

**"THE EFFECTS OF SINGLE MOTHERHOOD ON CHILD
WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY IN
KIBERA DIVISION - NAIROBI"**

BY

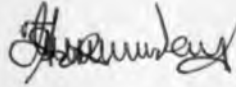
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**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER
OF ARTS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY [UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI]
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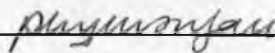
DECLARATION

THIS IS MY ORIGINAL WORK AND HAS NOT BEEN PRESENTED FOR A DEGREE IN ANY OTHER UNIVERSITY



SAMSON O. RADENY

THIS THESIS HAS BEEN SUBMITTED FOR EXAMINATION WITH MY APPROVAL AS THE UNIVERSITY SUPERVISOR



DR. WANGOI NJAU

DEDICATION

THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO MY FATHER AND MOTHER, MR AND MRS
GILBERT RADENY FOR THEIR LOVE, WISDOM AND ENCOURAGEMENT.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to a number of people whose support of all kinds have made this study a success. First, I want to thank the Board of Post-Graduate Studies, University of Nairobi for sponsoring this study. My supervisor, Dr. Wangoi Njau whose guidance and constructive criticisms I really gained from. Dr. Z. Bader Jaffer who provided theoretical guidance.

Dr. Odegi Awuondo deserves mention for giving the study a foundation and providing methodological support. Dr. Mauri Yambo, whose intellectual advice provided inspiration to conduct a quality study.

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SAMSON O. RADENY

ABSTRACT

This is an investigation of the effects of single motherhood on child welfare and development. It discusses and analyses the various aspects of single motherhood which hold significant and ramifying consequences to child development. The general objective of this study was to establish how single-mother families affect the development of the child, with special reference to: Child academic performance; child achievement motivation; child behaviour; child basic needs; and the socializability of the child. The study was guided by five hypotheses which were related to the assumption that: Children from single-mother families display certain unique characteristics which comprise deviance in the society, and which affect their socializability among other children; that children of single mothers perform poorly in school and overall have low achievement motivation; and that single mother-families are poor, thus, their children are deprived of basic needs and other essential life requirements.

The study has been conceptualized using four theoretical perspectives: The Modernization paradigm; the theory of Anomie; the psychoanalytic theory; and the Social Class theory. The theory of Anomie has been treated as an adjunct to the Modernization paradigm.

We had a study sample of 162 respondents broken down as follows; 81 single mothers and 81 children of the single mothers. The children were primary school going and it is

through them that the mothers were reached and studied. Besides this, a small sample of 42 children from the two-parent families was interviewed. However this was specifically to serve as a control in the analysis of academic performance, achievement motivation and the acceptability of children from the single-mother families. They were also observed for the sake of eliciting supplementary data. Simple random, systematic and stratified methods were used to sample the population which was composed of women and children from different social classes in Kibera division.

The most important method of data collection was the questionnaire but direct observation and key respondents were also used. Qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis have been utilized with special emphasis on the chi-square (X^2) which has been used to test the hypotheses that were guiding the study. Four of the hypotheses have been confirmed while one has been rejected.

The study found that there are various ways in which single motherhood affects the welfare and development of the child. One of the most important areas is in the provision of basic needs of the child. Financial insufficiency does not allow most of the mothers to meet the basic needs of their children. This has negative implications for child welfare and

development. Children of single mothers it was observed, perform poorly educationally, have lower needs to achieve and they are not wholly acceptable among their play-mates or peers. However, meeting of basic needs of children has emerged to be an issues of social class. It was observed contrary to our assumption that child delinquency is not widespread in single-mother families and that what matters is the atmosphere in which the child is brought up.

The study concludes that single motherhood affects children in as far as their abilities to achieve or perform well, and socialize with other children are concerned. Unlike children from the two-parent families, their educational performance and need to achieve are lower. The general poverty situation in most of these families is reflected in the inadequate provision of their children's needs. Thus, their general welfare is at stake. In view of the problems some children from single-mother families face, the the study recommends that society should support them in all ways possible rather than reject and call them names. Only then can they grow normally like any other children free from condemnation.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The increase in the number of single-mother households is becoming a matter of great concern for most societies both in developing and the developed countries. Studies have shown that it is more prevalent in the urban areas than in the rural ones (Kayongo Male & Onyango, 1991:14), and in some countries in Africa, the rates are as high as 30 percent.

In Kenya, there exists only scanty data regarding the prevalence of single motherhood. However, estimates from existing sources indicate that single motherhood is on the increase. The 1979 Population census for instance, revealed that there were 951,956 households headed by women, which was already a big proportion. It also showed that there were more female than male divorcees. It has been observed that a good number of women who divorce tend to remain single for the rest of their lives while most men seek remarriage. This behaviour has the propensity to fuel the rate of increase of single mothers.

Single motherhood has been viewed world-wide as a diversion from the norm by scholars and societies in general, and as an exemplification of a pathological family. This is because in most societies of the world, every member is expected to marry and have children of his or her own, in conformity with the norms of the society concerned (Marsden

In Africa, Goliber (1989:5) observes, marriage is a universal phenomenon. At one time in the life of a woman, she is expected by the society to marry so that among other things, she can help to perpetuate and sustain the society through her children or offsprings. The men are of course not excluded from this obligation. It is for this reason that in most African countries, people who do not marry are often viewed as deviants. This kind of deviation in Africa is associated with pathologies of one kind or another. For instance, Rapoport (1977:90) argues that with regard to existing statistics, single-mother families tend to be poor, and that poor families tend to suffer the ills of deprivation and to generate social problems.

In any society, there are many women who may choose to live without a spouse and yet still derive enough satisfaction and provide an adequate and suitable environment for their children's development. Thus, there should be a limit to which the generalization of single-mother families as pathological, should apply.

Nevertheless, there seems to be no consensus in the way the single mother, her children and family in general have been perceived. While these public attitudes have varied from one historical period to another, and from one culture to another, there is on the whole, an amazing consistency in the way the single mother and her children have been condemned (Young, 1954:14). This condemnation of the single mother and her children is likely to create a negative self perception in

For instance the child may begin to express certain deviant characteristics like excessive aggression and lifting of items from neighbours as a result of a feeling of rejection and condemnation. In spite of this condemnation, single-mother type of family has become a recognizable phenomenon which in future may affect the family structure and attitudes towards it.

Single motherhood has been accused of perpetuating developmental problems for the child. It has been associated with certain social and emotional problems which have been seen to have significant negative impacts on child welfare and development (Rapoport, 1977:90). The child is often caught up in a situation he finds too difficult to change for the better. Waiyaki (1985:9) argues that in the absence of the father, the child's needs may not be met adequately hence causing physical and emotional dangers to the child. The absence of the father may create a gap which the mother may not successfully close especially with reference to child discipline where an authority figures is very instrumental (Ndonga, 1987: 123).

Rapoport (1977:90) also observes that in the father's absence the material and emotional needs of the child like food, shelter, clothing, love and guidance are often inadequately satisfied. Single mothers often also maltreat their children especially when the children are seen as obstacles to the mother's pleasure. Overall, children of single mothers are said to suffer psychological, social and

economic disadvantages which their counterparts in the two-parent families are assumed not to suffer. This study investigates the extent to which these disadvantages facing a single mother's child hold true.

There are other ways in which single motherhood has been seen to affect children. One of these is child delinquency which has been quite well researched. Many scholars argue that child delinquency is associated with single motherhood (Muga, 1975:99; Nye, 1973:281). They emphasize the point that children become delinquents because their mothers are single. However, it would be interesting on our part to find out whether it is single motherhood per se or other factors combine to force the child into delinquency. It would be important for instance to look at significant environmental factors besides the family that influence behaviour. An attempt has been in this study towards this direction.

Equally, children from single-mother families have been said to perform poorly at school. Those who support this view argue that the father's presence is important because it is associated with strong influence over the child's intellectual ability (Lamb, 1976:19; Kahl, 1953:178). One question that these writers do not answer is; why do some children despite the presence of their fathers perform poorly and why do some children from the single-mother families perform well yet they do not have a father? This shows how unclear the association of single motherhood and child performance is. It also shows that some single mothers can provide optimum environment and motivators to enable their children perform well. Thus it is

our intention in this study to establish whether or not the mother's marital status plays a part in the child's performance. The study will also strive to investigate other mother factors which tend to reinforce child performance and those which tend to retard it. These are important in child welfare efforts.

There are various paths of entry into single motherhood. Among the very prominent paths is the well talked of premarital teenage pregnancies. In Kenya, pre-marital teenage pregnancies have attracted enormous concern because very young girls are today becoming mothers at an age when they are still children themselves and when their psychological and physical development is still incomplete. Their ability to take care of their babies and children adequately is as such questionable. Such girls often find marriage by young men difficult because of their young age and the fact that they are already mothers. When they manage to get married to men of their age under such circumstances, their marriages tend to break within a year or soon after hence, single motherhood becomes almost inevitable.

Single motherhood arising from the death of husband is not perceived in the same way as in non-marriage, divorce or separation. In many instances the society shows concern and readiness to support families of deceased persons. Thus, whereas the widow remains a single mother, her position and status in the society may be different from that of any other single mother. Demographers argue that death is often a cause of single motherhood in that the life expectancy of men is

shorter than that of women. Thus men will die earlier leaving behind their wives who become single mothers for sometime before they remarry or for life if they choose not to remarry.

This study is an attempt to provide a deeper understanding of single mothers and their families. It will also aim at establishing the relationship between single motherhood and child welfare and development.

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Single motherhood is not a new phenomenon in Kenya, nor is the increasing number of fatherless children. However, the circumstances under which they live are either inadequately perceived or have been misunderstood altogether.

A number of studies have attempted to focuss on single parenthood in Kenya, but none of them has tentatively discussed what fatherlessness entails to the child. Some of these studies include those done by the following scholars: Mbabu (1982) only focussed on the unmarried mothers and not their children. Liku (1987) studied unmarried mothers only so far as teenage pregnancy is concerned. Ndonga (1987) concentrated on delinquency, a single aspect of the effect of single motherhood. Thus in Kenya the extent to which single motherhood affects child welfare, growth and development is not clear. This study is intended to investigate this relationship. It is intended to answer the question: In what ways does single motherhood affect child development? It is also an attempt to find out whether certain characteristics supposedly displayed by children from single- mother families, for instance aggression, child delinquency and low educational achievement are attributable to, and explicable only by single motherhood. In other words the study seeks to answer the question; is socialization subject to certain pre-requisites? We endeavour to find out which ones and how applicable they

are to the socialization of a fatherless child.

Much of the present concern in almost all societies of the world about the increase in number of families headed by women arises from the belief that family experiences have important implications for the welfare of children. Concern also stems from the belief that large scale transformations of all kinds in the family structure will have negative influence on the character and behaviour of future generations, and finally there is concern generally over economic and social problems of single mother families.

The absence of literature regarding the relationship between child welfare and development makes it difficult to identify problems in single-mother families which negatively affect the child. Thus, it is difficult also to conclude that single motherhood is pathological. The study therefore investigates this relationship which seems to be veiled. Most of the existing literature perceives single-mother families pathologically (Blumberg, 1977:104, Marsden, 1970:297, Garfinkel, 1986:11). There may be circumstances which force women to become single mothers and which in most cases are inevitable. Only in very isolated cases do women desire and or decide to become single mothers and even then, it may not necessarily be a pathology. The fact that they are problematic may have influenced the use of this terminology. There is need to find out more objectively what these problems are and how they affect child welfare and development. Some of these problems in Kenya relate to child destitution, homelessness, drug addiction, abuse and neglect which strip children of all

humanity.

All societies including ours have an overriding obligation of bringing up children to responsible adulthood. Yet the escalating number of single mothers and "fatherless" children seem to have a frustrating effect to this desired task. It has been suggested that child delinquency may be more common among children of single mothers than in the two-parent families (Muga, 1975:99 and Lamb, 1976:121). They argue that such children lack discipline because of the absence of an authority figure and that children who grow up as delinquents cannot be responsible adults and may only be a liability to the society. This contention becomes an intrinsic concern for this study especially given that most of these studies were done many years ago.

Studies have shown that there is an association between single motherhood and poverty to an extent that single mothers are considered an underclass in the society (Marsden, 1970:297, Garfinkel, 1986:11). The extent to which this is found even among single mothers who are professional and business oriented is not clear. It has also been pointed out that the effect of single motherhood on child welfare and development depends on type of single motherhood. The extent to which this association holds true is yet to be ascertained.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of this study is to find out how single motherhood affects child welfare and development. Specifically, the study also seeks to:

1. Derive a typology of single-mother families in Kibera, and establish the effect of each type on the child.
2. Investigate the society's perception of single-mother families and whether or not children from single-mother families are accepted by their counterparts from two-parent families.
3. Find out the relationship between single-motherhood and children's educational performance and achievement motivation.
4. Investigate the nature of relationship between single motherhood and the level of deviance or delinquency.
5. Find out how the single mothers cope with the stringent economic conditions arising from Structural Adjustment Policies (S.A.Ps).
6. Establish the social, economic and emotional needs of children that are not met as a result of fatherlessness.

1.3 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was carried out in the Kibera Division of Nairobi Province. It was concentrated on the primary schools and the residential estates within the Division.

The fact that the study was intended for single-mother families or households meant that single fathers fell outside the scope of the study. Divorced mothers, separated mothers, the unmarried (unwed) mothers, the widowed mothers, and their children were the intrinsic focus. The unmarried mothers were studied in two categories; those independently running their households, and those mothers dependent on other families or persons for instance teenagers. The mothers who were interviewed were only those who had children under their care and were living with the children at the time of the fieldwork. The age of the mothers was not limited since all mothers whose children were selected were also included in the sample.

The children of single mothers were chosen from different social classes¹. Their ages were limited to the age group 11 - 17 years. Most of the children in this category were found between Standard five and Standard Eight. The lower age limit (11 years) was chosen because at this age children are capable

¹Social class has been used in this study to denote a kind of stratification of people according to their economic and occupational statuses. In this study we derived three classes which include; Upper middle, Middle and low or poor class. These were developed only for the purpose of this study.

of responding adequately to questions and besides some of the methods of data collection required children whose abilities to perceive issues with maturity were well developed, for instance pictorial interpolations required slightly older children.

The upper limit of the children's ages was not hard to arrive at since by that age many children today are either in Form One or Standard Eight with a few in Form Two.

Certain characteristics and variables in this study required a comparative analysis. Thus another small sample of children from the two-parent families was selected and observed. However, their inclusion in the study was to serve as a control against which some variables could be analyzed. These variables included; Achievement motivation, academic performance and socializability of the children.

The nature of this study required assistance of trained research assistants. Without these the study would have been unmanagable by the researcher alone. Thus two research assistants were employed to assist in the collection of data.

Due to financial and time constraints, it was only possible to study a few of these single mothers and their children. Those studied were carefully selected using probability sampling techniques.

1.4 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

There is a general paucity of literature and knowledge concerning the effect of single motherhood on child welfare and development in Kenya. This study besides establishing the relationship also provides recommendations with significant policy implications which should be important in rectifying some problems of single motherhood that negatively affect children of single mothers. These include recommendations that relate to the problems of child abuse, abandonment, destitution, street children and education of these children. A clearer understanding of the phenomenon (single motherhood) is also provided.

Secondly, the Kenyan society has a moral obligation to bring up children who will be responsible adults or leaders of tomorrow, and not maladjusted individuals and destitutes. Yet evidence suggests that many of the destitutes, street children and abandoned children are born of single mothers, (Kayongo Male 1991 :14). If this trend is not arrested then the society will fail in its obligation and may not even be able to protect children against abuse and neglect which is rampant among many single-mother families. The study was intended to supply inputs which may be helpful to the following Ministries and Departments: Home Affairs and National Heritage (Children and Probation Department); and Education (Primary Schools).

Single motherhood continues to grow rapidly in Kenya. No

policy has ever bravely come out to condemn or encourage single motherhood. Individuals have had mixed feelings about it, but there is still no consensus on the problem. Hence despite past and current researches, the field still remains relatively neglected especially in the area of children. The single mother alone has been researched over and over again. The impacts of single motherhood on such a child are therefore vaguely perceived based on studies done on single mothers.

Finally, most if not all the studies done on single motherhood have been carried out, away from Nairobi. According to our theoretical perspective single motherhood is a result of the modernization process. Modernization is a process presumed to be more widespread in the major cities like Nairobi. Due to the fact that Nairobi receives more immigrants each year than any other town in the country, it is expected to register the highest number of single mothers. It also receives the majority of those seeking jobs in the urban areas. Therefore it has not had its rightful share of attention in terms of research. Hence the choice of the site for the study.

This study differed markedly with others in the sense that it was the first attempt to study effects of single motherhood on children vis a vis social class. Many before have tended to deal with homogenous groups which fail to bring out major comparisons and significant differences that exist between different classes and socio-cultural groups.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter contains a review of existing literature on single motherhood. It provides an understanding of the subject of the study from the view point of past and contemporary scholars who have studied single motherhood in different Social and economic set ups. The chapter contains literature from both developed and developing countries as well as that from the Kenyan scene. There are concomitant differences in the way single motherhood is understood in the Industrial World and in the Third World. Thus, the chapter provides a comparative understanding of the subject of study.

2.1 THE FAMILY

The term 'family' used alone is ambiguous. Laymen often apply it indiscriminately to refer to social groups which despite functional similarities exhibit important points of difference, (Stephens, 1963 :2). According to Stephens, the term must be put in its proper context before it is used in rigorous scientific discourse.

Goode (1970:8) for instance sees the family as a social arrangement based on marriage. The marriage contract includes recognition of the rights and duties of parenthood, common

residence for husband, wife and children, and reciprocal economic obligation between husband and wife. And quoting Murdock, (1954) Goode defines the nuclear family in the industrial world as a group composed of one husband, one wife and their children. The 'family' in general is defined by him as a social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and one or more children, own or adopted of the sexually cohabiting adults. Goode (1970:8) adds that nuclear families may combine like atoms in a molecule to form larger aggregates called extended families and polygynous families. His definition contains elements which come closer to the definition of the family in the African sense. In the traditional African Societies, the nuclear family as it is known in the west was quite uncommon and this has remained true of a minority of African societies.

Christensen (1964:4) defines the family as marriage and progeny signifying a set of statuses and roles acquired through marriage and procreation. For him, the family, consists of two or more persons living in the same household who are related to each other by blood, marriage and adoption.

Thus, looking at these definitions and many others, there seems to be a consensus among the authors that the presence of children, husband and wife, and common living are the most important attributes of a "family". The conjugal or nuclear family which comprises a husband, wife and children therefore has been widely accepted as an ideal type of family. Every

individual is brought up in a family or has a childhood home. Everyone is expected in all societies, to marry and be a parent and is looked at askance if he or she does not (Goliber, 1989:5).

The advocates of this position have increasingly come to bear with new developments in the family as new types of families which do not necessarily conform to the "ideal" family are emerging.

2.2.1 SINGLE-MOTHER FAMILY

The household with female single parent heads are usually called female headed households and are synonymous to single-mother families. The normality and idealness of the nuclear family has become questionable today by those who demonstrate that only a minority of households conform to it. Single parent especially "fatherless" families are now increasingly common. As divorce rates rise in all societies of the world, the phenomenon is likely to become even more common (Mann, (1983:25).

Kayongo Male and Onyango (1991:14) observe that in Africa, single parents are normally women just as it is common elsewhere. These families are popularly known as single mother families. Not surprisingly, national concern about these families has grown in proportion to the increase in their prevalence. Surprisingly, national leaders have not voiced the issue creating an ambivalence among the youth who may not adhere to traditional codes of conduct. Traditional

African Societies sanctioned members of the society who failed to meet their roles and obligations. Marriage was one of such obligations. All members of the community were expected to marry and have children so that the name of the clan would not fade away. Estimates of female-headed households are upto 30% in some parts of Africa especially in towns (Kayongo Male and Onyango, 1991:14).

According to a UNICEF report quoted in Step (1986:5), thousands of women in Kenya will have to be content with singlehood for life unless they marry men of the younger generation or men from other countries. The report predicts that by the year two thousand (2000), the situation will be graver. This probably could be as a result of the cumulative effects of economic hardships which has been observed to prolong age at marriage for both men and women and to create a possibility of people deciding to live alone. But more objectively, looking at the increasing rate at which girls as opposed to boys are born, it could be hypothesized that by the year 2000 there will be quite a big balance of women against men for each generation.

Kenya will have 52,109 more women in the 30-39 age bracket than men of the same age group (step, 1986:5). According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, the population census report of 1979, Kenya registered 208,560 male and female divorcees. But it has been observed that most women remain unmarried after the break up, thus creating more possibilities of being single mothers.

In Nairobi alone, the population census recorded 7613

female divorcees and only 2851 males. This also implies either that men who divorce remarry immediately or women divorcees in Nairobi are those who have migrated from other towns or rural homes. This implies that the number of female migrant continue to increase.

Kayongo Male and Onyango (1991:14) have observed that unmarried mothers are becoming common in Africa today than in the traditional times. In the traditional times strong sanctions guarded against anomic² actions. Women who gave birth to illegitimate children were either forced to get married to polygynous men as an exemplary punishment, or were physically beaten. In some cases a death penalty was preferred like in parts of West African states. Thus, unmarried mothers were almost unheard of. Yet unmarried motherhood is not new in the world's history nor is the problem of illegitimacy unique to the 20th century scholars. The modernization process has contributed to the loosening of traditional bonds and the breakdown of traditional morality.

Young (1954:2) reflects that girls who had children out-of-wedlock were seen in the traditional times³ by some people as oversexed by nature and lacking in the essential control of

²Anomie refers to a state of normlessness. A norm is a standard way of behaviour which all members of a group or society are supposed to abide by. A state of anomie therefore reflects a situation where such prescribed behaviour is lacking or where it has been utterly thrown in disarray. For more details see Merton (1965) pp. 28-35 and Durkheim (1969) pp. 256-265.

³Traditional times refer to the period in Africa or Kenya in particular, preceeding the advent of industrial capitalism, what many scholars have called modernization. See Long (1977) pp. 9-15.

their sexual urges. Others considered that they were dull mentally and hence unable to protect themselves. The man responsible for the pregnancy or the "father" was assumed to be in most cases an unscrupulous seducer taking advantage of a mentally incompetent girl. In making this statement, Young forgets one very important point. It is very possible for a girl or a woman to provoke a man and cause a coital activity. It appears from Young's point of view that it was this kind of societal perception that helped to limit and restrict the incidence of illegitimacy.

The American scene portrays a somehow similar nature of single motherhood to what is prevalent in Africa and Kenya in particular. But there are radical differences especially when it comes to the economy of single mothers and even the way the society perceives them and their families.

Garfinkel (1986:46) points out that in America in 1983, there were more than 7.2 million families headed by single women with children in the United States and the proportion was 20.5 percent. This is quite a significant figure compared to the possible Kenyan rate which predictably has not exceeded 2 percent, although it may be higher in a town like Nairobi. Recent estimates indicate that about 42 percent of all white children and about 86 percent of the black offsprings born in America in the late 1970s, will live in single mother families before they are 18 years.

Single motherhood has been seen by some scholars as being a result of a revolution against the nuclear or conjugal family model (Lenero-Otero, 1977:6). He looks at single-

mother families as a deviation from the ideal conjugal family which is characteristic of modernity and urbanism, and because he sees them as deviations, they can only be termed or categorized under the broad term pathologies.

Quite a lot has been written about single motherhood in America. Blumberg (1977:100) links the mother headed family to two other forms usually described as mother centred; the consanguinal and matrifocal families. He has drawn this link ostensibly because the three tend to occur among the economically marginal, low income classes in a wide variety of market economies. Thus, in her view most of the single mothers are members of the low income groups in the society.

It is important to point out that single motherhood is not only found among the low income classes. Quite a good number of them come from the high income groups but because of their tendency to individualize or privatize their families, many people including scholars only think of single mothers of the slums and the ghettos. Even in Kenya we have professional women who have once in a while come out very forcefully to demand certain rights for women in general and silently advertise the fact that they are single mothers. This is a fact in many societies now. To assume as Blumberg contends that single motherhood is only found among poor women would be too broad a generality as to ignore facts that are more closer to reality.

Most American scholars in the 1960s tended to racially discriminate in tracing the roots of single motherhood. Until recently the dominant interpretation stressed any or all of

these tenets; racial, historical or social pathological factors, (Blumberg, 1977:101). One school of thought emphasized African origins of single motherhood citing the mother-child dwelling unit found in many polygynous African societies and the relative economic autonomy of the woman. The mother child dwelling unit here refers to the various so called "nuclear" families headed by various wives of a polygynous man that would compose an extended family. Blumberg's observation can be used to prove the point that even in the traditional Africa, nuclear families existed at least spatially if not legitimately.

The second school introduces the question of slavery and its impact on the Africans. Under plantation slavery, it is held, strong structural barriers to stable family (nuclear) emerged. This tended to create an 'anti-family' orientation among the Africans that matured into the propensity towards single motherhood.

The orientation that links female headed family with Blacks' social pathology or culture of poverty has been diminishing in the recent and current literature. In America, single motherhood was generally "a disease of the black people", and it was associated with a culture of poverty that was actually seen to be self perpetuating. This implies that more single mother households were being born of the previous ones who were equally or even poorer. This perpetuated an equilibrium of poverty which has been generalized as a domain of black female-headed households. Studies done among non-black populations have disproved the belief that single

motherhood is a Blacks' pathology as it has been recorded even at greater heights among those groups. Similarly the social pathology focus has come under criticism from advocates of structural approaches to single motherhood. This school argues that single motherhood is not abnormal, but is linked with structurally caused poverty in wage labour societies and more especially the economic marginality of the male (Blumberg, 1977:104).

The situation in Canada is not any different from that of America in proportion. Schlesinger (1978:56) notes that in 1973, 31,003 children were born to single mothers in Canada. This amounted to approximately 9.0 percent of all live births that year. This statistic is indeed very high for a single calendar year. The two cases of America and Canada, thus draw our attention to the fact that single motherhood is more pronounced in the developed world than in the Third World⁴ and especially in Africa. It was further estimated that about 80 percent of the single mothers in Canada opted to keep their children thus setting up an alternative one parent family.

2.3 CAUSES OF SINGLE MOTHERHOOD

We should expect that before a single mother family is finally set up, the mother must have gone through some stages,

⁴ In this study we have referred to countries which are under-developed or developing as Third World. The term has been used by Dependency theorists like Frank Gunder to distinguish between countries or states which have developed-First World, those that are developing rapidly or the semi-developed-Second World and the Less developed or under-developed-Third World.

which we may refer to as paths leading to the establishment of a single-mother family.

Ross (1975:40) argues that from the woman's point of view, female headship was a time of transition between the different but nevertheless traditional types of two parent families. She adds that the time of transition was so fast (at least three to five years) and most often ended in remarriage. However in Kenya the so called period of 'transition' may not often lead to remarriage. It has been observed that for a majority of women who break their relationship, the tendency is to remain single and thus set up a single-mother family. .

Garfinkel (1986:50) indicate that there are two paths. First, a woman is faced with the decision to marry or not. The decision to remain single she adds, means she risks becoming a single mother, depending again on two additional decisions; whether to have a child, and if pregnant, whether to keep the baby; or two, whether to live independently. This path holds true of mothers who have not had a marriage relationship before. The arrival of the baby has far reaching implications because then, the mother has to decide whether to keep it or dispose of it. Keeping it means becoming a single mother who then has to further decide whether to live with relatives or independently in her own household.

In Kenya and Africa in general, many things come into play before the mother sets up her household. The society has a lot of say in the marriage of a young girl and it may also create obstacles to her marriage for instance the social

stigma that surrounds illegitimate births. Further, her decision to live singly may be a painful one and against her wishes. She may wish to get married but in the process of seeking marriage she ends up being a single mother with several children got repeatedly with different men who may be promising marriage, but immediately vanishing once they have satisfied their sexual desires. The desperate young women may eventually suffer rejection by men and give up hope of marriage to settle for single motherhood. We should however not be blind to the fact that the man can also participate in the creation of the single-mother family. He may decide to revoke the marriage or desert the woman, hence leaving her to face single life against her wish. In this case therefore the decision to be a single mother does not at any instance emanate from her but the man.

Single motherhood can also result from a marriage relationship. Garfinkel (1986:56) observes that, for women who marry, the path leading to a mother-only-family depends on three additional decisions; whether to end the marriage; whether to have a child and whether to establish an independent household.

It may not be easy to predict the likely action of such women in Kenya. But there is likely to be varied responses by women to remarry or not after a period of three to five years. Besides, it is unlikely that a woman who has been a single mother for some time will move in with a relative after having been living independently. However there are possibilities that an unmarried single mother will eventually be married

after the period of transition and move out of the status of a single mother.

One of the most inevitable and inescapable cause of single motherhood which does not involve the will or decisions of individuals is death. Women whose husbands have died cannot escape being single mothers at least for sometime before they remarry as some do or are 'inherited'⁵. But a good number of women today remain single when their husbands die.

Goode (1973:261) wonders why illegitimacy persists despite the fact that people accept the norm of legitimacy. He observes that in "normal"⁶ societies, the rates of illegitimacy will be fairly low because people are socialised to believe in the norm of legitimacy and social controls will keep most people who are tempted to deviate, in line. His contention holds true for the most traditional societies though his use of the adjective "normal" is questionable. We cannot say that since illegitimacy was rare in African traditional societies, they were more normal than in the society today where illegitimacy pervades. We should correct this by applying the term normal to all societies both modern and traditional. It is doubtful whether even the socio-

⁵Wife inheritance was an important practice in most African traditional societies. A dead man's wife had to be married to one of the brothers or cousins (according to the Luo of Kenya). In this way single motherhood through death of husband was controlled. Today changes accompanying industrial development and modernization have threatened the practice with extinction.

⁶Referring to societies which are presumed to be devoid of intense, on going social crisis and economic dislocation.

cultural and economic changes associated with modernity can affect the normalcy of the society.

Goode (1973:261) further states that the Natives of African urban industrialized locations have come from tribes in which elders were once powerful. Marriages were arranged and illegitimacy was rare. The skills and knowledge of the elders are not greatly respected in the urban areas because they are no longer effective and social control is therefore likely to be reduced to the formal controls of the outside society.

The increasing prevalence in mother-only-families in the Kenyan society can be attributed to changing social norms about pre-marital sexuality, out-of-wedlock births and the acceptability of single motherhood for never-married women. Indeed the social controls that depressed such behaviour have been loosened by the impact of fast spreading modern ways of life. The social stigma previously associated with pre-marital sexuality and out-of-wedlock births have all but disappeared in most segments of society and single motherhood has become an acceptable alternative family type. The fading away of the traditional society stigma attached to single motherhood has encouraged women to become single mothers without being bothered by members of the society.

Although the prevalence of single motherhood in Kenya's rural areas may not be as high as in the towns, it has been reported in some parts that the phenomenon is slowly finding its way there (Mbabu, 1982:165). Some evidence of single motherhood by the never married and the divorced have been

recorded in researches done in Nyeri and Makueni (Mbabu, 1982; Liku, 1987 respectively). Changes associated with the modernization process have not spared the rural areas. Urban life styles have penetrated the rural folk creating possibilities of adoption of urban behaviour.

Goode (1973:261) argues that the tendency for people from the same tribe or ethnicity, to cluster together, achieves less social control over the individual than the economic and political imperatives of human life. The urban milieu and to some extent the rural, leaves a young man unminded for engaging in pre-marital relations. Today the African couple need not be bothered by a marriage relationship since it can be called off anytime because the contract is basically a two-people affair. The traditional African marriage of a couple was a team affair and to revoke a marriage the consent of all the parties which took part was sought. This was always a difficult process because the participants in the marriage regarded it as an investment in which they had heavily invested. Thus such a break-up would only be acceptable in the event of witchcraft, lunacy or any other antisocial behaviour displayed by either of the couple or their parents.

There is thus a consensus among scholars in Africa that the changes in social norms of the African society is attributable to the overall decline in the functional importance of the family and the engendered increasing emphasis on individual rights and fulfilment. For instance norms regarding acceptability of divorce and single motherhood have drastically and radically changed, this situation has

given way to rampant marital dissolutions and increasing incidence of female headed households.

In Africa as everywhere else in the world, children are valued as an economic asset. This may explain why young unmarried women continue to become single mothers by getting one child after another, even though their economic behaviour seems to be most erratic.

Blake and Pinal (1981:237), also attribute the increase in single mother households today to the value humans place on children. They emphasise the fact that people are likely to see reproduction as being socially instrumental when their alternative means for achieving social goals are the most limited.

The poverty situation of people everywhere is not a hinderance to begetting of children. In fact as Mamdani, (1973:14) rightly observes

"people are not poor because they have large families, quite contrary, they have large families because they are poor".

The child is an investment in the face of poverty and in most cases is received with joy however many the mothers may have got before. In the traditional African societies women who were unable to give birth were scorned. The belief in the value of the child has been carried forward to society today where even unmarried women strive to get children. In this case the child is more valued than the husband. Many unmarried women have subscribed to the saying that the child and in this case the son becomes the "husband".

According to Mamdani's study in India's Khana village the importance of children can evidently be supported by the following responses of a villager to the provision of contraceptives to Khana villagers:

"...it is strange they offered to give free medicine to stop women from bearing children, but had nothing to help those who could not bear children. That is where medicine could be of use to us". (Mamdani, 1973:147)

Similarly, a farmer was reported as saying as he softly caressed the son's hair;

"These Americans are enemies of the smile on the child's face; All they are interested in is war or family planning"

And an educated man working as a clerk in a school said:

"Africa has on the average 90 persons per square mile, very little population pressure". Yet it is poor. We are not poor because of our numbers". The reason is another....(Mamdani 1973:147).

Blake and Pinal (1981:231) quoting the result of a research they did in Philadelphia on costs and benefits of children, point out that most adults view children as valuable social investment. This social value factor explains why many a young woman with minimum education and few employment opportunities continue to become mothers even though their prospects for finding a "marriageable" male are rather bleak. Children are seen as a hedge against loneliness in old age, providing in life and providing a sense of having achieved adulthood.

Nzomo (1991) observes that, single-mother households have increased in the recent past owing to the increasing hazardous impacts of the Structural Adjustment Policies by the

World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). She argues that studies done elsewhere have shown that global economic crisis and structural adjustment policies (SAPS) of the 1980s have encouraged the phenomenon of female-headed households. She adds that there are more households now than before Adjustment both in the urban and the rural areas of the Third World that are dependent on the woman for survival (female headed households).

The stringent economic conditions for young women, has increased the risk of conception outside marriage and hence becoming single mothers. Men today stay longer before marriage hence putting the women of their generation at risks if they do not marry older men or men from the younger generations. Meanwhile the longer period of marital abstinence does not infer sexual inactivity, the practice of which results in more illegitimate births with the men shying away from accepting responsibility of the pregnancy. The young woman is thus left to fend both for herself and her children.

2.4 CONSEQUENCES OF SINGLE MOTHERHOOD

"No domestic social problem is more important than the increasing number of children born and raised by single mothers". (Garfinkel and Maclanahan, 1986:1).

The family in general is a sub-cultural unit which prepares the child to function efficiently in its social

environment and in the larger culture. In many ways the family is a "mini version" of the culture to which it belongs. Its major obligation is to translate the customs, values, ideas, beliefs and goals of its class and culture for its children through its child rearing or socialization practices. Thus certain social classes in the society may have unique culture from the others. Due to many intervening factors, the family may fail to measure up fully to its cultural expectations and produce children who are considered antisocial. Such children may contribute little or nothing to the maintenance of their culture though they may not behave antisocially.

It is implied here that if the ordinary family popularly referred to as the conjugal family may fail to live up to its expectation, then single-mother families may be worse off. Although some scholars have suggested that single mothers' families are pathological, the extent to which this is so, is the concern of this study.

Wilson (1978:163) observes that the general consensus seems to be that the father is important to the sex-role orientation and identification of the male child, and to the psycho-sexual development of children of both sexes. These areas cover larger and major faculties in the growth and development of the child and so the absence of the father in a family, is likely to be problematic. Wilson proceeds to say that the father's contribution to the strength and cohesiveness of the family bodes very well for the production of physically and emotionally healthy children. The disorganized family which may result from the "father's"

absence portends ill for the full development of the children. However, there are important exceptions to this generalization, as some families headed by women perform better than some where the father or the two parents are present. However, families headed by single mothers have repeatedly been referred to as disorganized in existing literature perhaps because some of them originate from divorced backgrounds and others are a result of illegitimacy.

Evidence from existing literature suggests that an affectionate father-child relationship appears to facilitate the sex-role development of the children. In a single-mother family where there is no father, sex role identification is likely to be disturbed. The boys need a male model who is capable of socializing them into their sex related roles. However, the presence of an alternative masculine model, for example an older brother may likely inhibit the effects of the father's absence to some degree, (Lamb, 1976:16). However this may prove problematic especially if the alternative model (an elder brother) suffered the same way and missed a male model to identify with. The boy's identification with such a model will in most cases produce negative results.

2.4.1. THE ECONOMY OF SINGLE-MOTHER FAMILIES

It is generally taken that families headed by single mothers are by any standards the poorest and often in dependent situation. There are exceptions to this position as evidenced by the existence of a large number of single mothers

who occupy higher socio-economic groups or classes for instance professional women. The generality of poverty situation in single mother families probably comes as a result of the fact that being single they may not be able to successfully provide for the requirements of the family especially if a woman does not hold a well paying job. In the two-parent families the two parents (the couple) often combine their income and this makes it possible to provide many more things in the family which an ordinary single mother would not unless she had somebody to support her.

Garfinkel (1986:11) points out that families headed by single women are the poorest in America. Most of them depend on welfare services of the state and voluntary Organizations. The economic status of these families may somewhat vary according to status of the woman if she is widowed, divorced or separated, or never married. But her general observation is that their incomes are systematically lower than that of two parent families. The implication thus is that such families will inadequately cater for the needs of the children and the family in general. Since poverty is a highly relative term and arguing from experience, the poverty situation in the American language may not be an extreme situation if compared to the African case.

Mbabu (1982:188) quoting the result of a study he conducted in Nyeri, observes that with neither independent households nor incomes most of the unmarried mothers were in a dependent situation. Their welfare and that of their children was left in the hands of their benefactors, and those

in most cases were parents of the unmarried mothers or their relatives. In most cases even the single mothers who are entitled to some income, find it too little to satisfy their family needs and especially those of the children.

Marsden (1970:297) also points out that families headed by single mothers are the poorest regardless of how poverty is measured. He adds that in many instances the mothers are disadvantaged in housing to the extent that they are forced into poor accommodation. Their incomes are in most cases inadequate and as a consequence the families are deprived.

The poor economic situation of single mother families has been associated with psychological problems. Garfinkel (1986:77) argues that poor economic situation is likely to lead to distress and anxiety. Single mothers are more prone to psychological disturbance. They suffer depression and stress. Similarly the children from single mother families often suffer numerous forms of instability and chronic stress that might be detrimental to their welfare.

Poverty in single-mother families is responsible for a number of problems in society. Kayongo Male and Onyango (1991:14) points out that unmarried mothers today, in Africa are most responsible for abandoning of babies along the roads, in bushes, dumped in toilets or rubbish bins, or in hospitals. Due to economic deprivation, many of them have left their children under the care of their own parents. Studies show that children suffer developmental problems because of both early separation from the mother and absence of a father. The early part of the child's development which require the

presence of the mother goes unattended as the child is deprived of parental warmth.

2.4.2 SINGLE MOTHERHOOD AND CHILD DELINQUENCY

Existing literature suggests that children from single mother families are more likely to engage in child delinquency than those from two parent families. Many scholars have associated this phenomenon to the observation that most single mothers are poor and therefore can only afford to live in the slum areas where crime and delinquency is the order of the day and children born in such environments are also socialised in the culture of crime and delinquency. (Muga, 1975:121; Nye, 1957: 281, Garfinkel, 1986:11).

In Kenya a juvenile delinquent is "a child between the statutory juvenile court age of seven and sixteen years who commits an act which, when committed by persons beyond this statutory juvenile court age would be punishable as a crime or as an act injurious to other individuals or the public (Muga, 1975:99).

In a study of juvenile delinquency carried out throughout Kenya, Muga found out that children from single-mothers families were more predisposed to delinquency. In a sample of 11,171 there were 691 families in which both parents did not live together because of death, divorce, separation or the mother was unmarried, but as a whole unmarried, separated and divorced mothers topped the list.

Muga (1975:121) further makes the observation that in cases where the single mother has no occupation and holds a meagre education, or no formal education at all, it often means that she is unlikely to have a well paying job which would enable her to provide for the needs of the children. Very poor homes he adds, are likely to create situations which can predispose children and adults alike to criminal or delinquent behaviour.

Juvenile delinquency is in most cases a result of inadequate parental supervision and may also occur in two-parent families. However, in single-mother families especially where the mother is employed the possibilities are higher as observed by Nye, (1973:281). However, he cautions that the lack of parental supervision and its effect on child delinquency is controlled by the class of the parent.

Evidence exists that boys from father absent homes in some cases are less retarded in their personality development than those from intact, maternally-dominated homes, quite a contrary position. But it is important to note the danger we are likely to plunge ourselves into especially when we make broad generalizations concerning the prevalence of child delinquency in any society.

Nye (1957:358) observed that children from broken homes had better family adjustment and lower rates of antisocial behaviour and psychosomatic illness than children from unhappy unbroken homes had. He adds that other researchers have found cases where a child may function more nearly adequately in a father absent home than in one where there is an inappropriate

husband-wife relationship. Probably the reason behind this occurrence is that children born in father absent families learn to live with the father's absence and grow up with the knowledge that they have no father. But those whose parents are in constant domestic wrangles and disturbances have to come to terms with and are continuously reminded of the implications of such family instability.

It has also been said on the other hand that children from single-mother families are more likely to suffer from lack of well integrated, flexible and competent personality and are more likely to express hostility, alienation from the society and themselves and to engage in outright antisocial behaviour.

Lamb (1976:121) explains that a father's absence predisposes children towards certain developmental deficits. But there are exceptions to this as some children who have no fathers are generally well adjusted. In such cases he explains, the child's genetic and constitutional predispositions play an important part in determining the severity of his psychopathology as well as the quality of parent-child interactions. But as a whole he observes that most children are handicapped if they have experienced paternal deprivation or inadequacy and they are likely to have much difficulty in their emotional and interpersonal development. Such children are known to have difficulties in delaying gratification of certain urges and are quick at displaying violent and destructive aggression.

2.4.3. EDUCATION AND ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION OF FATHERLESS CHILDREN

Some scholars have postulated that boys' identification with nurturant fathers hasten the adoptability of the father's characteristics for instance instrumental competence that should foster intellectual functioning. The father's authority over the family is in many cases a kind of inspiration for the child especially the son, to be like his father. This often involves the immitation of the fathers work, occupation and achievements. The child wants to achieve as much as the father. This motivates his intelectual ability.

Lamb (1976:19) postulates that there is a good deal of evidence suggesting that the father may exercise a strong influence over his sons intellectual capacity in facilitating cognitive development of the child from infancy. This kind of paternal motivation is lacking in fatherless children whose achievement is therefore taken to be weaker. Paternal encouragement even for females (Young girls) is correlated with achievement.

In the above respect, the mother's role in motivating the child to perform well is often assumed. These scholars assume that the mother is often too busy with the family work that she find no time to supervise educational activities of the child. This is not exactly true. There are fathers for instance who pay no attention to the educational activities of their children. Such fathers do nothing to

motivate their children. At the same time, there are mothers who spend so much time supervising their children's educational activities. Thus, both mother and father are important in this respect.

Kahl (1953:178) also points out that a close father-child relationship and the characterization of the father as both dominant and democratic are associated with high achievement motivation, in both boys and girls. This may not always be the case because these father characteristics may fail to impact on the child's performance and motivation to achieve. There is more to this, that would stimulate the child to achieve.

Lamb (1976:20) notes that one of the more consistently reported effects of fatherlessness on boys is a deterioration of school performance and intellectual capacity. The effect, it has been found is not as great for girls as it is for boys. Perhaps, this is with reference to the observation that the boy may have no one to act as a model and thus replace the absent father. However there is evidence that paternal encouragement of intellectual performance is positively related to achievement. Thus paternal rejection and absence can be detrimental to children's achievement.

Lamb (1976:20) argues that the importance of fathers in fostering academic success, particularly in their sons is clearly relevant to the attempt to improve intellectual performance in deprived children, that is fatherless children. Children from single mother families are disadvantaged intellectually unlike their counterparts from two-parent families whose cognitive development often proceeds normally,

under normal family conditions.

The above argument assumes that it is the father who plays a major part in guiding and supervising the child's academic work. In Kenya however this is not exactly the case as mothers seem to spend more time doing this. This of course depends on the social class and the education of the mother. They also assume that in a single-mother family, the mother has less time and presumably less energy for monitoring and supervising the children. This may be true given that the mother is the only parent and has a variety of roles to perform in the household. In adolescence, single motherhood is more damaging to offsprings. This is a time of intense sexual activities and a time when adolescents are faced with problems which need important decisions and coping. They need the guidance of both parents more at this time.

Garfinkel (1986:34) contends that adolescent girls from single mother families in the face of limited supervision are more likely to become pregnant because with less guidance they are likely to engage in uncontrollable dating frequency. This situation is often made worse with the employment of the mother because then it means that the mother has very little time to guide the daughters and they may tend to rely on peers for information and advice. Peer influence and pressure has often proved disastrous.

The employment of the mother outside the family reduces her participation in the child's educational activities as well as her monitoring and supervision of the child's extra-curricular activities. The latter has important implications

for the child's educational performance.

This is normally a big problem for most single mothers who in turn blame the child for poor performance. In Africa it is an ambivalence too difficult to solve. She is not entitled to any welfare benefits like her counterparts in America and other developed or welfare states. African single mothers therefore have to work and if possible seek more than two sources of income because not working means welcoming absolute poverty.

Garfinkel (1986:31) pre-supposes that girls who grow up in single mother families are more likely to marry early and have children early including both marital and out-of-wedlock births. They are more likely to divorce than daughters in two-parent families. They are comparatively less successful on the average when they become adults. Their unsuccessfulness here may arise because the girls are likely to drop out of school prematurely in most cases due to financial problems (also for boys), or they may be victims of teenage pregnancies and have to take time off to deliver. Normally after birth very few of such girls go back to school. A majority in Kenya discontinue their studies (Njau, 1993:215; Khasiani, 1985:23).

We should be careful not to pin almost all the ills in society on single mother families. The problems of teenage pregnancy is universal in society and often does not choose which type of family. But evidence exists to the extent that girls from single-mother families may have early sexual exposures as the mothers may have the tendency to keep lovers or boyfriends. In such cases it is often a rough time for the

mother to control the dating habits of the daughter if she has been herself dating men in the presence of the daughter.

Economic deprivation which is a general condition to a single mother households, may lead to lower achievement among some of their offsprings. Most of these families have no or less money to invest in the education of the children. Further the children may not get a chance to participate in extra-curricular activities which have positive correlation with the child's performance. Thus such children may drop out of school and assume adult roles prematurely or seek employment to support the family.

In Africa, there are many cases of child labour where small children, often school drop outs are employed. In Kenya many of such children are employed by their own relatives as "ayahs" (house girls) and houseboys. Some are engaged in petty trades like paper collection, car parking (parking boys) and many others because with little or no education they do not expect to get salaried jobs. Besides, the children who are in school often suffer numerous forms of instability and chronic stress that might be expected to undermine their achievement.

Wilson (1978:168) concludes that there seem to be more important factors which aggravate or mitigate the effects of fatherlessness or single motherhood. Some of these factors he emphasizes include; "communal acceptance, of such a family structure, the presence or absence of stigmatization of such a family structure, the availability or non availability of kinship or non-kinship father substitutes and the commonality

of such structures within the community". These factors have tended to encourage single motherhood especially in the African context and have also changed peoples perception of these families.

Summarily it is important to note that the adverse effects of single motherhood on children socialised in fatherless families presupposes that the father would have been a suitable model for the children in terms of the relevant sex role identification. Benard (1969:87) argues that fathers take little responsibility in child-rearing duties such as feeding, bathing and changing the children. Thus, the evidence supporting the handicaps of single motherhood should not be over-emphasized. She observes that it is possible that single-mother families could in fact be more efficient than the families where there are two parents as long as the single mother play her role effectively and an alternative paternal model is available for the children.

2.5.0 CONCLUSION

Much of the literature related to single motherhood originate from Western countries where the situation of single mothers is profoundly different from ours. For instance single women in America are entitled to welfare support. In Kenya, welfare services do not exist for any section of the society not even for the old and the physically handicapped.

The Western literature places overburdening blame on

single mothers. It would thus be wrong to give an objective analysis of the local situation based on Western Literature, although there is some degree of resemblance between single motherhood in Kenya or Africa and single motherhood in the west.

Some of the blame placed on single mothers are certainly universally conceived in the society and are not only the domain of single motherhood. There are of course certain defects that are specific to single-mother families and which are particularly detrimental to the welfare, growth and development of children.

Appreciably, literature derived from various sources which are quoted here, have been instrumental in explaining various aspects of single motherhood. Literature on the local situation mainly based on previous researches including those done by; Mbabu, (1982), whose indepth study of single-mother families provided an insight. Ndonga (1987) and Wambayi (1984) who related single motherhood to child delinquency also provided a partial focus and Liku (1987) whose analysis of socio-economic factors associated with teenage pregnancy has provided a background as one concomittant path of entry to single motherhood. The study done by Kayongo Male and Onyango (1991) equally gave a background knowledge on which to analyse and study the single-mother family type.

However, in view of these publications, there exists a number of gaps and inadequencies some of which this study sought to address. The effect of single motherhood, on the child is one area that has not quite received worthwhile

attention. The few who have attempted to do this have looked at the impact of single motherhood, for instance with reference to juvenile delinquency only. Others have looked at the low class or the slum-dwelling single mother alone and opted to be blind to single motherhood among the middle and upper middle classes.

Literature is lacking on a number of aspects of single motherhood. Some of the important areas where very little is known include: The performance of children from single mother families in school; the performance or situation of children of single mothers when they leave school, or those who have not been able to go to school at all; mothers' future plans for their fatherless children; whether or not single motherhood further creates single motherhood. In other words, do daughters of single mothers also become single mothers?

The part played by society in perpetuating single motherhood is another area which has not been studied and yet it is very important. The society's perceptions of single mothers and the impact of such perceptions on the mother, her children and the family should be investigated. The level of acceptability of children of single mothers is very unclear. We need to establish whether they are stigmatised or rejected by their colleagues or the society at large.

In terms of provision of social services, we need to know whether or not there is any kind of discrimination against single-mother families and their children. Finally, information is necessary as far as the need for policy is concerned. If the need exists, what particular concerns should

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Four theories have been used for the purpose of providing a theoretical conceptualization of single motherhood and its effects on the child. They include; the Modernization paradigm, the theory of Anomine, the Psychoanalytic theory or perspective and the social class theory.

3.1.1 THE MODERNIZATION PARADIGM

Modernization⁷ is a central concept in the sociology of development as it relates to modern and pre-modern economies of the world. It refers to the interactive process of economic growth and social change whereby historical and contemporary under-developed societies are thought to become developed. Most modernization theorists (Neil Smelser, Emile Durkheim, Fedinard Tonnies etc.) and social evolutionists⁸ (Herbert

⁷Modernization theorists perceive World economies in three ways; some are developed, others are developing and yet others are under-developed. Those that are not developed are supposed to adopt and assimilate the developed world styles in order to develop, for instance adopting western democracy and industrial development. This process in their view comprises modernization.

⁸This school of thought perceives development as a gradualist process occurring in stages marked by social differentiation and integration. There is a gradual shift from one undesirable stage to one desirable, which is characteristic of modern industrial economies of the West. For a detailed explanation see Rostow (1961) pp. 15- 30 and Smelser (1967) pp. 718-750.

Spencer, Talcott Parsons etc.) have a dualist conception of modernity or economic development. They conceive societies of the world as being either developed, developing or less developed. In other words there is a transition from one state of society to another which for some is characterized by developmental stages (Rostow, 1961:15). The dualist⁹ conception of change is indeed prevalent among all the modernization theorists. This bi-polar categorization has been critiqued by scholars who assert that it is only an ideological concept and that its existence is utopianist. Some economies possess both characteristics of the developed as well as the undeveloped economies. Thus it is difficult to place them in either of the categories.

According to modernization theorists such as Rostow (1961), and Smelser (1967), the general evolution of society is a process of development from one undesirable state of society to a desirable one. For some, this evolution is in stages (Rostow 1961:12). Each stage is a characteristic combination of a certain degree of social differentiation and a certain type and level of integration.

A developed economy and society is characterised by highly differentiated structures whereas the under-developed one is perceived as relatively lacking in differentiation (Smelser, 1967:719). For him, differentiation is a process whereby more specialized and autonomous social units are

⁹Economies of the world are seen by modernization theorists like Durkheim (1969:256-270) as polarized into two distinct stages: The undeveloped and the developed.

established.

Modernization is equatable to economic development which is characterized by modern application of technology leading to change from simple traditionalised techniques to the application of scientific knowledge. It also involves commercialization of agriculture, characterized by movement from subsistence to commercial farming and specialization in production of cash crops and wage labour development. Industrialization which depicts the transition from use of human and animal power to machine power and automation. Finally, modernization is characterized by urbanization which consists of changes in the ecological dimensions and is depicted by the shift of habitation from village towards the growth of large urban centres.

This process of modernization has been summarised by the definition given by Long (1977:9). He observes that the concept of modernization denotes

" a total transformation of traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organisation that characterise the advanced, economically prosperous and relatively politically stable nations of the Western world".

As for Long and other modernization theorists are concerned, the movement to development is one-way and has been spearheaded by Western Nations. Other nations for them are 'late comers' in the struggle for development.

It is highly doubtful if there exists a society that would fit in with their 'traditional' typology. The characteristics of a 'traditional' nation are too traditional

so that hardly any nation would exactly fit in it. Further, it is erroneous to perceive development as a one-way process. It can indeed be two way. It is not as smooth as these theories would want us to believe, rather it is characterized by periods of lull and even backward movements. It is very possible for an economy which has taken major steps in development to stagnate and even to collapse and have a fresh start.

Smelser (1967:720) observes that a modernizing nation expresses changes in all spheres of life including the political, social and economic ones. There occurs structural differentiation as more specialised and autonomous social units are formed. These are the changes pointed out by Durkheim (1969:256) in the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity where differential and individualization of various segments of society result in a complex division of labour that characterise the organic solidarity.

Smelser (1967:720) expounds on the changes that occur in society as a result of modernization by giving a more specific example of a sector of society which responds sharply to the demands of modernity. In the family, Smelser argues that the nature and functions change. Its activities become more concentrated on emotional gratification and socialization, and abandon its economic role. The pattern of authority is transformed as elders who were previously powerful, lose the control they exercised and the nuclear family becomes differentiated from the extended family. Marriage norms may also change as more emphasis is given to personal choice in selection of mates, and as women become more independent

economically, politically and socially (Long, 1977:10). Marriage thus becomes a means of property exchange based on modern monetarized values.

The social implications of changes in family life are enormous, the most fundamental of which, imposed by demands for mobility of the family, is the industrialization and the semi-isolation of the nuclear family. The nuclear family is removed from that broader arena of extended family and kinship systems where it was formerly closely monitored and now can only owe allegiance to itself. There is of course some persistence of pre-capitalist patriarchal relations which are limited to the rural areas.

Modernization has not quite proceeded in Africa the way it did in the now industrial world. Modernization has not brought about progress to the masses. For instance most workers in the Third world countries are still semi-proletarianized in the context of industrialization especially in Africa. The size of industrialized workers is still very small considering African total population. Dependency on the developed economies has tended to increase rather than decrease. Poverty has also increased as evidenced by the declining level of the poverty line and the spread of unsafe human dwellings in most African countries. The educated are increasingly impoverished because they cannot find employment. Modern formal education has produced a large number of unemployed young people who cannot be absorbed in the existing industries in the modern sector. Thus, modernization as a theory leaves a lot of questions unanswered. The process of

modernization has missed the kernel in Africa against the predictions of the likes of Rostow, Smelser and the others.

Smelser (1967:72) observes that a further ramification of the revolution in kinship relations in the urban, industrial setting concerns the formation of new families. Marriage in many traditional (pre-modern) settings he adds, was closely regulated by elders. In this case tastes, preferences and sentiments of the couple to be married are relatively unimportant. The basis of marriage thus lies not in love of the couple but rather closely in more personal and practical arrangements for instance the availability of a substantial dowry or general possession of property and wealth.

Modernization is one of the theories that come closest to explaining the cause, and high rate of increase of single motherhood including that resulting from death of husband. For instance high technology has brought about the use of highly technical machinery that has been dangerous to human life and men in particular because in many cases it is him more than the woman who works with the machines, say in factories, farms and other mechanized areas. All these have exposed men to more danger than women, of dying.

Industrialization opens the job market not only for men but for women as well to join the labour force. However this is more true of the industrial independent capitalistic economies than the industrializing ones of most Third world countries. Young and unmarried women form the majority of women in any industrializing country, who are out looking for

employment in the urban areas. The formal education process has made them believe in white-collar employment rather than agriculture or self employment. Thus on completion of their studies they run to the urban areas to look for employment. This often involves moving out of a rural home to seek employment in an urban setting where the closer supervision of the woman's movements is reduced to a minimum, and her involvement in sexual affairs outside marriage may not be questioned leading to uncontrolled dating and possibilities of pregnancy outside marriage.

Modernization in the realms of education has opened avenues for women who before were regarded low in most African societies. Education of women has changed considerably the traditional society's perception of women. In the post-colonial era in Africa, many female schools were started and a number of women for instance in Kenya joined the labour market not as inferiors but as competitors in the predominantly male market. Today more and more educated women are leaving their homes to seek employment in towns and other places including across the national boundaries. This often means living in their own houses, with friends or relatives, a practice which has facilitated the weakening of the moral standards related to sexual behaviour among young women and men. Socio-cultural standards aped from the west has also played a part in this.

Industrialization in both pre-independent and post independent era in Africa removed many men from their rural homes to seek employment in the industrializing urban

areas in Africa. This has caused a lot of family instability and disorganization leading to divorce and separation in many families. For some, the long period of separation is intolerable and a temporary replacement of the spouse is sought which often leads to illegitimacy and possible marital breakdowns.

Single or unmarried women who have obtained jobs in the industrialising urban areas are likely to be content with that status longer due to reduced parental or society's pressure on them to get married. Modernization has broken the specificity of age at marriage for both men and women which before was strictly observed. Today unlike in the traditional times a young lady in her mid thirties still walks unminded and unbothered by those around her. To marry or not is her own discretion. Many women who cannot find salaried jobs because of lack of qualifications and experiences required by most formal sector employers, and because of job shortages some resort to prostitution. Here they find market among a large number of single men who are either unmarried or have left their wives in the rural villages. Today especially in Africa, the tendency to remain unmarried for long has been accelerated and perpetuated by the stringent economic situations prevalent in most if not all larger African cities. Prolonged bachelorhood thus is a major cause of illegitimacy in Africa as single women get children almost accidentally one after another. For some of the women this has to happen so as to earn a living. The result is an increasing number of women headed households in the cities of Africa.

Prolonged celibacy¹⁰ is also enhanced by a new but fast spreading practice among many city women; the keeping of boy friends who may either be married or not. When a woman conceives under such a relationship and decides to keep the baby she will have added to the number of single mothers in the city. Factors leading to prolonged celibacy for women in particular include; higher education, contraception and the need to get a job or build a career. The formal system of education which starts from Nursery school to University requires several years of study before completion. A young woman who manages to complete University will at least have attained the age of 25 years. Many women postpone marriage until they have completed their education. This long duration exposes them to the risks of pregnancy outside marriage.

Contraceptive use in Kenya has also led many women to prolong age at marriage although its use among the unmarried women in Kenya is low. If a woman can prevent pregnancy using the modern methods of birth control for as long as she wants, chances are that she may keep away from marriage until such a time that is convenient to her. Many women especially the educated postpone marriage until they are employed. The time convenient to them for marriage is therefore determined by her ability to obtain a job. This follows not only their wish but also advice from their parents and relatives.

Modernization in terms of improved communication has made

¹⁰Celibacy which has also been referred to as prolonged bachelorhood, means extending the age at marriage or postponing marriage to a later time and applies to both men and women.

it possible for young people to be connected at shortest times possible. Dates can be fixed and they materialize however long the distance between the couple would be, because it means only a matter of a few hours. Dates can be made, and with the increasing number of lodging and boarding places in the city sexual relationships have become easy to effect. The car has also become a promoter of sexual intercourse among many city youngsters. Today it is easy for a young boy or girl to borrow the father's or mother's car for a date and where sexual intercourse is desired, most likely it is done in the car. All these have facilitated the increase in illegitimacy and single motherhood (Mbabu, 1982:35). Thus, much as modernization has contributed to the spread of industrialization and urbanization, the latter two have spearheaded the development and spread of single motherhood and illegitimacy in most African urban cities.

Blumberg (1977:117) observes that where viable opportunities exist for females in any society, probabilities are high for flexible bilateral kinship and various manifestations of female headed units. Such a flexibility is prevalent mainly in the urban industrial sector, and is a result of the changes associated with transition from premodernity to modernity as explained by the modernization theorists.

Certain phenomena cannot be fully explained using one theory. The modernization theory is often too broad to allow for specificity. It has been criticized for embracing so many issues to the extent that it explains concepts diffusely,

hence the need for our objective, to supplement it with other theoretical perspectives.

Anomie is another theory that attempts to explain in more specific terms the causes and spread of single motherhood in the face of modernity. Anomie theory is derived from the modernization paradigm. It literally means without norms or a state of normlessness. Some aspects of this theory have already been discussed in the modernization paradigm.

Mann (1983:12) describes Anomie as a state of society in which substantial disagreement exists over appropriate norms. Appropriate norms in society here refer to the rules governing the behaviour of people sharing common membership in a group of society. Norms are thus a result of an expansive periodic interaction of such members of a group.

Some of the most prominent proponents of the theory are Durkheim (1969), and Merton (1965). Durkheim (1969:256) sees anomie in modern society as resulting from the incompleteness of the shift from mechanical to organic solidarities. The division of labour in society has progressed faster than the moral basis for this division. Thus, some aspects of society are inadequately regulated hence anomie. He therefore would relate many ills prevalent in modern society for instance suicide, single motherhood, mental illnesses just to mention a few, to the effects of anomie (Durkheim, 1968:69).

The division of labour Durkheim says, is brought about by the social segments in society losing their individuality hence the division becomes more permeable (Durkheim, 1969:256). Losing individuality in the sense that members of

the society begin increasingly to look upon themselves or their families and not the society for matters pertaining to law, norms, rules and aspiration. Durkheim (1969:256) describes two types of societies characterized by mechanical and organic solidarities. The former is characteristic of folk society while the latter, large scale urban societies. Mechanical solidarity is also characterized by low division of labour, while organic solidarity typically has highly complex, well developed division of labour. Division of labour here refers essentially to the amount of differentiation of roles and tasks within smaller groups, occupations and interest groups within small social groups and modern bureaucracies. Under organic solidarity, the autonomous "man" becomes possible and this is where single motherhood comes in more clearly. There is a possibility for a woman to make a conscious choice to remain unmarried.

This state of society increasingly broadens the individual's self-directing power or will and conscience and subsequently he adopts an indirect relation to government or certain regulatory power through intermediary organizations which fall outside the control and influence of local society. The individual can do what he wishes without being mindful of what used to be powerful authority of the local society. In this situation a young lady decides to remain unmarried, or separates or divorces without fearing any far reaching consequences on herself.

The theory of anomie has also been used to refer to a condition of individuals rather than their environment. This

happened because it increasingly became evident that the utility of anomie as a concept for understanding diverse forms of deviant behaviour had become unquestionably clear (Merton, 1965:161).

Thus, anomie explains single motherhood as a form of deviant behaviour in the modern society because it is against the ideal family set up which expects every member of the society to marry and have children. Failure to marry thus, reflects a form of cynicism of the dominant culture.

The traditional African society has undergone a series of transformations resulting from social change which in turn have brought about excessive laxity in traditional norms and rules. In some cases such norms and rules have utterly been thrown in disarray, for instance the rules that regulated marriage in society are today least obeyed. Young people today have little surveillance by elders, thereby enabling them to make their own decisions concerning family life without having to be bothered. Such independent decisions have led to untold family disorganization including non-marriage, separation, and divorce among others. These were traditionally unheard of because there were strong ethical codes against them. Besides, parents and relatives invested so much in the marriage of their sons and daughters that they would not allow such occurrences. The concept and theory of anomie though an adjunct of modernization paradigm, provides a more specific understanding of single motherhood.

The theory of anomie has one weakness with regard to conceptualizing single motherhood, in that it leaves out the

concept of class in relation to certain deviant behaviour in the society. It does not explain why certain deviances are concentrated among certain classes of society. Single motherhood cannot be divorced from the concept of class. This will be explained presently when we discuss the social class theory.

3.1.2 PSYCHOANALYTIC PERSPECTIVE

Sigmund Freud has been given much credit worldwide for being the first psychologist to formulate a comprehensive theory of human development. The psychoanalytic theory¹¹ is one of great significance to sociologists and social psychologists as far as its explanation of personality development is concerned.

Lelland, (1974:304) observes that differentiation occurs in the experiences of an infant or child as it learns what is permitted in terms of gratification of drives or desires and what is prohibited. The child basically learns all these prescriptions and proscriptions from the parents especially the mother and the caretakers through the continuous process of socialization. They become internalized as the child gradually develops a 'superego'¹² an element of the psychic

¹¹ This theory was derived from clinical practice with patients in a hospital by Sigmund Freud. The practice is called psychoanalysis. For details see Freud (1952:800-880).

¹² This is one of the three intra-personality characteristics identified by Freud during his clinical experiments. The other two are; the Id and the Ego. Superego is an internalized reservoir of parental prescriptions as well as proscriptions. This is basically

make up of an individual. The superego represents a reserve of internalized parental ideals. It is one of the significant personality characters identified by Freud, (1952:833) which is important in the cognitive development of the child.

Freud (1952:833) points out that during its growth, the superego also takes over the influence of those persons who have taken the place of parents (the caretakers or the 'significant others') in the upbringing of the child. The superego he adds, normally becomes more and more personal as the value of parents begins to vary with different periods in the child's life. Perhaps this is the time when other persons begin to have significant influence on the child especially the teacher and the peers. The school going child has definitely a wider socialization environment than the small infant. Thus, there is a greater variation on significance of parents as far as socialization is concerned.

Freud (1974:63) observes that identification is the basis of superego formation. He sees the superego as the basis of the process of assimilation of one ego to another, with one coming to resemble the other. The result of this process Freud remarks, is that the first ego adopts the behavioral characteristics of the second. Thus identification can be said to be a very important form of attachment to someone else probably the very first to matter in the child's life. The developed superego in Freud's view is a result of the successful identification with the parental agency.

a result of the socialization process by the parents or the significant others (See Freud, 1974:60-100).

Freud (1974:63) relates the parental agency or the superego to the destiny of the Oedipus complex (a condition in the child's life when he develops an attraction to the parent of the opposite sex), such that it appears as though it were the heir of that emotional attachment which is of great significance in childhood. That is why as his theory explains: "The child must renounce the intense object cathexes which he has deposited with the parents as he abandons the Oedipus" or the Electra complex in the case of female children (Freud, 1974:63).

During the oedipal stage¹³, the little girl "falls in love" with the father and develops hostility towards the mother. The little boy similarly develops sexual attachment to the mother and become hostile to the father. In other words at this stage the child is attracted to and sexually attached to the parent of the opposite sex. This complex or the "opposite sex attachment" is normally resolved before or soon after the child's entry to school. Freud, discovered in his researches that the complex is resolved as a result of the little boy's discovery that his female counterparts (little girls) do not have penises as himself. The boy imagines and concludes that the girls previously had them but that they have been cut. He then takes this as evidence of what might happen to him and runs away from the mother to the father, (Lamb, 1978:185, Lamb, 1976:281).

¹³This is one of the stages of development of a child when it identifies with the parent of the opposite sex - normally by the age of four years. See Freud (1974:63) for a detailed discussion.

Before this, the boy's primary attachment since birth has predominantly been the mother. He thus begins to see and perceive the father as a competitor for the mother's affection and develops fantasies that his father may vengefully castrate him. To forestall this realization, the boy renounces love for his mother and adopts the values and behaviour of his father on the assumption that his father will not show any aggression towards him. He thus identifies with the father and adopts masculine characteristics and behaviour. If the oedipal stage is not assimilated properly then damages to the later personality are encountered. These may take the form of a child developing the opposite sex behaviour (Homosexuality).

The initial attachment of child to mother has led many a scholar to argue that the father does not play a significant role in the child's life. Fathers have often mistakenly been viewed as being less important in the child's life as they spend little time with them and may serve no appreciable function in the child's life as long as there is somebody to take the place of the mother adequately in her absence.

Recent researches have proved such assumption wrong as the role of father in child development has been discovered to be equally significant. Identification or modelling theory suggests that girls become feminine by imitating the behaviour and attitudes of their mothers, whereas boys become masculine by imitating their fathers. Imitation or identification with the parent of the same sex is one important mechanism through which gender appropriate behaviour may be acquired. Therefore, it would be erroneous to suggest that the role of father is

insignificant in the child's development. Even prior to this later attachment to parent of same sex, the father's presence is significant as far as the resolution of the child's oedipal complex stage is concerned, irrespective of the sex of the child.

The application of the Oedipus Complex theory has been questioned in so far as it relates to child development in the African context. It may not be applicable in some cultures. It also assumes that the child identifies only with the parent of the opposite sex. This identification may also be with other members of the neighborhood whom the child may admire as desirable models. X

Lamb (1978:38) argues that infants have very different types of experiences with their mothers and with their fathers. The father's play with the child is characterized more by physical stimulation, aggressiveness and idiosyncratic games which the mother does not offer. Lamb observes that the difference between mother-infant and father-infant interactions is important because it implies that the infant is exposed to different experiences with each parent and consequently with the assumption of different outcomes from child-mother and child-father interactions. Both parents directly have independent influences on their children development.

Young (1954:40) relates the early child development particularly during the pre-school ages to the patterns of family relationships. The family environment has a lot to do with the development of the child and the resultant

personality. Young points a finger at the unconscious fantasy acted out by unmarried mother as definitely infantile in character. The fantasy and the acting out displayed by the girl in adulthood, that is remaining unmarried, as representing attempts to find some quick solutions to the fears, confusions and tensions arising from her experiences and problems of those early years when normal development was frustrated.

Lamb (1978:40) observes that adoption of sex roles is one aspect of personality development in which both parents contribute from infancy onwards. He argues that if children do not develop secure sex or gender identities in infancy, it may subsequently prove impossible to do so in later life.

The importance of the early father-son relationship is underlined by evidence suggesting that boys whose fathers are absent at this early stage have difficulty in adopting appropriate roles and may appear different from their peers. Pressure on boys to identify or model themselves after their fathers is always greater. For girls this pressure is often assumed to be non-existent and therefore as early as the age of two, the boy is encouraged to adopt masculine roles and be like the father. The pressure does not only come from the father but also from the mother. For instance the mother would always say to the boy in case he falls to the ground not to cry as boys are not supposed to cry. Dager (1964:755) notes that, in the absence of a father in a family, identification occurs only one way, that is, with the mother only. This he observes could result in mother-fixation, extreme dependency

on the mother or homosexuality for the male child. The female child is not spared. She too is subject to discontinuity due to misplaced identification and changing role patterns but quite the opposite of what the boy experiences. The mother's dominance over her could be more appropriate in the traditional society where marriages were arranged and the girl could be helped or even forced to marry a husband. Today the choice and decision is all in her domain. Thus her over-identification with the mother does not provide her with the means to compete in the outside world.

The girl's confusion is further complicated by the absence of institutional support in learning gender related roles. She becomes increasingly ambivalent about the role of wife and mother. Dager does not suggest that the girl shuns her role as mother, she infact envies it, but there is a likelihood of reduced commitment to marriage. This observation suggests that mother domination may lead the girl to single motherhood. An overdominating and cruel father may equally force the daughter to remain unmarried in reaction to the undemocratic manner in which the father runs the family.

Dager (1964:759) observes that, in the father's absence, the mother tends to be a more functional parent to the child. She is relied on more than the mother in a two parent family. The mother becomes more and more overprotective and concerned about the child than in father present families. Thus, the boys in father-absent or mother-only families tend to be infantile and dependent, and also, tend to manifest conflict in their sex identification more than the boys in the father-

ent families. The boys also have the tendency to behave like girls and show less aggression in fantasy than those in father present families.

The absence of a male model for girls will at a later date, at least have considerable effect on male-female relationships for instance at the time of choosing a marriage partner. Such girls have the propensity to engage in early pregnancy, early marriage, and more broken engagements among single people as opposed to children from two-parent families. Therefore there are possibilities of girls from mother-only families reproducing their mother in other words single motherhood may be a self-sustaining phenomenon. This study endeavours to test this observation.

Research needs to be done in this area to ascertain the applicability of this assumption especially in the Kenyan situation. We should not be blind to the fact that quite a number of girls from father absent backgrounds are premaritally married despite the fact that their mothers were not. The incidences of girls from mother-only families becoming single mothers and heading their households are not uncommon especially in our industrializing urban areas like Nairobi.

Cavan (1964:551) observes that the dominance of mother or sometimes grandmother in a father-absent family creates a distortion of family roles. The child tends to accept as normal all the family life that he or she finds himself in. Girls emulate themselves after their mothers and build up a self-concept of the dominant person who must in the future fend for the children through all the means possible. The boy also

accept mother dominance as normal and develop the self-concept of the irresponsible transient male.

The psychoanalytic theory has a few weaknesses. Williams (1969:216) observes that environmental factors, which the theory is silent about, are necessary determinants of personality and that not only clinical evidence should be adduced to support the theory. Environmental factors referred to here include the society as a whole. He feels that certain environmental conditions such as social class, culture and historical events should be investigated. Brown (1973:52) points out that when the micro-sociological understanding of familial life is divorced from the broader social context as it is true with most Freudian literature in the form of a historical conceptualisation, then, the psychoanalytic perspective loses its meaning and substance. In understanding the role of psycho-analytic theory in explaining consequences of father absent socialization we should extend our analysis to include the larger society and not only the family and the individual.

3.1.3 SOCIAL CLASS THEORY

The concept of class is perhaps as old as humanity. It is said to have existed since the break up of a society based on kinship. (Maszaros, 1971:7). However, class consciousness is seen more as a phenomenon of the industrial world. This is in the sense that with economic progress people in society become more aware of the socio-economic differences amongst themselves. Some are seen to be poor, others rich and yet others are

neither of the two.

Social class basically implies identification with a particular group in society. It arises as a result of stratification of the society according to various indicators for instance economic ability, education, political power, social influence and may also take a religious perspective.

A popular proponent of class theory, Karl Marx, identified three big classes of modern society; wage labourers, capitalists, and land owners (Marx, 1966:7). He is essentially talking about the industrial capitalistic economy. Under this system the development of the capitalistic mode of production is basically intended to divorce the means of production from labour and to concentrate continuously the scattered means of production into the large groups, thereby transforming labour into wage labour and the means of production into capital.

Lefebvre (1968:48) argues that the concept of class, the theory of class and class conflicts are all aspects of industrial development. As Marx before, he sees any society as polarized into antagonistic classes. Each successive stage of socio-economic development has exhibited split, opposition, contrast and conflict. Thus the theory of class is one of contradiction. In an industrial system there exists an inbuilt contradiction between the owners of labour power and the owners of means of production. The relationship that exists between the various classes in society is one of exploitation. The owners of labour power are alienated and perpetually exploited by the owners of the means of production (the

capitalists).

The way production is organized in society is very important in understanding social class theory. For instance, those who own the means of production and therefore the surplus production are dependent upon the dominant social forces and relate to each other on the basis of what they possess. The result is competition with every capitalist trying to get the best out of his trade. This often means exploiting the labour power through underpayment.

Kitching (1982:440) also identifies two forms of commodity production which contribute to the evolution of social classes in society. In one case the individual produces on his own capacity using his own means of production and exchanges on the market in order to buy other goods which he requires. The second is the capitalist commodity production (capitalist mode of production) in which case therefore the major part of petty commodity producers have been dispossessed of their own means of production and are only left with their labour to sell in order to survive. That is to say they have the choice to starve.

The purchasers of labour power in an industrial or capitalist economy are the owners of the means of production¹⁴. The ensuing unequal exchange between this group and the owners of labour¹⁵ is the major cause of contradiction

¹⁴Means of production refers to the capital resources required in production.

¹⁵The owners of labour power are the people who have nothing else to offer but their labour. They can also be called the labourers.

and conflict in the society. That is to say contradiction exists between the forces of production and the relations of forces of production. Forces of production are the providers of labour power whereas relations of forces of production are those who manipulate the forces and the mode of production. Contradiction exists because the capitalist is unwilling to pay the owner of labour the equivalent of this labour. Surplus labour time goes unpaid and this makes the surplus value for the capitalist. Labour power is thus extremely underpaid. The situation is made even worse by the existence of inflation and economic recession which further erode lower incomes. The result is a gross exploitation and marginalization of the masses whose wages cannot afford them minimum standard of living. This becomes then, the foundation of poverty in society. Women in particular are marginalized. The process of marginalization starts right from the inception of capitalism.

In the Under-developed or peripheral capitalist societies which are dominantly Third World, economic marginalization and hence contradictions are most pronounced. This results from the broad global Centre-Periphery relations with the metropolitan World. As the Third World Countries are exploited by the Metropol, they in turn exploit their citizens to make exorbitant profits. This exploitation is done both by Government and private capitalists.

Women in Kenya have always borne the burden of capitalism in two ways. First, they have been discriminated in terms of

employment. The colonial period is a clear manifestation of this. Very few women were employed in the industries that came up. Secondly, women have borne the burden arising from the unpaid labour of their working husbands who receive a bachelor's wage and therefore cannot support the family adequately (Boserup, 1970:76; Stritcher, 1984:14). The wives of such working husbands therefore have to work extremely hard to support their families.

Economic marginalization of women is not by accident, rather it is a calculated move by the capitalist in an attempt to reap a maximum out of his trade. He is more interested in making profit and not the welfare of the worker. Profit can only be enhanced by reducing to the minimum the cost of production. This includes underpaying the labour power.

It is important to note that single motherhood evolves out of this kind of marginalization. This implies that economic development or modernization which capitalism is supposed to encourage has not proceeded as was envisaged at the beginning of capitalism. Instead of social progress the masses are increasingly becoming poor and thus forming a class that identifies with particular behaviour. Not all classes of women are marginalized. Neither are all classes likely to become single mothers. The economically well off have a choice to, or not to be married, and to have children or not. Thus single motherhood would be a subculture in that class. Those in the low or poor class in most cases cannot make this decision. Their ability to take such a stand would be dependent on and limited to a number of factors and circumstances, of which

economic status plays a major part. Thus this kind of deviance is likely to occur among women of their lot. However in both ways the result is the same- social deviation in society. This may have different effect on thier children depending on her socio-economic status and family environment.

Single motherhood is an aspect of class stratification. The prevalence varies with class. Economic development or modernization creates development or progress to some but at the same time marginalization of the majority. Take Kenya for example, modernization has not brought the pay offs. Educated people cannot find jobs and there are no possibilities of well co-ordinated welfare services to the disadvantage. The result is an accumulation of a large labour power reserve consisting of unemployed persons. This mainly occurs in the urban areas where many people continue living under pathetic conditions in the hope of finding a job. This situation encourages slum development and the people form a class of the poor in society. Women in this class are exposed to out-of-wedlock pregnancies because of their involvement in sexual relationships, at times this means a way of earning a living. This explains the prevalence of single motherhood among the low class in society. The cycle of poverty therefore takes route among the people in this class and they find it almost impossible to improve their social economic status. Thus the occupation of women in this class has tended to remain poorer than that of women in other classes. Single motherhood for women in this class then becomes a social deviance and a sub-culture in the society. In this connection the theory of

social class is an adjunct to that of anomie.

To this point, our theoretical framework has been presented as though it were composed of four unrelated theoretical perspectives. We need at this point to show the interrelationships between the theories used and how they complement each other. The modernization paradigm and the theory of anomie serve a similar purpose in that they explain the causes and prevalence of single motherhood from the social environmental point of view. That is, as far as changes in the society are concerned. In doing so, they exclude a very important aspect of what determines ones' ability to become a single mother. This is the individual personality. The psychoanalytic perspective fills this gap by explaining how personality factors cause single motherhood and how it affects the development of the child. The social class theory also adds an environmental perspective in the understanding of single motherhood especially with reference to the economic situation of the woman. Thus, our theoretical framework would be incomplete had we omitted any of the four perspectives.

3.2 THE STUDY HYPOTHESES AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES

The study was guided by the following hypotheses:

H₁ The child's educational performance is likely to be determined by the marital status of the mother.

The hypothesis suggest that the marital status of the mother determines how the child performs in school. It seeks to discover how marital status affects and how it motivates or strengthens the child's educational performance. In this hypothesis the independent, variable is marital status. It was determined by presence or absence of a male spouse. Where the male spouse was absent, there were further indicators of marital status which included divorced, separated, unwed and widowed statuses.

The dependent variable is educational performance. This was specifically the performance of the child in school, and was measured by the class positions of the child in the previous consecutive 5 terms starting 1991 term one to 1992 term two when the research was carried out.

H₂ The child's achievement motivation depends on the marital status of the mother.

The hypothesis assumes that the marital status of the mother has an influence on the need for achievement of the child. Marital status is the independent variable whose indicators are married and unmarried but there are further indicators for the unmarried mothers which include, never married, widowed, divorced and separated positions, the dependent variable is achievement motivation sometimes referred to as need achievement (n-achievement). It was measured using a number of methods. These included essay writing where the need to achieve was assessed from the content and style of the essay, and risk taking behaviour or level of fatality displayed by the child. (Mc Clelland, 1961, Atkinson, 1966, Levine, 1966). Details of this can be found in appendix II and IV for the bases of these responses.

H₃ Marital status of mother is a determinant of child delinquency

It is assumed in the hypothesis that certain marital statuses have the propensity to lure the child into juvenile delinquency. In this case, reference is made to the single mothers. In this hypothesis marital status is the independent

variable measured by, whether or not the the mother is widowed, divorced or separated or never married. The dependent variable is child delinquency. The indicators of child delinquency were the frequency of commission of an offence or various offenses and the frequency of punishment meted out to the child by both parent and teacher.

H₄ Acceptability of the child depends on the marital status of the mother

The implication in this hypothesis is that the child will be either rejected or accepted by his counterparts depending on whether or not the mother is married. The assumption therefore is that children from single-mother households or families stand to be rejected because of the status of their mothers.

Marital status still is the independent variable whereas acceptability is the dependent variable. The central aspect of marital status was the single mother position which was further broken down to being single as a result of divorce separation, being non-married (never married) and being a widow. Rejection may not only be physical but can also be expressed verbally. Acceptability was measured by the frequency of insult, abuse, physical bullying, refusal by counterparts from two-parent families to either play with single mothers' children or allowing them to play with their property which may include bicycles, toys, balls just to

mention a few. In this regard membership in play group with peers especially from the two parent families and free play were major determinants of rejection of the child.

H₅ Fulfilment of basic needs of the child and family at large depends on the social class of the single mother.

Single-mother families have generally been assumed to be in poorer economic status compared to married-mother families. But there are often various cases in which some single-mother economies perform quite well. However, single mothers in the lower social classes are often too poor to afford certain basic needs of their children and that of themselves so that they only struggle to live at the survival level, where other things apart from food cease to matter in the lives of their families.

The independent variable in this hypothesis is social class. Social class was measured by the level of income per month of the single mother. It was also measured by the location of the single mother's residence, the state and size of a house, and the level of education the single mother has attained. Other factors such as occupation, other sources of income and property ownership were also used to measure social class. The dependent variable is basic needs whose indicators are such intrinsic life necessities such as food, clothing, shelter, good health, education and recreation.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 SITE DESCRIPTION

4.1.1 THE POPULATION

This study was carried out in Kibera. Kibera is one of the five divisions of Nairobi Province. The others are; Dagoreti with a population of 130,902 Makadara has a population of 161,272, Pumwani - 166,200, and Kasarani - 226,206.

Kibera Division is bordered from all sides by Dagoreti, Pumwani and Ngong Divisions. In the 1979 census, it had a total population of 143,196 persons occupying an area of 234 sq kms and a population density of 94 persons per square kilometre. (Kenya Population Census, 1979). The following is the distribution of the population by residential estates;

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>No. of households</u>
Karen/Langata	8347	4765	2081
Kibera/Woodley	37557	25796	11769
Golf Course/ Nairobi Hill	8635	8035	2371
Nairobi South/ West	14978	14019	4636
Industrial area	6789	2525	1198
Mugumoini	6268	5482	1684
Total	82,574	60622	237338

Source: CBS Kenya Population Census 1979 V.1

Kibera division has a heterogenous population composed of almost all ethnic groups in Kenya. The major ethnic groups are Kikukyu, Luo, Luhya, Kamba, Gusii and Nubians. Some of the estates especially the slum residences are dominated by particular ethnic groups for instance Kianda and Kisumu Ndogo of Kibera estates are dominated by the Luo with pockets of other tribes especially Luyhia. Makina of Kibera is dominated by the Nubians and here the religion is predominantly Islam.

Residential estates in Kibera division can be categorized according to social classes¹⁶ as seen below. The division is fairly representative of all social classes but the majority belong to the lower classes. These however occupy the smallest area of the division.

Upper middle class (upper middle income group):

Woodley/Adams Arcade
Kenyatta Hospital (Industrial area)
Ngumo/Golf Course,
Karen
Langata Farms

Middle Class (middle income group):

Olympic ✓
Karanja Road ✓
Ayany
Nyayo Estate (Highrise) ✓
Fort Jesus ✓

¹⁶The study categorized the site of study according to the economic and occupational statuses of the residents. The upper middle class are those whose incomes are above Kshs. 10000, middle as those whose incomes are between Kshs. 3000 - 9000 and below Kshs. 3000 for the low class. These were also complimented with the type of residence and occupation of the respondents.

Lower Class (Low income group):

Katwikira
Kianda
Soweto
Kisumu Ndogo
Kambi Muru
Lindi
Makina
Nairobi Dam
Line Saba
Mashimony
Silanga

Kibera division has its larger population of people in the low class and this is where a majority of single mothers reside. Quite a number live in Makina and these are mostly Nubians. Kisumu Ndogo extending up to Kianda is occupied mainly by the Luo, while Line Saba which is inhabited by many ethnic groups is dominated by the Luhyia. The middle and upper middle class residential areas have heterogenous population and it is often hard to determine the dominant tribe.

4.1.2 ECONOMY

The lower class areas or the slum mainly accommodates poor people. The single mothers in these areas are generally economically poor and often have more household problems. There are some who are economically well off than others because they do some meaningful business. Many of the single mothers engage in small scale and petty businesses ranging from selling green vegetables, fruits among other commodities, to brewing 'busaa', 'changa', and 'nyuki'. Some of them are housewives and have no particular money- generating business.

Many of the women living with their husbands in the slums are housewives but their husbands (most of whom are casual workers) are equally poor. Thus, life in the slums for the lower class is discouraging especially at this time of structural adjustment policies which do not favour any social class but apply equally to both rich and poor.

Housing material in the slums is mud with corrugated iron sheets. Most residents here live in small one-roomed houses and pay a rent of about KSh. 400 per month. Many of them share the small rooms with all their children and other dependants. They have to fetch water from the taps where water is sold at about 50 cents per 21 litres, and have to bear with the absence of sewerage and toilet facilities. Many of them have to be accustomed to defecating when night falls. This is also the time they can take their shower. Life in the slums therefore is not private at all.

4.1.3 EDUCATION: SCHOOLS AND ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES

Kibera division has five sub-locations, each having a number of schools. These are Kibera, Kenyatta/Golf Course, Karen and Mugumoini. These schools both public and private are open to all children irrespective of the social class, and so in each of the schools there are some upper class elements, mostly middle and lower class. Most of the single mothers' children attend the Nairobi city commission schools where they pay relatively less than they would pay in the private schools.

The following is a list of sub-locations with the number of existing schools.

- Kibera Sub-location:** Kibera primary school
Olympic Primary School
Mashimoni Primary School
Makina primary School.
- Woodley Sub-location:** Toi primary School
Joseph Kangethe Primary School
Ayany Primary School
- Golf Course/Kenyatta sub-location:**
Shadrack Kimalel Primary School
Mbagathi Road primary School
- Karen/Langata Sub-Location:**
St. Mary's Karen primary School
- Mugumoini Sub-location:** Langata west primary School
Kongoni primary School
Langata Baracks primary School
Khalsa Primary School
Madaraka Primary Achool
Moi Educational Centre
Uhuru Gardens Primary School
Langata Road Primary School

In total there are 18 primary schools. This study was based on these Primary schools in Kibera division. There are still pockets of illiterate Kenyans living in Kibera especially in the slum areas. We could say that most of those living in the middle and upper middle class residential areas are literate.

4.1.4 INFRASTRUCTURE

The slums of Kibera are poorly served with roads. The small paths winding in between the blocks of houses become virtually impassable when the rains fall. The middle and the

upper middle class residential areas are better served. They have access to telephone services some of them in their houses. They have better tarmacked roads and better security, which are absent in the lower class residential areas. Distance to the available hospitals and dispensaries for those living in the slums is about 2 kms. The absence of access roads makes it difficult to attend to cases of emergency. There are no security lights or street lights in the slums making the place a high risk area at night. The middle and high class areas are relatively better although some of the middle class areas do not have these facilities and often lack recreational facilities as their counterparts in the slums. The only recreational facility that exists for the lower class are the 'changaa' and 'busaa' bars where people seem to be drunk most hours of the day.

4.1.5 HEALTH FACILITIES

There are a few private clinics but most of the residents can not afford the fees charged in these clinics. The private clinics are therefore unpopular among a majority of the residents. There are also resident medicine men and women using herbal concoctions to treat a wide range of diseases, for both children and adults. Besides, there is a mobile clinic operated by the Ministry of Health which comes once in a while at certain strategic points where patients and children are given free medical services.

4.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology adopted for this study was social survey. Moser (1971:1) defines a social survey as a "fact finding study dealing chiefly with working poor and with the nature of problems of the community". Single motherhood is a problem in Kenya and the investigation was deemed rational through social survey. A social survey can be designed to investigate a cause-effect relationship (Like in child-single mother) or to throw fresh light on some aspects of a sociological theory. A survey was preferred because it is fast and efficient in obtaining data over a short period of time.

4.2.1 SAMPLING PROCEDURE AND METHODS

The study adopted two probability sampling methods; simple random and systematic sampling. The theory of probability requires that each subject in the population must have an equal chance of being included in the sample. (Blalock, 1981:553). Probability sampling methods make it possible to calculate the size of the sample in order to give results with maximum precision. (Moser, 1971:55).

A list of 18 primary schools in Nairobi's Kibera division, both private and city commission owned was prepared by the researcher and arranged in alphabetical order.

Given the small size of the total population of schools,

only three names of schools and their numbers were put in the lottery box to determine the first number or the starting point. Number 2 was picked. The interval level was calculated as $18/9 = 2$. This meant that an interval of two would be maintained between the subsequent numbers chosen after the first one which was referred to as the random start number.

Since 2 earlier picked was automatically included in the sample, the next number going by an interval of 2 were 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16 and 18, making a total of 9 primary schools. It would have been easier to stratify schools but there was no basis or rationale for the stratification because the schools were almost similar and moreover systematic sampling was the cheapest and with least bias.

The primary schools that were selected included:

1. Langata West Primary school
2. Langata Road Primary school
3. Moi Educational Centre
4. Mbagathi Road Primary School
5. St Mary's Karen Primary school
6. Kibera Primary School
7. Toi Primary School
8. Shadrack Kimalel Primary School
9. Olympic Primary School

4.2.2. SAMPLING FOR INDIVIDUAL CHILDREN

The second stage of the sampling process was done in the individual schools. The researcher and assistants introduced themselves to the Headteachers of every school and explained the purpose and subject of the research. Upon that

the headteacher would act by instructing the class teachers from Standard five to eight, to prepare the children from single parent families.

In each class the class teachers brought all the children from the single-mother families who were thereafter sampled and interviewed. A list of all the names of the children was quickly prepared and arranged in alphabetical order. Systematic sampling with a random start was then done. This was the only method which would consume the least time. Simple random sampling for instance would have taken more time in the preparation of lottery papers and the actual selection of the sample.

In each case, the first number in the list and the sampling interval were determined by the size of the population of the children from single-mother families. Upon calculation of the interval K , the subsequent numbers were chosen after the K^{th} number for a total of 9 children. The same procedure explained here was followed in choosing the children from single-mother families in all the schools that were visited. From all the 9 schools, 81 children both male and female were chosen.

A control group consisting of children from the two parent families was very necessary for certain analyses. Thus a total of 42 children were selected specifically for the purposes of analysing achievement motivation, educational or academic performance and the socializability of children from single-mother families. The children were also observed with

respect to their socializability with the children from the single-mother families. Six children were selected from seven schools using the simple random procedure.

4.2.3 SAMPLING FOR MOTHERS

In the children's questionnaires there was a provision for the residential address of mother or child, mother's telephone number (if any) and place of work. This was intentionally designed for the working class or for the mothers in the middle and upper middle income groups who could easily be traceable. The lower class mothers were to be traced in the slums. The mothers of all the 81 children were interviewed, even though it was not easy to get hold of them especially in the lower class areas. The mothers were usually traced using the information provided by the children in regard to area of residence (estate), house number, phone number and distance from the road.

There was an extra 30 children chosen besides the 81 from single-mother families who were not interviewed but the details concerning the residence and how the mothers could be reached were taken. This group served the purpose of replacement for the mothers who could not be traced or found in the house upon a number of visits.

For women in the lower class areas or slums the interviews were done the same day as their children but later in the evening when the children returned home. Sometimes we had to request the class teachers to allow the children to

show us where they lived so as to interview their mothers. This was based on the agreement that doing so would not interfere with the school's program.

Thus, at the end of the two-months' field work, a total of 81 mothers, their 81 children (sample size, $n=162$) and 42 children from two-parent families had been interviewed.

4.3 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The study relied mostly on three methods to derive data. The three methods included use of questionnaires, key respondents and observation. The latter two were used to supplement the data obtained using questionnaires.

4.3.1 QUESTIONNAIRES

Two sets of questionnaires were used in collecting data. One was for the children and the other for mothers. The questionnaire was preferred because of its ease of administration and time saving factor. The questionnaire for the mothers was administered by means of interview schedule in which case the researchers asked the questions contained in the questionnaire and accordingly recorded the responses. This was done so as to avoid irregularities which would arise in terms of interpretation of questions if some were allowed to fill in the questionnaires themselves. Interview schedules therefore ensured uniformity. The children however filled the questionnaires by themselves because of two reasons. First,

some questions needed answers in essay form which could not be recorded as the respondent talked. Secondly, there was very limited time. If we had to interview each child we would need about 5 hours per school.

The time given by most of the schools was one and half hours to complete the interviews. The agreement with the school administration was that we would not interfere with their programs. The $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours was actually enough for the slowest child to complete the questionnaire. The children were put in a classroom situation (often in the school's workshop or home science room) and each of them given a questionnaire. Meanwhile the researcher and assistants were there to assist in case they had any problems such as failure to understand what a particular question required or not knowing the meaning of particular words. The researcher then made sure that the children were filling the questionnaires independently and not sharing answers. This method of collecting data had one major advantage; it gave the respondent time and privacy to answer the questions without fear and to think before filling in.

Some of the questions would be embarrassing to the child if they were to be asked face to face, for instance, "do you have a father?" or "what do you say when asked who your father is?" The experience we had when we were pre-testing the questionnaires was that children from single-mother families were hesitant to respond to questions to do with their parents. So in this way they could fill in the questionnaire without getting the slightest embarrassment.

To facilitate the administration of the questionnaires,

two research assistants were used. They also helped in the collection of data using other methods. The research assistants were trained prior to the commencement of the field work and being residents of the area they played a major role towards the success of this study.

The interview schedule was preferred because non-response is limited. Where a respondent is unable to answer a question the researcher can use different or alternative words to make the question simpler without altering the meaning. (Moser, 1971:320).

The questionnaires contained both open ended and closed or precoded questions. Several writers have recommended the use of both type of questions together in the same questionnaires to arrive at more detailed generalization. "The principle is generally to ask a series of questions beginning with open types and going over to pre-coded ones as the subject becomes more clearly structured, enabling more specific questions to be asked" (Moser, 1971:345). Open ended questions were used to acquire data that sought the opinion of the respondent and basically to further probe the respondent to elaborate or elucidate what he or she meant by the answer provided earlier.

Most of the questions were however pre-coded or closed. This was done for ease of computer analysis. The questionnaires were pre-tested with a non random sample of ten children from Shadrack Kimalel primary school. An equal number of mothers was also used for the same purpose. The purpose of the pre-test was to discover the amount of time that would be

required to complete one questionnaire and to ascertain the clarity of the questions to the respondents.

4.3.2 KEY RESPONDENTS

The key respondents relied on were mostly school teachers. The headteachers were interviewed in every school as well as the senior teachers and class teachers. The teachers especially the class teachers had a good knowledge of children from single-mother families ranging from their conduct, personality to performance in class. They could tell how or to what extent these children associated with their counterparts from two-parent families and generally whether they were aware of some of the problems such children faced both at school and in their homes. The questions asked were those regarding the conduct of the child, socialization and child's educational performance.

4.3.3 DIRECT OBSERVATION

Scientific observation was another tool used in collecting data. Relevant objects and subjects were carefully observed and the outcome recorded even during the interviews. Observation is a useful tool in data collection because it is capable of eliciting data that the questionnaire may not. Through observation the living and health conditions of a family can be determined, and this was possible in this project. The state of the house, size and location are things

h were observed but they provided much more information t single mothers and their children than they were willing divulge. Thus meticulous observation provided a data back- or this study and significantly supplemented data acquired g the questionnaire.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING FIELDWORK

During the field work a few problems were encountered. first and most difficult problem was reaching the ondents. As mentioned earlier it was easy to reach and rview the children from single-mother families. However it a bit difficult to reach their mothers. This process was efore extremely slow and tedious as in some cases only mothers could be interviewed in a day. When it was not ible against all attempts to get a mother, we had to est class teachers to let her child take us to the house. Another problem that will definitely affect the success uture researches was the idea of giving money and food s to respondents. Many international organizations doing arch especially in slum areas have the tendency of paying roviding food stuffs to respondents. As a consequence most ondents asked for money or anything that could be of idiate benefit to them, which of course the researcher d not provide given the limited research funding. Some ondents were not willing to give information on realising the study was for the purpose of academic assessment and donor assistance. It therefore took us quite long to

convince such people that even if we could not provide something instantly there would be long term benefits if they co-operated and provided information. To overcome this problem, we relied on the fact that we were only students and the research was meant for our studies. In this way they could understand that we had no money to give them.

There was also the problem of misleading information. Some mothers tended to give inaccurate and sometimes contradictory answers during the interview. For instance a mother indicates at the beginning of the interview that she is an unemployed housewife and does not have any source of income, yet she lives in a house where she pays over KShs. 2,500 and does not get assistance even from a boyfriend. In response to this problem, we had to probe the respondents further to clarify the inconsistencies. Most of them eventually gave the right information when they noticed our insistence on getting the right information.

We should not deny the fact that some of these problems affected the accuracy of the data collected and the results in general. For instance where the respondents gave wrong information deliberately, it was difficult to prove otherwise. However, such cases were minimized through probing to ascertain the validity of some answers given. As a whole the process called for tact by the researcher to overcome these problems.

4.5 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Data from the field were processed using the computer. Supplementary data were not processed but were used to qualify and validate some of the information obtained through the questionnaire.

The study used descriptive methods of data analysis for instance, it used proportions, percentages, means and ratios. These were further presented in tables, frequency distributions and graphs. One intricate statistical/quantitative (non-parametric test) method of data analysis was used to test the hypotheses. This was the Chi-square (X^2) test of independence. This was used to test the relationship between variables whether or not they were independent of each other.

In order to test whether the two or more variables under investigation were associated we took the null hypothesis (H_0) that there was no association in the attributes under study or in other words the two attributes were independent. (Gupta, 1992:4.8). In the same vein the alternative hypothesis (H_1) was taken to suggest that there was an association between the two attributes at 5% (0.05) level significance.

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{The } X^2 \text{ was defined as;} \\ X^2_{\text{cal}} &= \frac{\sum (O - E)^2}{E} \end{aligned}$$

where O referred to the observed frequencies and E to the expected frequencies.

The value of X^2 cal. was then compared with the table value of X^2 for a given degrees of freedom at 5% (0.05) level of significance. If it was found out that at this level of 5% (0.05) the X^2 cal. was more than the table value of X^2 , the difference between theory and observation was considered to be significant and insignificant if it was less than the tabulated.

The degrees of freedom in a contingency table were calculated as below;

$$df \text{ or frequencies} = (C-1) (R-1)$$

Where C represents column cell frequencies and r, the row cell frequencies. For instance, in a 3 X 3 contingency table the number of degrees of freedom was calculated as $(3-1) (3-1) = 4$. This meant that only 4 expected frequencies needed to be computed the rest followed automatically by subtracting the sum of the computed from the normal totals.

Finally, we used cross-tabulations to establish the similarities or contrasts and relationships between the variables under investigation.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1.0 SINGLE MOTHERS: SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

During the fieldwork eighty one (81) single mothers were interviewed. The information obtained is presented in this section. In this section we also attempt an interpretation of data and findings in relation to the objectives and hypotheses of the study.

5.1.1 AGE DISTRIBUTION

Table I: Age distribution of single mothers

Age	Number	Percent (%)
25 - 30	18	22.2
31 - 35	20	24.7
36 - 40	25	30.9
41 - 45	7	8.6
46 - 50	10	12.3
52+	1	1.2
TOTAL	81	100.0

It is clear from the table that the majority (77.8%) of the mothers studied were aged between 25 - 40 years. Of all the age categories more mothers (25) were falling under the age bracket 30-40 (30.9%).

5.1.2 ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION

The ethnic distribution of the single mothers somehow portrayed a picture of Kenya's general population distribution with regard to ethnic groups. The Kikuyu led (34.6%) followed by Luo (23.5%), Akamba (11.1%), Luyhia (6.1%) and Gusii (3.7%) respectively.

Table II: Ethnic distribution of single mothers

Ethnic Group	Number	Percent (%)
Kikuyu	28	34.6
Luo	19	23.5
Akamba	9	11.1
Luhya	5	6.2
Gusii	3	3.7
Other	17	21.0
Total	n = 81	100.0

The population of the Luo and Kikuyu together is far greater than that of the other tribes combined. Thus, the two tribes composed the majority (58.0%), and was more than twice the proportion of the ethnic groups reported under the heading "other". The ethnicity factor influences the migration of not only single mothers but also other members of the community as well. The existence of kinsmen or other relatives and ethnic members in the city is a determinant factor of migration.

The ethnic groups falling under the heading "other" include those like the Nubians, Meru, Taita, Boran among others, whose proportion in the sample treated individually

were very small hence the collapsing of their headings.

5.1.3 MARITAL STATUS

It is important to look at the nature of single motherhood that exists among single mothers in Kibera. All the respondents were unmarried at the time of the study but this term carries with it a number of connotations based on how one entered that state of being unmarried. There are those who have been married before and those who have never had a marriage relationship. Those who have been married at one time in their life enter the status of a single mother through divorce, separation or death of the husband. Most single mothers in Kibera are the never married. They have become single mothers because they have never married. The never married mothers (48.1%) were followed by the divorced or separated mothers (37.0%). The two categories (Divorced/Separated) of single mothers were put together since very few mothers were officially divorced, but the number separated was larger.

Table III: Marital status of single mothers

Marital status	Number	Percent (%)
Unmarried	39	48.1
Divorced/separated	30	37.0
Widowed	12	14.8
Total	n = 81	100.0

One of the objectives of this project was to establish whether or not single mothers head their own households. In Kibera 90.1% (73) of those interviewed head their households, an indication that a majority of single mothers in Kibera are female household heads. Only 9.9% (8) of them were reported as non-household heads and have different residential arrangements. Most of the mothers in this category are in most cases dependent on their benefactors despite the fact that they have big children who attend school. Most of those dependent mothers are youthful and reside mostly with their mothers, a few with their brothers or sisters, aunts and other relatives.

The table shows that over 48 percent of the single mothers are unmarried. The theoretical framework for this study explained single motherhood as resulting mainly from out-of-wedlock births which have become more prevalent with modernity. This finding confirms our theory.

The high number of the unmarried mothers has a lot of implications on the structure of the family. As the theory explains, this may even assume an increasing trend in the future. The fact that these mothers are young, makes it worse as far as the welfare of their children is concerned. This path of entry to single motherhood has also been pointed out by other scholars like Garfinkel (1986:50) and Goode (1973:26) as the most significant path to single motherhood.

Equally, the large number of divorced or separated mothers paints a gloomy picture on the future of the nuclear

family. It shows that marriage break-down is becoming prevalent.

5.2 FERTILITY RATE AND CHILD WELFARE

One aspect of single mothers' life which we consider significant, not for the study only but also for their welfare is their fertility rate.

Table IV: Fertility rate of single mothers

Number of Children	Distribution of Mothers (f)	Percent (%)
One	5	6.2
Two	14	17.3
Three	11	13.6
Four +	51	63.0
Total	n = 81	100.0

Majority of the respondents (63%) had at least four (4) children. Many in this category had an average of six (6) children and there were cases of mothers having as many as nine (9) especially from the low class. 13.6% of the mothers had three children and only 6.2% of them had one (1) child. Thus only 37% of the mothers interviewed have less than three (3) children considered in most developed countries as the ideal family size.

It was discovered that some single mothers send some of their children to live elsewhere with their grandparents, aunts, uncles and other relatives. Fifteen of such cases were reported where the children were away mostly in the rural

areas. However such mothers retain one or two children to live with them. Asked whether they had daughters who had given birth before marriage and were either residing with them or living in their own homes, 22.2% replied in the affirmative and 77.8% said they had none. Equally, 11 cases were reported where daughters of single mothers had become single mothers because of divorce or separation (13.%). However very few cases were noted where the daughters of single mothers had become single mothers because of non-marriage.

All these to some extent confirm the observation made by Garfinkel (1986:34) based on American studies. She argued that children (daughters) of single mothers were likely to divorce or separate. They were likely to drop out of school and assume early and premature parental responsibilities, and eventually become like their mothers. However we do not want to over-genealise this observation since our findings show that only a minority of their daughters (13 percent) had either divorced or seperated.

5.3 EDUCATION

Table V Single mothers and level of education

Level of Education	Number	Percent (%)
University	2	2.5
Form six	7	8.6
Form four	33	40.7
Std. eight and below	27	33.3
None	12	14.8
Total	n = 81	

Most of the mothers studied had at least primary school education. Only 12 of them, (14.8%) were reported as having no education at all. A majority of them (85.2%) had between primary and university education. Those with primary education only represented 33.3%, secondary education 49.3% and university 2.5%. Therefore on the average single mothers in Kibera have some reasonable level of literacy. Very few mothers are represented at the post secondary education level because of a combination of factors. These include family commitments which keeps them at home, and teenage pregnancies which force young girls to drop out of school prematurely.

Most of the single mothers reported as having no education were elderly mothers aged over fifty years. The large population of single mothers with at least primary education indicates that single motherhood in Kibera is greatest among the secondary school educated women.

5.4 OCCUPATION

Table VI: Occupation of single mothers

Occupation	Number	Percent (%)
Unemployed	21	25.9
Petty trade	20	24.7
Employed	40	49.4
Total	n = 81	100.0

Over 25 percent of the single mothers studied had no

salaried employment and were therefore among the many single mothers in Nairobi who are too poor even to afford reasonable or minimum standard of living for their families. They include the unemployed and the self employed. 49.4 percent of the mothers were employed and were earning a salary. 25.9 percent had neither employment nor an income generating business. Our study shows that most of these mothers are young, uneducated and therefore they are unable to obtain better occupation. The lack of salaried employment therefore can be attributed to the low level of education of these mothers as evident in the study. Most of such women because of their financial difficulties seek residence in the lower class residential areas of the city such as the Kibera slums where they get no comfort. Those on self employment mainly sell vegetables, clothes and local beer.

5.5 SOCIAL CLASS AND INCOME

Majority of the mothers interviewed had an income of less than one thousand Kenya shillings (45.7%), 6.2% had a monthly income of between KSh. 1001 - 3000, 35 percent of the mothers received a monthly income of between Kshs. 3001 - 9000 and only 12.3 percent received over Ksh. 10,000 monthly.

Table VII: Average income of single mothers

Income per Month (KShs.)	Number	Percent (%)
Less than 1000	37	45.7
1001 - 3000	5	6.2
3001 - 9000	29	35.8
10000+	10	12.4
Total	n = 81	100.0

On the average therefore a great number of the single mothers in Kibera are doing poorly as they earn less than KSh. 3000 (52 percent), with over 45.7 percent less than Shs. 1000. As the cost of living is rising daily especially in a city like Nairobi these mothers are bound to suffer quite a lot. Using income as a measure of social class, we can summarise the mothers' social class in the table below.

Table VIII: social class of mother

SOCIAL CLASS			Total
Lower(>3000)	Middle(3001-9000)	Upper middle(10000+)	
37 (45.7%)	34 (42.0)	10 (12.3)	81 (100)

According to the table, the majority of the mothers fall in the low class (45.7 percent). 42 percent are in the middle class and only 12.3 percent occupy the upper middle class. Again as our findings have shown, most of the single mothers are not doing well economically. This has a lot of negative implications on the welfare and development of their children.

For instance most of these mothers may be unable to provide adequately for the needs of their children. Their lower social class can be explained by the fact that most of them are less educated since higher education is usually associated with better occupational status.

According to the social class theory the people who occupy the lowest strata are the majority because property ownership is concentrated in the hand of a few. The majority are exploited and have nothing to own except their labour. The economic marginalization of the Kenyan woman can be attributed to their poor economic status in general. For a long time they have been diasdvantaged in terms of education and hence they have not been able to acquire well paying jobs as compared to the men and yet they bear the larger weight of family responsibility. Most single mothers, the study found, have little education and so they cannot easily get good employment. Thus they work in places and occupations where they are grossly underpaid by people whose interest is maximization of profits even if this is achieved at the expense of the welfare of the labour power.

5.6 STRACTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES (SAPS)

Table IX: Knowledge of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs)

SINGLE MOTHERS	KNOWLEDGE		TOTAL
	YES	NO	
ALL	22	59	81

About 27.2 percent of the mothers interviewed had knowledge of Structural Adjustment Policies, while the rest did not. All the 27.2% were aware of the fact that the introduction of SAPs had increased their burden because for most of them life had generally become more expensive now than before the introduction of these policies. Through cost-sharing, they now have to pay more for their children in school; they have to pay for hospital services and have had to contend with more rising cost of living than before among other areas of difficulty. The problem is aggravated especially by the fact that most of the single mothers (92.6 percent) are not entitled to any medical allowance. They foot their own medical bills each time they or their children are ill, with very little or no assistance from elsewhere. This compares with the findings of Nzomo:(1991:16) that with the introduction of SAPs the problems of single mothers in this area will increase.

We went further to establish the relationship between level of education of the mother and the knowledge of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs).

Table X: Knowledge of SAPs and mothers level of education

Level of Education	Knowledge of SAPs		TOTAL	Pecent %
	YES	NO		
Std. 8 and below	1	26	27	33.3
Form 4	13	20	33	40.7
Form 6	6	1	7	8.6
University	2	0	2	2.6
Nil	0	12	12	14.8
TOTAL	22	59	81	100.0

The result was almost obvious, most of the mothers with no or limited education had no knowledge of Structural Adjustment Policies. Most of those with Form 4 education and above had some knowledge, but some, even those who had gone through to form 6 did not know what SAPs meant, leave alone how it affected them.

5.7 DISCUSSION

We have found that there are three major types of single mothers, determined by the path of entry into that status. They include the never married, the separated or divorced and the widowed. According to this study, the majority of single mothers are the never married. The tendency to remain single and yet have children for women has increasingly become common in Kenya as a whole. Many authors attribute this to modernization processes (Blake, 1981:237; Goode, 1973: 261; Garfinkel, 1986:79). They argue that today women are free to choose what is best for them unlike before. They do not fear

social approbation when they become single mothers or remain unmarried. In this study the assumption was that this tendency is being encouraged by the rising cost of living. This has forced many young women and men to keep away from marriage for some time. Whereas this period may be essential in preparing for future life, it puts the young women at a risk of becoming mothers.

Children of mothers in this group are affected by their mother's marital status. As we have seen, most of these mothers are youthful, have low education and hence low occupation. This renders them poor economically. Thus, they may be unable to perform adequately their role as household heads.

The second largest group is that of separated or divorced mothers. The reasons behind this high level of marital dissolutions are not quite clear. We suggest, however, that economic difficulties and therefore social stress which most Kenyan families are today going through could be a major cause of conflict and tensions in these families. The latter are likely to lead to a breakdown of marriage in families. Lack of stigmatization of single mothers and their offsprings has also led to increased marital dissolutions. Other factors include the ability of women to make independent decisions regarding their future and in their families. Economic independence has also played a part. Women have more opportunities today than before and are able to meet their own expenses without depending on anybody given their increasing access to education. Thus the increase in this type of family has its

roots in the nature of the modernization process. Children from this background are likely to be utterly affected by the dissolutions. However, it is no doubt that these two types of motherhood will in the future adversely affect the family as an institution. This will be worse especially if the trend increases. It will definitely affect marriage as many young people will be tempted to shun it given the problems surrounding it.

The final group of mothers are the widowed. This is a group that we may have to say very little about. This is because their path of entry into single motherhood is different from the others and more inevitable. More inevitable because in the previous cases the status may be inevitably reached, but can be avoided in certain cases. Death on the other hand cannot be avoided. Children from this background are usually quite affected by the loss of a parent and therefore are different from those whose mothers have never married. Loss of a divorced parent can also be painful but not as much as in death. The attitude of society towards them is also different. They are looked at more sympathetically. The society shows a readiness to assist such children more than those whose mothers have never married or are divorced or separated.

In the process of modernization as explained by modernization theorists, Structural changes occur in the social systems of societies which are accompanied by adoption of alien behavior among the people. Structural differentiation encourages individualism of both families and individuals who

before modernization lived in a clossly-knit extended family structures where everyone is everybody's keeper (Smelser, 1967:72). Modernization through industrialization removes individuals from this kin-network to a World where the individual makes his or her decisions and obeys no norms. The norms and regulations which formerly regulated the behavior of individuals are also eroded in the process resulting in a state of normlessness (Durkheim, 1969:256). This state of affairs makes it possible for women to remain unmarried because they are not bothered by the kinsmen. It also makes it possible for couples to call off a marriage relationship because the kinsmen neither participated in the marriage nor have any say in what the couple does. This is why there are so many cases of divorce and separation cases in Kenya today.

Psychoanalytic theory also explains why a young woman would decide to remain unmarried. Young (1954:40) observes that the unconscious fantasy acted out by a woman, that is remaining unmarried, represents attempts to find a quick solution to the fears, confusions and tensions arising from childhood experiences when normal growth was blocked. A young girl growing up in a Single-mother family may be confused about the ideal marital status. She is used to a mother who is not married and may not see the need for marrying. She may also like to be as dominating as the mother, which a husband may not allow. This explains why daughters of single mothers may not want to marry and when they do, there is a tendency towards marital dissolutions (Ahawo, 1981; Garfinkel, 1986:34).

5.8 CHILDREN'S SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

5.8.1 AGE

Most of the children interviewed (95.1 percent) were aged between eleven (11) and 15 years. The rest (4.9 percent) ranged between sixteen and seventeen. The table below shows their age distribution.

Table XI: Children's age distribution

Age	Single Mothers' children	
	No.	Percent (%)
11	21	25.9
12	18	22.2
13	13	16.0
14	18	22.2
15	5	6.2
16	3	3.7
17+	3	3.7
Total	n= 81	100.0

5.8.1 SEX DISTRIBUTION

In terms of sex of the children, most of them were male. This was not deliberate as the selection of the children was done using probability theory and the appearance or inclusion of more boys than girls was purely by chance. This is an indication that female children are disadvantaged in terms of school enrolment.

Table XII Children's sex distribution

SEX	Single mothers's children Percent (%)	
Male	50	61.7
Female	31	38.3
Total	n=81	100.0

The sex and age distribution of the children from single parent families have been summarised in the table that follows.

Table XIII: Sex and age distribution of single mothers' children

Age	Sex Distribution				Total	Percent (%)
	Male	%	Female	%		
11	9	11.1	12	14.8	21	26.0
12	13	16.0	5	6.2	18	22.2
13	8	9.9	5	6.2	13	16.0
14	10	12.3	8	9.9	18	22.2
15	4	4.9	1	1.2	5	6.2
16	3	3.7	0	0	3	3.7
17+	2	2.5	1	1.2	3	3.7
Total	49	60.5	32	39.5	n=81	100.0

The table shows that 84.4 percent of all the children from the single-mother families were aged between 11 and 14 years. Only 13.6 percent were aged 15 years and above. This implies that single motherhood has become more accute only in the last decade. This observation was also mabe by Mbabu (1982:38).

5.9 EDUCATION

5.9.1 CHILD'S EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE

The analysis of educational performance of children of single- mother families was made against that of a control group consisting of children from the two parent families. They were selected from the same schools and classes as those from the single- mother families. Performance is relative and therefore it was necessary to observe the variations in performance of children from both type of families. In this way, it was possible to determine whether or not children from single- mother families performed poorer. In this analysis and that of achievement motivation all other factors were assumed constant except the variable under investigation.

The performances of all the children interviewed are presented in the table below. The objective of this inquiry was to find out whether or not children of single mothers performed poorly in academic terms. The simplest means of establishing this was to compare their performance with that of children who have both parents.

Table XIV: Child's educational performance and family nature.

Type of family	Child educational performance			
	1-10	11-20	21-30	31+
single-mother	12 (14.8%)	8 (9.9%)	11 (13.6%)	50 (61.7%)
Two parent	21 (50.0%)	5 (11.9%)	5 (11.9%)	11 (26.2%)

The table shows that the majority of the children from single-mother families fall within the category 31+ which is the lowest performance level (61%). Only about 14 percent of the children performed excellently, that is, the category 1-10. 23.5 percent of the children from single-mother families fell in between the extremes by performing fairly.

Comparing this performance with that of children from the-two parent families we note that majority (50 percent) performed excellently. They were in the category 1 - 10. About 23% were in the category of those who performed average (11-20 and 21-30). Only 26 percent had a poor performance. This case is therefore a great contrast with the former in that here the majority performed well while in the former majority performed dismally. Thus we can say that children from single-mother families perform less satisfactorily compared to their counterparts from the two-parent families.

Table XV: Children's educational performance and Marital status

Marital status	Child educational performance			Total
	Excel 1-10	Fair 11-30	Poor 31 +	
Unmarried	8 (9.9%)	12 (14.8%)	19 (23.5%)	39
Div/seperated	4 (4.9%)	2 (2.5%)	24 (29.6%)	30
widowed	0	5 (6.2%)	7 (8.6%)	12
	12 (14.8%)	19 (23.5%)	50 (61.7%)	81

This study undertook to determine the relationship between child performance and marital status of the mother. Using a quantitative method of analysis as seen below, it was discovered that the two have a dependent relationship but only with reference to single mothers and their children.

Table XVI: The relationship between Children's educational performance and marital status

Marital Status	Child educational performance		Total
	Excel + Fair 1-30	Poor 31+	
Unmarried	20 (14.93)	19 (24.07)	39
Div/sep/widowed	11 (16.07)	31 (25.95)	42
TOTAL	31	50	81

Note, the figures in parentheses represent expected frequencies

X^2 Cal = 5.3745

df = 1

level of significance = 0.05

X^2 observed = 3.64

The calculated value of the chi-square is greater than the observed table value. The null hypothesis is rejected at 5 percent level of significance. Thus there is an association

between child education performance and marital status of the mother. Single motherhood has an effect on the educational performance of the child.

This compares well with what has been observed that children from single-mother families perform poorly at school than their counterparts from the two-parent families (Garfinkel, 1986:35). Further to this, the theoretical framework used in this study and in the literature it was observed that father's presence in a family is associated with cognitive development (Kahl, 1953:178 and Lamb, 1976:20). This influences the performance of the child educationally. The poorer performance of single mothers' children can be related not only to the absence of the father but also the socio-economic environments of their families.

5.9.2 CHILD'S EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE AND MOTHER'S EDUCATION LEVEL

We made attempts to established other determinants of child performance such as mother's education. It could be seen that those whose mothers have had some reasonable education (Form Four and above) performed better than those whose mothers had less than Form Four education and less than Standard eight in particular, as can be seen in the table below.

Table XVII: Children's educational performance and mother's education level

Mother's level of Education	Child educational performance			Total	%
	1-10	11-30	31+		
Std 8 and below	0	8	24	32	39.5
Form 4	5	2	21	28	34.6
Form 6	6	8	5	19	23.5
University	1	1	0	2	2.5
TOTAL	12	19	50	81	100.0

Most of the mothers whose children performed well, that is in the excellent and fair categories had at least Form Four education. Some children however, still performed poorly despite the fact that their parents (mothers) had Form Four and Form Six levels of education (32%). Most of the children whose mothers had less than standard Eight level of education performed poorly (75 percent), only 25% of them managed to perform fairly (middle category) and none performed excellently.

Children whose mothers had reached Form Four did not do well. A majority of them performed poorly (75 percent), 17.9 percent performed excellently and only 7.1% performed fairly. In general, the performance of the child educationally is seen to be dependent on the education of the mother.

Table XVIII: Children's educational performance and mother's education

Mother's education	Child educational performance		Row Total
	Exc./Fair	Poor	
Std 8 and below	8 (12.25)	24 (19.75)	32
Form 4	7 (10.72)	21 (17.28)	28
Form 6	16 (8.03)	5 (12.97)	21
University			
TOTAL	31	50	81

Note: The figures in parentheses represent the expected frequencies (E).

$$\chi^2 \text{ Cal} = 17.2872$$

$$df = 2$$

$$\text{significance level} = 0.05$$

$$\text{observed table value of } \chi^2_{0.05} = 5.99$$

The calculated value of chi-square is greater than the tabulated value of the same. Therefore we reject the null hypothesis, the two variables - education status and child performance are dependent. There is an association in other words, between them. Thus, child performance depends on the mother's education level. Consequently, the children whose mothers have lower level of education generally perform poorly and those whose mothers have at least Form 6 education perform better.

PARENTAL STATUS AND OBSTACLES AFFECTING CHILDREN'S EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE

The children were asked during the interview whether or not they thought they could have performed better. Almost all of them preferred to say that they could have performed better. The children felt that there were obstacles to their performances. However, these obstacles varied from child to child. There are various impediments to children's educational performance. About 77.8% of the children admitted that they had educational problems that impeded their academic performance. About 22.2% did not recognise any problems. But regardless of whether or not the children recognised the fact that they had problems, these problems are ever there and affect families generally.

Most of the educational problems that affect the performance of the child are fairly general. Others are specific to certain family types such as the single-mother families. This study found that some of the general problems included, lack of books, uniforms, school fees leading to children being home most of the time, lack of coaching just to mention a few. This observation has also been made by Nkomo (1986:34). Those that were specific to single-mother families included, lack of enough room for study, lack of peer network assistance, and limited time to study.

The distribution of responses of the children according to the problems they experience more acutely than others and

which more than anything else affected their performance are presented in the table below.

Table XIX: Educational problems of single mothers' children

Constraints	Frequency	Percent
Lack of books	17	27.0
Lack of tuition fees	25	39.7
Lack of assistance in homework	10	15.9
Limited study time at home	4	6.3
Lack of room for study at home	7	11.1
Total	63	100.0

Most of these children further felt that they were affected also by problems other than the ones stated above. The majority of the children felt that tuition fees was the most important problem followed by school books, then lack of room for study and finally lack of assistance in homework. Thus, it is not by chance that children from single-mother families perform poorly in general. Some of the problem especially at the family level almost make it impossible for such children to study privately at home, for instance when the child stays in the mother's one roomed house (as in the case of lower class mothers) chances are that such a child will not study because there is limited space for this and in others there may be interruptions by visitors or other members of the family.

5.9.3 DISCUSSION

Hypothesis 1. The child's educational performance is likely to be determined by the marital status of the mother.

The study found that children from single-mother families perform poorly educationally. Their poor performance is not an extreme case as some were found to perform quite well. Many scholars have observed that children from single-mother families are likely to perform poorly at school (Lamb, 1976:20; Garfinkel, 1986:34 & Kahl, 1953: 178). There are many factors explaining this, besides the fact that they come from single-mother families. In fact the marital status of the mother does not explain everything because some children even from two-parent families perform poorly. There are other factors which are child related and others which have a lot to do with the environment in which they live.

We observed that the mother's education is positively correlated with the performance of the child educationally. Since most of the single mothers were less educated, we can say that the poor performance is a result of the mother's low level of education. The mothers were also found to be having low occupations. This is a result of low education. Our findings also show that mother's education and the child's performance are positively correlated. Thus, given these two disadvantages on their part, the single mothers were found to

be poor. The poverty situation among most single-mother families is responsible for poor educational performance of their children. Often these mothers cannot provide all the school requirements that their children need to have. These include books and equipment. They are therefore unable to do private studies. Besides, there may be nobody in the family to offer any assistance to the child whenever he has assignments or home work to do. This puts them in a disadvantaged position.

Children especially from very poor families may always be sent home for lack of fees or other requirements at school. They may thus stay away for long periods whilst their colleagues are learning. When they go back they will definitely not proceed on an equal footing. Thus they may perform poorly.

We observed that most single mothers hardly offer private tuition to their children. It is understandable that these mothers are often too busy to find time to do so since they carry all the household burdens. In the two-parent families there may be a sharing of household responsibilities, leaving a spouse with some free time which can be used to coach children. We are not suggesting that two-parents always give tuition to their children. In fact some do not at all. However, there are chances that where a parent is not so occupied, some little time will be spent on supervision of children's educational progress. This in itself is a motivational factor for children to perform well especially if the parent rewards the child.

Environmental factors which relate to child performance include for example societal attitude. The presence of stigmatization and rejection of single mothers' children definitely affects their performance in school. Since some do not associate with children from the two parent families who perform better educationally, they are likely to associate just amongst themselves. In this way they have no avenues of improving their performance. The only way they would do this is by associating with brighter children. This association encourages discussion, sharing of ideas and hence helping each other.

The psychoanalytic theory used in this study explains that parental absence is likely to affect the child as far as educational performance is concerned. The father is assumed to be a suitable role model to the child and instrumental in providing motivation to the child's better performance. The teachers are in some cases neglectful in improving the performance of such children. The belief in the power of the cane cannot work with children suffering from rejection and other developmental problems. Instead of the cane, they need guidance. When this is missing these children will continue to perform poorly.

Finally, we need to look at child factors which discourage performance in class. As we have pointed out the negative attitude of society towards single mothers' children may lead to intra-personality problems in the child. The child may suffer from an inferiority complex, lack of self esteem and self-worth and as a whole be too stressed to perform any

cognitively demanding task. Stressful children are likely to perform poorly.

5.10 MOTIVATION TO ACHIEVE

Like in the analysis of educational performance a group of two-parent children were selected for interview. The methods used in analysing achievement motivation required comparative analysis so as to discern the major variations. Thus children from the two types of families were interviewed using the same methods and their responses analyzed.

Several psychological methods were used to assess the achievement motivation of children from both two-parent and single-mother families. The reason behind this was that not any single method would be adequate in establishing achievement motivation. For details of methods used, see appendix II.

The first method used in measuring achievement motivation of the children was the assessment of the level of risk taking. It is generally agreed among psychologists that the level of risk taking is determinant of one's achievement need (Amos, 1978:174).

The children were asked to indicate how much money they would be willing to spend on a game of chance (gambling). Their responses are as follows;

Table XX: Risk taking behaviour

Amount (Ksh)	One parent child		Two parent child	
	Number	%	Number	%
10 - 20	14	17.3	13	31.0
30 - 40	37	45.7	24	57.1
60 - 100	30	37.0	5	11.9
Total	81	100.0	42	100.0

The first and second category (Ksh 10-20 and 30-40) represent a moderate risk taking behaviour. This is because if one has Ksh. 100 only in the pocket, it is dangerous to use over 50% of it in a game of chance. Using less than 50% means that one has initiative and understands that to achieve you should make a try but not an excessive try. That is why the category Ksh. 60-100 is expressive of an excessive risk taking or foolhardy behaviour and therefore a low level of motive to achieve (Amos, 1978:74).

Going back to our data 63 percent of the children from the single-mother families expressed or displayed moderate risk taking behaviour and therefore a high motive of achievement. 37 percent displayed excessive risk taking behaviour and, thus, are classified as having least achievement motive.

Achievement motivation is often associated with social class. Thus it was necessary to establish this relationship in this particular case. The association is reflected in the frequency distribution presented below.

Table XXI Social class and Risk Taking Behaviour

Social Class	Risk Taking						Total	%
	Low	%	Mod	%	High	%		
Low/poor	0		16	(19.8)	21	(19.5)	37	45.7
Middle	10	(12.3)	16	(19.8)	8	(9.9)	34	42.0
Upper middle	4	(4.9)	5	(6.1)	1	(1.2)	10	12.3
Total	14	(17.3)	37	(45.7)	30	(37.0)	81	100

It can be seen from the table that majority of the children from the low class exhibited high risk taking behaviour (25.9) percent. 16 percent were moderate and none was represented under low risk taking. This result is a reverse of what was observed among the upper classes where majority exhibited relatively low risk taking behaviour. Thus we can say that social class determines the risk taking behaviour of the child.

As for the children from two-parent families majority (57.1%) displayed moderate risk taking behaviour, 31.0 percent displayed low risk taking behaviour and only 11.9 percent displayed high risk taking behaviour. Thus majority of these children can be said to have high achievement motivation. Comparing the two groups, children from single-mother families are more likely to involve in excessive risk taking activities. This is a determinant of low achievement motivation.

The second method used in establishing the level of need for achievement of the children was based on a simple saying that "Luck is superior to skill" The children were asked to declare to what extent or degree they agreed with that saying.

The children's responses are summarised in table below.

Table XXII: Response to luck and skill

RESPONSE	One-Parent Child		Two-Parent Child	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Strongly agree	29	35.8	6	14.3
Agree	39	48.1	16	38.1
Neutral	10	12.3	8	19.0
Disagree	2	2.5	5	11.9
Strongly disagree	1	1.2	7	16.7
Total	81	100.0	42	100.0

We note that 35.8 percent of the children from the single-mother families strongly agreed with the saying. About 48 percent just agreed, 12.3 percent were neutral (undecided), 2.5 percent disagreed and only 1.2 percent strongly disagreed. It is widely agreed that achievers do not give much room to either chance or luck but to initiative and achievement (Amos, 1978:170). Non-achievers often have less conviction, less initiative and as a whole depend on their luck or chance to achieve anything. An analysis was done to show the relationship between response to "luck and skill" and social class.

Table XXIII. Social class and response to "Luck and Skill"

Social Class	Agree %	Neutral %	Disagree %	Total %
Low/poor	36 (44.4)	1 (1.2)	0	37 (45.7)
Middle	30 (37.0)	3 (3.7)	1 (1.2)	34 (42.0)
Upper middle	2 (2.5)	6 (7.4)	2 (2.5)	10 (12.3)
Total	68 (84.0)	10 (12.3)	3 (3.7)	81 (100)

The table shows that only a very small percentage of children from the upper middle class disagreed (20%). Majority (60%) of that class were neutral and 20 percent agreed. In the middle class 88.2 percent agreed with the saying while an overwhelming majority of children from the low class (97.3%) also agreed. This indicates that few of the children from the upper middle class subscribe to the saying and therefore majority of them can be said to be highly motivated. In contrast to the low and middle classes, majority subscribe to luck rather than skill. Thus the higher the social class the higher the motivation to achieve.

In the case of children from the two-parent families, 14.3 percent strongly agreed, 38.1 percent agreed, 19.1% were undecided, 11.9% disagreed and 16.7% strongly disagreed. Comparing the two groups we note that 83% of the children from single-mother families either strongly agreed or just agreed with the saying. Only 52% of the children from two parent families strongly or just agreed with the saying. Thus most of the children from single-mother families can be said to depend

on chance to succeed or to achieve.

The third method used in assessing the children's achievement motivation was pictorial interpretation. In this case each child was presented with a picture¹⁷. All they were asked to do was to describe what was happening especially to the people in that picture. The answers they gave were assessed on the basis of whether or not they contained aspects of the need to achieve. It is important to note that we were not looking at how good a child was at interpreting a picture but whether or not they perceived those in the picture as either achievers or non-achievers.

The rating of achievement motivation as to whether one is Nil, low or high was done by a team of three assessors or judges¹⁸ including the researcher. Each response on the questionnaire was assessed by each judge and rated accordingly as follows: 1 for Nil achievers, 2 for low achievers and 3, for high achievers respectively. The judges then shared notes and agreed on the average ratings for each child as to whether or not he or she was an achiever or a non-achiever¹⁹.

¹⁷The picture contained a complete family - mother, father, and children sitting in the living room. The father was looking at the children's school reports. The mother on the other hand was seated on the adjacent seat to his perhaps, anticipating a response on the children's reports. The picture is presented in appendix IV.

¹⁸This was done by three post-graduate students including the author, who were well versed with grade-point analyses.

¹⁹ This method was adopted from Babbie E. (1983) - Practice of social research, (pp.368 - 371). The method of assessment assumed a typical Thurstone scaling system. The researcher starts by identifying a number of indicators of the variable to be measured - achievement motivation in this case. The responses are then categorized according to their strengths in a continuum. This study developed a three-point scale. The same method was also used in the

result of the judges' assessment is contained in the
 ow.

V: Pictorial interpretation (children of single

ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION						TOTAL	%
Nil	%	Low	%	High	%		
7	8.6	12	14.8	2	2.5	21	26.0
4	4.9	13	16.0	1	1.2	18	22.2
6	7.4	4	4.9	3	3.7	13	16.0
2	2.5	12	14.8	4	4.9	18	22.2
0	0	2	2.5	4	4.9	6	7.4
0	0	1	1.2	1	1.2	2	2.5
1	1.2	2	2.5	0	0	3	3.7
20 (24.7%)		46 (56.8%)		15 (18.5%)		81	100.0

data in the table shows that a majority of the
 were rating low in achievement motivation (56.8
 24.7 percent expressed no achievement need and can
 red to as non-achievers. Only 18.5 percent of the
 rated high in terms of the need to achieve. The
 f this assessment was cross-tabulated with social
 the mother.

the written essays.

Table XXV: Social class and Pictorial interpretation

Social Class	Nil(0) %	Low(1-2) %	High(3+) %	Total %
Low/poor	10 (12.3)	26 (32.1)	1 (1.2)	37 (45.7)
Middle	8 (9.9)	18 (22.2)	8 (9.9)	34 (42.0)
Upper middle	2 (2.5)	2 (2.5)	6 (7.4)	10 (12.3)
Total	20 (24.7)	46 (56.8)	15 (18.5)	81 (100)

Majority of the children from the low class (97.3%) indicated nil and low achievement motivation. 76.7 percent from the middle class were in this category, whereas only 40% from the upper middle class indicated nil or low achievement. Majority of those from upper middle class (60%) were graded as high achievers, 23.5 percent from the middle class were in this category and only 2.7 percent from the the low class were classified as achievers. Thus comparing the figures we could argue that most of the highly motivated children belonged to the upper classes.

Pictorial interpretation was equally done by children from two-parent families. Their responses are summarised in the table below according to their age.

Table XXVI: Pictorial Interpretation: Two-parent children

AGE	ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION						TOTAL %
	NIL	%	LOW	%	HIGH	%	
11	2	(4.8)	2	(4.8)	2	(4.8)	6 (14.3)
12	4	(9.5)	1	(2.4)	7	(16.7)	12 (28.6)
13	3	(7.1)	2	(4.8)	7	(16.7)	12 (28.6)
14	3	(7.1)	2	(4.8)	1	(2.4)	6 (14.3)
15	1	(2.4)	0		5	(11.9)	6 (14.3)
TOTAL	13	(31.0)	7	(16.7)	22	(52.4)	42 (100)

There is a major contrast between this table and the previous one in terms of achievement motivation. In the later 52% or majority of the children showed higher need for achievement compared to only 17.3% of the children from single-mother families. There is almost a near parity when it comes to the non achievers for both groups. 31% of children from two-parent families recorded nil achievement. This is close to that of children from single-mother families (24.7 percent). It is difficult to explain why in this case more children from two-parent families rated low achievement motivation. Perhaps as is always the case where there is competition a few individuals who have the potential to achieve may not do so due to the prevailing circumstances. Thus these children may be exposed to certain conditions that curtail their need to achieve.

The final method used in assessing the children's

achievement motivation was by means of a written essay²⁰. Children were asked to state what they would like to be in the future and proceed to say how they intended to meet their goals starting with the words, "when I finish school I want to be a ...", and to complete the story in not more than 80 words. As was the case with the pictorial interpretation the essays were assessed by three judges who shared notes on each of the essays and rated them according to whether the child expressed No (Nil), Low or high need for achievement. This method is typical of the Thurstone scaling system²¹ (Babbie, 1983:370).

The results of the essay assessment did not show any appreciable difference with the results from the pictorial interpretation. We note again that as was the case with pictorial interpretation the objective of the assessment was not to establish the intelligence or mental picture of the children, but was intended to establish how much the children were motivated to succeed in life. This kind of motivation is dependent on family environment and varies from child to child.

The number of non-achievers went down by 5.2%, for low achievers it went up by 1.2% and for the highly motivated it increased by 8.7%. However, majority still ranked low in

²⁰ The method was adopted from Okatcha ed. (1977) - Modern Psychology and cultural adaptation. For details see appendix II.

²¹Thurstone in designing scales and measurements came up with a 13 point category scale. The method is operated by a team of judges who decide whether responses are say, against, for or are mixed. For details see Babbie (1983) pp.368 - 371.

achievement motivation.

For the two-parent children, the number of highly-motivated children went down by 7.1 percent as to reach 45.2 percent. The low and nil achievers went up by an equal margin as the high achievers (7.1 percent) to reach 54.8 percent.

Using the essay assessment as a measure of achievement motivation, a quantitative technique was applied to test the relationship between marital status and achievement motivation of the child. Only data from children of single mothers was used to run the test. The result of this analysis is shown in the table below.

Table XXVII: Achievement motivation assessed by means of written essay (single-mother children)

Mother's marital Status	Achievement motivation		Total
	Nil/Low	High	
Unmarried	24 (28.4)	15 (10.6)	39
Div/sep/widowed	35 (30.6)	7 (11.4)	42
TOTAL	59	22	81

Note: the figures in parentheses represent the expected (E) frequencies.
 X^2 Cal. = 4.8388
df = 1
Significance level = 0.05
observed table value of X^2 = 3.84

The calculated value of Chi-square is greater than the table value. The null hypothesis is rejected. There is a dependent relationship between mother's marital status and child motivation to achieve. In other words the need to achieve is affected by the marital status of the mother. The

dependent relationship affects the children negatively which explains the earlier observed Low need to achieve.

The low need to achieve observed in children from single-mother families may be a result of the poor environment in which most of them live although this could also be a motivating factor for them to achieve in order to move out of the poverty situation. However, financial inadequacy for instance may not enable the mother to afford gifts (reward) which are motivators to child performance and achievement. The low motivation to achieve thus explains their poorer educational performance observed before.

There was also need to ascertain in general terms relationship between social class and achievement motivation among children of single mothers. For this purpose a quantitative statistical method was used, and the result is contained in the frequency distribution below.

Table XXVIII: Social class and Achievement Motivation

Social Class	Achievement Motivation			Total
	Nil	Low	High	
Low/poor	6 (5.5)	26 (21.5)	5 (10.0)	37
Middle + Upper Middle	6 (6.5)	21 (25.5)	17 (12.0)	44
Total	12	47	22	81

Note: The figures in parentheses represent expected frequencies.

χ^2 calculated = 6.397

Level of sig. = 0.05

df = 2

χ^2 tabulated = 5.99

The null hypothesis is rejected. The alternative hypothesis holds: There is a dependent relationship between social class and achievement motivation. Children whose mothers belong to the low or poor social class have lower need for achievement unlike those whose mothers belong to the upper middle. This shows that the economic status of the family plays a major part in the development of the child.

We also made an attempt to relate achievement motivation with the education of the mother using both pictorial interpretation and essay assesment as indicators of motivation. In both cases achievement motive was found to be higher among children whose mothers have higher education as can be seen in the table below.

Table XXIX: Achievement Motivation and Education of the mother (using Pictorial Interpretation)

Education	ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION			Total %
	Nil %	Low %	High %	
2None	2 (2.5)	10 (12.3)	0	12 (14.8)
Std.8 & below	1 (1.2)	23 (28.4)	3 (3.7)	27 (33.3)
Form Four	16 (19.8)	13 (16.0)	4 (4.9)	33 (40.7)
Form Six	0	1 (1.2)	6 (7.4)	7 (8.6)
University	0	0	2 (2.5)	2 (2.5)
Total	20 (24.7)	46 (56.8)	15(18.5)	81 (100)

Higher level of education is always associated with better occupations and hence higher income. Thus single

mothers with higher education are able to provide the economic and social requirements of their children and generally an optimum environment for the children to achieve. Furthermore the education of the mother is in itself a motivating factor for the child because in most cases he or she would like to be what the mother is.

The question of being what the mother is, is reflected in the psychoanalytic theory. The child identifies with the person who has been most instrumental in his or her socialization. This kind of identification involves copying, imitating and generally trying to adopt all that is valued by the person providing the model. Since children whose mothers have low level of education often lack this "ideal" model, they are poorly motivated to achieve.

DISCUSSION

Hypothesis 2. The child's achievement motivation depends on the marital status of the mother.

Educational performance is often related to achievement motivation. This means therefore that the factors that explain poor performance equally explain causes for low need to achieve. For instance, the absence of a role model may discourage the child's performance. The absence of father denies the child opportunity to identify with a male model. Such a child may also lack motivation since the only available

figure is the mother who may not be able to continuously motivate the child to perform better or aim to achieve higher since she has a number of other responsibilities in the household that consume much of her time and money.

Psychoanalytic theory perceives identification as a process where the young person adopts the behavioral characteristics of the model (Freud, 1974:63). A child will be an achiever if the parent is one, and this may be portrayed in the occupation or educational status of the parent. That is why some children may not be high achievers even when they have a father. Thus having a father does not necessarily mean the child will have a high need for achievement.

One very important determinant of the need to achieve is the presence of motivations. We have evidence suggesting that children of single mothers are less motivated to achieve. Motivation of children to achieve always takes the form of reward and punishment. Reward for what the parent approves of and punishment for what he does not. The child who is continuously rewarded after scoring high marks in class has the desire to perform even better and hence higher need to achieve. As we saw, this is lacking in most single-mother families. The child's motivation to achieve is positively related to the social class of the mother. Economic ability of the mother perhaps enables her to afford motivators to the child. Thus, children whose mothers are poorer are also poorly motivated to achieve. We also discovered that achievement motivation is directly related to the education level of the mother. Children whose mothers had higher level of education

were more motivated to achieve than those whose mothers had low level of education. Perhaps in this regard the mother sets a good standard which encourages the child to be like her or even better.

5.11.0 CHILD DELINQUENCY

Children were asked to indicate how frequently they were punished both in school and at home. These responses can be seen in the table below.

Table XXX: Frequency of punishment in school and at home

Marital status	Frequency (level of delinquency)				Total		
	Freq	%	Less freq	% Once a while% N/A %			
Unmarried	2	(2.5)	10	(12.3)	18(22.2)	9(11.1)	39
Div/Seperated	4	(4.9)	5	(6.2)	16(19.8)	5 (6.2)	30
widowed	1	(1.2)	4	(4.9)	5(6.2)	2 (2.5)	12
TOTAL	7	(8.6)	19	(23.5)	39(48.5)	16(19.8)	81

Children of divorced mothers are punished more frequently. By average, children of unmarried mothers are punished less and thus, show a lower level of delinquency compared to the other mothers. The frequency of punishment of the child determines the frequency of commission of punishable offences. However this is only with respect to certain offences considered criminal or delinquent. Some mothers may also have the tendency to punish their children even when they commit no offences. Thus the frequency of

punishment may not be very accurate in determining whether the child is delinquent. That is why supplementary information had to be sought from both the child's mother and class teacher.

It is indicated in the table that children of single mothers commit offences only sporadically and not by routine as may have been suggested in some previous studies (Nye, 1973:28; Ndonga, 1987:132). It can be seen that only 8.6 percent of the children are frequently punished. The table shows that the children are not frequently punished. The majority are either punished less frequently or only once in a while. Frequency of punishment determines whether or not a child has delinquent tendencies. Since the proportion of the children who are punished frequently is so small we cannot suggest that they are delinquent. This observation contrasts with what other scholars have noted. For instance, Nye (1973:28) observes that child delinquency exists in greater proportions among children of single mothers.

The other indicator of delinquency used in this study was the frequency of fighting over one year. Majority of the children indicated that they either fought very infrequently or not at all (82.5 percent). None of the children fought frequently. The rest of the children (17.5%) fought only once in a while. These figures do not suggest that the children are delinquent. This could have been so if over 50 percent of the children had frequently fought.

School teachers whom we interviewed concerning the behaviour of the children from single-mother families said that once in a while they had problems with a few but not many

children. They agreed that these could be treated as isolated cases because a majority displayed good behaviour. The same response was noted when we interviewed single mothers about the behaviour of their children. Most of the mothers agreed that they frequently punished their children but only for offences which they did not consider too grave. Only one mother indicated that her child had been involved at one time in a criminal offence.

Due to the small number of responses for delinquency, it was difficult to test the influence of marital status on child delinquency. The frequency distribution had empty cells which could contravene the rules of chi-square had we proceeded with the test. Thus our findings on this issue are based purely on descriptive statistics alone.

Some of the children indicated that they have in the past been punished by their mothers or parents for mistakes they have not made. This may be taken to be suggestive of aggression sometimes mothers met out to their children. In this regard, 33.3 percent of the children had been punished for mistakes they had not made. This kind of abuse of children sometimes affect the morale of the child leading to lower need to achieve and poor academic performance.

DISCUSSION

Hypothesis 3. Marital status of the mother is a determinant of child delinquency.

Our assumption and indeed that of many scholars, before this study, was that children of single mothers are delinquent. Some scholars have made this observation (Muga 1975:121, Nye, 195: 281). The results of the study prove this assumption wrong. We found that the level of child delinquency for these children was very low. Thus, we cannot say these children are delinquents. The observed level of delinquency may be explained by the poor environment in which some of these children live. Slum conditions for instance predispose children to delinquency as observed by Muga (1975: 281). Children are likely to be delinquent when parents fail to impart the necessary discipline irrespective of the sex of the parent. For instance failure to point out mistakes and punish the child correspondingly, and instead administer excessive punishment to the child. We noted contrary to our earlier assumptions that single mothers punish their children only to a normal degree when they make mistakes. These are suitable conditions that prevent children from becoming delinquent. All these show that they are capable of providing the required discipline like any other parents. Thus the lack of delinquency is a reflection of their ability to discipline their children.

5.12 MARITAL STATUS AND CHILD ACCEPTANCE

Children were asked to state whether or not their best friends had a father. Their responses were summarized in the table below.

Table XXXI: Child's best friend

CHILD	BEST FRIEND HAS A FATHER				TOTAL	%
	Yes	%	No	%		
One-parent	49	60.5	32	39.5	81	100.0

About 60 Percent of the children said their best friend had a father. The rest of the 40 percent whose best friends had no fathers implied that they often associated amongst themselves as children from single-mother families.

The next aspect of this inquiry was based on whether or not children from single-mother families were discriminated against by their counterparts from the two-parent families. The indicators used to measure discrimination were, words that were not in good taste used in referring to them for example "child of a prostitute"; insults of all kinds like "illigitimate child", teasing of all kinds like "child whose father has abandoned" and lastly physical actions such as denials and beatings. In this connection, 49.4 percent of the children answered in the affirmative indicating that they had often been treated unfairly by their friends and playmates and 50.6 percent had not experienced any sort of maltreatment by

their counterparts. We made attempts to establish the sociability of children from single-mother families among those from the two parent-families. In this regard the observed group of children from the two parent families were asked whether or not they associated with children of single mothers. A good number of them accepted that they mixed freely with their counterparts from the single-mother families. However, there were others who did not. Thus child acceptance hangs on a balance and it cannot be argued conclusively that they are rejected or accepted. However, further statistical analysis revealed that there is a significant relationship between marital status and child acceptability.

Table XXXII: Child acceptability and mother's marital status

MOTHERS MARITAL STATUS	DISCRIMINATED		Total
	Yes	No	
Unmarried	12 (19.26)	27 (19.74)	39
Divorce/separated	22 (14.81)	8 (15.19)	30
Widowed	6 (5.93)	6 (6.07)	12
Total	40	41	81

Note: the figures in parentheses represent the expected frequencies (E)

χ^2 Cal = 11.4204
df = 2
significance level = 0.05
observed value of χ^2 = 5.99

Since the observed table value of the chi-square is smaller than the value of the χ^2 calculated the null hypothesis is rejected at 5 percent level of significance. There is a dependent relationship between child acceptance and

marital status of the mother. Thus marital status of the mother influences the discrimination or rejection of the child.

The observed discrimination or rejection of some of children the could be a result of society's perception of the single mothers and their children. Amos (1978:168) observes that societal perception can mitigate the effects of single motherhood, especially when the mothers and their children are stigmatized. Further, some children of single mothers may be discriminated because in the view of the children from two-parent families having no father is not normal. This was revealed by some of the children from the two-parent families who were interviewed. Such children may therefore see themselves as better off than their counterparts from single-mother families. This fact may explain why children from the two-parent families tend to make friends amongst themselves. It is also possible that children from single-mother families would exhibit discriminatory tendencies that put off children from the two-parent families. This however should be investigated in future researches.

DISCUSSION

Hypothesis 4. Acceptability of the child depends on the marital status of the mother.

Our findings show that single mothers' children are sometimes discriminated against by their counterparts from the two parent families. There is evidence to the fact that these

children are often abused, teased and even beaten by their counterparts. Evidence obtained from the two parent family children reveals that in some cases, their parents warn them against association with children from the single-mother families. The reasons for this are different. Single mothers feel that their children may develop a liking for two-parents families where they get company and modelling which they may not get in their own family. At the same time, they may observe or notice some things in these families which are missing in their own and thus create unnecessary pressure for the mother to provide them.

On the other hand, two-parent families may not want their children to associate with children from single-mother families because of a number of reasons. First, it may be a reflection of the general society's negative attitude towards single mothers and their children. Secondly, they assume that such children are problematic and may teach their children 'bad' ways. Finally, they see these children as having developmental problems which may lead them to adopting certain anti-social behavioural characteristics and thus they do not want their children to associate or 'peer' with them. The society's perception, no doubt affects the self perception of the child and his relationship with others in society. If the child perceives himself as worthless, as a consequence of the discrimination, he will most likely develop behavioural tendencies that go with it for example, withdrawal, aggression or self exertion.

5.13.0 CHILDREN'S BASIC NEEDS

One of the most important aspects of children's welfare and survival is the provision of their most basic needs. During the field work it was discovered that in single-mother families in general, a number of children's basic needs were not met.

Table XXXIII: Needs of children

CHILD	BASIC NEEDS MET		TOTAL PERCENT %	
	Yes %	No %		
One-parent	27 33.3	54 66.7	81	100.0

About 66.7 percent of the children from single-mother families reported that their basic needs were not met by their mothers. The needs referred to included; food, clothing, educational requirements among others. We have observed in this study that most single mothers are poor and may be unable to afford some of the life necessities for children. They may also take these needs for granted leading to child deprivation.

Only 33.3 percent of children from single-mother families were satisfied with the way their parents provided their basic needs. However here we give exception for the children who may have not been aware of their needs which parents should provide. Thus, the figure are likely to be lower than what we

observe.

Table XXXIV: Basic needs of children and mothers marital status

Marital Status	Basic Needs met		Total
	Yes	No	
Unmarried	20 (13)	19 (26)	39
Divorced/seperated + widowed	7 (14)	35 (28)	42
TOTAL	27	54	81

Note: The figures in parentheses represent expected frequencies (E)
 χ^2 Cal. = 10.9
df = 1
 χ^2 tab. = 3.84
Level of significance = 0.05

The chi-square calculated under 1 df and 0.05 level of significance is greater than the tabulated. Therefore we reject the null hypothesis; that there is an independent relationship. Provision of basic needs is dependent upon marital status. Thus marital status affects the meeting of needs of the children. This finding compares with the observation made by Waiyaki (1985:10), that single mothers may sometimes be unable to meet the basic needs of their children. This inability is likely to create negative effects on the welfare of their children.

Besides relating the problem of satisfaction of basic needs to marital status, we made attempts to trace the relationship between meeting of basic needs and the social class of the mother. It has been hypothesised that, the poorer

the mother the harder it is for her to meet her children's basic needs and the richer she is the easier to provide them. However, we note that there are some mothers who despite their favourable social class (level of income or ownership of property) do not meet adequately their children's needs. Equally there are those whose social class is low and yet succeed in affording the same. Thus to conclusively establish the relationship, we need a vigorous statistical test which is capable of either confirming or rejecting the observation.

Table XXXV: Basic needs of children and mother's social class.

SOCIAL CLASS	BASIC NEEDS MET		TOTAL
	YES	NO	
Lower class	5 (12.3)	32 (24.7)	37
Middle\upper mid.	22 (14.7)	22 (29.3)	44
TOTAL	27	54	81

Note: the figures in the parentheses represent the expected frequencies (E)

X^2 Cal = 11.993
df = 1
significance level = 0.05

The result of the chi-quare test indicates that there is a dependent relationship between the two variables. We therefore reject the null hypothesis, that there is an independent relationship and accept the alternative hypothesis, that the two have a dependent relationship at 5 percent level of significance. The reason for rejecting the null hypothesis is based on the laws of chi-square. The

observed table value of chi-square under 1 degree of freedom and 5 percent level of significance is 3.84, the calculated value under the same conditions is 11.993. Since the observed value is less than the calculated value of chi-square, we are forced to reject the null hypothesis (H_0).

Since there is a dependent relationship between social class and meeting the needs of the child, we are to accept the fourth hypothesis for this study, that is; the fulfilment of the child's basic needs depends on the mothers' social class. Mothers who belong to the upper social classes are better able to meet the needs of their children than their counterparts who belong to the lower social class. Their purchasing power is definitely higher and they are capable of affording much more than the poorer mothers.

DISCUSSION

Hypothesis 5. Fulfilment of basic needs of the child and the family at large depends on the social class of the mother.

The effects of Structural Adjustment Policies have increased for most Kenyans especially the vulnerable groups such as the single mothers (Nzomo, 1991:12). These policies are a result of an Economic model which is expected to achieve modernization. Thus, as modernization theory explains single motherhood is likely to increase with greater economic

benefits to greater number of people. Their household problems are also likely to become more and hence its effect on the children (Nzomo, 1991: 15). Most of the mothers we studied did not know what structural Adjustment Policies were, least of all how they affected them. However, they were familiar with one concept related to these SAPs. They knew what price increases meant, and not the policy of market liberalization. No doubt SAPS have affected single mothers' households adversely. In the first instance it has given rise to single motherhood because many young men and women have postponed marriage and risked pregnancies.

This is not what modernization was intended to achieve for the developing countries. Instead of enhancing progress, it has brought about large scale marginalization of the masses, the vulnerable groups in particular including single women.

The theory of social class is therefore important in this regard as it explains the consequences of modernization with regard to the different classes in society. It points out that imbalanced industrial development such as the one we experience in Africa is responsible for the creation of a large class of poor and marginal individuals and a small class of rich propertied people. Single mothers are understood to be poor because most of them belong to the former class. Most of them are less educated and so are not able to get well paying jobs yet they are responsible for their families when they are severely underpaid. The household requirements, given most of the mothers had more than four children according to the

study, far out-way the money available to meet them. Thus they are in most cases unable to provide for the needs of their children.

The picture we have of a single mother in Kibera is that of a young, less educated and poorly remunerated woman. The high cost of living today has resulted from adjustments to policy requirements by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) as preconditions to further aid disbursements. These adjustments have widened the ranks of the poor unlike before. The poor single mothers have become poorer. They now have to pay several times for essential goods and services and yet their unreliable incomes have either diminished or remained constant.

Some of these single mothers had as many as seven children. With no money, they have to spend the little they have feeding their children while postponing forgetting other needs. Since the cost of food items has also increased several-fold, they are unable to feed the children well. Thus their children live under the risk of malnutrition and general poor health. Cost sharing in all government services is a major issue for most of these mothers. They have to pay unlike before, for any service they receive for instance in the hospital, school and others. All these have added to the poverty of single mothers and no doubt has affected the welfare of their children. It has become very difficult for these poor mothers to provide the family needs and those of the children. Some of these needs they could provide before 'adjustments' and now have to do without, especially those

with no cheaper alternatives. Even where alternatives exist they have become equally expensive, for instance potatoes, groundnuts etc. Those without alternatives like maize flour, cooking fat etc, have become so expensive for most of them. Thus, most single mothers in the face of these difficulties will go without adequate nutrition and basic needs and their children will suffer for as long as such 'adjustments' last.

Single mothers are often faced with a lot of financial difficulties. This study has established that even without Structural Adjustment Policies their economic problems are still many. Most of the single mothers studied are poor and in most cases unable to meet the basic needs of their children. Many children from these families are therefore often deprived of these needs. Their poverty situation as we found out has more to do with their low level of education and inability to find well paying jobs. Some of the needs of the children that are not met include; clothing, food, proper shelter, educational requirements and recreational facilities. These children are therefore deprived and disadvantaged and may not grow up normally as was equally observed by Waiyaki (1985:3).

5.14.0 SUMMARY

Most of the single mothers were young, less educated and poor economically. They had an average income of less than Kshs.3000 per month, most of them even less than Shs. 1000. A majority of the mothers had less than post secondary education which explains why they were unemployed or had low-level occupations. It is similarly important to note that most of the single mothers in the study were the never-married. It is still unclear why this trend is so but it may pose a lot of problems to the family as an institution especially if this trend continues.

Whereas the majority of the mothers interviewed independently owned their households, a good number of them were dependent on their benefactors. Most of these mothers were the unmarried ones. Most of the divorced and widowed mothers lived in their own houses. The dependent ones were in most cases young and became pregnant when they were still teenagers. Thus with their erratic economic situation they cannot move into their own houses. The poor economic situation of most single-mother families force them to send some of their children to the mothers' rural homes. This separation is likely to affect the welfare and development of these children as observed by Lamb (1976:16).

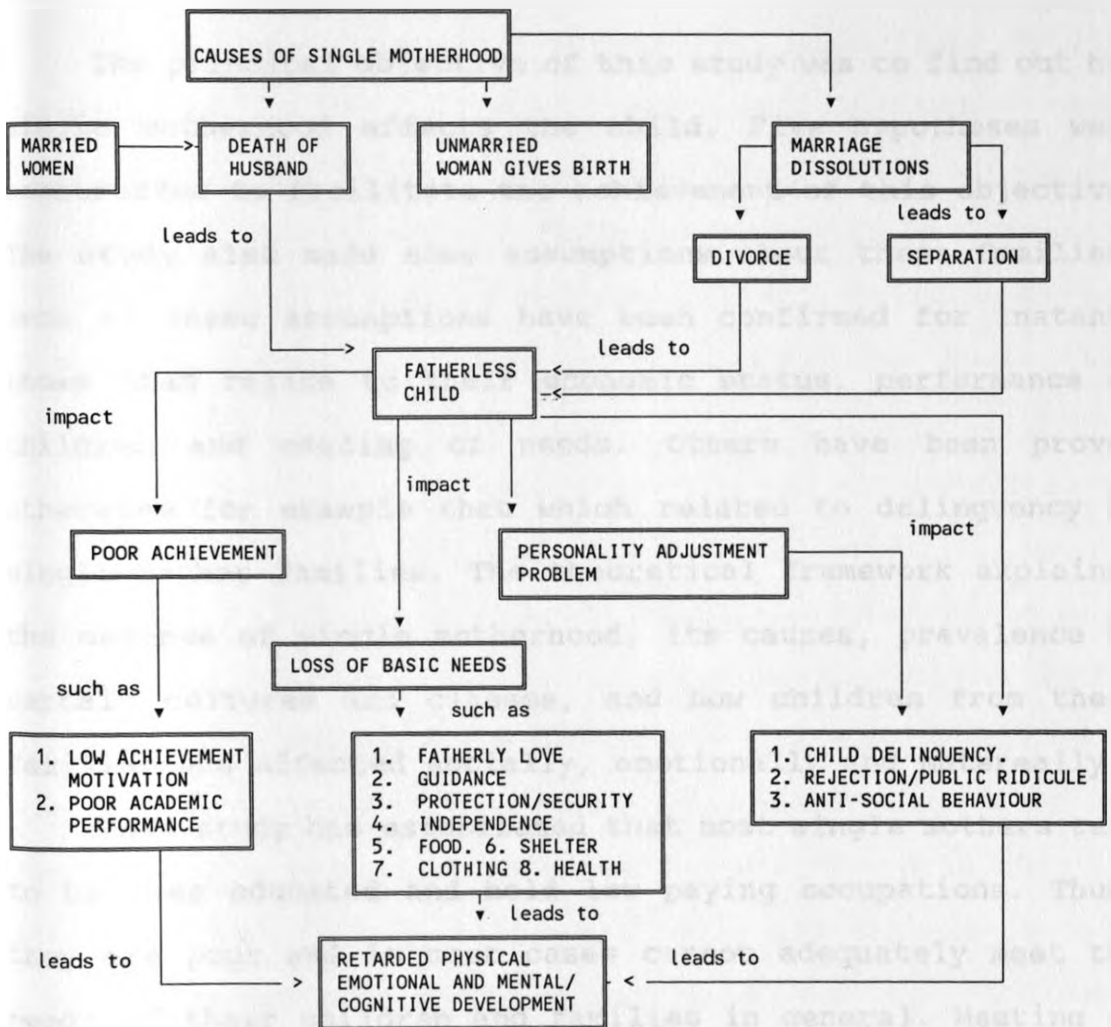
Most of the children of single mothers come from economically deprived families. We noted that most single mothers are poor. Thus in most cases their children's needs

are not adequately met. Children from single-mother families perform poorly at school. They also have lower motivation to achieve. These children usually tend to be discriminated by their counterparts and peers although tolerance seems to be growing.

Finally, we note that child delinquency is not a big problem in most single-mother families. Only a minority of their children can be said to be delinquent which disagrees with the popular belief that they are delinquent.

5.15.0 CONCEPTUAL MODEL: DIAGRAMMATICAL PRESENTATION

The following Diagrammatical framework developed by the author, summarises the causes and effects of single motherhood irrespective of social or economic classes.



NB: The boxes do not necessarily carry equal weight.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The principal objective of this study was to find out how single motherhood affects the child. Five hypotheses were constructed to facilitate the achievement of this objective. The study also made some assumptions about these families. Some of these assumptions have been confirmed for instance those that relate to their economic status, performance of children and meeting of needs. Others have been proved otherwise for example that which related to delinquency in single-mother families. The theoretical framework explained the essence of single motherhood, its causes, prevalence in certain cultures and classes, and how children from these families are affected socially, emotionally and materially.

This study has established that most single mothers tend to be less educated and hold low paying occupations. Thus, they are poor and in most cases cannot adequately meet the needs of their children and families in general. Meeting of basic needs however, has emerged as more of a 'class' issue rather than a marital status issue. This aspect of single motherhood has been captured by the theory of social class which perceives the marginalization of the single mother as

being a result of unequal exchange in the industrial market economy. It is also seen as being a product of the failure of the modernization process to proceed as it was originally envisaged by the modernization theorists. There are a number of single mothers who are more capable of meeting these needs, because they belong to higher social classes.

Single motherhood affects children in diverse ways, but not to the extent to which it has been visualized by some scholars. At the general level, most single mothers are poor economically and this creates problems which affect the welfare and development of their children. In the event of financial insufficiency as we have observed, children may not go to school normally. There may be no money for their fees, books and other requirements. Lack of these things may retard the educational performance of the child and his motivation to achieve. Such a child may also suffer rejection by his counterparts from the two-parent families. However, in terms of child delinquency single mothers are just as capable as two parents, in providing guidance and the required discipline to keep their children from becoming delinquents. Perhaps the fact that the child has only one parent may mean that the parent is more loving, caring and takes all the pre-cautions against possibilities which may push the child towards delinquency.

As long as society still maintains its negative attitude towards single mothers and shows aloofness towards finding solutions to their problems, single motherhood will continue to grow especially as a result of non-marriage and marital

dissolutions. The two, as we have seen, exist in society in such proportions that they may in future affect the family structure as a whole.

What is needed from society is a change of attitude if we are to help children from single-mother families. More action than words are required now before it is too late. Rather than discriminate and reject a child from a single-mother family, it would be better to seek a way of helping that child to grow as normally as other children. The society needs to be more understanding and more ready to help financially and morally rather than dismiss a child from a single-mother family. Only by providing the right and optimum environment, will we be able to enhance the welfare normal growth and development of these children. This does not imply that single mothers be condemned publicly as this may further affect their families and children in particular, but that policies be drafted to deal especially with the problem of teenage pregnancies. Other adverse effects of single motherhood can also be addressed through combined efforts of the government, voluntary organizations and the general public.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the findings, this study proposes the following recommendations with policy implications:
It has become clear in this study, that some terms associated

with single-mother households need to be re-evaluated in order to put them in their right perspectives. The term "illegitimate" as is often used to refer to children of single mothers, has increasingly become outdated. Goode (1973:261) has used it repeatedly to express the fact that these children are not legitimate. If we accept the single-mother households as legitimate families, then their children should not be called illegitimate.

The other term which we have just referred to is single-mother family. Many scholars have excluded this type of family in their definitions of the family for instance; Stephens (1963:2) Mann, (1983:25), Goode, (1970:8), Christensen, (1964:4) among others. The single-mother households have become a legitimate type of family in our society and therefore there is a great need to redefine the family to encompass them. This study has made attempt to define the family in a manner that makes it more applicable in empirical research.

One of the most important areas where children of single mothers have problems is in educational performance. It would be better to have counselling services in each of the schools to assist children with special needs. Their poor performances may be a result of some problems at home or which they may be going through psychologically. A counsellor would ease these problems and provide a chance for the child to perform well.

Financial insufficiency is a big and general problem to most single-mother families. Many of their bright children cannot go to school because the mothers cannot meet the school

requirements and the cost of the children's education. The Ministry of Home affairs in conjunction with the Children's Department should be charged with the responsibility of identifying children of single mothers who are in need of financial assistance in their education and such should be given government assistance.

There should be general education for awareness to the public on the disadvantages of becoming a single mother. The Ministry for Home Affairs and National Heritage should use all avenues at its disposal including the mass media to educate citizens. Those who need to be reached most are the teenagers and girls in particular. If possible sex education be encouraged in schools and religious morality preached both in schools, churches and in the mass media to discourage teenagers against pre-marital sex.

The public should be encouraged to visit counsellors especially on issues of family life. The married (couples) should be encouraged to visit counsellors whenever they have differences or conflicts rather than solve these arbitrarily. This has been the reason behind the increased number of marital dissolutions.

People should be more willing to provide assistance of all type to the children of single mothers. Assistance should not be seen only in terms of money. There are many more ways in which they can assist these children for instance through advice and counselling. They should desist from discrimination and accept these children as part of their social responsibility to uplift the standards of those less

fortunate than themselves.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry should look for a way whereby single mothers who are not employed could be helped to start small business projects, for instance in groups. They should be allowed access to loaning facilities, through banks or government agencies without the ever stringent collateral such as security which very few women in Kenya poses. In the slums where most of these women live, social workers should be deployed to counsell them and their children. If possible the Ministry of Home affairs and National Heritage should open up offices for social workers in such places where single mothers can come to see the social workers probably on appointment. These women could probably also be encouraged to visit the social workers. Even the married couples could be encouraged not to shy off from visiting them. The whole process needs combined and concerted efforts of the single mothers, the general public and the related government departments to succeed.

6.3 AREAS OF FURTHER RESEARCH

No single study is capable of dealing with all its components. This study was equally unable to deal with all aspects of single motherhood and child welfare. Thus we suggest that future researchers should pick up some of these areas that we were not been able to delve into.

- A similar research needs to be conducted to cover the area of child survival in single-mother families. It would also be interesting for such a study to introduce a reference group.
- Child delinquency should be studied among children of single mothers from the lower classes and slum conditions and possibly a tracious study of the street children to establish their family backgrounds. This would help ascertain whether or not child delinquency is more a problem of the poor and of single-parent households.
- Single motherhood should be studied with respect to ethnic groups. In other words, a study could be done on single motherhood among a particular tribe in Kenya especially those where the phenomenon is becoming more prevalent.
- Finally, a study to establish why there is an increased prevalence of marital disruptions could be done to establish its effects on children.

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APPENDICES

TABLE I				
Year	1900	1901	1902	1903
Jan	100	100	100	100
Feb	100	100	100	100
Mar	100	100	100	100
Apr	100	100	100	100
May	100	100	100	100
Jun	100	100	100	100
Jul	100	100	100	100
Aug	100	100	100	100
Sep	100	100	100	100
Oct	100	100	100	100
Nov	100	100	100	100
Dec	100	100	100	100
Total	1200	1200	1200	1200

APPENDIX I

CHI-Square distribution

Table E Chi Square Distribution*

df	α levels				
	.10	.05	.02	.01	.001
1	2.71	3.84	5.41	6.64	10.38
2	4.60	5.99	7.82	9.21	13.82
3	6.25	7.82	9.84	11.34	16.27
4	7.78	9.49	11.67	13.28	18.46
5	9.24	11.07	13.39	15.09	20.52
6	10.64	12.59	15.03	16.81	22.46
7	12.02	14.07	16.62	18.48	24.32
8	13.36	15.51	18.17	20.09	26.12
9	14.68	16.92	19.68	21.67	27.88
10	15.99	18.31	21.16	23.21	29.59
11	17.28	19.68	22.62	24.72	31.26
12	18.55	21.03	24.05	26.22	32.91
13	19.81	22.36	25.47	27.69	34.53
14	21.06	23.68	26.87	29.14	36.12
15	22.31	25.00	28.26	30.58	37.70
16	23.54	26.30	29.63	32.00	39.25
17	24.77	27.59	31.00	33.41	40.79
18	25.99	28.87	32.35	34.80	42.31
19	27.20	30.14	33.69	36.19	43.82
20	28.41	31.41	35.02	37.57	45.32
21	29.62	32.67	36.34	38.93	46.80
22	30.81	33.92	37.66	40.29	48.27
23	32.01	35.17	38.97	41.64	49.73
24	33.20	36.42	40.27	42.98	51.18
25	34.38	37.65	41.57	44.31	52.62
26	35.56	38.88	42.86	45.64	54.05
27	36.74	40.11	44.14	46.96	55.48
28	37.92	41.34	45.42	48.28	56.89
29	39.09	42.56	46.69	49.59	58.30
30	40.26	43.77	47.96	50.89	59.70

*To be significant the χ^2 obtained from the data must be equal to or larger than the value shown in the table.

Table E is taken from Table IV of Fisher and Yates: *Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research*, published by Longman Group Ltd., London, (Previously published by Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh), and by permission of the authors and publishers.

APPENDIX II

MEASUREMENT OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

As noted earlier in Chapter Five, Achievement motivation was evaluated using the methods explained by Amos (1978), Atkinson (1966), McClelland (1961), Kuppurswamy (1973) among others. These methods are summarized below.

"The standards used to measure Achievement motive or drive include;

- 1 Need/concern for excellence;
- 2 Actions that identify such needs
- 3 Calculation of risk involved in undertaking a task, anticipation of success or failure
- 4 Gauging chances of success or failure through conscious consideration of personal weaknesses, limitations or strengths and environmental factors
- 5 active seeking for help to compensate for or overcome personal limitations and environmental factors
- 6 Psychological responses to success or failure, such as elation, depression or indifference" (Amos, 1978:170)

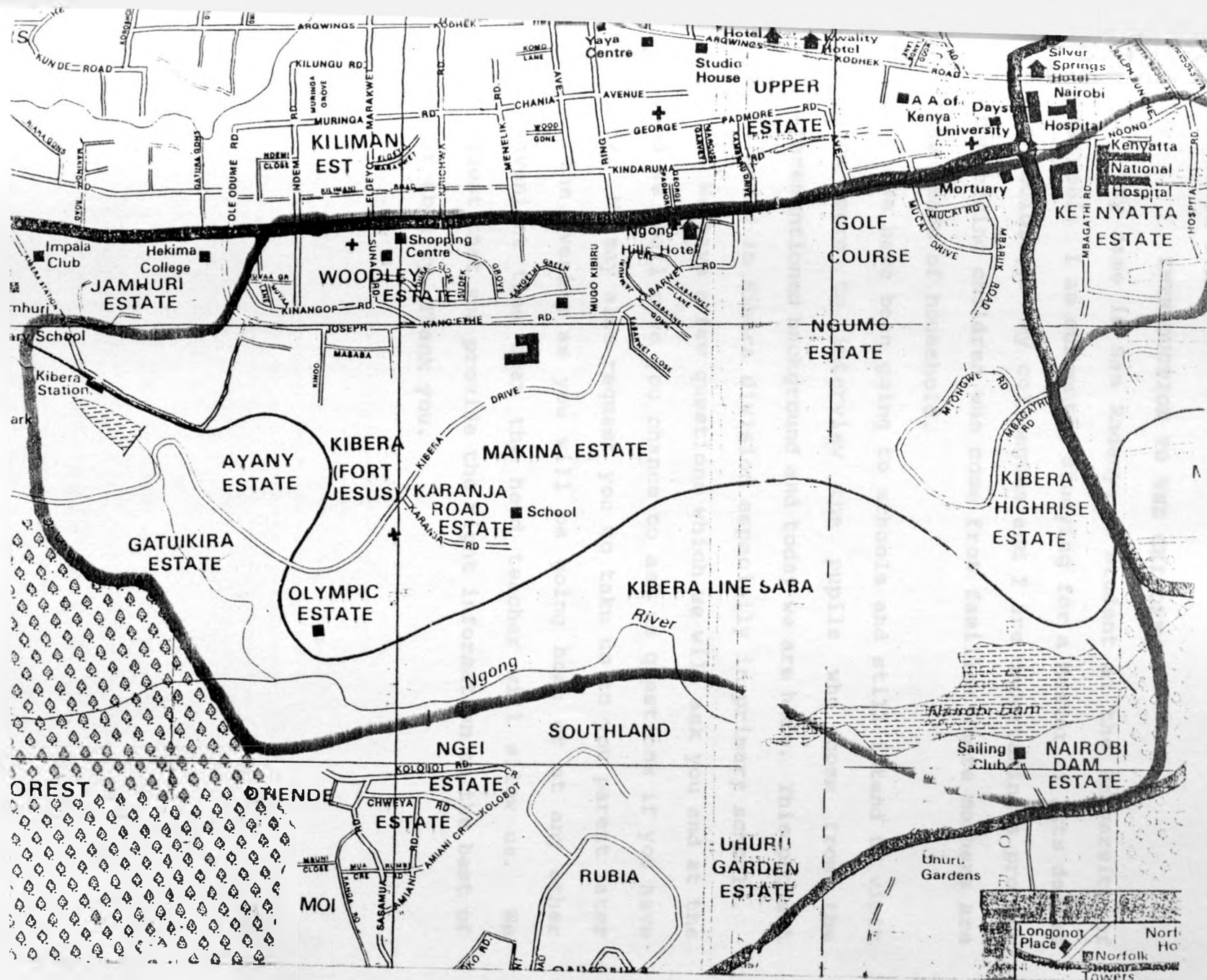
Persons with high level Achievement motivation exhibit the following characteristics; seeking help from experts, moderate risk taking, eagerness to have feed back of results of work being done, taking personal responsibility, interest in activities which can influence rather than those which depend on chance. Those with low Achievement motivation level

have the opposite characteristics to the above, (Amos, 1978:170; McClelland, 1961:39; and Atkinson, 1966:11)

The need for Achievement is also measured by, "assessing stories written by the subjects when they see a set of ambiguous pictures developed for this purpose. The pictures can be interpreted in many ways. The assumption is that the individual will interpret the picture in terms of Achievement, whether or not the person in the picture has the desire to achieve" (Kupershwamy, 1973:40)

The imaginative responses of the subjects were then scored accordingly by a team of judges. This is done by "identifying and counting the frequency with which imagery about evaluated performance appears in the thought of a person when he tells a brief story under time pressure" (Stender, 1964:232). The written essay, not based on interpretation of pictures but on a predetermined topic, was also measured the same way.

This was a process of identifying evidence of achievement motivation in stories told, in form of essay by the children. The essay with a predetermined first sentence read as follows: When I grow up I want to... The children were asked to complete the story. The essays were then assessed using a three- point scale typical of the Thurston 13-point scale (Babbie, 1983:369 - 371).



APPENDIX IVA

INTRODUCTION TO THE CHILDREN

My name is Sam Radeny, a student at the University of Nairobi. I am currently studying for a Master of Arts degree in Sociology. My colleagues and I are undertaking a project concerning children who come from families where mothers are the heads of household.

We have been going to schools and still intend to visit some more to interview the pupils who come from the aforementioned background and today we are here. This project is based in Kibera division especially in primary schools.

We have a few questions which we will ask you and at the end we shall give you chance to ask us questions if you have any. We may also request you to take us to you parent later in the evening as you will be going home or at any other convenient time that the head teacher will allow us. We request that you provide the right information to the best of your ability. Thank you.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I CHILDREN ONLY

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

1. What is the name of your school? _____
2. What class are you? _____
3. Where do you live?
Road _____
House No _____
Telephone Number _____
4. What is the size of the house in which you live?
One room _____
One bedroomed _____
Two rooms _____
Two bedroomed _____
Three and above bedroomed _____
Other (specify) _____
5. What is your age? _____
6. What is your sex?
Male _____
Female _____
7. What is your ethnic group?
Nubian _____
Kikuyu _____
Luo _____
Luhya _____
Gusi _____
Akamba _____
Other (specify) _____

INFORMATION ON SIBLINGS

8. How many children are you in the family? _____
9. How many brothers and how many sisters? _____

Brothers_____

Sisters_____

10. How many of your brothers and sisters are older than you?_____

11. Indicate below the level of education your brothers and sisters have attained.

A) Std 8 & below _____
Form 4 _____
Form 6 _____
College/University_____

B) Std 8 & below _____
Form 4 _____
Form 6 _____
College/University_____

C) Std 8 & below _____
Form 4 _____
Form 6 _____
College/University_____

D) Std 8 & below _____
Form 4 _____
Form 6 _____
College/University_____

12. Are your followers going to school?
Yes_____No_____

13. If they are not going to school, where are them?

What are they doing?_____

14. Are your elder brothers and sisters working?
Yes_____No_____

15. If they are not working, what are they doing?

16. Has any of your sisters married?

Yes_____No_____

17. Has any of your sisters ever separated or divorced?

Yes_____No_____

18. Is any of them separated or divorced now?
 Yes_____ No_____
19. How many are separated or divorced now?_____
20. Where do they/she lives? with mother_____
 With grandparents_____
 With relatives_____
 In her own house_____
 Other (specify)_____
21. Has any of your sisters given birth?
 Yes_____ No_____
22. If yes in above was she still going to school or she had left?
 Had left_____
 Was still going to school_____
23. Where is she living now?
 With mother_____
 In her own house_____
 With grandparents_____
 With relatives_____
 Other (specify)_____

CHILD EDUCATION PERFORMANCE

24. What were your class positions during the following terms?
 Last year 1991
 Term 1_____
 Term 2_____
 Term 3_____
 Out of_____
 This year 1992
 Term 1_____
 Term 2_____
 Term 3_____
 Out of_____
25. Do you think you could have performed better than this?
 Yes_____ No_____
26. Are there any problems which have often affected your Performance? Yes_____ No_____

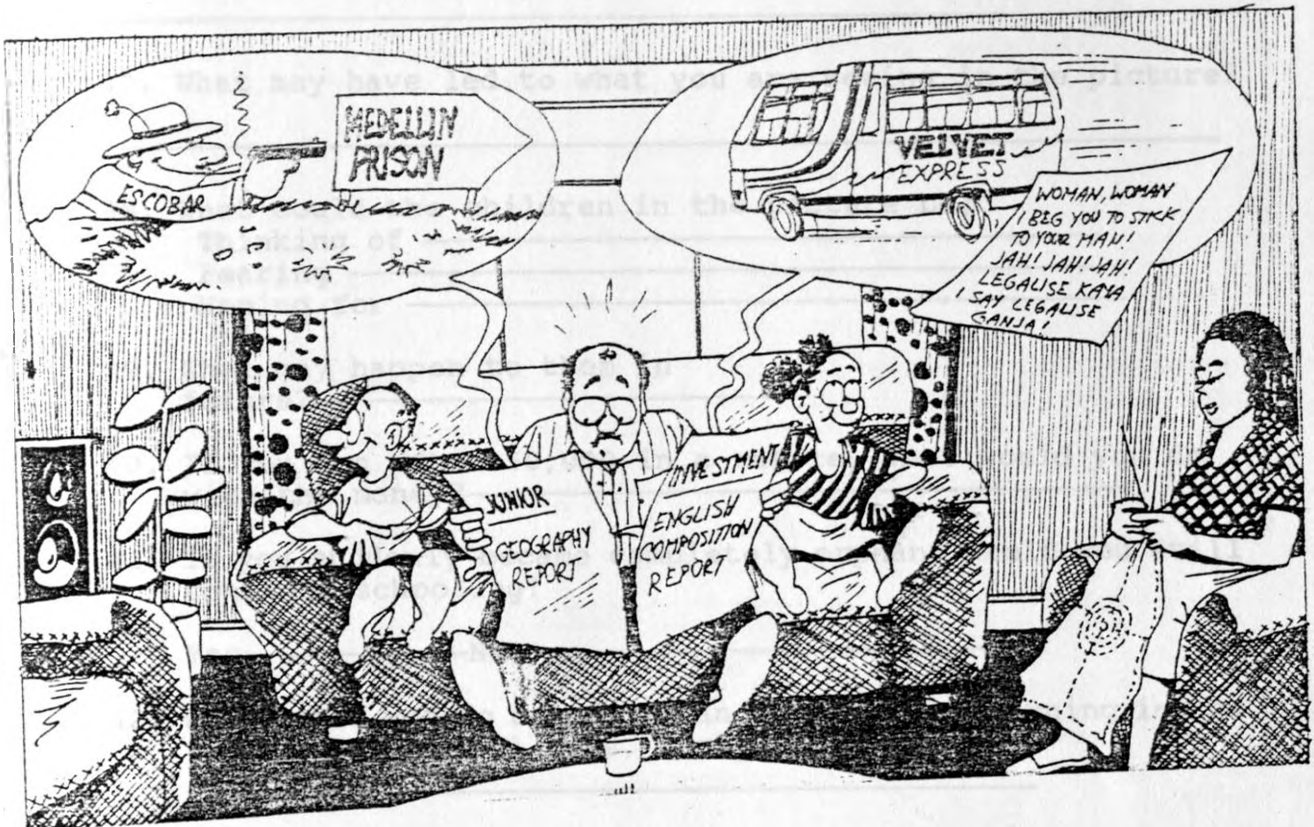
27. If yes in above, what are some of these problems? (List in order of significance).
- Lack of school fees _____
 - Lack of text books _____
 - Lack of private tuition _____
 - Inadequate teaching _____
 - Limited time for study at home _____
 - Lack of room for study at home _____
 - Other (specify) _____
28. Do you ever read or study at home?
 Yes _____ No _____
29. Who assists you incase of difficulties with your homework?
- Mother _____
 - Father _____
 - Brother _____
 - Sister _____
 - None _____
 - Uncle _____
 - Other (specify) _____
30. If it is your mother, how often does she help?
- Very frequently _____
 - Moderately frequent _____
 - Very infrequent _____

MOTIVATION TO ACHIEVE

31. What would you want to be when you finish school?

32. What level of education would you want to attain?
- University _____
 - College _____
 - Form 4 _____
 - Std. 8 _____
33. Write a short essay on how you would want to achieve your goal in question 31 above. (Not more than 80 words)
 When I finish school, I want to be a...

THE PICTURE



If you had Kshs. 100 in your pocket and you come across the "Barata" players and you decide to join the play, how much of the money would you be willing to play with in order to get the equivalent?

would not play at all

Less than 25

25-50

50-75

75-100

More than 100

Don't know

Other

35. Looking at the picture, what would you say is happening to the two children?

35. In the picture who could be doing what and to or for whom?

37. What may have led to what you are seeing in the picture?

38. What could the children in the picture be;

Thinking of _____

Fearing _____

Hoping for _____

39. What may happen to them in future?_____

40. If you won KShs. 50,000 in a raffle, what would you do with the money?_____

41. If you suddenly became completely orphan, would you still continue schooling?

Yes_____No_____

42. What would you do as an orphan to continue learning in the absence of school fees, books, uniform etc?

43. If you had KShs. 100 in your pocket and you come across the "Karata" players and you decide to join the play, how much of the money would you be willing to play with in order to get the equivalent? _____

I would not play at all _____

Shs. 10-20_____

Shs. 30-40_____

Shs. 60-100_____

44. To what extent do you agree with the saying, "Lack is superior to ability?"

Strongly agree_____

Agree_____

Neutral_____

Disagree _____
Strongly disagree _____

45. After doing an exam in class, how do you feel before results are released?

Nothing at all _____
Fear for failure _____
Anxious to get the results _____
Not anxious to know the result _____

46. When you have a difficult mathematics problem in your class whose assistance do you often seek?

Maths teacher _____
Class teacher _____
Class mate or friend _____
No one _____
Other (specify) _____

47. If your teacher gave you a difficult mathematics question which you cannot attempt, what would you do or what do you always do?

Try it severally and leave it alone if defeated _____
Try it then take it to the maths teacher if defeated _____
Just leave it alone _____
Ask my friends _____
Copy the right answer from a friend _____
Other (specify) _____

SOCIAL CONDUCT

48. Have you ever been punished in school?
Yes _____ No _____

49. Have you ever been punished at home?
Yes _____ No _____

50. If you have, who punishes you at home?
Mother _____
Brother _____
Sister _____
Other (specify) _____

51. How often are you punished at home?
Very frequently _____
(almost daily) _____
Frequently _____
(1-2 times a week) _____
Rarely _____
(Only once in a while) _____

- Very infrequently_____
- (Very few times in a term, specify)
52. How frequently are you punished in school
- Very frequently_____
- (almost daily)
- Frequently_____
- (1-2 times a week)
- Rarely _____
- (Only once in a while)
- Very infrequently_____
- (Very few times in a term, specify)
53. For what particular offenses are you often punished;
- at home? _____
- In school?_____
54. Have you ever fought;
- In School?
- Yes _____ No _____
- At home Yes _____ No _____
55. If you have fought, how many times this year can you remember since the year began?
- At home_____
- In school_____
56. Have you ever been punished by the police or the local authority?
- Police Yes _____ No _____
- Chief or D.O. etc? Yes _____ No _____
57. If you have been punished by any of the above, what was the nature of the offence?_____
58. What do you do when another child offends you?
- At home_____
- In school_____
59. Have you ever offended another child?
- Yes _____ No. _____
60. How frequently do you offend other children?
- Very frequently _____
- Frequently_____
- Very infrequently_____
- Not at all_____
61. In what ways have you offended them?
- _____
62. Do you ever ask for forgiveness after offending them?
- Yes _____ No _____

63. Have you ever run away from home to live elsewhere?
Yes_____ No _____
64. If you have, what was the cause of your flight?

65. Do you ever refuse food when punished?
Yes_____ No _____
66. Are you ever punished by your mother, how often is this?
Very frequently
(almost daily)_____
Less frequently
(once a week)_____
Very infrequently
(very few times a month)_____
68. How would you rate the frequency of punishment your mother always gives?
Very normal_____
Normal_____
Slightly more than normal _____
Quite beyond normal_____
69. has your mother ever punished you for a mistake you have not made?
Yes_____ No. _____
70. If your mother ever punished you for a mistake you have not made, how frequent has this been?
Very frequently
(Very many times)_____
Frequently
(Not very many times) _____
Very frequently
(Very few times)_____

CHILD NEEDS

71. Does your parent(s) provide everything you need at home?
Yes_____ No _____
72. In your view, what particular things or good you consider important that are never provided by your parent(s)?_____
73. What do you think could be the reason for failure of your parent(s) to provide these important?
Lack of money_____
I do not know_____
Parent(s) just refuse_____

Other(specify)_____

ACCEPTABILITY OF CHILD

74. Do you have a father?
Yes _____ No _____
75. Do your best friend(s) Have a father?
Yes _____ No _____
76. Do your friends or other children sometimes talk bad of you or molest you in any way because you do not have a father?
Yes _____ No _____
77. If they ever molest you, in what ways do they often do this?

78. How do you often feel when other children boast of what their fathers bought them and you do not have that thing yourself?
Very bad _____
Bad _____
Normal _____
Other(specify) _____
79. Have you ever sought to know from your mother who your father is?
Yes _____ No _____
80. If you have ever sought to know what answer were you given or have always been given? _____
81. What do you always say whenever you are asked where your father is? _____

APPENDIX IVB

INTRODUCTION

I am Samson Radeny, a student at the University of Nairobi's Department of Sociology. We are undertaking a research project concerning female heads of households and their children. We are interested essentially in the situation of such mothers so far as their running of the household and child care are concerned.

The project covers parts of Kibera division here in Nairobi and has been authorised by the government through the Office of the President. Since there are so many mothers of this kind in Nairobi, it will not be possible to interview all but a few of them. The few have been selected scientifically or randomly and so you happen to be one of them.

The result of this project will be used by the government through it's various departments to look into the problems of female heads of households and their children. We have a few questions to ask you and if you allow us we will begin right away. At the end of the interview we shall give you a chance to ask any questions you may be having. Your cooperation in making this project a success by answering these few and easy questions will be appreciated.

PART II

MOTHERS ONLY

PERSONAL HISTORY

82. Where do you live?_____
83. What is the size of your house (eg. one bedroomed etc.)

84. How old are you?_____
85. What is your ethnic group?_____
86. What is your occupation?_____
87. What is your level of education?
University _____
Form 6 _____
Form 4 _____
Std. 8 and below _____
None _____
88. What is your marital status?
Divorced _____
Separated _____
Unmarried _____
Widowed _____
89. Are you head of this household?
Yes _____ No _____
90. If you are not head of this household, who is head?
Mother _____
Father _____
Elder sister _____
Aunt _____
Uncle _____
Other (specify) _____
91. How many dependants do you have?
One _____
Two _____
Three _____
Four _____
Five _____
Six _____
Seven _____
Eight _____
Nine + _____

92. Of the above dependants, how many are your own?

One _____
Two _____
Three _____
Four _____
Five _____
Six _____
Seven _____
Eight _____
Nine+ _____

93. Do they all live with you?

Yes _____ No _____

94. If no, how many live elsewhere? _____

95. With whom are they living?

My parents _____

My grandparents _____

With my sisters _____

Other (specify) _____

INFORMATION ON OFFSPRING

96. What is the age of your first born child?

97. What is the age of your last born child?

98. Is any of your children married?

Yes _____ No _____

99. If yes, when was the first one married? _____

100. Was it a daughter _____ or a son _____

101. If daughter, do you have others?
yes _____ No _____

102. Does any of your daughters have a child or children and
is living with you?
Yes _____ No _____

103. Does any of your daughters have a child or children and
is living elsewhere (not married)?
yes _____ No _____

104. If yes, where is she
living? _____
Her own house _____ with grandparents _____

With her sister_____with a relative _____
Other (specify)_____

105 Has any of your daughters ever divorced or separated?

Yes_____ No _____

106 If yes in above, where is she living now?

Her own house- _____

With grandparents_____

With her sister_____

With a relative _____

Other (specify)_____

HOUSEHOLD NEEDS

107. What is your average monthly income?

Less than KShs. 1000 _____

KShs. 1000 - Shs. 3000 _____

KShs. 3000 - Shs. 9000_____

KShs. 10000 and above_____

108. How many of your dependants are still going to school?

None_____ One _____

Two_____ Three_____

Four_____ Five_____

Six and above_____

109. Are there some/any of school going age who are/is not attending school?

Yes_____ No_____

110. Are you entitled to medical allowance?

Yes_____No _____

111. If no, who finances your family's medical needs?

Myself_____

My parents_____

Relatives_____

Friends_____

Other (specify)_____

12. If yourself, do you always manage to pay for your family's medical needs?

Yes _____No _____

113. If no, how do you always meet your family's medical needs

114. Approximately how long do you stay with your children during your free time?

Not at all _____
Less than one hour daily _____
Only during the weekends _____

115. Do you ever assist your children with their homework?

Yes _____ No _____

116. If no, who often assists them?

Elder brother _____
Elder sister _____
Their uncle _____
None _____
Other (specify) _____

117. Does anybody live with you who assists you in the running of the family?

Yes _____ No _____

118. If Yes, what is the sex of the person?

Male _____ Female _____

119. What is the relationship with you?

Brother _____
Sister _____
Friend _____
Mother _____
Other (specify) _____

120. What is the person's age? _____

121. What is the reason for your children not attending school?

Lack of school fees _____
Child's refusal to attend _____
Persistent illness _____
Child sent away from school _____
Other (specify) _____

122. Who pays for your children's school fees and other requirements?

Myself _____
Father of child _____
My parents _____
Other (specify) _____

123. If yourself do you always manage to pay these without difficulty?

Yes _____ No _____

124. If no, which basic requirements do you find difficult to

provide? (list in descending order of difficulty).

Food _____
Clothing _____
Bedding _____
Good health _____
School books _____
School uniforms _____
Proper housing _____
Other (specify) _____

25. What could be the cause of inability to provide the above items? _____

126. Does anybody help you take care of the children?

Yes _____ No _____

127. Do you know what structural Adjustment Policies mean?

Yes _____ No _____

128. Yes in above, has it affected your affordability of goods or services in any way?

Yes _____ No _____

129. If yes in above, what particular goods or services can't you afford now than before the introduction of the
S t r u c t u r a l A d j u s t m e n t
Policies? _____

130. Which denomination do you belong?

Catholic _____
Protestant _____
Islam _____
Other (specify) _____

131. Do your children also belong here?

Yes _____ No _____

132. If no, why and where do they belong? _____

133. Are your children baptised?

Yes _____ No _____

134. If no, why are they not baptised?

135. Does the church ever refuse baptism for your children?

Yes _____ No _____

136. If it does, for what reason? _____

137. Has any of your children ever been arrested by the police?
Yes_____ No _____
138. If yes, for what offence(s)?
Stealing_____
Fighting_____
Smoking_____
Drug taking_____
Vagrancy _____
Other (specify)_____
139. Do your children ever commit offenses at home?
Yes_____ No _____
140. If yes, do you ever punish them?
Yes_____ No _____
141. Is there any of your children you always punish?
Yes_____ No _____
142. If yes, for what particular offenses?
Stealing_____
Fighting_____
Smoking_____
Drug taking_____
Coming home late_____
Other (specify)_____
143. Do you ever receive complaints or unpleasant reports about any of your children?
Yes_____ No _____
144. If yes, what is usually the nature of complaint?
Abusing others_____
Stealing_____
Fighting other children_____
Other (specify)_____
145. When you punish your children do they or any of them have the tendency to i) run away from home?
Yes _____ No _____
ii) refuse food?
Yes _____ No _____
146. How would you rate the frequency of punishment of all sorts you always give your children?
Very frequent_____
Moderately frequent_____
Very infrequent_____

147. What kind of punishment do you often give your children?
Caning _____
Beating _____
Quarrelling _____
Denying them food _____
Locking them out of the house _____
Other (specify) _____
148. Do your children have friends in the neighbourhood?
Yes _____ No _____
149. If yes do they pay together?
Yes _____ No _____
150. Do you ever receive complaints from your children that they are treated badly by their play-mates?
Yes _____ No _____
151. Has any parent ever complained to you because your child beat his or hers?
Yes _____ No _____
152. If yes, how often?
Many times _____
Few times _____
Only once in a while _____
153. Have you ever complained to another parent because of her children's treatment of yours?
Yes _____ No _____
154. If yes, what is often the nature of the ill-treatment?
Beating _____
Teasing _____
Showing off _____
Refusal to play with their things _____
Abuses _____
Other (specify) _____
155. Do your children ever complain about the way you always treat them?
Yes _____ No _____