

**Fathers' and daughters' construction of fatherhood in one low-income,
semi-rural, Coloured community**

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Declaration

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Abstract

Fatherhood literature in South Africa agrees that a look beyond the absent father phenomenon is necessary and that the focus should rather be on the potential of biological and social fathers who are present in their children's lives. Although fathers are important in the healthy development of both boys and girls, the fathering of adolescents daughters has received limited research attention. For these reasons, this study focused on fathers and their adolescent daughters in one low-income, semi-rural, Coloured community in the Cape Winelands district of the Western Cape, South Africa. The objective of this exploratory study was to investigate fathers' and adolescent daughters' constructions of fatherhood. The study was informed by social constructionism and utilised a social constructionist informed grounded theory methodology. Forty-two interviews were conducted with fourteen fathers and adolescent daughters. They were interviewed separately and 29 hours and 47 minutes of interview material were obtained. Data collection, transcription, and analysis took place concurrently. Five conceptual categories were identified: Both the fathers and the daughters focused on the importance of the provider role and daughters' obedience. Their relationship was spoken of in terms of having an understanding, while the expression of affection appeared to accompany special occasions only. Fathers also emphasised their wish for their daughters to have a better future and spoke at length about their efforts and strategies for ensuring this. Lastly, fathers' expected daughters to do as they were told and not to follow fathers' bad examples (e.g. alcohol abuse). The core category focused on the underlying assumptions inherent in the dynamic of the relationship, namely an hierarchical and patriarchal gender order. There seemed to be evidence of both affirmation of and resistance against the patriarchal gender order. Although it seemed that the traditional masculine and feminine ideology continue to hold sway, the presence of New Father discourse suggests the beginning of a shift towards more equitable gender relations and therefore the possibility of

change. Recommendations for future research and interventions based on this analysis were also discussed.

Opsomming

Binne die Suid-Afrikaanse literatuur oor vaderskap is daar ooreenstemming dat daar nie hoofsaaklik op die afwesige vader fenomeen gekonsentreer moet word nie, maar dat die potensiaal van biologiese en sosiale vaders wie wel teenwoordig in hulle kinders se lewe is, ook ondersoek moet word. Alhoewel vaders belangrik in die gesonde ontwikkeling van beide seuns en meisies is, is die navorsing oor die vaderskap van adolessente dogters beperk. Vir hierdie redes sal die studie fokus op vaders en hulle adolessente dogters in 'n lae-inkomste, semi-landelike, Kleurling gemeenskap in die Kaapse Wynland distrik van die Wes-Kaap, Suid-Afrika. Die doelwit van hierdie ondersoekende studie was om die vaders en adolessente dogters se konstruksie oor vaderskap te ondersoek. Die studie was ingelig deur sosiale konstruksionisme en het 'n ingeligte sosiale konstruksionistiese gegronde teoretiese metodologie gebruik. Twee-en-veertig onderhoude is afsonderlik gevoer met veertien vaders en hul adolessente dogters. Nege-en-twintig ure en 47 minute se onderhoudmateriaal is verkry. Data insameling, transkripsie en analise het gelyktydig plaasgevind. Vyf begripkategorieë was geïdentifiseer: Beide die vaders en dogters het gefokus op die belangrikheid van die pa se voorsienersrol. Verder het hul oor hul verhouding gepraat in terme van 'n "verstandhouding" waarin die vader se outoritêre posisie en die dogter se gehoorsame posisie vanselfsprekend aanvaar is. Die woordelike en fisiese uitdrukking van liefde het net sekere spesiale geleenthede vergesel. Vaders het ook die klem geplaas op hulle begeerte vir hulle dogters om 'n beter toekoms te hê en het breedvoerig hulle pogings en strategieë bespreek om dit toe te sien. Laastens, het vaders van hul dogters verwag om hul vaders se woordelike opdragte en leringe te volg en hul nie-navolginswaardige voorbeelde (byvoorbeeld alkoholmisbruik) te ignoreer. Die kern kategorie van die gegronde teorie wat in hierdie studie ontwikkel is, belig die onderliggende aannames inherent in die dinamika van die vader-dogter verhouding, naamlik 'n hiërargiese en vaderregtelike geslagsorde. Dit blyk

uit die narratiewe van vaders en dogtersl asof daar beide 'n bevestiging van en 'n weerstand teen die vaderregtelike geslagsorde is. Al het dit voorgekom dat die tradisionele manlike- en vroulike ideologie steeds aan die orde van die dag is, kan die aanwesigheid van die Nuwe Vader diskoers dui op 'n verskuiwing na 'n meer billike geslagsverhouding en daarom ook die moontlikheid van verandering. Aanbevelings vir toekomstige navorsing en ingrypings, gebaseer op hierdie analise, word ook bespreek.

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Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Fatherhood is a fluid concept which changes over time and varies across contexts (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Magaraggia, 2012; Makusha, Richter, Knight, Van Rooyen, & Bhana, 2013; Shirani & Henwood, 2011; Williams, 2008). As different groups of people (including cultures, ethnicities, religions, ideologies) have held different or varying concepts of fatherhood (Makusha, et al., 2013), fatherhood research should therefore be grounded in a specific time and context. Furthermore, although paternity may be a biologically or genetically verifiable fact, a father is more than just a progenitor. Research indicates that social fatherhood (i.e. not biological) can fulfil the same function and be as beneficial as biological fatherhood (Richter & Morrell, 2006). Therefore, it is argued that fatherhood is not just a biological status, it is also a social role (Richter & Morrell, 2006).

Just as fatherhood has changed over time and place, so too has the operationalization of paternal involvement (Lamb, 2000). Previously, time-use methodologies were a popular quantitative approach to fatherhood, and paternal involvement was then conceptualised as time spent with the child. During the 1970s the focus shifted to a more qualitative aspect of fatherhood, namely nurturance (Lamb, 2000). This focus is known as the “New Father,” movement and emphasises a father’s active involvement in childcare (Lamb, 2000). Such paternal involvement is reported to have several benefits for children, mothers and fathers. Children with involved fathers have greater self-esteem and interpersonal skills, and are less likely to exhibit behaviour problems or delinquency (Coley, 2003; Kerr, Capaldi, Owen, Wiesner, & Pears, 2011; King & Sobolewski, 2006; Vogt Yuan & Hamilton, 2006). Paternal involvement also lays the groundwork for better romantic and marital relationships later in life (Carslon, 2006; Flouri & Buchanan, 2002; Madhaven & Roy, 2011; Makusha, Richter, &

Bhana, 2012; Peacock, et al., 2008; Richter, et al., 2012). The benefits of paternal involvement for mothers generally revolve around the lessening of stress and tension caused by father absence or lack of involvement in childcare (Richter, et al., 2012). There are also several benefits for fathers themselves, which include greater psychological and emotional well-being, as well as greater marital satisfaction (Richter, et al., 2012).

However, many South Africans may not experience the benefits associated with paternal involvement as many South African children do not live with their fathers. According to the General Household Survey of 2010, only 33% of children were co-residing with both biological parents. This number has decreased from 2002 to 2010 from 38% to 33% (Meintjies & Hall, 2012). Of the 33% not co-residing with both biological parents, 39% lived with their biological mothers only, 3% lived with their biological fathers only, and 24% did not live with either biological parent. Lastly, 27% of all children in South Africa were living with neither of their biological parents (Meintjies & Hall, 2012). South African fathers' absence from the home can partly be ascribed to migrant labour, delayed marriage due to the greater independence of women and the increasing incidence of gender-based violence (Posel & Devey, 2006). The decline in marriage (Zwang & Garenne, 2008) and the increase in premarital fertility (Zwang, 2004), as well as an increase in teenage pregnancies (Kaufman, De Wet, & Stadler, 2001; Varga, 2002; Varga, 2003) also contribute to the current state of affairs. Not only is the marriage rate declining, people are also choosing to marry later in life (Hosegood, McGrath, & Moultrie, 2009). The decline in marriage rates coincides with an increase in non-marital partnerships and consequently children born outside of wedlock (Hosegood, et al., 2009; Harrison & O'Sullivan, 2010). An additional contributing factor to fathers' absence may also be the "father unfriendliness" of South African legislation. This legislation is viewed as based on a too narrow conceptualization and validation of fatherhood,

and is linked to the continued preference for granting full custody to mothers over fathers (Gallinetti, 2006; Hochfeld, 2007; Kaganas, 1994; Seekings, 2003).

Interest in fatherhood increased dramatically in the 1970s and is still on the rise, globally and in South Africa (Rabe, 2007; Seward & Richter, 2011; Speldnaes, Moland, Harris, & Sam, 2011; Van den Berg, et al., 2013). Fatherhood research is, however, still limited in several ways. Most of the international literature regarding fathers have tended to consider the phenomenon from the mothers' perspective (Zhou, Sandler, Millsap, Wolchik, & Dwason-McClure, 2008; Johnston, Hommersen, & Seipp, 2009; Jaccard, Kurtines, Silverman & Pina, 2009). Other studies included fathers but did not focus on them (Comer, et al., 2009; Slep & O'Leary, 2007; Thurston & Phares, 2008). Those studies that did focus on fathers, especially variations in father involvement, concentrated on either resident or divorced fathers of older children (Cabrera, Mitchell, Ryan, Shannon & Tamis-LeMonda, 2008). Most of the studies that sought to include fathers, reported difficulty with recruitment and attrition (Helfenbaum-Kun & Ortiz, 2007; McNeil & Tiano, 2005). Locally, a number of recent studies have researched fatherhood from the perspectives of fathers and sons (Bodenstein, 2008; Ratele, Shefer, & Clowes, 2012; Swartz & Bhana, 2009; Speldnaes, et al., 2011). What is missing is research regarding fatherhood in the father-adolescent daughter relationship. One important reason for focusing on fatherhood in this dyadic context is that it is a primary site of gender construction. (De Lange, Mitchell, & Bhana, 2012; Jewkes, Penn-Kekana & Rose-Junius, 2005).

To date, the majority of the fatherhood literature in South Africa has focused on either White South African middle-class people (e.g. Morison, 2013) or the poor Black or African South African population (e.g. Ratele, et al., 2012). Most of this research also focuses on the negative aspect of fatherhood in especially the poor Black or African South African

population, namely that of absent or ineffectual fathers (Hosegood & Madhaven, 2012; Ratele, Shefer, & Clowes, 2012; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). This negative focus on fatherhood in South Africa results in a skewed perspective which in its turn has a negative impact on policy and legislation, as well as on intervention design. This also creates a gap in the body of literature on fathers in South Africa, insofar as the approach to and understanding of fatherhood is limited by perspectives that focus on fathers' shortcomings or absence only and excludes alternative conceptualizations of involvement. This gap needs to be addressed in order to effectively design interventions aimed at strengthening or otherwise improving upon fatherhood practices, building on what is already present, rather than focusing only on what is "wrong" (e.g. Clowes, Ratele, & Shefer, 2012; Hosegood & Madhaven, 2012; Ratele, et al., 2012; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Furthermore, little research exist on Coloured¹, low-income fathers as they have been subsumed under the Black or African South African population group (Ratele, et al., 2012). This incorporation is problematic as it can be argued that Coloured people have a different historical and current social context than other South African population groups (Field, 2001; Salo, Ribas, & Lopes, 2010).

Historically, the Coloured population has been defined as members of a particular racial group who were located very specifically within and between the major racial categories of Black and White in the South African apartheid social order. The category originated as a "symbolic and literal dumping ground for the hybrid peoples, who did not quite 'fit into'

¹ The term "Coloured" was used in the Apartheid era and is still used today to designate persons of mixed racial descent. Although this usage is contentious and many argue for the need to move past it, it is still used to refer to a heterogenous group of South African people and should therefore be acknowledged. I want to stress that I do not seek to reinforce Apartheid ideology. by using this term.. Like Field (2001) and Salo, et al., (2010) the aim is to focus attention on and acknowledge the specific cultural, political, and economic history and context of this group in South Africa.

other pure apartheid classifications” (Field, 2001, p. 217). The Coloured population accounts for 9% of the total population of South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2013), residing primarily in the Western Cape. Coloured communities are strongly associated with low-income communities. Many live in poor conditions, which are commonly coupled with other adverse social conditions (Myers, et al., 2013). This includes poverty, unemployment, lower education levels, overcrowding, poor health facilities and welfare, which further complicate matters as it makes them vulnerable to economic, social and emotional distress (Lesch & Engelbrecht, 2011). Such distress manifest in substance abuse, breakdown in family structure, as well as incidences of interpersonal violence (Jewkes, et al., 2005). These manifestations of distress is further compounded by the high prevalence of alcohol abuse among this population, to the extent that Herrick (2012) argues that it is best classified as a “disaster.” This state of affairs is the legacy of the Apartheid era “dop system” whereby farmworkers especially in the Western Cape Winelands district were paid for their labour in wine allotments and other goods (London, 1999). This had several implications for the general health and well-being for the population group (Crome & Glass, 2000), not least of which is ensuring the continuation of the cycle of poverty as a large portion of income is invested in obtaining alcohol, leaving less money available for food, clothes, and other necessities (Herrick, 2012). Another aspect of the legacy of this system was that alcohol is still considered to be a form of currency, especially where men can “buy” sexual favours from women by buying alcohol for them (Watt, et al., 2012). The risks associated with this is increased risk of HIV infection, rape, and continued undervaluing and commoditization of women (Watt, et al., 2012).

Traditional gender roles and relations are also dominant in this population group (Rabie & Lesch, 2009; Speldnaes, et al., 2011), characterised by male dominance and female subservience, and gendered division of labour in the home. Furthermore, according to Hendricks, Swartz, and Bhana (2010) fatherhood is the primary or most readily available source for affirming masculinity in impoverished communities, due to the restricted access to other resources such as money. Men who are in such marginalised positions within society may see begetting children as one of the few legal options whereby they can attain an adult masculine identity, without necessarily being able to “be” a father for the children they beget (Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005; Richter & Morrell, 2006; Speldnaes, et al., 2011). However, as Clowes, et al., (2012) caution, negative discourse about South African fathers should be challenged. It is therefore important to explore both the strengths and limitations of fatherhood in these communities with the view to contribute to knowledge that will assist in developing and strengthening this potential resource. This study specifically focused on the fatherhood constructions and experiences of fathers and their adolescent daughters living in a low-income, semi-rural, Coloured community in the Western Cape.

1.2 Organisation of the thesis

Chapter two entails a discussion of social constructionism as the meta-theoretical framework of this study. In line with the social constructionist grounded theory method, chapter three presents an initial review of fatherhood literature. The social constructionist grounded theory methodology is discussed and outlined in chapter four. Chapter five presents a discussion of the conceptual categories and its underlying focussed codes that were identified in the analysis. The core category is discussed in chapter six, and the thesis concludes with a discussion of the strengths and limitations of the study as well as some recommendations for future research and interventions in chapter seven.

Chapter two: Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

According to Charmaz (2006) the theoretical framework, together with the literature review, is the ideological site in which the researcher situates her work. It offers a specific way of approaching and ultimately understanding the phenomenon under study. This study is informed by a social constructionist informed grounded theory methodology and in this chapter my understanding of social constructionism is presented.

2.2 Social constructionism

The social construction of fatherhood is highlighted by various authors (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Magaraggia, 2012; Makusha, et al., 2013; Shirani & Henwood, 2011; Williams, 2008). It is therefore appropriate to use social constructionism as a broad theoretical departure point for a study on fatherhood. Social constructionism acknowledges and emphasises the historical, socio-political and localised contexts in which people make sense of, experience and live fatherhood. This chapter provides a brief overview of the development, basic principles, critique, and research implications of social constructionist theory.

2.3 History and development

Interest in social constructionism increased greatly in the 1970s and some argue (e.g. Burr, 1995) that social constructionist theorising in psychology began with Gergen's (1973, cited in Burr, 1995) paper, *Social psychology as history*. It continued to gain in influence with the work of Gergen, Shotter, Harré, Morawski and Bruner (cited in Raskin, 2002), among others, and increasingly became a preferred alternative to traditional psychological approaches (Sarbin & Kitsuse, 1994). Durrheim (1997) argued that the traditional psychological approach to research as based on positivist-empiricist methods is not appropriate to

psychological inquiry due to its neglect of the *meaningful* nature of human activity, which is what social constructionism in its myriad forms today proposes to do.

2.4 Basic principles

Although there is a wide and often disparate variety of social constructionist work available in the literature (e.g. Clapham, 2009; Cromby & Nightingale, 1999; Fearon & Laitin, 2000; Marston, 2000; Stam, 2001), they all adhere to and are informed by the following assumptions (Burr, 1995; Clapham, 2009): 1) a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge; 2) the historical and cultural specificity of knowledge; 3) knowledge is sustained by social processes; 4) knowledge and social action go together.

2.4.1 A critical stance toward taken-for-granted knowledge

Social constructionism differentiates itself from traditional psychological approaches in its rejection of essentialist, positivist, realist perspectives of reality, knowledge, and human nature (for a discussion of innate traits versus socially imposed see Mallon, 2007; Owen, 1995). Social constructionism challenges the realist assumption that there exists an objective “truth” out there in the world and that the aim of scientific endeavour is to discover this truth (Hoffman, 1995). Instead, social constructionism argues against this by asserting that there is no essential nature or objective truth out there in the sense that these things are considered to be inevitable or incapable (even impossible) to be other than what it is (Hacking, 1999). Far from denying the existence or “reality” of things, social constructionism suggests that things (in the broadest sense of the word) need not be as they are and what we know should not be taken for granted as being the only way for things to be.

2.4.2 The historical and cultural specificity of knowledge

Social constructionism suggests that what we know is a product of history and culture (Burr, 1995; Clapham, 2009; Cromby & Nightingale, 1999; Mallon, 2007; Raskin, 2002) and that

this should be taken into account, rather than dismissed as it has been by “objective” scientific inquiry. This then also relates to what should be the focus of psychological research. Although language and discourse are considered to be of paramount importance in the construction of our daily reality, focusing exclusively on language or discourse narrows the scope and does not take the historical and cultural influences into account. It is recommended that a broader approach such as social constructionist grounded theory be implemented in order to incorporate the context of the individual. Language should not be divorced from the set of social practices wherein it is employed and of which it is therefore an essential part, though of limited use when considered outside and separate from the broader context (Potter, 1996). Furthermore, the historical and cultural influence on the interviewer and researcher also plays a role in the construction process of the interview itself and this reflexivity also plays an important role in social constructionist research. Where traditional psychological perspectives situates the researcher as an objective observer of the phenomenon, social constructionism recognises the reflexive relationship between the researcher and the research where the phenomenon under inquiry is “constructed, or even autonomously invented, by “scientific” inquirers who are, simultaneously, participants in their worlds” (Steier, 1991, p.1). Social constructionist research is characterised by this reflexivity and the incorporation, rather than the denial, of the subjectivity of the researcher in the research process (e.g. Iversen, Gergen, & Fairbanks II, 2005).

2.4.3 Reality, knowledge and social processes

In their work, *The social construction of reality*, Berger and Luckmann (1976) proposed that what is “most real” can be found in the “here and now” of face-to-face interaction in our body and in the present, or rather that we “experience everyday life in terms of differing degrees of closeness and remoteness, both spatially and temporally” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 22). This face-to-face interaction is mediated primarily through language, “which

may be defined as a system of vocal signs, [and] is the most important sign system of human society” (Berger & Luckmann, 1976, p. 35), but while language has its origin in face-to-face interaction, it can also be detached from it. It is in this sense that language makes available meanings that are not necessarily available to the “here and now” subjectivity – our ability to refer to past events and speculate about future events or even hypothetical situations, places or people. They go on to propose that if everyday life is structured both spatially and temporally, which suggests continuity, then it follows that instead of interpreting stimulus anew every time it occurs, these meanings are accumulated and “stored” for future reference. Language, therefore, becomes the repository of common-sense knowledge which allows for mutual understanding and sharing of meaning between individuals, but also between places and times (Gergen & Davis, 2012; Raskin, 2002). This process is referred to as institutionalisation (Berger & Luckmann, 1976).

According to Berger and Luckmann (1976) all human activity is subject to habituation (p. 50), which implies that these activities may be repeated or transposed to other situations in the future, which then implies that it becomes another “item” in the store of common-sense knowledge. The meaning of actions, which through habituation have become available as common-sense knowledge, happens through reciprocation – it is shared and repeated by at least two individuals. These institutions have historicity in that they are products of a specific history (Mallon, 2007) and by definition imply control over human conduct by determining that one form of conduct becomes preferred over the hypothetical existence of a myriad other possibilities (Berger & Luckmann, 1976). These patterns of conduct, or institutions, become “the way it is” or “the way it is done” for future generations. This continued repetition allows these institutions to become crystallised and thereby experienced as “possessing a reality of their own, a reality that confronts the individual as an external and coercive fact” (Berger &

Luckmann, 1976, p. 55). This process was formalised by Berger and Luckmann (1976, cited in Burr, 1995) in what they refer to as three moments: 1) externalisation, referring to how persons act upon the world and thereby create some artefact or practice; 2) this artefact or practice then becomes an “object” of consciousness to the people in that society with a factual existence or truth of its own outside of any individual, which is referred to as objectivation; 3) and this “object” is then internalised by the people in that society as being part of the way it is.

As to how actions are externalised as artefacts or practice can be answered by considering the performative nature of language, the way language is used to do things (Burr, 1995), or in other words, instead of expressing internal states, language should be considered as intentional, socially directed behaviour (Wetherell & Potter, cited in Burr, 1995). From this perspective, language is a tool which individuals may employ to achieve certain ends (Stibbe, 2001). One way of doing so is as repertoires, (Burr, 1995) or discourses, which are social resources that provide different ways of speaking about things in order to achieve a particular purpose. Gergen (1989, cited in both Burr, 1995; and Cromby & Nightingale, 1999) refers to “warranting voice” which entails utilising socially acceptable discourses or repertoires according to the context which constructs their account of an action (or inaction) as being morally justifiable. Potter and Wetherell (1987, cited in Burr, 1995) emphasise that such linguistic practices are more strongly tied in with the particular society and context than the individualistic account suggested by Gergen, which posits that the multitude of available discourses (Raskin, 2002) exists so that the individual may draw upon the most favourable account (Stibbe, 2001). Considering that Berger and Luckmann (1966) stated that what is most real is the “here and now” or our bodily and temporal presence, it follows that a narrative of self would develop to account for minor variations over time in order to sustain

cohesion of self, and that it is within this narrative of self that particular discourses must “fit” in order to be utilised by an individual.

Narratives of subjective experience are first and foremost articulated linguistically (e.g. Boiger & Mesquita, 2012). According to Harré (as cited in Burr, 1995), it is the implicit assumptions of self, inherent in language, or rather in grammar (Quigley, 2001), that provides the framework for an individual to understand his or her subjective experience (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012) and this is something that develops along with the child’s acquisition of language. Our subjective experience is then further interpreted through a narrative structure (Burr, 1995) due, as stated previously, to the individual’s need for temporal continuity. Both Gergen and Gergen and Sarbin (cited in Burr, 1995) agree that this narrative construction does not happen exclusively intra-subjectively, but rather inter-subjectively in that a solitary individual cannot “mean” anything – anything that is said or done only has meaning when it is supplemented by a response from someone else (e.g. Fearon & Laitin, 2000). The supplement in itself also only attains meaning when it is further supplemented, thereby framing a context for understanding the exchange (Gergen, 2003). Therefore, the ability to mean something is not a property of a singular individual, but rather a property of relationships – whether between individuals or between the individual and institutions (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012; Cromby & Nightingale, 1999; Gergen, 2003; Owen, 1995; Raskin, 2002). If the logic is extended, then it follows that meaning is generated through patterns of action that are intertwined with modes of discourse that together establish the frame of reference for a particular context (Fearon & Laitin, 2000; Gergen, 1999), which then provides us with daily practices and readily available language to go with it (Stibbe, 2001). As Mead (cited in Gergen, 1999) and the symbolic interactionist school of thought suggested, it is through role-taking that we become conscious of ourselves. As these practices and roles

form part of an established pattern, we come to develop a sense of who we are by virtue of how others respond to our actions (Gergen, 1999). Thus, we are all quite thoroughly interrelated because we draw the framework of what gives us a sense of self from others (Gergen, 1999; Gergen & Davis, 2012; Mallon, 2007; Raskin, 2002). The implication for identity construction and general meaning-making is considered to be something that is co-constructed between individuals via language. The meaning and sense of self that is constructed in this manner is as a project that never quite reaches completion as every day and every interaction that occur provide additional information that must either be incorporated within the sense of self or rejected as something that does not “fit” the individual. This captures what is known as the micro context (Hoffman, 1995) functioning of discourse, where “people use language to coordinate their actions and to accomplish things” (Witkin, 2012, p. 26). The macro context (Hoffman, 1995), on the other hand, is seen as “a system of representation that shapes beliefs, meanings, and their expression” (Witkin, 2012, p. 27). From this perspective, discourse is not neutral, but rather “asserts a preferred version of the world, one that disqualifies competing versions” (Miller, 2008, quoted in Witkin, 2012, p. 28) and therefore has to do with power and being part of the system which sustains power. As is demonstrated above, knowledge is sustained by social processes or the three moments as argued by Berger and Luckmann (1976). Social constructionism locates meaning, reality, and what we generally consider to be the truth, not within individuals but rather within the reciprocal interaction between individuals, between individuals and institutions, and between institutions (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012; Cromby & Nightingale, 1999; Gergen, 2003; Owen, 1995; Raskin, 2002). While traditional psychological research sought to quantify the “inner world” or certain mental states of individuals, social constructionism suggests that these mental states are merely the artefacts of inter-subjective interaction. The focus of social constructionist psychological research should not be on the “inner world” or mental states of

individuals, but rather on the social practices and processes between individuals through which they are constructed and thereby rendered meaningful (Durrheim, 1997). Furthermore, social constructionist research does not aim to produce causal explanations of psychological phenomena. Instead, the focus is on the discursive processes and patterns of interaction through which individuals construct their reality (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012). Where traditional psychological approaches viewed language as essentially a medium of communication and a vehicle for thought, social constructionism views language as a precondition for thought as well as being a form of social action in itself (Burr, 1995). Another differentiating aspect as proposed by Sarbin and Kitsuse (1994), is the underlying narrative structure of constructionist accounts, which focuses on the coherence of a narrative about phenomena in their natural contexts. The use of the narrative form is based on the social constructionist view of language and by extension the use of participants' stories as the raw material for research: "members of a collectivity (ordinary people) convey their constructions of the social world through narrative to fellow members, to professional analysts, and even to self" (Sarbin & Kitsuse, 1994, p. 8).

2.4.4 Knowledge and social action go together

Social constructions of "things" are not merely our ideas regarding these "things," they also shape the actions that go with them. For instance, the social construction of "I" determines what "I" am capable of doing. Furthermore, as our constructions change, the repertoire of available actions change accordingly (Burr, 1995).

2.5 Critique

In the course of the 50 years of social constructionism's presence in the various fields of research and practice, many have levelled critique against it (e.g. Maze, 2001; Stam, 2001). The main point of criticism against social constructionism lies in the fact that, unlike

traditional psychological approaches, it is anti-realist. Social constructionism is criticised for its lack of incorporating the material and for dismissing the positivist and empiricist disciplines out of hand. In this line of argument, social constructionism is accused of denying the existence or reality of reality (as in the objective, concrete, physical, and scientifically “proven” world). While both realist and social constructionist theories agree that knowledge is a social or cultural and historical product, Shotter (1993) argues that the realism versus relativism debate is a problem of internal logic where the one approach, according to its dictums, cannot accept the validity or claims of the other:

The practices of the sciences generate their own *rational* criteria in terms of which theory is accepted or rejected. The crucial point is that it is possible for these criteria to be rational precisely because on realist terms, there is a world that exists independently of cognising experience. Since our theories are constitutive of the known world but *not* of the *world*, we may always be wrong, but *not* anything goes. (Manicas & Secord, 1983, quoted in Shotter, 1993, p. 97).

Liebrucks (2001) supports this argument by suggesting that because the subject matter of psychology is a social artefact, it cannot be adequately analysed within natural scientific terms. Soffer (2001) also offered the perspective that the social is in fact the embodiment of sensate experience in that it is already relational before it becomes social in terms of interpersonal interaction. Soffer (2001) presents the intertwining of embodiment and social as an answer to the anti-realism and anti-materiality claims made against social constructionism (see also Iversen, et al., 2005). For social constructionists, it is not a question of identifying what is objectively real. Instead it is based on the assumption that what is considered to be real is real and rather asks why this particular reality is more valid than any of its alternatives. Social constructionism challenges the assumption that our reality is inevitable (Hacking,

1999). Cromby and Nightingale (1999) support this line of argument by commenting on how certain discourses are implemented to regulate human behaviour within institutions (see also Grint, 2005).

Discourse is always already situated in a material world; it is always already the product of embodied beings. This means that we simply cannot construct the world any old way we choose, and if we persistently attempt to do so we are ultimately more likely to come to the attention of psychiatric services than to gain academic approval. (Cromby & Nightingale, 1999, p. 9)

Therefore, the existence of neither institutions nor discourses are arbitrary and social constructionism does not, contrary to popular criticism, display relativist tendencies. Discourses shape institutions and institutions shape discourses while both are grounded in physical reality as well as in conceptual reality. Meaning and reality are processes, not products.

This introduces the next line of criticism against social constructionism as being anti-humanistic (Raskin, 2002) in that personality is seen to be a socially constructed idea and that what may one day constitute personhood may change the next day based on shifts in the social context. This criticism stems from the individualist concern with human agency and social constructionism is often accused of being unable to explain such phenomena as desires, fantasies, hopes, and wants, which are to a large extent constitutive of the choices made by individuals (Burr, 2003). These criticisms, according to social constructionism, arise due to the nature of the language in which it is expressed and the grammar that constitutes it: it is a result of a particular conception of “I” and all that “I” can linguistically and therefore really accomplish. Again, it is not that social constructionism denies the existence of the self per se,

but rather challenges the conception that the self is “a kind of irreducible inner reality represented by words like cognitions or the emotions” (Hoffman, 1995, p. 10). The social constructionist argument is that what we now “know” as the “self” is a product of our history and culture, rather than being something that exists objectively or as being the essentialist truth of human existence. The self has been made to be “real,” but it could have been different had history followed a different path. This is demonstrable with the shift in emotion studies from a universalist – everywhere the same – perspective to the more recent exploration of emotions. This consists of regarding emotions as products of social interactions and relationships and that its construction is an on-going process. Therefore, our ability to make meaning of our changing contexts is made possible by the responsiveness of our emotional processes to the dynamic and changing social environment (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012). While researchers do not deny that similarities in the expression of emotion exists, the argument instead revolves around the issue of whether or not the phenomena known as emotions exist objectively outside of human interaction. The question is whether it is inevitable, or if it exists as is because of our social interaction, as tools of communication. Extending this line of criticism, social constructionism has also shown to be unable to explain why, even when critical awareness of discourses and their implication for identity is present, individuals still find themselves unable to adopt an alternative (Burr, 2003). This is answered by the quote given above by Cromby and Nightingale (1999). The argument is that the macro conceptualisation of discourse, that relates to power, suggests that change is not merely possible by dint of choice as the discourses that sustain the system that makes things “the way it is” are not a product of individuals. The interaction between individuals, institutions, and history together produce the discourses which sustain them. This is generally also referred to as the “individual versus society” debate where the question revolves around which came first: the implication being that one existed first and produced the second (Burr, 2003). Burr

(2003, citing Giddens, 1984) offers a solution to this question by suggesting that the dichotomy is a construction, a particular way of thinking about society and about the individual, and that this construction needs to change rather than the theory of social constructionism itself. Burr (2003) also refers back to Berger and Luckmann (1976), arguing that the three processes they described suggest that the relationship between the individual and society is a dialectical process rather than a conflict between two pre-existing entities – the question should not be which came first, because according to social constructionism, the point is moot as one exists because of and in conjunction with the other. In conclusion, social construction denies neither reality nor human agency, but demonstrates that things are the way they are because certain patterns of interaction and their accompanying discourses have become institutionalised. In other words, our reality is not inevitable, change is possible, but not necessarily easy.

2.6 Research implications

This section highlights some of the important implications of using social constructionism as a theoretical departure point for my study: Social constructionism argues for a broad conceptualisation and consideration of the phenomenon under study in order to capture the influencing factors and to acknowledge the complex intricacies that comprise human behaviour and interaction. Language and interpersonal interaction are the combined site of meaning-making. With specific regard to the present study, social constructionist theory proposes that ideas around fatherhood and what it entails to be a good father are fluid concepts (Makusha, et al., 2013; Seidman, 2004) informed by, for example, the particular culture and popular culture, beliefs and traditions as well as the religion of the individual, and the relationships within which they are located (e.g. Greaves, 2000; Grint, 2005; Guess, 2006; Kyle & Chick, 2007; Marston, 2000; Schäfer, 2007; Takao, 2004). What is expected of fathers has changed somewhat over the years, but these assumptions are almost always

naturalised and rationalised and made part of the common sense of the society by and in which it is constructed (Seidman, 2004). It also holds that each individual has a unique construction of the ideal father, though elements will overlap between members of one community.

According to social constructionism, everything is a construction. Therefore, “low-income community” is also a construction consisting of a particular constellation of ideas and criteria that allows for a particular community to be denoted as “low-income.” Throughout this thesis I refer to “low-income community” in a way that may seem essentialist and contradicting my claim of being a social constructionist. I persist in doing so because the construction of low-income community and everything associated with living in such a community has an influence on the construction of fatherhood of the men and women who live in that community. This is consistent with one of the basic principles of social constructionism, namely that of the historical and cultural specificity of knowledge, discussed earlier in this chapter. The purpose is to situate the reader in the specific context or frame of reference within which this thesis operates. The constructions through which we make sense of and order the world, is all pervasive, permeating every aspect of our lives. For this reason they must be acknowledged and held accountable for the influence and impact this has on our day to day activities and our every thought. Considering that many studies do not differentiate between Black or African South Africans and Coloured South Africans (e.g. Airhihenbuwa et al., 2009; Meintjies & Hall, 2012), and that these groups may have different histories and social contexts that influence fatherhood constructions and practices, it is also necessary to broaden and focus the comprehensibility of data collected on fathers in South Africa to include all the population groups as well as the diverse family-forms that are the lived experience of the South African population.

Social constructionism also suggests that fatherhood constructions consist of the actions and processes, both linguistic and social, which take place within the family context. This implies that the constructions of fatherhood must be considered from the perspective of co-construction: fatherhood as constructed within and via the father-daughter relationship. In this study, we explored how both fathers and daughters construct fatherhood and the father-daughter relationship.

Lastly, Puig, Koro-Ljungberg, and Echevarria-Doan (2008) emphasise a correspondence between the epistemology and the research methods. Qualitative research methods are commonly used in social constructionist research (Burr, 2003), as it offers the best fit with the epistemology underlying social constructionist theory. Qualitative research methods allow for exploratory research that is not based on a quantitative type research question (Greaves, 2001). This study focuses on the construction of fatherhood of fathers and daughters within a specific community and therefore calls for a qualitative approach.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented the social constructionist a framework which I utilized to approach and conceptualize my research. Based on this framework, I conceptualized fatherhood as a social construct, co-constructed in the dyadic relationship between fathers and their adolescent daughters. The construction of fatherhood was therefore, seen to be influenced by the psychosocial context of the individuals concerned. This study is also the product of a socially constructed process, namely that between the researcher, her supervisor, the participants, the interviewers, and the broader literature on fatherhood. The preliminary literature review, is presented in chapter three.

Chapter three: Literature review

3.1 Introduction

According to Charmaz (2006) the “literature review and theoretical frameworks are ideological sites in which you claim, locate, evaluate, and defend your position” (p. 163). Classic grounded theory recommends that a literature review only be conducted after the analysis of the data has been completed in order that previous research not influence the analysis, also known as “received theory” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 165). However, a social constructionist informed grounded theory methodology takes into account that the researcher has a specific personal and academic background and that it is impossible to divorce oneself from that background. A researcher’s preconceived ideas regarding her/his research is an inevitable part of the research process. Therefore, as something of a compromise between what is practically expected of students by academic institutions and the ideological preferences of the founders of grounded theory methodology, Charmaz (2006) recommends taking a critical stance towards the literature. This implies that previous findings and theories are questioned and treated as problematic rather than as “the” truth. The aim of the literature review is to give an account of the literature or “conversation” on the research topic in order to indicate where this particular study fits in and adds to the conversation. This approach allows for the conducting of a preliminary literature review (as was necessitated for the writing of a proposal). However, previous literature is also included in the analysis and the discussion in order to show where and how the findings of this study agree or differ from previous findings. In accordance with Charmaz’s guidelines above, the literature review presented here is a preliminary one and is by no means exhaustive. It gives an overview of how the construct fatherhood has been shaped and changed over time and context and how this has made the current understanding of “fatherhood” possible. The following themes will

be addressed in this review: gender and notions of masculinity, fatherhood and masculinity, ideal fatherhood, and lastly, the literature on fathers and adolescent daughters.

3.2 Gender and notions of masculinity

The most salient aspect of social life that influences the construct of fatherhood is that of gender and the attendant issues it raises with specific regards to the father-daughter relationship. I base my discussion of masculinity on Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity because of its past and continued use by scholars addressing the topic of gender in South Africa (e.g. Field, 2001; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Salo, et al., 2010; Shefer, et al., 2007). Connell (1987; 1992; 1993; 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) developed his theory of hegemonic masculinity in order to explain how the gender order is established and maintained on a daily basis in the form of a hierarchy, where a particular masculine identity claims the hegemonic position in relation to other masculinities and femininities which are by definition subordinate. Hegemonic masculinity does not need to correspond to the actual personalities and characteristics of the majority of men – in fact, it rarely corresponds to more than 5% of the population of men at any given time in any given place (Connell, 1995, p. 79). Furthermore, this ascendancy is sustained by the institutionalisation of men's dominance over women, and as such the hegemonic masculinity must personify a successful collective strategy in order to sustain its institutionalisation. This understanding accounts for the everyday jostling and contestation that actually occurs in social life, as well as the changes witnessed throughout history. The hegemonic form of masculinity adapts and transforms in order to adjust to new situations and contexts and continues to be successful by integrating the challenges levelled against it in the collective strategy. Connell (1992) contends that this hierarchy is a reflection and production of the social dynamic – the struggle for resources and power via the exclusion or incorporation, and the splitting and reconstitution of gender forms. Understood in this way, masculinity is seen to be “political” in the conventional sense that it

“constitutes the struggle for scarce resources, the mobilisation of power and the pursuit of tactics on behalf of a particular interest” (Connell, 1993, pp. 603, para 1). The models that occupy the hegemonic position express an ideal; it provides men with a set of protocols which allows them access to the hegemonic subject position. “Protocols” formalize the rules for interpersonal relations with women and with other men. Hegemonic masculinity, therefore, embodies the “currently most honoured way of being a man, it require[s] all other men to position themselves in relation to it” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, pp. 832).

Connell’s (1987; 1992; 1993; 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) theory of hegemonic masculinity offers a conceptual framework for understanding the gender order and its accompanying social dynamics with regards to South African men and masculinity, and in particular the target population of the present study. The “ideal” man refers to a specific masculinity, not the position of masculinity in the hierarchy of power. The ideal man, also known as “the unblushing male,” is the man all the women want and all the men want to be. This is also the imagined archetype against whom any individual male is measured by other males as well as by females (Shefer, et al., 2007). For this population, the two traditional key elements of the dominant mode of masculinity is heterosexuality and fearlessness, or risk-taking. Indeed, a “real” man is not a sissy; he is defined by having sex with women and fears nothing (Shefer, et al., 2007). Expressing emotions is traditionally associated with weakness – something which is undeniably considered a threat to masculinity – and must be avoided, as “a weak man is no man at all” (Seidler, 2005, pp. 190). According to Zulu-speaking adolescent boys living in rural KwaZulu-Natal, the predominate male characteristics for the older generation, and which the adolescent boys reportedly sought to avoid in themselves, include excessive consumption of alcohol, beating of their wives, physical and emotional abuse of children, as well as the pursuit of other women, both married and single (Lindegger

& Maxwell, 2007). The more positive characteristics pursued by these adolescent boys include being trustworthy, providing for families, leadership, advising others, being respected by others, and caring. Other views of manhood reported by the participants include: the responsibility as head of household, the privilege of having his own social life outside of the family context, heterosexuality, providing for the family, and a need for sexual relations (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). These boys believed that a male has a duty towards and authority over females. Being a man is spoken of mostly in terms of obligations and social roles, and no mention is made of biology, which is in fact accepted as “self-evident truths” (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). The implication is that men can adopt hegemonic masculinity when it is desirable to do so, but these same men can also distance themselves from hegemonic masculinity in other situations when it is not desirable (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). This supports the argument that hegemonic masculinity does not refer to a particular type of man, but is instead a way for men to position themselves through discursive practices (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

3.3 Fatherhood and masculinity

A discussion of fatherhood is almost impossible and also incomplete without a discussion of masculinity and how it informs notions of “ideal” fatherhood (for example, Brandth & Kvande, 1998; Cooper, 2000; Donaldson, 1993; Doucet, 2004; Kirkman, Rosenthal, & Feldman, 2001; Lisak, 1991; Rochlen, McKelly, Suizzo & Scaringi, 2008; Russel, 1978; Silverstein, Auerbach, & Levant, 2002). While a full discussion of the shifts in trends that have occurred throughout history is outside the scope of the present study, suffice to say that these shifts illustrate the fluid nature of the concept and thereby our understanding of what it means to be a man and a father (e.g. Coltrane & Park, 1998; Edley & Wetherell, 1996; Lamb, 2000; Liebman & Abell, 2000; Makusha, et al., 2013). The most recent trend is known as the “era of paternal rediscovery,” which began in the 1970s (Levant, Slattery, & Loiselle, 1987)

and continues into the present time. This period is marked by an ambivalent approach characterised by two movements. The first refers to the more “traditional” or “conservative” viewpoint in which the importance of the provider role and values such as respect for authority and moral leadership are championed (Lamb, 2000). The embodiment of this approach is in the “Breadwinner” of the Industrial period (Lamb, 2000). It was during this period that the separate spheres ideology developed, that essentially positioned the man outside the home at work and wife as the homemaker (Lamb, 2000). The second movement is more “liberal.” It champions the importance of the economic milieu and stresses the benefits for women associated with discarding patriarchal family traditions in favour of a more individualistic and democratic family form, where fathers play an active role in family life (Lamb, 2000). This second movement is also known as the “New Man” (McMahon, 1999), while the first movement is referred to more often as the traditional masculine ideal. Between the 1970s and the present day, a central argument has emerged from masculinity and fatherhood research, the gist of which lies in whether there is a change in paternal parenting practices, what is the nature of this change, and whether or not there should be a change at all. The traditional masculine ideal, as stated previously, generally favours the maintenance of the status quo in favour of patriarchy and traditional gender roles. The more liberal approach argues that changes are indeed taking place and that this “New Man” or “New Father” will assume the hegemonic position in the gender hierarchy. These changes include, for the “New Man” more equitable gender practices in general, while the “New Father” is associated with greater paternal involvement in childcare. The latter consists of a joint effort to work and care for the family. It implies that women are no longer expected to work the so-called second shift in addition to full-time employment, because their men also assist in the day-to-day caretaking of children (such as feeding and bathing) as well as in general household chores (such as washing the dishes or doing the washing).

While the debate between these two extremes has not yet been resolved, several studies have attempted to reconcile the two by determining if they really represent opposite ends of a continuum or whether one is the next step in the evolution of fatherhood and masculinity. An example of a study in favour of the traditional masculine ideal is Donaldson (1993), who explored the relation between hegemonic masculinity and fatherhood. Donaldson (1993) suggested that within such a paradigm, fatherhood affirms hegemonic masculinity, whilst the actual practice of parenting is seen as undermining masculinity. The opposing position to this argument (e.g. Henwood & Procter, 2003; Strauss & Goldberg, 1999) can be summarised by Cooper (2000), who argued that “nerds” are the modern man, in touch with their emotions, not sexist and proud of it – essentially the “New Man.” His findings were based on the example of Silicone Valley, the southern region of the San Francisco Bay Area in Northern California in the United States where many of the world’s largest technology corporations and thousands of small start-ups are located. This “New man” is seen as the modern hero, suggesting, rather hopefully, that they are “soon” to occupy the hegemonic position in masculinity (Cooper, 2000).

Accounts of changes in paternal parenting practices were optimistic initially. Eventually, it came to be realised that the apparent changes were overstated (Harris & Morgan, 1991; Richter & Morrell, 2006); at least in the academic arena. McMahan (1999) pointed out that general historical accounts indicate that men’s domestic involvement has been *declining* since the Industrial Revolution, stating that this apparent change is more the result of rhetoric than actual, grass-roots change occurring in fact. By rhetoric, McMahan (1999) referred to the labelling of low house- and childcare involvement as “traditional,” which then invites the assumption that this was typical in the past. Furthermore, by labelling some men as “non-traditional” because of their doing “somewhat more” housework and calling them “pioneers of change,” invited the assumption of a change in practice occurring at a grass-roots level. At

the core of the issue lies the relationship fatherhood has with the masculine identity. As Donaldson (1993) argued, fatherhood affirms masculinity, which counts in favour of the “New Father.” The “New Man,” on the other hand, is considered to be “too feminine” and therefore no longer a “true” man (McMahon, 1999). The “New Father” affirms masculinity because fatherhood in itself implies a successful and continuing heterosexual relationship with the mother, in addition to the more obvious fact of successful reproduction already achieved. The “New Father” can be enthralled and captivated by his baby without being scorned as a wimpy, feminised “New Man.” However, the “New Father” is not without dilemmas of its own. Tensions regarding the masculinity of the “New Father” arose already in the early years of the “era of paternal rediscovery” (Levant, et al., 1987), a fear which was addressed in several popular advice texts at the time:

Some men fear they will simply become surrogate mothers, losing their male identity. This is just not the case, as any baby or toddler knows. When a man takes over the “mothering” role it has a distinctly different flavour (Roeber, 1987 quoted in McMahon, 1999, pp. 134). The father is not a substitute mother; he has his own unique contribution to make to his child’s development (Sears, 1988 quoted in McMahon, 1999, pp. 134).

Another argument levelled against the proponents of the “New Father” stated that men should stick to what they know and that the division of labour is *part of the natural order* (McMahon, 1999, emphasis added). The argument went on to state that the effect of the rhetoric of the “New Father” had been to “devalue men’s traditional value to the family” (McMahon, 1999, p. 148) as the breadwinner and that this has, furthermore, led to the crisis of masculinity.

The so-called crisis of masculinity has also been a focus of research in South Africa, particularly due to the prevalence of domestic and interpersonal violence as well as the high incidence rate of rape (e.g. Posel, 2005; Robins, 2006; Sikwegiya, Jewkes, & Morrell, 2007; Thornberry, Smith & Howard, 1997). The “New Man” or “New Father” debate also has its place in the South African context (e.g. Datta, 2007; Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher, & Peacock, 2012; Shefer, et al., 2008; Smit, 2006). Furthermore, gender ideology is a particularly important aspect of fatherhood literature in South Africa due in no small part to gender-based violence and the AIDS pandemic and its influence on household structures (e.g. Lazarus, Tonsing, Ratele, & van Niekerk, 2011; Macleod, 2007; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011; Posel, 2005; Robins, 2006; Sathiparsed, Taylor, & Dlamini, 2008; Sikwegiya, et al., 2007; Schneider, Cockcroft, & Hook, 2008; Thornberry, Smith, & Howard, 1997). Violence appears to be a salient factor in the dynamics of the gender hierarchy in South Africa. Sathiparsed, Taylor, and Dlamini (2008) conducted research in the Ugu District - a typical rural area in KwaZulu-Natal characterised by poor health, education, and welfare facilities. They conducted focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with grade eleven, Zulu-speaking, rural, male youth attending three secondary schools in the district. Their findings include support for the dominant constructions of manhood in general, though evidence of the contesting of traditional patriarchal practices were also found (Sathiparsed, et al., 2008). However, traditional gender roles were still found to be the norm (Sathiparsed, et al., 2008). Although several of the participants expressed support for more equitable gender relations, the authors express their uncertainty with regards to whether or not these beliefs will translate into a change in actual practice in years to come. Many are positive about the state of fatherhood in South Africa as it relates to gender ideology (e.g. Morrell & Richter, 2006; Ratele et al., 2012; Swartz & Bhana, 2009; Van den Berg, et al., 2013). Local research on fatherhood indicate that although an expectation of low father involvement exists, many fathers and

children express a desire for greater paternal involvement with children (Morrell & Richter, 2006). According to Richter (2007), children acknowledge and appreciate the changing gender roles, specifically domestic, fulfilled by fathers. However, a desire and appreciation for change does not guarantee that change will occur. Current research suggests that traditional gender roles predominate in South African households, but it is still uncertain whether this will change when the current adolescent generation become parents. There appears to be a strong suggestion that the gender order will most likely be maintained for some time to come.

3.4 Father involvement

According to Lamb (2000), father absence and father involvement are two of the most enduring dimensions of the fatherhood literature. Initially, policymakers in America and Europe encouraged research into paternal influence on child well-being in order to determine the influence of fathers on children's well-being (e.g. Amato, 1994; Amato & Gilbreth, 1999; Black, Dubowitz, & Starr, Jr., 1999; Cooksey & Craig, 1998; Jaffee, Moffitt, Caspi, & Taylor, 2003; King, 1994; King & Sobolewski, 2006; Vogt Yuan & Hamilton, 2006). As a result of this, a great amount of research has attempted to conclusively answer whether or not fathers contribute to child well-being, in what way, and under which circumstances. One of the main aspects of fatherhood that was identified as having a potential influence on child well-being was that of paternal involvement, where paternal involvement refers to active participation in childcare (Lamb, 2000). This field quickly expanded to include refinement of the conceptualisation, quantification, influencing factors, and the associated outcomes of paternal involvement (e.g. Bulanda, 2004; Cabrera, et al., 2008; Craig, 2006; Danziger & Radin, 1990; Engle & Breaux, 1998; Hawkins & Palkovitz, 1999; King, Harris, & Heard, 2004; Lamb, 2010; McBride, et al., 2005; Nock, 1998; Stone & McKenry, 1998; Vogt Yuan & Hamilton, 2006; Wall & Arnold, 2007). Although several studies have sought to answer

this question, there appears to be contrary positions. In broad terms, the arguments around fatherhood and child well-being consist of the argument on the one hand that fathers are an as yet untapped resources for children's well-being, and that their presence in the home and involvement with childcare can benefit children. On the other hand, the argument is that fathers do not contribute in any meaningful way to the household and can in fact have a negative effect on children. In answer to the core question of whether fathers can have a beneficial influence on their children, Coley (2003) argues that a link between healthy adolescent-parent attachment and positive youth functioning does exist. However, attachment does not equal better functioning per say, as it depends on the quality of the relationship (Amato, 1994; Bronte-Tinkew, et al., 2006; Engle & Breaux, 1998; Jaffee, et al., 2003; King & Sobolewski, 2006; Marsiglio, et al., 2000; McBride, et al., 2005; Tiano & McNeil, 2005; Vogt Yuan & Hamilton, 2006; Waller & Swisher, 2006). As the determination of the causal direction between father involvement and child characteristics and behaviour is not possible (Coley, 2003), a focus on the quantification of paternal involvement was seen as the next logical step. This was subsequently explored across different characteristics and across different contexts such as differences between within-family characteristics (Harris & Morgan, 1991), in developing countries (Engle & Breaux, 1998), and racial and ethnic diversity (King, et al., 2004). In South Africa, the contribution fathers can make, requires broader conceptualization and acknowledgement (e.g. Bähre, 2002; Brown, Sorrel, & Raffaelli, 2005; Edwards, Borsten, Nene, & Kunene, 1986; Rabe, 2006; Richter & Morrell, 2008). Both the physical and emotional absence of fathers, neglect and abuse by fathers, as well as questions regarding level, nature, and type of father involvement has, and continues to be, the main focus of research (Richter & Morrell, 2006). A question particularly relevant to the South African context with its trends of premarital fertility and multiple partners, is that of where do fathers invest the most in terms of financial support, emotional support and time

spent together (e.g. Anderson, Kaplan, Lam, & Lancaster, 1999; Anderson, 2004; Liddell, Henzi, & Drew, 1987; Madhaven, Townsend, & Garey, 2008; Montgomery, Hosegood, Busza, & Timaeus, 2005; Nduna & Jewkes, 2011; Richter, Chikovore, & Makusha, 2010; Roy, 2008). However, the greatest amount of existing research has focused on the financial aspect of paternal involvement.

3.4.1 Fathers as financial providers:

The most influential aspect of paternal involvement is that of financial provision and is considered by many to be the most salient factor with regards to child well-being (Schindler, 2010). In cases of non-resident fatherhood, strong evidence exists that payment of child support positively affects children's well-being (Amato & Gilberth, 1999). Financial provision has also been found to be the most common form of maintaining a masculine identity in conjunction with the centrality of successful fatherhood for the maintenance of a mainstream masculine identity (e.g. King & Sobolewski, 2006; Risman, 1986; Tichenor, et al., 2011). This idea was supported by the prevalence of poor father-child relationships and low satisfaction with these relationships found in low-income communities (Risman, 1986). In further support, Danziger and Radin (1990) also found unemployment to account for father absence in many low-income communities. Regardless of their fathers' financial status, however, many children in single-mother households think highly of their fathers and express a wish for more frequent contact with them (Amato & Gilberth, 1999). This suggests that the focus on financial provision as the most important aspect of fatherhood is a view held perhaps primarily by the fathers themselves and by mothers, and only marginally, if at all, by their children.

In conjunction with the pressure to provide financially in order to be considered a "good" father, the postponement of marriage, decline in fertility, and increased divorce rates all

contribute to men spending ever decreasing portions of their lives co-residing with their children (Amato, 1994). This is also of particular concern in the South African context and has been researched on multiple occasions (e.g. Anderson, et al., 1999; Anderson, 2004; Brown, et al., 2005; Bähre, 2002; Madhavan, et al., 2008). Some of the research findings are that men invest significantly more in their biological offspring as well as in the children of their current partners (Anderson, et al., 1999). However, in rural South Africa it was found that biological relatedness was in fact negatively associated with money spent on food and on health care (Anderson, 2004). In this sample, fathers were more likely to invest financially in the children of their current partners, rather than in their children from previous partners. Research then turned to considering the influence of residential status on paternal financial involvement. While it is considered that co-resident fathers are more likely to invest in their biological children, it was found that some non-resident fathers also invest financially in their biological children. The notion of the “absent breadwinner” (Madhavan, et al., 2008) where fathers are non-resident, but continue to be the primary breadwinner for the household, is prevalent in rural South Africa where labour migration is still quite common (Madhavan, et al., 2008). A study was conducted in Agincourt, a sub-district of Mpumalanga, that highlights the difficulty presented by labour migration in that a geographic separation is necessitated by the husband or father’s need to provide for a family (Madhavan, et al., 2008). The implications of this are that while fathers seek to fulfil the breadwinner role by moving away from the family to the place where work is available and then sending money back home, they are unable to be involved in the day-to-day caretaking of children and to form close relationships with their children. However, research suggests that fathers and children do not spend much time alone together, even when they are co-resident, and instead prefer to spend time together as a family rather than in exclusive dyadic interaction (Liddell, et al., 1987).

Another branch of the non-resident father research literature takes the form of teenage fathers and teenage pregnancies. Danziger and Radin (1990) found that fathers are more likely to not be co-resident or co-habiting with adolescent mothers than with mothers in general. Additionally, findings indicated that young fathers are more likely to be involved than fathers in general, despite that they are less likely to be co-habiting with the adolescent mother (Danziger & Radin, 1990). This is of particular concern in the South African context due to the high rates of teenage pregnancies and teenage fatherhood (e.g. Bodenstein, 2008; Spjeldnaes, et al., 2011).

Due to the high rates of teenage pregnancy, Swartz and Bhana (2009) conducted research with teenage fathers in the urban areas of Cape Town and KwaZulu-Natal about the factors and features that influenced the extent to which they are involved with their children. Specific focus was placed on what helped or hindered their involvement with their children. Contrary to expectations generated by previous research, these fathers expressed greater belief in the importance of involvement (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). These teenage fathers talked about the role of parents, both their own and those of the mother of their child, and their fears of what they would say (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). They expressed their concerns regarding their ability to provide financially for their children and the impact fatherhood has on their academic and career aspirations (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Many of these teenage fathers contrasted their experiences with their own absent or neglectful fathers with their own intentions of being more involved with their own children (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Specifically, they spoke of their responsibility and “of how having an absent, faithless father motivated them to be present in their own child’s life, and to talk with, rather than shout at, their children” (Swartz & Bhana, 2009, p. 93). Of note is that these fathers also talked about other (nonfinancial) needs of their children (Swartz & Bhana, 2009), for example their need

for physical affection and the necessity of practical involvement in childcare as part of their responsibilities as fathers.

The most recent South African literature on fatherhood consistently emphasise the detrimental effect of pathologising the absent father and concurrent undermining of social fathers or the efforts of those who are present and attempting to “father” children (Clowes, et al., 2012; Ratele, et al., 2012). These findings are more hopeful in nature in that they demonstrate that those who commit to the role of father, regardless of whether or not they are the biological fathers, play significant roles in the lives of their children and also at times engage in more nurturing and consultative fathering (Clowes, et al., 2012; Ratele, et al., 2012), though this is not necessarily always the case.

The international and local literature regarding fatherhood still appears to be poised on the fence between the traditional masculine ideal and the “New Father” who espouses gender equity and greater paternal involvement in childcare and domestic chores. What remains consistent between the two camps is an acknowledgement that paternal involvement can have a beneficial influence on children, specifically financial involvement. It comes as no surprise, then, that paternal involvement and financial provision are considered to be the defining characteristics of a “good” father. However, the majority of father-child research has been conducted with childhood and early adulthood samples, and very little research has been conducted with adolescents, specifically with female adolescents (e.g. Cabrera, et al., 2008).

3.5 Fathers and daughters

Much like fatherhood cannot be discussed without including masculinity, so too is the father-adolescent daughter relationship first and foremost a gendered relationship. While the fatherhood literature in general passed through the abovementioned trends, the literature pertaining to fathers and daughters specifically was predominantly influenced by the feminist

movement. During the 1970s and 1980s specifically, fathers were cast as an oppressive force in the home (Green, 1976; Sharpe, 1994). This revolved chiefly around Sex Role theory, and researchers argued that fathers were chiefly responsible for enforcing sex role stereotyping and trying to enhance the femininity of their daughters (Green, 1976; Sharpe, 1994):

The decline of father may well be the best thing that has ever happened to girls. The current generation of feminist writers have found their voice partly because fathers have not been around in sufficient force to tell them that it might be too unladylike to shout like that. (Green, 1976, p. 72)

Another influential advance in the literature on fathers and daughters is that based on Erikson's developmental psychology. Martin (1985) argued that the relational difficulties between fathers and their daughters were due in most part to the different crises each faced in their particular stage of development as set forth by Erikson. However, most of the research tended to focus on the gendered component of the relationship and how this impacts upon the developmental aspects of the relationship. This resulted in the earlier research that focused on fathers' influence on daughters' development. Fathers were found to influence daughters' scholastic achievement, morality, aggression, tendency towards delinquency, as well as her ability to maintain healthy romantic relationships in adulthood (Lynn, 1974). Secunda (1992) concluded that fathers do have a formative effect on daughters' ability to establish and maintain healthy relationships in their adult lives. However, Sharpe (1994) criticised the deterministic nature of such distinct pathways as predicted by Secunda (1992), and suggested that change and variation is not just possible, but also probable.

Extending the literature regarding fathers' influence on daughters' socialization, Zeman, Perry-Parrish, and Cassano (2010) found that fathers play a unique role in the socialization of

sadness in their daughters. Their findings indicate that, in comparison with mothers, fathers exerted less coaching mechanisms and more control over and use of negative emotive words when discussing sadness with their daughters. Mothers were associated with more adaptive regulation of sadness (Zeman, et al., 2010). These latter authors argued that their findings support the notion that gender-stereotyped emotional behaviour is a self-fulfilling prophecy due to ideas regarding gender appropriate behaviour. They also suggested that changes in the gender order and in notions of gender appropriate behaviour would influence the interaction and emotion socialization behaviours of cross-gender parent-child dyads (Zeman, et al., 2010).

Earlier research (e.g. Youniss & Ketterlinus, 1987) suggest that mother-daughter and father-daughter relationships are discrete phenomena. Even though Russel and Sabel (1997), conclude that a daughter's relationship with mother and father might only be distinct when measuring particular aspects such as closeness, cohesion or affective reactions (Russel & Saebel, 1997), current research indicate that adolescents make sharp distinctions between mothers and fathers in terms of what they talk about, how they spend time together, as well as how they settle disputes with one another. Daughters talk more openly with mothers (Way & Gilman, 2000) while they tend to do things with rather than talk to fathers (Fuemmeler, Anderson, & Mâsse, 2011; Way & Gilman, 2000). Conversations typically are about school, the world, and recreational activities (Way & Gilman, 2000). Additionally, daughters reckon that fathers know them least well, and some believe that their fathers are disinterested in expressions of emotion – both their own as well as their daughters' (Youniss & Ketterlinus, 1987). Fathers also seem to become increasingly protective as their daughters get older, and although this may be their way of expressing their love, their daughters often experience it as restrictive or even punitive.

The literature generally suggests that father-adolescent daughter relationships which are characterised by direct interaction, physical and emotional availability, and provision of care by the father have strong positive effects on the daughter (Allgood, Beckert, & Peterson, 2012). These positive effects include greater self-esteem and life-satisfaction and less psychological distress in daughters (Allgood, et al., 2012; Beshaler, 2010). It has also been found that the more time fathers and daughters spend together after divorce, the better off the daughter will be in terms of exhibiting fewer negative internalising and externalising behaviours (Nielsen, 2011). Furthermore, fathers have been found to play an important role as either a risk or protective factor in the occurrence of eating disorders in adolescent girls (Berge et al., 2012; Cromley, Neumark-Sztainer, Story, & Boutelle, 2010; Elliott, 2010; Hooper & Dallos, 2012; Johnson et al., 2012; Neumark-Sztainer et al., 2010; Pace, Cacioppo, & Schimmenti, 2012; Trinh Ha, Marsh, Martin, & Halse, 2006). The literature, however, generally indicates that paternal involvement or attachment only has positive effects on daughters in healthy, adaptive, close father-adolescent daughter relationships (Bronte-Tinkew, et al., 2006; Jaffee, et al., 2003; Marsiglio, et al., 2000; McBride, et al., 2005; King & Sobolewski, 2006; Tiano & McNeil, 2005; Vogt Yuan & Hamilton, 2006; Waller & Swisher, 2006).

Fathers are reported to influence their daughters' choice of occupation in terms of an increase in the likelihood that daughters will enter the same occupation as their fathers as found by Hellerstein and Morrill (2010). Though whether this has a direct positive or negative effect on the daughter is unknown. Parental level of education also influences the mobility in educational attainment of daughters (Daouli, Demoussis, Giannakopoulos, 2010). The living circumstances of low-income families who generally are also associated with lower levels of education tend to limit daughters' ability to break the cycle of poverty (Bratberg, Rieck, &

Vaage, 2011) by achieving a higher education and subsequently a better occupation (Hellerstein & Morril, 2010). Furthermore, as regards paternal investment in and encouragement of their daughters' education, Gugl and Welling (2012) concluded that parents invest most in both time and monetary terms in the child perceived to be of more or less equal worth as time spent in paid employment. This means that parents and especially fathers, who tend to be the primary breadwinners in low-income communities, will invest most in the child most likely to produce a return on that investment (Gugl & Welling, 2012). This return relates specifically to the child that is most likely to finish school, obtain well-paid employment and will most likely take care of retired parents (Gugl & Welling, 2012). Fathers are more likely to invest the most in sons, while mothers tend to invest more or less equally in both sons and daughters (Gugl & Welling, 2012).

Fathers' role in adolescent daughters' sexuality has long been a topic of interest within the literature. The most salient of which is where fathers have been found to emphasise sex-role stereotypes more strongly than mothers (Devlin & Cowan, 1985; Siegel, 1987). Expanding on the subject, it has been found that communication about sexuality between fathers and their daughters is limited (Feldman & Rosenthal, 2000; Way & Gillman, 2000). Factors that contribute to a father's good communication about sexuality with his daughter include emotional closeness (defined as daughters' perception that she could go to her father to talk about sexuality), their engagement in similar activities, and fathers and daughters conversing on a regular basis. Emotional closeness was also found to correlate with delayed sexual debut of daughters as opposed to daughters who did not report emotional closeness with fathers (Nielsen, 2010). Katz and Van der Kloet (2010) also found a correlation between a father's emotional responsiveness during adolescence and his daughter's sexual assertiveness as well as a negative correlation with acceptance of male dominance. Of note is the finding that

fathers who perceived communication about sexuality to be a mother's task tended to be rated as poor sexuality educators by their daughters (Nielsen, 2010), a finding that appears to be quite prevalent across cultures (e.g. Sneed, Somoza, Jones & Alfaro, 2013). This aspect of the father-daughter relationship touches on the core problematic of the relationship. The father-daughter relationship combines the power differentials of parent-child as well as of the male-female dynamic. As Sharpe (1994) stated, "daughters belong to fathers twice over, as children and as females" (p. 85). Parents have authority over children and where patriarchy is still the norm, females are subservient to males. In South Africa the high and growing incidence of gender-based violence is of great concern. Several international studies have addressed fathers and daughters in the context of domestic and interpersonal violence, which includes battering and abuse in its myriad forms. These studies were approached from the perspective of patriarchy and male dominion over females in the gender order (Candib, 1999; Casey & Dustman, 2009; Weiner-Levy, 2011), as well as the intergenerational transmission of criminal behaviour (Besemer & Farrington, 2012). Guille (2004), later supported by Sternberg, Lamb, Guterman, Abbott and Dawud-Noursi (2004) found that victimisation as it relates to inter-familial violence, adversely affects adolescents' perceptions of relationships with their parents. In South Africa, literature highlight the intergenerational transmission of violence in cases where the mother is victimised by the father as a risk factor for the continued victimization of females (Kubeka, 2008; Mosavel, Ahmed, & Simon, 2011).

3.6 Conclusion

The literature in the South African context specifically indicates that fatherhood appears to be "judged" based on the physical absence or presence as well as on the father's ability and willingness to provide financially. Furthermore, research suggests that father-adolescent daughter relationships tend to be more functional and instrumental, whereas mother-adolescent daughter relationships tend to be more personal and emotion-oriented. Research

regarding low-income communities suggest that financial provision is most likely the criterion for “good” versus “bad” fatherhood due to limited access to basic resources. The literature indicates, however, that the nature and quality of the father-daughter relationship is the primary determinant of a father’s influence on his daughter (Coley, 2003), especially with regards to self-esteem and self-confidence, rather than such factors as biological relatedness, time spent together, or even financial provision (Sharpe, 1994).

In addition, several researchers (Hosegood, McGrath, Bland, & Newell, 2009; Morrell, Posel, & Devey, 2003;) argue for the need to collect more data on fathers in South Africa. The general lack of data regarding specifically the father-daughter relationship in all South African communities points to the need for such research (Guille, 2004; Katz & Van der Kloet, 2010; Reinhardt, Evenstad & Faircloth, 2012), and especially qualitative research on father-daughter relationships (Fields & Johnson, 2013).

Chapter four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the detailed research process of the present study, including sampling procedures, data collection as well as the process of data analysis.

4.2 Aim and question of the research

The primary aim of this study was to investigate constructions of fatherhood in one low-income, semi-rural, Coloured community by qualitatively exploring father-daughter dyads' constructions of fatherhood, as well as their experience of father-daughter relationships.

4.3 Qualitative research design

As I indicated in the introductory chapter, this thesis utilized social constructionist grounded theory methodology, which is a qualitative research method. Qualitative research methodology is being increasingly utilized by researchers (Urquhart & Fernández, 2013), especially within the field of psychology (Charmaz, 2008). In general, the focus of qualitative research is on the meaning and experience ascribed to and associated with a specific phenomenon (Willig, 2001). It does not concern itself with establishing a causal relationship, nor with establishing the truth or validity of a specific, directed research question per se, but rather with exploring the subjective meanings attributed to phenomena by the research participants themselves (Willig, 2001). Within qualitative research there exists specific approaches, namely phenomenology, discourse analysis, and grounded theory. These differ in terms of their focus. Selkirk (2010) explains that, phenomenology assumes an essential reality which can be accessed through participants' lived experience; discourse analysis focuses specifically on linguistic processes and how they are used to achieve certain ends; while grounded theory is based on the assumption that meaning is negotiated and understood through social interactions (Puig, et al., 2008). The aim of social constructionist research is

not to simply argue that a particular phenomenon is a social construct, but rather to identify, explore, and analyse the social processes involved in the construction of a particular phenomenon within a particular context (Burr, 2003). Puig, et al. (2008) emphasise that there must be a correspondence between the epistemology and the research methods, therefore, I selected social constructionist informed grounded theory.

4.3.1 Charmaz' social constructionist grounded theory method

Grounded theory first appeared on the research scene in the 1960s. The sociologists Glaser and Strauss (1965, 1967) developed this method in order to offer an alternative to the mainstream methodological assumptions of the time. Not only did their work offer an alternative epistemology, it also came equipped with systematic strategies for qualitative research practice. Their efforts were aimed at increasing the analytical power of qualitative research by moving beyond description into generating explanatory theoretical frameworks (Charmaz, 2006). The basic principles they emphasised (Charmaz, 2006) consisted of simultaneous data collection and analysis; producing theories grounded in data rather than testing preconceived theories; constant comparison of the data; sampling directed by theory construction instead of representativeness; and lastly, conducting the literature review after the analysis has been developed.

In the years since its conception, grounded theory has gained acceptance, and is known for both its rigor and usefulness (Charmaz, 2006). However, this classic version of grounded theory has been criticised for its positivistic assumptions – that the objective truth emerges from the data – and so diverse versions of grounded theory have been developed. One such is social constructionist informed grounded theory. It differs from the classical approach primarily in terms of epistemology. Essentially, a social constructionist informed grounded theory focuses on social processes and the co-construction of reality between participants,

interviewer, interviewee, and the researcher. Furthermore, social constructionist grounded theory recognizes the idiosyncratic influence or reflexivity of the researcher (Price & Paley, 2008; Seidel & Urquhart, 2013), as well as acknowledging individual experience within the broader social context of everyday life (Meiklejohn, Heesch, Janda, & Hayes, 2013). Social constructionist grounded theory also offers a systematic strategy for identifying patterns in the data through a rigorous inductive method of data analysis (Carroll, 2008). Lastly, social constructionist grounded theory is a flexible analytic tool that encourages the production of a theory that has both explanatory and predictive powers (Urquhart & Fernández, 2013). With regards to the execution of this method, each of the following steps are described in full and contain the details of its adherence to the principles of social constructionist informed grounded theory.

4.3.2 Participants

This study was conducted with Coloured participants from a low-income, semi-rural area in the Western Cape. The research community is situated within an approximate 10 kilometre radius of a large town in the Cape Winelands. There are several small settlements located within this radius, as well as several farms. Hills decorated with vineyards and different orchards, including olive trees, present a colourful vista as a backdrop to everyday life in this community. As reported in the introductory chapter, Coloured communities are strongly associated with low-income communities (Myers, et al., 2013), which is coupled with other adverse social conditions such as unemployment, lower education levels, overcrowding, poor health facilities and welfare. Similarly, in this community unemployment and housing are two of the greatest concerns (Visionafrika, 2014). There are high rates of TB, HIV, as well as teenage pregnancies and the use of the drug known as “Tik” is also increasing (Visionafrika, 2014). Very few families own a motor vehicle and so must rely on transport provided by farm owners, the taxis, or friends with their own vehicles. (Visionafrika, 2014). One primary

school is located in the community, but children must travel via bus to secondary schools in neighbouring areas. (Visionafrika, 2014). The busses only stop at specific bus stops and so children must make the journey from the stop to and from home on foot or on other means of transport provided by taxis or farm owners. There is also limited access to sports and other extra-mural facilities (Visionafrika, 2014) and even the schools struggle with this as lack of transport prevent many children staying at school after the end of the official school hours to participate in sports. All of my participants lived in small brick houses, and only one dyad lived in a shack in Kayamandi. Access to electricity, running water, and toilet facilities was the norm among my participants, though such access is not the norm in the community in general (Visionafrika, 2014).

The daughters were all in grade 9 in the same school at the time of the first interview, and their ages ranged from 14 to 17. The majority of the participants resided in small brick houses on the wine estates where the fathers worked, with three exceptions: two households resided in one of the formal settlements and one household resided in a nearby informal settlement on the outskirts of the greater Stellenbosch area. Additional demographic information is presented in table 1 below, which was gathered through the documents presented as Addendum B and D. Furthermore, the participants are referred to by pseudonyms throughout the remainder of this report.

As generalizability to the broader population is not the point of qualitative research, but to understand social processes and the actions and experiences of the participants in their specific context (Babbie & Mouton, 2001), participants were not recruited based on generalizability, nor were they chosen to reflect an accurate representation of the population. Instead, participants were recruited based on the theoretical relevance of the information they

could provide as well as enabling the refinement or extension of ideas that arose during analysis of the data (Charmaz, 2008).

Table 1

Demographic data of participants

Father	Father's age	Father's highest level of education	Father's current occupation	Income per month	Daughter	Daughter's age
Moses	41	Gr 11	Assistant winemaker	R7336	Mary	16
Samuel	49	Gr 5	Gardener	R3014.47	Sara	15
Markus	46	Gr 9	Golf estate groundskeeper	R3000	Moira	15
Johannes	48	None	Farmworker	R3300	Jordan	15
Abraham	39	Gr 4	Farmworker	R2052	Anabel	16
Liam	51	Gr 3	Farmworker	R3000	Lara	15
Gert	42	Gr 3	Disabled	R1200	Grace	15
Chris	43	Gr 7	Farmworker	R2900	Claire	17
Kris	43	Gr 10	Farmworker	R4400	Kate	15
Jakobus	49	Gr 7	Brick layer	Paid per hour	Joy	14
Mike	39	Gr 5	Farmworker	R1800	Michelle	16
Dawid	43	Gr 9	Mechanic	R5700	Danielle	16
Adonis	46	Gr 1	Farmworker	R2000	Astrid	16
Erik	45	Gr 5	Farmworker	R1800	Esther	16

Source: Addendum B and D

4.3.3 Data collection: Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted separately with the fathers and their adolescent daughters in order to access their experiences, feelings and social worlds (Charmaz, 2006) regarding fatherhood. Fourteen father-daughter dyads were interviewed, of which 7 were re-

interviewed. Of those who were not re-interviewed, 4 did not respond to the invitation to be re-interviewed, 2 were not contacted due to extraneous circumstances, and the last dyad was not re-interviewed as theoretical saturation was achieved and all areas of inquiry were covered in the initial interview. A total of 42 interviews were conducted, equal to 29 hours, 47 minutes and 18 seconds. According to social constructionist grounded theory method, in-depth interviews are “open-ended yet direct, shaped yet emergent and paced yet unrestricted” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 28). An interview schedule (see Addendum E) was devised to be used as a general guideline and to provide the interviewers with prompts to spark a conversation. Interviewers were instructed and trained to follow the lead of the participants, to allow them to tell their stories and to follow up on the participants’ cues.

4.3.4 The interviewers

I conducted the first interviews with the first four dyads. My supervisor and I thought that I should conduct the first interviews to obtain hands-on experience. However, when these first interviews were listened to and transcribed, it appeared that the interview material was rather thin. We thought that it may be due to the incongruence between my participants and I, and decided to use interviewers who were more similar to the participants. Our best trained, affordable and available option for alternative interviewers were senior social work students. We initially recruited and trained two Afrikaans-speaking, third year Social work, Coloured students from working class backgrounds who wanted to gain professional experience. I was struck by their easy manners and warm style of interaction. The first male student withdrew from the research (at the end of 2011, between the second and third wave of the interviews) due to other obligations and recommended his replacement. The second male student was of similar demographic (coloured, Afrikaans-speaking) and at the beginning of the third wave of interviews, both the male and female interviewer were in their fourth year of social work studies. Initially, all three interviewers struggled to adapt their interviewing skills from that of

social workers in training to the style necessary for the research interviews. During their first interviews, they also tended to avoid asking questions or probing further into topics that they considered to be sensitive or “awkward,” such as probing for additional information regarding why a daughter does not talk to her father about boyfriends or trouble at school, for example. However, they showed great improvement and responded well to each training and debriefing session. The quality of the interviews therefore improved as the interviewing continued, although they remained less successful in following-up participants’ responses by asking for descriptions or examples and further clarification.

4.3.5 Procedure for the interviews

All recruitment was done through the only secondary school situated within the selected research community. After I obtained ethical clearance and institutional permission to conduct the study, I was given the opportunity to address the female grade 9 learners as a group in a classroom – away from their male peers – and did a short presentation of the research. I also handed out flyers with all of the relevant information that they could take home to their fathers. I requested that those interested in participation speak to their fathers and ask them to also participate in the study. If their fathers agreed to participate, the learners were asked to bring the completed contact detail forms back to school during the course of the week. I returned to the school once or twice weekly to collect the forms. A total of 80 forms were collected throughout the recruitment period. Potential participants were then contacted and interviews scheduled. Additionally, a Valentine’s Day event was organised by myself and other postgraduate students in my supervisors’ Close Relationships research project. The aim of the intervention was to promote healthy relationships as well as to promote participation in the research project’s studies. This strategy proved successful as eight dyads were recruited in the week following the Valentine’s Day intervention. See Addendum A and C for all assent and consent forms utilized in the course of this study.

First wave interviews:

I arranged and conducted the initial interviews with four dyads, and one follow up with dyad number 1. This dyad was eventually excluded from the data set due to the daughter's falling outside of the prescribed age range. I only became aware of her age during the second interview and excluded their data from my set after consulting with my supervisor. I transcribed and coded these recordings directly after completion of the interviews. The data proved to be lacking in rich detail. However, the following potential focused codes were identified and pursued in later interviews: the father-adolescent daughter relationship appeared to be autocratic, but the fathers perceived it to be democratic; father as the head of the household and the ultimate authority; protection and provision as important aspects of being a father; fathers wanted to be the "good guy;" and lastly that time spent together consisted of playing games or talking to one another. My supervisor pointed out that there appeared to be a participant bias in the sense that the fathers who were volunteering for participation could be viewed as "good" fathers. At this point I recruited my two interviewers and resumed recruiting at the school in the hope of finding a broader range of fathers willing to talk to the new interviewers.

Second wave interviews:

The second wave interviews were conducted by the first two social work student interviewers. They did the follow-up interviews with dyads 2 to 4 and also conducted the first interviews with dyads 5 and 6. Here the strategy was to combine the broad, open-ended questions of the first wave, as well as pursuing new themes. These themes were: 1) religion, discipline, order, obedience and "good" father; and 2) fathers affirming daughters' performance and how this relates to aspirations for daughters' future and fathers' own old age. This was done in order to determine whether new themes would emerge from the

broader questions and if additional relevant information regarding the emerging themes came to light.

As it proved to be inconvenient for participants to travel to the university venue, further interviews were conducted by the social work students in the participants' homes. When these homes did not afford a separate or private space for interviews to be conducted, participants were interviewed some place nearby, for example a quiet and relatively private spot among the vineyards surrounding the homes of the participant. The interviewers made the phone calls and arranged for the interview dates and times. About half an hour before the appointed time, I met the interviewers and drove them to the appointed location. I equipped them with the required forms, incentive money, and digital voice recorders. While the interviewers were busy with the participants, I would be waiting with the parked car close-by and within hailing distance of the interviewers. This not only assured the safety of the interviewers, but also provided me with the opportunity to form an impression of the participants and their living conditions. When I drove the interviewers back home after the interviews, I asked them about their experience and impressions and made notes of these afterwards. I took the voice recorders back and stored the audio versions of the interviews on a password-protected computer. The interviews were then transcribed by me or one of my three independent transcribers.

Third wave interviews:

The second male interviewer and female interviewer conducted interviews with eight new dyads in this wave. At the end of the wave, the interviewing schedule was refined to focus on the themes: shared activities, religious practices in the home, discipline, celebrating birthdays and time spent together, boyfriends, broader family context and dynamic, as well as the

giving of hugs or kisses to be explored in greater depth during the fourth wave of interviewing.

Fourth wave interviews:

This wave consisted of the follow-up interviews with dyads 7 to 14 wherein the above mentioned themes were explored in greater detail. Dyad number 15 was recruited during this time and an interview schedule combining the initial broader questions as well as directed questions exploring the most salient themes identified during the third wave was used. No new data emerged from this interview and data collection ceased, having achieved theoretical saturation.

4.3.6 Transcription of interviews

According to Charmaz (2006) recorded interviews should be transcribed. I chose to transcribe the interviews myself in order to immerse myself in the data and to begin the process of analysing the data as soon as the collection process commenced. However, due to time constraints, I employed three individuals who were independent from the research and would not come into contact with the participants in the daily course of their lives, in order to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. In order to continue immersing myself in the data, I listened to the recordings while reading through the transcriptions before beginning the line-by-line analysis of each interview transcript. This also allowed me to verify the accuracy of their transcriptions. Furthermore, it gave me the opportunity to familiarize myself with each participant, each dyad, and the particulars of their context and experiences.

4.3.7 Data analysis

For the purpose of this thesis, I analysed my data across father and daughter groups, i.e. fathers' constructions and daughters' constructions. Although the initial idea was to do a dyadic analysis, I realised that as a novice qualitative researcher, I did not yet have the skills to attempt such a complex dyadic analysis. My supervisor and I will, however, utilise dyadic analyses in further disseminations of this research.

Social constructionist informed grounded theory methodology required that my data collection and analysis take place concurrently and that constant comparison of the data direct and inform the collection of additional data in order to ensure theoretical saturation (Dey, 2007). In addition, it was also important that I allow the data to direct the course of the research process in order for the analysis to be grounded in the data. In order to achieve this grounding, my coding of the transcriptions had to stay as close to the data and the processes described therein so as to avoid forcing preconceived categories on the data (Charmaz, 2006). My analysis of the interview data consisted of three steps (Charmaz, 2003). Firstly, key points and patterns were identified and coded as focused codes. The focused codes were then grouped together to form conceptual categories and these were in turn used to develop a core category that explained what was happening by defining generic process in the observed human behaviour. Lastly, I used the core category to construct the grounded theory of the research findings.

Data analysis commenced as soon as the interviews were transcribed. This consisted of initial line-by-line coding of the fathers' as well as the daughters' interviews. Once the interviewing was completed, the interviews were coded for focused codes. In this process, fathers' and daughters' individual interviews were analysed separately. In order to improve the validity of

my initial analysis of the focused codes, my supervisor facilitated a workshop where four co-researchers coded two sets of my interview data. Their codes and focussed codes concurred with mine and provided a measure of the validity of my own analysis. My codes and focussed codes were also checked and revised by my supervisor. The focused codes identified in the data were then analysed according to the criteria for raising focused codes to conceptual categories. This consisted of using the memos written during the line-by-line as well as focused coding, where the difference lies in the depth and conceptual abstractness of your memos, to identify the focused codes that best represent what is happening in the data. These focused codes were then given conceptual definitions and analytical treatment in narrative form in the memos (Charmaz, 2006). These categories are a conceptual operationalization of generic processes as identified in the data, which were then raised to theoretical categories that provide explanations and therefore also predictions of these processes (Charmaz, 2006). In order to be raised to such (Charmaz, 2006), their memos must contain a definition of the category, its properties, the conditions under which it occurs, is maintained, or changes, the consequences thereof, and lastly how this particular category relates to other categories. Examples of this process are given in Addendum F. The discussion of the conceptual categories is given in chapter five.

According to Charmaz (2006) theoretical sampling entails “seeking pertinent data to *develop* your emerging *theory*. The main purpose of theoretical sampling is to elaborate and refine the categories constituting your theory” (p. 96). I adhered to this by analysing the data almost immediately after collection and transcription, in order to further explore categories that emerged from previous interviews. The interviewees were provided with initial interview agendas which contained certain basic prompts, but additional specific prompts and areas to

explore were identified after the analysis of the initial interviews to be used in subsequent interviews.

4.3.8 Memo writing

Memo writing is an important intermediate step between data collection and writing drafts of the final report (Charmaz, 2006). Memo writing throughout the data collection and analysis process prompts the researcher to analyse the data from an early stage and allows for constant and consistent engagement with the data. Furthermore, it plays a crucial role in the abstraction of ideas and raising focused codes to conceptual categories and ultimately in formulating the core category (Charmaz, 2006).

I chose to keep a research journal in which all of my thoughts and supervision notes were kept in order to collect and document as much of my personal experience and analysis process as possible. These memos were reworked and refined to identify the most analytically significant sections based on my own understanding and comprehension of the participants' meaning making process and making sense of their experience.

4.3.9 The core category

The purpose of the core category is to raise the analysis to a more abstract and theoretical level (Charmaz, 2006). The core category "encapsulates the process apparent in the categories and subcategories constructed" (Birks & Mills, 2011, p. 100). This ties all of the categories together into a coherent whole and "makes sense" of the data. The core category can be considered as the contribution this study makes to the extant body of literature, or in other words, is the theory constructed from this data set in order to explain the social processes. The core category is discussed in chapter six.

4.3.10 Writing the final report

The purpose of the final report in qualitative research is to provide a textual description of the participants' subjective meaning-making process of the phenomenon under study and situating this meaning-making in the context of the participants' subjective world of experience (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). Of paramount importance is the provision of sufficient verbatim interview material which functions as the supporting evidence for the analysis as presented in the final report. I present my analysis in chapter 5 as an interweaving of participants' words, the meanings I ascribe to them, as well as how all of this relates to the existing body of literature. This carves out the specific niche wherein the participants' meaning and experiences can be voiced and heard in the broader context of the research literature.

4.3.11 Evaluating grounded theory

According to Charmaz (2006), a grounded theory analysis must meet four criteria in order to be considered a trustworthy contribution to the existing body of research on a given topic: credibility, originality, resonance, and usefulness (Charmaz, 2006).

Credibility can be assessed by asking the following questions: Is sufficient data provided and is there enough evidence to support the claims made by the researcher? Are the links between the data, the analysis and the argument logical, and have systematic comparisons been made between the identified categories?

Originality is measured by asking whether or not the categories identified offer new insights or a new conceptual rendering of the data. Also, it should be considered whether and how the grounded theory challenges, extends, or refines the current ideas and practices.

Resonance refers to whether or not the full extent of the studied experience is portrayed, and if both the unstable and the liminal "accepted" or taken-for-granted meanings have or have

not been revealed. Also, links must be drawn between the individual lives and larger institutions, if indicated by the data. Lastly, the grounded theory must make sense to the participants and offer new and deeper insights into their worlds and lives.

Usefulness refers to real world applicability. Questions to ask include whether the categories identified suggest the presence of generic processes, and if so, whether they have been examined for tacit implications. Does the research encourage and suggest directions for future research and how does the research contribute to the existing body of research?

If the grounded theory satisfies all four criteria, the research can be said to contribute meaningfully to the existing body of research. My supervisor and I kept these criteria in mind throughout the supervision process. This provided a platform for questioning, redirecting, and refining my developing grounded theory analysis as was deemed necessary.

4.3.12 Reflexivity

According to social constructionist theory, meaning is co-constructed between individuals, and this holds true not only for the father-daughter dyads, but also between the interviewer and interviewee, and lastly also between the data and the researcher. Therefore, it is necessary to actively incorporate and acknowledge the position and influence of myself and my role in the co-construction of my findings.

4.3.13 Self-reflexivity: Researcher experience

My data collection, analysis and the reporting of findings were based on the grounded theory method proposed by Charmaz (2003; 2006). This stipulates that I had to be aware of and take into account my own context and perspective during the collection, analysis and reporting stages of the research process. My perspective includes but is not limited to my knowledge of the subject, as well as my personal history. This process is known as reflexivity (Charmaz, 2006).

I am an Afrikaans-speaking, white, middle-class woman in her late twenties. In my view, my own experience and process influenced the implementation of this study in two important ways. As someone who has an interest in language and words, I found myself “hijacked” by the specific ways in which the participants used language in their accounts. An analysis or systematic evaluation of the participants’ language usage was necessary for me to clear away the “noise” produced by the novelty – it was preventing me from immersing myself in the data. The “noise” refers to the general manner of speaking and turn of phrase of the participants and the target population. I sought at first to capture language as a conceptual category. It was only once I had made sense of this phenomenon that I realised that it did not add to the analysis, but rather serves as an example of the close relationship between the researcher or analyst and the data and the effect one has on the other, and vice versa. Though time-consuming, this exercise brought home and made undeniably real the importance of reflexivity in qualitative research. Secondly, I also realised that my data disappointed me. Inadvertently, I was looking for evidence of the “New Father” (i.e. greater involvement) or more emotionally loaded, close, intimate relationships between the adolescent girls and their fathers. When I saw that my data was quite thin on an emotive level, I felt stuck. In reflecting on this and trying to make sense of my stuck-ness, I kept thinking about a comment my father made at some point during my undergraduate studies. He told me that he had always wished that I had taken up swimming as a sport, because he could see how suited I was to this sport. This revelation shocked me, because I do not recall even a single instance of my father’s encouragement of my swimming. I connected this memory to a gala event at school when I was 13 years old and extremely self-conscious. I achieved a second place in my item at this particular event and then chose to discontinue swimming as a school sport due to my lack of self-esteem. Had my father encouraged me at this time, I might have pursued swimming and thereby bypassed a school career pockmarked by body-image issues. Recollecting this

personal experience allowed me to empathize with the adolescent girls and what I saw as their confusion and uncertainty regarding their fathers' thoughts and feelings about them. I wanted sometimes to tell fathers to stop focusing so much on the material things and to also tell and show their daughters in other ways the affection that they so evidently felt for them.

What does this mean for my analysis? I may have been overly critical of the fathers' approach to and practice of fathering their daughters, but I could not fault or criticise their verbal concern for their daughters' material and future well-being. Given the socio-economic status of the households and the high crime rates in South Africa, their focus on these aspects were necessary and justifiable. My position, however, is that the latter focus should not be the primary concern in the father-adolescent daughter relationship. Instead, I wish that fathers and daughters could have known each other better, and could have more transparent communication – as I wish I had with my father.

4.4 Ethical considerations

The proposal for this study was submitted for review by the Stellenbosch University Human Research Ethical Committee (Non-Health) as well as the Western Cape Education Department. The ethical considerations were taken into account for this study consisted of the obtaining of assent and parental consent for the inclusion of minors, as well as consent from the fathers for their own participation. Informed consent and assent forms were given and explained to the participants before interview recording began. Anonymity of participants were ensured by the use of pseudonyms in the transcripts and the final report. With regards to non-maleficence, the participants were reminded that they could stop the interview at any time, choose not to answer specific questions, or withdraw completely from the research without any repercussions. Furthermore, they were encouraged to contact the Stellenbosch State Hospital at 021 887 0310, or Healing Hearts at 073 811 8993 for free counselling services or the Department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University to obtain the contact

details of fee charging counselling practitioners if the interviews made them aware of issues for which they needed assistance. With regards to beneficence, the interviews afforded the participants with a safe space wherein to reflect and talk about a taken-for-granted aspect of their daily lives. Some of the female participants reported “off the record” – after the recorded interview was completed – that they enjoyed talking to the interviewer and were glad to have been given an opportunity to voice their opinions about their relationship with their fathers. Lastly, the duty to report abuse of a minor was clearly indicated in the consent form for both the fathers and the adolescent girls. In one case the interviewer reported possible abuse. This was reported to and discussed with the social worker responsible for that geographical area. The social worker followed it up.

Chapter five: Conceptual categories

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents each of the four conceptual categories that resulted from the social constructionist grounded theory analysis. The first category is that a good father stays with his children and provides for them. The second category regards the implicit “understanding” between fathers and daughters about the authoritarian position of the father and the obedient position of the daughter. The third category relates to the expression of affection between fathers and daughters. The fourth category encapsulates the fathers’ wish for their daughters to have a better life. The final category is fathers’ expectation that daughters do as they are told and not to follow fathers’ examples.

In the quotes that I provide to substantiate my analysis, I use the pseudonyms of the participants and indicate their ages and the father-daughter dyad each participant belonged to. I present the original Afrikaans quotes to stay as close as possible to the participants’ own words, and provide additional information to make the context or meaning of the quotes clear to the reader. I also provide an English translation for readers who do not understand Afrikaans or who have difficulty with colloquial expressions.

5.2 A good father stays with his children and provides for them

The fathers in the sample believed that a “good” father is physically present and stays with his children, as demonstrated by Samuel (49, father of Sara) when he said:

As hy (*a father*) goed na jou kyk... dan kan jy hom waardeer dan kan jy sê dis n goeie pa want n ander pa hy gaat sommer...weg...en dan kom hy daai tyd en daai tyd...man kan nie dit n goeie pa noem nie...(If a father looks after you, then you can appreciate him. Then you can say he is a good father. Because another/bad father will just go away and only come back when it suits him/not at regular/reasonable time)

Abraham (39, father of Annabel) also spoke with some pride about how he could have made the decision to leave his children after their mother died in a car accident to be brought up by family and enjoyed a carefree life as a bachelor or started a new family. He did not, therefore he believed that he can call himself a good father:

want kyk toe die ma nou kan 'n mens nou sê as die ma nou dan kon ek nou die kinders eenkant toe gestoot het en dan kon ek nou gegaan het en kyk ek het mos nou weer 'n vroumens hier...en ek gaat rond en gaat ek nie nou worry met my kinders en so aan nie...of ek stuur die kinders na Worcester toe na my ma'le toe laat hulle daar bly of daar skool gaan laat ek net alleen kan wees laat ek net my ding kan doen...as ek nou...met ander woorde as ek nou daai rowwe lewe wou gehad het of nie daai kinders na gekyk het'ie en so aan...(When the mother died I could have set my children aside and started a new family or could have decided to go my own way and not worry about my children or I could have sent them to my parents so I could do my own thing or gone back to a rough/carefree/bachelor's life – I could have, but did not)

Threlfall, et al., (2013), and others (Forste, Bartowski, & Jackson, 2009) suggest one possible explanation why “being there” was emphasised as much as provision among the sample is that low-income fathers often struggle to provide adequately in material terms and therefore focus on their physical presence as proof of their commitment to fatherhood.

LIAM (51, father of Lara) spoke of a bad father as someone who puts his own needs above his children's, implying that a good father does the opposite:

...Ag, hy stel nooit belang in sy kinders nie. Hy dink: “Ag wat. Ek gaan aan met my dinge. Solank ek my sakgeld kry, drank koop, gaan ek aan met my way. Ag, daai kind kan nou net gaan waar hy wil.” (A bad father is not interested in his children. As long as he has money and can buy his alcohol, he just goes his way).

As discussed in the literature review chapter, provision and specifically financial provision seems to be one of the core defining aspects of fatherhood (King & Sobolewski, 2006; Schindler, 2010; Tichenor, et al., 2011), especially among low-income fathers (Summers, et al., 2006; Threlfall, et al., 2013). This was also the most salient theme identified in both the father and daughter participants' narratives. Giving a child money and not being able to give a child money, came up unprompted when fathers talked about fatherhood:

LIAM (51, father of Lara): ...daai geld vir die einde van die maand, net om vir daai kind daai liefde te gee of vir die ander dogter liefde te gee...(that money at the end

of the month, just to give that child that love or to give our other daughter love)

MIKE (39, father of Michelle): Ja...sys die baby sy kry alles.Sy kan nou die maand as sy 'n *phone* soek dan kry sy 'n *phone*...as sy nou volgende maand daai soek en dan kry sy daai...*(She's the baby, she gets everything. If she wants a phone this month, she will get a phone. If she wants something else next month, then she will get it)*

SAMUEL (49, father of Sara): Oh...n goeie pa gaan nie jou geld sommer uit spandeer alles nie...jy sal eerste vir hulle voortrek en vir hulle gee..dan sal ek sê jys n goeie pa.....Soos nou en dan dan gee jou pa jou darem iets - druk hy n sent in jou hand dan gee hy iets ...as sy iets soek dan sal sy sê pappa ek soek dit en dit dan moet ek ook weer uithaal en koop...sys ook al meisiekind wat ek het...*(A good father won't just spend all your money...you'll put them first, then I'll call you a good father. Every now and then your father gives you something, puts a few coins in our hand. If she needs something, she will ask and then it is my turn to give to her, she is my only daughter...)*

The female participants also emphasised money and the giving of material things when they talked about what they perceived as good or caring fathers. They specifically stressed that they can ask their father for money or material goods and he will make an effort to provide what she asks for. Furthermore, daughters judged or rated their fathers as being “good” when they are generous with money and material goods:

KATE (daughter of Kris):...net my pa, my pa gee vir my baie geld so ek moet vir my ma soebat vir geld vir my pa soebat ek nie vir geld nie...*(Only my father, my father gives me a lot of money. I must beg my mother, but I do not have to beg my father for money)*

CLAIRE (daughter of Chris): My pa gee vir my as hy daai het dan gee hy vir my...Soos *like*, soos geld...*(My father gives me when he has something to give. Like money)*

ANABEL (daughter of Abraham): 'n Goeie Pa vir my is soos in...Hy moet... hy sal alles doen en... of hy moet praat en lekker is...*(For me, a good father is...he must...he will do anything and everything...or he must talk and be lekker)*

Interviewer: Hoe lekker? Wat is lekker nou? *(What do you mean by lekker?)*

ANABEL:...Soos wat die ander mense is. Hulle gee vir hulle kinders alles. Al is dit net daai of so. Hulle gee of so...*(Be like the other people, they give their children everything/anything. Even if it is just that. They give)*

Therefore, it was not surprising that stepfathers were acknowledged and spoken of affectionately if they were the primary providers:

JOY (daughter of Jakobus):...Ek het twee biologiese ma's en twee biologiese pa's...My ouma en my oupa...As hulle vir my iets vra sal ek dit vir hulle doen. En as

ek vir hulle iets vra, doen hulle dit ook vir my. Hulle...Soos ek kan dit aanvoel hulle gee vir my om en so. Want anders sal hulle mos nie dat ek by hulle gebly het nie, want...vir my biologiese ma gesê het sy moet vir my vat dat ek daar skool gaan en daar by haar bly. My oupa is ook amper soos my pa, want as ek vir hom iets vra dan gee hy vir my en as ek...my ouma vir hom sê om my êrens na toe te vat, soos, eenkeer wat ek die bus verloor, toe ek oppad skool toe, toe sê ek...vra ek vir hom om vir my weg te neem skool toe met die taxi, toe sê hy ja, hy gaan vir my neem...*(I have two “real” mothers and two “real” fathers. My grandmother and grandfather. If they ask me something, then I will do it for them. And if I ask them something, then they do it for me too. I can feel that they care about me. Otherwise they would not let me live with them. They would have told my mother she must take me and let me go to school there and stay with them. My grandfather is almost like a father to me, because when I ask him then he gives me what I asked for. For instance, I missed the bus once and I asked him to take me to school with the taxi, and he said yes and took me...)*

Abraham did not grow up with his biological father, and only recently found out that he had grown up with a step-father. He described the first meeting with his biological father, and while there were no hard feelings and they were actively building a relationship, he spoke of his step-father as the one who had raised him and provided aid in times of need – though still calling his biological father his “real” father.

ABRAHAM (39, father of Anabel): Saam met hom groot geword, ja. Nou, ek kan nie vir hom sê ...uhm... vir hom wegstoot nie. Nou vir...nê. Hy het alles vir my gedoen. Vir my dogter betaal. Hospitale uit en in. Nou ek kan nie vir hom, die man...jy’s my pa nie. Hmm-oe, nee.... Ja weer...rite nou weet ek hys stiefpa en hys regte pa maar ons vat eintlik meer vir stiefpa want regte pa het mos nie vir ons grootgemaak’ie *(I grew up with him – step-father - I can’t push him away / reject him as my father because he is not my biological father I can’t say to this stranger – biological father – that he is my father. Now I know he/this one is my stepfather and he/that one is my “real” or biological father. But we take our stepfather as our real father because our biological father did not raise us)*

Research confirms that adolescents have less contentious and more close relationships with social or non-biological fathers who provide and are co-resident than with their non-resident biological fathers (Coley, 2003). According to Ratele, Shefer, and Clowes (2012) the focus is placed on a father’s ability to “be there” in more than just a physical sense and that social or non-biological father figures can step in and provide for the child when the biological father cannot. Stepfathers and other non-biological father figures can, therefore, take the place of

biological fathers (Clowes, Ratele, & Shefer, 2013) as long as they adequately and consistently fulfil the parenting role of a father.

The participants focused almost exclusively on the provision of material goods and of “being there” in a physical sense. However, research on low-income fathers found that fathers tended to emphasise their children’s need for emotional support and that it was their duty to provide this as well, and not just to provide materially (e.g. Bryan, 2013; Dubowitz, Lane, Greif, Lamb, & Jensen, 2006; Forste, Bartowski, & Jackson, 2009; Summers, Boller, Schiffman, & Raikes, 2006; Threlfall, Seay, & Kohl, 2013). Although these studies’ findings affirm the New Father discourse I spoke of in the literature review, my research seems to suggest that it is not as prevalent in my target population.

5.3 “We understand each other”: daughters should obey fathers

When participants were asked to describe their father-daughter relationships, four of the daughters and 10 of the fathers used words in which “*verstaan*” (understand) was the root. There are many facets and nuances to the meaning attached to this word. In the first place it translates as understand and means to comprehend in its entirety. An example of one of the nuances is when the word “*verstandhouding*” (an understanding) was used instead of “*verhouding*” (relationship) when fathers talked about their relationship with their daughters and vice versa.

MOSES (41, father of Mary): ek en my kinders...het goeie verstandhouding...ek het die verstand hulle het die houding...maar ons het n goeie verstandhouding...dis nie altyd alles 100% nie dis meestal ons is sê 80% ... 90% van die tyd is ons gelukkig. (*My children and I have a good understanding. I have the wisdom/knowledge, they have the attitude. We are not always 100% happy, sometimes it is 80 or 90% of the time that we are happy*).

It seems then that to have a relationship is to have an understanding. As for the particulars of what it means to have an understanding, three distinct meanings were identified. In the first

place, it relates to the nature of their communication. What these fathers meant with communication is that when disagreements occur, the conflict is resolved only when the daughters capitulate and agree with father: They talk, but there is no other resolution than that father is right and daughter must accept that. Understanding each other, therefore, also meant that daughters do not challenge or resist fathers' authority. Conflict is not acceptable., It is best when daughters agree with fathers and do not voice any discontent or disagreement at all.

GERT (42, father of Grace) as daar 'n misverstand is wat ons dink en dan praat ons eers met mekaar en dan praat ons en dan...hoe ervaar ons dit en hoe...verstaan ons mekaar en dit en verstaan ons mekaar en dit staan so tot vandag toe ons verstaan mekaar nog van daai tyd af deur die jare...so is ons maar bymekaar...(*How we do things is when there is a misunderstanding, we talk it out until we understand one another*)

SAMUEL (49, father of Sara): Dis dit's redelik verstaanbaar...ons kan kommunikeer...(*Our relationship is understandable, we communicate*)

KRIS (43, father of Kate): Maar oor die algemeen is dit *fine*, man, kyk ons stry nou en kom later word daar weer gesels. So verstaan ons mekaar. (*We are fine, we fight sometimes but then we work it out. We understand each other*)

LIAM (51, father of Lara): En dat ons mekaar verstaan ook want as sy soentoe trek en ek trek soentoe dan kom die dinge nie reg nie want dan dan is jy nie eerlik met my nie, dan belieg sy my, 'n hoek in die lyn en dan gaan die dinge nie uitwerk nie. (*So that we understand each other, because when she goes one way and I go another way then things are not going to come right because then she is lying to me. Then things do not work out*)

ABRAHAM (39, father of Anabel): Ja...en dan troos ek hulle so 'n bietjie dan's hulle so bietjie afgekoel en dan verstaan ons weer mekaar...(*I comfort them after I have given them a scolding and then they have cooled down and we understand each other again*)

For fathers, understanding also meant obedience:

JOHANNES (48, father of Jordan): Nee sys nogal verstaanbaar, sy luister nogal meer vir my as vir haar ma...(*She is quite understanding, she listens more to me than to her mother*)

CHRIS (43, father of Claire): jy bly by die huis en as ek by die huis kom en ek sien jy is nie by die huis nie gaan ek ons mekaar verkeerd verstaan (*My daughter must stay at home and when I get home and she is not there, then we will misunderstand each other – she will be in trouble*)

JAKOBUS (49, father of Joy): Ons se verstandhouding is baie goed. Ek en sy ons het...ons praat nie baie nie. Ek praat nie baie nie, want ek is 'n man. Ek hou van die orde van die huis...(Our understanding is very good. We do not speak a lot/often. I do not speak much because I am a man. I like it when there is order in the home)

When asked to describe their daughters or to tell the interviewer more about her, fathers often said with pride that they had good daughters. Being a good daughter was contingent on being obedient.. This is corroborated by Ellison and Sherkat (1993), who found that obedience is one of the traits that parents find most attractive or desirable in their children.

SAMUEL (49, father of Sara): Nee...ek sal sê ek het n goeie dogter want sy...het my nog nooit ini steek gelaat gesê nee pappa die kant toe en soontoe nie...(I will say that I have a good daughter. She has never disappointed me, said "no, father, this way or that way"...)

GERT (42, father of Grace): ...is nou net die drie vroue uh meisies uh meisiekinders en hulle is gehoorsaam so dit hulle gehoorsaamigheid maak my maar baie trots ek is maar baie trots daarvoor...en hulle is baie lief vir hulle skoolwerk en so...so daar issie...(I just have three daughters and I am very proud of their obedience. And they love their schoolwork, so there aren't any problems/trouble)

CHRIS (43, father of Claire): Maar uh verder aan het ek nou geen probleem hier in my huis in nie...ek en my dogter kom goed oor die weg...as sy my vra...ek gee vir haar...en as ek vir haar vra gee sy weer vir my wat ek vir haar vra om te doen vir my...(Other than that, we do not have trouble or problems in the home. My daughter and I get along very well. If she asks me, I give to her and if I ask her she does for me)

ADONIS (46, father of Astrid): Sy is eintlik 'n persoon sy, raak nie eintlik kwaad vir 'n persoon of so kan ek beskryf nou haar, iemand nou vir haar sê doen vir my dit en doen vir my daai, sy doen dit nou (She is the kind of person who will do what people ask of her – this is a good thing).

Although not stated explicitly, the female participants' accounts implied that they also believed that being obedient is what made them "good" daughters:

LARA (daughter of Liam): ...en ek moet, ek moet luister wanneer daar gepraat word...(I must have respect for my father and I must listen/obey when he speaks)

ANABEL (daughter of Abraham): Ek voel is reg dat hy ons so straf, want dan moet ons dit nie aanmekeer doen nie en so. Ons moet leer uit die fout wat ons gedoen het. (I feel that it is right that he punishes us so, because we should not have kept on doing it. t. We must learn from our mistakes)

MICHELLE (daughter of Mike): Ek het dingese - sigarette - gerook wat hulle teen gekant gewees het toe los ek dit. Want ek het vir myself gesê nee 'n mens is gekant daarteen dat ek dingese rook en ek moet dit maar los anderste gaan dit verder

probleme wees aan my toe...*(I used to smoke cigarettes but my parents were against it so I stopped. I told myself they are against it and I must stop, otherwise it will only make trouble for me/ cause problems)*

MOIRA (daughter of Markus): En ek doen dit nie, en dan beteken dit mos ek luister nie...*(If I don't do it, then it means that I don't listen to them/I am disobedient)*

For both fathers and daughters, then, to understand seems to mean that they understand and agree with the authority position of the father and the obedience position of the daughter, and the power differential it implies: Daughters should be obedient and submit to the father's final authority. Obedience seemed to be prerequisite for a harmonious father-daughter relationship.

According to Williford (2011), girls are expected to preserve good relationships and to avoid conflict, suppress anger, and behave nicely as opposed to assertively (Williford, 2011). Girls may therefore tend to silence their authentic thoughts, needs, and feelings, primarily in order to prevent conflict and their own expression of anger. By cultivating these characteristics in their daughters and urging them to be chaste, church-going females, fathers could be argued to maintain traditional gender roles in this community. The intergenerational transmission of traditional gender roles through socialization is well documented in the literature (e.g. Carlson & Knoester, 2011). Adherence to traditional gender roles is praised, while divergence from these roles incurs the displeasure and disapproval of society in low-income communities (Bryan, 2013). Fathers seem to have their daughters' best interest at heart by instilling these values – just another tool for coping in a resource-scarce environment.

5.7 Fathers required a special occasion to express affection explicitly

Western, middle-class notions of affection and how it “should” be expressed, e.g. hugs, kisses, verbal expressions of love, did not feature much in the fathers' accounts. The fathers indicated that they associated such demonstrations with specific occasions, like birthdays, as

a reward for a specific achievement, or in the even rarer instant where it is part of the saying good morning or good night ritual.

MOSES (41, father of Mary): Ja ja gee vir hulle n drukkie en soentjie in die aand (*Yes, I hug and kiss them good night*)

SAMUEL (49, father of Sara): Ek gee gewoonlik vir my vrou n drukkie, en as hulle nou verjaar dan gee ek vir hulle ook n drukkie...(*I hug my wife, and when it is their birthday, I hug my children as well*)

DAWID (father of Danielle): Sy sal sommer na my toe kom my druk en so (*She'll just come up to me and give me a hug*)

GERT (42, father of Grace): As sy 'n goeie rapport bring of iets soos daai, dan gee ons vir haar 'n drukkie. Dis als hoe ons bewys aan haar en hoe sy ook kan bewys. (*When she brings home a good school report, or something like that, then we give her a hug. That is the only we can prove to her/show her and the only way she can prove to us/show us*)

ERIK (father of Esther): Sy het vir my kaartjie gegee sy het vir my 'n drukkie gegee, en sy het vir my gesê geluk vir jou verjaarsdag ek het gesê baie dankie. (*She gave me a card and a hug, said happy birthday, and I said thank you.*)

Negative feedback such as the various forms of being given a “talking to” or punishment for bad behaviour is by far more common than positive feedback such as not-solicited expressions of affection. This could suggest that these fathers are comfortable with the disciplinarian role, but less comfortable with the “softer” aspect of fatherhood, namely the father who is comfortable with expressing nurturing and caring feelings. Also, implicit in some of the quotes above is the gendered perspective that females are primarily responsible for emotion work (Bryan, 2013) and that daughters should show their love to their fathers through hugs, kisses and cards. Furthermore, the quotes below indicate that the initiative must come from the daughters, while a father's love is a given.

MOSES (41, father of Mary) :...daai is die standpunt wat ek het en ek bring dit altyd vir my kinders...ouers moet gerespect word gewaardeer word en altyd gewys word hoe lief hulle kinder hulle het...(*That is the point I want to make with my children: Parents must be respected and appreciated and always shown how much their children love them*)

LIAM (51, father of Lara): Nee dit is nie ongemaklik nie, dit moet eintlik gebeur, dis mos 'n gevoel pa se liefde is mos. Maar ons doen dit nie. (*No, it isn't awkward, it should happen, we should tell each other that I love you / hug each other, it is a*

father's feelings, his love. But we don't do it.)

Liam's view that although family members should hug each other, it was not something they did in their households was true for nine of the 14 dyads. This is one of the prime examples where it seemed that fathers were aware of, and also "talked", a New Father discourse, saying that they should hug their daughters for example, but "doing" the traditional father by not giving hugs.

Fathers' accounts, specifically in talking to interviewers who may have been perceived as outsiders judging the appropriateness of fathers' behaviour, that physical expressions of affection were associated with specific occasions, may also be linked to fathers' desire to portray a "proper" physical relationship with their daughters. Such a portrayal may relate to the prevalence of rape and the attendant stigma of incest that lies so heavily on the father-daughter relationship (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga, & Bradshaw, 2002; Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, & Rose-Junius, 2005; Jewkes, et al., 2006; Thege, 2009).

One of the most poignant moments of the interview process was Dawid's account of his daughter's birth. She was born prematurely and had to spend several months in an incubator. He spoke of his wonder the first time he held her, how he loved her from that moment onwards and his surprise at the strength of his feelings for her.

DAWID (father of Danielle): ...van die eerste dag wat ek haar gesien het...toe was ek lief vir haar...en dis snaaks n mens besef dit nie maar ek het nooit geweet n mens sal so lief raak vir n kind of vir iemand kom ek sê vir iemand wat jy vir eerste keer sien nie geweet dit kan gebeur nie maar soos jy sê dis seker ma hoe die Vader ons geskape het...*(From the first day I saw her, I loved her. It is funny, you do not realise it and I never knew a person could love a child so much, or rather a person that they see for the first time. I did not know it could happen, but like you say, it is probably just how the Lord made us)*

His daughter, on the other hand, does not appear to be aware of her father's feelings for her.

DANIELLE (daughter of Dawid): My pa is baie stil hy praat nie nog baie nie. Hys meer stel meer belang in my skoolwerk. Hy wil net hê ek moet fokus op skoolwerk wil nie hê ek moet nog *worry* met verkeerde dinge nie...ons kom goed oor die weg...(*My father is a very quiet person, he doesn't talk a lot. He's more interested in my schoolwork, he just wants me to focus on my schoolwork. He doesn't want me to get involved with boyfriends/bad friends/substance abuse...we get along well together*)

She said that they get along well together, but that they did not have the same kind of conversations she had with her mother. It was easier to talk with her mother. Overtly she ascribed it to an inherent difference between women and men, but implicitly she suggested that she avoided more transparent conversations with her father about her daily activities because she feared his anger or disapproval:

DANIELLE (daughter of Dawid) As daar iets gebeur het dan vertel ek nie nog my pa wat gebeur by die skool nie. Sal altyd sê dit was lekker sal nooit sê dit was nie lekker nie die kinders is ombeskof of ek so of ek sê nie vir hom sulke goed nie... Ek praat meer met my ma as met my pa so ek voel net sys n vroumens en ek kan meer dinge vir haar praat as met...n mens se pa is meer geslote as die ma hulle wil altyd as ek vir hulle iets vertel dan maak hy altyd die ergste daarvan...(*When I get home from school, then I say that I am tired and don't want to talk. I just go watch some television. If something happened at school, I don't tell him. I will always say I had a good time at school, will never say that it wasn't good or that the children were rude or things like that. I don't tell him about it. I talk more with my mother than with my father, I just feel she is a woman and a person can talk about more things with her than with a father. A father is more closed than a mother – who is more open – and when I tell them about something, my father always makes/thinks the worst of it*)

It seems, therefore, that in this sample the definitions of “getting along well together” differ with regards to mothers and fathers. Danielle defined getting along well together with her father in way that is similar to how the sample at large defined having an understanding; namely the absence of conflict.

Similar to Danielle, it seemed that daughters often did not know how much they mattered to their fathers. Neither were fathers aware of how they and their actions mattered to and were perceived by their daughters. Fathers' uncertainty may also be linked to fathers not talking openly with their daughters or failing to explain their actions. An example of this was when Danielle went drinking with friends and her father was angry with her, but did not give her a hiding, instead he ignored her and refused to give her an allowance for quite some time.

DANIELLE (daughter of Dawid): Dit vir my nie reg gevoel nie, want ek was gewoond hy slat my as ek verkeerd doen en toe het ek net gevoel hy *worry* nie van my nie en dit was nie lekker in die huis nie en ekt nie saam met hom gepraat nie en ek net gevoel hy *worry* nie en sê dan niks of so nie dan kon hy my mos maar geslat het laat skuldig voel of so...*(It didn't feel right, because he usually just gives me a hiding and that's that. This time it felt like he doesn't care about me anymore and it wasn't nice at home, we didn't talk. I felt that he doesn't care about me and he could have just given me a hiding and made me feel guilty)*

Danielle experienced this as the withdrawal of his love for her. It was only by the time of the follow up interview that she realised that his not giving her a hiding did not mean that he no longer cared about her, but that he had refrained because he told her that he now saw her as being too old for a hiding:

DANIELLE (daughter of Dawid): Dis nou...my pa is nou weer reg, maar ons vestaan mekaar nou beter...gesels hyt gesê hy vestaan ek nou groot en hyt ook sulke dinge gedoen...*(My father is right/good/how I like/approve of, because we understand each other now. We talked and he said that he understands that I am grown up now and that he remembers that he also did things like that when he was young...)*

Such open and clear communication regarding thoughts, feelings, and intentions were rare. It seemed that there are a host of opportunities for personal interaction that may facilitate connectedness and therefore warmth and closeness between fathers and daughters. At least, as it is defined by a Western, White, middle-class understanding. However, the constructions informing the father-daughter relationship and the ideas regarding what is appropriate prevents such opportunities from being utilized, or from being recognized as being necessary at all.

5.5 Fathers wanting daughters to have a better life

All of the fathers in this sample, in one way or another, expressed the wish that their daughters should have a better life than they had. According to Threlfall, Seay, and Kohl (2013) low-income fathers have the same goals for their children such as financial security, health, or general well-being as their middle and upper class counterparts do, but that they work towards these goals by also teaching their children context specific skills and

competencies. Obedience, respect, and good manners form the basis of these skills or human capital (Jerrim & Micklewright, 2009) that will aid daughters on their road to a better future. This is one of the defining characteristics of a “good” father (e.g. Södeström & Skåderud, 2013; Xu & Yeung, 2013). Their desire for a better life for their daughters appeared to stem from their own experience of not having had or utilized opportunities when they were young.

DAWID (father of Danielle):... maar al wat ek wil hê sy moenie in die bootjie val wat ek en haar ma het met haar gewees nie laat ek sê eks slegter af omdat sy nou daar is nie dis nie wat ek eintlik bedoel nie, maar ek bedoel sy kan gaan verder leer en ek wil hê sy moet gebruik maak van die kans dis al wat ek wil...eintlik verlang sy moet...*(but all I want to say is that she mustn't make the same mistakes her mother and I did with her. It's not that I'm saying I'm worse off because she is here, that is not really what I mean, but I mean she can go and study and I want her to make use of the opportunity. That's all I really want...)*

CHRIS (43, father of Claire): Dit wat jy besluit jy wil doen dit gee ek jou die voordeel want ek het 'ie daai voordeel gehad nie...so ek gee die voordeel vir jou *(What my daughter decides to do, I give her the opportunity/privilege to do that, because I did not have the opportunity/privilege to that. So I give it to her.)*

MIKE (39, father of Michelle): Ja ek wil verbeter so'lat jy kan verbeter sodat jy jou kinders nog kan verbeter *(I want to be better so that you can be better and so that your children can be even better)*

Most of the fathers in the sample could not complete their school education because they had to find work and help support their families at an early age. They believed that finishing school was the stepping stone to a better life and tended to focus on this aspect of daughters' lives:

MOIRA (daughter of Markus): Oor skool want hy wil mos net...hê ek moet goed doen in skool...so ons gesels net meestal oor skoolwerk *(we mostly only talk about school because he wants me to do well in school)*

MARKUS (46, father of Moira): Nah *(informal pronunciation of the word “no”)* sy moet eers matriek klaarmaak en dan kan ons weer verder maak *(she first has to finish school and then we can make a plan for her future – there are talks about her going to university in the rest of the interview)*

The literature confirms that a father's personal experiences growing up and how they were parented, influence how they parent their children in turn (Coley & Hernandez, 2006; Forste, Bartowski, & Jackson, 2009; Summers, Boller, Schiffman, & Raikes, 2006). Having

experienced hardship in their own lives, these fathers sought to change the cycle of poverty by ensuring that their daughters have better opportunities.

In response to the interviewer's question: "*Wat dink jy verwag jou pa van jou? (What do you think your father expects from you?)*," Kate answered that he expected her to finish school and continue her studies.

Her father KRIS (43), confirmed this:

Maar soos ek sê sy moet verder gaan en haar een suster het matriek ge-pass, hy het ook matriek geslaag... (But like I say, my daughter has to study further. Her sister passed matric and her brother also passed matric – so she can pass matric too and that means she can continue her studies - ...)

Many of the fathers stated explicitly the expectation that children should repay their parents for the cost and sacrifice of providing for them and supporting them through school by one day taking care of their parents:

JOHANNES (48, father of Jordan): *...ek sê baie vir hulle onthou pappa en mamma bly nie djonk nie ons word oud...en van julle moet eendag vir ons vat om na ons te kyk ek weet nie tot wanneer toe nie... so een van julle gaan daar wees en nee my ma en my pa kan teruggee... (I often say to them, mother and father won't be young forever and one of you must look after us one day, we do not know for how long. Then one of you will say my parents did so much for me, now I can give back to them by taking care of them when they are old)*

KRIS (43, father of Kate): *...ek wil nie verniet geld mors en so nie en ek wil resultate sien... Elke dag, jinne maar wat kan jy maak jy wil hulle hê het sorg vir hulle sorg vir hulle want jy weet nooit jy weet nooit wat jy wat wat hulle vir jou gaan beteken en en vorentoe nie... Want miskien is begin hulle te werk dan lewe jy nog, dan kan hulle ook darem sê jy jy miskien in die ou-te-huis of jy is oud dan kan jy nie nou vir jou werk nie... (I do not want to waste my money on school, I want to see results. You take care of them because you do not know what they will be worth to you when you are old, because maybe you are in an old age home and then they can take care of you if they have a job)*

MIKE (39, father of Michelle): *Ek wil nooit ouetehuis toe gaan as ek oud issie...ek ek is opgeskeep gesit met hulle van hulle klein gewees het...hulle stêre skoongemaak...so al maak ek daai tyd vuil dan sal hy my stêre skoonmaak... (I do not want to go to an old age home, ever. I was stuck with them when they were small, I cleaned their backsides, so when I am old and I mess my pants, then they can clean my backside the way I cleaned theirs)*

ABRAHAM (39, father of Anabel): Laat jy kan kyk na jou pa...“kom bly my pappa of kom bly by my pappa”...ek is mos nou oud...dan’t jy ‘n goeie werk ‘n goeie huis so is wat pappa vir my belangrik...(he wants his children to get a good job after school so that they may be able to look after him when he is old)

My impression was that, in this low-income community, very few (if any) people are able to save enough money to support themselves after retirement and through old age. It therefore makes sense that fathers would like to depend on children as a means of support in their old age. Furthermore, in a traditional patriarchal gender belief system, females are the primary caregivers and so the expectation that a daughter will take care of her parents in their dotage is consistent (e.g. Yount, Cunningham, Engleman, & Agree, 2012).

5.5.1 Keeping daughters on the right track

In order to ensure that their daughters attain this better future, fathers felt that it was their responsibility to keep their daughters “on the right track”:

KRIS (43, father of Kate): ...vir haar moet jy nou eintlik onder jou vlerk hou dat sy nie kan uitraam...ek sal altyd vir hulle ek sal nooit vir hulle die verkeerde pad wys nie...(My youngest daughter who is still in school must still be kept under my wing so that she cannot stray from the right path, not doing what is right or going in an undesired direction...I always tell them I will never ead them astray...)

MOSES (41, father of Mary): ...want ek het so gemaak hulle moet self besluit waar hulle wil wees *eventually* wanneer hulle groot genoeg is om hulle eie verstand te kan gebruik en so aan...en ja, ek hulle net probeer hou op n pad waar hulle nou watter kant hulle wil wees wanneer hulle nou die dag groot is en ja...(Because I made it so that they can choose their own paths when they are older. I just make sure that I keep them on the right path until they are old enough to decide for themselves)

JOHANNES (48, father of Jordan): ...saam die ding kan bespreek hoe kan ons maak om hierdie kind op die regte pad te kry...(Together we talk about how we can get this child back on the right path)

JAKOBUS (49, father of Joy): ... laat ons van die pad af dwaal en verkeerde dinge gaan doen het...(That we did not wander off of the path and went and did bad/wrong things)

Fathers also talked about temptations or distractions that to a more or lesser extent threatened daughters’ keeping on the right track. By keeping his daughter on the right track, a father essentially seeks to protect her and safeguard her chances of attaining a better future.

Adolescents are most at risk for mental health, behavioural and school difficulties in low-income communities (Chau, Baumann, & Chau, 2013; Dubowitz, Lane, Greif, Lamb, & Jensen, 2006), suggesting that these fathers' fears and the impulse to protect their daughters are well founded. This tendency to protect, either physically or emotionally, is consistent with the literature (e.g. Brussoni & Olsen, 2012; Threlfall, Seay, & Kohl, 2013; Södeström & Skåderud, 2013; Williams, Hewison, Wagstaff, & Randall, 2012). The potentially problematic temptations and distractions cited by the fathers include boyfriends, or men in general, "bad" friends, and substance use – all risk factors commonly associated with low-income communities (Dubowitz, Lane, Greif, Lamb, & Jensen, 2006; Threlfall, Seay, & Kohl, 2013). The most often recurring source of concern for fathers was boyfriends and the attendant increased risk of engaging in sexual activity:

MOIRA (daughter of Markus): Ja...my pa het gesê ja hyt gesê hy soek nie ou hier in sy huis nie, want ek is nog te jonk vir n *boyfriend*...(he said did not want a *boyfriend* in his house because she is too young to have a *boyfriend*)

MARKUS (46, father of Moira): Sê maar eers wag tot sy eers klaar en eie besigheid dan kan jy ma...maak en doen wat jy...nie nou nie...op so n ouderdom nie...nog te jonk...(she must wait until she is old enough – after school and able to take care of herself – to have a *boyfriend*, she is still too young for that at present)

CLAIRE (daughter of Chris): Toe sê my pa, "CLAIRE" as jy eendag swanger raak of as jy 'n of 'n *berk* (*berk* is a *boyfriend*) het kom sê vir my dan sê ek okay pappie ek sal vir pappie sê maar hou net jou koekie toe sê ek okay ek gaan my koekie toe hou. En en toe sê hy vir my as ek swanger raak, dan sit hy my uit die huis uit...(my father told me that if I get pregnant or if I have a *boyfriend* then I must come and tell him but I should keep my virtue/virginity, he will put me out of the house if I get pregnant)

CHRIS (43, father of Claire): ...Bekommernis...die gedrag wat sy het, die klere dra wat sy het, dit my bekommernis, hulle trek vir hulle die *tight* aan en kyk hier die jong seuns hulle oë raak mos gedurig groot...(I am concerned/worried about the clothes that she wears, it is very tight, and the boys' eyes get bigger – phrase implying sexual arousal)

It is clear from the excerpts above that, similar to Lesch and Kruger's (2005) and others' (Dubowitz, Lane, Greif, Lamb, & Jensen, 2006; Wilson & Koo, 2010) findings, fathers viewed sex as dangerous for adolescent girls. Furthermore, they attempted to safeguard and provide sex education by warning daughters about the dangers of sex, rather than informing

them about safe sex practices. Consistent with the literature is the fact that these fathers found it difficult to talk to their daughters about sex (Allen, 2012; Jerman & Constantine, 2010), preferring to talk *at* them and to restrict the conversation to warnings and threats – effectively ensuring that the conversation is closed and not open to discussion, much less to informative questions. Research confirms the positive influence a father may have on his daughter where increased communication can delay sexual debut as well as decrease the frequency of engagement in sexual activity (Hutchinson & Cederbaum, 2011). Also consistent with traditional gender role division and the predominantly patriarchal belief system of this research community (e.g. Rabie, 2007) is that the male participants seemed to assume that girls were primarily responsible for regulating men's sexual desire. Implicit in their narratives was the notion that it was daughters' responsibility to stay away from boyfriends and to not tempt them with tightfitting clothes.

The second most often recurring source of danger was the “wrong” friends:

ABRAHAM (39, father of Anabel): ... dan het sy met verkeerde tjommies (*friends*) te doen...hulle moenie agter die tjommies aangaan neeee ek gaat'ie meer skool loop nie en al die goed nie...(Sometimes she is mixed up with the wrong friends and I do not want her to follow their example)

ERIK (father of Esther): Ek waarsku vir hulle baie, ek praat baie met haar, kyk hier op die plaas, jong jong spanne wat ook nou al dagga rook en so en dan waarsku ek vir haar, teen aan hulle. Ek soek nie vir haar by hulle nie...(I warn them often, I talk to her...Look, here on the farm, the group of young people are also smoking marijuana and so...and then I warn her against them. I do not want her with them)

Generally speaking, the warnings about friends was about their potential negative influence on the daughters. Peer pressure increases the risk of engaging in risk behaviours (Lamont, Woodlief, & Malone, 2014). The fathers also seemed to be aware of the importance and therefore possible influence of peers for their adolescent daughters. However, much as with assigning responsibility with regards to boyfriends, fathers also expected daughters to take the responsibility of resisting friends' influence and to make the right choices.

JOHANNES (48, father of Jordan): ...jy kan vriende het vriende vriendinne het maar JY moet vir jousef oppas en onthou pa kan net praat...n mens kan n perd lei tot by die krip maar jy kan hom nie laat drink nie...(you can have friends, but you must look after yourself, you cannot blame your friends for your bad behaviour. A father can only talk to you about this, about you must decide to follow my advice or not)

DAWID (father of Danielle): ... want sys groot...sy weet darem al wat is reg en wat is verkeerd...dis hoe ek voel...ander mense se kinnere kan ek nie blame nie...daai moet hulle maar uitsort maar myne weet as ek met hulle praat wat ek van hulle verwag (She is old enough to know right from wrong. Other people's children are their own concern, I cannot blame them, they must sort themselves out. My children know what I expect of them)

LIAM (51, father of Lara): ...Is nie daai vriend se skuld nie, dis jou eie skuld...(It is not your friend's fault, it is your own fault)

The third source of danger was that of substance abuse. It is a prevalent and increasing problem in the target population that the youth are increasingly becoming involved with substance abuse. This problem is partially related to the influence of the wrong friends in that their bad influence is usually a reference to their involvement with substance abuse.

MOSES (41, father of Mary): ...ek het ek het uitgevind syt begin dagga rook...en toe ek nou begin my hand op haar hou en haar dophou...(I found out she was smoking marijuana and so I decided to keep my hand on her and to keep a closer eye on her - make sure she does not do it again)

JOHANNES (48, father of Jordan): ...moet kyk dat daar niks gerook moet word...(Must keep an eye out and make sure that they do not smoke anything)

GERT (42, father of Grace): ...soos nou wat sy op die hoërskool is kom daar baie dinge van hulle wat, hulle rook op die skool of die...En die ongehoorsaamheid...(Now that she is in high school there are many things – that I do not like – they smoke at school...and the disobedience...)

CHRIS (43, father of Claire): ...dan sê ek vir hulle nee...drinkery...daai's die moeilikheidmaker...(Then I say to them that drinking is the troublemaker)

JAKOBUS (49, father of Joy): Liefde moet op die ou einde van die dag 'n wenner wees. Dit moet nie 'n tik, of 'n rook, of 'n drank...verstaan jy nou...of 'n prostitusie probleem begin te raak nie (Love must be the winner. It must not become a tik, or smoking, or drinking problem. You understand? Or a prostitution problem)

ABRAHAM (39, father of Anabel): Jy weet mos jy kry die jong klomp raak so met die drank en dan's jy met daai tjommies wat so drink en so aan. Dan sê sy altyd nee Pappa, Pappa weet ek sal nie aan daai goed vat nie. (You know how the young people

are. They get mixed up with drinking and then you are with those friends who drink and so on. Then she always says to me: No dad, you know I will never touch those things)

ERIK (father of Esther): Ek waarsku vir hulle baie, ek praat baie met haar, kyk hier op die plaas, jong jong spanne wat ook nou al dagga rook en so en dan waarsku ek vir haar, teen aan hulle. Ek soek nie vir haar by hulle nie...*(I warn them often/ a lot. I talk to her often/a lot. You see, here on the farm the young people are smoking marijuana and so I warn her against them. I do not want her anywhere near them)*

5.5.2 Strategies to keep daughters on the right track

Fathers employed several strategies to keep daughters on the right track. The first was to reward daughters' scholastic achievements:

CLAIRE (daughter of Chris): Ja...toe sê hy vir my geluk my kind...toe sê hy vir my hy gaan vir my 'n present koop...*(Then he said congratulations, my child and then he said he was going to buy me a present)*

ANABEL (daughter of Abraham): ...'n Diploma gekry sê hy vir my ja hys trots op my en hy gaan vir my iets koop...*(I received a diploma at school and my father said that he is proud and that he is going to buy something for me)*

The second strategy was to ensure that adolescent daughters have adult supervision or at least are in the presence of an adult after dark. Research indicates that strategies relating to careful monitoring, consistent limit setting, and nurturing communication patterns are most effective protective factors against adolescent engagement in risk behaviour (Griffen, Samuolis, & Williams, 2010). The majority of the fathers indicated that their daughters were not allowed to sleep over unless it is under the supervision of another family member. Furthermore, all the daughters had a curfew and most of the conflict (second only to boyfriends) revolved around her being out later than she was allowed to, or sleeping over without permission.

Fathers acted preventatively by restricting their daughters' time and place of socialization:

MOSES (41, father of Mary):... ek ek...gaan eerlik wees met jou my kinders gaan kuier nie voor ek nie ek gaan laai altyd self af..ja...en ek kom haal hulle self en my kinders sal nie sommer oorslaap nie huh uh sorry...jou maaitjies (*friends*) kan by my kom slaap maar my kinders slaap nie sommer oor nie ernstig...*(My children do not go visiting unless I drop them off myself and come pick them up again later. I do not let them sleep over. Their friends may come sleep over at our house, but I do not let my children sleep over at someone else's house.)*

KRIS (43, father of Kate): Dis die punt. En veral op Vrydae of Saterdag aand 21:00 of 22:00 moet in jy die huis wees dan. Later as dit kan jy nie uit buite kant wees nie wees. Want ons almal sien dis...op straat wees. (*That is the point, and especially on Fridays and Saturdays she must be at home by 21:00 or 22:00. She cannot be out later than that. We all know what happens if you are out on the street after that time*)

ERIK (father of Esther): ...8 uur, 8 uur, 9 uur, kyk, hulle sit, soos ESTHER, hulle altwee sit baie by my auntie hier by 'n kaggel hier buitekant. Hulle sit baie maar as ek sien dit is daai tyd dan gaan stap ek dan roep ek hulle. (*They should be home by 20:00 or 21:00. Like, both my children sit with their aunt outside here by the hearth. They sit there often, but when I see it is 8 or 9 o'clock then I walk over and I call them in*)

Threfall, Seay, and Kohl (2013) identified similar strategies in their research regarding the parenting role of African-American fathers in the context of urban poverty. Like the fathers in this sample, Dubowitz, Lane, Greif, Lamb & Jensen, (2006) as well as Threfall, Seay, and Kohl's (2013) fathers closely monitored children and limited their contact with other residents as strategies of enforcing discipline.

The third strategy involved admonition and scolding:

JOHANNES (48, father of Jordan): ...sit met die kind...praat met hom soos wat n ouer moet praat...praat met hom sodat hy jou kan verstaan...want dit baat nie jy gaan vir hom verskree nie (*Sit down with your child and talk to her like a parent should talk to their child so that she may understand you. Just shouting at and haranguing them does not work*)

JORDAN (daughter of Johannes): ...en toe was my pa jy kan sommer sien my pa se gesig was rooi gewees van die kwaadheid... toe het my pa my uitgeskel (*I could see my dad was angry, his face was red. Then he gave me a hard talking to*)

SAMUEL (49, father of Sara): ...pak kry partykeer hard aanspreek...mens gaan mos nou nie aanmekaar slaan en slaan wat dit gaan tog nie iets regbring jy moet n slag praat ook en kyk of hulle nie darem wil agslaan op die praat nie... (*You have to give them a hiding and a hard talking to. You cannot just give them a hiding, you must also speak to them and see if they listen to and hear you*)

Although the father as disciplinarian construction was and remains prevalent in fatherhood discourses (Forste, Bartowski, & Jackson, 2009), it does not necessarily mean that he exacts the punishment for all misdeeds. This relates specifically to the occurrence of corporal punishment in my sample. The particular context of the target population influences its

practice in the daily lives of the participants in that fathers felt at risk of being accused of physical abuse should they be the ones who give their daughters a hiding (e.g. Dubowitz, Lane, Greif, Lamb, & Jensen, 2006), so mothers rather than fathers were reported to be the parents who gave daughters hidings:

LIAM (51, father of Lara): ...Nou gee haar ma vir haar pak, dan die wet sê mos nie aan jou kind raak nie. Jy wat pa is. Nou slaan die ma die meisiekind dan voel ek ook maar hartseer maar wat kan ek maak...*(Her mother gives her a hiding, because you as the father are not allowed to give her a hiding so now the mother must hit the daughter. Then I feel sad, but what can I do?)*

GRACE (daughter of Gert): ...toe slaan sy [*her mother*] vir my...my pa het geskêl...En dan...praat hulle met my...hoekom het ek dit gedoen...of hoekom luister ek nie as hulle vir my sê nie...*(My mother gives me a hiding, my father harangues me. Then they talk to me and ask why I did it or why do I not listen to them)*

MICHELLE (daughter of Mike, but here she talks about her grandfather): My oupa...my oupa skêl hy slaan hy slaan ook nie, maar sommige tye dan gooi hy my sommer met 'n skoen of so...*(My grandfather harangues me. He does not give me a hiding, but sometimes he throws a shoe at me)*

The fourth strategy was related to fathers instilling the importance of respect, good manners, as well as church attendance and involvement. Fathers expressed a belief that by teaching daughters these values they confer a certain amount of social or human capital (Jerrim & Micklewright, 2009) on their daughters. Social capital relates specifically to the availability of or rather access to available resources. In low-income communities, access to such resources are limited and the literature reports that parents often actively seek out such resources within the community in order to build their children's social capital (Summers, Boller, Schiffman, & Raikes, 2006; Threlfall, Seay, & Kohl, 2013). Respect and good manners assist in creating access to resources specifically as it relates to neighbours' attitude and willingness to offer help in time of need. Fathers saw it as their duty to emphasise the importance of respect, good manners and church attendance for their daughters.

JOHANNES (48, father of Jordan): Ja..want as mense vir my respek het die mense gaat se daar kom daai kind se pa wat so ombeskof is maar mense kan vandag se daai kind se pa het julle gesien daai verandering in daai kind se pa so mense moet kan praat van jou kind en kan goed praat want die kind...kry dit net by sy ouers...*(When*

people have respect for me...before, they could say here comes that child whose father is so rude, but today those people say have you seen the change in that child's father? So people must be able to talk about your child and say good things about them, because they only get that – respect and good manners – from their parents)

SAMUEL (49, father of Sara): Hulle moet goeie maniere het en daar wat hulle gaan moet hulle kan wys vir die mense hulle kom uit goeie huise uit en hulle moet mense kan respekteer wat ouer as hulle is...*(They must have good manners and wherever they go they must be able to show the people that they come from a good home and they must respect people who are older than they are)*

DAWID (father of Danielle): ...ek hou van respek en vir my is dissipline belangrik...en die manier hoe jy met mense kommunikeer...*(I like respect and discipline is important to me...as well as the way you communicate with people)*

JAKOBUS (49, father of Joy): Ja ek wil net hê, die respek moet op hulle voorkoms wees. Die respek moet nie net aan die binnekant wees nie, maar die mense moet mense moet dit kan sien. Verstaan? *(All I want is that their good manners be visible/evident/explicit in their appearance. The respect must not only be on the inside, people should be able to see it/it must be immediately apparent to anyone. Understand?)*

CHRIS (43, FATHER OF CLAIRE): ...as ek met haar praat....dan trek sy bietjie styf...dan vir haar hello...as ek met jou praat...vir my as nou staan en kyk met my tjommies as dit my tjommies is waarmee ek praat as dit met grootmense ...respekteer...*(When I talk to her – about her manners – she becomes stubborn. Then I say to her that she must be respectful when talking to grown-ups, it is different from the way you talk to your friends)*

Both the fathers and the daughters in this sample expressed the belief that respect must be mutual, not just child for parent, but also parent for child.

CLAIRE (daughter of Chris): Want hy is 'n spesiale pa vir my. Hy, hy is lekker met my en hy het respek vir my en ek respek vir hom. *(He is a special father for me. He is nice/pleasant/good to me and he respects me and I respect him)*

MARKUS (46, father of Moira): 'n Goeie pa? Hyt moet lief wees vir sy kinders en sy vrou...respek alle tye...as jy vir hulle respek het hulle vir jou ok respek...*(A good father? He must love his children and his wife, respect them at all times and then they will respect you too)*

LIAM (51, father of Lara): Is wat jy is, is wat jy is. Dis *alright* om 'n pa te wees. Maar dan moet jy weet hoe om jou kinders te hanteer. En as jy nie respek het vir jou kinders het nie, gaan jou kinders nie vir jou respek het nie. Dis so, nè? *(A father is what you are, it is what you are. It's alright to be a father, but then you have to know how to treat/handle/deal with your children. If you do not respect your children, they will not respect you. That is how it is, yes?)*

Although not stated explicitly by the participants, I identified an implicit association between respect, good manners and church involvement in participants' unprompted emphasis of church activities. Church attendance as well as religious practices within the home were emphasised more by some fathers than by others, though all the daughters were obligated to attend church, as well as participate in the youth program associated with it. Some fathers were proud of and praised their daughters' church attendance and involvement with the church youth program:

CHRIS (43, father of Claire): Ek sal gesê ek is trots op wat sy doen...by die skool...OK los gou die skool laat dit kom by kerk...kerk besigheid kyk sys mos in die jeug (*I'll say I'm proud of what she does...at school...OK, leave the school out, talk about church...church business, she's with the youth program*)

JAKOBUS (49, father of Joy): Ek meen...dit maak vir my opgewonde dat hulle is...hulle stel belang...My trots wees wat ek meer insit is by die Kerke waar hulle hulle deel insit. Hulle gewig insit. Verstaan jy nou? Die tyd wat hulle offer, wat ek meen...menigte kinders soos wat ek sien in Stellenbosch, hulle het nie daai belangstelling nie...(*I am excited and proud of their interest in sport and in church. The time that they put in. Many children nowadays do not have that interest*)

I suggest that this approval of and pride in their daughters' church attendance and involvement is informed by their belief that the "good influence" would serve as an additional form of protection for their daughters – primarily because it keeps them out of trouble. Going to church and incorporating religious practices are associated with "good" families, and like respect and good manners, this adds to a family's social capital. Again, the social capital relates to the individual as well as the household's standing in the community and the relationship with their neighbours. Respect and good manners facilitates a good relationship with neighbours and the community in general, and this is based on the teachings of the church regarding the treatment of neighbours. This is corroborated by Swart (2006) who found that the church is a valuable source of social capital, in low-income Western Cape communities especially, but also internationally (for example, Furbey, Dinham, Farnell, Finneron, Wilkinson, Howarth, Hussain, & Palmer, 2006; Holt, Schulz, Williams, Clark, &

Wang, 2012). When they talked about church attendance and involvement with youth programmes, the daughters, however, stressed other benefits of church involvement. For example, Sara (daughter of Samuel) emphasised the fieldtrips:

Ja baie ons het altyd uit na anne plekke toe. Soos ons ons was al strand toe...na die leeu kamp toe...ons was al Monkey Town toe...ons gaat baie plekke na toe..(Yes, we go to a lot of places. We have gone to the beach, the lion camp, and Monkey Town. We go to a lot of places – with the church’s youth program)

For MOIRA (daughter of Markus), church was an obligation:

Ek gaan kerk toe, want ek is ‘n katkisant. Ek moet kerk toe. (*I go to church, because I have to, because I am in Sunday School and must attend every Sunday until my confirmation*)

LARA (daughter of Liam), referred to the social benefits of participating in a church youth programme:

Ja saam met die jeug ja. En toe verdwyn ek en [*name of friend*] sommer na die gatjie toe saam met die ander seunskinders. En het hulle het mos vir ons gevra om saam met hulle te loop gatjie toe toe gaan ons saam met hulle...(We were out with the youth program and then my friend and I disappeared and went to die gaatjie with the boys. They asked us to go with them and so we went with them)

CLAIRE (daughter of Chris) mentioned that they learned about drugs and pregnancy:

Uhm ons praat oor dwelms...en die swangerskap en daai...en sê nou maar suster sê moet antwoord dan sê ons nou die antwoord...(At the youth program we talk about drugs and teenage pregnancy. And if the Sister asks a question, we give her the answer)

5.5.3 Listen to what I say, not what I do

An interesting phenomenon is that, although they threatened to, fathers’ hard talking to daughters about problem behaviours did not seem to translate into the kind of strong or firm parental disciplinary consequences for problem behaviour that is accepted as best parental practice in literature on effective parenting (Coolahan, McWayne, Fantuzzo, & Grim, 2002).

For example, CHRIS (43, father of Claire) said about his daughter’s tongue ring:

Toe sê die ma vir...jy moet daai ding uit jou tong uit haal of ek trek hom uit jou tong uit “nee mammie kan nie so maak nie mammie ding my uit tong uit trek” nou sê ek vir haar nou ja moet jy uit jou tong uit haal jou ma hou nie van daai ding nie ek ek ek wat moet ek sê nou in haar tong - sy dra dit nou nog in haar tong (*Her mother told her*

to remove the tongue ring or she would rip it out. The daughter protested. I also told her to remove the ring from her tongue, we had a letter from the school complaining about it. She is still wearing it)

By far the most common form of contradiction between threatening consequences and actual implementation of consequences was seen in the case of teenage pregnancy. Fathers' urgings and warnings to complete high school, avoid teenage pregnancy and substance use, and what daughters actually experienced in their immediate family and social environments in this regard did not correspond. It seemed that fathers warn and threaten their daughters about the consequences of problem behaviour, but these consequences were mediated by the actual, observed consequences of elder siblings' misdemeanours. They saw that their siblings did not finish school, fell pregnant as teenagers, and saw their fathers abuse alcohol. In Lara's case, her father's emphasis on her finishing school is undermined by the fact that none of her elder siblings finished school:

LARA (daughter of Liam): ...maar die ander een het ook nie skool klaar gemaak nie. Nie een van hulle het skool klaar gemaak nie...(My other sibling also did not finish school. Not one of my siblings finished school)

For Liam, Gert, and Adonis, the most striking similarity between all of them is that they only found out that their daughter was pregnant shortly before or on the day of their grandchild's birth:

LIAM (51, father of Lara): Vrydag oggend skool toe, Vrydagmiddag, hier word die kind gebore hier onder die...Die ma het niks toe nou geweet nie....Ek weet niks nie, ek skrik my boeglam toe hulle vir my bel, hier gaan die kind hospitaal toe, oudste kind gebore...(My older daughter went to school on the Friday, that afternoon the child was born. My wife and I did not know, we got such a fright when they phoned and said our daughter is in hospital giving birth to her first child)

GERT (42, father of Grace): Dis net die eerste een wat eerste kop uitgetrek het met die babatjie en die dinge. Sy het 'n paar...Ons is net 'n bietjie strenger met haar. Sy wil mos nou voor die tyd groter gewees het (*It is just my eldest daughter that "rebelled" by falling pregnant while still in school. That is why we are stricter with her. She wanted to grow up before her time*)

ADONIS (46, father of Astrid): Dit is vir my baie dingese, sy (eldest daughter) het nou nie vir ons gesê het nie. Die ma het eintlik uitgevind. (*It was very difficult/sad/disappointing to me, because she did not tell us that she was pregnant. Her mother was the one who discovered that our eldest daughter was pregnant*)

The timing of disclosure regarding a daughter's pregnancy seems to suggest that the daughters were afraid to inform their fathers. However, once the child is born it is as if fathers have no choice but to look after and support their daughters because there often is no one else who can. One could therefore argue that the message the fifteen year old daughters received was that they should not fall pregnant, but if they did, they will still be supported. This attitude is reflected in part by Grace (daughter of Gert) who acknowledged that her parents were concerned when her sister became pregnant, but she only expressed excitement at the prospect of becoming an aunt and seemed not to share her parents' concern about the consequences:

En toe hulle nou sien sy het 'n outjie en toe het sy swanger geraak. My ouers was bekommerd gewees...(*My parents saw that my eldest sister had a boyfriend and then she got pregnant. My parents were very concerned*)

INTERVIEWER: Hmm. Hoe het dit vir jou laat voel om daarvoor te hoor? (*How did it make you feel when you heard about your sister's baby?*)

GRACE: Ek was *excited* gewees. (*I was excited*)

INTERVIEWER: Hoekom was jy *excited*? (*Why were you excited?*)

GRACE: Ek wou 'n *auntie* geword het. (*I wanted to be an aunt*)

Fathers' authority was also undermined by their own alcohol use behaviours. Low-income males are at highest risk of substance abuse and it is not surprising that it is prevalent in the research community (Artega, Chen, & Reynolds, 2010; McDermott et al., 2013). They warned their daughters to stay away from substances, but continued to use substances themselves. The literature suggests that parental engagement in risk behaviour undermines their authority as well as promoting early onset of engagement in risk behaviour among their children (Handley & Chassin, 2013). As mentioned above, consistent limit setting among other strategies is an effective protective factor against adolescent engagement in risk behaviours (Griffen, Samuolis, & Williams, 2010). Fathers' continued engagement in

problematic alcohol consumption undermines their authority as well as having a negative impact upon their parenting efficacy.

As is demonstrated by the quotes below, several daughters reported their discontent regarding their fathers' alcohol consumption. Many of them also often and repeatedly expressed this discontent directly to their fathers.

LARA (daughter of Liam): En as hy dronk is wil hy net vir my ma en vir ons en ons huisgesin uitskel...*(When my father is drunk he just wants to harangue my mother and our household)*

MARY (daughter of Moses): ...een of twee en sê nou hy gaan biertjie weer dan skel ek hom sommer uit...By ander mense se huis en so...*(Sometimes when he has had one or two beers and he wants to drink more then I scold him even if we are in someone else's home)*

SAMUEL (49, father of Sara): ...dan kom sy by my "pappa moenie so drink nie"...*(Then my daughter comes to me and says "Daddy must not drink so much")*

DAWID (father of Danielle): ...was n sal nooit vergeet was 'n Maandagaand toe't hulle my laat sit ek kom uit die werk uit toe't hulle my laat sit praat...*(I will never forget. It was a Monday evening when they – whole household – sat me down and gave me a talking to)*

ANABEL (daughter of Abraham): ... ons het mos so met hom gepraat... As hy dronk is dan is hy lief om vir ons te slat en so...maar toe...toe sê hy hy gaat dit nie meer doen nie...*(We talked to him - my siblings and I – about how he is when he is drunk and he said that he would stop)*

SARA (daughter of Samuel): ...as da nog iets is van my pa wat ek wil verander dan is dit ek wil graag hê hy moet die bier los...*(If there is one more thing I would like to change about my father then it is that he should stop drinking beer)*

Substance abuse seemed to be a paternal prerogative and as long as the children do as they are told and not do as their fathers do, then it is considered to be in order. As stated above, there is a high prevalence rate of substance abuse and particularly the consumption of alcohol in this research community. This may contribute to the perception that such behaviour is normative.

SAMUEL (49, father of Sara):...soos ek wat nou n drinker is dan kom sy by my pappa moenie so drink nie dan gaat ek vir haar se 'SARA...toe jy opgroei toe drink pappa so jy gaat seker nie nou vir pappa kan besluit nou dis verkeerd wat pappa nou doen...want dit is mos nou al in my in...wat sy my kom kry ek drink...maar dan sal ek

vir haar se mar jy kan nie drink nie want jys nog te jonk om sulke dinge te doen wati reg is vir jou nie...jy kan nie doen wat pappa doen nie....dis verkeerd. (*SARA comes to me and says that I must not drink so much. Then I say to her, but I have always been like this, you cannot ask me to change now, it is already too much a part of me. Then I say to her that she must not drink yet, because she is too young for it. You cannot do what father does, it is wrong*)

In eight of the 14 dyads the fathers had stopped drinking alcohol and made a change for the better, confirmed by their own and their daughters' accounts. Such a drastic change in behaviour was usually the result of a life-changing event. For some it was a near-death experience, an instance of domestic violence which resulted in a period of incarceration, while others had a more personal or intra-psychic experience which resulted in a decision or active choice to cease abusing alcohol. These events were followed by repentance and a renewal of faith in several instances. The fathers who ceased their drinking did so because they also recognised the negative effect their drinking was having on themselves and their family.

JOHANNES (48, father of Jordan): ...as ek nou terugkyk in my verlede ek het drink...ek het nie omgee ek het te min tyd gehet vir my vrou ek het te min tyd gehet vir my kinders dit het...dit het die spatie eintlik groter gemaak in ons...maar toe't ek eendag is net opgekom by my tot vandag toe drink ek nie meer nie ek doen niks sul verkeerde dinge nie want ek wil hê my kinders moet kan opkyk na my toe (*When I think back how I drank...I did not care, I did not have enough time for my wife and children and it widened the gap between us. Then one day it came to me and I stopped, until this day I do not drink and I do no such wrong things because I want to be a good example for my children, I want them to look up to me*)

DANIELLE (daughter of Dawid): Ek was nog op die laerskool en my pa het nog baie gedrink. Hy drink nie meer so baie nie. My pa en my ma - hulle het baie gedrink... Maandae tot Vrydae was dit rustig in die huis. Maar sodra dit by Vrydag aand kom, dit was altyd vir my so... Dan's ek bang. Dit moet nie naweek word nie, want dan weet ek hulle gaan weer baklei en skel en so. En toe het my ma almekaar gesê hulle gaan mekaar los, maar mens vat dit mos nooit kop toe nou nie. (*I was still in primary school and my parents still drank a lot. They do not drink so much anymore. Monday to Friday was peaceful and quiet at home, but as soon as Friday arrived I became scared, it must not be weekend because then they will fight and argue again. They often threatened to leave each other, but I did not pay them any mind then*)

DAWID (father of Danielle): Ja, daar is...hoe sal ek sê...Daar is baie ruimte om te verbeter. Kyk, ek het...daar was 'n stadium wat ek baie gedrink het. En daar is dinge wat ek gesien het wat kind nie van gehou het nie, maar probeer om stadig stadig probeer ophou (*There is always room for improvement. There was a time when I*

drank a lot. And I saw that there was much that my child did not like about it, and slowly but steadily I tried to stop drinking so much)

GERT (42, father of Grace): Neee...het baie verander...Baie verander...groot verandering is 'n baie groot verandering dit was daai tyd was dit...kyk toe het die lewe maar baie *nevermind* gegaan...kyk as 'n mens 'n drinker is dan jy verander is jy maar plaasmens maar 'n drinker...hy hy drink net en hy rook net...en sjoe daar'sie eintlik 'n...tussen die familie en die gesin issie so lekker'ie met mekaar dit het'ie so gegaan soos soos dit nou na die tyd na ek my na ek my hart vir die Here gegee het'ie en my gevoel het maar ek kan my nie vir almal ek het ek het nou 'n gesin wat ek moet voor werk (*A lot changed. In that time it was "neverminded". You see a drinker, a farmworker, just drinks and smokes and everything is not really well with the family, between the members, but you go on and after a while I gave my heart to the Lord and I realised that I have a family for whom I have to provide*)

KRIS (43, father of Kate): Op die oomblik is ek 'n baie rustige mens omdat ek nou, kyk toe ek, voorheen voor ek nie in die kerk gewees het nie, was ek 'n baie rowwe mens gewees maar toe begin nou in die ou ou pastoriekerk in kom...Nou's jou lewe baie rustiger want hoekom jy's meer besig met die kerklike dinge as met jou eie dinge...(At this time I am a peace-loving, quiet man. Before I was rough/coarse/rowdy and I did not go to church. Then I joined church and now my life is much quieter because I occupy myself with church things rather my own/wordly things)

ERIK (father of Esther): 'n Slegte pa te maak as hy, *drugs*, alkohol...Jy gaan van jou kop af raak met jou huis se mense, tot op jou kinders ook. Want ek weet ek het al daar deur gegaan, dis hoekom ek, mens kan 'n blad omslaan, 'n skoon blad. Dis hoekom ek, dis wat ek gedoen het, nou is dit nou, klaar met al die verkeerde goed en alles daai, nou is my, liefde is nou net in die huis by my vrou en my kinders. (*A bad father uses drugs and alcohol. You lose your mind with your household, even your children. I know, I went through all of it. That is why I changed Now I am done with all the problem behaviours, now it is just my love in the house for my wife and my children*)

There was only one instance where the father's drinking worsened after a life-changing event – the sudden and accidental death of his wife and mother of his children.

ABRAHAM (39, father of Anabel): Ek is so ek hou nie eintlik van uh uh uh die tyd sê nou maar ek en my vrou in die tyd wat my vrou nog gelewe het het ek niks gedrink'ie...dit was 'n skok gewees en ek het aan die drink geraak...ek het begin drink want die skok het my so groot gevat (*I did not drink when my wife was still alive, but it was such a shock to lose her that I started drinking*)

ANABEL (daughter of Abraham): Hy nooit gedrink toe my ma gelewe't het nie en hyt ook nie so aangegaan met ons so baie geskel en so nie...hy was...met sy kinders was hy sag...(My father did not drink when my mother was still alive, he also did not carry on with us the way he does now...with us he was soft/kind/gentle/nice)

For the other fathers, such an event or insight had not as yet occurred and they seem unable to discern the extent of the negative effect their continued substance abuse had on the family.

The fathers seemed to underestimate or downplay their drinking, perhaps as justification of their actions:

MOSES (41, father of Mary): ...nee ek vat n biertjie ja, dis al, net n biertjie ek drink nie eens wyn nie ek maak wyn ek drink nie eens wyn nie en uh ja ek drink ook net op n Saterdag dis nou as ek nie werk nie sal ek miskien by die *Dros* n draught of twee drink...en dit maak my ook vol en as ek huis toe kom dan wil ek slaap, so ja...my kinders ken my nie rerig as n pa wat rerig elke Saterdag dronk in die huis aankom nie so nee as ek week ek werk dan drink ek nie n druppel nie...*(I drink beer, but only a few and only on a Saturday when I am not working. My children do not see me as a father that comes home drunk every Saturday. When I have to work, then I do not even drink a drop of alcohol)*

SAMUEL (49, father of Sara): ...Dan sal ek maar hier by die huis ook my doppie geniet ek sal nie my oordrink dat ek van my niks af weet nie...*(I drink my doppie – drink – at home, but not to the point of being drunk)*

KRIS (43, father of Kate): Nee, nee, kyk as ek buite beheer is, ek pla niemand nie. Ek gaan slaap. Want ek hou nie daarvan nie en dit is nie mooi nie man. Kyk, dit skep ‘n n swak indruk vir jou kinders wat in die huis is...maar hulle is *quite fine* met dit. Want hoekom nie? Ons doen tog ons gaan saam kerk toe ons kom terug en ons is weer rustig...*(When I have drunk until I am out of control, I do not bother anyone. I go to sleep. I do not like it and it is not seemly. It creates a bad impression on your children. They are quite fine with it, because we go to church, we come back and everyone is at ease – no fighting, quarelling, being loud, rowdy, noisy, unpleasant)*

ADONIS (46, father of Astrid): Nee deur die week *worry* ek nou nie met drank nie, dis net naweke...As ek nou so ietsie kry dan drink ek nou as ek hom nie kry nie dan *worry* ek nou nie...*(I do not bother with alcohol during the week, it is only on weekends that I drink a little something. And if I do not have anything, then I also do not bother about it)*

There was also denial, as Anabel said her father does not believe them if they tell him how drunk he had been the previous day, or Liam who discounts his daughter’s remarks as teasing.

ANABEL (daughter of Abraham): Maar somtyds dan’s hy so ‘n dop in het dan skêl hy vir ons almal...en hy wil ons almal net slaan as hy dronk is...maar as nugter is dan’s mens weer oor praat dan wil hy nie glo dis hy daai nie...*(Sometimes when he has had a drink, then he harangues all of us. He just wants to hit us when he is drunk. But when he is sober and we want to talk about it, then he does not believe what we say he did/said)*

LIAM (51, father of Lara): Sy sal liever vir my sê: “Ag, tsk, loop slaap dit weg. Uit my pad uit.”...Ja, so maak sy nou grappies en ek dink, ag, ek steur my nou nie aan jou nie. Sy *like* vir my terg...*(She will tell me to go sleep my drunkenness off, to stay out of her way. She jokes about it and I think oh well, I am not going to pay you any mind.*

She enjoys teasing/making fun of me)

This downplay or underestimation was often echoed by some of the daughters who also did not see their fathers' drinking as a problem.

KATE (daughter of Kris): ...My pa drink ook nie elke dag nie, my pa het ook 'n bietjie die wyn gelos. Dat hy net nou en dan so 'n doppie wil vat...*(My father does not drink every day, he let go of the wine a little bit. Now he only drinks every now and again)*

ASTRID (daughter of Adonis): As hy dronk is...Hy sal skel wanneer daar iets fout is of so maar...Verder aan is hy piekfyn...*(My father only harangues us about the things that are wrong when he is drunk. The rest of the time he is fine)*

What was striking here was that most of the fathers in this sample also spoke of their own fathers' drinking habits, in a way that indicated that they accepted it as normal - even when there was a negative connotation. This supports previous findings regarding intergenerational transmission of risk behaviour (e.g. Arria, Mericle, Meyers, & Winters, 2011; Flaherty, Sutphen, & Ely, 2012).

LIAM (51, father of Lara): Kyk, ek kan nou vir jou sê, in daardie jare...My pa was nes ek gewees, so - hoe kan ek nou sê - ook maar 'n dronklap. Hy't ook amper nooit geld aan my ma afgegee nie, daarom dat ek uit die skool uit is. *(Look, I can tell you, in those years...my father was just like me a drunkard. He almost never had money for us children, which is why I left school early)*

JAKOBUS (49, father of Joy): Ja...Alhoewel hy weer môreaand kom dan breek hy weer die dak af, want hy is dronk. Dan breek hy weer die dak af, maar...oormôre dan sit hy weer die dak op. Verstaan? Maar hy was...hy was 'n pa wat uitgegaan het en hy het nou wel sy geld self gebruik, maar hy het sy ding gedoen wat hy moet gedoen het. *Right? (Although, tomorrow night comes and again he just wants to bring the roof down - cause trouble - because he - my father - is drunk. But, day after tomorrow then he puts the roof back up again - fixes the trouble/upset that he caused - Understand? But he was a father who went out and did what he had to do, right?)*

The words “*dronklap*” and “*breek hy weer die dak af*” have decidedly negative connotations, but there does not seem to be any judgement or explicitly negative criticism of their fathers' behaviour evident in the narratives.

MIKE (39, father of Michelle): Ek het baie streng by hulle groot geword...streng...naweke van Vrydag af kom ons sal nou maar self brood ma kan dan nou nie brood maak'ie soos hulle vandag...hey Vrydag van Vrydag af smeer kinders

vir hulle self brood...onse ma en pa drink nou teveel...(*I grew up in a strict household. Weekends, from Fridays on we – the children – had to make our own bread, as of Friday children must put spread on their own bread. Our mother and father were drinking too much – to do it for us*)

Mike alluded to how they had to take care of themselves – “*kinders self brood smeer*” contains a world of reference to caretaking – but this he related to discipline (“*streng*”), rather than for instance neglect.

ADONIS (46, father of Astrid): het ek maar baie swaar gehad daar op die dingese want my ouers het mos almal gedrink en so. En elke aand was hulle ook so dronk gewees en, nooit kos in die huis en daai klas van goete nie, dit maar so aanvaar, (*I had a tough/difficult time, because my parents drank alcohol and so on. They were drunk every evening, never had food in the house and things like that. I just accepted it.*)

Adonis specifically spoke of having to accept the circumstances as they were. There almost seemed to be an apathetic or passive acceptance that “this is the way it is.”

The fathers who stopped drinking acknowledged the negative effect it had on the family and emphasised the importance of setting a good example for their daughter.

MOSES (41, father of Mary): ...ek gebruik myself as n voorbeeld en ek wil hê hulle moet leer daaruit...(*I use myself as an example and I want them to learn from that example*)

JOHANNES (48, father of Jordan): ...want ek wil hê my kinders moet kan opkyk na my toe dan moet ek nou al n voorbeeld wees...(*I want my children to look up to me, so I must be an example for them*)

LIAM (51, father of Lara): Jy moet nou darem ‘n voorbeeld wees vir hulle, maar jy’s dan nou nie ‘n voorbeeld vir hulle nie. ‘n Kind sien mos wat ‘n ouer is...(*You must be an example for them, but you are not an - good - example for them. A child can see what her parent is*)

KRIS (43, father of Kate): Sien jy nou ek moet vir hulle die voorbeeld stel, baat nie ek sê vir hulle hulle moet dit doen maar ek doen dit nie...(*Do you see, I must be an example for them, it does not help if I tell them they must do this or that, but I do not do it*)

Dawid (father of Danielle): Hy moet voorsien vir sy gesin en hy moet die voorbeeld wees vir sy gesin. So, dis hoe ek glo en ek voel en veral my huis. Dit baat nie ek sê so, maar ek doen nie so nie...(*He must provide for his household, he must be an example for his household. That is what I believe and how I feel, especially in my own home. It does not help if I tell them this or that, but I do not do it*)

In the households where the father continued to engage in problem drinking, these fathers believed that if children are physically taken care of and not physically abused or neglected, they are considered to be well parented and cared for. However, the literature reports that substance abuse or engagement in anti-social behaviour tends to have a destructive effect on paternal involvement (Edin, 2000; Jarrett et al., 2002 both cited in Coley & Hernandez, 2006). Not only does substance abuse and anti-social behaviour damage the present relationship between father and daughter, it also poses the additional threat of intergenerational transmission and therefore also the daughter's prospects of a better future.

5.8 Summary

The participants constructed a good father as someone who is present and provides materially for his daughter. Both male and female participants placed great emphasis on understanding or having an understanding with one another which seemed to centre on an acceptance of fathers as authority figures and daughters as obedient. Although a mutual understanding was stressed, limited understanding appeared to be in evidence. Love or affection tended to be implicitly assumed rather than made explicitly clear; at least in a manner consistent with a Western, White, middle-class understanding. Fathers wanted a better future for their daughters, which consisted of keeping them on the right track through various strategies. Fathers expected daughters to follow their directives and not their examples with regards to engaging in risk behaviours, which seemed to undermine their authority rather than to affirm it. The culmination of these conceptual categories into a core category follows in the next chapter.

Chapter six: Discussion of the core category

6.1 Introduction

According to Charmaz (2006) the core category is the relationship between the conceptual categories. It is the thread that binds the conceptual categories together and makes of them a coherent whole, offering analytical, theoretical and abstract insight into the phenomenon under study. The thread underpinning my conceptual categories, is the dynamic of a hierarchical and patriarchal gender order.

6.2 Core category: The construction of fatherhood is underpinned by an hierarchical and patriarchal gender order

According to Connell's (2000) theory of hegemonic masculinity, the gender order takes the form of a hierarchy consisting of multiple masculinities and femininities, all essentially vying for the hegemonic position. Connell () further asserts that an individual may utilize the discourses and practices of different masculinities (or femininities) within different contexts and situations, depending on what is of the most utility.

Therefore, Connell's (1987; 1992; 1993; 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) theory of hegemonic masculinity embraces contradictions as a strategy for maintaining the hegemonic position in the gender hierarchy. It is my argument that my participants exhibited both evidence of maintaining the gender order as well as resisting it. This ambivalence is the crux of this core category and is illustrated in two parts. First with regards to the fathers' parenting practices and secondly through daughters' acceptance of and resistance against the gender order.

In the first place, the gender order was maintained by what I term the underlying assumption regarding fathers' authority. In both fathers' and daughters' accounts fathers were presented as the authority figures in households. For example, fathers tended to be in charge of the households' purse strings, determining whether or not the daughter had access to money. Fathers' position with regards to boyfriends determined how the daughters interacted with the opposite sex. If there was a boyfriend, his existence was hidden or he was introduced in the hope that a father would accept him, which indicates that a father's opinion and approval was necessary and therefore pursued. The daughters' movements, where she could be, with whom, and for how long was also determined by fathers' permission. The father was not only the material provider, but also the provider of permission, a gatekeeper between daughters and what they could or could not do. Daughters were, or at least were expected to be, obedient and deferential to fathers' wishes. Both of these resonate with what I presented in my literature review as traditional masculine qualities and traditional femininity ideology (Impett, et al., 2006). Fathers claimed authority not only in relation to the father-child power differential, but also claimed authority on the male-female axis of power differentials (Sharpe, 1994).

Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity (1987; 1992; 1993; 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) states that different discourses can be employed for the purpose of maintaining the hegemonic position in the gender hierarchy. An example of the co-existence of apparently contradictory discourses is the dissonance between fathers "talking" a New Father discourse while implementing authoritarian parenting practices. One interpretation of such dissonance is that the fathers in my sample may have, in the context of the research interviews, consciously or unconsciously, employed elements of the New Father discourse as a strategy of impression management (Reis & Rusbult, 2010). This refers to fathers' talking

about allowing daughters to make their own decisions regarding their future careers and in taking responsibility for their own actions and the consequences of those actions. It also refers to fathers' emphasis on "talking to" their daughters as a strategy for maintaining discipline, explaining why they were being punished instead of just meting out punishment sans explanation. However, the parenting practices as identified in their narratives seemed to be the opposite of what they described. Their practices tended to be characterised by restrictive and punitive discipline, restriction of autonomy, as well as rejecting and power-assertive behaviours which characterizes an authoritarian parenting style (Coolahan, McWayne, Fantuzzo, & Grim, 2002). Therefore, their practices were consistent with traditional fatherhood, while their discourse within the interview context was consistent with the New Father discourse. However, it is also possible that fathers "talking" a New Father discourse indicate that this discourse resonated with them, but that they lacked the necessary skills to practice it; and/or that they intended to and believed that they were in fact New Fathers in practice. This is significant in so far as the literature agrees that authoritative parenting yields the best outcomes for children (Coolahan, et al., 2002; Hibbard & Walton, 2014; Uji, Sakamoto, Adachi, & Kitamura, 2013; Yi-Ching & Billingham, 2014) and that the current authoritarian practices in evidence may be addressed in future interventions or parenting programmes.

The conclusions drawn from this analysis are as follows: The New Father discourse featured in some way in these fathers' narratives and could therefore be seen as countering patriarchal ideas. On the other hand, authoritarian fathering practices were the order of the day and that has several consequences for fathers, daughters, and their relationship. It was especially evident in my father participants' emphasis on their daughters' attainment of a better future,

which manifested as increased control in the form of punitive discipline and the emphasis on adult supervision, and subsequent discouragement of adolescents' autonomy. From the fathers' perspective, this was the manifestation of their best intentions and their commitment to fatherhood – what made them “good” fathers in their own eyes. There is agreement in Psychology literature, however, that authoritative parenting characterized by warmth, reasoning, control, responsiveness to the child's needs, and respect for and encouragement of the child's autonomy yield the best outcomes for children (Coolahan, et al., 2002; Hibbard & Walton, 2014; Uji, Sakamoto, Adachi, & Kitamura, 2013; Yi-Ching & Billingham, 2014).

With regards to impact and consequences, adolescents' specific developmental needs should be taken into consideration. Adolescents' development tasks revolve around their identity development and seek to differentiate themselves from their parents and “fit in” with their peers (Meyer, 2005). Developmental theorists therefore argue that identity formation should be promoted in adolescence and not restricted. One of the strategies to promote identity formation in adolescents is fostering warm and supportive parent-adolescent relationships, within which parents can cognitively challenge their adolescents (Syed & Seiffge-Krenke, 2013). This consists of actively engaging in the cognitive learning process of adolescents, promoting learning and therefore cognitive development (Syed & Seiffge-Krenke, 2013). Furthermore, the gains in ego development are stronger when it is the father who challenges his adolescent in this way (Syed & Seiffge-Krenke, 2013). This may be a result of fathers' function in adolescent development, namely that of supporting independence and autonomy (Syed & Seiffge-Krenke, 2013). It is therefore arguable that continued authoritarian practices within the research community could restrict young women's development of autonomy and agency, specifically through fathers' expectation and approval of obedience and submission.

For the female adolescent, personal relationships are integral to her identity formation and is, therefore, largely dependent on her ability to maintain these relationships (Williford, 2011). According to Williford (2011), one of the strategies employed by girls to maintain relationships is by silencing their authentic thoughts, needs, and feelings, primarily in order to prevent conflict and their own expression of anger. This leads to inauthenticity in relationships (Tolman & Porche, 2000 cited in Williford, 2011) and has a negative impact upon the female adolescent's emotional and psychological well-being. "Feminine" expectations contribute to young women's avoidance of conflict with men, suppressing their anger, and being less assertive and "nice" – i.e. to deny their autonomy and conform to others' opinions, beliefs, and wishes (Williford, 2011).

The second part of the core category is daughters' challenges of the status quo by disapproving of their fathers' alcohol abuse, and rule breaking. Although daughters emphasised that fathers should be respected and listened to, they felt validated in voicing their disapproval about fathers' alcohol use. Silencing of voice, the lack of the ability to complain or voice displeasure or malcontent, is one of the hallmarks of inequality within an ideology (Coetzee, 2001). Although the fathers tended to dismiss their daughters' complaints, it is still suggestive of a break in female silence in that she insisted on and was able to voice her displeasure instead of simply remaining silent and passively accepting of the circumstances. One could argue that they were able to complain because there was a community discourse available that validated and supported the undesirability of alcohol abuse.

Furthermore, the prevalence of rule-breaking in the sense of female adolescents staying out later than their curfew, engaging in risk-behaviours such as smoking or consuming alcohol, as well as having boyfriends against their fathers' explicit disapproval are all suggestive of the daughters' will to establish their autonomy. Indeed, they were not passive in accepting the restrictions placed on them with regards to movement or actions and actively challenged these restrictions and thereby their fathers' patriarchal authority.

As stated earlier, the argument presented here consists of two parts. Firstly that fathers "speak" authoritative parenting but "do" authoritarian parenting. Secondly that there is evidence of both acceptance of and resistance against the traditional gender order. The thread that connects these parts relates to the predominant gender order in South Africa, which is patriarchal (Field, 2001; Salo, et al., 2010). Patriarchy is an ideology which "establishes relations of domination, among opposing interest groups in the struggle for supremacy, not only in the political sphere of life, but also in all extra-political spheres of life" (Coetzee, 2001, p. 300). In other words, patriarchy permeates all spheres of life and therefore influences and impacts upon the daily life of all citizens in a particular manner. Although gender equality is part of the greater human rights reform of the new democratic government of South Africa which came in to power in 1994, females are still at a disadvantage according to the literature (Balfour & Ralfe, 2006; Britton, 2002; Britton, 2006; Schoeman, 2009; Tshoedi, 2013). Gender equality is an "incomplete revolution" (Britton, 2002) and not a lost cause, as many continue to strive to bring about change (Balfour & Ralfe, 2006; Britton, 2006; Mankayi & Naidoo, 2011; Schoeman, 2009; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Tshoedi, 2013). The greater part of the patriarchy literature in South Africa focuses on the negative effects that result from the belief in male dominance and female subservience. According to the

South African literature, the most detrimental effect of traditional patriarchal beliefs in evidence is the prevalence of child abuse (Richter & Dawes, 2008) and rape (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga, & Bradshaw, 2002; Jewkes, et al., 2005), especially among low-income communities (Jewkes, et al., 2006; Thege, 2009). The argument supporting this is that the privileged position of males in our society places females and children in a vulnerable position because they cannot protest or act against male authority. A study drawing data from Namibian and rural Mpumalanga samples found that the “high status of men, with respect to particularly girl children, leads to vulnerability through reducing girls’ ability to refuse sexual advances and generating expectations in men that they should control women and children” (Jewkes, et al., 2005, p. 1809). This belief in male dominance results in a climate of fear and submission wherein females and children feel that they cannot blame the perpetrators, nor can they complain or otherwise act against them. The vulnerability of females within the context of gender inequality has a negative impact upon their mental and psychological health (Tolman, et al., 2006) as well as their sexual health, in that they are not in a position to negotiate safe sex practices in the context of consent, nor refuse (and be heeded) in non-consensual contexts. This demonstrates that the maintenance of the status quo – a hierarchical patriarchal gender order – has a potential negative impact upon female adolescents should it remain unchanged.

6.3 Conclusion

The ambivalence referred to at the beginning of the chapter is the co-occurrence of acceptance and resistance of the patriarchal gender order. Fathers acceptance is illustrated by the authoritarian practices while their resistance is implicit in their “speaking” New Father discourses. The female adolescents also exhibited both acceptance and resistance. This is the crux of the argument, as the “problem” with father-adolescent daughter relationships appears to be the patriarchal gender order. Patriarchy is the main source from which fatherhood is

constructed within this community. This includes, but is not restricted to, maintenance of the gender order by emphasising a daughter's femininity and her deferential position within the gender order. Furthermore, patriarchy informs the parenting practices within the community and that results in an authoritarian style of parenting. Therefore, female adolescents are often encouraged to be obedient, respectful, and well-mannered to the detriment of the development of an autonomous identity. This inauthenticity of self and in relationships increases her risk of mental and psychological as well as sexual ill-health (Williford, 2011), whilst also contributing to the perpetuation of gender inequality. However, the presence of resistance and the New Father discourse in my sample suggests that an alternative exists that can be fostered to the extent that it replaces the traditional patriarchal and authoritarian practices. A discussion of the strengths and limitations of the present study, as well as some recommendations for future research and intervention follow in chapter seven.

Chapter seven: Summary, strengths, limitations, and recommendations

7.1 Introduction and summary of the present study

This study focused on the construction of fatherhood in the context of father-adolescent daughter relationships in one low-income, semi-rural, Coloured community in the Cape Winelands district of the Western Cape, South Africa. Interviews were conducted separately with 14 father-daughter dyads, recruited through one local Secondary school in the community. The study was informed by social constructionist grounded theory methodology. According to the analysis, the key components that made up the construction of fatherhood in this semi-rural, low-income, Coloured community was that of the father who was present and provided materially for his daughter. Father was also a moral teacher who sought to keep his daughter on the right track. The fathers in my sample also specifically emphasised “being there,” teaching and disciplining their daughters. The male participants spoke at length about the need to keep their daughters on the right track towards a better future. In order to ensure that these goals were achieved, the fathers employed certain discipline strategies in order to keep their daughters on the right track and they expected and hoped for their daughters’ obedience. In the conceptual categories it was also demonstrated that fathers and daughters emphasised that they have, in their own words, an understanding. Although both male and female participants placed great emphasis on understanding or having an understanding with one another, very little understanding appeared to be in evidence. The analysis and interpretation indicated that fathers and daughters spend very little or no time together in exclusive dyadic interaction, but rather spent time together as a family or with friends and extended family. Furthermore, it was also demonstrated that the participants reported that in order for them to express affection for one another required a special occasion. Love tended to be implicitly assumed rather than made explicitly clear. The factor that appeared to cause the greatest amount of interference in the father-daughter relationship is that of the fathers’

alcohol abuse and its effect on the household. The analysis indicated that this tended to undermine fathers' authority along with the apparent lack of consequences for children's misconduct – such as teenage pregnancy or substance abuse. The core category argued that the analytical thread binding the conceptual categories together was that the construction of fatherhood is underpinned by a hierarchical and patriarchal gender order.

7.2 Limitations

This study was hampered by a handful of limitations. The incongruence between the researcher and the research population gave rise to the need for employing others as interviewers. Although these interviewers were senior Social Work students they were not experienced research interviewers. Their inexperience had to be addressed by providing them with training and debriefing opportunities, as well as conducting follow-up interviews with participants to pursue missing information or themes that they did not explore sufficiently in first interviews. Using alternative interviewers therefore increased the total cost of the study as the interviewers also needed to be reimbursed for their time and efforts. As with all self-report and interview based research, the possibility of impression management tempers the findings as individuals may have sought to maintain a desirable public identity (Reis & Rusbult, 2010). Furthermore, it is possible that the fathers who participated are those who are committed to the fatherhood role and seek to be “good” fathers and that these findings only represent this specific group. The findings are, therefore, not generalizable nor necessarily representative of the population group. This study analysed the data of the fathers and the daughters separately. It is possible that important insights may have been gleaned from dyadic analysis, especially as the father-daughter dyads were available. Dyadic analysis would present a unique look at the father-daughter relationship as it offers two perspectives of one specific dynamic.

7.3 Strengths

First and foremost of the strengths of this study is the fact that it shed light on a heretofore unexplored and unexamined phenomenon, namely the construction of fatherhood from the perspective of both fathers and their daughters. Also, it contributed to the relatively underrepresented body of literature on the Coloured population of South Africa. It also indicated the willingness of at least some fathers to participate in such studies as well as their commitment to being “good” fathers. The quality of my analysis was ensured by the constant vigilance of my supervisor with regards to the interviewing, transcription and coding processes. Additional checks during workshops with my supervisor’s research group also contributed to the quality of this study. Preliminary findings were presented at three conferences which also contributed to the quality of the analysis and comments or suggestions made by participants of the conference were taken into consideration.

Although listed as a limitation, the fact that the issue of incongruence was addressed as soon as it was raised is the most prominent and valuable strength of this study. Fourteen father-daughter dyads were interviewed for this study and the large sample size, relative to a qualitative study, is also a valuable strength. Furthermore, the inexperience of the interviewers was addressed by interspersing training sessions in-between the first and follow-up interviews. Seven of the dyads were not re-interviewed for a variety of reasons, enumerated in the methodology chapter. The remaining 7 dyads were interviewed, the content and quality of the interviews assessed individually, the interviewers briefed on what specifically to focus on, and the dyad in question re-interviewed. As a result, a total of 42 interviews were conducted. This process ensured that any experiential shortfalls on the interviewers’ part was addressed and incorporated into the checking system for the analysis.

7.4 Recommendations

In terms of interventions, it is recommended that the following factors be taken into account: the lack of resources in a low-income community; the prevalence of the traditional gender order; facilitating better communication and conflict management skills; as well as the more practical ways in which a relationship can be built and strengthened through shared activities, spending quality time together, and fostering self-disclosure. It is further recommended that researchers and interviewers be congruent with their research participants (Anderson, Kohler, & Letiecq, 2002; Pruett, et al, 2009), especially with regards to socio-economic status and language as these proved to be a barrier in this study. The socio-historical context of the participants should be taken into account in the design of research and intervention projects (Anderson, et al., 2005; Behnke & Allen, 2007). It is also recommended that community-based fatherhood programs involve the family or focus on specific dyads as the construction of fatherhood takes place both inter- and intra-personally, within families as well as within the broader community (Anderson, et al., 2002; Cowan, et al., 2006; Cowan, et al., 2009; Gordon, et al., 2012; Wadsworth, et al., 2010). The home is a social microcosm and is also the primary site of gender construction, and identity, relational, and psychological development. If constructions that are detrimental to the health and well-being of a population are to be changed, then the home and family seems to be a good place to start.

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Addendum A: Consent Forms



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvenoot • your knowledge partner

UNIVERSITEIT STELLENBOSCH INWILLIGING OM DEEL TE NEEM AAN NAVORSING

U word gevra om deel te neem aan 'n navorsingstudie wat deur Freda Cronje (B. A; B. A Hons Sielkunde), van die Departement van Sielkunde aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch uitgevoer word. U is as moontlike deelnemer aan die studie gekies omdat u 'n vader van 'n vyftienjarige dogter in die gemeenskap is.

1. DOEL VAN DIE STUDIE

Die studie wil meer verstaan van pa-dogter verhoudinge in u gemeenskap.

2. PROSEDURES

Indien u inwillig om aan die studie deel te neem, vra ons van u om deel te neem aan n onderhoud met die navorser, sowel as om n vraelys in te vul.

Indien u nie beskikbaar is vir n onderhoud gedurende werksure nie, sal 'n onderhoud met u gereël word op n tyd wat u pas. Hierdie onderhoude sal plaasvind by die Departement Sielkunde, Stellenbosch Universiteit of by die kerk naaste aan u. U sal self reisreëlings moet tref, maar sal vergoed word vir reis-onkoste. Nadat die nodige toestemmingsvorme voltooi is, sal die onderhoud begin. Die onderhoude sal op band opgeneem word en u toestemming om dit te doen word verlang en word dus ingesluit in u gewilligheid om deel te neem aan die studie. Onderhoude sal in Afrikaans gedoen word, deur die navorser wat Afrikaanssprekend is. Die onderhoude sal op band opgeneem word en tussen 1 en 1½ ure duur.

Daar word ook van u gevra om n vraelys in te vul. Die vraelys is anoniem en u besonderhede sal vertroulik bly.

3. MOONTLIKE RISIKO'S EN ONGEMAKLIKHEID

Dit mag dalk moeilik wees om oor sekere aspekte van vaderskap te praat. U kan egter enige tyd die onderhoud staak of kies om sekere vrae nie te antwoord nie, sonder enige nadelige gevolge. Indien u so verlang kan u Stellenbosch Hospitaal by 021 887 0310 of Healing Hearts by 073 811 8993 kontak wat gratis dienste bied, of u kan die departement Sielkunde skakel vir die kontakbesonderhede van privaat dienste wat teen volle tariewe beskikbaar is by 808 3461.

4. MOONTLIKE VOORDELE VIR PROEFPERSONE EN/OF VIR DIE SAMELEWING

Vaders kry selde die geleentheid om te dink oor hul eie gedagtes en ervaring met betrekking tot vaderskap, deelname aan hierdie studie bied u die geleentheid om daarvoor na te dink. Die inligting wat u verskaf sal ook gebruik word om ander te help om vaderskap beter te verstaan.

5. BEDANKING VIR DEELNAME

Na voltooiing van die onderhoud sal u R40 vir u deelname ontvang om u te bedank vir u tyd en moeite.

6. VERTROULIKHEID

Enige inligting wat deur middel van die navorsing verkry word en wat met u in verband gebring kan word, sal vertroulik bly en slegs met u toestemming bekend gemaak word. **Let asseblief daarop dat die wet vereis dat die navorser die mishandeling van 'n minderjarige moet rapporteer, indien dit tydens navorsing bekend gemaak word.** Vertroulikheid sal gehandhaaf word deur die name van deelnemers te verbloem in die navorsingstudie sowel as in publisering. Gedurende die onderhoud sal die deelnemers ander name kies so dat hulle nie erken kan word in publisering nie. Die inligting, beide elektronies en ander, sal veilig bewaar word teen ongemagtigde toegang. Die opnames van die onderhoude sal skoongevee word na publisering. Alle elektroniese inligting sal beskerm word met 'n wagwoord.

7. DEELNAME EN ONTTREKING

U kan self besluit of u aan die studie wil deelneem of nie. Indien u inwillig om aan die studie deel te neem, kan u ter enige tyd u daaraan onttrek sonder enige nadelige gevolge. U kan ook weier om bepaalde vrae te antwoord, maar steeds aan die studie deelneem. U kan enige tyd aan die studie onttrek indien omstandighede dit noodsaaklik maak. n Geleentheid om die onderhoud in geskrewe vorm te besigtig sal gebied word waar u kan besluit om informasie te wysig, te onttrek, of verder uit te brei voor die data verwerk en gepubliseer sal word.

8. IDENTIFIKASIE VAN ONDERSOEKERS

Indien u enige vrae of besorgdheid omtrent die navorsing het, staan dit u vry om in verbinding te tree met:

Navorser: Freda Scheffler

Sel: 083 969 2352

E-pos: 14867850@sun.ac.za

Toesighouer: Dr Elmien Lesch

Departement Sielkunde

Stellenbosch Universiteit

Private Sak X1

Matieland

7602

Tel: 021 808 3455

E-pos: el5@sun.ac.za

9. REGTE VAN PROEFPERSONE

U kan ter enige tyd u inwilliging terugtrek en u deelname beëindig, sonder enige nadelige gevolge vir u. Deur deel te neem aan die navorsing doen u geensins afstand van enige wetlike regte, eise of regsmiddel nie. Indien u vrae het oor u regte as proefpersoon by die navorsing, skakel met Me Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] van die Afdeling Navorsingsontwikkeling aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch.

VERKLARING DEUR PROEFPERSOON OF SY/HAAR REGSVERTENWOORDIGER

Die bostaande inligting is aan my, [-----],
gegee en verduidelik deur *die onderhoudvoerder* in *Afrikaans* en [*ek is/die proefpersoon is/die deelnemer is*] dié taal magtig of dit is bevredigend vir *my* vertaal. [*Ek/die deelnemer/die proefpersoon*] is die geleentheid gebied om vrae te stel en my vrae is tot my bevrediging beantwoord.

[*Ek wil hiermee vrywillig in om deel te neem aan die studie/Ek gee hiermee my toestemming dat die proefpersoon/deelnemer aan die studie mag deelneem.*] 'n Afskrif van hierdie vorm is aan my gegee.

Naam van proefpersoon/deelnemer

Naam van regsverteenvoordiger (indien van toepassing)

Handtekening van proefpersoon/deelnemer/regsverteenvoordiger

Datum

VERKLARING DEUR ONDERSOEKER

Ek verklaar dat ek die inligting in hierdie dokument vervat verduidelik het aan [*naam van die proefpersoon/deelnemer*] en/of sy/haar regsverteenvoordiger [*naam van die regsverteenvoordiger*]. Hy is aangemoedig en oorgenoeg tyd gegee om vrae aan my te stel. Dié gesprek is in [*Afrikaans*] gevoer en [*geen vertaler is gebruik nie*].

Handtekening van onderhoudvoerder

Datum



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

UNIVERSITEIT STELLENBOSCH INWILLIGING OM DEEL TE NEEM AAN NAVORSING

Hiermee nooi ons u dogter om deel te neem aan 'n navorsingstudie wat deur Freda Scheffler (B. A; B. A Hons Sielkunde), van die Departement van Sielkunde aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch uitgevoer word. Hierdie is 'n toestemmingsvorm om toestemming te verkry van u, die ouers, dat u minderjarige dogter aan die studie deel mag neem. U dogter is as moontlike deelnemer aan die studie identifiseer omdat sy 'n vyftienjarige dogter in die gemeenskap is.

1. DOEL VAN DIE STUDIE

Daar is baie min kennis beskikbaar oor Suid-Afrikaanse Pa's en hul verhouding met hul dogters. Die inligting wat ons in hierdie studie bymekaar maak sal baie mense help om dit beter te verstaan en is dus van groot waarde vir u gemeenskap en vir die land en sy mense.

2. PROSEDURES

Indien u toestemming gee dat u dogter mag deelneem en die dogter self inwillig om aan die studie deel te neem, vra ons die volgende van haar:

Om 'n vraelys in te vul wat handel oor agtergrond kennis en vrae soos behuising en maandelikse inkomste sal insluit. Sy het die keuse om of aan beide die vraelys en onderhoud deel te neem of net aan die vraelys of net aan die onderhoud. Hierdie keuse moet asseblief aangedui word aan die einde van die vorm.

Die vraelys sal tydens die saal periode ingevul word en dus geen klas tyd opneem nie. Indien sy nie beskikbaar is vir 'n onderhoud gedurende skoolure nie, sal 'n onderhoud met haar gereël word op 'n tyd wat haar en haar ouers pas. Hierdie onderhoude sal plaasvind by die Departement Sielkunde, Stellenbosch Universiteit of by die skool. Indien nie een beskikbaar is nie, sal 'n alternatiewe lokaal identifiseer word. U sal self reisreëlings moet tref, maar sal vergoed word vir reis-onkoste. Nadat die nodige toestemmingsvorme voltooi is, sal die onderhoud begin. Die onderhoude sal op band opgeneem word en tussen 1 en 1½ ure duur.

3. MOONTLIKE RISIKO'S EN ONGEMAK

Dit mag dalk moeilik wees om oor sekere aspekte van vaderskap te praat. Sy kan egter enige tyd die onderhoud staak of kies om sekere vrae nie te antwoord nie, sonder enige nadelige gevolge. Indien u dogter enige beradingsdienste benodig as gevolg van haar betrokkenheid by die navorsing, kan u die Stellenbosch Hospitaal by 021 887 0310 of Healing Hearts by 073 811 8993 kontak wat gratis dienste bied, of u kan die departement Sielkunde skakel vir die kontakbesonderhede van privaat dienste wat teen volle tariewe beskikbaar is by 021 808 3461.

4. MOONTLIKE VOORDELE VIR PROEFPERSONE EN/OF VIR DIE SAMELEWING

Deelname sal haar 'n kans gee om na te dink oor haar eie gedagtes en ervaring met betrekking tot vaderskap vanuit haar eie oogpunt. Die inligting wat sy verskaf sal ook gebruik word om ander te help om vaderskap van 'n dogter se oogpunt beter te verstaan.

5. BEDANKING VIR DEELNAME

Na voltooiing van die onderhoud sal u R40 vir haar deelname ontvang om u te bedank vir u tyd en moeite.

6. VERTROULIKHEID

Enige inligting wat deur middel van die navorsing verkry word en wat met u dogter verbind kan word, sal vertroulik bly en slegs met u toestemming bekend gemaak word. **Let asseblief daarop dat die wet vereis dat die navorser die mishandeling van 'n minderjarige moet rapporteer, indien dit tydens navorsing bekend gemaak word.** Vertroulikheid sal gehandhaaf word deur die name van deelnemers te verbloem in die navorsingstudie sowel as in publisering. Gedurende die onderhoud sal die deelnemers ander name kies so dat hulle nie erken kan word in publisering nie. Die inligting, beide elektronies en ander, sal veilig bewaar word teen ongemagtigde toegang. Die opnames van die onderhoude sal skoongevee word na publisering. Alle elektroniese inligting sal beskerm word met 'n wagwoord.

7. DEELNAME EN ONTTREKING

U dogter kan self besluit of sy aan die studie wil deelneem of nie. Indien sy inwillig om aan die studie deel te neem, kan sy enige tyd daaraan onttrek sonder enige nadelige gevolge. Sy kan ook weier om bepaalde vrae te antwoord, maar steeds aan die studie deelneem. Sy kan enige tyd aan die studie onttrek indien omstandighede dit noodsaaklik maak. 'n Geleentheid om die onderhoud in geskrewe vorm te besigtig sal gebied word waar sy kan besluit om informasie te wysig of te onttrek sodat dit nie in die geskrewe opgetekene sal wees nie en dus nie gepubliseer sal word.

8. IDENTIFIKASIE VAN ONDERSOEKERS

Indien u enige vrae of besorgdheid omtrent die navorsing het, staan dit u vry om in verbinding te tree met.

Navorser: Freda Scheffler

Sel: 083 969 2352

E-pos: 14867850@sun.ac.za

Toesighouer: Dr Elmien Lesch

Departement Sielkunde

Stellenbosch Universiteit

Private Sak X1

Matieland

7602

Tel: +27 21 808 3455

E-pos: el5@sun.ac.za

9. REGTE VAN PROEFPERSONE

U dogter kan ter enige tyd haar inwilliging terugtrek en haar deelname beëindig, sonder enige nadelige gevolge. Deur deel te neem aan die navorsing doen sy geensins afstand van enige wetlike regte, eise of regspraak nie. Indien u vrae het oor haar regte as proefpersoon by die navorsing, skakel met Me Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] van die Afdeling Navorsingsontwikkeling aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch.

VERKLARING DEUR PROEFPERSOON OF SY/HAAR REGSVERTENWOORDIGER

Die bostaande inligting is aan my, [-----],
gegee en verduidelik deur *die onderhoudvoerder* in *Afrikaans* en [*ek is/die proefpersoon is/die deelnemer is*] dié taal magtig of dit is bevredigend vir [*my*] vertaal. [*Ek/die deelnemer/die proefpersoon*] is die geleentheid gebied om vrae te stel en my/sy/haar vrae is tot my/sy/haar bevrediging beantwoord.

[*Ek willig hiermee vrywillig in om deel te neem aan die studie/Ek gee hiermee my toestemming dat die proefpersoon/deelnemer aan die studie mag deelneem*] aan die **onderhoud**. 'n Afskrif van hierdie vorm is aan my gegee.

Naam van 15jarige dogter

Naam van ouer/voog

Handtekening van ouer/voog

Datum

Ek [-----] gee hiermee my toestemming dat die proefpersoon/deelnemer aan die studie mag deelneem] aan die **vraelys**. 'n Afskrif van hierdie vorm is aan my gegee.

Naam van 15jarige dogter

Naam van ouer/voog

Handtekening van ouer/voog

Datum

VERKLARING DEUR ONDERSOEKER

Ek verklaar dat ek die inligting in hierdie dokument vervat verduidelik het aan [*naam van die proefpersoon/deelnemer*] en/of sy/haar regsverteenvoerder [*naam van die regsverteenvoerder*]. Hy/sy is aangemoedig en oorgenoeg tyd gegee om vrae aan my te stel. Dié gesprek is in [*Afrikaans*] gevoer en [*geen vertaler is gebruik nie/di*]

Handtekening van onderhoudvoerder

Datum

Addendum B: Background Information Questionnaire

Agtergrond Vraelys

Vertroulik

Naam: _____

Ouderdom: _____

Geboorte datum (DD/MM/JJJJ) _____

Watter taal praat jy by die huis?

- Afrikaans
- Engels
- Xhosa
- Ander (spesifiseer asb.) _____

Wat is die hoogste vlak van onderrig wat jy voltooi het? (Kies een)

Geen skoolopleiding nie	
Graad 1/Sub A	
Graad 2/Sub B	
Graad 3/Standerd 1	
Graad 4/Standerd 2	
Graad 5/Standerd 3	
Graad 6/Standerd 4	
Graad 7/Standerd 5	
Graad 8/Standerd 6/Klas 1	
Graad 9/Standerd 7/Klas 2	
Graad 10/Standerd 8/Klas 3/NTS I	
Graad 11/Standerd 9/Klas 4/NTS II	
Graad 12/Standerd 10/Klas 5/Matriek/NTS III	
Sertifikaat met minder as graad 12	

Diploma met minder as graad 12	
Sertifikaat met graad 12	
Diploma met graad 12	
BA-graad (Baccalaureus-graad)	
BA-graad en diploma	
Honneursgraad	
Hoër graad (meesters- of doktersgraad)	

Behoort jy aan 'n geloof?

JA

NEE

Indien JA, aan watter geloof behoort jy? _____

In Suid-Afrika dink mense dikwels aan hulself in terme van ras. Aan watter rassegroep dink jy behoort jy?

- Swart
- Bruin
- Indiër
- Wit
- Ander (spesifiseer asb.) _____

In watter soort huis leef jy?

- baksteenhuis op 'n aparte standplaas
- huis/struktuur in agterplaas
- informele hut/blyplek in agterplaas
- informele hut/blyplek NIE in agterplaas NIE
- ander (spesifiseer asb.) _____

Wie se huis is dit?

- joune
- huweliksmat of *partner*

- ma of pa
- ouma of oupa
- boetie of sussie
- uitgebreide familie
- plaaseienaar
- ander (spesifiseer asb.) _____

Hoeveel vertrekke is daar in die huis? _____

Hoeveel slaapkamers is daar in die huis? _____

Is daar 'n badkamer in die huis?

JA NEE

Is daar elektrisiteit in die huis?

JA NEE

Is daar water in die huis?

JA NEE

INKOMSTE

Verdien jy enige geld?

JA NEE

[A. As jy tans werk]

Indien JA, omtrent hoeveel uur werk jy per week?

- minder as 10
- 10 tot 20
- 21 tot 30
- 31 tot 40
- meer as 41

Watter soort werk doen jy? _____

Hoe dikwels werk jy?

- volle dag
- half dag
- per uur soos werk beskikbaar is
- seisoenale werk
- ander (spesifiseer asb.) _____

Van wanneer af doen jy hierdie werk? _____

Hoeveel geld verdien jy per week en per maand? (Vul altwee in.)

_____ per week

_____ per maand

Is daar enige maande in 'n jaar wanneer jy nie geld verdien nie?

JA

NEE

Indien ja, hoeveel maande in 'n jaar verdien jy nie geld nie? _____

Vir hoeveel persone moet jy sorg (jouself ingesluit)? _____

[B. As jy nie tans werk nie]

As jy nie werk het nie, van wanneer af het jy nie werk nie? _____

Is daar enige maande in 'n jaar wanneer jy geld verdien?

JA

NEE

Indien ja, hoeveel maande in 'n jaar verdien jy geld? _____

Wat was die laaste werk wat jy gehad het? _____

[C. Huishouding]

Het jy of enige ander persoon in jou huishouding enige ander vorm van inkomste soos 'n toelaag?

JA

NEE

Ongeveer hoeveel geld verdien die mense in jou huishouding altesaam in 'n maand?

MAANDELIKSE INKOMSTE: _____

(Veldwerker bereken die jaarlikse inkomste vir die huishouding.)

JAARLIKSE INKOMSTE (huishouding)

- Geen
- 1 tot 4 800
- 4 801 tot 9 600
- 9 601 tot 19 200
- 19 201 tot 38 400
- 38 401 tot 76 800
- 76 801 tot 153 600
- 153 601 tot 307 200
- 307 201 tot 614 400
- 614 401 tot 1 228 800
- meer as 1 228 801

In watter soort verhouding is jy nou? (Kies net een en vul in.)

[Indien jy huidiglik in meer as een verhouding is, spesifiseer elke verhoudingstipe]

- In 'n verhouding maar bly nie saam nie (sedert _____)
- Getroud (sedert _____)
- Getroud, maar bly nie saam nie (b.v. maat bly/werk in 'n ander dorp) _____)
- Bly saam met iemand van dieselfde geslag (sedert _____)
- Bly saam met iemand van die teenoorgestelde geslag (sedert _____)
- Vervreem (nog getroud, maar bly nie saam nie) (sedert _____)
- Geskei (sedert _____)
- My maat (*partner*) is oorlede (sedert _____)

Beskryf die soort verhouding waarin jy nou is as nie een van dié hierbo op jou van toepassing is nie

Hoeveel kinders is daar in die huishouding? _____

Wat is hul ouderdomme? _____

Wie is die ouers van hierdie kinders?*[Aantal kinders op wie hierdie opsie van toepassing is]*

1. Jy en jou huidige maat _____

2. Jou kind uit 'n vorige verhouding _____

3. Jou huidige maat se kind uit 'n vorige verhouding _____

4. Iemand anders se kind _____

Het jy enige kinders wat nie by jou in dieselfde huis bly nie?

JA

NEE

Indien ja, hoeveel? _____

VERDERE DEELNAME

BAIE DANKIE VIR JOU TYD.

AS JY BELANGSTEL OM VERDER AAN HIERDIE NAVORSINGSPROJEK DEEL TE NEEM, KAN JY JOU KONTAKBESONDERHEDE HIERONDER INVUL EN ONS SAL JOU KONTAK OM 'N AFSPRAAK TE MAAK.

Onthou asb. dat alle inligting in hierdie studie as streng vertroulik beskou word en dat ons 'n kodeselsel sal gebruik om die inligting wat jy verder aan ons wil verskaf te verwerk.

NAAM: _____

KONTAKBESONDERHEDE: _____

Addendum C: Child Assent Form



INLIGTINGSTUK EN TOESTEMMINGSVORM VIR DEELNEMERS



TITEL VAN NAVORSINGSPROJEK: Pa-Dogter Verhoudinge in n Lae-Inkomste, Half-Landelike Gemeenskap.

NAVORSER(S): Freda Scheffler en Dr. Elmien Lesch

ADRES: Departement Sielkunde
Stellenbosch Universiteit
Private Sak X1
Matieland
7602

KONTAKNOMMER: 083 969 2352

Wat is navorsing?

Deur navorsing leer ons hoe dinge (en mense) werk. Ons gebruik navorsingsprojekte of -studies om meer oor siektes uit te vind. Navorsing leer ons ook hoe om siek kinders beter te help of te behandel.

Waaroor gaan hierdie navorsingsprojek?

Die studie wil meer verstaan van pa-dogter verhoudinge in jou gemeenskap.

Hoekom vra julle my om aan hierdie navorsingsprojek deel te neem?

Daar is baie min kennis beskikbaar oor Suid-Afrikaanse Pa's en hul verhouding met hul dogters. Die inligting wat ons in hierdie studie bymekaar maak sal baie mense help om dit beter te verstaan en is dus van groot waarde vir u gemeenskap en vir die land en sy mense.

Wie doen die navorsing?

My naam is Freda Cronje en ek is besig met my Meestersgraad in Sielkunde by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. Dr. Elmien Lesch is my toesighouer en sy maak seker dat ek binne die riglyne en wette rakende navorsing met kinders handel.

Wat sal in hierdie studie met my gebeur?

Indien jy bereid is om deel te neem, verwag ons van jou:

Om 'n vraelys in te vul wat handel oor agtergrond kennis sodat ons n beter idee het van waar jy vandaan kom. Jy het die keuse om of aan beide die vraelys en onderhoud deel te neem of net aan die vraelys of net aan die onderhoud. Hierdie keuse moet asseblief aangedui word aan die einde van die vorm.

Die vraelys sal tydens die saal periode ingevul word en dus geen klas tyd opneem nie. Indien jy nie beskikbaar is vir 'n onderhoud gedurende skoolure nie, sal 'n tyd met jou ouers gereël word op n tyd wat julle pas. Hierdie onderhoude sal plaasvind by die Departement Sielkunde, Stellenbosch Universiteit of by die skool. Indien nie een beskikbaar is nie, sal 'n alternatiewe lokaal identifiseer word. Die ouers sal self reisreëlings moet tref, maar sal vergoed word vir reis-onkoste. Nadat die nodige toestemmingsvorme voltooi is, sal die onderhoud begin. Die onderhoude sal op band en video opgeneem word.

Onderhoude sal in Afrikaans gedoen word, deur en tussen 1 en 1½ ure duur.

Kan enigiets fout gaan?

Dit mag dalk moeilik wees om oor sekere aspekte van jou en jou pa se verhouding te praat. Jy kan egter te enige tyd die onderhoud staak of kies om sekere vrae nie te antwoord nie, sonder enige nadelige gevolge.

Watter goeie dinge kan in die studie met my gebeur?

Deelname sal jou 'n kans gee om na te dink oor jou eie gedagtes en ervaring met betrekking tot jou en jou pa se verhouding. Die inligting wat jy verskaf sal ook gebruik word om ander te help om dit beter te verstaan.

Sal enigiemand weet ek neem deel?

Enige inligting wat deur middel van die navorsing verkry word en wat met jou verbind kan word, sal vertroulik bly en slegs met jou toestemming bekend gemaak word. **Let asseblief daarop dat die wet vereis dat die navorser die mishandeling van 'n minderjarige moet rapporteer, indien dit tydens navorsing bekend gemaak word.** Gedurende die onderhoud kan jy n ander naam kies so dat jy nie erken kan word in publisering nie. Die inligting, beide elektronies en ander, sal veilig bewaar word teen ongemagtigde toegang. Die opnames van die onderhoude sal skoongevee word na publisering. Alle elektroniese inligting sal beskerm word met n wagwoord.



Met wie kan ek oor die studie praat? Indien jy so verlang kan jy die Goeie Hoop berading dienste kontak wat gratis dienste bied, of jy kan die departement Sielkunde skakel vir die kontakbesonderhede van privaat dienste wat teen volle tariewe beskikbaar is by 021 808 3461.

Wat gebeur as ek nie wil deelneem nie?

Jy mag weier om deel te neem, selfs al het jou ouers ingestem. Jy mag ook enige tyd tydens die onderhoud besluit om te stop en jy sal nie in die moeilikheid beland nie.

Verstaan jy hierdie navorsingstudie, en wil jy daaraan deelneem?

 JA NEE

Het die navorser ál jou vrae beantwoord?

 JA NEE

Verstaan jy dat jy kan ophou deelneem net wanneer jy wil?

 JA NEE

Wil jy die vraelys invul?

 JA NEE

Wil jy aan die onderhoud deelneem?

 JA NEE

Handtekening van kind

Datum

Naam van kind

Addendum D: Background information questionnaire for daughters

1. Jou Naam en Van: -----

2. Wat is jou ouderdom -----

3. Wie woon almal saam met jou in die huis? -----

4. Woon jou biologiese pa in dieselfde huis as jy? -----
5. As hy nie by jou woon nie, waar woon hy en saam met wie? -----

6. As jou biologiese pa nie by jou woon nie, woon daar iemand anders by jou wat jy jou pa noem en wie is dit? -----

7. Wie is meer van n pa vir jou, jou biologiese pa of die persoon wat jy by die vorige vraag aangedui het? -----

8. Vir die volgende vrae, dink aan die persoon wat jy in vraag 7 aangedui het. Hoe gereeld spandeer jul tyd saam? (Merk slegs die een wat die meeste waar is)
Elke dag Hoeveel tyd per dag? -----
Elke week Hoeveel tyd per week? -----
Elke maand Hoeveel tyd per maand? -----
Elke jaar Hoeveel tyd per jaar? -----
9. Wat doen julle (aktiwiteite) wanneer jul tyd saam spandeer? -----

10. Werk jou pa tans? -----

11. Watse werk doen jou pa? -----

12. Hoe oud is jou pa? -----

13. Tot watter graad het jou pa skool gegaan? -----

14. Ek wil graag verstaan hoe jou verhouding met jou pa is, vertel my asseblief daarvan.

VERDERE DEELNAME

BAIE DANKIE VIR JOU TYD.

AS JY DINK JOU PA SAL BELANGSTEL OM AAN HIERDIE NAVORSINGSPROJEK DEEL TE NEEM, KAN JY SY KONTAKBESONDERHEDE HIERONDER INVUL EN ONS SAL HOM KONTAK OM 'N AFSPRAAK TE MAAK. **Onthou asb. dat alle inligting in hierdie studie as streng vertroulik beskou word en dat ons 'n kodesetel sal gebruik om die inligting wat hy aan ons wil verskaf te verwerk.**

PA SE NAAM: _____

KONTAKBESONDERHEDE: _____

Addendum E: Interview schedule

The questions are given in Afrikaans, the native language of the target population and language in which the interviews will be conducted. Questions for the father are given first, followed by questions for the daughter.

Vrae vir die Pa

Biografiese beskrywing – Vertel my van jouself?

Drink, rook?

Beskryf jouself?

Vertel my van jou dogter?

Wat beteken dit vir jou om 'n pa te wees?

Wat dink jy is die verantwoordelikhede van pa wees?

Vertel my van jou verhouding met jou dogter?

Was die verhouding altyd so, of het dit verander?

As dit verander het, op watter ouderdom het dit verander en op watter manier het dit verander?

In watter omstandighede?

Hoe was die verhouding toe sy klein was?

Wat dink jy is die rede vir hoe die verhouding nou is?

Wat is jou rol in haar lewe?

Hoe is haar verhouding met haar ma?

Hoe is julle verhouding verskillend, as haar verhouding met haar ma?

Hoekom dink jy is dit anders?

Wat verwag jy van jou dogter?

Hoeveel tyd spandeer julle saam?

Watter soort dinge doen julle saam met mekaar?

Is dit familie tyd saam of spandeer jy en jou dogter alleen tyd ook saam?

Hoe gereeld spandeer julle tyd saam?

Wat sal u graag saam met haar wou doen?

Gesels jy en jou dogter?

Waaroor gesels julle?

Waar en hoe gereeld praat julle met mekaar?

Is daar enige iets wat jy wil verander oor julle kommunikasie?

Wat dink jy moet in julle verhouding verander om die kommunikasie te verbeter?

Wat wil jy vir jou dogter sê wat jy nog nie gesê het nie?

Wat is die rede(s) hoekom jy dit nie kan sê nie?

Wanneer was jy trots op haar?

Teleurgesteld? Of bly?

Wat doen julle vir verjaarsdae? Paasnaweek? Kersfees?

Hoe werk dissipline in julle huis?

Vertel my van jou vrou, watter tipe persoon is sy?

Vertel my van jou ander kinders?

Vertel my van jou verhouding met jou pa?

Watse tipe pa was hy?

En die res van jou familie? Sien jy hulle? Wanneer? Hoe kom jou gesin met die res van jou familie oor die weg?

Wat het jy by hom geleer wat jy op jou eie kinders toepas?

Wat maak n pa n goeie pa?

Wat maak n pa n slegte pa?

Vrae vir die Dogter

Vertel van jouself? (Biografiese beskrywing)

Vertel my van jou pa?

Vertel my hoe kom jy en jou pa oor die weg?

En vertel my van jou ma?

Hoe kom jy en jou ma oor die weg?

En jy en jou broers/susters?

En jou ouma en oupa?

Hoe gereeld spandeer jy en jou pa tyd saam? Of is dit maar meer die hele gesin wat tyd saam spandeer?

Wat doen jul as jul tyd saam spandeer?

Gesels jul?

Wanneer gesels jul?

Hoe gereeld gesels jul?

Waaroor gesels jul?

Hoe verskil jou verhouding met jou pa van jou verhouding met jou ma?

Wanneer was die laaste keer wat jou pa vir jou kwaad was?

Wat het gebeur? Vertel my daarvan.

Hoe het hy opgetree?

Wanneer laas was jou pa trots op jou of gelukkig/opgewonde met wat jy gedoen het?

Het hy dit vir jou gese? Hoe het hy reageer? En hoe was dit vir jou?

Wanneer laas was jou pa ontsteld met jou?

Wat het gebeur?

Hoe het hy reageer?

Hoe werk dissipline in jul huis? Wanneer en hoe dissiplineer jou pa jou?

Wanneer laas was jou pa teleurgesteld met jou?

Wat dink jy verwag jou pa van jou?

Wat wil hy vir jou he?

Verjaarsdae? Paasnaweek? Kersfees?

Hoe werk geloof in julle huis?

En dissipline?

Addendum F: Example of memos and category development

Example of early memos in the development of focused codes

1. “Ek wil beter pa wees as wat my pa was”

This remains even if fathers was good, but especially when he was bad. Note P3 “voed kind beter op as wat hy was”

Must respect and appreciate dad, because you are lucky that he is even there VS Dad did not provide me with opportunities, etc.

2. Functional/Practical & not personal. Rather transactional.

Differing levels of self-confidence, but dad doesn't know what daughter thinks because no personal relationship.

3. Mythologising dad scrapped. “Die verskil tussen houding en handel”

Pa sien homself in posisie van hoof & dat as deel daarvan is hy die hoogste authority & dus is die persepsie daar dat hulle vir hom luister & hom hied en gebied. → Meeste van die tyd is ma eintlik in beheer & sommige gevalle waar dogters bang is vir pa: hang maar net af wie die hardste/meeste skel. → Undermined when alcohol is involved

Pa se attitude/principles is dat streng moet wees & dissipline moet handhaaf, maar die practice is dat pa nie regtig uiting kan gee dit nie. Ma doen die dissipline & en pa is een wat kwaai woorde & uitvra-sessie word gecouch in chips, treat, ens.

“Ek sê baie vir hulle...” maar doen nie regtig nie?

4. Verstandhouding: Ons het n verstandhouding

Baie goed hoef nie gesê te word nie, want die kinders weet.

Bv. Maniere/respek; pa kwaad is; pa lief/trots is: Praat net as verkeerd doen, want hulle weet mos pa gee om.

Pa se trots lê in feit dat hy & sy vrou ouers word → nie oor die kind nie, maar posisie.

WERK vat meeste tyd weg van familie saamwees tyd → maak dat nie sport goed kan sien nie.

Vicinity, not interaction. Praat = nie gesels nie, praat @ nie MET nie.

5. Goeie kommunikasie = pa praat & dogters luister (volgens pa)

P4 hulle sê as iets nodig het & pa voorsien

Dogter se weergawe is dat dinge goed is as pa koop waarvoor sy vra

Klem op hulle doen wat ek sê of hulle luister nie

Dogters praat met ma, maar vra vir pa as verkeerde dinge doen; skoolwerk; outjies

6. Gendered perception

Pa relate met dogter deur skoolwerk & sport & sy met hom deur koffie of tee te maak & sekere huistakies vir pa te doen → seuns doen dit nie: drank/dwelms & doen meer saam met pa (sport/speel)

Vra vs praat & Antwoord vs sê } verskil tussen ma/pa

Seuns challenge pa → dogter se challenge word nie as sulks geag nie.

Ma/vrou → ook nie voice nie.

Jongste & meisiekind = Posisie i.t.v. voortrek?

Transactional → gehoorsaamheid in ruil vir wat pa gee. Seuns altyd meer van n probleem, daughters expected to obey

7. Skoolwerk

Voorheen: meeste ma's het minder schooling as die pa's → deesdae is meisies meer geneig om matriek klaar te maak. Skool klaarmaak is nie noodwendig genoeg nie, moet goeie werk ook kry om te kan support.

8. Rondloop VS by die huis wees

Om n doppie te drink → Fathers who drink can't see, or don't admit that daughters are more for their mothers than fathers. Also see relationship as staying the same over time. → main ding wat pa van dogter weet is dat sy goed doen in skool → pa ken nie noodwendig haar vriende nie → verhouding gebaseer op respek

Problem with boyfriends, male friends, being outside the house → Assumption/belief that a relationship = sex = babies

“huisvas” → restricted. Grootste issue met waar dogters is & uitslaap.

9. “Vroumensgoed”

Pa vra nie oor vroumensgoed nie en meng ook nie in as ma en dogter vassit nie.

Example of conceptual category development

Fatherhood and Control: possible core category?

“Op die regte pad hou”

Protecting daughters

Obedience

Alcohol

Assumed VS real knowing/understanding

Which developed into the following conceptual categories:

Language and how they talk?

Wanting something better for their children

Dangers: men/boyfriends/sex/teenage pregnancy/bad friends

Strategies of protection

Fathers sometimes powerless to do anything about daughters' behaviour

Will not change alcohol habits

And was refined into:

Removing language as a conceptual category

We understand each other as capturing the dynamic of relationship with expression of affection as separate conceptual category

Provision and obedience as separate categories and expressing the ideal

Protection changed to wanting a better life for daughter

Alcohol category changed to focus on difference between what fathers say and what they do

Core category: focus on hierarchical and patriarchal gender order