It is like an income generating program." She believes that graduation from the program will allow her to obtain a better job. Maryann shared that, although it is difficult for her to find employment because she did not graduate from high school that: "When I begin to work, I think that it [the certificate] can be helpful...so it will be easier for me if I pass Grade 12 then I can look for a job like as a receptionist." Kenya especially enjoyed learning how to use Excel to create budgets because of her previous interest in accounting while in high school. Like Brianna, Kenya agreed that the services she received from the CBC Program were sufficient because prior to enrolling in the course, she "...didn't know anything about computers" which prevented her from applying for a call center position. After completing the course and receiving her certificate, however, she has "...been applying to more jobs." Savannah, Maryann, and Kenya each expressed optimism that they could now obtain a job with the skills that they learned from the CBC Program and how beneficial the certificate can be when going on the job market.

Pamela replied that after participating in the Computer Course, she was able to find temporary employment [a 3-month contract] with the City of Cape Town at a primary school as a substitute teacher. However, since then she has not found permanent employment. Kenya's sister, who also participated in the Computer Course, was able to find permanent employment, but Kenya is still unemployed. However, when asked the third question regarding using what she learned to possibly start her business, Kenya replied:

The Computer Course made me feel more empowered to start my own business because I thought everyone knew how to use a computer, but I didn't know about that before taking this course. I didn't even know how to start a folder before [to save my files], and as I learned how to do it, I realized it was so simple.

Kenya's statement regarding her feelings of empowerment after participating in the Computer Course is illustrated in the broader literature on the goal of entrepreneurship programs. Entrepreneurship programs cover a broad variety of skills aimed at empowering the unemployed to successfully establish and manage their own businesses (Kluve et al., 2014).

And while Porsha was able to use the skills that she learned after taking the Computer Course and was subsequently promoted three times to a supervisory level, it took her almost two years to obtain the job after completing the course, and she is currently unemployed. Therefore, the CBC Program did not have a significant impact on finding employment for the women in the sample and has not reached its medium-term outcomes: to refer students to job opportunities. However, participation in the CBC Program has met one of its mid-term outcomes: to assist children with homework, and its short-term outcome: to develop knowledge on computers.

Theme: Increased Bond with Child/Children

Most women (N=6/7) in the CBC Program explained that completing the course has increased the bond with their child or children. Pearl stated that the program "...gave me patience with my children because, before, I could never sit with them and [work with them on their] homework together." She further explained that participating in the program was "...a very nice experience and my family bonded well because of this course." Prior to the course, Pearl would shout at her children, was often angry, and viewed her children as a "nuisance." She has learned how to show her children respect in order to receive respect back and how to listen to them.

Participation in the program has also increased the bond that Brianna has with her children. According to her: "Before, it was like you [her children] go to school, [because they] have to go, but now my children can ask me about stuff, and I can answer them and help them." She has now become more interested in what they learn in school every day. Savannah stated: "I have more patience with my son who is already good in computers." Kenya confessed that:

I think before I wasn't paying attention much to what my son was doing in school, he would come home, and he would say the days in the week, and I was not paying attention to him. I would just tell him he is making noise. And I learned that you have to teach your child how to read and write, and now when he comes from school, I ask him where his homework is, and then we do it together.

After participating in the Computer Course, Pearl, Brianna and Savannah have increased the bonds with their children because they have developed one of the most important virtues – patience. Brianna and Kenya are now interested in what their children learned in school and want to sit and down and interact with them now as a result of participating in the course. Maryann thought that the services she received in the CBC Program were "good" and prior to starting the Computer Course, she: ... was scared to do it [computing training] while I was in school because I thought if I touched a computer, I would break it. The course was helpful because growing up I never knew anything about computers...It [participation in the course] will make a difference, because as I am learning here...it would be easier for her [daughter] to do her schoolwork.

Finally, Porsha believed that the program:

Taught me more how to be a parent, how to nurture and love your child, not just your own child but other children as well. Because my neighbor's child is my child and the child is raised by a village, we are a community.

Programmatic Impact on Participant's Outcomes

Sewing and Beading Project

The women were asked several questions to measure the program's impact: *1) How has the Sewing and Beading Project helped you participate in income generating activities?; 2) Were you able to start your own business?; and 3) Would you think of using what you learned to start your own business?* Analysis of the data showed that the common theme among the total sample of six women in the SBP that emerged was that the majority wanted to start their own business (n=5).

Theme: Idea to Start Their Own Business

According to Rudy, "I think about it a lot...like, if you want to start your own business, you have to make something that the people are going to buy..." While Rudy was optimistic about the idea to one day start her own business in sewing and beading, the other four women have tried but lack of finances are a barrier in terms of the cost of obtaining materials, such as cloth, beads, needles, etc. For example, Marcella replied: "Last week we had that conversation, because it was something I always wanted to do, but money was always the cause of why I couldn't do it. I want to start a small business..." According to the Centre for Development and Enterprise (2008), entrepreneurship, especially in South Africa where job opportunities are limited, is a required skill, and the women in this study, in particular, need to learn the skills to start their own businesses.

Sue has "...tried [to start a sewing and beading business] many times but due to finances I can't afford to buy the materials." Cindy wants to use what she learned from participating in the Project, but "The problem is, I can't manage to find the beads to make jewelry. It is hard to buy the beads." The beads come from factories in the Western Cape and from abroad and vary in size and shape. Unfortunately, Cindy does not have access to the manufacturers and is unable to obtain the necessary materials she needs to be successful. And Rachel revealed that she hasn't tried to start her own business yet and stated:

Obviously, the problem is financial in terms of buying the products and things to sell it. That's the only problem, but other than that, I will make time to do the things at home and try to sell it.

These five women have tried to obtain one of the Project's short-term outcomes: greater knowledge by learning a new trade, so that they can start their own independent sewing or beading program out of their own homes. However, due to financial circumstances out of

the Project's control, they are not able to afford the materials to make the jewelry, such as beads, for example.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Rimer and Glanz (2005) contend that community-level models embody an ecological-perspective and explore how social systems function, change, and how to mobilize community members and organizations. Participants across all programs reported maternal poverty and the presence of within-program social support networks as the main contextual factors, which illustrates that poverty remains a community-level barrier, while social support networks positively impact program participation. Table Views should work on improving Maraval through community organization and other participatory models. Community organizing is a process through which community groups are helped to identify common problems, mobilize resources, and develop and implement strategies to reach collective goals (Rimer and Glanz, 2005). According to Rimer and Glanz (2005), community organizing is broken down into six different approaches, including empowerment, community capacity, participation, relevance, issue selection, and critical consciousness.

Community capacity is defined as characteristics of a community that affect its ability to identify, mobilize around, and address problems (Rimer and Glanz, 2005). When we look at community capacity, social networks are an example of a critical change strategy. The women have become members of social networks while participating in Table Views' various programs and projects. In the SBP, for example, many women are content with staying at the organization for long periods of time (some as many as years) because they have developed relationships with staff and other women who have also been there for multiple years. Although not an explicit goal, the SBP has become a support group or social network for some women who come from similar backgrounds. Women look to the Project as a sisterhood, and mothers have stayed in the organization because of this camaraderie.

Mothers at Table Views are poor in their social capital, as well as their economic capital. They are often alone. The majority of women (73% or $n=27$) in the total sample of thirty-seven parents are single, divorced, or widowed. The SBP fills this gap informally by giving participants a stipend, providing mothers with an opportunity to receive social support, and supplying women and children with food. To reduce poverty in Maraval, one solution that Table Views could implement is to work with members of the community to create microfinance programs. These are grassroots tools for alleviating poverty and enhancing access to financial services (savings and technical assistance) for the poorest populations in developing countries. Greene and Gangemi (2006) place microcredit at the heart of microfinance, where it is widely understood as the practice of offering small, collateral-free loans to members of cooperatives who otherwise would not have access to the capital necessary to begin small businesses and people who are not served by banks (Hossain, 2002). Microcredit borrowers are usually women, in part because women are more likely to use their earnings to pay for family needs than men (Greene and Gangemi, 2006). Research by Hietalahti and Linden (2006) in South Africa has shown that some of the poorest women have escaped the deepest poverty through opportunities provided by microcredit village programs.

Although Table Views provides women with stipends, this money does not lift participants out of poverty; and, although the women learn skills in the SBP, they are not able to start their own sewing and beading businesses because the beads and materials are too expensive. Therefore, the introduction of microfinance programs could benefit the women by providing them with the funds necessary to buy materials and assist with income generation. Furthermore, research by De and Sarker (2011) illustrates the relationships among support

groups, microcredit programs, and poverty. De and Sarker (2011) found that most of the self-help groups that are formed under current microcredit initiatives are those of women, in part because poverty is more of a woman's issue than a male issue. This is because women experience poverty in much more intense ways than men do, because women constitute the majority of the poor, the underemployed, and the economically and socially disadvantaged (De and Sarker, 2011).

All CBC participants graduated from the program and reported that involvement in the program resulted in improved knowledge and skills – which is one of the course's short-term outcomes. Fifty-seven percent of mothers reported that after participating in the program they began to assist their children with homework on a regular basis – one of the course's mid-term outcomes. Parents also discussed how the program taught them how to create an email address, advertise their businesses online, and use the complete Microsoft Office Suite Program. As a result of learning these skills, the women are more marketable and therefore positioned to receive more job opportunities. However, none of the women have found permanent employment. Therefore, the CBC has not achieved all of its medium-term outcomes, and more work is needed to decrease maternal poverty in the Maraval community.

To decrease maternal poverty in the Maraval community through the CBC Program, Table Views should 1) Modify the current program so that, in addition to classroom training, participants must complete an internship at a business of their choice in the community and provide transportation to and from the internship, 2) At the end of each cohort and as part of their graduation ceremony, provide each participant with the opportunity to pitch their business ideas and plans, and receive advice from experts in their respective fields. This is also an opportunity for entrepreneurs to see if there are any businesses that are interested in their ideas and would like to fund their respective projects, 3) Follow-up with CBC participants on a monthly basis to determine if they require more computer skills, 4) Ask participants to keep a log of the jobs that they applied to and to bring the log into follow-up meetings, 5) Look over cover letters, resumes, and job applications to ascertain where participants need assistance, 6) Research potential job opportunities with participants in-person on a weekly basis, 7) Collaborate with community employers so the organization has a better idea of what is needed and that employers know that Table Views has a Computer Course Program, 8) Connect participants with the Department of Social Development's Entrepreneurship Program (which trains approximately 300 young people in the province), 9) Pair participants with professionals and entrepreneurs in the province with established businesses in their proposed career fields, so that the participants can receive support and mentorship, 10) Assist participants with the development of business plans, and 11) Connect participants with crowd funders who will donate to their proposed business ideas.

All SBP participants graduated from the project, and the majority of women (five of six) reported that participation in the program resulted in the idea of starting their own businesses – which is one of the course's short-term outcomes. However, due to the financial costs of starting a sewing and beading business (such as the cost of beads, clothing, and materials), participants are unable to get started. Therefore, the SBP has not achieved all of its medium-term outcomes, and more work is needed to close the socio-economic gap of at-risk Black and Coloured women in the WCP through independent income generation businesses.

To decrease maternal poverty in the Maraval community through the SBP, Table Views should 1) Modify the current project so that, in addition to classroom training, participants must complete an internship at a professional CMT business in the community and provide transportation to and from the internship, 2) As part of their graduation ceremony,

provide each participant with the opportunity to display their sewing and beading work and receive advice from experts in crafts and retail such as small business owners (SBOs) who have stores in the V&A Waterfront – a high tourist attraction. This is also an opportunity for women to see if there are any SBOs that are interested in their work and would like to fund their respective projects, 3) Reach out to local businesses for increased sponsorship, and 4) Increase marketing via online networks to display participant work and reach a broader audience of potential buyers.

Limitations and Future Research

This study has some limitations. First, because the WC is the only province in SA where the black African population is not the majority, and almost half of the population residing in the WCP is Coloured (Statistics SA, 2011), there is little variation among racial identity. Secondly, while the PI conducted interviews in a private location at the CSO, mothers may have been hesitant to communicate negative views towards Table Views because of the study setting. Third, future research should take place over an extended period, as well as comprise more in-depth interviews with key stakeholders in the target community. Furthermore, larger sample sizes should be considered in future research. Despite these limitations, these findings fill a gap in research around the globe on life skills and income generating programs through the relationship between maternal poverty and social support networks. In addition, it provides data about how low-income underserved mothers perceive the services they received and the contextual factors that impact participation, respectively, from a CSO in a resource-constrained setting in SA.

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Appendix A

Table 1: “Table Views” Programs and Goals

Program	Acronym	Goals
Sewing and Beading Program	SBP	To equip women in the community with needed self-esteem and professional skills and to enable them to support their children and be strong role models in the area.
Computer and Business Course Program	CBC	To reduce the unemployment rate and create new income opportunities.
Nutritional and Health Support Group	NHSG	To target and equip the women in the community with chronic problems (such as diabetes, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, high blood pressure, and high cholesterol) with the skills needed to manage their individual diseases.
Parenting Workshops and Counseling Program	PW/CP	To develop and implement learning programs that target parents addicted to drugs and/or alcohol whose children participate in the ECDA.

Appendix B

Qualitative Interview – Participants

1. Tell me a little about yourself.
 - a. Probes: Race, age, occupation/income, marital status, occupation of husband, district/municipality where you reside, level of education, marital status, number of children, age(s) of children, and age of first child.
2. Tell me how you came to participate in this program?
 - a. How did you hear about it?
 - b. Did you try to contact an organization like this before?
 - c. What happened?
3. What is the main program that you participated in?
 - a. Computer Course Program and/or Sewing & Beading Project (Maternal Poverty), Nutrition and Health Support Group (Poor Maternal Nutrition and Health) and Parenting Workshops and/or Counseling Program (Maternal Alcohol Abuse).
 - b. What did you expect to get from the program?
4. Tell me what it has been like to participate in this program?
 - a. How helpful has it been to you and your family?
 - b. What have you learned? Examples?

- i. Probes: Child rearing, accessing needed services, parenting skills, income generation, proper nutrition, consequences of substance abuse, other reasons, etc.
 - c. What services did you get from the program?
 - i. Do you think these are/were sufficient? (why/why not?)
 - d. Tell me about a time when you felt disrespected?
 - i. *IF YES*: What happened?
 - ii. Probes: Race, socioeconomic status, marital status, other reasons, etc.
5. Were the program's materials helpful?
 - a. How can the materials be improved?
6. What has made it difficult to participate in the program?
 - a. Probes: transportation issues, convenience, economic costs of taking time off work, primary caregiver, decision-making power in the household, permission from husband if married, neighborhood conditions, depression, anxiety, other reasons, etc.
 - i. *IF YES*: What should be done to reduce these barriers?
 - b. Were there any barriers to being successful in the program?
 - i. Probes: living conditions – housing, sanitation, water, food and nutrition, criminal activity, other reasons, etc.
 - ii. What would have helped you to be more successful?
7. What kinds of support did you receive from the program? Examples?
 - a. What about support from other people/places? Examples? (In what ways?)
 - i. Probe: Social support?
8. For Computer Course Program and/or Sewing & Beading Project (Maternal Poverty) participants:
 - a. How has this program helped you participate in income generating activities?
 - b. Were you able to start your own business?
 - c. How did the program help you with that?
9. For Nutrition and Health Support Group (Poor Maternal Health and Nutrition) participants:
 - a. How has participating in the program changed your ability to make decisions around your own health and your child's health?
 - b. How so? Can you give me any specific examples?
 - i. Probes: healthy food choices, exercise, nutritional packets, health pamphlets, primary health care check-ups, other reasons, etc.
 - c. Lastly, tell me about your behaviors?
 - i. Probes: current nutritional habits, nutritional habits while pregnant.
10. For Parenting Workshops and/or Counseling Program (Maternal Alcohol Abuse) participants:
 - a. How has this program changed your parenting skills?
 - b. What about the way that you are raising your child/children?
 - i. Probes: infant and child immunizations, breastfeeding, parent-infant bond attachment, dietary/nutritional choices, maternal

alcohol usage, spiritual dancing, discussing parental challenges with other mothers, other reasons, etc.

- c. Lastly, tell me about your behaviors?
 - i. Probes: current drinking habits, drinking habits while pregnant, breastfeeding practices.
- 11. Overall, how important do you think [insert program name] is for mothers and for mothers of children under the age of five in Maraval?
 - a. Would you recommend the organization or specific program to your friends/neighbors?
- 12. Is there anything I didn't ask you about that you think is important for me to know?

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR TALKING WITH ME!

Appendix C

Table 2: Total Participant Demographics and Characteristics by Program (N=37)

<i>Computer and Business Program and Sewing and Beading Project (N=13)</i>						
	CBC	SBP	RAC	AGE	EDU	MAR
Pearl	<i>Main</i>		CO	36-70	LTHS	MAR
Brianna	<i>Main</i>		CO	36-70	SHSD	SIG
Savannah	<i>Main</i>		CO	18-35	SHSD	SIG
Maryann	<i>Main</i>		BL	18-35	SHSD	SIG
Kenya	<i>Main</i>		BL	18-35	SHSD	MAR
Porsha	<i>Main</i>		BL	18-35	SHSD	SIG
Pamela	<i>Main</i>		CO	18-35	SHSD	SIG
Rudy		<i>Main</i>	CO	36-70	LTHS	MAR
Haley		<i>Main</i>	CO	36-70	LTHS	MAR
Marcella	Yes	<i>Main</i>	CO	36-70	LTHS	SIG
Sue	Yes	<i>Main</i>	CO	36-70	LTHS	SIG
Cindy		<i>Main</i>	BL	18-35	SHSD	SIG
Rachel	Yes	<i>Main</i>	CO	18-35	LTHS	SIG
<i>Nutritional and Health Support Group (N=12)</i>						
	CBC	SBP	RAC	AGE	EDU	MAR
Mariam			BL	36-70	LTHS	SIG
Destiny	Yes		CO	36-70	LTHS	SIG
Michelle			CO	36-70	SHSD	SIG
Lisha			BL	36-70	SHSD	SIG
Angela	Yes		BL	36-70	SHSD	SIG
Mfuni			BL	36-70	SHSD	MAR
Caitlyn			BL	36-70	LTHS	MAR
Sherice			CO	36-70	LTHS	SIG
Gwen	Yes	Yes	CO	36-70	SHSD	SIG
Kerri			CO	36-70	LTHS	SIG
Yulissa		Yes	BL	36-70	SHSD	SIG
Kamala		Yes	CO	36-70	LTHS	SIG

Parenting Workshop and Counseling Program (N=12)

	CBC	SBP	RAC	AGE	EDU	MAR
Mariah	Yes		CO	36-70	LTHS	MAR
Tisha			CO	18-35	LTHS	MAR
Summer		Yes	CO	36-70	LTHS	MAR
Chloe	Yes		CO	18-35	LTHS	SIG
Carrie	Yes		CO	18-35	LTHS	SIG
Aisha			CO	18-35	LTHS	SIG
Keisha			BL	18-35	LTHS	SIG
Lauren			BL	18-35	SHSD	SIG
Nancy			CO	18-35	LTHS	SIG
Gloria			CO	36-70	LTHS	SIG
Barbara			CO	36-70	LTHS	MAR
Debra			BL	18-35	LTHS	SIG