

## **"I CANNOT fall pregnant!" – The girl-body and the educational success of young women from single-headed households in South Africa.**

### **Abstract**

Girls from single-parent households in South Africa (90% of whom are Black African or coloured) have significantly lower educational outcomes than other demographics. Using life-history interviews, this paper explores the experiences of thirty women brought up in single-headed households who have been successful in their educational endeavours as university students or graduates. Results show that pressures on girls from single-headed households to look after the family and domestic sphere, and to protect their bodies from sexual abuse, leave many girls depleted of the time, energy, and the mental capacity required to study. Despite these challenges the participants have escaped the perceived weight of their female burden in a post-apartheid, patriarchal society and to reclaim their bodies and sense of agency through educational success.

### **Keywords**

Child abuse, Female autonomy, Female educational attainment, Gendered abuse, Girlhood, Single-headed households,

### **Introduction**

Whilst girlhood (particularly of primary-school-age) has received growing attention from scholars, practitioners and policymakers through a range of projects focusing on young girls' education, teenage girls and older girls have not received the same attention. Recentring teenage girls and older girls in debates around education is critical to understanding the persistence of barriers to higher education for women and girls. By focusing on access to and success in higher education, this article explores the lived experiences and trajectories of girls from single-headed families whilst navigating life in South Africa. This article explores the history of single-parent and single-headed households in South Africa and what this means for girls who have managed to achieve educational success. Our research presents the narratives of thirty women from single-headed households who have gained, are studying toward an undergraduate degree. Their powerful stories capture the stark realities of gendered violence and the expectations of girls. The main themes presented here are the commodification of girl-bodies within the household, expectations of the female body (the girl-body at risk), and the reclamation of the girl-body (education to gain agency). The need to overcome these issues to gain autonomy over their bodies is an important part of maintaining their identity and allowing them to continue striving for educational attainment. Through 'not getting pregnant' and obtaining an undergraduate degree, the women gain control of their future determined not to repeat the cycle of poverty.

## **Background**

South Africa has faced a period of economic redevelopment post-colonization that exacerbated political tension between ethnic groups. Despite noticeable advances in access, Black African, coloured and Indian girls remain at a significant disadvantage compared to their white counterparts. Racial hierarchy can still determine who is most likely to be afforded opportunities and who is not, with research indicating that growing up in a single-headed family structure negatively affects children's educational performance (De Lange *et al.*, 2014; Sadiq *et al.*, 2019; Hendricks, 2018). Globally, academic achievement is a likely predictor of income, poverty levels, and health and wellbeing. At the same time, poverty operates as a predictor of academic success, with those in poverty less likely to reach higher levels of educational attainment. Identified as one of the key Sustainable Development Goals enshrined in South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030, quality education for all remains an elusive objective.

South Africa demonstrates high levels of female single-headed households at around 47% of all family households. Nearly 82% of these female-headed households fall below the poverty line, often finding it difficult to procure their basic needs, such as food, water and housing (Statistics South Africa, 2018). These statistics have increased markedly with the loss of life during the COVID-19 pandemic. Since women are over-represented in lower-paying jobs, female-headed households are likely to remain in poverty (Parry and Gordon, 2021). The stigma around single-parenting is still prevalent globally, with children more likely to be in poverty, have low educational attainment, use substances, gain a criminal record, develop ill health, or die prematurely (JRF, 2018; Mulia, 2017). For this study, single-headed households are defined as being without a co-resident partner, others who have taken on this role when both parents are absent (such as a grandparent, neighbour, or friend), or an older child caring for younger siblings where no adult is present.

## **Framing Girlhood Studies**

Girlhood scholars have mapped the fluidity of meanings and discourses of *girling* in the neoliberal era, shaped by the cultural, socio-political and economic forces (McRobbie, 2007), directing girls to harness innate potential toward critical gender development and elimination of discrimination against women. A conceptual definition of girlhood, in a culturally diverse, systemically patriarchal, racially fractured, and economically imbalanced post-apartheid neoliberal South African context, scrutinizes understandings of the term *girl*. *Girl* conveys prejudiced and pejorative inferences when used in the South African context and suggests a demeaning and complex association between Black African girl children and women. Economically subjugated working-class girls' positions are sustained by antiquated exclusion, slavery, indenture, apartheid, colonization, and racialized systemic stigma that devalues the girl-child from birth to death (Skourtes, 2016). The term provided one of the many ways of entrenching deep psychological wounds by creating a stigmatizing perception of inferiority

based on gender, class, and racial differences. Arguably, race is the most significant intersection of girlhood experiences, particularly among young Black African girls.

Working with narratives from predominantly young Black African women raised and living in South Africa, this paper addresses expectations and conformity of gender roles and representations and how participants negotiate these intersections and terrains, defined by structural and material contexts.

### **Method and research strategy**

This study adapted methodologies focused on memory, participatory research and policy to capture the life-stories of participants in an attempt to break the 'relative silence' (Moletsane *et al.*, 2008, p 3) in the research literature on growing up female in South Africa. The research method draws upon feminist perspectives around researcher/participant dynamics, conducting narrative life history interviews, and the sensitivities involved with researching such complex and emotionally sensitive stories. While qualitative research in limited numbers cannot be generalizable to an entire population, our narrative interviews highlight the importance of core issues and provide unique insight into the lived experience of women within the South African context. The recurrence of experience within our sample is a powerful indicator of the need to address issues of gender, race and abuse.

The experiences shared during the interviews raise issues around trauma, experiences of violence, rape and severe sexual assault against minors. All the participants in the research were describing the past, which can have the effect of re-traumatizing the participant, bringing up unwanted memories and feelings, or giving power and autonomy (a space) to the individual sharing their memories on their terms (Bathmaker, 2010). The participants were selected by a non-probability snowball sampling method. They all signed informed consent documents and were allowed to withdraw from the study at any time. Pseudonyms were used in the data analysis, and participants consented to the digital recording of interviews.

One female researcher conducted all the interviews online or on the telephone due to lockdown restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic. The interviews took place between April and June 2021. The participants were paid R250 each in vouchers for their time and the internet data required for the interviews. The same researcher transcribed the interviews and shared the anonymised data with the research team. The research team took a proportion of the interviews and worked in pairs to identify common themes to start data analysis. These themes were discussed with the larger team, and a consensus of the main themes was used for coding. A statistician was employed to code the interviews in NVivo. The rest of the team coded twenty per cent for accuracy.

This study was part of a larger study supported by the Global Challenges Research Fund. A total of forty people (from single-headed households who had gained) were interviewed.

Twenty students and twenty staff/alumni from the University of KwaZulu Natal and the University of Stellenbosch were selected for interviews. Thirty of these participants were women, and their responses are the focus of this paper. Twenty-two of the women described themselves as Black African, five as white, two as coloured, and one as Indian. The majority (22) described themselves as Christian, and their ages ranged from 20 to 49 years old.

## **Findings and Discussion**

Bringing together participants' narratives on the role of the body in their educational trajectories, the findings section explores the multi-faceted realities of the girl-body in the single-headed household. It identifies some of their implications in relation to schooling and education. Their powerful stories capture the stark realities of gendered violence and the expectations of girls. Three interlinked themes are presented here: the commodification of girl-bodies within the household, expectations of the female body (the girl-body at risk), and the reclamation of the girl-body (education to gain agency).

### **The commodification of girl-bodies within the household**

The expectations of girls growing up in single-headed households are very different between Black African, coloured, Indian and white families in our study. The resources, structure, and emotional and financial support of white participants differed from that of the other participants.

*My dad paid for my studies. My mum was very supportive; she encouraged me and was positive; she was really a beautiful soul. My dad bought me a little Golf that I could drive around. Anything I needed, he would get for me. I didn't struggle for anything. (Danielle, white)*

*School wasn't difficult to access. I was in a private school, and it was great while I was at school. I was well provided for and had a good allowance. When I went out with friends, I had a credit card. In primary school, when my mum or one of my parents took us to the movies or for ice cream, I knew I had enough funds, so I didn't need to work at all. (Lisa, white)*

Within the Black African families, the caregiving and domestic duties in the household were given to the female children. This was prioritized before any studying or homework that had to be completed for school.

*I had to clean the house, plus I had to do extramural activities. All that was done after school. I also had to cook. I had to go to the library to study because at the location or*

*Township, it was very noisy. There're always gunshots, loud music, screaming and shouting. It was impossible to study in the location. (Atile, Black African)*

*School stuff trying to do homework was difficult because we come home, we have to do with the washing of uniforms and getting ready for tomorrow, getting all the younger children ready and by the time we're done with all our chores it was, it was getting dark. It was difficult at home; there was no space. We are on top of each other trying to do homework in the house, trying to share a paraffin light and sometimes, if we don't have money for paraffin. It was impossible circumstances. (Ntombi, Black African)*

Black African girls could not go to school if they had to look after younger children or unwell family members. Schooling held the least priority for girls when they had chores to attend to and siblings to look after and was seen as unimportant for girls as a life skill. By the time they could study each day, they often could not see because of a lack of access to light within the household. They would have to wake up at first light, complete their chores and go to school early to complete homework tasks.

*My sister was 3 months old, and I was 5 years, and my brother was 10. We had no other family. No, wait we had family, just no one who wanted a bunch of charity kids. So, we lived alone. My neighbour helped with Khethi (3-month-old). We didn't know how to look after a baby. My father refused to give her money, so my brother used to work in the spaza shop to help pay her to look after Khethi. (Mwali, Black African)*

*I was the older child so I had to do chores. My cousins were younger and noisy. They troubled me a lot. I had to play with them and keep them busy. It meant I couldn't study. My aunt said it's not important to study and I was wasting my time. She would always leave the children with me even on weekends because she would go visiting. The children were very naughty. (Tlali, Black African)*

Patriarchal views were still upheld by female single-parent households. Several participants mentioned that the boys of the family were treated differently. They got food before the girls and were expected to study rather than do chores. The importance of education was a priority for male members of the household, and chores may not be given to them at all so that they could achieve an education.

*When you are so many people in a small house, you have to share everything. But in the house, it's better to be a boy because boys get things first, and what is left over, the girls get. (Bhokang, Black African)*

Not all girls' experiences were negative. Some participants stated that they were not expected to do chores at all and that their parents were very financially and emotionally supportive. Some women stated how their parents or other caregivers had strived to help them achieve an education, recognizing the importance of it, over and above learning how to take care of a household.

*I had support from my mum to this day. They always put me first and made sure that I was always provided for. Many of my friends had to do chores growing up but I only did chores in school holidays. I only studied. (Tebo, Black African)*

*My mum and granny made me who I am. Their love and support. My brother was the oldest in the house. He took care of us like a father (Batho, Black African)*

Two of the women stated that they lived in child-headed households at some point during their childhood. This left them vulnerable and one of the women stated how this left her and her 16-year-old cousin (head of the household) at risk of violation from the next-door neighbour. The lack of support from males that impregnated girls is explored further in the next section.

*When I was 10, I went to stay with my 16-year-old cousin for seven months. I was tired of all the noise. We lived alone. I had to wake up really early to cook and clean the house. I had my first job now at 10 years old. I cleaned the house and wash clothes for the neighbour next door. He would pay me R20 per day. I didn't work every day. He used to give me cosmetics too. He worked in a cosmetic factory. He lived alone. The one day, he tried to grab me and force himself on me. I went back home. I wanted out of this life. My cousin got pregnant at 16 with the same neighbour's child. He left her no money, nothing. (Noma, Black African).*

The expectations of female children within single-parent households varied according to the ethnic background, with Black African girls faring particularly poorly. Many of these girls had to find jobs to buy food as well as labour in the domestic sphere. Several participants said they had to protect themselves and their siblings from violence and abuse whilst navigating paid and unpaid domestic work. These narratives suggest the commodification of the girl-body which is treated as a resource and reduced to physical and domestic labour. Girls' agency is subjugated to the corporeal, and their intellectual/educational needs or desires are denied. Therefore, investing in education and studying was extremely difficult, or in some cases impossible, as it lies outside the realm of expectation for the girl-body.

### **Expectations of the female body – the girl-body at risk**

The narratives in this section are particularly harrowing. The women who participated in this research were very open about their experiences, hoping it may stop other girls from having the same experiences.

One of the participants described how disappointed she was in her mother for choosing prostitution as a way of providing for the family. She judged this an unnecessary choice that automatically made her a bad parent. Her mother had also involved her younger brother in prostitution, taking money over the health and autonomy of her child. This choice had further-reaching consequences than she had even realized as a child, which was only revealed through tragedy.

*I grew up with my mum. She's dead now from COVID. I thought HIV would have killed her much sooner. I know that is a harsh thing for someone to say about their mother, but she won't win mother of the year. I lived with my brother and her. She was a prostitute, like a hooker. No, I am not embarrassed because I am a way better mother than she ever was. She wouldn't work as a domestic, but she would open her legs for hundreds of men. She would say it's to put food on the table. She used to take my younger brother, saying that he must stay with another friend. I only found out years later after he hung himself that she was making men fuck him. (Minnie, Black African)*

Although the above example was of a male child being involved in losing bodily autonomy, girls are frequently forced to use their bodies to protect themselves and provide for their families. Older female siblings like Mbali and her brother try to intervene to their detriment. Although Bonga was not killed as was suggested in the quote below, Mbali was brutally raped, yet had to continue the role of the female head of the household and to look after the siblings that her father allowed to be abused. Above her regular duties, this one incident left Bonga with severe disabilities, which Mbali was left to incorporate into her care of her family.

*They took Khethi and were playing with her like uncles should, making like funny faces and things. I was happy because she was laughing. Then they opened her nappy and start to touch her private. Bonga dropped the pot and went to grab her. My dad grabbed him and punched him, and pressed his face on the hot pot. They didn't do anything to Khethi, and they threw her to the floor. She was screaming. Bonga was dead, I thought, but these men were laughing and drinking and playing loud music. I was crying over Bonga when the two men grabbed me. I blacked out watched my father laugh. It was the day before I turn 6. I woke up, and my body was hurting and bleeding. (Mbali, Black African)*

Sex is not often a choice for girls and can be something that men and boys feel they can take when they want or in exchange for something that the girl needs, such as a lift to school. However, when girls are raped, they disgrace the family and suffer in silence, alone dealing

with the physical and mental effects of being raped. This can lead to a detrimental relationship with their own body and a significant risk of catching a disease, including HIV.

*So, I was raped by my mum's boyfriend when I was 7. After months of it happening, my mum caught him, and she gave me a beating. I used to get blisters, and only now did I realize that this man gave me STIs (Sexually Transmitted Infections). He also gave me HIV, but I collected all the two rands he gave me, and I could buy smarties whenever I wanted. That's how I made money when we didn't have food. So, I would prostitute myself, so I could feed my siblings. It's not like anyone would give an 11-year-old work. Every time there was rain, the shack would wash away. I struggled. But even if I missed school, I would sit and study. I used to work very hard on my school work. (Bena, Black African)*

*Things are bad, and there are bad people. I had to learn how to speak English properly so that I was respected. That's how I got into Stellenbosch. Black people have to use their bodies to survive, and there is no shame in it, but it's sad. (Bena, Black African)*

*Not safe [to get to school], but you walk with people. Sometimes my uncle would take me with the car if I had sex in the morning. (Lindelani, Black African)*

These quotes highlight issues around how girls are seen as commodities by men and discarded easily. There was no indication from White or Indian participants of forced sexual relationships. However, they still found themselves in situations where they had children at a young age, and the children's fathers were no longer around. Danielle did not focus on her university studies, as she constantly changed courses and did not concentrate in class. She habitually dated older men, i.e. her father's friends. She now has two children and is angered at working as an administrator.

*I got a boyfriend when I was 16. He told me all the right things. He was good to me and bought me clothes and handbags. It was the first time anyone was so kind to me, and he spoke so lovingly. He told me that not all men were like my father and that he loves me and will take care of me. He was the first and, till today, the only guy I slept with. I will never trust another man. He was 19 and at University. He came from the area. His parents were business people. I got pregnant. They asked me to have an abortion, and they will pay for everything. I didn't agree. I wrote my exams pregnant. (Reena, Indian)*

*Most of my dating happened with me and my dad's friends and one of their son so I haven't had the best luck in dating. Nothing's worked out I've got two kids. They are amazing everything I do it's for them. Their dads are not really much in the picture, we*



*cut ties, and of course, they pay maintenance for the children but other than that, there is no relationship. I enjoy casual relationships. (Danielle, white)*

All participants had the perception that once girls accept gifts, they will get pregnant, and the men will leave them. All of the women shared their low expectations of men, which came from their own experiences and the experiences of women and girls around them. However, as evidenced in Noma's testimony (previous section), it was also accepted that one way to get out of poverty or to be able to pay for food, clothing or shelter was to find a man that was willing to buy them gifts. This was usually with an expectation that sex was part of the 'deal' once gifts were accepted.

Sexual exploitation experiences among participants vary in age and contextual circumstances. Evidence of sexual socialization, grooming, and gifting culminates in establishing the financial benefits of sexual acts. Sexual predators employ opportunistic strategies, responding to girls' from impoverished communities wants and basic needs. Driven by poverty, needs, and wants, the girl-child is manipulated and believes that the choice to endure inappropriate sexual demands from an adult is a choice of the necessary. The girl-child's age and socio-economic conditions increase her risk of being used for sex. Lilhe's circumstances began with her teacher exploiting her sexually. Lihle was then raped, stigmatized, and burdened for this sexual violence imposed on her through no fault of her own. Lihle's reputation at age 10 was tarnished irreparably in her community. Sustained patriarchy ensured that there were no punitive measures for statutory rape from her teacher and boy rapists.

*I was 10 and I was talking to a teacher who was giving me advice. One day he wanted to give me a lift home because there were some fighting somewhere around. He said that he will give me R5 to touch his private, but he also made me do other things, very dirty things but not like sex. He would buy me things and give me money sometimes. Some boys at school saw me with Mr ..... (teacher) and caught me after school and raped me. I went home crying and my mother called me a whore. My father belted me. When I went back to school some few days later, Mr ..... didn't want anything to do with me. My story was all over in my area. Mr .... said I am used goods and that he was saving me for him. (Lihle, Black African)*

The research participants were open and honest about the hardships they faced and the abuse they had endured. Although they were determined to succeed in life, they still felt ashamed of the violations of their bodies that occurred during their girlhood. The stigma of having had sexual relationships, albeit unwillingly, is marred by the fact that the girls would receive gifts in exchange. This makes them feel as though they were accepting of what was happening rather than recognize they were being abused by people who are supposed to care for them. In Lindelani's example, her aunt allowed the rape to happen so that Lindelani would get pregnant, but the aunt would raise the babies as her own. This complicity in the sexual

abuse of young girls by women makes it difficult for girls to find someone to trust. Further, it supports the ongoing brutal patriarchal system for those in the lowest economic positions.

*I am ashamed that's all. I only came to know that it was rape recently or maybe I knew and I ignored it. My uncle would rape me every chance he got because he said I had to pay to live there and eat their food. He bought me nice clothes and a cell phone. I got my first baby at 14 and another at 16. My aunt was very happy because she didn't have babies. I didn't want them (Lindelani, Black African)*

This section has shown quite powerfully, through the uncensored narratives of our participants, how the girl-body as a commodity is regarded as disposable. The girl-body is treated as a disposable resource, to be used, abused and discarded (and not to be 'invested in' through formal education). The women recall harrowing experiences of physical abuse, sometimes endured without recognition of the offence. Often this abuse is accompanied by the provision of necessities such as food and shelter, as well as luxuries such as nice clothes or cosmetics, which lock the girl-body into dependency relationships of power and control, again denying their agency.

### **The reclamation of the girl-body: education to gain agency**

Many women who shared their stories stated they were desperate for change. They saw education as a way of changing their lives and that of others like them. Education was their way of empowering themselves and taking back control of their bodies. In doing so, they set to upset the patriarchal power relations that governed their bodies and to reclaim their bodies through an agency afforded by education. A common statement, especially among the Black African participants, was "I CANNOT FALL PREGNANT!" They were emphatic about pregnancy creating a barrier to their educational attainment. This educational attainment would rescue them and sometimes their family members or female siblings from the cycle of poverty and abuse.

*I will go to school and get my degree to show people, especially my mother I am not a whore (Lihle, Black African)*

They use examples of the people in their lives to state how they do not want to end up. They recognize the injustice of the patriarchal expectations on them to get married and have children, but also how this does not usually turn out well for women from their socio-economic and racial backgrounds. If they did end up getting married, they wanted it to be on their terms and in a way that positively affects their position in society.

*The only plan was to feed our hungry stomachs. I don't want to be like my mother. To have children from all different men. She goes to church. I don't want to get married,*

*and I don't want to be like other Black girls to get pregnant in school. They do that and the boy leaves them, but they get a child grant to buy airtime and shoes and clothes. (Thando, Black African)*

*I didn't want to get pregnant before marriage. It was important for me to achieve everything first (Tebo, Black African)*

Some women were determined to use their education to change things for other girls who have experienced, or are likely to experience, the abuse they had to endure. The expectations around the autonomy of girls and their bodies needs to be changed; however, it is so ingrained into society that it can be difficult to impart this knowledge to others who are allowing this abuse to continue its cycle through the generations.

*There are too many of my sisters who are going through this. Now I am studying and I want to help them. My younger sister now is 14 and is having sex and doesn't listen to me. (Lihle, Black African)*

Through education, the women who have faced these barriers stand a chance at better future with increased wellbeing outcomes. Education has provided them with opportunities for independence through work and greater autonomy over their bodies.

There was a clear perception among the participants that falling pregnant would end put an end to educational endeavour. They saw a baby or pregnancy as somewhat of a 'curse' that kept them in their cycle of poverty and prevented them from attaining success.

*No one must fall pregnant that we try to do well at school, and we tried to get funding to university. This was a big thing we had four of the 6 that went to university and 2 are working. (Ntombi, Black African)*

*I won't be that girl to get pregnant outside marriage and ruin my life. (Yiba, Black African)*

The racialised nature of this narrative needs to be highlighted. Whilst children and/or education were deemed to be possible paths for happiness for white women, this was not the case for their Black African, coloured and Indian counterparts for whom education offered the possibility of the practice of freedom (Hooks, 1994) and agency. For these women falling pregnant was presented as an end of hope, which again highlights the significance of the body in the girl-child's life chances. It is notable that pregnancy itself is not regarded in agentic terms.

## Conclusion

This article explores the role of the girl-body in girls' educational trajectories in South Africa. In particular, it finds that Black African girls are denied control over their bodies throughout their lived experiences of childhood and adolescence. Their bodies are mobilized as resources for domestic work and sexual abuse by men, which reduces them to physical rather than intellectual and emotional beings, stripped of agency. In this regard, the Black African girl-body is treated as a commodity separated from the girl-mind, leaving little room for investment in education. In our analysis, we have highlighted the significance of the commodification of the Black African girl-body and the attendant disposability of Black African girls within South African society. At the same time, we emphasize the importance of education for a reclamation of the body. In interviewing women who had accessed higher education, we have highlighted the importance of educational success for women's agency and control over their bodies in social circumstances where abuse was prevalent. The presence of men does not necessarily herald a more conducive environment for children's education. Gendered norms reinforce patriarchal systems with regard to schooling in some households, leading to gendered outcomes of educational experiences. In South Africa, girls do not get equal support and encouragement to attend school. In addition, when families make gendered decisions about who should care for those living with HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and other debilitating illnesses, the schooling of girls is sacrificed to secure care in a context of failing and overcrowded public health services (Pettifor *et al.*, 2015; Chikulo, 2015). Such experiences relating to gender norms and costs of schools are aggravated in single-parent households and require more research.

Most of the women interviewed stated that their aims in life were to help other vulnerable young people escape the experiences that they had endured. They wanted to go to university and gain a high level of education to break the cycle with their children (if they have them). These women endured abuse to have the basic provisions for themselves and their families, including travel to school, food and shelter. South African policymakers need to support rural schools by funding them to ensure a safe passage for girls to and from school. They must provide safe spaces for girls to study outside the domestic sphere.

Moreover, the domestic sphere must be recognized as a key barrier to girls' educational success. Girls are expected to hold households together through domestic labour that leaves little time or energy for education, and initiatives to combat this through a focus on girls' participation in external extra-curricular activities would be welcome. This would not be possible without investment in supplementing household incomes and the labour gap left by girls' participation in a world beyond the domestic realm.

South African universities have a good range of funding streams available to students from previously disadvantaged families, but not all participants had accessed these. Many students

in rural schools are unaware of these grants. Unless teachers make them aware and help them complete the required documentation, the thought of attending university for these women is impossible. It takes time for students to receive the funds, and many of these students have no money to get to the university from their homes. In some instances, they have to move across provinces. A lot of awareness and education needs to be done on this, and the process is far from seamless. Funds such as National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NFSAS) provide funds for undergraduate studies but minimal funds for postgraduate degrees.

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