

**ETHNIC VARIATIONS IN THE LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF
CHILDREN IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Amson Sibanda

Brown University
Department of Sociology and PSTC
Box 1916 Maxcy Hall
Providence, RI 02912
Email: amson_sibanda@brown.edu

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine ethnic variations in children's living arrangements in South Africa. Data from a from a 10% sample of the 1996 South African population census are used. Social scientists concerned with the living arrangements of children point to negative consequences associated with living in a single-parent household such as increased poverty, and poor developmental and schooling outcomes. Descriptive results show marked ethnic variations in the living arrangements of children. More than half of the children live in extended households as opposed to living in a two-parent nuclear household or a single-parent nuclear household. I also use multinomial logit models to test the effect of different individual and head of household characteristics on the living arrangements of children. The multivariate results suggest that the most important correlates of children's living arrangements among South African blacks include child's sex, survival status of parents, sex , level of education and employment status of household head. Household size and place of residence are also strong correlates of children's living arrangements.

“Ethnic pluralism is an integral feature of human societies and ethnicity continues to be an organic part of social and cultural changes. The major processes associated with industrialization and urbanization have not resulted in the disappearance of ethnic communities nor the eradication of ethnic differences in major social processes.” Kobrin and Goldscheider (1978:1)

The study of ethnic differences in the living arrangements of children in sub-Saharan Africa has been a relatively neglected subject. We know very little about the extent of ethnic variations in household structure or the living arrangements of children in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa even though the structure of African households and families has been changing for many years. Some aspects of the African family were transformed while others were forced to adjust and accommodate the new realities of socio-economic and political systems that were brought about by colonial rule, urbanization and the penetration of other forms of Western influence into the African hinterland (Adepoju and Mbugua 1997; Dozon 1996). Reasons for the relative lack of studies on this subject are often attributed to lack of suitable and to limited access to large-scale micro data such as censuses. Because African censuses have historically included questions on household relations, they offer important cross-sectional snapshots of the living arrangements of children and other aspects of the African household such as female headship, household structure and size.

To explain the distinctive features of the African household and/or family, we need to look beyond generalizations that tend to minimize the salience of ethnicity. We also need to focus on the historical development of these households since ethnic institutions have changed overtime in response to structural forces. This is true to the extent that ethnic

variations in household structure are a result of changes in ethnic institutions even though the fluidity of ethnicity makes this completed.

In this study, I use census micro-data for South Africa's various African ethnic groups to study variations in the living arrangements of children. I first examine ethnic differences in household structure. Documenting ethnic variations in household structure is potentially informative because we are able to get answers to important questions such as the extent of female headship, and the living arrangements of the elderly. Second, I examine ethnic differences in the living arrangements of children. Analyzing the living arrangements of children is important in that they help increase understanding of the African household as an agent of social/cultural change. More importantly, social scientists concerned with the living arrangements of children often point to the negative consequences associated with living in a single-parent household such as increased child poverty, and poor developmental and schooling outcomes.

Background

In 1996, South Africa had a total population of 40.6 million people with Africans accounting for 77 per cent of this total (Udjo and Lestrade-Jefferis 2000). The African population in South Africa can be split into a number of broad linguistic and cultural groups, viz; the Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga and Venda (Magubane 1998; West 1976). The Nguni form the largest group and they include groups such as the Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele. The Sotho are the second largest and they have been divided into three regional and linguistic groups, viz; the South Sotho, the North Sotho and the Tswana. The last two groups are much smaller in size and they are the Tsonga and Venda (West 1976).

These ethnic groups still cherish and maintain certain traditional values and social institutions that make them unique even though these structures have been exposed to

modernization forces that are supposed to weaken them because of ideational and structural changes according to modernization theory (Magubane 1998; West 1976). These differences were maintained over very long periods of time because each group had its own territory, a setup that was later exploited by various apartheid governments through the creation of ethnically based homelands. Within each group, the most important social institution was the household or family. Writing about the Nguni and Tsonga households, Hoernle (1966:69) commented that a typical household was made up "...of a man with his wife or wives and dependent children, together with any other relatives or unrelated dependents who may be attached to him, but composed frequently also of other combinations of close relatives. ---Within this household, the individual family- or rather a mother and her children- stands out definitely as a group apart, inhabiting its own home." Some aspects of the African household and/or family depicted by this statement have changed because of the impact of rural-urban migration, urbanization and other structural changes.

Besides differences in the organization of the family and household, these ethnic groups also had distinct kinship and clan organizations, traditional judicial systems, religious, and marriage practices (Magubane 1998). It is because of these differences that we need to pay considerable scrutiny to the modern African family/household across various ethnic groups instead of just limiting our analysis to broad national aggregates or on small studies that just focus on a particular ethnic group. In fact, Goody (1990:136), in discussing models of the African family argued that

"for the colonial period it was possible to look at the African family in a given ethnic group as relatively undifferentiated in its structure. This is no longer true: many ethnic differences still exist, but they are complicated by class and national distinctions. While the use of countrywide aggregate statistics tends to lead to a new "homogeneity" in respect of developments, the actual situation requires us to elaborate a number of models in order to offer even an

approximate framework for analysis. Such models have to take account of three levels:

(i) “class” (or hierarchical differentiation)’

(ii) “ethnicity” (local cultural differentiation)’

(iii) “national” differences, relating to political policies, economic pressures, and religious and educational factors.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The primary data for this study come from a 10 per cent sample of the 1996 Population Census of South Africa. I use information on the main language spoken at home to construct my ethnic groups since there was no direct question on ethnicity. However, there was a question on race or population. I use this information to restrict my sample to Africans only.

My goal in this paper is to estimate a model that predicts children’s living arrangements based on information about their ethnicity, disability status, and place of residence, sex and survival status of parents and other background characteristics. My conceptualization of the correlates of children’s living arrangements does not necessarily follow demographic developments over the life course. To do that, one would need to follow the living arrangements of cohorts over time. Despite this shortcoming, analyzing the living arrangements of children at a particular moment in time still offers us the best picture of what is happening to the African household. The living arrangements of children may vary with their age and sex. In almost all societies, very young children (infants) tend to live with their parents. However, in some African societies, the living arrangements of even the youngest children have changed (McDaniel and Zulu 1996). For instance, van de Walle (1999) found that profound changes in the living arrangements of children typical of those experienced in Western societies were also underway in Botswana. van de Walle found that a significant proportion of young children were living with grandparents in

Botswana as opposed to staying in two-parent nuclear households. Zulu and Sibanda (2000) also found that significant proportions of children were not staying with their mothers even if the mothers were married among Africans and Coloureds in South Africa. High rates of spousal separation due to migration and divorce and nonmarital childbearing have all contributed to this changing face of the African household.

The marital status of the mother and the child's sex may influence where the child lives because of cultural practices or views about the needs of male children versus female children as determined by the stage of their life cycles. Some households may be better able to care for children based on their gender and age. The survival status of parents, household size and whether the children are currently attending school or not also have a bearing on children's living arrangements. For instance, household size may affect the opportunity costs of children's childcare costs and schooling.

To estimate children's living arrangements, I use a multinomial logit model to predict three possible outcomes for children: children were living in a two-parent household (the reference category), children were living in a single parent nuclear household, and children were living in an extended household. My analysis is therefore restricted to non-institutionalized children. These three outcomes capture children's living arrangements at the time of the census, hence the possibility of either underestimating or overestimating the proportion of children living in any particular form of household.

I run separate regressions for the following three age groups: children aged 0-5, 6-12, and 13-18. The reason for having these three groups is that the living arrangements of children are sometimes shaped by schooling exigencies. In South Africa, children are expected to start primary schooling at age 6 and to complete primary school at age 12. Children are then expected to start secondary school at age 13 and to complete school by age 17 (Sibanda 2001). Thus, some children might live with other relatives in order to take

advantage of better schools. On the other hand, we generally expect children aged 0-5 to live with their parents by virtue of their young ages. So we anticipate seeing these children living in nuclear households. However, in a study looking at fertility in South Africa using the own-child method, Sibanda and Zuberi (1999) observed that a very high proportion of children under the age of 5 were not living with their mothers amongst Africans. The study showed that less than 65 per cent of children aged 0-5 were staying with their mothers as compared to about 85 per cent among whites and Indians/Asians.

RESULTS

The Composition and Size of Households

Before examining ethnic differences in the living arrangements of children, it is important to first sketch out the composition of households since they are the primary social institutions within which children live. The living arrangements of children are determined to some extent by the household's membership composition. Table 1 shows the percentage distributions of household members in relation to the head of household. As respondents were only asked about the relationship to the head (or acting head) of the household, some marriage and parent/child relationships in households cannot be easily identified unless if one develops complicated linking algorithms as the mother-child programs used by Sibanda and Zuberi (1999). In the absence of any linking, the following problems will be encountered. If a household consisted of two unrelated couples, the relationships would be: Household member 1: Head, Household member 2: Husband/wife, Household member 3: Non-related person, Household member: Non -related person. Thus the second couple would not be identified as a couple. It was dependent upon respondents to nominate the head of the household and no guidelines were provided on the questionnaire as to who this

should be. The interviewer's instructions defined head of household as 'a male or a female who assumes responsibility for the household (Statistics South Africa 1996).

The distribution of individuals by relationship to head of household offers important clues as to the kind of alternative household formations that one can derive using these data. Looking at Table 1 we see an asymmetrical relationship between the proportion of individuals classified as head of household vis a vis the proportion classified as spouse. Heads of households outnumber spouses by a factor of two to one. This might indicate high levels of internal labor migration- a process that disproportionately distorts the head-spouse ratio in favor of the former. In fact, South Africa is well noted for its very high levels of internal labor migrations, particularly male migration (Tukufu and Sibanda 2001). Thus, it is possibly this process that has led to the emergence of de facto single parent nuclear households in the rural areas. Table 1 also shows that across all ethnic groups, children make up about 40 per cent of all households. Grandchildren constitute the largest group of close kin across all ethnic boundaries. The existence of parents, grandparents and non-kin individuals suggests the possible existence of lateral and vertical households and also other complex household formations.

The levels of fertility, mortality and fostering in a society determine the average size of a household. Declines in fertility are generally associated with smaller household sizes, while high levels of parental mortality can lead to higher child fostering levels, hence fostering can have the same effect like fertility on average household size (Caldwell 1968). In the case of South Africa, fertility and mortality amongst Africans have declined over the years although high levels of HIV/AIDS have led to mortality reversals in the recent past (SA DHS 2000).

In Figure 1, I show the mean number of people in each household type by ethnicity. As expected, single parent households have on average, fewer household members and the

mean household size among these households vary from a low of about 4 among the South Sotho to a high of about 5 among Zulus. When we look at the mean size of nuclear households, we also notice slight ethnic differences. Swazis and Vendas have slightly larger two-parent nuclear households than say the South Sotho or the Tswana group. However, for most ethnic groups, the gap in mean household size between two-parent and single parent nuclear households is quite small. On the other hand, Figure 1 also shows that extended households are much larger than households with both parents, particularly among Zulus.

Children's Living Arrangements

Figures 2-4 show the percentage distribution of children residing in a two-parent nuclear household, single-parent household and in extended households by children's age. I have collapsed vertical and lateral extended households into one broad category. The patterns observed are quite striking. At all ages, children are heavily concentrated in extended households. This contrasts sharply with the living arrangements of children noted in other parts of Africa. For instance, Tecke et al. (1994) found that an overwhelming proportion of children aged 0-14 in Egypt live in nuclear households. The proportion varied from 89 per cent among children aged 0-4 to 80 per cent among children aged 10-14. It is equally interesting to note that less than 40 per cent of children aged 0-5 live in two-parent nuclear households across all ethnic groups. The disparities are even higher at the older ages, particularly among children aged 13-18. For almost all ethnic groups, close to 50 per cent of these children were residing in extended households. Figures 2-4 also show that fairly large proportions of children live in single parent households, with the highest percentages at all ages being observed among the North Sotho, Venda and Tsonga. The Tswana generally have lower proportions of children living with single parents at all ages.

The reasons behind these patterns have not been investigated. It is possible that differences in adults (parental) mortality, migration, out of wedlock childbearing and divorce could be behind these differences. The high percentage of grandchildren we observed in Table 1 could imply that unmarried mothers might leave their children in the care of other family kin while they work and live elsewhere. Thus, the high proportion of children living in extended households could be a means of coping with the impact of these demographic processes.

Multivariate Analysis

Table 2 presents the results of estimating a multinomial logistic regression model with three possible outcomes for children aged 0-5. The first set of results shows the likelihood that a child lives in a single-parent household as opposed to living in a two-parent nuclear household. The second set of coefficients shows the probability of living in an extended household relative to living in a two-parent nuclear household. In addition to the beta coefficients, Table 2 also includes odds ratios. I exponentiated all the coefficients so that they can easily be interpreted just like coefficients in a binary logit model (Allison 1999).

Examining the first set of results we can say that the odds that a child will live in a single-parent household rather than in a two-parent household do not differ significantly by ethnicity, except for Ndebele and Tswana children. However, the odds that a female child aged 0-5 would live in a single-parent household are significantly lower (0.93) than the odds for a female child living in a two-parent household. A child's disability status has no noticeable impact on their living arrangements, all else being equal. In contrast, the survival status of one's parents is a strong predictor of a child's living arrangements. Orphans are 2.07 times more likely to reside in a single-parent household while the odds

for children who lost a father or a mother are 5.5 and 5.0 times the odds for those with both parents surviving. The employment status of the head of household is also important. Children are significantly more likely to reside in a single-parent household if the head is unemployed or is a homemaker. However, if the head of household is a female, a child is 67 times more likely to reside in single-parent nuclear household relative to living in a two-parent household headed by a male. The head's level of education is not a strong predictor of the living arrangements of children aged 0-5. However, household size and place of residence are strongly related to children's living arrangements. The odds of living in a single parent household significantly decrease with an increase in household size. Children living in rural areas are 0.52 times less likely to be residing in a single-parent household as compared to children living in an urban area.

The coefficients in the second column compare the likelihood of living in an extended household as opposed to living in a two-parent nuclear household. Just like the results in the first column, the second set of coefficients does not indicate strong ethnic variations in the living arrangements of children. A child is significantly less likely to be living in an extended household relative to living in a two-parent Zulu nuclear household if the child's ethnic background is Tswana or Tsonga, all else being equal. This could be because of cultural differences. Female children are also significantly less likely to reside in an extended household than boys. A child's disability status has no discernible effect on living arrangements. The survival status of parents continues to be a strong predictor of where children live. Children who lost one or more parents are significantly more likely to be staying in extended households. The presence of an unemployed head or a head who is a homemaker increases the likelihood of living in an extended household. If the head of household is female, the odds that a child will live in an extended household are 9.7 times the odds of those who were living in a two-parent household. In contrast to the results

shown in column one, the head's level of education is strongly associated with children's living arrangements. Children living with heads of households with more than primary schooling are significantly less likely to live in an extended household. Children residing in larger households are also more likely to live in extended household relative to living in a two parent nuclear household with 4 or less household members. Lastly, children living in rural areas are also less likely to live in extended households than children residing in urban areas. This could be attributed to differences in housing markets between rural and urban areas.

Table 3 shows the estimated likelihood of living residing in the three household types for children aged 6-12. Children falling in this age range are expected to be attending primary school; hence I include a child's schooling status dummy in these models. The results show that ethnicity influences the living arrangements of primary school aged children. Ndebele, Tswana, Venda and South Sotho children are significantly less likely to live with a single parent relative to Zulu children residing in a two parent nuclear household. Children who were attending school were 10 per cent more likely to live in a single-parent household as compared to living in a two-parent nuclear household. Female children are less likely to live with a single parent, while a child's disability status is again not a strong predictor of one's living arrangements. Orphans or children who lost a father or a mother were significantly more likely to live in a single-parent household than children with both parents surviving. We can make this comparison since the 1996 South African census did not make an effort to distinguish own biological children from step or adopted children. They were all collapsed into one category, hence it is possible that a child could have lost both parents and still be able to live in a two parent nuclear household. Compared with living with an employed head of household in a two parent nuclear household, children living with unemployed heads or homemakers were

significantly more likely to live in households that were headed by a single parent. Children were also less likely to live in a single parent household if the head was more educated. Household size is also negatively associated with living in a single parent household. Lastly, residence in rural areas decreases the risk of living in a single-parent household.

The second set of results in Table 3 shows that the ethnic differences in children's living arrangements were much more pervasive when we compare extended households and two-parent nuclear households. Xhosa and Tswana children aged 6-12 were the ones who were significantly more likely to reside in an extended household relative to Zulu children. In contrast, Swazi, Venda, Tsonga and South Sotho children were significantly less likely to live in an extended household relative to Zulu living in a two-parent household. I also continue to find strong associations between children's living arrangements and individual characteristics such as schooling status and sex. Household size, place of residence and several characteristics of the head of household such as sex, level of education and employment status are also strong predictors of children's living arrangements.

I continue to pick up this pattern of differences when I examine the living arrangements of secondary school aged children (13-18) in Table 4. As seen in both equations, some ethnic differences in the living arrangements of children persist, especially in the second equation even though the estimates for ethnicity, schooling status, disability, head's education and employment status were not consistent in direction across the two equations. On the whole, the effects of most individual attributes and household characteristics were similarly significant and in the same direction across the two equations.

CONCLUSION

The interaction of demographic processes and life cycle events can produce a myriad of household structures that then affect the living arrangements of children. However, these demographic processes and life cycle events do not operate in a vacuum. They are all susceptible to variations in ethnicity, cultural practices, modernization and ideational and structural changes. In this study, I set out to examine the association between children's living arrangements and a set of individual and head of household characteristics. The results clearly show that ethnic differences in household structure and in the living arrangements of children exist among South Africa's majority African population after controlling for various individual attributes and other background characteristics. By focusing on ethnic variations, I do not imply that ethnicity causes children to live in one particular type of household as opposed to another. Rather, my intention is to show that the African peoples of South Africa do exhibit some interesting differences in the way they live. These differences probably reflect how various segments of society have changed at different paces since South Africa was brought into the world system more than they reflect or capture any real ethnic differences in the living arrangements of children or household structure.

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Table 1. Percent Distributions of Household Members by Relationship to Head of Household

| Relationship | ETHNIC GROUP | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|----------|----------|---------|--------|--------|---------|
| | Zulu | Ndebele | Xhosa | N. Sotho | S. Sotho | Tswana | Swazi | Venda | Tsonga |
| Head | 24.16 | 24.48 | 27.02 | 25.75 | 28.05 | 26.22 | 25.44 | 25.19 | 27.13 |
| Spouse | 10.99 | 10.93 | 10.06 | 9.84 | 13.70 | 12.03 | 11.93 | 11.01 | 11.35 |
| Child | 42.01 | 41.20 | 37.96 | 40.72 | 37.90 | 37.13 | 42.11 | 43.26 | 40.91 |
| Sibling | 4.41 | 4.91 | 4.92 | 4.99 | 3.94 | 4.54 | 3.98 | 4.00 | 5.46 |
| Parent | 1.38 | 1.37 | 0.90 | 1.71 | 1.13 | 1.05 | 1.89 | 2.03 | 1.62 |
| Grandparent | 0.81 | 0.73 | 0.36 | 0.95 | 0.57 | 0.53 | 0.96 | 1.13 | 0.72 |
| Grandchild | 11.12 | 12.09 | 12.01 | 11.12 | 9.40 | 12.56 | 9.32 | 7.88 | 8.19 |
| Other relative | 3.29 | 2.95 | 4.97 | 3.60 | 3.80 | 4.28 | 3.30 | 4.38 | 3.44 |
| Non relative | 1.84 | 1.33 | 1.80 | 1.32 | 1.52 | 1.67 | 1.07 | 1.12 | 1.18 |
| Percent Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 648,375 | 42,904 | 528,851 | 265,889 | 229,992 | 244,640 | 73,310 | 62,902 | 123,471 |

Table 2. **MULTINOMIAL LOGIT MODEL ESTIMATES PREDICTING THE LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF CHILDREN AGED 0-5**

| Variable | Living in a Single-parent Nuclear Household vs. Living in a Two-parent Nuclear Household | | | Living in an Extended Household vs. Living in a Two-parent Nuclear Household | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|--------|--------|--|--------|-------|
| | Beta | SE | Odds | Beta | SE | Odds |
| Ethnic group | | | | | | |
| Zulu (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Ndebele | -0.346** | 0.134 | 0.707 | 0.094 | 0.089 | 1.099 |
| Xhosa | -0.068 | 0.045 | 0.934 | 0.056 | 0.033 | 1.058 |
| North Sotho | -0.085 | 0.057 | 0.918 | -0.007 | 0.040 | 0.993 |
| Tswana | -0.463*** | 0.064 | 0.629 | 0.170*** | 0.042 | 1.185 |
| Swazi | 0.040 | 0.088 | 1.041 | -0.104 | 0.063 | 0.901 |
| Venda | -0.045 | 0.089 | 0.956 | -0.081 | 0.066 | 0.922 |
| Tsonga | 0.024 | 0.069 | 1.024 | -0.133** | 0.052 | 0.875 |
| South Sotho | -0.103 | 0.062 | 0.902 | -0.009 | 0.043 | 0.991 |
| Sex of child | | | | | | |
| Male (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Female | -0.087** | 0.032 | 0.917 | -0.048* | 0.023 | 0.953 |
| Child's disability status | | | | | | |
| Not disabled (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Disabled | -0.055 | 0.090 | 0.946 | -0.044 | 0.068 | 0.957 |
| Survival status of parents | | | | | | |
| Both parents alive (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Orphan | 0.726** | 0.236 | 2.067 | 0.943*** | 0.182 | 2.568 |
| Father dead | 1.705*** | 0.089 | 5.501 | 1.287*** | 0.085 | 3.622 |
| Mother dead | 1.619*** | 0.176 | 5.048 | 1.217*** | 0.140 | 3.377 |
| Head's employment status | | | | | | |
| Employed (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Unemployed | 0.357*** | 0.040 | 1.429 | 0.193*** | 0.028 | 1.213 |
| Homemaker | 0.607*** | 0.069 | 1.835 | 0.211*** | 0.064 | 1.235 |
| Retired | 0.096 | 0.066 | 1.101 | 1.778*** | 0.042 | 5.918 |
| Sex of Head | | | | | | |
| Male (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Female | 4.204*** | 0.047 | 66.954 | 2.272*** | 0.033 | 9.699 |
| Head's education | | | | | | |
| No schooling (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Primary | 0.018 | 0.041 | 1.018 | -0.141*** | 0.029 | 0.868 |
| Some secondary | -0.067 | 0.045 | 0.935 | -0.084*** | 0.033 | 0.919 |
| Completed secondary | -0.063 | 0.065 | 0.939 | 0.045 | 0.045 | 1.046 |
| Household size | | | | | | |
| < 4 (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 5 – 6 | -0.358*** | 0.046 | 0.699 | 0.787*** | 0.034 | 2.197 |
| 7+ | -0.395*** | 0.038 | 0.674 | 1.741*** | 0.027 | 5.703 |
| Place of residence | | | | | | |
| Urban (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Rural | -0.518*** | 0.039 | 0.596 | 0.038 | 0.027 | 1.039 |
| Intercept | -2.481*** | 0.059 | | -1.317*** | 0.040 | |
| N | | 58,645 | | | 58,645 | |

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 3. **MULTINOMIAL LOGIT MODEL ESTIMATES PREDICTING THE LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF CHILDREN AGED 6-12**

| Variable | Living in a Single-parent Nuclear Household vs. Living in a Two-parent Nuclear Household | | | Living in an Extended Household vs. Living in a Two-parent Nuclear Household | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|-------|--------|--|-------|-------|
| | Beta | SE | Odds | Beta | SE | Odds |
| Ethnic group | | | | | | |
| Zulu (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Ndebele | -0.264*** | 0.048 | 0.768 | 0.023 | 0.033 | 1.023 |
| Xhosa | 0.004 | 0.016 | 1.004 | 0.081*** | 0.013 | 1.084 |
| North Sotho | -0.009 | 0.019 | 0.991 | 0.003 | 0.015 | 1.003 |
| Tswana | -0.443*** | 0.023 | 0.642 | 0.202*** | 0.016 | 1.224 |
| Swazi | 0.029 | 0.032 | 1.029 | -0.094*** | 0.024 | 0.910 |
| Venda | -0.088** | 0.034 | 0.916 | -0.125*** | 0.026 | 0.882 |
| Tsonga | -0.042 | 0.026 | 0.959 | -0.219*** | 0.020 | 0.803 |
| South Sotho | -0.165*** | 0.023 | 0.848 | -0.053*** | 0.016 | 0.948 |
| Child's schooling status | | | | | | |
| Non-student (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Student | 0.096*** | 0.015 | 1.101 | 0.036*** | 0.011 | 1.037 |
| Sex of child | | | | | | |
| Male (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Female | -0.0594*** | 0.012 | 0.942 | -0.019* | 0.009 | 0.981 |
| Child's disability status | | | | | | |
| Not disabled (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Disabled | -0.013 | 0.031 | 0.987 | -0.008 | 0.024 | 0.992 |
| Survival status of parents | | | | | | |
| Both parents alive (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Orphan | 0.909*** | 0.079 | 2.482 | 1.272*** | 0.063 | 3.568 |
| Father dead | 1.697*** | 0.030 | 5.487 | 1.438*** | 0.029 | 4.212 |
| Mother dead | 2.103*** | 0.054 | 8.191 | 1.461*** | 0.047 | 4.310 |
| Head's employment status | | | | | | |
| Employed (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Unemployed | 0.393*** | 0.015 | 1.481 | 0.243*** | 0.011 | 1.275 |
| Homemaker | 0.603*** | 0.011 | 1.828 | 0.198*** | 0.024 | 1.219 |
| Retired | 0.003 | 0.023 | 1.003 | 1.672*** | 0.015 | 5.323 |
| Sex of Head | | | | | | |
| Male (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Female | 3.979*** | 0.016 | 53.463 | 2.283*** | 0.013 | 9.806 |
| Head's education | | | | | | |
| No schooling (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Primary | -0.002 | 0.015 | 0.998 | -0.094*** | 0.011 | 0.910 |
| Some secondary | -0.082*** | 0.016 | 0.921 | -0.059*** | 0.012 | 0.943 |
| Completed secondary | -0.085*** | 0.024 | 0.918 | 0.092*** | 0.018 | 1.096 |
| Household size | | | | | | |
| < 4 (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 5 – 6 | -0.554*** | 0.017 | 0.575 | 0.545*** | 0.013 | 1.725 |
| 7+ | -0.669*** | 0.014 | 0.512 | 1.552*** | 0.011 | 4.721 |
| Place of residence | | | | | | |
| Urban (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|---------|-------|-----------|---------|-------|
| Rural | -0.445*** | 0.014 | 0.641 | 0.048*** | 0.010 | 1.049 |
| Intercept | -2.179*** | 0.024 | | -1.426*** | 0.017 | |
| N | | 406,221 | | | 406,221 | |

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 4. **MULTINOMIAL LOGIT MODEL ESTIMATES PREDICTING THE LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF CHILDREN AGED 13-18**

| Variable | Living in a Single-parent Nuclear Household vs. Living in a Two-parent Nuclear Household | | | Living in an Extended Household vs. Living in a Two-parent Nuclear Household | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|-------|--------|--|-------|-------|
| | Beta | SE | Odds | Beta | SE | Odds |
| Ethnic group | | | | | | |
| Zulu (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Ndebele | -0.135** | 0.049 | 0.874 | 0.031 | 0.036 | 1.031 |
| Xhosa | 0.020 | 0.018 | 1.020 | 0.123*** | 0.014 | 1.131 |
| North Sotho | 0.035 | 0.022 | 1.036 | 0.006 | 0.017 | 1.006 |
| Tswana | -0.342*** | 0.025 | 0.710 | 0.191*** | 0.017 | 1.210 |
| Swazi | 0.045 | 0.036 | 1.046 | -0.020 | 0.027 | 0.980 |
| Venda | -0.061 | 0.039 | 0.941 | -0.131*** | 0.031 | 0.877 |
| Tsonga | 0.029 | 0.029 | 1.029 | -0.104*** | 0.023 | 0.901 |
| South Sotho | -0.087*** | 0.024 | 0.917 | -0.052** | 0.018 | 0.949 |
| Child's schooling status | | | | | | |
| Non-student (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Student | 0.117*** | 0.022 | 1.124 | -0.239*** | 0.016 | 0.787 |
| Sex of child | | | | | | |
| Male (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Female | -0.152*** | 0.013 | 0.859 | -0.019 | 0.099 | 0.981 |
| Child's disability status | | | | | | |
| Not disabled (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Disabled | -0.026 | 0.032 | 0.974 | -0.038 | 0.025 | 0.963 |
| Survival status of parents | | | | | | |
| Both parents alive (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Orphan | 0.739*** | 0.066 | 2.094 | 1.433*** | 0.052 | 4.191 |
| Father dead | 1.527*** | 0.028 | 4.604 | 1.509*** | 0.026 | 4.522 |
| Mother dead | 2.249*** | 0.049 | 9.478 | 1.725*** | 0.044 | 5.612 |
| Head's employment status | | | | | | |
| Employed (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Unemployed | 0.411*** | 0.016 | 1.508 | 0.313*** | 0.012 | 1.367 |
| Homemaker | 0.573*** | 0.030 | 1.774 | 0.226*** | 0.029 | 1.253 |
| Retired | 0.029 | 0.023 | 1.029 | 1.378*** | 0.015 | 3.967 |
| Sex of Head | | | | | | |
| Male (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Female | 3.777*** | 0.018 | 43.685 | 2.218*** | 0.015 | 9.189 |
| Head's education | | | | | | |
| No schooling (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Primary | -0.004 | 0.016 | 0.996 | 0.027* | 0.012 | 1.027 |
| Some secondary | -0.039* | 0.018 | 0.962 | 0.153*** | 0.014 | 1.165 |
| Completed secondary | -0.023 | 0.028 | 0.977 | 0.294*** | 0.021 | 1.342 |
| Household size | | | | | | |
| < 4 (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 5 – 6 | -0.743*** | 0.019 | 0.476 | 0.295*** | 0.015 | 1.343 |
| 7+ | -0.888*** | 0.015 | 0.411 | 1.206*** | 0.012 | 3.340 |
| Place of residence | | | | | | |
| Urban (ref) | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|---------|-------|-----------|---------|-------|
| Rural | -0.306*** | 0.015 | 0.736 | -0.033** | 0.011 | 0.967 |
| Intercept | -1.818*** | 0.029 | | -0.975*** | 0.022 | |
| N | | 313,433 | | | 313,433 | |

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Figure 1. Mean Household Size by Ethnicity and Type of Household

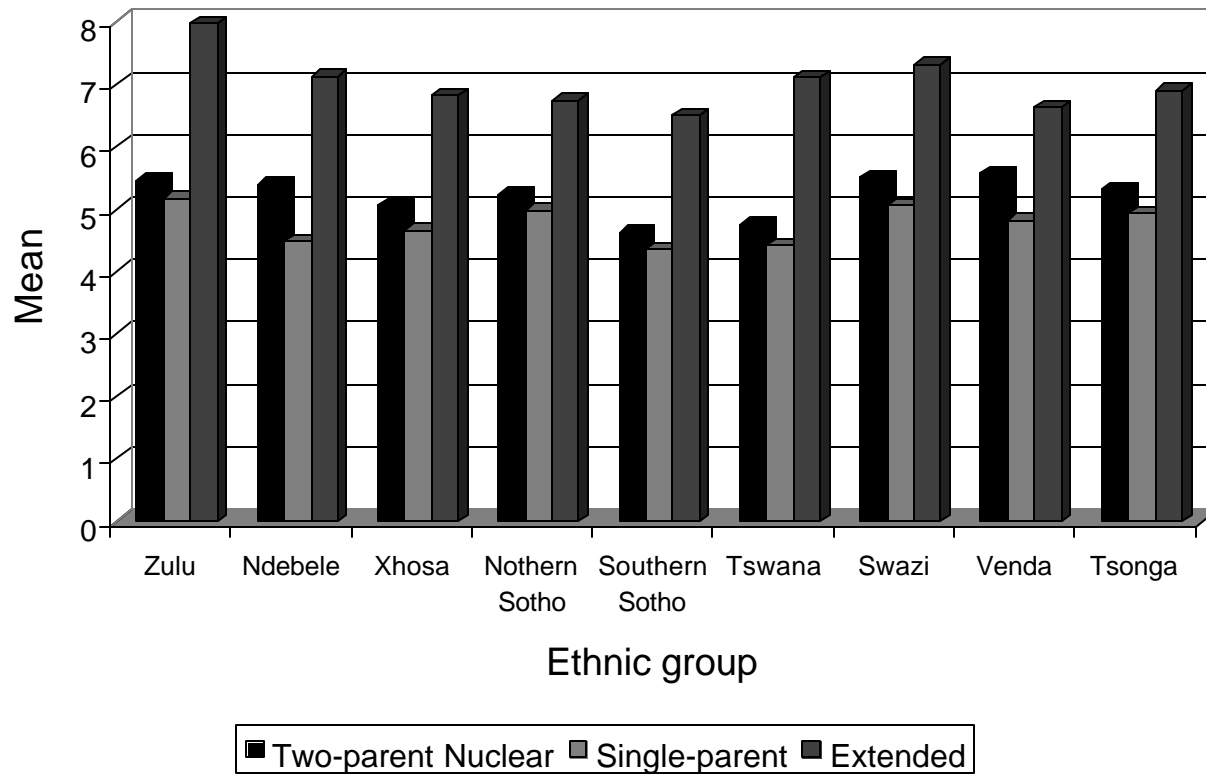


Figure 2. Percent Distribution of Children Aged 0-5 by Household Type

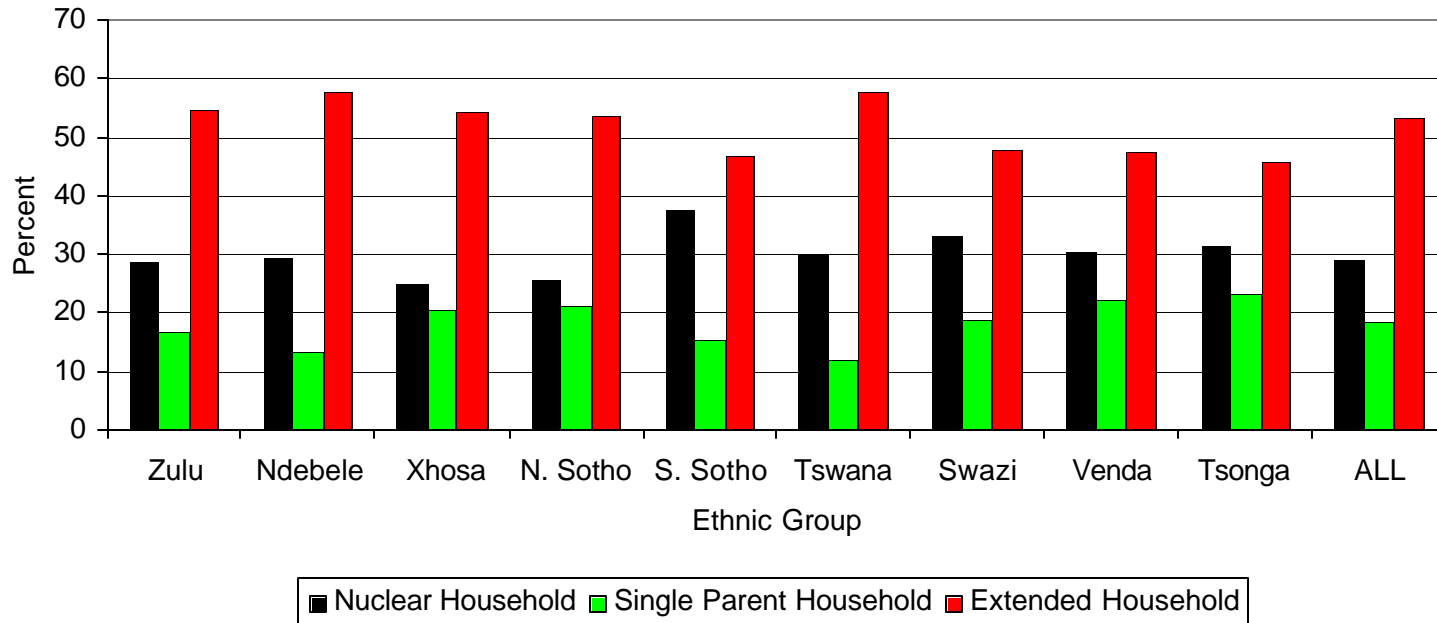


Figure 3. Percentage Distribution of Children Aged 6-12 by Household Type

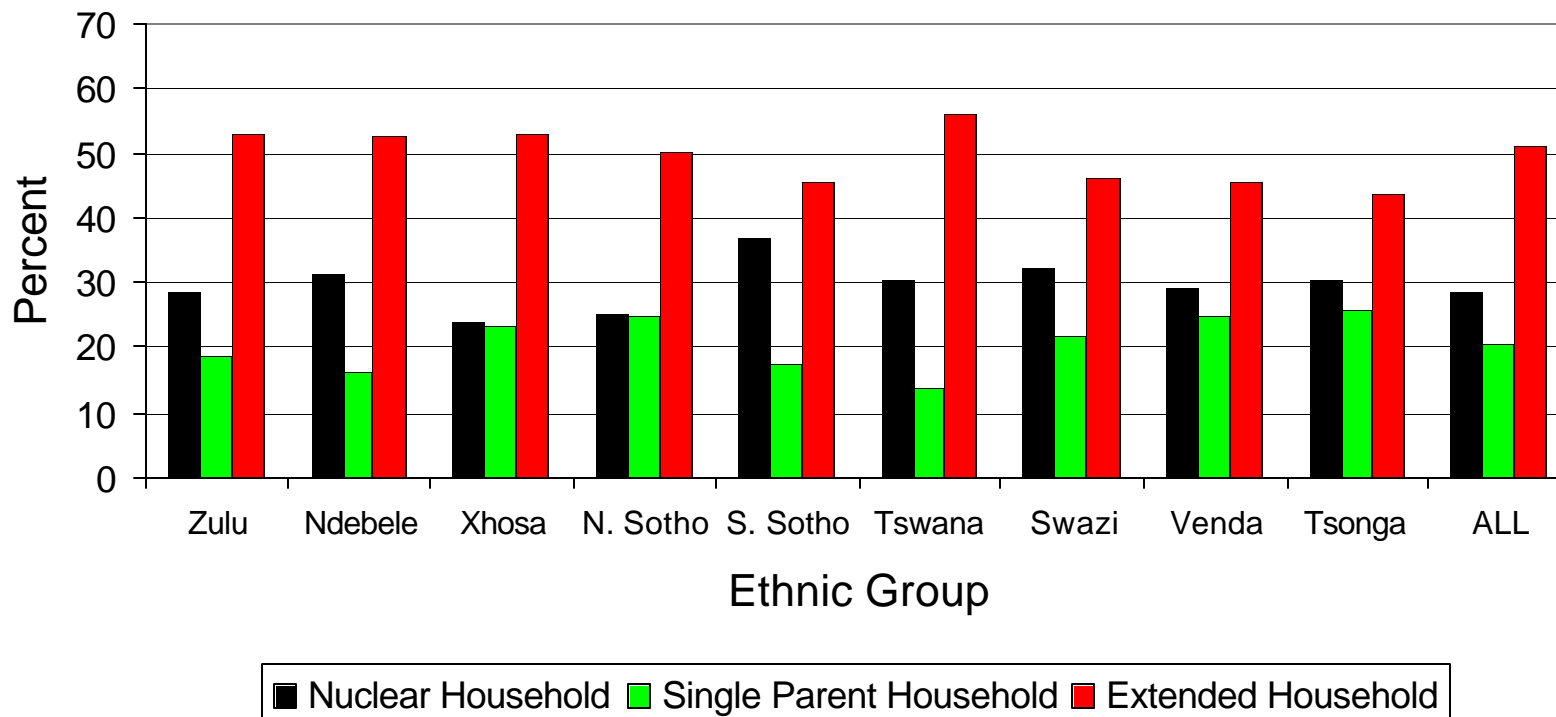


Figure 4. Percentage Distribution of Children Aged 13-18 by Household Type

