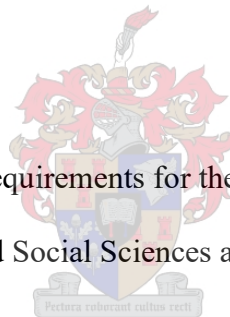


Ideas and practices of paternal care in low-income, rural, Afrikaans-speaking communities in the
Western Cape.

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in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University.



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Declaration

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Abstract

The majority of early research on fatherhood in South Africa emphasise the prevalence of absent fathers in the country, and the detrimental outcomes this leads to for children and families.

Father absence has further been focused on due to the known benefits of positive father involvement on the well-being of not only children and other family members, but also for the father himself. More recent global and local research on fatherhood, however, has shown a shift in fathering practices, where contemporary men engage in more involved and complicated fathering practices, which include nurturing and caring activities. This has given rise to the so-called “new” father, who is attentive and caring towards his children and other members in the household. Although local studies have begun to identify nurturing and caring activities in fathering, they have not more comprehensively explored ideas of practices of nurturing and caring fathers. Furthermore, there has been a call for research providing more contextual knowledge on fathering practices in South Africa, across the diverse population groups in the country and the different social contexts. This study, rooted in a social constructionist masculinity theoretical framework, therefore, explored the ideas and practices of paternal care in a specific social context in South Africa, namely low-income, rural, Afrikaans-speaking communities in the Western Cape. These communities are especially under-represented in South African fatherhood literature.

Ten families from three such communities, namely Piketberg, Porterville, and Laingsburg, took part in this study. Each family unit consisted of a father-figure, a mother-figure, and an adolescent (15 to 17-years-old), a total of 30 participants. The findings presented here were generated using Braun and Clarke’s (2013) method of thematic analysis. In total, 48 qualitative interviews (including 18 follow-up interviews), conducted separately with each family member

generated the data used in this study. Participants' accounts revealed complicated notions of paternal care. Although more contemporary caring ideas and practices of fathering behaviour were reported, these caring masculinity ideas remained intertwined with traditional hegemonic masculinity ideals. Nevertheless, these findings indicate that a change has started to take place within these communities where traditional ideas about fatherhood and masculinity have expanded to incorporate more nurturing, caring and expressive qualities. This change indicates a potential site for developing more gender equitable ideas, by supporting men's changing ideas around masculinity.

Opsomming

Die meerderheid vroeë navorsing oor vaderskap in Suid-Afrika beklemtoon die voorkoms van afwesige vaders in die land en die negatiewe uitkomst wat dit vir kinders sowel as gesinne inhou. Daar is al vantevore op die afwesigheid van vaders gefokus weens die erkende voordele van 'n vader se positiewe betrokkenheid, nie net op kinders en ander gesinslede nie, maar ook op die pa self. Meer onlangse plaaslike en internasionale navorsing dui egter op 'n verandering in vaderskap praktyke, met hedendaagse vaders wat meer betrokkenheid toon en aan meer gekompliseerde vaderskap praktyke, wat versorgings- en opvoedingsaktiwiteite insluit, deelneem. Vervolgens het die sogenaamde “nuwe” pa ontstaan, wat bedagsaam en versorgend teenoor sy kinders en ander lede van die huishouding is. Alhoewel plaaslike studies ook begin het om genoemde versorgings- en opvoedingsaktiwiteite in vaderskap te identifiseer, is die praktyke en die voorkoms van bedagsame vaders nog nie noukeurig ondersoek nie. Verder het 'n behoefte ontstaan vir navorsing wat meer kontekstuele insig oor vaderskap praktyke in die diverse bevolkingsgroepe en verskillende sosiale kontekste van Suid-Afrika sal verskaf.

Aangesien hierdie studie gegrond is in die teorie van 'n sosiaal-konstruksionistiese manlikheidsraamwerk, is die idees en praktyke van vadersorg in 'n spesifieke sosiale konteks van Suid-Afrika, naamlik lae-inkomste, landelike, Afrikaanssprekende gemeenskappe in die Wes-Kaap, ondersoek. Hierdie gemeenskappe word veral nie teenwoordig in die Suid-Afrikaanse literatuur oor vaderskap nie. Tien gesinne uit drie van hierdie soort gemeenskappe, naamlik Piketberg, Porterville en Laingsburg, het aan hierdie studie deelgeneem. Elke gesin bestaan uit 'n vaderfiguur, 'n moederfiguur en 'n adolessent (15 tot 17 jaar oud), dus 'n totaal van 30 deelnemers. Die bevindinge is saamgestel met behulp van Braun en Clark (2013) se model van tematiese analise. In geheel is die data gebruik in hierdie studie deur middel van 48

kwalitatiewe onderhoude (18 opvolgonderhoude ingesluit), wat vertroulik met elke individuele familielid gevoer is, gegenerer. Onderhoude het komplekse denkwyses rondom vadersorg geopenbaar. Alhoewel meer kontemporêre idees en praktyke in vaderlike gedrag vermeld is, is hierdie idees van sorgsame manlikheid steeds verstrengel met die ideale van tradisionele, hegemoniese manlikheid. Ten spyte hiervan toon die bevindinge van die studie dat 'n verandering besig is om plaas te vind binne hierdie gemeenskappe, waar die tradisionele siening van vaderskap en manlikheid verander het om meer versorgende, bedagsame en ekspressiewe eienskappe in te sluit. Hierdie verandering dui op die potensiaal vir die ontwikkeling van beter geslagsgelykheid deur die ondersteuning van mans se veranderende idees rondom manlikheid.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my aunt Tiepie van Zyl, who still had many laughs to laugh, stories to tell, and love to give.

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Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Introduction and motivation

It has been firmly established in international and local fatherhood research that positive father involvement benefits the well-being of the child, mother or other primary caregiver, and the father himself (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012; Marsiglio et al., 2000; Pleck, 2012). Due to the known positive impact of present and positive father involvement, much South African research has focused on absent fathers and a lack of positive father involvement (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Furthermore, much of what is known about South African fathers have been obtained from national and provincial surveys (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012). Although these surveys provide demographic data on South African fathers, they do not provide information about men's involvement with their children (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010), other than the financial care provided by men in the household (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012). There is, therefore, a need for research to provide not only more knowledge about the range of father involvement activities, but also to provide more contextual knowledge about fathering ideas and practices across diverse population groups and communities in South Africa (Nduna & Khunou, 2018). Subsequently, there has been a shift in South African fatherhood research to focus on the involvement of fathers with their children, and the care taking activities they choose to take part in, or not (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Morrell et al., 2016; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011, 2014; Patel & Mavungu, 2016; Shefer, 2014). This study forms part of a larger NRF-funded project led by Prof. Elmien Lesch, which aimed to contribute to these efforts by generating knowledge about fatherhood constructions and specific paternal involvement activities in semi-rural and rural Western Cape communities that have been under-represented in family research. The current study represents one of the research questions

formulated in the larger project and focused specifically on ideas and practices of paternal care in these communities.

International and South African researchers agree that gender remains to be a salient factor in caring practices (Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015; Locke & Yarwood, 2017; Morrell & Jewkes, 2014; Petts et al., 2018; Shefer, 2014). The notion of mothers being more nurturing prevails, and care continues to be seen as a feminine task, with women still carrying out the bulk of caring activities in the home (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Nilsen & Wærdahl, 2015; Patel & Mavungu, 2016; Shefer, 2014; Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019). However, it has been noted that fathers are becoming more involved in their children's lives, and exhibiting more caring and nurturing behaviours (Elliott, 2016; Kaplan & Knoll, 2019; Locke & Yarwood, 2017; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011). The discourse of the so-called "new father" (Elliott, 2016; Smit, 2008) has led to fathers being expected to take a more active part in caregiving (Elliott, 2016; Tarrant, 2018; Wilson & Prior, 2010). This has led to new theories being developed to investigate to changing behaviours of fathers and the role they are playing as caregivers, such as the Caring Masculinities (CM) framework proposed by Elliott (2016).

It has been proposed that fatherhood could be a site for potential transformation of toxic hegemonic masculinity ideals to discourses of gender equality, by challenging gender stereotypes and viewing care as ungendered (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Kaplan & Knoll, 2019; Lesch & Scheffler, 2016; Locke & Yarwood, 2017; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011). This could lead to a disruption of the gender hierarchy and dismantling systemic patriarchy in societies (Jewkes et al., 2015; Jordan, 2018; Kaplan & Knoll, 2019; Medved, 2016). Such a transition to gender equitable ideals is critical in South African societies, where gender-based violence continues to be a devastating social problem (Jewkes et al., 2015; Van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015). However, for

effective interventions to be planned and implemented, more knowledge is needed on the caring practices of men. This study therefore aimed to address this gap in the literature, by utilising Elliott's (2016) CM framework to interrogate the ideas and practices of paternal care in a specific social context, namely low-income, rural, Afrikaans-speaking communities in the Western Cape.

1.2 Organization of this thesis

In the following chapter, the theoretical frameworks of social constructionism and Caring Masculinities (Elliott, 2016) through which this study was governed will be outlined. Chapter three discusses the literature on fatherhood and paternal care which relates to the research question, such as: the history of fatherhood research, factors which influence the construct of “father”, and paternal caring practices. This will be followed by a description of the qualitative research design and methodology, informed by social constructionism, which was utilised in this study. In chapter five, the findings identified from themes generated through thematic analysis of the data will be reported. Lastly, chapter six follows with a discussion of the themes related to the findings and literature on paternal care, including the implications of the findings, and a review of the strengths and limitations of the study.

Chapter two: Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

Many theories on fatherhood are informed by ideas on masculinities (Bailey, 2015; Brandth & Kvande, 1998; Mathews et al., 2011; Morrell, 2006; Ratele et al., 2012), and researchers agree that masculine identities influence fathering ideas and practices (Brandth, 2016; Crespi & Ruspini, 2015; Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015; Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Magaraggia, 2012; Petts et al., 2018). Likewise, much research within critical studies on men and masculinities (CSMM) focus on fatherhood and the fathering practices of men (Bailey, 2015; Crespi & Ruspini, 2015; Morrell, 2006; Petts et al., 2018; Randles, 2018). Research on men and masculinities was borne out of the feminist movement in the twentieth century, where the focus was first on the dominance of men over women in patriarchal societies, and then on problematic gender relations (Messerschmidt, 2018). From this, Connell (1987,1995) developed her seminal theory of Hegemonic Masculinity (HM), which is still widely cited within CSMM research (Lomas, 2013; Messerschmidt, 2018). In 2005, Connell and Messerschmidt reformulated the theory of HM, and a number of contemporary theories on masculinities have been developed since (e.g., Anderson & McCormack, 2018; Brandth, 2016; Eisen & Yamashita, 2019; Elliott, 2016; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2012; Randles, 2018; Ratele, 2013).

Recent global and local research on masculinities and fatherhood has shown that contemporary men engage in more involved and complicated fathering practices (Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; McDougal III & George, 2016; Morrell, 2006; Tarrant, 2018). This has led to the development of new theories to encapsulate these changes and complexities in fathering practices. The Caring Masculinities (CM) framework proposed by Elliott (2016) is one such developing theory and will be utilised to ground the current study.

Elliott (2016) defines CM as “masculine identities that reject domination and its associated traits and embrace values of care, such as positive emotion, interdependence and relationality” (p. 240). As CM is rooted in social constructionism, and draws upon CSMM and Feminist Care Theory (FCT) (Elliott, 2016), these foundations will be further discussed in this chapter. In the following sections, I will first present a brief outline of a social constructionism approach to fatherhood, followed by a discussion of the history of research on men and masculinities and the development of masculinity theories, illustrating the changing ideas within CSMM. This will be followed by an overview of FCT, and lastly an outline of the CM framework and how this framework informed the current study. A critical discussion of FCT and CM is included within each section.

2.2 A social constructionism approach to fatherhood

Social constructionism theory is concerned with how individuals construct meaning and understanding within their daily lives (Lock & Strong, 2010). According to Burr (2003), social constructionism insists that a critical stance is taken towards our assumptions of how the world appears to be. It is in opposition to positivism and empiricism and challenges the idea that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased views of the world (Burr, 2003). Therefore, the categories with which the world is viewed may not reflect real divisions, but could have originated from arbitrary categorisation solely based on human observations of the world, such as the idea of different “races” or the dichotomy of gender (Burr, 2003).

Social constructionism is therefore interested in the influences that social context and language have on individuals’ constructions when making sense of their worlds (Lesch & Scheffler, 2016; Lock & Strong, 2010). Language used by individuals to describe their world gains meaning from its use in relationships with others (Gergen, 2003), and their understanding

of the world is constructed and sustained through these social processes and interactions (Burr, 2003; Lock & Strong, 2010). The ways in which the world is understood are historically and culturally specific, and therefore changes over time and varies among different social contexts (Burr, 2003; Lock & Strong, 2010). Burr (2003) further distinguishes between two broad forms of social constructionism for framing our social and psychological lives, namely micro- and macro linguistic and social structures in. Micro social constructionism refers to the everyday discourse when interacting with those around you (Burr, 2003). Multiple versions of the world are therefore available through these discourses, and it is the only reality we have access to – our descriptions of the world (Burr, 2003). Macro social constructionism has at its core the constructive power of language related to social structures, social relations and institutionalised practices (Burr, 2003). According to Burr (2003), researchers within the macro social constructionism paradigm are especially interested in various forms of social inequality, as their focus is on issues of power. These two forms of social constructionism is however not mutually exclusive, and should be used together when investigating social phenomena (Burr, 2003).

According to social constructionism theory a range of intricately interwoven contextual components, such as politics, socio-economic status, culture, gender, religion and popular media, shape ideas and practices of fatherhood (Leopeng & Langa, 2018; Lesch & Brooks, 2018; Ratele et al., 2012). Moreover, according to Lamb (2000), conceptions of fatherhood, as well as fathers' motivation to behave according to these ideas, are determined by men's childhood relationships with others, "particularly the behavior of their own parents" (p. 24). Subsequently, given the multiplicity of factors that influence fatherhood constructions, the idea of "fatherhood" is fluid, changes, develops over time, and may have different meanings depending on the social context in which it is used. Research has shown that there are many factors which influence the

construction of fatherhood within different contexts (Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019), such as ideas about femininity and masculinity, socio-economic status, culture, and religion (Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015). Factors which influence fatherhood ideas and practices will be presented and discussed in the Literature review chapter.

2.3 A brief history of the development of masculinity theories

Research on men and masculinities was borne out of the women's liberation movement in the twentieth century, and the development of feminist theories to analyse problematic societal structures which led to the domination of women by men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Jordan, 2018; Messerschmidt, 2018). This feminist research first focused on the concept of patriarchy in societies, and two notable theories within this paradigm are radical feminism and socialist feminism (Messerschmidt, 2018). Radical feminism looked at patriarchy by referring exclusively to the power relations between men and women, while socialist feminism not only analysed patriarchy but also the interaction between patriarchy and capitalism to construct the specific power relations between men and women. Criticisms of these two theories led to a shift in focus from "patriarchy" to "gender relations", and resulted in the eventual formulation by Connell (1987) of her theory of HM (Messerschmidt, 2018). Apart from radical and socialist feminism, important sources for the development of the concept of HM were the debates on power relations in the gay liberation movement, discussions on the intersectionality of gender, and other factors such as race and class, empirical social research on local cultural gender hierarchies and masculinities, and the concept of gender identity from psychoanalysis (Messerschmidt, 2018).

Connell (1987; 2005) theorised that there exists a hierarchical gender order within societies, where men are dominating women and other men, seen as subordinate to themselves.

At the pinnacle of this gender order is HM, an ideal which men strive towards and are compared against (Connell, 1987, 2012). According to Connell (1987), “HM is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women” (p. 183) and it is the interplay between these different forms of masculinity which maintains patriarchal social orders (Connell, 1987). It is a pattern of practice (how things are done), which allows the dominance of men over women and other men (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Although HM is not necessarily normal in the statistical sense, it is normative in that it embodies “the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). Connell (1995) further specified four nonhegemonic masculinities: complicit masculinities (where men do not adhere to HM, but nevertheless benefit from unequal gender relations), subordinate masculinities (masculinities lesser than HM, such as effeminate men), marginalised masculinities (men discriminated against due to differences in, for example, sexuality, “race”, class, ability, and age), and protest masculinities (hypermasculinities which compensate for not living up to the ideals of HM due to a lack of economic and political power). Patriarchal relations are therefore maintained by HM ideals by the domination of women, and subordination and marginalisation of devalued forms of masculinity (Connell, 1995).

Although Connell’s theory of HM was widely used, it was also vigorously criticised, which led to a reformulation of the theory by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005). They identified five principal criticisms of the concept of HM: (1) the underlying concept of masculinity is flawed; (2) it is ambiguous; (3) it leads to a reification of power or toxicity by not focusing on the structural basis of women’s subordination; (4) it is based on an unsatisfactory theory of the

subject, as it focuses on structural characteristics and not the individual; and (5) that it tends towards functionalism, by seeing the pattern of gender relations as “a self-contained, self-reproducing system and explaining every element in terms of its function in reproducing the whole” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 844). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) reformulated the theory of HM according to these criticisms by looking at four main areas, namely: the nature of gender hierarchy, the geography of masculine configurations, the process of social embodiment, and the dynamics of masculinities. In general, this reformulation highlighted that HM is fluid, and therefore responds to societal changes and challenges (Connell, 2016). Connell (2016) stressed that the social context in which the theory is used must be kept in mind by researchers, and that “hegemonic ideals” differ between geographies and over time.

A more contemporary criticism of HM is that it does not account for the global trend in changing masculinities, especially with regards to fathers being more involved in their children’s lives and taking part in nurturing caregiving activities (e.g., Bailey, 2015; Beglaubter, 2019; Crespi & Ruspini, 2015; Eisen & Yamashita, 2019; Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Hearn et al., 2012; Jordan, 2018; Lomas, 2013; Miller, 2011; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011; Tarrant, 2018). This critique originated in the Nordic countries, where gender equality is of great concern and policies to promote equal care work amongst mothers and fathers have been in the public discourse since the 1960s (Hearn et al., 2012). As there are high costs associated with maintaining hegemonic masculinity ideals, which limit both men and women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), many men are incorporating different masculinities as part of their identity (Elliott, 2016). This has led to more researchers developing more nuanced theories of masculinities, to include the characteristics of the “new man/father” who does not adhere to traditional HM ideals. These theories aim to provide a more nuanced understanding of men and masculinities, and include

terms such as inclusive masculinities (Anderson & McCormack, 2018), hybrid masculinities (Eisen & Yamashita, 2019; Randles, 2018), alternative masculinities (Dube, 2016; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2012), and caring masculinities (Elliott, 2016; Jordan, 2018), all of which aim to show that men do not only adhere to HM ideals. An idea which features within these theoretical ideas is that men seem to incorporate different, and often contesting, masculinities within their identity, in an effort to maintain traditional ideas of “being a man” while subscribing to new requirements of men to be more nurturing, caring and emotionally expressive (Bach, 2019; Eisen & Yamashita, 2019).

2.4 Feminist Care Theory

FCT originally focused on unpaid care labour provided by women, and the assumption that women are naturally inclined towards care work (Fine & Glendinning, 2005; Ungerson, 2006). Most conceptualisations of care are framed by Northern hemisphere Anglo-centric modalities of knowledge, which maps care as an action, a mental state and a moral value (Reddy et al., 2014). The complexity of this concept is clear from the lack of conceptualisation of “care” and “caring” within fatherhood literature. Fisher and Tronto (in Tronto, 2013) suggest the following definition for “care”:

[we suggest that] caring be viewed as a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our “world” so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web (Tronto, 2013, p. 19).

Fisher and Tronto identified four phases to care, which align with four moral qualities further identified by Tronto (2013). The first phase is “caring about”, with the moral quality of “attentiveness”. According to Tronto (2013), during this phase unmet caring needs are noticed by

an individual or group. The second phase and moral quality are respectively “caring for” and “responsibility”. Here the burden to meet the identified care needs are taken on as a responsibility by the caregiver. “Caregiving” is the third phase, aligned with a moral quality of “competence”. This involves doing the care work, and the caregiver must be competent to do so. The fourth phase is “care receiving”, with the moral quality of “responsiveness”. This last phase is a response from the care receiver, which may lead to the emergence of more unmet needs and a continuation of the caregiving process. Care is therefore not only practical, but also include relational, emotional, intimate and affective components (Elliott, 2016).

A strong influence on current work on FCT is the feminist ethic of care, which developed from a strand of feminism and highlights the positive aspects of care (Fine & Glendinning, 2005). Three central concerns of the feminist ethic of care which feature in CM theory are the centring of emotion (Held, 2006), dependency in the care relationship (Kittay, 2011; Tronto, 1993), and interdependence in the care relationship (Held, 2006). In a feminist ethic of care, emotion is valued instead of rejected (Held, 2006). According to Held (2006), an ethic of care can lead to developing a caring identity, by cultivating “moral emotions” such as “sympathy, empathy, sensitivity and responsiveness” (p. 10). Therefore, practicing care (caring for), whether the caregiver cares about the receiver or not, can lead to the development of affective, emotional aspects of care (Elliott, 2016). The second concern of the feminist ethic of care which relates to CM is dependency. All people need care at some stage in their lives, and this dependence can lead to inequality (Tronto, 1993). Kittay (2011) however contends that it is only when there is domination in the caregiving relationship that inequality emerges. Dependency is necessary in the care relationship, and the caregiver must be capable to give care (Kittay, 2011). An inequality of power is therefore inevitable, but if there is no domination within the caregiving relationship,

there will not be inequality between the care receiver and caregiver (Kittay, 2011). Another focus of the feminist ethic of care which relates to CM theory is Held's (2006) idea of interdependence. This entails the "relationality and intertwining of interests in the care relationship" (Elliott 2016, p. 251). As everyone needs care at some stage, care relations are reciprocal and exist within networks (Elliott, 2016). Hanlon (2012) emphasises the reciprocal, emotional, and social aspects of interdependence by arguing that "we necessarily subsist within webs of emotionally reciprocal relations" (p. 20). Care is given to strengthen the community, and therefore the caregiver's own support network. This focus on interdependent caring practices is congruent with the African concept of Ubuntu, which similarly advocates the interconnectedness of individuals and their communities, and the mutual benefits of reciprocal caring (Waghid & Smeyers, 2012).

Like "fatherhood", the concept of "care" is a multi-layered social construct, which changes over time and depends on the context in which it is used (Reddy et al., 2014). Therefore, Reddy and colleagues (2014) warn that the term must be contextualised within the dimension that it is used, as the paradigm of care not only differs between countries, but also within a country. This is especially true in South Africa with its many diverse cultures and contexts (Reddy et al., 2014). Sithole (2014) furthermore states that it is necessary for researchers to look at the perceptions of more than one person in the care relationship to gain a fuller picture of the "qualitative social experience" (p. 92) within the relationship. This concern relates to the relationality and interdependence of care, and therefore investigations on caring must include multiple informants (Meyer et al., 2014; Sithole, 2014).

Feminist ethics of care has been criticised for being too dependent on gender differences, particularism, and essentialism (Okano, 2016). As the ethics of care developed from a focus on unequal domestic labour, it has been said to affirm maternalism and feminine stereotypes,

therefore maintaining the status quo of the domination of women (MacKinnon et al., 1985). Further criticism of feminist ethics of care led to a debate over what “femaleness” is (Okano, 2016), and that more attention should be given to the intersectionality of aspects such as “race”, class, and historical circumstances, within the care context (Nicholson, 1993).

2.5 Caring Masculinities – main concepts

The CM framework consists of three main concepts, namely rejecting domination, incorporating values of care, and the recasting of traditional masculine values (Elliott, 2016).

The first concept, rejecting domination, refers to a rejection of the dominant traits associated with HM. This happens when men become “disloyal to traditional masculine norms, especially those that are synonymous with domination or violence” (Lee and Lee 2018, p. 49). There is equality of power within the care relationship (Kittay, 2011; Lee & Lee, 2018), and there is no subordination in relationships among men or between men and women (Elliott, 2016).

Incorporating values of care is the second concept in the CM framework. This means that men move away from the emotional stoicism associated with HM, by valuing emotion and no longer repressing what they feel (Lee & Lee, 2018). There is an emphasis on the affective, emotional, relational and interdependent qualities of care (Elliott, 2016), such as increased sensitivity to emotions, being able to relate to others on an emotional level, and taking pride in providing care for another (Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Lee & Lee, 2018). Care relationships are then characterised by positive emotion, interdependence and relationality (Gill, 2018; Hunter et al., 2017).

The last concept of the CM framework is recasting traditional masculine values into relational, interdependent and care-orientated values (Elliott, 2016). These characteristics, which are traditionally seen as feminine, are combined and incorporated by men in the caregiver role

(Elliott, 2016). There is no longer a gender assigned to the caregiver (Lee & Lee, 2018), and nurturing and caring activities are seen as part of providing for the family (Hunter et al., 2017). Furthermore, the work done as caregiver is respected and acknowledged as legitimate work (Lee & Lee, 2018).

Many researchers note that men have been incorporating CM as part of their identities, and that this incorporation of different masculinities can serve as a site for contesting toxic masculinity ideals, which may lead to more gender-equitable practices (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Kaplan & Knoll, 2019; Lesch & Scheffler, 2016; Leung et al., 2019; Medved, 2016; Morrell & Jewkes, 2014). However, it has been noted that HM ideals remain salient among men, and that their caring attributes do not overcome these ideals (Hunter et al., 2017). Furthermore, a focus on “new” masculinities, such as inclusive/alternative/hybrid masculinities may reinforce patriarchal ideas and HM. By promoting an optimistic discourse on men, masculinities, and social change, these theories deemphasise key issues of sexual politics (O’Neill, 2015). With more men incorporating more egalitarian ideas within their masculine identities, it may lead to making HM more palatable (Myrntinen, 2019) as men gain more prestige due to their “new” masculinity ideals (Eisen & Yamashita, 2019), and so the societal barriers and discrimination women and other men face are still not addressed (Bach, 2019; Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015; Eisen & Yamashita, 2019; Hunter et al., 2017; Jordan, 2018; Medved, 2016; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011). Therefore, when these alternative masculinities become part of HM, patriarchy may not necessarily be destabilised, and could continue to serve the dominance of men.

Utilising the CM framework, I explore how the father-participants in my study understand caring for their children, which caring activities they practice, and whether they incorporate CM as part of their masculine identities. Furthermore, I want to investigate whether

there is a tension between CM and HM ideals among these men. As far as I could determine, the current study is the first to adopt this framework to explore the caring practices of fathers within the specific social context of low-income communities in the rural areas of the Western Cape. A secondary objective of this study, therefore, is also to reflect on the usefulness of this theory in the South African context.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I first outlined the main theoretical framework in which this study is rooted, namely social constructionism. I described the main aspects of this theory, and the applicability of this framework in qualitative research on fatherhood. This was followed by a brief history on the development of masculinity theories, from the traditional view of the dominant father to developing more inclusive masculinities. Next, I discussed Feminist Care Theory, and the impact this theory has had on the discourse of care practices in families. Lastly, the main concepts of Elliott's (2016) theory of CM were unpacked and discussed, including criticism that has been raised regarding this theory.

Chapter three: Literature review

3.1 Introduction

As indicated in the Theoretical framework chapter, I view the concepts “father” and “fatherhood” as social constructs. In this chapter, a brief history of literature on fatherhood will be given to illustrate the change and development of this social construct over time, and how it has contributed to the current emphasis of caring fathers in many societies. This will be followed by a discussion of different factors which impact the construction of fatherhood, with reference to the South African context. Lastly, a brief overview of the research that has been done on paternal caring will be given.

3.2 A brief history of literature on fatherhood

The fluidity and change in the construction of “fatherhood” is illustrated in the history of fatherhood research, which will be discussed below. Although this historical review is limited due to a lack of literature on fatherhood outside the Euro-American contexts, it nevertheless shows the change and development of the construction of “fatherhood” over time. In Lamb’s (2000) review of the history of research on father involvement during the previous two centuries of American social history, Joseph Pleck, one of the foremost researchers on fatherhood, identified four dominant themes in fatherhood literature during this time. At first, the concept was strongly influenced by religion. The main responsibility of a father was to be a teacher or guide to his children, especially his sons, on moral values and the traditions of their religion (Lamb, 2000). During the second phase, the emphasis shifted from the father as a moral guide to the importance of the father as the breadwinner in the family (Lamb, 2000). Providing financially for his family was the father’s main priority, and a “good father” was able to do this. During the third phase, there was still a strong emphasis on the father as being the main breadwinner in the

family, but there was also a focus on the father as a role model, specifically a gender-role model for his son on how to develop his masculine identity (Lamb, 2000). In the fourth phase, which started at around the 1970s, there has been a shift in dominant themes to include more nurturing aspects of fathering (Lamb, 2000). However, the ideas of a father as a guide and role model, and especially the importance of the father as financial provider, remain salient (Lamb, 2000).

The focus on father involvement in the Euro-American research was partially driven by the feminist and postmodernist movements during the twentieth century, which challenged traditional gender roles and advocated for gender equality (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Marsiglio et al., 2000). This led to more mothers being permanently employed, therefore they had less time to provide unpaid labour at home, and there was a need for fathers to take part in the caregiving activities for the family (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Marsiglio et al., 2000). In northern European countries, this shift during the twentieth century in the construction of fatherhood to include more nurturing and caring aspects led to policy changes in these countries, where the option to take paternal leave after the birth of a child was implemented (Gregory & Milner, 2011). The goals of these policy changes were to promote gender equality, and to increase father involvement in the caregiving of their children (Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015). This led to the phenomenon of so-called “new fatherhood”, where fathers share in the caring responsibilities in their households (Gregory & Milner, 2011) and are capable of what has traditionally been perceived as “mother-like” and nurturing caregiving (Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015). Following from the Nordic countries, more countries have implemented paternal leave, and the representations of “new fatherhood” have become more evident and normative in the public discourse around the globe (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Johansson, 2011; Magaraggia, 2012; Smit, 2008).

Gregory and Milner (2011) investigated the contemporary construction of fatherhood in France and the United Kingdom (UK). They looked at the legal rights and responsibilities of fathers, as well as the representation of fathers in popular media, such as magazines, television programmes, and films (Gregory & Milner, 2011). They found that although the idea of more nurturing and involved fathers has entered the public discourse, tensions remain between the traditional view of gender roles in parenting and the new, more involved father. Magaraggia (2013) reported similar results in her study on the tension between fatherhood and the social constructions of masculinity in Italy. She found that the fathers had a desire to change, but that tensions between traditional hegemonic masculinity (HM) ideals and new fathering practices remain (Magaraggia, 2012). In a literature review on cultural stereotypes associated with motherhood and fatherhood which was conducted by Valiquette-Tessier, Gosselin, Young and Thomassin (2019), the same conclusions were made. Research included in the review were conducted outside the dominant North American cultural discourse, as the authors express that there is an abundance of research portraying the Western nuclear family, which is not always the norm in different contexts around the world. The studies that were looked at were conducted in countries such as Israel, China, South Korea, Japan, Ethiopia, Kenya, and South Africa, as well as immigrants from Turkey and Russia (Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019). The authors found that although the majority of participants in the studies reviewed identified with the ideals of involved fatherhood, HM ideals remained dominant, and the father as caregiver stereotype did not hold more weight than the stereotype of the father as the main financial provider. This corresponds with what Lamb stated in 2000: that although there is a shift towards more involved and nurturing fathering practices, HM ideals remain salient.

3.3 Factors which influence father ideas and practices

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are many factors which influence ideas and practices of fatherhood within different social contexts. In a country such as South Africa with a diverse population and many different social contexts, there is therefore likely a variety of conceptualisations of social constructs such as “fatherhood” (Van den Berg & Makusha, 2018). Different factors which impact on these conceptualisations will be discussed below, namely gender, femininity and masculinity, socio-economic and cultural factors.

3.3.1 Gender, femininity, and masculinity

The concept of “fatherhood” is implicitly gendered (Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015) and almost automatically categorised as “male” in most social contexts (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015). The meaning ascribed to male parental roles is therefore closely linked with cultural perceptions and practices of masculinity and femininity, which shape the ideas of what fathers’ responsibilities are and how they should behave, and in turn how they must not be (Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015; Magaraggia, 2012; Petts et al., 2018; Ratele et al., 2012). Closely tied in with the gendered assumption of fatherhood are thus the HM ideals of societies globally and locally which fathers are expected to strive towards (Connell, 2016; Morrell et al., 2013; Shefer et al., 2015).

The appropriate masculine and feminine roles within a society are determined by the social construction of gender (Amato, 2018). Mothers and fathers are often expected to play different roles in their children’s lives, as dictated by the norms within their society (Makusha et al., 2013). In the already-mentioned literature review of Valiquette-Tessier et al. (2018) in which they reviewed literature on cultural stereotypes associated with motherhood and fatherhood outside the North American dominant cultural discourse, they highlight the dominance of HM

and femininity ideals in the various social contexts wherein the different research studies were conducted. However, although the stereotype of a father as financial provider prevailed, they did note a shift towards more nurturing fathering practices among the majority of participants (Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019). The stereotypes associated with motherhood were the mother as primary caregiver, mothers as teachers or role models, and mothers as household workers or homemakers (Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019). Amato (2018) warns of the dangers of these stereotypical constructions, stating: “Society has traditionally socially constructed women to be mothers and the primary parent, leaving fathers much too often on the side lines of parenthood” (p. 467). Seeing fathers as “secondary” parents could lead to excluding fathers’ perceptions and needs when developing policies, such as programmes in child welfare services (Amato, 2018). The stereotype of mothers being the primary caregiver and nurturing parent is seen among societies globally, even though it has long been believed that there is no biological basis for this (Lamb, 2000). It is often said that in patriarchal societies, men perpetuate these gendered beliefs and practices (Patel & Mavungu, 2016). However, Patel and Mavungu (2016) warn that women may also hold similarly problematic gendered beliefs that may contribute to the continuation of these gendered assigned roles in societies.

Nilsen and Wærdahl (2015) propose that these gender biases derive from the general socially constructed images of mothers and fathers in societies, rather than gender modelling taking place within family homes. The authors investigated the work done by Norwegian boys and girls in their homes, and found small but significant differences in their involvement in household tasks (girls being more involved) and their perceptions of what is expected of them (Nilsen & Wærdahl, 2015). The parents taking part in the study held gender egalitarian beliefs and did not have different gender socialisation goals for their children, therefore the authors

subscribed these differences to generalised expectations of masculinity and femininity behaviour patterns in their broader society. Interestingly, there were no significant differences in care work among the participants, illustrating the more contemporary notion that men are also capable of doing care work (Nilsen & Wærdahl, 2015), as found in other research as well (Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015).

In South Africa, similar stereotypes regarding the roles of mothers and fathers exist. Mothers are expected to provide nurture and care to their children, while men are thought to be primarily responsible for their children's financial care (Rabe, 2007; Ratele et al., 2012; Wilson, 2006). Although there are many diverse social contexts in South Africa, the dominant discourses of masculinity still reflect the traditional views of a man to be strong, aggressive, assertive, and emotionally distant (Morrell et al., 2013). In line with these HM ideals, fathers are seen as the strict authoritarian head of the household, who is the main breadwinner and responsible for providing for the family's financial needs (Patel & Mavungu, 2016; Ratele et al., 2012; Smit, 2008). Research has also shown that fathers treat their male and female children differently. Men often describe that they have to guide and teach their boy-children (Lesch & Brooks, 2018; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015, 2016), whereas they offer protection towards their girl-children. Fathers also show physical affection differently towards their children, depending on their gender (Lesch & Scheffler, 2016). It is widely believed that boy-children need a male role model in their lives, specifically their biological father, and it is seen as a deficit if this is not the case (Clowes et al., 2013; East et al., 2017; Lamb, 2000; Padi et al., 2014). Fathers are also believed to be essential for girl-children, but for reasons such as protection and emotional well-being (Lesch & Scheffler, 2016; Nduna & Sikweyiya, 2015). Interestingly, these father roles are seen as "in addition to" the roles played by mothers, with little mention of the importance of mothers,

perhaps illustrating the assumption that mothers are present and automatically the primary caregiver.

In South Africa, traditional views of the authoritarian father responsible for material support remain the dominant discourse (Clowes et al., 2013; Lesch & Scheffler, 2016; Smit, 2008). However, there has also been a shift towards the father providing nurturing and expressive care (Smit, 2008). The discourses on fatherhood among men now include the importance of a father being present and involved in his children's lives (Ratele et al., 2012). Results from Enderstein and Boonzaier (2015) show the potential of young fatherhood as a site to develop a different masculinity, one which incorporates more nurturing and expressive qualities. It is however noted that although men voice their expectations of being involved parents, this does not always translate into practice (Smit, 2008). Fathers must now therefore contend with the tension of incorporating the caring identity of the so-called "new father" (Smit, 2008), which does not always fit with the masculine ideals expected of them (Locke & Yarwood, 2017; Suwada, 2015).

3.3.2 Socio-economic and cultural factors

Due to South Africa's political history of segregation based on the "racial" classification groups of the apartheid regime, factors such as socio-economic status, culture and "race" are intricately linked and difficult to separate from one another (Isaacs-Martin, 2015; Patel & Mavungu, 2016). In South Africa, people who would have been categorized as Black¹ and Coloured¹ in the apartheid era, still have higher unemployment rates compared to other

¹ I acknowledge that the use of these apartheid-implemented terms (such as Black and Coloured) is contentious and there is a need to move beyond them. I want to emphasise that I use these terms to acknowledge and refer to heterogeneous groups that have been disadvantaged and deprived under colonial and apartheid governments.

population groups (Statistics South Africa, 2019). Among Coloured and Black people, there are unemployment rates of 23% and 30% respectively, compared to rates of 12% among the Indian/Asian people and 7% among white people (Statistics South Africa, 2019). Therefore, Coloured and Black South Africans mostly have a lower socio-economic status (Isaacs-Martin, 2015; Lesch & Kelapile, 2016; Madhavan et al., 2016; Mavungu, 2013). This phenomenon has similarly been noted in North American contexts, where there is also a history of “racial” segregation and discrimination (Dyer et al., 2018; Fagan et al., 2016; Ide et al., 2018). Although there is significant overlapping of these factors within the South African context regarding the construction of fatherhood, I have nevertheless made an attempt to discuss these separately for the purpose of this literature review.

3.3.2.1 Fathers’ income and ability to provide

In international and national research on fatherhood, the importance of the role of the father as a financial provider for his family is a prominent paternal duty among most societies (Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015; Gregory & Milner, 2011; Helman et al., 2019; Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012; Locke & Yarwood, 2017; Magaraggia, 2012; Patel & Mavungu, 2016; Strier, 2014; Yarwood, 2011). It has been reported that for fathers with little or no income, it is sometimes impossible to fulfil their assigned role as main financial provider, and they are often shunned by their family and community for not being able to do so (Barthelemy & Coakley, 2017; Patel & Mavungu, 2016). Difficult economic circumstances that lead to poverty may cause fathers to feel that they are failures, because they are unable to provide financial and material support to their families, which in turn may lead to a withdrawal from their families (Patel & Mavungu, 2016). Both locally and internationally, a low socio-economic status has therefore been reported as a significant factor in the prevalence of father absence, whether physically or

emotionally, in their children's lives (Barthelemy & Coakley, 2017; Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015; Patel & Mavungu, 2016). Furthermore, in the case of low-income fathers who have separated from their children's mother, the fathers may be prohibited from seeing their children if they are not able to pay maintenance fees or provide for their children's material needs (Barthelemy & Coakley, 2017; Cabrera et al., 2008; Coley, 2001; Mavungu, 2013).

In a study conducted amongst unemployed Palestinian fathers in Israel, Strier (2014) investigated how these men experienced unemployment, and how this affected their constructions of their own gender and fatherhood identities. Strier (2014) reported that the men in her study viewed employment as "an essential component of [their] masculine identity" (p. 402) that gives a sense of purpose to their lives. The participants spoke of the detrimental impact unemployment has on their own emotional well-being, and that it is "the most harmful threat to the family's well-being" (Strier, 2014, p. 403). The men furthermore expressed a sense of failure as a father (Strier, 2014). In the literature mentioned earlier on cultural stereotypes associated with parents outside a North American context, Valiquette-Tessier et al. (2019) found fathers similarly experiencing unemployment as a personal failure that contributes to a perception of being poor providers, and therefore inadequate fathers. This was found especially among men who have immigrated to other countries (Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019). In a South African context, similar results were showed by Patel and Mavungu (2016) from their focus groups conducted with mostly unemployed fathers from poor communities in Gauteng, who are absent from their children's lives. The absent fathers likewise reflected on the strong association between employment and fatherhood, feeling emasculated when they fail to provide for their families financially, and that they therefore retreat from their children's lives (Patel & Mavungu, 2016). These men expressed feeling ashamed and like failures, because family members perceive

them as unsuccessful financial providers (Patel & Mavungu, 2016). They also reflected on the pain and emotional damage they experience when being ostracised in this way, and the negative consequences it leads to such as depression, alcoholism and an unproductive work life (Patel & Mavungu, 2016). The authors therefore state that “[t]he materialist construction of masculinity accompanied by long-term structural unemployment and the persistency of mass poverty and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa has been cited as a significant factor in father absence” (Patel & Mavungu, 2016, p. 30).

Although many studies have found a significant link between low socio-economic status and father absence, there has also been evidence that fathers with low incomes try to compensate for their inability to provide for their family’s material needs. It has been found that some low-income fathers may take part in more nurturing care practices, such as spending time with their children, and providing emotional support and protection to their families (Cabrera et al., 2008; Coley, 2001; Fagan et al., 2016; Nelson, 2004; Roy & Lucas, 2006; Strier, 2014; Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019). In North America, Roy and Lucas (2006) interviewed Black and white low-income fathers, investigating their expressions of generativity towards their children. The participants all had difficult pasts, such as previous incarceration, substance abuse and poverty, and had failed the “primary test of successful fatherhood” (Roy & Lucas, 2006, p. 155). This led to a perception that they lack generative motivation, however, the participants expressed generative feelings similar to more privileged men (Roy & Lucas, 2006). The authors reported two narratives of second chance: the first focused on redeeming themselves for a “long string of personal failures” (Roy & Lucas, 2006, p. 149), and the second emphasised a redemption of “family-related trials and crises” (Roy & Lucas, 2006, p. 152), therefore a second chance for their families to break multigenerational struggles. The second narrative was largely reported by

African American participants, reflecting the importance of intergenerational family legacies within their cultural context (McDougal III & George, 2016; Roy & Lucas, 2006). Madhavan and Roy (2012) compared fathering practices of Black low-income fathers from the United States and South Africa. It was noted that there exists a stereotype of Black low-income fathers in both these countries as being “uninvolved fathers who cannot financially support their children” (Madhavan & Roy, 2012, p. 11). However, it was found that the participants and their families value the contributions other than financial provision that these fathers make towards their families, and that they accomplished this through kin work (Madhavan & Roy, 2012). In both contexts, it was found that there were negotiations between maternal and paternal families regarding the care of children, a pedifocal approach, where members of the extended family took part in childrearing, as well as flexible fathering being allowed (Madhavan & Roy, 2012).

Valiquette-Tessier et al. (2019) reported in their literature review that low-income fathers saw unemployment as “an opportunity to reconstruct their fatherhood identity” (p. 9), such as African American low-income fathers who placed greater emphasis on being a protector for their families (Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019). Although Strier (2014) found that unemployed Palestinian Arab fathers living in Israel place great value on employment as part of their masculine identity, it was also reported that these fathers did not withdraw from their family lives. They rather identified more with the ideals of being an involved father and providing nurturing care, than the unattainable ideal of the stereotypical breadwinner role (Strier, 2014). In earlier research, Coley (2001), Nelson (2004) as well as Cabrera et al. (2008), and in a more recent study by Fagan et al. (2016), it was also found that low-income African American fathers exhibit more involvement in their children’s lives, compared to Hispanic and European Americans. This highlights the issue raised earlier, that socio-economic and cultural factors are

significantly entwined with so-called “race” and ethnicities. In another South African study, Enderstein and Boonzaier (2015) also found that the young fathers they interviewed, who were all from low-income communities, valued being involved and nurturant fathers, and aimed to provide emotional as well as financial support to their families. Similarly, as with the participants interviewed by Roy and Lucas (2006), these young fathers expressed familial generativity by wanting to be different than the absent fathers in their own families.

3.3.2.2 Cultural norms

The important role that culture plays in the construction of fatherhood is often noted by fatherhood researchers (Coley, 2001; Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015; Lesch & Kelapile, 2016; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015; Lesejane, 2006; Madhavan & Roy, 2012; Magaraggia, 2012; Mavungu, 2013; Strier, 2014; Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019). According to Lamb (2000), fatherhood encompasses many different roles, and the importance of each vary across social contexts. As Strier (2014) states, “[f]atherhood is more than an assembly of roles; it is a cultural invention” (p. 367).

Although there are many similarities found in research on fathers in various social contexts, there are also cultural differences reported (Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019). These differences, and therefore evidence of the influence of culture on the construction of fatherhood, are perhaps best illustrated in studies comparing fathers from different countries. For instance, Rostgaard (2002) compared the ideology and social constructions of mother and father roles in the Scandinavian countries of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. It was found that in Sweden the idea of the “new father” was particularly important; in Denmark, parenthood practices appear to be based on neutral gender relations; and in Norway, paternal leave rights are especially influenced by political agendas, with a safeguarding of motherhood. Rentzou, Gol-Guven, Koumarianou, and Zengin (2019) investigated the differences and similarities of paternal involvement among

Greek, Greek-Cypriot, and Turkish fathers, from mothers' and fathers' perspectives. They reported significant differences in paternal roles and parenting styles among their participants, with the least father involvement found in the most patriarchal of these societies, namely Turkey.

Within the diverse population of South Africa, there are many different cultural norms among population groups which influence the role that a father plays within the family (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012). For instance, traditional practices such as *lobola* (payment made by the groom to the bride's family) and *inhlawulo* (payment made by a father to the mother's family when a child is born out of wedlock) in Black South African communities are still widely practiced, albeit not as strictly as in the past (Rabe, 2018). These practices mean that men first have to make these payments before they may claim a child as his own (Makusha et al., 2018). Although these practices are not always adhered to any longer, it has been reported that many fathers are still prohibited from contact with their children when these payments have not been made (Clowes et al., 2013; Ward et al., 2015). The Johannesburg low-income father participants in Patel and Mavungu's (2016) study, reported that due to their inability to pay *lobola* or *inhlawulo*, they are often rejected by their child's maternal family, and thereby harshly excluded from their child's life.

3.3.2.3 Religion

As noted in the brief history of fatherhood research at the beginning of this chapter, the concept of fatherhood is strongly influenced by religion (Lamb, 2000). The role of the father as a moral and ethical guide features in most religious traditions (Lamb, 2000). This role of the father is still reported globally and locally as one of the important duties a father must fulfil in his family (Clowes et al., 2013; Lesch & Adams, 2016; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015; McDougal III & George, 2016; Nduna & Sikweyiya, 2015; Ratele et al., 2012; Rushwaya, 2017; Summers et al.,

2006). Furthermore, it has been shown that fathers who actively practice their religion are more involved in their children's lives, as has been reported in three quantitative studies conducted in the United States, with fathers who belong to various Christian denominations (Lynn et al., 2016; Petts, 2018; Shafer et al., 2019). However, although Shafer, Petts and Renick (2019) found that religiosity reduce the negative relationship between masculinity and active fathering behaviours, highly religious fathers were also found to be more harsh disciplinarians, ascribing to the patriarchal belief system of their faith.

Religion is also an important factor in South Africa. The dominant religion practiced in South Africa is Christianity, with 78% of the population reported as being Christian in the 2016 National Community Survey (Statistics South Africa, 2016). The Christian religion was introduced in South Africa by European settlers, and its dominance in this country was strengthened by colonialism and apartheid (Lesch & Brooks, 2018; Meyer, 2018). According to the Christian faith, there are clear roles for a father within his family, namely of being the head of his household, the breadwinner, and a responsible spiritual leader (Dube, 2015; Freeks, 2017; Meyer, 2018). The heteronormative nuclear family is the ideal, and other contemporary family structures are seen as "adverse challenges in society" (Freek, 2017, p. 187), which threaten the fundamental role of the father as the ideal role model for his family (Freek, 2017). The patriarchal idea of a family hierarchy with the father as dominant and most powerful, followed by the mother and children, is therefore deeply ingrained in the Christian faith (Meyer, 2018). Meyer (2018) warns that a theology of patriarchy can be problematic for men, as it implies that a man must have power (be dominant in the hierarchy) to be a respected and loved father. It is therefore impossible for men who do not have power, especially due to socio-economic circumstances, to be seen as successful fathers, a disempowerment which is perpetuated by the

patriarchal structures of the Christian religion (Meyer, 2018). However, it has also been argued that religion can play a role in transforming the social constructions of masculinity to promote more gender equitable ideas, as Burchardt (2018) found in her investigation within Charismatic Christian and Pentecostal communities in Cape Town. Although she found that Pentecostalism contributed to transformation of gender roles ideas among the men she interviewed, she also noted that these men experienced fundamental contradictions in their construction of masculinity, as their faith operates within power relations which reproduce traditional HM ideals (Burchardt, 2018).

Christianity is especially prevalent in Western Cape rural communities in South Africa, where patriarchal religious ideals of the father as the strong disciplinarian and head of the household remain salient (Isaacs-Martin, 2015; Lesch & Adams, 2016; Lesch & Scheffler, 2016). These patriarchal ideas greatly influence the HM ideals in these communities, which lead to the expectations of fathers to be the main breadwinner in the family and responsible to provide financially for the household (Langa, 2010; Locke & Yarwood, 2017; Swartz & Bhana, 2009), as discussed earlier. It has been said that within low-income communities in the Western Cape, a sense of respectability is obtained through commitment to the Church, which is also a means to establish a sense of honour and self-respect which has been threatened due to a history of oppression during colonial and apartheid times (Lesch & Scheffler, 2015). The traditional Christian beliefs that the authority of men must be accepted and that they must be respected as the head of the household is therefore part of the social construction of fatherhood within these communities in South Africa (Lesch & Brooks, 2018; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015).

3.4 Paternal caring practices

In international and South African literature on care practices, there is an emphasis on the continuation of the gendered aspect of care (Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015; Locke & Yarwood, 2017; Morrell & Jewkes, 2014; Patel & Mavungu, 2016; Petts et al., 2018; Shefer, 2014). Caring remains to be seen, consciously and subconsciously, as a feminine activity, and women still carry a much heavier burden of care work when compared to men (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Nilsen & Wærdahl, 2015; Patel & Mavungu, 2016; Shefer, 2014; Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019).

However, with the shift in fatherhood norms discussed earlier to the so-called “new father”, more men are exhibiting caring and nurturing fathering practices (Elliott, 2016; Kaplan & Knoll, 2019; Locke & Yarwood, 2017; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011) and incorporating a new idea of caring as masculine into their own masculinity (Nilsen & Wærdahl, 2015). Research has shown that the more caregiving a person does, the more that person incorporates a caring identity and appreciates their caregiving role (Coley, 2001; Elliott, 2016; Leung et al., 2019). As more countries are implementing paternal leave, and more men are therefore engaging in caregiving activities, “new fatherhood” is now found within countries other than the Nordic countries (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Magaraggia, 2012; Smit, 2008).

Theories conceptualising the change in fathering practices are being developed to investigate this rise in more men performing caregiving activities. The Caring Masculinities (CM) framework proposed by Elliott (2016) is one such framework. Most research that has been conducted utilising a CM framework has focused on stay-at-home fathers (SAHF) or men who are the primary caregivers in their families (Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Gill, 2018; Lee & Lee, 2018; Leung et al., 2019; Liong, 2017), which will be discussed below.

In the studies conducted by Lee and Lee (2018), Brandth and Kvande (2018), and Beglaubter (2019), semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with SAHF. In Lee and Lee's (2018) study, the American fathers who were interviewed reported that they found their caring roles highly satisfying and felt increased emotional connections with others due to their role as primary caregiver for their children. Brandth and Kvande (2018) conducted their study with Norwegian fathers who were on parental leave after their children's birth. These men reported a renewed sense of self-worth due to their increased competence to provide care, and valued their ability to contribute love and security to their children rather than only status and wealth (Brandth & Kvande, 2018). Beglaubter (2019) also interviewed men on paternal leave. Results showed that the Canadian fathers interviewed developed their parenting skills and emotional bonds with their children (Beglaubter, 2019). Brandth and Kvande (2018) and Beglaubter (2019) further reported that men providing solo care (i.e., without the oversight of another caregiver) felt more accomplished in their roles as caregiver and more readily transformed their masculine identities. In all three these studies it was shown that the SAHF integrated traditionally feminine values of care and traditionally masculine traits into a new masculine identity, without degrading their masculine status (Beglaubter, 2019; Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Lee & Lee, 2018). Gill (2018) reported similar results in his study on British South Asian men who had experience as primary caregivers for their children, their parents and/or their grandparents. These men described their caregiving roles as enriching and rewarding, and saw it as a duty and a privilege to provide care for others (Gill, 2018). They too constructed alternative masculinities by incorporating care and compassion into their Asian masculine identities (Gill, 2018). Leung et al. (2019) interviewed 20 Chinese primary male caregivers in Hong Kong, who were from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. These men were

the primary caregivers for either their children, spouses, parents or both children and spouses (Leung et al., 2019). Leung et al. (2019) identified four types of male caregivers among the participants in their study, namely conforming, traditional, transitional, and transforming caregivers. The conforming caregiver type were reluctant to take on the role of primary caregiver, as they took on their roles out of necessity, such as losing their jobs. The traditional caregivers also somewhat reluctantly took on the role as primary caregiver and saw their caring role as a duty towards their family. The transitional and transforming caregiver types more readily incorporated CM compared to the men identified as the other types of caregivers, with the transforming caregiver category rejecting HM the most (Leung et al., 2019).

Results from the studies discussed above indicated that for the male participants, by doing care work, there was a potential to transform the toxic aspects of HM into more nurturing and CM (Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Gill, 2018; Lee & Lee, 2018; Leung et al., 2019). By seeing caring as a masculine trait that is part of the provider role, these men incorporated CM as part of their masculine identities (Lee & Lee, 2018; Liong, 2017). However, it was also found that HM ideals remain salient (Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Hunter et al., 2017). As Hunter, Riggs and Augoustinos (2017) conclude, ideas around CM should be understood as a broadening of HM, rather than a complete departure from the traditional norms of HM.

The studies found that utilised a CM framework was all conducted in the global north. The only African study using a CM framework that was found was conducted in Swaziland, with primary school boys as participants (Motsa & Morojele, 2019). These vulnerable young men are often the primary caregivers in their families, due to the effects of diseases such as HIV/AIDS which lead to absent parents (Motsa & Morojele, 2019). In the strong patriarchal society of Swaziland, it is difficult for these young men to live up to the ideals of HM with their lack of

resources and responsibility of care (Motsa & Morojele, 2019). Results from this study showed that the young men incorporate a caring masculinity and see themselves as “man enough”, because they are providing for their families (Motsa & Morojele, 2019).

As mentioned earlier, a dominant theme in the literature on men performing caring activities, is the potential of fatherhood as a mechanism to transform toxic HM ideals to more gender equitable discourses, by challenging gender stereotypes and changing the gender of care work (Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Elliott, 2016; Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Kaplan & Knoll, 2019; Leung et al., 2019; Locke & Yarwood, 2017; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011). Morrell and Jewkes (2011) investigated this among 20 men of different ages and with various socio-economic backgrounds in South Africa who engage in care work. Similar to international literature, it was found that engaging in care work led to an identity and value transformation for these men that could lead to a commitment to gender equity (Morrell & Jewkes, 2011). It could be argued that providing more nurturing care for their families, men are ascribing to HM ideals by protecting their own families. However, Heslop (2016) as well as Morrell and Jewkes (2014), reported that men in their studies extended their caring practices to their non-biological children and outside their family homes. The English foster fathers interviewed by Heslop (2016) at times perform solo care activities and act as the primary caregiver. It was found that these men take on nurturing activities, and attend to close personal care and bonding with their foster children (Heslop, 2016). The men in Morrell and Jewkes’ (2014) study were the primary caregivers for their children and many were also involved in care activities outside their households, such as being professional care workers (nurses, teachers or social workers) or volunteering at non-governmental organisations providing care for their communities (Morrell & Jewkes, 2014). For some of these men, being primary caregivers prompted them to extend their care and taking part

in caring activities outside their households, while others were motivated to do solo care at home due to the caring aspects in their professional work (Morrell & Jewkes, 2014). However, within the literature on men doing care work, the authors frequently report that this transformation only takes place when the care given had an emotional resonance for the men (Gill, 2018; Heslop, 2016; Leung et al., 2019; Liong, 2017; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011), when the men already hold more gender equitable views (Beglaubter, 2019; Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Leung et al., 2019), and when the men perform solo care work at times, i.e., provide care for their children without the presence of another caregiver (Beglaubter, 2019; Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Wilson & Prior, 2010).

In the literature on fatherhood, a clear conceptualisation of what “paternal care” is and looks like could not be found. In global as well as local fatherhood literature where caring practices are mentioned, the research focus is mostly on father involvement, where terms such as “nurturing” and “caring practices” are used without being operationalised, and the reader must thereby construct their own meaning and understanding of these terms.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the changing nature of the conceptualisation of “fatherhood” has been illustrated by means of a historical overview of international literature on fatherhood. A discussion of the factors which influence the construction of fatherhood was then given, with reference to international and South African contexts. It was noted that there seems to be a shift in this construction, to include more nurturing and caring fathering practices. Therefore, a discussion of literature on paternal caring was also given.

Although it has been reported that South African fathers are being more expressive and exhibiting more caring fathering practices (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015), there is still a lack of

knowledge on this topic, especially among different social contexts. Indeed, researchers have expressed the need for contextually informed studies to explore the similarities and differences of how fatherhood is constructed across different social groupings (Clark et al., 2015; Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012; Lesch & Scheffler, 2016; Ratele et al., 2012). This study therefore aims to contribute to the limited data on fathers in one such context, namely low-income, rural, Afrikaans-speaking communities in the Western Cape.

Chapter four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a detailed description of the research process will be provided. The sampling process, data collection and data analysis procedures will be described.

4.2 Research question

Rooted in a social constructionism paradigm and specifically informed by the Caring Masculinities (CM) theoretical framework, the aim of this study was to explore the practices and ideas of paternal care in family units in low-income, Afrikaans-speaking rural communities in the Western Cape. This was done by conducting qualitative interviews with family units consisting of a father-figure, mother-figure, and an adolescent between the ages of 15-17-years-old.

4.3 Qualitative research design

The most basic explanation of qualitative research is that it uses words as data, as opposed to numbers (Braun & Clarke, 2013). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2018), qualitative research is “a situated activity that locates the observer in the world” consisting of “a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible” (p. 43). The aim of qualitative research is to report and interpret the meaning-making process of participants (Patton, 2015). The data collected in qualitative research is therefore naturalistic, providing a reflection of participants’ own words and their subjective experiences of the world, as interpreted by the researcher (Willig, 2013). As opposed to quantitative research, qualitative research does not make use of variables to establish causal relationships or correlations, as it is argued that pre-conceived variables could impose the researcher’s understanding and experiences of phenomena on the data collection process, therefore losing sight of the participants’ accounts of their experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Willig, 2013). Another main

difference between a qualitative and quantitative research design is sample sizes. In qualitative research, samples are usually small, as it is not the researcher's intention to generalise findings to a larger population, but to rather report on rich, in-depth accounts of phenomena experienced by participants within their unique social context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Willig, 2013). This focus on social context is integral to a social constructionism research paradigm, and therefore my motivation for using a qualitative research design for my study.

Masculinities studies, in which the CM framework is situated, also makes use of qualitative research methods (e.g., Beglaubter, 2019; Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Gill, 2018; Jordan, 2018; Lee & Lee, 2018; Leung et al., 2019). Furthermore, this is an explorative study and qualitative research designs are often used in such studies (Roy et al., 2015; Venturelli et al., 2016). This study, therefore, entailed a qualitative research design, with semi-structured individual interviews for data gathering and thematic analysis for analysing the data.

4.4 Research procedure

As mentioned in the first chapter, this study forms part of a larger NRF-funded project led by Prof. Elmien Lesch, which aimed to generate information about fathers in three under-researched, rural, Afrikaans-speaking Western Cape communities. Ethics clearance for the larger project was obtained from the Stellenbosch University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) (REC-2018-6767) (please see Addendum A for the letter of approval from the HREC). Participant recruitment and data collection for this study was therefore part of the research procedure of the larger project. The research team for this project included Prof. Lesch as the project leader, myself as the project manager, and eight other postgraduate psychology students. All members of the research team made verbal agreements not to disclose any information on the research project or the research activities in which they took part.

4.5 Social context of the study

Three low-income, historically Coloured (please see footnote on p. 22 for more information about the use of this term), Afrikaans-speaking communities in rural Western Cape areas were targeted as part of the larger research project mentioned above, namely Piketberg, Porterville, and Laingsburg. These communities were chosen due to the lack of family research in rural Western Cape communities which are located further away from universities.

Due to South Africa's history of colonial and apartheid rule, the effects of past marginalisation and discrimination are still evident among people of colour, as many in this group continue to live in low socio-economic contexts (Johnson, 2017). It is argued that research conducted within rural, Afrikaans-speaking Western Cape communities perpetuate negative stereotypes of people of colour, and specifically of men, who are often depicted as drunken, violent, promiscuous, emasculated and not capable to support a family (Adhikari, 2006; Lesch & Adams, 2016). Van Niekerk and Boonzaier (2015) further state that past research on these communities focuses on deficiencies and psycho-social problems, as there are abundant studies on alcohol and substance use, violence, and sexual abuse within these contexts. Similarly, research on fatherhood within these communities has tended to focus on absent and deficient fathers (Lesch & Scheffler, 2016). In contrast, this study focused on present and involved father-figures in the community – thus highlighting a strength rather than a limitation in the targeted communities.

The heterogeneous group of people categorised as Coloured, comprises about 9% of the total population of South Africa, and resides mainly in the Western Cape (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Laingsburg municipality is situated within the Great Karoo, and 79% of the total population identify as Coloured (Laingsburg Municipality, 2019). Porterville and Piketberg form

part of the Bergrivier municipality, and of the total population in this area, 40% identify as Coloured (Bergrivier Municipality, 2018). According to the latest statistics, only 38% of the economically active population (aged between 18-65 years old) in the Bergrivier Municipality is employed (Bergrivier Municipality, 2020). In 2018, the average household income was R14 959 (US\$ 1088), and in 2019, 49% of households had an income of less than R4 210 (US\$306) per month (Bergrivier Municipality, 2020). Recent statistics on employment figures are not available for Laingsburg. In the last national census conducted in 2011, 87% of people living in Laingsburg who self-identify as Coloured and are aged between 15-64 years old, were unemployed, discouraged work seekers or not economically active, and more than half of the total households (56,5%) reported an average monthly income of less than R3 180 (US\$ 231) (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

When visiting these areas, I noticed that the targeted communities are still marginalised and living on the outskirts of the town. This lack of integration is especially evident in the schools with learners in the historically Coloured schools predominantly people of colour, while the historically white schools, referred to as “ex-Model C” schools, appear to be much more integrated. It appears separate living arrangements and schools in these rural communities are still present and reminiscent of the conditions during apartheid.

4.6 Participants

Each research unit consisted of a family unit with three members, namely a father-figure (biological or social father), a co-parent (e.g., biological mothers, grandmothers, and stepmothers) and a secondary school child (aged 15 to 17). I chose to interview three members in a family, as it has been reported that integrating multiple perspectives when conducting qualitative family research yields rich, descriptive accounts of family dynamics (Vogl et al.,

2019; Zartler, 2010). The inclusion criteria for the chosen family units were that the adolescent attend a secondary school in one of the targeted communities, that participants were Afrikaans-speaking, and that the adolescent was between the ages of 15 and 17. Adolescents were targeted as this age group is better equipped to express themselves during interviews compared to younger individuals, as their cognitive abilities are more developed (Acker et al., 2003). A R100 gift voucher from one of the nearby supermarkets in the different communities were given to each participant as an incentive to take part in the research project, and a token of appreciation for their time spent taking part in the study (Burr, 2003). The monthly income of the families ranged from R6 000 to R21 000 per month, with an average monthly income of R10 880.

Similar to other studies that found that recruiting participants for family research is challenging, especially when multiple informants per research unit is needed (Roy et al., 2015; Zartler, 2010), recruitment of participants for the current project proved to be extremely challenging. Different recruitment strategies were implemented when it became clear that the originally planned recruitment strategies were not successful. These were all approved by the HREC prior to implementation. I first aimed to reach families through recruiting secondary school children in the targeted communities. Once ethical clearance was obtained from the Stellenbosch University HREC and permission was granted by the Western Cape Education Department, school principals were contacted. I explained the research and research procedures to the principals and asked for permission to engage with learners to invite them to take part in the study. The aim was to recruit the adolescents and ask them to invite their father- and mother-figure to take part. Principals from two schools in Piketberg and Porterville respectively allowed us to visit the school and engage with learners from grade 9 to grade 11 during their Life Orientation lessons. Four members of the research team, all postgraduate students, visited the

schools. We explained our research to the learners and handed out information flyers which they could take home to invite their parents to take part if they were interested. We engaged with approximately 250 grade 9 to grade 11 learners at a secondary school in Piketberg, and 300 grade 9 to grade 11 learners at a secondary school in Porterville. Through this strategy I recruited three families from the two secondary schools visited in these communities (one girl-child family and two boy-child families). As this recruitment strategy was not effective, I decided to try to reach the parents directly. The principal at one of the schools agreed to ask the grade 9 to grade 11 learners to write down their parents' telephone numbers on a class list, if they themselves are interested to take part in the research study. A total of 265 learners were invited to participate via this strategy. The principal sent these lists to me, with contact details for parents provided from 52 learners (32 from girl-children and 20 from boy-children). Six members of the research team (myself included) contacted the parents whose contact details were given, explained the research project to them and invited them to take part. Through this method I recruited a further two families (one girl-child family and one boy-child family). I contacted the principal from the other school again and asked whether we could join a parent meeting at the school, in the hope of recruiting more families. Two members from the research team attended the meeting and explained the research to the approximately 300 parents in attendance and I recruited one more family (a boy-child family). I then decided to try a different approach and reached out to the Bergrivier municipality community police forum. Two research team members attended a meeting of this forum, where we explained the research project and asked for guidance on recruiting more families. I managed to recruit one more family (a girl-child family) through a municipal ward councillor who was part of this forum. In the Piketberg and Porterville area, I therefore recruited a total of seven families. For the Laingsburg families, all recruitment was

done telephonically by myself and three other members of the research team. The principal of the secondary school in Laingsburg agreed to share the parents' contact details with me, and we received contact details of 135 parents, 72 from girl-children and 63 from boy-children. I randomly selected 20 girl-children and 20 boy-children from grade 9 to grade 11 on the list that was provided to me by sorting the list alphabetically (according to their surnames) in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, grouped according to gender, and then I selected every fourth name. At times the incorrect telephone number was given, and I would try the name below the one that was initially chosen. Five members of the research team contacted the parents from these randomly selected lists directly to invite them to take part. This strategy proved to be most effective, and I recruited a further three families (two girl-child families and one boy-child family) from this community. The data from 10 family units were therefore used for this study, five with a female adolescent and five with a male adolescent. Of these 10 family units, five had social fathers and three had a grandmother as the adolescent's mother-figure. Please see Table 4.1 below for a summary of the different recruitment strategies.

All four recruitment strategies proved to be challenging. Most potential participants did not provide reasons for not being interested to take part in the project. During the telephonic recruitment, upon first contact with parent-figures they would sound interested, but when we called again to confirm their participation, they informed us that the other family members were not interested. Furthermore, many of the cell phone numbers that I received were out of order, immediately went to voicemail, or were never answered.

Table 4.1: Different recruitment strategies employed

Recruitment strategy 1: School visits	Area	Number of learners approached		Number of families recruited
School 1	Piketberg	Approximately 250		1
School 2	Porterville	Approximately 300		2
Recruitment strategy 2: Telephonic recruitment	Area	Number of contact details received	Number of parents contacted	Number of families recruited
School 1	Porterville	52	52	2
School 3	Laingsburg	135	40	3
Recruitment strategy 3: Parent meeting	Area	Number of parents present		Number of families recruited
School 1	Piketberg	Approximately 300		1
Recruitment strategy 4: Community police forum meeting (Bergrivier municipality)				Number of families recruited
A ward councillor present at the meeting introduced us to one family.				1

4.7 Data collection methods: qualitative interviews

Qualitative, semi-structured audio-recorded interviews were conducted with each participant. Interviews took place in two waves. The first wave of interviews was conducted in-person during 2018 and 2019 as part of the larger project mentioned earlier. In 2020, I did follow-up interviews telephonically to ask more focused questions specifically on my research on the practices and constructions of paternal caring. The procedures for the two waves of interviews are described below.

4.7.1 First wave of interviews: in-person

After participants were recruited, a suitable time and venue were confirmed for interviews to take place. When meeting the family units, the research project and procedures of the interviews were described to them as a group. Participants were further assured that their responses will be confidential, that participation was voluntary, and that they would each receive a supermarket gift voucher to the value of R100 once the interviews with all the family members were completed. They were also made aware that they could withdraw from the study at any time. If a participant wished to withdraw, their data would be destroyed and not used for analysis. After one of the parental-figures gave permission for the minor in their care to take part in the study, interviewers and participants moved to separate locations to conduct the interviews. Before the interviews started, each interviewer would answer any questions that the participant might have, and then participants would sign an informed consent form (please see Addendum B1-B3 for the informed child assent and parental consent form, as well as the parents' informed consent forms). Participants were also asked for permission to have the interview recorded with an audio device and explained that the recording will later be transcribed. Interviewers used their mobile phones to make the recordings.

All participants were interviewed separately in private venues, to ensure confidentiality. Participants from the Piketberg and Porterville areas were either interviewed in separate classrooms at the adolescents' schools, or in their homes. All interviews conducted in the Laingsburg area were in separate rooms in the town's museum, which was a central location and convenient for all participants to travel to. When participants had to travel extensively to reach the interview venues, they were reimbursed for their travel costs.

Interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, the participants' mother tongue. Each interview began with a demographic questionnaire to collect demographic information of the participants, and to start establishing rapport between the interviewer and the participant. The semi-structured interview schedules covered nine areas of the father-child relationship that have been identified in fatherhood literature, namely communication, emotional care, time spent together, discipline and monitoring, fathers' involvement in education, fathers' support of the co-parent, fathers' social and material care, planning for the child's future, and the meaning of being a father (Hawkins et al., 2002; Marsiglio et al., 2000; Pleck, 2012). My aim was to obtain information about participants' constructions of how fathers care for their families, and the more intangible aspects of father involvement and care in their families' lives (please see Addendum C1-C3 for the demographic questionnaires and examples of the working interview schedules).

Interviews were conducted by myself and five other postgraduate psychology students, all Afrikaans-speaking, who were also part of the research team. It has been reported that when the interviewer and participant share similar demographics, participants may be more comfortable during the interview and at ease to be open and honest with their responses (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Shope, 2006). Therefore, interviewers were matched as closely as possible to the participants they interviewed. Most of the father-figures were

interviewed by a middle-aged self-identified Coloured, middle-class male psychology student (Interviewer 2 in Tables 4.2 and 4.3). Most of the female adolescents were interviewed by a self-identified Coloured, female middle-class psychology student in her early twenties (Interviewer 3 in Table 4.2), and most of the male adolescents were interviewed by a self-identified Coloured, male middle-class psychology student in his early thirties (Interviewer 4 in Table 4.3). Interviewer 5, also a self-identified Coloured, female middle-class psychology student in her mid-twenties conducted two adolescent interviews, as indicated in Tables 4.2 and 4.3. Interviewer 6, a self-identified white, female upper-class psychology student in her early fifties conducted one interview with a grandmother and one with a male adolescent, as indicated in Table 4.3.

However, it was not possible to match interviewers and participants across the total participant group. I, a white, middle-class female student in my mid-thirties (Interviewer 1 in Tables 4.2 and 4.3), conducted all but one of the interviews with mother-figure participants. This was partly due to the unavailability of a skilled middle-aged self-identified Coloured woman to conduct the interviews with the mother-figures. However, the most important reason for this decision is that the project leader listened to my interviews and felt that I managed very well to form alliances with people from diverse backgrounds and elicit rich information during interviews. The latter was the reason that I was also selected to do some of the father-figure and adolescent interviews when the matching interviewers used previously became unavailable due to other commitments. I believe that even though I am from a different social class and population group than the participants, I established a good rapport with the family members and that they felt comfortable to be honest with me. At the end of the interviews, I asked participants how they found the experience of being interviewed, and many responded that they appreciated

the opportunity to talk to someone in confidence, knowing that their responses will not be divulged to others in their community. It has been indicated that participants might be more comfortable with someone who is from a different social group as their own, as they might have more trust that their responses will be confidential (Bryman, 2012; Patton, 2015). Many participants also claimed that it was the first time that they spoke to anyone about some of the issues we discussed. They said that they felt “lighter” afterwards and expressed their gratitude for the opportunity to talk to someone else.

Throughout the research project, all interviewers had various training sessions and we regularly had workshops to discuss and practice our interviewing skills, to ensure that we generate rich and nuanced data during the interviews.

4.7.2 Second wave of interviews: telephonic

Initially I wanted to conduct the second wave of interviews in person as well. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the national lockdown implemented in March 2020, this was not possible. I therefore decided to conduct follow-up interviews telephonically (please see Addendum D1-3 for examples of the follow-up working interview schedules). I conducted all the telephonic interviews myself, and this proved to be extremely challenging. It was especially difficult to get hold of participants. In many of these families there was only one mobile phone available, which severely limited the opportunities to contact all the family members and to conduct individual interviews. Apart from the limitation of scheduling times to call participants, my calls were often not answered at the agreed upon time. I am of the opinion that participants were not as committed to take part in the study as when an appointment to meet in person was scheduled. Some participants were also not willing to take part in follow-up interviews. Reasons for not taking part were mostly that one of the family members was not interested to take part in

another interview, although concrete reasons for why not were not given. Some members also said that they did not want to talk on the phone for such a long time.

Another challenge was that participants grew tired when talking on the phone for too long, so interviews had to be cut short and were disrupted. At times I had to conduct two separate telephonic interviews to ask all the relevant questions that were needed. As it was so difficult to get hold of participants, there was sometimes quite a long interval between interviews. My experience of the telephonic interviews was that, on the one hand, participants seemed to be more forthcoming about more sensitive topics. For example, violence that occurs in their households was discussed more freely, which was not mentioned in the first in-person interviews. However, on the other hand, with some participants I found it more difficult to establish a personal connection over the telephone compared to in-person meetings.

In the end, I managed to conduct follow-up interviews with seven of the 10 families originally interviewed (families 1, 2, 4, and 5 in Table 4.2 and families 6, 7, and 8 in Table 4.3). However, with two of these families (families 1 and 5 in Table 4.2), I was not able to get hold of the father-figure again. A summary of the families, the recruitment strategies used, and interviews and interviewers are given in Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 below. Pseudonyms are used for all participants to ensure confidentiality. More demographic details are given in Table 5.1 in Chapter five.

Table 4.2: Participants basic demographics, interviews and interviewers, and recruitment strategies used (daughter families)

	Family members	Name*	Relationship to adolescent	Age	Highest level of education	Interviews		Recruitment
1	Father	David	Biological father	46	Grade 12	Interviewer 2		School visit
	Mother	Charlotte	Biological mother	42	Grade 11	Interviewer 1	Interviewer 1	
	Daughter	Danae		16	Grade 10	Interviewer 5	Interviewer 1	
2	Father	Kevin	Biological father	46	Grade 10	Interviewer 2	Interviewer 1	Community police forum meeting
	Mother	Kirsten	Biological mother	39	Grade 12	Interviewer 1	Interviewer 1	
	Daughter	Kylie		16	Grade 9	Interviewer 3	Interviewer 1	
3	Father	Tony	Biological father	48	Grade 12	Interviewer 2		Telephonic
	Mother	Linda	Biological mother	49	Grade 12	Interviewer 1		
	Daughter	Tina		15	Grade 9	Interviewer 3		
4	Father	Derek	Stepfather	39	Grade 12	Interviewer 1	Interviewer 1	Telephonic
	Mother	Cathy	Biological mother	40	Grade 12	Interviewer 1	Interviewer 1	
	Daughter	Sarah		15	Grade 10	Interviewer 1	Interviewer 1	
5	Father	Arnold	Stepfather	32	Grade 9	Interviewer 2		Telephonic
	Mother	Gladys	Biological mother	37	Grade 10	Interviewer 1	Interviewer 1	
	Daughter	Susan		16	Grade 11	Interviewer 3	Interviewer 1	

Interviewer 1: White female, mid-thirties

Interviewer 2: Coloured male, early forties

Interviewer 3: Coloured female, early twenties

Interviewer 4: Coloured male, early thirties

Interviewer 5: Coloured female, mid-twenties

Interviewer 6: White female, early fifties

*Pseudonyms used for all participants.

Table 4.3: Participants basic demographics, interviews and interviewers, and recruitment strategies used (son families)

	Family members	Name*	Relationship to adolescent	Age	Highest level of education	Interviews		Recruitment
6	Father	Petrus	Biological father	39	Grade 8	Interviewer 2	Interviewer 1	Telephonic
	Mother	Janey	Biological mother	42	Grade 11	Interviewer 1	Interviewer 1	
	Son	Daniël		15	Grade 10	Interviewer 2	Interviewer 1	
7	Father	Rudi	Biological father	43	Grade 12	Interviewer 1		School visit
	Mother	Karen	Grandmother	62	Grade 7	Interviewer 6	Interviewer 1	
	Son	Max		17	Grade 11	Interviewer 5	Interviewer 1	
8	Father	John	Uncle	22	Grade 12	Interviewer 1	Interviewer 1	School visit
	Mother	Mandy	Grandmother	59	Grade 2	Interviewer 1	Interviewer 1	
	Son	Jacob		15	Grade 9	Interviewer 6	Interviewer 1	
9	Father	Jack	Biological father	41	Grade 12	Interviewer 2		Parent meeting
	Mother	Anne	Biological mother	40	Grade 12	Interviewer 1		
	Son	Jerome		15	Grade 9	Interviewer 4		
10	Father	Koos	Biological father	45	Grade 7	Interviewer 2		Telephonic
	Mother	Emily	Biological mother	39	Grade 10	Interviewer 1		
	Son	Gerald		15	Grade 10	Interviewer 4		

Interviewer 1: White female, mid-thirties Interviewer 2: Coloured male, early forties Interviewer 3: Coloured female, early twenties

Interviewer 4: Coloured male, early thirties Interviewer 5: Coloured female, mid-twenties Interviewer 6: White female, early fifties

*Pseudonyms used for all participants.

4.8 Transcription of interviews

Once interviews were finalised, the audio-recordings were saved on a password protected computer. Verbatim transcriptions of the recordings of the interviews with each family member were done. Three members of the research team, including myself, each completed the transcriptions of one family unit. Due to the high volume of transcriptions that had to be done, an advertisement for transcribers was placed on the course management system website of the psychology department of the University of Stellenbosch. The rest of the recordings were then transcribed by students who responded to the advertisement. All transcribers signed confidentiality agreements, and then had to do a trial transcription of 30 minutes of a recording, to ascertain their competency and ensure that the quality of their transcriptions was adequate. Transcribers were also instructed to use codes when referring to participants or when participants referred to others or places, in order to protect participants' identity and location. Once my supervisor and I were satisfied with the quality of a transcriber's work, they were given more recordings to transcribe.

4.9 Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis

The thematic analysis (TA) method proposed by Braun and Clarke (2013) was used to analyse the data. This method has been described as a useful tool for analysing qualitative data by means of a systematic six-step process (Braun & Clarke, 2013). It is used to identify, analyse and report patterns in qualitative data to reflect the meaning of participants' constructions of social phenomena (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Braun and Clarke (2013) have suggested that the method of TA is especially valuable to novice qualitative researchers, such as myself, as it provides a clear outline of the process to be followed and is a far more accessible and simpler method than other analysis tools used by qualitative researchers, such as discourse analysis.

Using TA within a social constructionism framework means that analysis is not driven by pre-conceived ideas, but that codes and themes emerge from patterns within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Furthermore, the aim is not to seek the truth, but rather to reflect the meaning that participants make of their lives and their social constructions of the world around them. The patterns of meaning of the participants' experiences are also believed to be co-constructed between the participants and the researcher and analysed as partial understandings within a specific social context (Aranda, 2006; Cosgrove, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Holstein & Gubrium 2003; Letherby, 2002).

The six steps proposed by Braun and Clarke (2013) are outlined and discussed below.

4.9.1 Step one: Familiarising yourself with the data

As I conducted at least one interview per family unit, I was from the beginning of the analysis process familiar with the data. Furthermore, once interviews were transcribed, I would read through the transcriptions to further familiarise myself with the interviews of each family member. While reading and rereading the transcripts, I was looking at the data analytically and critically, searching for patterns emerging from the participants' accounts, a guideline given by Braun and Clarke (2013) to use during this step. I asked critical questions such as: How does this participant construct the meaning of caring for and about someone, or for being cared for by someone else? Is there a difference between the participants' ideas of how paternal care should be done, and their account of how care is practiced in their household?

4.9.2 Step two: Generating initial codes

This second step entails that at least two researchers separately open code the interviews of each member in the family unit, with each code capturing a feature of the data that is related to the research question. This is an inductive coding approach led by the content in the data, and not

trying to fit the data into pre-established coding frames. According to Braun and Clarke (2013), “[A] code is a word or brief phrase that captures the essence of why you think a particular bit of data may be useful” (p. 413). I employed line-by-line coding, which means that all the content in the transcription was coded, to ensure to identify everything important, relevant, or interesting with regards to my research question. I used the Atlas.ti software (version 8.4.5 for Mac) for my coding process.

During the research procedure, there were various coding workshops that formed part of our training for the larger research project. During these workshops, the transcriptions of one family unit was chosen to be coded by the members of the research team (including myself) who attended the workshop. We would then discuss our coding of the interviews. Differences in coding between the researchers were identified and resolved, and the combined codes were used to identify shared and non-shared codes in a specific data set. Braun and Clarke (2013) specify that there will always be contradictions within datasets, and it is important to keep track of contradictions and where participants veer off from the dominant discourse in their own narrative and the other participants’ accounts. After attending and leading many of these workshops, I started coding the transcriptions of the interviews of the family units that formed part of my research study. Once I was finished with the coding of a family unit, I discussed my coding with my supervisor, and afterwards reread the transcriptions and adjusted my codes according to her suggestions.

4.9.3 Step three: Identifying potential themes

Once my coding of the transcriptions was done, I grouped the codes which I felt belong together and started identifying potential themes that occurred within the data. The code groups contained both similarities and contradictions between participants, which were incorporated in

the discussion of the various themes. Due to the use of multiple participant informants, I could look at differences and similarities within families and between families. Furthermore, I looked at similarities and differences among the groups of adolescents, mother-figures, and father-figures. I first looked at family units separately to determine within family themes, and then grouped the codes generated in the groups of adolescents, mother-figures, and father-figures to see similarities and contradictions within and between these groups. To determine the different themes in my data, I considered the theoretical relevance of the theme, as well as the quality of the interpretation, and less importantly, the frequency that the theme arose in the data. I also deliberated on the connections between codes and different themes and level of themes, and so organised the themes as overarching themes and subthemes.

4.9.4 Step four: Verifying themes in terms of the data

Once candidate themes were identified and discussed with my supervisor, I set about verifying the themes with the codes generated and the entire data set. I chose excerpts from the data to illustrate the different themes, and further deliberated on merging themes or discarding themes that seemed irrelevant to the research question. The grouped extracts and patterns were then organised within subthemes and themes, to ensure that there is a coherent description of the themes. Lastly, I looked at the overall organisation of themes and considered whether it was truly a reflection of the data and participants' constructions of paternal caring.

4.9.5 Step five: Refining themes

Once I identified the overarching themes and subthemes, I again discussed these with my supervisor. We discussed whether themes were reflective of the dataset, and relevant towards my research question. Furthermore, we determined how themes fit together and if it gives an accurate description of the narrative of my thesis. Overarching themes and subthemes that

overlapped were either merged or further elaborated on, to be sure that each overarching theme stands independently and that subthemes adequately linked with their overarching themes. It is important that subthemes illustrate the hierarchy of meaning within the overarching themes and provide structure to the complicated overarching themes. I also started thinking about possible names for overarching themes and subthemes.

4.9.6 Step six: Producing a written report

Once I have organised the different themes and decided on their names, my supervisor and I again discussed the overall analyses. As part of TA, the researcher must not only consider the semantic content of the data, but also provide interpretations of the participants' responses and their meaning-making of their experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2013). I asked questions such as: "What does this mean? What are the assumptions underpinning it? What are the implications of this? What conditions give rise to it? Why do people talk about this thing in this particular way (as opposed to other ways)" as well as "What is the overall story the different themes reveal about the topic?" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.94)

In collaboration with my supervisor, I developed a coherent description of the different themes that reflects the narratives of the participants. My aim was to provide a rich description of the different themes identified, and my interpretation of the relevance of these themes to my research question. I further aimed to offer detailed and compelling evidence of the themes by using poignant examples and excerpts from the data, to convince the reader of the credibility of my interpretations and analysis.

4.10 Improving the trustworthiness of the data

Two mechanisms were used to improve the trustworthiness of the data, namely participant and researcher triangulation. Participant triangulation was obtained by interviewing

three members of a family, and therefore possibly gaining a more comprehensive reflection of the practices of paternal care for the specific father-figure by comparing the data gathered from each member of the family unit. Researcher triangulation was obtained due to the collaboration of more than one researcher when determining codes and themes to represent the data.

Furthermore, the trustworthiness of the data was improved by my interview skills. As mentioned earlier, I was able to establish good rapport with participants, and they were comfortable to speak openly and honestly. The training that I received as part of the research team for the larger project, also enabled me to generate rich and nuanced data during interviews.

4.11 Reflexivity

Researcher subjectivity and reflexivity are foregrounded in social constructionism qualitative research (Lock & Strong, 2010; Noble & McIlveen, 2012). According to Shaw (2010), reflexivity “evokes an interpretivist ontology which construes people and the world as interrelated and engaged in a dialogic relationship that constructs (multiple versions of) reality” (p. 234). When conducting qualitative research, it is therefore imperative that the researcher remains aware and reflects on how her own thoughts and experiences influence the ways in which she understands phenomena within the social contexts in which they happen (Shaw, 2010). The researcher must specifically be mindful of her own subjectivities (England, 1994; Jaggard, 2008) regarding the powerful and privileged position that is inherent to being a researcher, and the hierarchical relationship between the researcher and participant that may result from this (England, 1994). During the research process, I strived to increase my awareness of my own subjectivities and its possible impact on the process by tracking and reflecting on my thoughts and experiences, by keeping a research diary throughout the process, as well as discussing and reflecting on these in the research supervision space. I found that as a white,

middle-class female, I was mindful of the racial hierarchy between myself and the participants, a lingering consequence of the racial segregation in the history of South Africa. I realised that many participants continued to address me formally as “ma’am”, even though I was often much younger than them. This varied among interviewees, and even during interviews, at times indicating the comfortability of participants during the interview compared to other times when they were more formal. One consequence of this kind of distance between interviewer and interviewee, is that respondents could unwittingly have provided more socially desirable responses. Furthermore, I noticed that I wanted to find positive fathering behaviours and had to be mindful not to dismiss accounts where more negative behaviours were discussed. Lastly, while reading through the transcripts, I realised that I would not always follow-up on certain topics which I deemed not to be important. As I am not a religious person, this often happened when participants spoke of their religious beliefs. I was again cognisant during future and follow-up interviews to engage with the topics the participants raised.

4.12 Ethical considerations

Informed consent was obtained from adult participants, as well as assent from children and parental consent (please see Addendum B1-3 for the participant informed consent and assent forms). The interviewers informed participants of their duty to inform relevant authorities or institutions should any information about child abuse or harm done to any participants come to the fore during interviews. The confidentiality of participants was ensured by using pseudonyms. Furthermore, participants were informed that participation is voluntary, and they can choose to end their participation at any time. Only the members of the research team had access to audio recordings and electronic versions of the transcriptions, which were password protected and stored on an external hard drive by the project leader. Transcribers signed a confidentiality

agreement, to ensure all data remain confidential. Lastly, given the possibility that participants may become aware of issues or problems that they needed assistance with, participants were given contact information for free counselling services in their areas if they were in need of counselling after taking part in the study.

Chapter five: Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the two overarching themes and their subthemes that were generated from a social constructionism-informed thematic analysis. The first theme titled “Contesting traditional father constructions” encapsulates the nurturing and caring characteristics of the father-participants and show the uptake of “new” father ideas. The second theme, “The maintenance of hegemonic masculinity ideals”, highlights the salience of hegemonic masculinity (HM) ideals in the participants’ accounts of paternal care in their families. In this chapter, I only present the themes which were identified from my data analysis. The themes will be compared and critically discussed in reference to other research on fatherhood in the Discussion chapter, following the current chapter.

In the quotes presented to illustrate the findings of my analysis, pseudonyms of the participants are used to protect the confidentiality of the participants. The quotes are English translations of excerpts from the Afrikaans interviews, with minimal editing in an attempt to preserve as much of the colloquial meaning as possible. I also want to remind the reader that I analysed the data set on two different participant levels, the family unit level, as well as the participant group level (i.e., father group, adolescent group, and mother group). The different levels of participant data analysis are featured throughout the chapter, where within each theme it is stated whether father, mother or adolescent participants reported similar or different accounts.

The table on the following two pages summarises the basic demographic information of the participants. Each family is numbered, and when referred to a participant, their name will be followed by their family number, age of the participant, and their employment status.

Table 5.1: Summary of participants' basic demographic information (daughter families)

	Family members	Name*	Relationship to adolescent	Age	Highest level of education	Employment	Household monthly income
1	Father	David	Biological father	46	Grade 12	Farm manager	R12 000
	Mother	Charlotte	Biological mother	42	Grade 11	Secretary	
	Daughter	Danae		16	Grade 10		
2	Father	Kevin	Biological father	46	Grade 10	Disabled	R15 000
	Mother	Kirsten	Biological mother	39	Grade 12	Transport (contract work)	
	Daughter	Kylie		16	Grade 9		
3	Father	Tony	Biological father	48	Grade 12	Unemployed	R6 000
	Mother	Linda	Biological mother	49	Grade 12	Community health worker	
	Daughter	Tina		15	Grade 9		
4	Father	Derek	Stepfather	39	Grade 12	Shop manager	R12 000
	Mother	Cathy	Biological mother	40	Grade 12	Security guard	
	Daughter	Sarah		15	Grade 10		
5	Father	Arnold	Stepfather	32	Grade 9	Seasonal builder	R6 000
	Mother	Gladys	Biological mother	37	Grade 10	Housewife	
	Daughter	Susan		16	Grade 11		

*Pseudonyms used for all participants.

Table 5.2: Summary of participants' basic demographic information (son families)

	Family members	Name*	Relationship to adolescent	Age	Highest level of education	Employment	Household monthly income
6	Father	Petrus	Biological father	39	Grade 8	Construction	R9 000
	Mother	Janey	Biological mother	42	Grade 11	Security guard	
	Son	Daniël		15	Grade 10		
7	Father	Rudi	Biological father	43	Grade 12	Seasonal factory worker	R11 000
	Mother	Karen	Grandmother	62	Grade 7	Retired	
	Son	Max		17	Grade 11		
8	Father	John	Uncle	22	Grade 12	Electrician	R8 800
	Mother	Mandy	Grandmother	59	Grade 2	Fruit packer	
	Son	Jacob		15	Grade 9		
9	Father	Jack	Biological father	41	Grade 12	Factory manager	R21 000
	Mother	Anne	Biological mother	40	Grade 12	Housewife	
	Son	Jerome		15	Grade 9		
10	Father	Koos	Biological father	45	Grade 7	Disabled	R8 000
	Mother	Emily	Biological mother	39	Grade 10	Shop sales assistant	
	Son	Gerald		15	Grade 10		

*Pseudonyms used for all participants

5.2 Overarching theme 1: Contesting traditional father constructions

5.2.1 Subtheme 1: Caring is more than just giving money

All participants spoke about the importance of fathers to show their children that they care about them, to show love to their children. Interestingly, many of the father and mother participants, without prompting, differentiated between showing love and material provision and emphasised that giving love and attention is more important or just as important as material provision. David (1, 46, farm manager) and Charlotte (1, 42, secretary), Danae's (1, 16, grade 10) biological father and mother, shared the same sentiment in this regard:

Yes look uh, in the first place it is just now uh, I make sure that uh, that uh, she has enough uh, uh love and uh, uh happiness and gets the needed respect and understanding from my side. Do you understand? Financially is, it is just now a, let's say it is also just a side issue uh which is of course also a priority. (David, 1, 46, farm manager)

I think the most important thing is love and attention, it's not always the material things that make children happy. (Charlotte, 1, 42, secretary)

Another biological mother, Cathy (4, 40, security guard), articulated this idea poignantly: “*Money is not a man. Money closes the gaps, but he is not a father*”, when referring to her daughter Sarah's (4, 15, grade 10) biological father who sometimes sends money for his daughter, stating that money does not replace a father. She believes her husband, who has been in Sarah's life for many years is her father, because he provides care for her: “*He's my husband, he's her father. He has been a part of her life the whole time, with growing, with help, with illness, with everything, my husband was there.*” Similarly, Arnold (5, 32, seasonal builder), stepfather to Susan (5, 16, grade 11), said that money is not enough, that “*money can't buy love or anything,*

so you must love the child, they must see that there is something from your side that shows them that you love them.” Koos (10, 45, unemployed), who is Gerald’s (10, 15, grade 10) biological father, also said: *“The love that a father gives to a child, that is more important than that money.”*

Half of the father participants were not permanently employed at the time of the interviews, and therefore not always earning an income. They showed their care of their children through other ways. When asked how he cares for his son during the times when he doesn’t have an income, Petrus (6, 39, seasonal construction worker) says: *“...Then I mostly play with them and give them attention and love and so because then I am now at home with them.”* Koos, who has a physical disability due to an accident that occurred years ago, does not work and so is permanently at home. When speaking of the work he does at home, he says: *“You have a pride, to be a part of them.”* Rudi (7, 43, seasonal factory worker), despite the financial precariousness of being a seasonal worker, demonstrated his care for his children by separating from his children’s mother and taking them with him to live with his parents because their mother had a drinking problem and was neglecting his children. He believed that his son Max (7, 17, grade 11) would see his fatherly love in his action of stepping up to take care of his children in the absence of a caring mother: *“Just the fact that they grew up without a mother and that I and, and their grandma cared for them over the years.”*

Demonstrations of love and care included verbal expressions of love and physical gestures of affection. For example, Jerome (9, 15, grade 9) expressed that he feels loved by his father, because his father would give him hugs and tell him that he loves him. Rudi said that although he does not often say to his son that he loves him, he believes that his son knows that he loves him, because he motivates him and therefore shows interest in his son: *“Just the fact that I motivate him, that is also a sign that he himself can see that his father cares about him, and he*

does love him, even though he may not say it every day.” His son, Max (7, 17, grade 11), echoed this, saying that when he comes home his father would greet him by giving him a hug and a kiss, and that they have greeted each other like that since he was a young boy. He also said his father would say to him and his siblings that he loves them and that *“I can feel the love and care is there.”* Karen (7, 62, retired), Rudi’s mother, who is the mother-figure in his son Max’s life, also spoke of the connection between father and son, explaining how her grandson seeks from his father what his mother did not provide to him while she was still alive: *“Yes, they are very close. Well, they are seeking from him what they never got from their mother.”*

Kevin’s (2, 46, unemployed) wife also confirmed that he shows their daughter that he cares about her by saying to her that he loves her and hugging her. His daughter Kylie (2, 16, grade 9) also said that her father tells her he loves her, saying he’ll blow her a kiss and say *“sweet dreams”* when she goes to bed. Kylie further said she knows he cares about her because he is always there for her and protects her.

John (8, 22, electrician), who is a social father for his nephew Jacob (8, 15, grade 9), highlighted paying attention to a child and showing interest in him as important gestures of care:

No matter how big they are, you don’t always realise how much attention they have to get and so on, you see? Then, how can I now say, then you sometimes look past that. But with Jacob I have learned that sometimes you have to give them attention and just, just be interested in them. Like Jacob he’s just always that person, you have to always be there and be interested in his stuff.

Mandy (8, 59, fruit packer), Jacob’s grandmother and John’s biological mother, also corroborated how much John cares for his nephew, saying she often hears him saying to Jacob

that he cares about him. She added that she can see he cares for Jacob because of the attention he gives him: “*Look that attention, that, that I can now really see. That fatherly attention,*” and that he is always there for his nephew.

The importance of showing interest in children’s lives and paying them attention was further highlighted when adolescent participants were asked about what they considered bad fathers to be:

A bad father is, he’s not very concerned about you. Like he doesn’t care about what you do. You can do what you want, if, if it’s wrong. And he is just not involved in your life, he just doesn’t care. (Danae, 1, 16, grade 10)

A father who doesn’t care about his children. And who, who doesn’t... Like for example in our family there’s, there are parents who, fathers who, who don’t care about their children... Or look whether they are happy or anything. (Jacob, 8, 15, grade 9)

Most of the adolescent participants in this study felt that their fathers did demonstrate care in terms of being affectionate and interested in them. However, two of the female adolescents and their mother-figures, and one of the male adolescents, said that they would like fathers to do more in this regard. For example, although David (1, 46, farm manager) believed that it is important for a father to “*...listen and, and to show that love, understand? That, that costs, that costs thousands, it’s, you can’t really put money to that,*” his wife, Charlotte, felt that her husband falls short in this regard towards his daughter Danae (1, 16, grade 10):

I will always uhm give time and attention and also how can I now say, what is the one thing apart from that other type of care, I would say it is,

it is to make time to chat and to explain to the children. And I must say, there, that falls short between the two of them. (Charlotte, 1, 42, secretary)

From Danae's account, it also seems as though she wants more intimate conversations with her father. This was illustrated when she told of an incident where she had a disagreement with a friend, and her father noticed that she was upset and gave her a hug. However, she wanted to share her feelings with him and wanted him to ask her why she is upset, and then give her advice. She said she wanted him to "*Just also chat with me. And say that, if he has also been through something like this, how he, how he got over it.*" David seems to suspect that his daughter is not completely satisfied with the care that he gives her. When asked whether he thinks she is satisfied, he said he thinks he can do more to show her that he cares about her, and he also wants her to be more comfortable to talk to him:

Yes I, I think she is satisfied but I feel I can do, I, I can do even better, even if, even if (...) She doesn't really complain to me. But like I also said, I want her to have that comfortability to, that freeness to say, to say to me but uh, there Daddy doesn't do enough for me and this you don't do, you don't do for me, understand? (David, 1, 46, farm manager)

Similar to Danae, Sarah also spoke of wanting her stepfather to be more verbally expressive about his care for her. She says it tentatively though, and qualifies her statement by saying that what he does already means a lot to her:

I think my father will have to show me more how he cares about me and must perhaps say to me more often that he loves me. But I don't really say

more because he must say it more often, because the way that he says to me, "my child", already means so much to me. (Sarah, 4, 15, grade 10)

Her mother Cathy (4, 40, security guard) also wants her husband to be more involved in her daughter's life, saying: "*I want him to be more part of her life*". Sarah also expressed a desire to be able to have the same kind of conversations with her stepfather as her mother:

Like in the afternoons I get home then I would tell my mother everything that I have done. But what if my mother isn't here one day, then I would really like to talk to him because a person just wants to share things. (Sarah, 4, 15, grade 10)

Derek (4, 39, shop manager) has the same desire, saying he wants his stepdaughter to be comfortable to talk to him. He acknowledges that he will also have to put effort in from his side:

I, I think I will probably have to take that freeness to, to, to say Sarah is, are you all right? Or, or how was your day, or, understand? Something like... Look something in those lines I must try to do, or I MUST do, to say it like that.

Similarly, one of the male adolescents, Jacob (8, 15, grade 9), also expressed a desire to have more interaction and conversation with his uncle John (8, 22, electrician). Like Derek, he said that he will try from his side to initiate communication with his uncle, and to do more activities with him: "*So, I was thinking that I must do more activities with him and communicate more with him. Maybe it will feel better to say to him what I wanted to say.*"

5.2.2 Subtheme 2: Caring by performing daily household tasks often considered women's tasks

Many of the father participants spoke of how they took part in household activities that are often perceived as part of a woman's realm. This ranged from cooking and cleaning in the house, to doing the laundry:

So when they get out from school, here from around three o'clock, then I first make something again for tonight, so that there is something on the table. (Koos, 10, 45, unemployed)

Like I, like maybe in the house clean a bit, sweep the floor and so on. Sometimes then I just stand like this... Sometimes now over weekends I would sleep late, then she works most of the time, then I will get up and clean the house and so on. (Petrus, 6, 39, seasonal construction worker)

You don't have to first do the dishes, do you homework first. Or I'll do the dishes so that they can do homework. (David, 1, 46, unemployed)

And I can also still make a little food, then I will teach him that which I know of. (Rudi, 7, 43, seasonal factory worker)

The mother participants and adolescents also commented on the fathers in their homes performing household activities traditionally viewed as feminine chores:

Yeah, he does it all. I have four sons and all of them are trained in cooking, if there is anything broken, they can fix it. (Karen, 7, 62, retired)

Then he would maybe start cleaning while I'm still sleeping. And then he would also say to them, he would say to the children: "Don't make a

noise, your mother is still sleeping.” Or: “You don’t bother your mother, let her sleep.” Then he will do it. (Kirsten, 2, 39, transport)

He will just see that she’s now sitting there, she still has schoolwork, and then he will do the dishes. So that is a sign, Daddy knows that I have work, Daddy will simply do the dishes for you. (Cathy, 4, 40, security guard)

And he will take our clothes, iron our school clothes, clean our school shoes and all of that. (Sarah, 4, 15, grade 10)

Like in MY house, like my father makes food, he washes the dishes, and he mops the floor, and he does everything that my mother would have done for me. (Danae, 1, 16, grade 10)

5.2.3 Subtheme 3: Emotionally attuned fathers

The majority of the participants stated that the father-figures noted when children were emotionally upset.

Petrus (6, 39, seasonal construction worker) said he notices when his son feels down, saying: *“When he, when he is sometimes a bit down then I will see that he feels down and then I ask what the problem is and then we talk about it.”* His wife Janey (6, 42, security guard) also says that Petrus would notice when their son Daniël (6, 15, grade 10) doesn’t feel well:

He would also realise, he would quickly realise if there... When he maybe lies in his room then he will ask: “Hey, what is wrong?” or “Do you need something?” or so. He would quickly realise if, if there is a problem with Daniël.

Daniël confirmed that his father would ask him whether something is wrong, saying: *“He would ask me and will say to me that I mustn’t feel bad, he will uhm, try to fix it.”* Important to note here, from the mother and the son’s accounts it seems as though this father wants to alleviate his child’s distress by adopting a problem-solution focus and “try to fix” it for his son.

The social father John (8, 22, electrician) said he knows when something is bothering his nephew and also that the latter would share this with him. He said he welcomes that and tries to be like a friend to his nephew, because he knows adolescents share more readily with their friends. His mother Mandy (8, 59, fruit packer) said she is so grateful that John is there because then the children *“can just turn around and go talk to him. What I actually say is thank you God, that John is still there. What would I have done if John was not here?”* His nephew Jacob (8, 15, grade 9) also confirms that John will notice when he’s not feeling well. He will then sometimes share his feelings with his uncle but says that he prefers to just stay in his room.

Another social father, Derek (4, 39, shop manager), said he would ask his stepdaughter what is going on when he sees that she feels upset:

Yes I would ask her, “Sarah, what is now going on again, my child?” So uhm what is the, what, what is now upsetting you again, to say it like that. Then she will now just say to me there and then, then I will give to her the, the little knowledge that I have just also now gained.

His wife also said that he cares for her daughter and says to her that she can come talk to him when something bothers her. She says her daughter will go to Derek for help, saying: *“With something that bothers her or so, and she urgently needs help and there is no one else there and there’s just Dad in the house, it’s Dad.”* However, it is only when no one else is around and if she urgently needs help that she would go to Derek. Sarah (4, 15, grade 10) on the other hand said

she can see that it upsets her stepfather when she is upset, and that he will ask her mother about it and then he will ask her: *“Yes I think it upsets him because sometimes when I am upset then he will now ask my mother why am I angry, then I have to tell him, then the story upsets him completely.”*

Koos (10, 45, unemployed) spoke of how he is aware of when his son is feeling strong negative emotions, such as anger, or when he is upset:

I will know when he is angry, when I see his facial expressions. And then I will always ask him but what is wrong? And then afterwards he would say, someone has now said something to him which doesn't feel right to him.

His wife Emily (10, 39, shop sales assistant) also said that he would ask their son whether there is something wrong, in a soft and calm voice:

He would talk like this, he will always ask: “Gerald what is it?” That's all he'll ask. He won't ask it in a rude manner he will ask it to him in his little dad-voice. “Gerald what happened?” Soft and calm.

Their son said he appreciates that his father knows how to treat him when he feels angry, by leaving him be to first calm down: *“If I'm angry I will say to my father I am now first going to go for a walk, so that I can calm down (...) Then he won't still bother me any further.”*

Kevin (2, 46, unemployed) similarly showed being emotionally attuned by referring to the tone of voice he uses when asking his daughter whether she is upset:

Yes she will talk back yes. If I ask in a bombastic tone of voice, talk with an attitude, then she won't talk to me. She won't back chat or anything

like that but she will withdraw, she won't talk to me, she doesn't take part in the conversation. But if I talk in a calm voice, then she will take part.

His wife Kirsten (2, 39, transport) confirmed that he would approach his daughter when she is emotional, and that he wants her to share with him:

When she is now emotional then she is first just withdrawn, first to the side. Then he will now say to her come sit here and he will ask her what is it. Or he will also... He wants her to talk, she must tell him. But apart from that he will give her hugs.

Their daughter Kylie (2, 16, grade 9) also said that her father sees when she is upset, but that she waits before talking to him about it. It seems as though she first thinks about how she would express herself. This could be an indication that she is careful about what she says to her father, and perhaps not completely comfortable to talk to him:

Interviewer: So what do you have to get right first?

Kylie: It's just... How to, how I am going to say things, how I feel and everything.

Interviewer: OK, so you, he can see when something bothers you and he will also ask you about it, but you can't immediately talk to him about it?

Kylie: Yes

David (1, 46, farm manager) also spoke of being aware of his daughter's emotional state:

Danae is, I won't say she's very closed off but, she doesn't show emotions easily. You will quickly realise something is wrong here, she's off to the side the whole time or so and then you must know there's something

wrong here. Then you start asking questions. Then she is also hesitant at first to immediately talk to me because she would first talk to her Mummy and so.

However, as indicated by David's quote above, his daughter prefers to talk with her mother about things that upsets her. His daughter Danae (1, 16, grade 10) corroborated this, saying her father can see when she is upset, but she would talk to her mother about it and wait until she feels better to tell her father about what is going on:

I don't really know, but he can actually see when I'm not, when I'm sad and he will ask me, but I won't... Then I have to first get the courage to talk to him. And I won't like talk deep things with him NOW, but I will also not if he asks me, I will also not be able to answer him, so I will always say no it's fine, it's nothing, but then when, when I know everything is right, then I will talk to him

Although many of the participants spoke of how the fathers communicate with their children, and how open they are to talk to their fathers, they often contradicted themselves later in the interviews by saying that the children would rather talk to their mothers.

Yes his mother will, he will always talk to his mother about, about the stuff that he of course learns at school, but he won't talk to me about such things. I don't know what the problem is, but he will always run to his mother, always. (Koos, 10, 45, unemployed)

She now turns to her mother a lot, she will often with her mother, then I hear that she is talking now. Then I will ask, now what are you two talking about in there, what are you saying? "No it's women's business,"

understand? And so the two of them carry on now. (Tony, 3, 48, unemployed)

Tony sounds quite resentful about being shut out of the conversations, when he later spoke of when his wife asks his opinion about something that their daughter spoke to her about, he says: “*You two don’t want me to chat with you, now you want to come and talk to me afterwards?*” He furthermore says that his daughter would not tell him when she is angry, and hints that at this age daughters rather want to talk to their mothers:

Then I can now ask now what did the children do, then she will later talk to her mother, but she won’t when she’s angry just come say to me, what she is unhappy about. She will always talk to her mother. Because I think now it’s that stage where girls get, I am also very important there, but I think it’s that stage where a girl-child will take more her mother’s trust.

(Tony, 3, 48, unemployed)

This is especially true when it comes to romantic relationships. When asked whether her grandson will talk to his father about relationships, Karen (7, 62, retired) said “*No he will be too shy to talk to his father.*” Anne (9, 40, housewife) first said that her son feels comfortable to talk to his father about anything, but straight after that said that her son will not talk to his father about girlfriends because he knows his father is not comfortable with that:

I would like, it isn’t that he would completely not talk to his father about girls, but he won’t talk in such depth with his father. He knows his father is not very comfortable with that.

Koos (10, 45, unemployed) also made it clear that his son must first come talk to him before he gets a girlfriend, so that he can “*say his say*” and give his approval. He frames this as

wanting to protect his son from possible gossip in the town, but one wonders whether the son will feel comfortable to tell his father about being in a relationship if he first needs to get his father's approval:

I said to him one day, before you take a girl, you come to me first, so I can say my say first and say how I feel (...) Because everyone of course loves his child, and I don't want him to just take any girl. And then the next day you hear, the little tales that follow afterwards

Koos further insists that he can say to the girl what he wants, as she is under his roof: *"No then I will still say to her, because she is under my roof, understand? Look I of course have the right to say when she is under my roof, you understand?"*

Although most of the father-participants seemed to be emotionally attuned to their children in the sense that they note when their children are upset or feeling negative emotions such as anger, and would ask them about it, the adolescents tend to feel uncomfortable or unable to share anger at their fathers, with their fathers. This is illustrated in the following response from Tina (3, 15, grade 9), where she describes her frustration when she was upset after her father reprimanded her about her school report, showing how she struggles to express her anger:

...it almost feels that I can throw things down on the ground, then I just get that anger inside me. And then I'll slam the door shut and then I'll go to my friends, and then I come back home in the evening from being so angry.

5.2.4 Subtheme 4: Democratic fathers

Most of the father-figures expressed instances of parenting along with the mother-figure and respecting the other family members' opinions. Jack (9, 41, factory manager) said that it is

important to support his wife when she has a problem with their son, saying: *“If she has a problem and she scolds the child, now you are also just standing there. Support her, because he was wrong. Show him that we operate together.”* He wants them to show their son that they work together. He also explained that his son can discuss their rules with him, saying: *“We can negotiate, but also just about the basic stuff. Don’t be ridiculous, understand? Don’t give me a rule that’s ridiculous, we negotiate.”* However, although he will allow his son to negotiate with him, he has very specific ideas about what would be acceptable to consider as rules. His wife also spoke of how Jack will talk to his son when he can see that he is upset, and not just dismiss his feelings. Furthermore, she said that Jack respects his son’s opinion:

He will, if Jerome tells him what he doesn’t like, then he will respect that.

He will ask him, “Son why do you say that?” And when Jerome explains it to him, he will respect that, yes, because he also teaches them about respect, it goes both ways. I respect you in the house so must also respect me. He will definitely respect their opinions. (Anne, 9, 40, housewife)

Their son Jerome (9, 15, grade 9) confirmed this, saying that he will tell his father when he feels that he has acted unfairly.

Petrus (6, 39, seasonal construction worker) said that he and his wife would often discuss their parenting with each other, and then have discussions with their children as well. Janey (6, 42, security guard) corroborated this, saying they have monthly meetings with their children to ensure that they are satisfied with their parenting, saying: *“There’s a time during the month where we get together then we will now ask are you still satisfied with everything that we do and if there is anything that bothers you, just say.”* Their son Daniël (6, 15, grade 10) reported that

his parents often communicate with each other and discuss the rules in the house. He did not mention the monthly meetings, however.

For Derek (4, 39, shop manager), it is very important that his stepdaughter Sarah (4, 15, grade 10) tells him when she disagrees with something that he has done:

If she feels that I am wrong, by all means, you can say to me: "Daddy but I think you are wrong there", to say it like that. "And these are the reasons why I think or feel that Daddy is wrong." Because, because I don't want to, to at the end of the day FEEL that I am right and then at the end of the day, then I am wrong

His wife and stepdaughter confirmed this, saying that he invites them to speak to him when they disagree. Sarah further said that he respects their feelings, saying: *"He doesn't just do things and say we must just accept it. He asks us first because he wants to respect our feelings and so on."*

Apart from their accounts about parenting with the mother-figures and listening to the opinions of the other members in their households, two of the father-figures spoke about reflecting on their own behaviour. Jack (9, 41, factory manager) poignantly told of how he once made a list of the things he feels he needs to work on as a father:

At one stage I made a list for myself. Wowee, that was a very long time ago, where I went and wrote down what I'm doing wrong and what I'm doing right, and then I go work on those that I'm doing wrong.

David (1, 46, farm manager) also told of reflecting on his actions, and then apologising if he feels that he was too strict:

Yes definitely from my side and, and look that, you of course now get your hitches and so on uh, uh but then, then afterwards you realised you also uh just, here you were a bit too harsh, uh here it's now my tone of voice was too thick and then you must just go back again and, and then uh, uh say sorry man uh that I uh was a bit hard just now or, or spoke loudly with, with you on that uh matter or so.

The father-figures also spoke about apologising to their family members if they feel they have not acted appropriately. When he has wronged his son, Koos (10, 45, unemployed) said: “No then I will go back to him and then I will say, no Gerald, I was wrong. I apologise.” One of the younger social fathers also spoke of the reciprocal relationship between him and his nephew, saying they can ask each other for anything:

I can always ask him for anything and then he will do it for me, or he can ask me anything and then I will do it for him. Or I will often go out of my way or so to do things for him. It's uhm... We can... How can you now say it? We, we just have that thing with each other. (John, 8, 22, electrician)

David (1, 46, farm manager) and Petrus (6, 39, seasonal construction worker) both presented themselves as a mediator in the house, responsible for keeping the peace and resolving conflict between members of the family:

And or, or yes, if there is conflict with, between me and the children or between me and the wife or between the wife and the children, let's say especially between the wife and the children, then I must take care that

there, I must rather be the middleman and, and make sure that, uh that conflict is not there, must not be there. (David)

Then I will go to Daniël, then I will ask, I say to Daniël: “There I now got the reason. Your mother has now just said that you may not go there now. So, be calm and now just listen to what your mother says.” And, and it’s not long then he is OK again. (Petrus)

Petrus’s son confirmed this, saying that when his mother said something to him that upset him, his father went to talk to her “*to make it right.*”

5.2.5 Conclusion

In this first overarching theme, I have highlighted that the participants differentiated between love and material provision and prioritised a father showing love and care as the most important attribute of the ideal father – as important or more important than material provision. They demonstrated further care for their families by taking part in daily care giving tasks, such as cooking, doing the laundry, or cleaning in the house. It was also shown that fathers are often cognisant of when their children are upset or angry, but few of them seemed to emotionally engage with their children on this topic, possibly because they do not feel comfortable to do this and therefore leaves this responsibility to the mother. Lastly, various family members confirmed that fathers listen to the opinions of their family members. Overall, the subthemes in this theme point towards the uptake of caring father ideas and, therefore, contest hegemonic father notions.

5.3 Overarching theme 2: The maintenance of hegemonic masculinity ideals

5.3.1 Subtheme 1: Providing is caring

When asked what a father must do to care for his family, the majority of participants highlighted the importance of financial provision as part of the responsibilities of paternal care.

When asked how he cares for his children, Koos (10, 45, unemployed) says: “*Maybe, food on the table, and I can always for them, if the finances are in order than I can also buy them things.*”

Petrus (6, 39, seasonal construction worker) also spoke of the need to go work to be able to care for his son:

We must now just go work to care for him to eat, we must make sure that he has clothes and then we must now just take care of uhm, like if he maybe, like uhm, needs stuff at school, then we must now also provide that. Anything that he now needs, then we must now just be there for him.

Interestingly, as already noted in the first theme, not all the parent-participants referred to material care when asked about a father’s caring responsibilities. All the adolescents, however, related paternal care to material provision, with the majority seeing it as the most important facet of a father’s caring duties.

Max (7, 17, grade 11), who is Rudi’s (7, 43, seasonal factory worker) biological son, said:

The responsibilities of a father are to care for the children, make sure that there is food in the house and to always ensure that his children stay in school and give them the best of what they want.

David’s (1, 46, farm manager) daughter, Danae (1, 16, grade 10), also immediately spoke about material needs, when asked what her father would say about what she needs: “*He would say that there is not a THING that I need, that I have everything... If there is something that I want then, then, he will buy it for me, or so.*” She was almost defensive, as though she thought the interviewer was implying that she needs things and she wanted to assure the interviewer that he takes good care of her. Her mother also referred to financial care when asked how David cares

for his daughter, telling a story of how he insisted on buying a bag which one of her friends had and she wanted.

Gladys (5, 37, housewife) explained her husband's care for her daughter by giving her money when she asked, saying: "*He will give her everything, like give money, if she just now asks him and so. Then, he gives it to her.*" She also said that Susan (5, 16, grade 11) will ask her husband when she wants things, for instance a mobile phone, which she would not ask her mother for. Susan further expressed how it is a father's duty to give to a child what she asks for:

He must be able to, the things that the children perhaps can ask him for, or what he can do and give to them. And then maybe now like, you maybe ask him now but you must now give this to me, I need this now. You must be able to give it because you are, you are, YOU are a child and so. You must be able to do that because you are a father and so. You must be able to do that for your child.

When asked why he is proud of being a father, Petrus (6, 39, seasonal construction worker) expressed his pride due to being able to provide for his children:

Uhm, because I can care for them and, and I work for them and there is every time at the end of the day there is something for them to eat and I give to them what they want and, and I give them love, attention and I give them a little money sometimes when they want, if I now have. If I now don't have, then I don't have.

Although the father-figures were aware of the material needs of their children in general, very few actively monitored their children's material needs. It was mostly the mother-figure who kept track of such needs, by either checking with their children, or the children would tell their

mother-figures when they needed something. The mothers would then ask the father-figures for money to buy the things needed, or they would tell the men what they should go buy. These mother-figures, therefore, seemed to act as intermediaries between the fathers and their children:

Uhm, look the mother... Sometimes the mother comes to me and then the mother asks me, and then the mother says to me the children need school shoes or the children need clothes or so. Then I say, "OK, my wife. Take a few cents and go buy them the stuff that they want." And then she goes, then she goes to the shop and buys for her the, for them the stuff that they want. (Petrus, 6, 39, seasonal construction worker)

Yes, but my mother actually buys most of the stuff for us rather than me asking Arnold. My mother buys everything, he doesn't buy. But my... He gives the money to my mother, you see? (Susan, 5, 16, grade 11)

Fathers therefore seem to hold a powerful position in their families as they are seen as the main financial decision-makers. This is also illustrated by what Derek (4, 39, shop manager) said: *"She will choose a few things that she must, must get, to say it like that. Then she will now say Daddy but this, this thing of mine is finished again or something like that then."*

In the excerpts above, participants often relate that family members have to ask fathers when they need money or need anything that has to be bought, whether directly or through the mother-figure. It is then the fathers' decision whether to give what was asked for, and they seem to be the ultimate decision-maker regarding these requests.

Apart from seeing providing for basic material needs as the main component of paternal care, many of the father-figures used financial means to show their children that they care about them, by buying them extra things or treats that they want:

He will go out of his way for her. If she now asks him for something, uhm, uhm, uhm, or say now uhm, she and her friends maybe have something planned and now she needs money and so then, then she will now ask him but: “Arnold, uhm don’t you want to give me this and this?”, see? Then, then he will go out of his way, even if he now maybe doesn’t have, then he will now make a plan, see? That she can get it. (Gladys, 5, 37, housewife)

If I have a few Rands in my pocket, sometimes if I have money in my pocket, then, they will mostly come to me and ask me: “Daddy give me ten rand, five rand,” or so. Then I will now give it. (Petrus, 6, 39, seasonal construction worker)

It was on my fourteenth birthday, then he surprised me above expectations; he bought me a phone. And the same evening he took me to the a restaurant. He said that I can invite everyone who I wanted to invite. But it wasn’t actually everyone, but I also invited my best friend, and it was all my cousins and everyone together and then he said, it is my night, he is going to spoil me. (Kylie, 2, 16, grade 9)

This shows that the fathers have a need to please their children, and to keep them happy, which could, in turn, place the fathers in an emotionally vulnerable position. Such vulnerability could be argued to be demonstrated by participants’ remarking that children manipulated their fathers to get the treats or luxuries that they want:

They will always say to their father, “No Daddy can now just say to Mummy that she can leave, we are OK.” Then I know that they are now

taking their father first to that shop and then their father must again...

Then they go in there until, every year, then their father must add, then their father must add his money. (Janey, 6, 42, security guard)

Often when I, when I lie in my room then he will come lie next to me and then he asks: "Daddy, can Daddy buy this for me?", "Daddy must buy that for me". Then I say: "Daniël, yes. I'll see what I can do. I can't say beforehand." (Petrus, 6, 39, seasonal construction worker)

She will go ask the mother, she now needs this or she will... They are clever, during the week they will ask for school maybe, need this, then they keep the money until the weekend, if they then on the Friday ask me or the Saturday then I know it is for partying then I won't give it. So they know, the young people know how to get around that. (Arnold, 5, 32, seasonal builder)

Or if she wants something, then she'll always come coo here around me, understand? And then I know oooh Danae wants something again, but I really like it. (Kevin, 2, 46, unemployed)

If I say I don't have money or you can't do that or so, or you can't go or so, then she will go to the father. And she knows just when she must go ask her dad for something. (Linda, 3, 49, community health worker)

The fathers often seemed to use treats to cheer up their children when the latter were unhappy or upset. When asked how he handles the situation when he can see that his daughter is upset, Tony (3, 48, unemployed) linked this to buying things that she wants, saying he will have to "dig deeper", so that she will be happy again:

If she isn't happy, I don't really want to see her unhappy. If she isn't happy with a thing, then I must just dig deeper in my pockets. If I say we are eating that tonight, and she says no but she wants a Twister, then I have to now go buy her the Twister and her ice cream, or her dessert, understand?

Kevin (2, 46, unemployed) also spoke of cheering his daughter up by buying her gifts, and then he can discuss things with her:

Uhm, I start with her favourite, where I buy her a little present. And then I say, "Where's Daddy's little baby then?" Then she is comfortable and then we can chat. I have a little nickname for her, Daddy's little baby. Then we can chat.

For David (1, 46, farm manager), it is important that his daughter is happy, and like Tony and Kevin, he ensures this by doing all he can to give her the things that make her happy:

"Precisely because, for me it is important that she is happy. Even if I must also through that, must do that, then I must just do it, understand?"

One of the mother-figures, Cathy (4, 40, security guard), actually wishes that her husband would spoil her children more, by buying them treats to make them feel good:

Like, the 25th he gets paid. Buy that chocolate, buy that packet of wine gums, buy that packet of chips. Even if it is now R100 that you spend, but at that moment they will feel so good.

When participants were asked to talk about times when the adolescents were upset about something, it was very often related to instances when they could not get something that they wanted:

Then his father had to, because he wanted a, I don't know the name of the thing, that was R300. And his father walked, and his father walked, his father could not get that thing. Then Daniël was so unpleasant, so unpleasant until we got home. Daniël was so unpleasant, his father later wanted to hit him, then I said no. Then I said: "Daniël, let me quickly explain to you. We didn't now get the thing, but we will try again..."

(Janey, 6, 42, security guard)

The father-figures also spoke about the difficulties of not always being able to provide for their children, as Arnold (5, 32, seasonal builder) says: *"Sometimes it's difficult, it isn't an easy matter, to be a father isn't easy, because a child expects everything of the father and often it is difficult for you to give."* His stepdaughter even said how she resents him when he didn't buy her a phone when she wanted one:

Then he, now he says he does a lot for me and so. Then I said to him, no what have you ever done for me, you've not done anything more for me and you don't even want to buy me a phone anymore. (Susan, 5, 16, grade 11)

Petrus (6, 39, seasonal construction worker) also expressed his regret about not being able to buy luxuries for his children, saying that he feels down when that happens:

Uhm, sometimes it's like, if I now don't work, if I now don't have work, then I feel a bit down, because I now can't give to them what they want. But there is a time when they must also understand. Because when I don't have work, then I can't work, then I can now do nothing for them.

When asked what is most difficult for him about being a father-figure for his nephew, John (8, 22, electrician) said: “*Just that I can't always give to him what he, what he wants or what he needs, see?*” One of the mothers, Linda (3, 49, community health worker), also said the most difficult thing about being a father for her husband is “*when there isn't an income, to also contribute, because my salary is too little, it's hopelessly too little.*” It seems it is especially difficult for him because he was unemployed at the time of the interview, and therefore did not contribute to the household's income.

5.3.2 Subtheme 2: The father is the head of the household

Fathers see themselves, and are seen by their family members, as the head of the household, with the duty of keeping things in order. Not only the children have to obey the fathers, but the mothers as well, as Anne (9, 40, housewife) explains: “*He is the father in the house and the leader in the house so we must listen to him, and he knows that.*” Her husband relates this back to their religion, expressing his longing to return to biblical times, when things used to work better:

I like that a woman must be in her place. Not my wife now, but a woman must know where her place is, where her home is and what, what her duties are. It's not forced onto her, but it's nice to have a wife who knows her place, where she must... I know in these days it's another story, but that is why we must go back to biblical times, which worked. (Jack, 9, 41, factory manager)

Arnold (5, 32, seasonal builder) also referred to times gone by, implying that although children mostly ask mothers for what they need, it is the father's responsibility to care for everyone:

Look the mother is at home, the child will ask the mother, but at the end of the day it is the father who must take care of everything, especially like for me who grew up in the old times.

Arnold further says that: *“I will always say to the wife if I see that something is not right, I will say to her. Or anything with the child I will say to her, because they are girls”*. This implies that women should deal with issues with daughters, and not fathers.

According to Petrus (6, 39, seasonal construction worker), the father is the head of the house not because he brings in the money, but because it is his duty, and he must say to others what must be done in the house:

The reason the father must be the head of the house is now just, is, is...

It's not that the father must now go work and that I see the father has money and this and this, but it's now just the father's duty to be the head of the house and to say this and that must be done and this and that must be done.

David (1, 46, farm manager) assumes the role of head of the household, and links to this the responsibility of making sure that his daughter Danae (1, 16, grade 10) is happy. He frames this as his duty, something that he doesn't have a choice over: *“Because of course I am the head of the house and the father, it's important to me to go out of my way to give to Danae what she really wants.”* His wife Charlotte (1, 42, secretary) also named David as head of the household and explained his dedication to his work as part of this duty. She said he would never stay at home when he is sick, even if he really must stay home, and wouldn't like being at home while she is working. She implies that it would bother him if he was at home and she was working, as though their roles would be reversed:

I now just sometimes think it is like that because, if you are the head of the house then you want, you don't want the, you just want to be there, as the head, you just want the... And that is how I see him. It mustn't be for him that he is lying at home, and I am working, he doesn't like that. He says he can't be lying at home, and I must work. But maybe he must actually be at home.

She also explained that David is the head of the household because he brings in more money than she does.

Kevin's (2, 46, unemployed) wife, Kirsten (2, 39, transport), said the father is the head of the house because "*he is the one that makes the rules*". She further framed her views of the father as the head of the household from a religious perspective. During the national lockdown, they were not allowed to go to church, and therefore had services in their home. Due to illness, he could not facilitate the service, so she took over that role. However, she expressed her discomfort with taking up the role of the "*preacher*" in their house, as he is the head preacher of the house, and she must be subservient to him:

You are the head; I must be beneath you. And the fact that I must know lead the service... With us it's just the men who lead the service, the woman is just the one who stands by his side. The man must do the work. I say, and now I must do it. It feels to me as though I want to dominate you. And it doesn't feel right to me. It isn't right because it is against the order of the church. I say, if you weren't there, then it is my duty to do it, because then I become the house-preacher. But you are there, I am still the house-priestess. He says to me: "No, you become, while I am in this

state, you become the house-priestess.” I say, I know you can’t, you are not in a state to, but it doesn’t feel right to me. It now feels as though I want to take your place. But then he said at the moment he gives me the power to do it. But it will not be forever.

Although Kevin gave her the power and permission to act as the head preacher in the house while he is not capable to do so, she is clear that it will not be forever.

Some participants however said that fathers are not necessarily the head of the household. John (8, 22, electrician), a social father to his nephew and who is the youngest of all the father-participants in this study, explained this in the following:

You know actually with, with my relationship with my girlfriend and my child there aren’t specific roles. If you must do something, then you must do it. Or if you have to stand by your child for this or so then, you must, you must do it. In the end, because at the end of the day it is, it is your, uhm, it is your, it’s your child, your responsibility.

For him, it does not matter who performs which roles, as long as it gets done. Later he said that the mother is actually the head of the household, because “*she knows everything about what is going on where*”. His nephew however does not share this view, saying a father is the head of the house because he works the most, possibly tying this in with the father being the financial provider.

Sarah (4, 15, grade 10), Derek’s (4, 39, shop manager) stepdaughter, was the only adolescent who had the same views as the social father John. She also says that her mother is the head of the household, because she organises everything and does everything in the house. She further said both parents must take equal responsibility for the household:

For me it actually isn't anyone's responsibility, it's actually the responsibility of both of them. According to me it's like that, because they both build a home, they are both in this thing together and they can both share the responsibilities actually, according to me it's actually like that.

5.3.3 Subtheme 3: The father as ultimate disciplinarian

Fathers were regarded as the main disciplinarian, by all participants. Sometimes it was said that the parents make the rules together, but it was clear that in practice, the fathers had the final say and their reprimanding was more respected than that of the mother-figures. The parent-participants also said that the children are more obedient when the fathers talk, as Jack (9, 41, factory manager) explains: *“The mother is harder on the children, but they listen sooner to the father.”* Koos (10, 45, unemployed) also spoke about his responsibility to check that things don't get out of control, saying it is his duty because he is the father in the house:

No it's like I will say to you it is, I am of course the father in the house, you understand? And uhm, I must take care that things don't get out of control in the house, and uhm... I must see that things run smoothly in the house.

This role of the father as the disciplinarian was further illustrated by accounts of situations where the mother-figure asked the father to intervene when the children does not listen to her:

He was being a hard ass with his mother. I wasn't at home; I was at an uncle's place, and he was getting very defiant. Now they get to a, somewhere at some stage, that's what the people say, I don't know I can't remember so clearly... Then his mother sends a message the boy is now

defiant. And I don't leave it for later, I'll come back later to visit, I sort him out now, because the problem is there now (...) I come and I say to him, you are now getting defiant with your mother, I say to him, why don't you get defiant with me? I say it to him straight, you just want to be a man, a big man, now come on take on a big man. By then he was already, he isn't up for that, and I leave it first and then I scold. I put him right in his place and then I left it. (Jack, 9, 41, factory manager)

Like they have respect for him and so, if he talks then they listen, where I can now again have to talk the most. When I talk then it takes a long time to listen again. With HIM they listen immediately, where he doesn't even talk a lot to them. (Cathy, 4, 40, security guard)

Kevin (2, 46, unemployed) also illustrated this, saying that children would not get away with as many things with him, compared to the mother: *"With me they will not succeed with what they want, understand? So the mother is more accommodating than what the father is."* His wife Kirsten (2, 39, transport) concurred, saying that: *"The mother will now maybe give the child some leeway: 'you can, uhm, you may go, you may go to your friends', but the father won't yield."* Kirsten further said that although the father makes the rules, the mother ensures that the rules are followed, illustrating that the mother manages the daily discipline in the house. Their daughter Kylie (2, 16, grade 9) also confirmed this, saying: *"When my father says no, it is no."*

Furthermore, the adolescents seemed to fear their fathers at times and assign them as a dominant authoritarian. Tony (3, 48, unemployed) picks up on this fear, attributing it to him being strict: *"One thing that I can see is that she doesn't really love being away with me, probably because I scold a bit and I am strict."* Corporal punishment was also often spoken

about. Petrus (6, 39, seasonal construction worker) told of how he will discipline his son by giving him a hiding with his belt when things get too bad:

Yes, when she tells me then, then I will of course now go and I sit and talk to him about it and if I now, if it is now, if it is now so bad than I will take a belt and I will chastise him about it.

Jack (9, 41, factory manager) also said he will give his children hidings and justified this by saying that there is a difference between corporal punishment and assaulting someone. He also made the point that he will not hit his children when he is too angry, perhaps to appease the interviewer:

I chastise them, they get hidings. They get hidings. There is a big difference between assault and a hiding. If I am also angry, if I am bitterly angry then I won't let loose, because you are going to do something wrong. There's nothing wrong with that.

Sometimes fathers explained how they find that they are no longer able to hit their children, especially their girl-children. Often their reason was because the children are too old now, but it was also said that the fathers are wary of losing control when they hit their children, and that they may seriously hurt them:

I struggle with that with her, and I can't hit her any longer. I have now twice hit her recklessly, that her mother or my aunty will talk to me. Then I just grabbed her cousin as well, the one who stole her phone. Then I gave both of them a hiding just there, so that they passed out there. But I don't really want to do that, because it's, later you get used to it,

understand? Accidentally hit the child dead, there she lies. (Tony, 3, 48, unemployed)

Most of the time I scold about that. You can't hit them because they are big girls. I will always appoint the mother to do the talking, but it's not like they get back late every day. (Arnold, 5, 32, seasonal builder)

5.3.4 Subtheme 4: A father is strong and protects you

The mother and adolescent participants seem to expect fathers to behave according to traditional HM ideals of men being strong, emotionally and physically, and protective. Gladys (5, 37, housewife) said her husband does not discuss emotional issues, because “*he is now a man... See?*” She implies that this is obvious, something the interviewer should understand. She also told of how her husband does not like it when her friends visit her in his house, and that he’ll reprimand her when he comes home and there are visitors. This doesn’t seem to disturb her, and she said that he does apologise to her afterwards:

No he would just address me loudly or so. And then he says I AM YOUR HUSBAND or so, see? YOU HAVE TO LISTEN TO ME! {laughing} Then I say no I am not going to listen to you. But when he has now cooled down again he will now say to me again: “Sorry Mummy that I now, if I was wrong towards you. Then you must, then I apologise”, so.

Kylie (2, 16, grade 9) expects her father to hide his emotions, and to always have a smile on his face, even when things aren’t going well:

For me it is to always see his children happy and his wife, in good and bad times, then even if the times are bad, he must always have a smile on.

It shows I won't let myself be taken down, because I know... That is how I know my father and he will not let his family be taken down.

Her father also noted that when he gets emotional and cries, his children get embarrassed, and he has to keep his emotions at bay.

Jacob (8, 15, grade 9) has a similar view to Kylie, saying a father is stronger and bigger and therefore the protector of the house: *"I think the father must be the protector; I mean the father is now the stronger one and the bigger one and so."* Daniël (6, 15, grade 10), Petrus's (6, 39, seasonal construction worker) son, also spoke of a father's physical strength, saying the father is responsible to do *"hard work"* such as *"working on a building."* Another male adolescent, Jerome (9, 15, grade 9) on the other hand also spoke of the father's responsibility to keep everyone safe, saying:

And also, he must show me a lot about life and tell me what the important things of life are and what I must do or so. And he will protect me from bad things or so.

Sarah (4, 15, grade 10) describes a father's love also in terms feeling safe, and says that he is the hero in the family:

Now father love to me is, is uhm you just feel safe. You have a man in your life that you can stand on or a father that you can look up to. Who is like a hero to you, and not just your mother who is like a role model to you.

Her mother, Cathy (4, 40, security guard), also said that her children feel safe when they know her husband is there, saying: *"They know he is here, we are safe."*

5.3.5 Conclusion

This last theme illustrated the salience of HM ideals among the participants' ideas around fatherhood. The HM ideals of the father as being the head of the household, authoritarian disciplinarian, the use of corporal punishment, and the image of a strong, emotionally stoic man, were expressed by the participants.

This theme discussed the participants' expectations of fathers to provide. Interestingly, it was shown that the expectation of fathers to be financial providers may put them in an emotionally vulnerable position. Children may manipulate fathers to get luxuries and treats because they intuitively knew that fathers desire and need to be successful providers and want to keep their children happy.

Chapter six: Critical discussion of findings, strengths, and limitations

6.1 Introduction

In this study, I have investigated the ideas and practices of paternal care in a specific social context, namely low-income, Afrikaans-speaking rural communities in the Western Cape in South Africa. As shown in the previous chapter, I have found (i) that participants demonstrated caring masculinities and, thereby, contesting traditional ideas of fatherhood, whilst (ii) hegemonic masculinity ideals remain salient amongst the participants. In this chapter I will provide a critical discussion of these identified themes and discuss the use of the Caring Masculinities (CM) framework proposed by Elliott (2016). Finally, I will state the strengths and limitations of this study.

6.2 Contesting traditional father constructions

The first overarching theme identified in this study shows that the father-participants display caring and nurturing behaviours towards their family members, and that all participants view these caring behaviours as an important aspect of paternal care. This indicates a take-up of new father discourses among the participants. These discourses include notions of fathers taking interest in children's lives, spending time with them, expressing verbal and non-verbal affection, and demonstrating emotional attunement; therefore, contesting the primacy of traditional father ideas of provision, emotional distance, and dominance. This overarching theme corresponds with the main components of the CM theoretical framework, namely incorporating values of care, recasting of traditional masculine values, and rejecting domination. (Elliott, 2016).

The first subtheme in the overarching theme of "Caring is more than just giving money" relates to the caring behaviours father-participants exhibited, such as showing interest in their children, spending time with their children, and expressing verbal and non-verbal affection.

These behaviours were not only indicated by the father-participants, but also confirmed by their family members. This uptake of new father discourses mirrors international research on fatherhood, where it has been reported that fathers have become more comfortable to exhibit caring and nurturing behaviours, the so-called “new father” phenomenon (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Johansson, 2011; Smit, 2008; Valiquette-Tessier et al., 2019). Similar to the participants in the current study, in the international studies on CM and fatherhood, the father-figure participants also related showing care by valuing spending time with their children (Gill, 2018; Lee & Lee, 2018), and showing love and affection to their children (Brandth & Kvande, 2018). The male primary caregivers in Leung et al.’s (2019) study spoke of the duty of providing care in a family and specified that it is not only a mother’s duty, but the father’s as well. Even more similar to the social context of the current study, was research conducted on so-called “rural masculinities” in the northern hemisphere referring to men living in rural areas (Allan et al., 2020; Brandth, 2019). Both groups reflected on being more involved fathers than previous generations, taking part in caregiving activities and valuing spending time with their children (Allan et al., 2020; Brandth, 2019). Although the participants in these studies are all from different social contexts (i.e., Western or Asian cultures and/or higher socio-economic status) than the participants in the current study, it is interesting to note that there is a similar uptake of paternal caring behaviours among the participants in this study as is reported in the literature. This could be an indication that the importance of more involved and nurturing fathers is a universal value, which transcends differences such as culture and class.

The participants in the current study differentiated between emotional and material care and deemed both important, similar to father participants in other South African fatherhood studies (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Mavungu, 2013; Ratele et al., 2012). This is

demonstrated by those fathers in the current study who could not provide materially but participated in other caring activities and validated these as important father contributions, as have been reported in other South African studies. In Mavungu (2013), for example, low-income fathers spoke of taking part in caregiving activities, spending time with their children, and showing them love, even when they could not contribute financially to their families. The men from low-income communities interviewed by Enderstein and Boonzaier (2015) and Ratele, Shefer and Clowes (2012) also placed emphasis on fathers taking care of their children by spending time with them. The idea of fathers showing care by “being there” is a common theme throughout the literature on paternal care, in all the different contexts discussed.

International studies investigating paternal care in different social contexts than the current study have also reported similar results. In Strier (2014) some of the unemployed Palestinian Arab fathers demonstrated “a more reflective attitude to their fatherhood identity” (p. 405) because they had to redefine their fatherhood role as financial provider, due to a lack of income. These fathers reported that they learned to show their families love and happiness, and started spending more time with their children (Strier, 2014). In an older study conducted by Williams (2009), African-Caribbean and white working-class fathers in the UK were interviewed, to investigate their experiences of being men and being fathers. These low-income fathers also reported that being the breadwinner is not the most important role of a father, echoing the current study’s findings of money not equating care (Williams, 2009). The American fathers from disadvantaged communities in Randles’ (2018) study, as well as the low-income American fathers interviewed by Summers et al. (2006), noted that they do not need to have money to be fathers. Both groups of fathers also spoke of being there for their children and showing love and affection (Randles, 2018; Summers et al., 2006). This is in contrast to findings

from some South African studies that fathers consider their primary role as that of material provider and withdrew from their children's lives if they were unable to fulfil this role (Lesch & Kelapile, 2016; Patel & Mavungu, 2016).

The second subtheme relates to how the father-participants provided care by taking part in daily household tasks that are often perceived as women's tasks, such as cooking, cleaning, doing the laundry, ironing, and polishing their children's shoes. This could be seen as another instance of rejecting domination, as featured in the CM framework, by performing tasks traditionally seen as "feminine" and therefore not conforming to traditional gender norms. This more egalitarian view of caring practices was found in the studies on stay-at-home-fathers (SAHF) which utilised the CM framework, as reported by Beglaubter (2019), Brandth (2019), Brandth and Kvande (2018), Lee and Lee (2018), and Leung et al. (2019), as well as among the young men interviewed by Motsa and Morojele (2019). Other studies where instances of fathers performing such household tasks and nurturing caring activities were reported were also conducted in low-income communities, such as the studies by Enderstein and Boonzaier (2015), Lesch and Kelapile (2016), Liong (2017), Morrell et al. (2016), Randles (2018), and Summers et al. (2006). The fathers in these research studies all performed these duties without resentment, similar to the father-participants in the current study. It must however be noted that these behaviours may not be due to equitable gender views held by the fathers but could be due to a necessity caused by a lack of resources and having no one else available to perform these tasks. As Liong (2017) specifically reported, the working-class fathers took on caregiving activities because of their inability to resume the provider role, and therefore only accepted this role due to their lack of resources to be a financial provider. Similarly, Motsa and Morojele (2019) noted

that the young men from Swaziland in their study incorporated caring ideals as part of their masculinity because they did not have the means to perform the role of financial provider.

The third subtheme within this overarching theme is fathers who are emotionally attuned. Most of the participants, including fathers, mothers, and adolescents, reported that the father-participants could see when their children were upset. However, the fathers seemed to be uncomfortable with seeing their children angry or frustrated, and often felt upset themselves when this happens. They either try to fix it, with the best intentions, or just leave it alone and hope that it blows over. This impact of children's negative emotions or withdrawal on fathers may point to fathers' limited capacity to tolerate negative emotionality. Such limited capacity to engage with their adolescent children's negative emotions has important implications for adolescents' learning about emotional states and regulating these (Van Lissa et al., 2019). This could lead to adolescents developing maladaptive coping strategies, which increases the possibility of developing psychopathology (Compas et al., 2017). Wang, Liang, Zhou, and Zhou (2019) similarly reported the importance of paternal support on adolescents' ability to regulate emotions. They listed the following supporting paternal behaviours: "problem-focused reactions (i.e., solving emotion-eliciting problems together), emotion focused reactions (i.e., comforting and smoothing over the negative feelings), and expressive encouragement (i.e., encouraging the expression of negative emotions)" (Wang et al., 2019, p. 33). In contrast, children of fathers who are not supportive and do not engage positively with their children's negative emotions, exhibited lower levels of emotion regulation abilities. However, Van Lissa et al. (2019) also found that when children perceive their fathers to be less controlling of their behaviour and grant their children the autonomy to deal with their negative emotions in their own way, emotion regulation could be improved. This could indicate that the strategies of many of the father-

participants in this study to let their children be when they are upset, might in fact improve children's ability to regulate their emotions. We, however, know little about South African fathers' impact on the development of adolescent children's emotional regulation and, therefore, this is an area that needs further research.

Some of the father-participants as well as some of the adolescents interviewed in the current study expressed a desire to have emotionally closer relationships in which adolescents felt free and comfortable to share their emotional experiences and challenges with their fathers. This was illustrated by the participants noting that although the father-participants can see when the adolescents in their care are upset, and that they want them to share their feelings with them, the adolescents prefer to discuss such matters with their mother-figures. The majority of participants said that the adolescents would rather talk to their mothers about things that bother them. The adolescent daughters interviewed by Lesch and Scheffler (2016) similarly reported that they rather share with their mothers when things upset them.

In contrast to the South African fathers in Mavungu's (2013) and Enderstein and Boonzaier's (2015) study who spoke of the joy of having an emotional connection with their children, this was not highlighted by the father-participants in the current study who seemed to approach it more from a perspective of wanting to do the right thing as fathers. Furthermore, in the international studies it was reported that through taking part in care work, the fathers developed more caring attitudes and so started enjoying doing care work (Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Gill, 2018; Lee & Lee, 2018), which the father-participants in the current study also did not foreground in their accounts. However, in these international studies the fathers were the primary caregiver. Brandth and Kvande (2018) and Wilson and Prior (2010) have reported that when fathers partake in solo care, they form more solid emotional bonds with their children,

which leads to stronger development of CM. The father-participants in the current study have not had the opportunity to be the primary caregiver, which could be why they did not report such development.

Another aspect of CM exhibited by the father-participants in the current study was their rejection of domination. Most father-, mother-, and adolescent-participants reported that fathers listen to the opinions of their family members, and do not demand that their views or actions must be accepted as correct. It was reported that the father-participants welcome others to share with them if they disagree with their behaviour or ideas, and that they listen to what their family members had to say. The British Asian fathers in Gill's (2018) study, as well as the unemployed Palestinian Arab fathers in Strier's (2014) study also spoke of valuing their family members' opinions, and not expecting their own opinion to be dominant and accepted without question. Two of the father-participants in the current study also spoke of reflecting on their own fathering behaviours, also an aspect of rejecting domination, which was similarly reported by the foster fathers interviewed by Heslop (2016). Furthermore, Enderstein and Boonzaier (2015) reported that the young South African fathers in their study worked with their co-parents by sharing parenting responsibilities and care work, which is similar to the responses of the participants in the current study.

6.3 The maintenance of hegemonic masculinity ideals

The last overarching theme identified in this study was the continued maintenance of hegemonic masculinity (HM) ideals. Specifically, the ideals of fathers being financial providers, head of the household, main disciplinarian who has the final say, and the expectations to be strong and protect his family.

The first subtheme in this overarching theme is “Providing is caring”, referring to the fathers’ financial provision to their families. The salience of the construction of “father” as the financial provider was evident in all participants reporting that it was as an important duty of fathers. Furthermore, the participants view this role as part of a father’s caring practices, i.e., that he shows his caring by providing. Framing financial provision as part of paternal care was also reported in much of the international and local fatherhood literature on paternal care. The British Asian fathers in Gill’s (2018) study, the Hong Kong primary caregivers in Liong (2017) and Leung et al.’s (2019) study, and the Irish fathers interviewed by Hanlon (2012) named financial care as the responsibility of a father and reported that the breadwinner identity remain central in these men’s father identities. The low-income South African fathers in Morrell and Jewkes’ (2011) study and the young fathers in Enderstein and Boonzaier’s (2015) study also framed their financial provision for their family as a responsibility of providing care for their families. Brandth and Kvande (2018) argued that although the fathers in their study incorporated CM into their identity as a father, they could do so because they did not have to give up their breadwinner identity. A similar observation was made by Beglaubter (2019), who reported that the Canadian fathers who were on paternal leave only integrated CM into their identities if they felt accomplished in their employment. This indicates that these men were comfortable to exhibit caring fathering behaviours due to a continued strong link to HM ideals, as is also argued by Hunter, Riggs, and Augustinos (2017), who said that “those who meet current norms and expectations of hegemonic masculinity are afforded the luxury to be involved in caregiving” (p. 1).

Within low-income communities, there seems to be an especially strong emphasis on the importance of a father to care for families by providing for their material needs (Helman et al.,

2019; Mavungu, 2013; Strier, 2014; Summers et al., 2006). In these communities, this is often an unattainable goal for the fathers. The absent fathers interviewed by Lesch and Kelapile (2016) as well as Patel and Mavungu (2016) spoke of how the mothers of their children keep them away from their families, because they could not give any financial contributions. Helman et al. (2019) reported that the South African adolescents in their study blamed their fathers for not being able to be financial providers, not acknowledging the structural difficulties due to inequality in their societies that make it difficult for their fathers to gain employment. However, this exclusion is not always the case in low-income communities. The unemployed Palestinian Arab fathers interviewed by Strier (2014), the low-income American fathers in Summers et al.'s (2006) study, the low-income South African fathers in Morrell and Jewkes' (2011) study and the young fathers in Enderstein and Boonzaier's (2015) study placed high value on fathers to provide financially but continued to take part in their children's lives and care taking, even when they could not fulfil the breadwinner role. In the current study, this sentiment is echoed by the fathers who are unemployed. They are not excluded by their families and provide care in alternative ways, as discussed in the previous theme, but it remains a frustration that they are not able to live up to their own expectations and that of their families.

In the current study, the fathers are put in a powerful position because they determine how money is being spent in their families, even when they are not earning an income. When children need anything, they may ask the father directly, but most often work through the mother, who will then inform the father of what the children need. The daughters in Lesch and Scheffler's (2016) study similarly spoke of going to their mothers when they need something, who then acts as a negotiator with the father. Although this places fathers in a position of power, fathers may be emotionally vulnerable due to their desire to be successful financial providers.

For example, in the studies mentioned earlier conducted in low-income social contexts, the fathers felt like failures and ashamed because they are not successful material providers (Fagan et al., 2016; Lesch & Kelapile, 2016; Lesch & Scheffler, 2016; Mavungu, 2013; Reid & Golub, 2018; Roy & Lucas, 2006; Strier, 2014). This sense of shame or failure was also evident in the fathers' accounts in this study when they could not provide children with more than basic need fulfilment like luxuries and treats. From the participants' responses it could be seen that children often manipulate fathers into getting these luxuries, even though the fathers are not always in a financially secure position to provide their children with these treats. The children would then often get upset when they do not get their way, which in turn would hurt the fathers. Consequently, fathers felt bad about themselves, further opening themselves up to being manipulated by their children. This adds another dimension to the emotional vulnerability of fathers who face expectations of providing more than basic needs – a dimension that to my knowledge has not been highlighted in previous research.

The second subtheme in this overarching theme is the father being the head of the household. Although it was clear from the participants' accounts that the mother-figures are more involved and responsible in the daily caretaking and managing of the households, participants clearly stated that the fathers are ultimately the leaders of the house. This is linked with the previous subtheme, that the father-participants tend to control the household – especially when they provide the bulk of the family's income. Even when this was not true, and the mother-figures were the main breadwinner in the family, the fathers were still reported as the head of the household. The Palestinian Arab fathers in Strier's (2014) study maintained that they are the heads of their household, due to their Islamic religious beliefs which are strongly influenced by the hierarchical structure of patriarchy. Similarly, the fathers and daughters in Lesch and

Scheffler's (2016) study maintained their Christian patriarchal beliefs that men must be the head of the household. The participants in the current study also hold strong Christian beliefs, and therefore the ideology of men heading the household.

The third subtheme, that the fathers are the main disciplinarian and has the final say, ties in with the previous subtheme. It was clear from the participants responses that the mother-figures manage the daily micro-discipline of the adolescents. However, it was reported that adolescents often challenged their mother-figures' authority and then fathers had to step in. This was a cause of frustration for the mothers. This sentiment reflects Jordan's (2018) and Meah and Jackson's (2016) findings of British fathers. In both studies the fathers viewed themselves as the disciplinarians stepping in when children disobey mothers, with the fathers in Jordan's (2018) study reporting that mothers are not adequate disciplinarians (Jordan, 2018; Meah & Jackson, 2016). The British foster fathers in Heslop's (2016) study also stated their main responsibility was to be the disciplinarian in the house, helping the mother-figures in this regard, similar to the South African fathers interviewed by Morrell and Jewkes (2011).

The adolescent children in my study seemed to fear their fathers, and, due to this fear, obeyed fathers' stern reprimanding. Lesch and Scheffler (2016), who conducted a study in a similar community to those in my study, also reported that the fathers regard themselves as the authority figures in their households who has the final say that may not be disputed by their families. The adolescent daughters' responses echoed the fear of going against their fathers' wishes, that they know not to disagree when their fathers have spoken (Lesch & Scheffler, 2016). As pointed out by Lesch and Scheffler (2016) this could hinder adolescent children to explore and practice asserting their own ideas in a safe interactional space, which a father-daughter relationship could potentially serve as.

The last subtheme is the role of the father as the protector of the household. Participants expect fathers to be strong, physically and emotionally, saying this makes them feel safe. The adolescents also spoke of fathers performing tasks around the house such as building or fixing things, which calls for a man with physical strength and that, therefore, cannot be done by mothers. Although participants framed this as another form of providing care, it relates to the HM ideal of men being physically strong (Connell, 2005; Morrell et al., 2013). The primary caregiver fathers interviewed by Brandth and Kvande (2018) as well as Lee and Lee (2018) illustrated similar behaviour by continuing to take part in activities such as manual labour around the house as a means to maintain traditionally masculine identities, linked to HM ideals. The rural farmers in Brandth's (2019) study also displayed their masculinity by taking their children along when going on hunting activities, in such a way combining parental care activities with activities in which they can maintain their HM ideals of being a strong man.

This physical strength of fathers is also connected to being able to protect their families. The salience of this role was also reported by the foster fathers in Heslop's (2016) study, the Irish fathers interviewed by Hanlon (2012), and the American SAHF in Medved's (2016) study. The fathers in these studies framed their role as protector as part of caregiving, but as Medved (2016) states, "this connects to historic discourses of men as physically capable protectors of the family" (p. 20), which can be seen as perpetuating HM ideals of men being strong. Similarly, to the above-mentioned studies, the young South African fathers in Enderstein and Boonzaier's (2015) study also portrayed themselves as the protectors of their families. This idea of a father being the protector of the family may be accentuated due to the high incidence of violence against women and children in South Africa, especially in low-income communities such as the social context of

the current study (Cluver et al., 2017; Lesch & Scheffler, 2016). This, in turn, may work against the development of independence of women and children, and learning to protect themselves.

HM ideals clearly continue to shape the fatherhood norms among the participants in the study, similar to what was reported by Petts, Shefer, and Essig (2018). The salience of these HM ideals among the participants in this study are likely linked to their Christian beliefs (Lesch & Scheffler, 2015; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011), as the overwhelming majority of participants indicated that they belong to the Christian faith and were involved in church activities. It has been found that Christian beliefs and contexts in South Africa, such as rural communities in the Western Cape often reinforce patriarchal family systems, which contribute to traditional HM ideals remaining dominant in these social contexts (Burchardt, 2018; Wood, 2019).

6.4 The implications of the co-existence of both traditional and caring masculinities for fathering

As illustrated in the discussion above of the findings from this study, the participants reported expectations of fathers to fulfil traditional roles such as being a protector, head of the household, and financial provider, accompanied by expectations of fathers to demonstrate CM by being interested in their children, spend time with them and show them affection. Traditional and CM around father ideas and practices, therefore, co-exist among the participants from the low-income communities who participated in this research. The findings echo Hunter et al.'s (2017) statement that “there is a complex interplay between expectations of a traditional, provider father and a new and involved father” (p. 1) in families where fathers experience a tension between balancing traditional HM ideals with ideas of new and alternative masculinities.

The presence of aspects of CM among the father-participants in this study indicate that these men incorporated different masculine ideals as part of their masculine identities, albeit only

to some extent. Jordan (2018) theorizes that men who practice care and integrate CM into their masculine identities, like the men in the current study, could lead to destabilising dominant notions of masculinity. Furthermore, by rejecting the notion of care being feminine but rather to have no gender (Nilsen & Wærdahl, 2015) could disrupt the focus on binary gender (Jordan, 2018). International and local fatherhood researchers have argued that fatherhood could be a potential site for promoting more gender equitable ideas by supporting the development of different father masculinities which incorporate more nurturing, caring and expressive qualities (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Gill, 2018; Jordan, 2018; Leung et al., 2019; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011; Randles, 2018). It has further been noted that this potential for change in ideas about gender could be incorporated in policies on gender-based violence (Hanlon, 2012; Jewkes et al., 2015; Liong, 2017; Morrell et al., 2013) by implementing interventions which include reflective processes wherein men are made aware of the “male privileges which stem from the patriarchal social order” (Jewkes et al., 2015, p. S122). These interventions have potential to work towards changing the configuration of dominant masculine ideals into ideals of gender equality and potentially address problems of gender-based violence in this specific social context. Men who have already taken up caring masculinities ideas, such as the men in the current study, could be utilised to facilitate the development of more gender equitable ideas among the other men in their communities. Given the father-participants’ willingness to take part in the current project, they may also be willing to take part in programmes in their communities to encourage these reflective processes of developing more positive ideas around gender equality with the other men from their communities. This could benefit the fathers by feeling accomplished in helping others by facilitating in the programmes, which would also reinforce their own developing gender equitable ideas.

It has, however, been reported that men taking part in caring activities do not necessarily change their ideas about gender (Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011; Wilson & Prior, 2010). It is only when men experience an emotional resonance with the person he is caring for, i.e., experience a reciprocal emotional connection, that gender equitable ideas may develop (Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011; Wilson & Prior, 2010). The findings suggest that mothers still seem to hold the primary emotional interactional space with their adolescent children, which could likely hinder the fathers from experiencing reciprocal emotional connections. Brandth and Kvande (2018) as well as Wilson and Prior (2010) found that men experienced such emotional connections more easily when doing solo care, for instance during parental leave. Fathers must therefore be encouraged to take parental leave or be allowed to practice solo caregiving from early in the child's life, so that opportunities to experience emotional resonance while giving care become available to them.

Furthermore, the benefits of the multiplicity of masculinities with traditional and new ideas co-existing, have been questioned. The integration of multiple masculinities can be referred to as "hybrid masculinities", defined by Bridges and Pascoe (2014) as "men's selective incorporation of performances and identity elements associated with marginalized and subordinated masculinities and femininities" (p. 246). Although this multiplicity of masculinities is an indication of men incorporating alternative ideas to traditional HM ideals, scholars argue that this might lead to perpetuating patriarchal ideas of gender hierarchies (Bach, 2019; Eisen & Yamashita, 2019). By labelling caregiving activities as "feminine", gender dualism remain undisturbed (Jordan, 2018) and the symbolic boundaries of gender are not challenged, maintaining gender hierarchy (Eisen & Yamashita, 2019). Eisen and Yamashita (2019) further argue that men who elect to use the discourse of caring could be admired by society due to the

expectations of men to move away from traditional HM ideals. This in turn reinforces the dominance of men and gender inequality by exalting men for their perceived implementation of caring behaviours, again placing the men in a higher regard and position above others (Eisen & Yamashita, 2019).

The continued prevalence of HM ideals among the participants in the current study could indicate the maintenance of these ideals among their communities. As illustrated above, this could perpetuate patriarchal ideas of gender inequality and the dominance of heterosexual men above the rest of society. A continued societal amplification and reinforcement of existing alternative caring masculinities may, however, lessen the hold of harmful traditional masculinity ideas.

6.5 Utilising the Caring Masculinities framework

This study was the first research conducted in South Africa utilising the CM framework proposed by Elliott (2016). As mentioned above, the findings indicate that some aspects of this framework were observed in the participants' reports, however none of the father-participants rejects the dominant HM ideals as Elliott (2016) proposes. Although Lee and Lee (2018) stated that some participants rejected HM outright, the majority of their SAHF remained ambivalent and said that they "incorporated traditionally masculine norms into their daily activities and attitudes" (p. 55). Liong (2017) also suggested that the new fatherhood portrayed by the participants in his study was just a "refashioning of the traditional role of fathers and thus does not challenge the existing gender structure" (p. 402). Similar findings were reported in other studies utilising the CM framework, namely Beglaubter (2019), Gill (2019), Heslop (2016), Leung et al. (2019), and Randles (2018). Hunter et al. (2017) argued that because HM ideals remain salient, even among men who are exhibiting more nurturing behaviour and are more

emotionally expressive, the CM framework should rather be seen as a broadening of HM which include the caring behaviour attributed to CM.

Furthermore, as was discussed in the Theoretical framework chapter, theories such as the CM framework has the potential to perpetuate and reinforce patriarchal structures and HM ideals, due to the optimistic discourse on men and masculinities promoted by such theories (O'Neill, 2015). Instead of destabilising toxic HM ideals and patriarchy, theories such as the CM framework could make HM more acceptable (Myrntinen, 2019) and distract from societal barriers and discrimination faced by women and other men, thereby reinforcing patriarchal ideals (Bach, 2019; Eerola & Mykkänen, 2015; Eisen & Yamashita, 2019; Hunter et al., 2017; Jordan, 2018; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011).

Lastly, in my opinion, the CM framework is not sufficiently developed. The different components often overlap and are not clearly defined, such as including “relational, emotional, and interdependent qualities of care” (Elliott, 2016, p. 253) as part of the rejecting domination component, but also as part of the recasting traditional values of care: “Caring masculinities recast traditional masculine values like protection and providing into relational, interdependent, care-oriented ones” (Elliott, 2016, p. 253). Furthermore, this framework might be more effectively utilised in research on fathers who are primary caregivers, and therefore doing the bulk of the care work (Beglaubter, 2019; Brandth & Kvande, 2018; Wilson & Prior, 2010). However, although the CM framework may be problematic, I believe it could be useful to inspire further research on paternal caregiving as a potential site for developing more egalitarian views on gender. Especially within the South African society where violence perpetrated by men is escalating, and gender equitable ideas still seem to be an unattainable goal.

6.6 Strengths of the study

The first strength of this study I wish to present is that it offers a glimpse into the fathering ideas and practices within communities which are under-represented in South African fatherhood literature. It has therefore allowed the voices of some of the families in these communities to be heard. With that I do not only refer to the academic context in which their accounts are reported, but also within the interview process, where most participants whom I personally interviewed expressed their gratitude for being given the opportunity to talk about a topic that they seldom had the opportunity to think or talk about. Participants also spoke of having a sense of lightness after sharing their stories with me, which I believe is an important benefit of this study. It was also clear from follow-up interviews that the first interviews prompted participants to reflect upon father-child relationships and in some instances even led to positive changes.

Furthermore, the findings highlight strengths regarding fatherhood in these communities, rather than weaknesses such as father absence, which has mostly been the focus of studies on fathers in the social context within which this study was located. The study therefore contributes to the knowledge of these communities from a positive perspective, on which could be built by other researchers or policy makers wanting to support families from these areas.

Another strength is that due to the use of multiple perspective interviews (MPI), the trustworthiness of the data could be argued to be more robust compared to research relying on the accounts of single family members. The use of MPI enabled me to determine if different family members' accounts agreed or disagreed about father practices. In general, family members reported similar experiences. However, it was also found, for instance, that some adolescents and their mother-figures disagreed with the fathers in their families on his caring

behaviours, where the adolescents and mothers felt it was inadequate, but the father thought he was doing enough. There has been a call for such research, where MPI are used to give a fuller picture of the experiences of families (Nduna & Khunou, 2018; Petts et al., 2018).

Trustworthiness of the data was further improved due to researcher triangulation, as initial data analysis was performed by several members of the research team, discussed in workshops, and overseen by my supervisor.

Lastly, this is the first South African study, to my knowledge, specifically utilising the CM framework proposed by Elliott (2016). By using this framework, I could demonstrate that the father-participants have incorporated the CM ideals theorised by Elliott (2016), but only to a certain extent. The framework offered structure with which to interpret the participants' responses, which assists in determining to what extent the fathers integrated more caring ideals as part of their masculine identities.

6.7 Limitations of the study

The first limitation of the study I wish to highlight is the possibility of participant bias. As I required three members from a family to participate in the study, other families where parents were not willing to participate were excluded. Furthermore, there is a bias that comes with families where three members were willing to participate in the project. This may indicate families where both parents are involved with and invested in the adolescent child. This, in turn, suggests better functioning families with higher levels of cohesiveness, therefore, representing higher functioning families in the communities rather than a more diverse range of families. Another limitation is that the study was conducted within a very specific social context. The findings can therefore not be generalised to other social contexts.

Lastly, a further limitation is that not all participants took part in follow-up interviews, either because of administrative difficulties due to the national lockdown, or unwillingness to take part in further interviews.

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Addendum A: Ethics letter of approval**NOTICE OF APPROVAL**

REC: SBER - Amendment Form

26 November 2020

Project number: 6767

Project Title: Western Cape, Coloured fathers' involvement with their children

Dear Prof Elmien Lesch

Your REC: SBER - Amendment Form submitted on 26 October 2020 was reviewed and approved by the REC: Social, Behavioural and Education Research (REC: SBE).

Please note below expiration date of this approved submission:

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
16 September 2020	15 September 2021

GENERAL REC COMMENTS PERTAINING TO THIS PROJECT:**INVESTIGATOR RESPONSIBILITIES**

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: SBE, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number (6767) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

You are required to submit a progress report to the REC: SBE before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary).

Once you have completed your research, you are required to submit a final report to the REC: SBE for review.

Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Informed Consent Form	Amended informed consent forms for Oct 2020 amendment	26/10/2020	3
Research Protocol/Proposal	Amended Research Proposal 26 October 2020	26/10/2020	3

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at cgraham@sun.ac.za.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator: Research Ethics Committee: Social, Behavioral and Education Research

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number: REC-050411-032.
The Research Ethics Committee: Social, Behavioural and Education Research complies with the SA National Health Act No.61 2003 as it pertains to health research. In addition, this committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research established by the Declaration of Helsinki (2013) and the Department of Health

Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes (2nd Ed.) 2015. Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

Principal Investigator Responsibilities

Protection of Human Research Participants

As soon as Research Ethics Committee approval is confirmed by the REC, the principal investigator (PI) is responsible for the following:

Conducting the Research: The PI is responsible for making sure that the research is conducted according to the REC-approved research protocol. The PI is jointly responsible for the conduct of co-investigators and any research staff involved with this research. The PI must ensure that the research is conducted according to the recognised standards of their research field/discipline and according to the principles and standards of ethical research and responsible research conduct.

Participant Enrolment: The PI may not recruit or enrol participants unless the protocol for recruitment is approved by the REC. Recruitment and data collection activities must cease after the expiration date of REC approval. All recruitment materials must be approved by the REC prior to their use.

Informed Consent: The PI is responsible for obtaining and documenting affirmative informed consent using **only** the REC-approved consent documents/process, and for ensuring that no participants are involved in research prior to obtaining their affirmative informed consent. The PI must give all participants copies of the signed informed consent documents, where required. The PI must keep the originals in a secured, REC-approved location for at least five (5) years after the research is complete.

Continuing Review: The REC must review and approve all REC-approved research proposals at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk but not less than once per year. There is **no grace period**. Prior to the date on which the REC approval of the research expires, **it is the PI's responsibility to submit the progress report in a timely fashion to ensure a lapse in REC approval does not occur**. Once REC approval of your research lapses, all research activities must cease, and contact must be made with the REC immediately.

Amendments and Changes: Any planned changes to any aspect of the research (such as research design, procedures, participant population, informed consent document, instruments, surveys or recruiting material, etc.), must be submitted to the REC for review and approval before implementation. Amendments may not be initiated without first obtaining written REC approval. The **only exception** is when it is necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants and the REC should be immediately informed of this necessity.

Adverse or Unanticipated Events: Any serious adverse events, participant complaints, and all unanticipated problems that involve risks to participants or others, as well as any research-related injuries, occurring at this institution or at other performance sites must be reported to the REC within **five (5) days** of discovery of the incident. The PI must also report any instances of serious or continuing problems, or non-compliance with the RECs requirements for protecting human research participants.

Research Record Keeping: The PI must keep the following research-related records, at a minimum, in a secure location for a minimum of five years: the REC approved research proposal and all amendments; all informed consent documents; recruiting materials; continuing review reports; adverse or unanticipated events; and all correspondence and approvals from the REC.

Provision of Counselling or emergency support: When a dedicated counsellor or a psychologist provides support to a participant without prior REC review and approval, to the extent permitted by law, such activities will not be recognised as research nor the data used in support of research. Such cases should be indicated in the progress report or final report.

Final reports: When the research is completed (no further participant enrolment, interactions or interventions), the PI must submit a Final Report to the REC to close the study.

On-Site Evaluations, Inspections, or Audits: If the researcher is notified that the research will be reviewed or audited by the sponsor or any other external agency or any internal group, the PI must inform the REC immediately of the impending audit/evaluation.

Addendum B1: Fathers informed consent form

UNIVERSITEIT STELLENBOSCH

INWILLIGING OM DEEL TE NEEM AAN NAVORSING

Titel van die studie: Vaderskap in Wes-Kaapse gemeenskappe

U word gevra om deel te neem aan 'n navorsingstudie wat onder die leiding van Dr Elmien Lesch, van die Departement van Sielkunde aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch, uitgevoer word. U is as moontlike deelnemer aan die studie gekies omdat u in hierdie gemeenskap woon, u Afrikaanssprekend is, en die pa van 'n 15-17-jarige seun of dogter is. U kind en die ma van u kind (of die persoon wat die rol van ma in u kind se lewe speel) sal ook gevra word om aan die studie deel te neem. U sal net aan die studie deelneem indien u kind en die ma van u kind ook instem om aan die studie deel te neem.

1. DOEL VAN DIE STUDIE

Die studie wil meer kennis kry en beskikbaar maak oor hoe vaderskap in u gemeenskap verstaan en uitgeoefen word.

2. PROSEDURES

Indien u, u kind en die ander ouer van u kind inwillig om aan die studie deel te neem, sal ons vra dat u die volgende doen:

- (i) 'n agtergrond vraelys in te vul waarin u vrae sal beantwoord word oor u leef omstandighede, u gesin en u inkomste;
- (ii) 'n vraelys in te vul waarin u gevra word oor dit wat u as pa vir en met u kinders doen;
- (iii) deel te neem aan 'n onderhoud wat deur 'n studente-navorsers met u gevoer sal word oor hoe u dink en voel oor verskillende aspekte van vaderskap, en u verhouding met u kind of kinders.

Ons sal u kontak om te reël vir 'n dag en tyd waarop u die vraelyste sal invul en aan die onderhoud sal deelneem. Hierdie onderhoud sal plaasvind by 'n plek wat gerieflik en veilig vir u en die onderhoudvoerder is. Indien u ver van hierdie plek bly en van 'n taxi gebruik moet maak, sal u vir die heen en terug taxi rit betaal word teen die gewone tariewe. Nadat die nodige toestemmingsvorme ingevul is, sal die vraelyste saam met die navorsers ingevul word. Daarna sal die onderhoud in Afrikaans gevoer word. Die onderhoud sal op band opgeneem en sal tussen 1 en 1½ ure neem. Indien ons nie al die inligting in hierdie tyd kan insamel nie, sal ons u vra vir om op 'n latere tyd 'n verdere onderhoud met u te voer.

3. MOONTLIKE RISIKO'S EN ONGEMAKLIKHEID

Dit mag dalk moeilik wees om oor sekere dele van vaderskap te praat. U kan egter enige tyd die onderhoud stop of kies om sekere vrae nie te antwoord nie, sonder enige nadelige gevolge. Indien u onttrek van die studie, sal al die inligting wat ons by u gekry het, vernietig word.

Indien u tydens die verloop van die navorsing bewus raak van persoonlike of gesinsprobleme waarmee u verdere hulp of voorligting nodig het, kan u van die gratis dienste gebruik maak wat deur die Kindersorg organisasie in u gemeenskap gebied word. Hul tel no is: 023 551 1694. Verder kan u ook die

tolvrye nommer vir Childline (08000 55 555) of Lifeline (0861 322 322) skakel vir gratis telefoniese ondersteuning en raad.

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

Vaders kry min die geleentheid om te dink oor hulle eie gedagtes en ervaring van 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

Nadat al die lede van die gesin wat ingestem het om aan die navorsing deel te neem die vraelyste en onderhoude voltooi het, sal elke lid 'n R100 geskenkbewys ontvang vir hul deelname. U sal dus 'n R100 geskenkbewys kry om u te bedank vir u tyd en moeite.

6. VERTROULIKHEID

Enige inligting wat in die navorsing verkry word en wat met u gekoppel kan word, sal vertroulik bly en slegs met u toestemming bekend gemaak word. Die uitsondering hierop is egter die volgende: **Let asseblief daarop dat die wet vereis dat die navorser die mishandeling van 'n minderjarige moet rapporteer, indien dit tydens navorsing bekendgemaak word.** U kan dus self besluit of u sulke inligting aan die onderhoudvoerder wil vertel. Wanneer die onderhoudvoerder vir u vrae vra waar u dalk sulke inligting bekend mag maak, sal sy/hy u hiervan bewus maak sodat u kan besluit wat u wil bekend maak. Voorbeelde van sulke vrae is wanneer ons u vra oor drank of dwelmmiddel gebruik in die gesin of dissiplinerings van kinders. Onthou ook dat u op enige stadium kan dat u nie meer wil voortgaan met die onderhoud nie. Al die inligting wat u gegee het, sal dan vernietig word. U kan ook weier om 'n vraag te antwoord waarmee u ongemaklik voel sonder dat u benadeel sal word. Indien u wel inligting oor die mishandeling van 'n minderjarige bekend maak, sal die onderhoudvoerder die projekteur in kennis stel. Die projekteur sal dan reël dat die maatskaplike werker wat in u gemeenskap met hierdie gevalle werk, met u kontak sal maak om u situasie met u te bespreek. Indien u wel kies om inligting oor die mishandeling van 'n kind bekend te maak, sal die onderhoudvoerder die projekteur in kennis stel. Die projekteur sal dan reël dat die maatskaplike werker wat in jou gemeenskap met hierdie gevalle werk, met jou kontak sal maak om jou situasie met jou te bespreek.

Die vertroulikheid van u inligting sal bewaar word deur die name van deelnemers te verander in die navorsing dokumente sowel as in publisering van die navorsing. Deelnemers sal ook skuilname kies wat gebruik sal word gedurende die onderhoud sodat hulle werklike name nie in die onderhoude gebruik word of aan die transkribeerder van die onderhoude bekend sal word nie. Studente wat die inligting gebruik vir hulle navorsing sal ook nie u regte naam kan koppel aan u inligting nie en so hou ons dus u inligting vertroulik. Die inligting wat ons in hierdie studie kry, beide elektronies en papier kopieë, sal veilig bewaar word sodat ongemagtigde persone nie toegang tot die inligting kan kry nie. Alle harde kopieë met u inligting (byvoorbeeld u getekende ingeligte toestemmingsvorm) sal in die projekteur se kantoor toegesluit word. Slegs sy en die projek administratiewe assistent sal toegang hiertoe hê. Alle elektroniese inligting sal beskerm word met 'n wagwoord. Die opnames van die onderhoude sal uitgegee word sodra dit volledig getranskribeer is. Elektroniese kopieë van demografiese inligting en getranskribeerde onderhoude sal vir minstens 8 jaar bewaar vir die moontlike gebruik deur toekomstige studente navorsers wat onder die leiding van die projekteur werk.

7. DEELNAME EN ONTTREKING

U kan self besluit of u aan die studie wil deelneem of nie. Indien u besluit om aan die studie deel te neem, kan u enige tyd daarvan onttrek sonder enige nadelige gevolge. U kan ook weier om sommige vrae te antwoord, maar steeds aan die studie deelneem.

8. IDENTIFIKASIE VAN ONDERSOEKERS

Dr. Elmien Lesch van die Sielkunde Departement aan Stellenbosch Universiteit is die leier van hierdie navorsing. Indien jy enige vrae of bekommernis oor die navorsing het, kontak haar by: Tel: 021 808 3455, E-pos: el5@sun.ac.za.

9. REGTE VAN PROEFPERSONE

U kan enige tyd u inwilliging terugtrek en u deelname beëindig, sonder enige nadelige gevolge vir u. Deur deel te neem aan die navorsing sal u geensins enige wetlike regte, eise of regsmiddel opgee 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/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.*] 'n Afskrif van hierdie vorm is aan my gegee.

Naam van deelnemer

**Handtekening van deelnemer/
regsverteenwoordiger**

Datum

VERKLARING DEUR ONDERSOEKER

Ek verklaar dat ek die inligting in hierdie dokument verduidelik het aan [*naam van die proefpersoon/deelnemer*] en/of sy/haar regsverteenwoordiger [*naam van die regsverteenwoordiger*]. 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*].

Handtekening van onderhoudvoerder

Datum

Addendum B2: Mothers informed consent form

UNIVERSITEIT STELLENBOSCH

INWILLIGING OM DEEL TE NEEM AAN NAVORSING

Titel van die studie: Vaderskap in Wes-Kaapse Gemeenskappe

U word gevra om deel te neem aan 'n navorsingstudie wat onder die leiding van Dr Elmiën Lesch, van die Departement van Sielkunde aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch, uitgevoer word. U is as moontlike deelnemer aan die studie gekies omdat u in hierdie gemeenskap woon, u Afrikaanssprekend is, en die ma (of die persoon wat die rol van die ma vervul vir die kind) van 'n 15-17-jarige seun of dogter is. U kind en die pa van die kind sal ook gevra word om aan die studie deel te neem. U sal net aan die studie deelneem indien u kind en die ma van u kind ook instem om aan die studie deel te neem.

10. DOEL VAN DIE STUDIE

Die studie wil meer kennis kry en beskikbaar maak oor hoe vaderskap in u gemeenskap verstaan en uitgeoefen word.

11. PROSEDURES

Indien u, u kind en die ander ouer van u kind inwillig om aan die studie deel te neem, sal ons vra dat u die volgende doen:

- (iv) 'n agtergrond vraelys in te vul waarin u vrae sal beantwoord word oor u leef omstandighede, u gesin en u inkomste;
- (v) 'n vraelys in te vul waarin u gevra word oor dit wat die pa van u kind vir en met die kind doen;
- (vi) deel te neem aan 'n onderhoud wat deur 'n studente-navorsers of navorsing-assistent met u gevoer sal word oor hoe u dink en voel oor verskillende aspekte van vaderskap, en u siening oor die pa-kind verhouding.

Ons sal u kontak om te reël vir 'n dag en tyd waarop u die vraelyste sal invul en aan die onderhoud sal deelneem. Hierdie onderhoude sal plaasvind by 'n plek wat gerieflik en veilig vir u en die onderhoudvoerder is. Indien u ver van hierdie plek bly en van 'n taxi gebruik moet maak, sal u vir die heen en terug taxi rit betaal word teen die gewone tariewe. Nadat die nodige toestemmingsvorme ingevul is, sal die vraelyste saam met die navorsers ingevul word. Daarna sal die onderhoude in Afrikaans gevoer word. Die onderhoude sal op band opgeneem en sal tussen 1 en 1½ ure neem. Indien ons nie al die inligting in hierdie tyd kan insamel nie, sal ons u vra vir om op 'n latere tyd 'n verdere onderhoude met u te voer.

12. MOONTLIKE RISIKO'S EN ONGEMAKLIKHEID

Dit mag dalk moeilik wees om oor sekere dele van vaderskap te praat. U kan egter enige tyd die onderhoud stop of kies om sekere vrae nie te antwoord nie, sonder enige nadelige gevolge. Indien u onttrek van die studie, sal al die inligting wat ons by u gekry het, vernietig word.

Indien u tydens die verloop van die navorsing bewus raak van persoonlike of gesinsprobleme waarmee u verdere hulp of voorligting nodig het, kan u van die gratis dienste gebruik maak wat deur die Badisa organisasie in u gemeenskap gebied word. Hul tel no is: 023 551 1694. Verder kan u ook die tolvrye

nommer vir Childline (08000 55 555) of Lifeline (0861 322 322) skakel vir gratis telefoniese ondersteuning en raad.

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

Ma's kry min die geleentheid om te dink oor pa's se betrokkenheid by hul kinders. 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 in u gemeenskap beter te verstaan.

14. BEDANKING VIR DEELNAME

Nadat al die lede van die gesin wat ingestem het om aan die navorsing deel te neem die vraelyste en onderhoude voltooi het, sal elke lid 'n R100 geskenkbewys ontvang vir hul deelname. U sal dus 'n R100 geskenkbewys kry om u te bedank vir u tyd en moeite.

15. VERTROULIKHEID

Enige inligting wat in die navorsing verkry word en wat met u gekoppel kan word, sal vertroulik bly en slegs met u toestemming bekend gemaak word. Die uitsondering hierop is egter die volgende: **Let asseblief daarop dat die wet vereis dat die navorser die mishandeling van 'n minderjarige moet rapporteer, indien dit tydens navorsing bekendgemaak word.** U kan dus self besluit of u sulke inligting aan die onderhoudvoerder wil vertel. Wanneer die onderhoudvoerder vir u vrae vra waar u dalk sulke inligting bekend mag maak, sal sy/hy u hiervan bewus maak sodat u kan besluit wat u wil bekend maak. Voorbeelde van sulke vrae is wanneer ons u vra oor drank of dwelmmiddel gebruik in die gesin of dissiplinerings van kinders. Onthou ook dat u op enige stadium kan dat u nie meer wil voortgaan met die onderhoud nie. Al die inligting wat u gegee het, sal dan vernietig word. U kan ook weier om 'n vraag te antwoord waarmee u ongemaklik voel sonder dat u benadeel sal word. Indien u wel inligting oor die mishandeling van 'n minderjarige bekend maak, sal die onderhoudvoerder die projekteur in kennis stel. Die projekteur sal dan reël dat die maatskaplike werker wat in u gemeenskap met hierdie gevalle werk, met u kontak sal maak om u situasie met u te bespreek. Indien u wel kies om inligting oor die mishandeling van 'n kind bekend te maak, sal die onderhoudvoerder die projekteur in kennis stel. Die projekteur sal dan reël dat die maatskaplike werker wat in jou gemeenskap met hierdie gevalle werk, met jou kontak sal maak om jou situasie met jou te bespreek.

Die vertroulikheid van u inligting sal bewaar word deur die name van deelnemers te verander in die navorsing dokumente sowel as in publiserings van die navorsing. Deelnemers sal ook skuilname kies wat gebruik sal word gedurende die onderhoud sodat hulle werklike name nie in die onderhoude gebruik word of aan die transkribeerder van die onderhoude bekend sal word nie. Studente wat die inligting gebruik vir hulle navorsing sal ook nie u regte naam kan koppel aan u inligting nie en so hou ons dus u inligting vertroulik. Die inligting wat ons in hierdie studie kry, beide elektronies en papier kopieë, sal veilig bewaar word sodat ongemagtigde persone nie toegang tot die inligting kan kry nie. Alle harde kopieë met u inligting (byvoorbeeld u getekende ingeligte toestemmingsvorm) sal in die projekteur se kantoor toegesluit word. Slegs sy en die projek administratiewe assistent sal toegang hiertoe hê. Alle elektroniese inligting sal beskerm word met 'n wagwoord. Die opnames van die onderhoude sal uitgegee word sodra dit volledig getranskribeer is. Elektroniese kopieë van demografiese inligting en getranskribeerde onderhoude sal vir minstens 8 jaar bewaar vir die moontlike gebruik deur toekomstige studente navorsers wat onder die leiding van die projekteur werk.

16. DEELNAME EN ONTTREKKING

U kan self besluit of u aan die studie wil deelneem of nie. Indien u besluit om aan die studie deel te neem, kan u enige tyd daarvan onttrek sonder enige nadelige gevolge. U kan ook weier om sommige vrae te antwoord, maar steeds aan die studie deelneem.

17. IDENTIFIKASIE VAN ONDERSOEKERS

Dr. Elmien Lesch van die Sielkunde Departement aan Stellenbosch Universiteit is die leier van hierdie navorsing. Indien jy enige vrae of bekommernis oor die navorsing het, kontak haar by: Tel: 021 808 3455, E-pos: el5@sun.ac.za.

18. REGTE VAN PROEFPERSONE

U kan enige tyd u inwilliging terugtrek en u deelname beëindig, sonder enige nadelige gevolge vir u. Deur deel te neem aan die navorsing sal u geensins enige wetlike regte, eise of regspraak opgee 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/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.*] 'n Afskrif van hierdie vorm is aan my gegee.

Naam van deelnemer

**Handtekening van deelnemer/
regsvertegenwoordiger**

Datum

VERKLARING DEUR ONDERSOEKER

Ek verklaar dat ek die inligting in hierdie dokument verduidelik het aan [*naam van die proefpersoon/deelnemer*] en/of sy/haar regsvertegenwoordiger [*naam van die regsvertegenwoordiger*]. 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*].

Handtekening van onderhoudvoerder

Datum

Addendum B3: Adolescents informed assent and parent consent form

INLIGTINGSTUK EN TOESTEMMINGSVORM VIR ADOLESSENTE EN HUL

OUERS/VOOGDE

Ons wil jou graag nooi om deel te neem aan ons navorsingsprojek oor vaderskap. Lees asseblief hierdie inligtingstuk noukeurig deur. As jy sou belangstel om deel te neem aan ons projek, neem hierdie vorm huis toe en vra jou ouers om ook daarna te kyk en dit in te vul. As jy en jou ouers instem om deel te neem, sal julle **elkeen R100 geskenkbewys ontvang** nadat ons met julle al drie **aparte** onderhoude gevoer het. Baie dankie vir die tyd wat jy spandeer om hierdie te lees, en ons hoop om jou weer te sien!

TITEL VAN NAVORSINGSPROJEK: Vaderskap in Wes-Kaapse Gemeenskappe



Wat is navorsing?

Navorsing is iets wat ons doen om uit te vind hoe dinge en mense werk. Ons gebruik navorsing om meer uit te vind van jongmense en die dinge wat hulle lewe, hulle skole, hulle gesinne en hulle gesondheid beïnvloed.

Waaroor gaan hierdie navorsingsprojek?

Die studie wil meer kennis kry en beskikbaar maak oor hoe vaderskap in jou gemeenskap verstaan en beoefen word. Ons weet tans baie min van hoe mense in jou gemeenskap dink, voel en doen oor vaderskap.

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

Jy is as 'n moontlike deelnemer gekies omdat jy in hierdie gemeenskap woon, Afrikaanssprekend is, en 'n 15-17-jarige seun of dogter is. Jou pa en ma (of die persoon wat die rol van ma in jou lewe speel) sal ook gevra word om aan die studie deel te neem. Jy sal net aan die studie deelneem indien jou pa en ma ook instem om aan die studie deel te neem.

Wat sal in hierdie studie met my gebeur?

Indien jy, jou pa en ma bereid is om deel te neem, sal ons van jou verwag om die volgende te doen:

- (i) 'n vraelys in te vul oor waar jy bly, jou huislike omstandighede en gesinslede.
- (ii) 'n vraelys in te vul waarin jy gevra word oor die goed wat jou pa vir jou doen en aktiwiteite wat julle saamdoen; en
- (iii) deel te neem aan 'n onderhoud wat deur 'n studente-navorsers of navorsing assistent met jou gevoer sal word oor hoe jy dink en voel oor verskillende aspekte van vaderskap, en jou siening en ervaring van jou verhouding met jou pa.

Afhangende van die reëlings wat met jou skool getref kan word, sal die vraelys voltooiing en onderhoude tydens skoolure plaasvind. Indien jy nie beskikbaar is gedurende skoolure nie, sal ons met jou en jou ouers reël vir 'n tyd en veilige plek wat jou en die navorsers pas. Indien jy ver van die plek bly, sal ons jou betaal vir die heen en terugrit van die navorsing plek tot jou huis teen die gewone taxi tariewe. Nadat ons seker gemaak het dat die nodige toestemmingsvorme voltooi is, sal die voltooiing van die vraelyste begin. Daarna sal die onderhoude gevoer word deur een van die studente navorsers. Die onderhoude sal op band opgeneem word. Onderhoude sal in Afrikaans gedoen word deur Universiteit van Stellenbosch en Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland

studente en/of navorsing assistente, en sal tussen 1 en 1½ ure duur. Indien ons dalk verdere inligting van jou nodig het, mag ons jou kontak om nog 'n onderhoud te reël.

Kan enige iets fout gaan?

Dit mag dalk vir jou moeilik wees om oor sekere dele van jou en jou pa se verhouding te praat. Jy kan egter enige tyd die onderhoud stop of kies om sekere vrae nie te antwoord nie, sonder enige nadelige gevolge. Jy kan ook enige tyd tydens die studie besluit om nie meer deel te neem nie. Wanneer jy dit besluit, sal al die inligting wat jy met ons gedeel het, vernietig word.

Dit is moontlik dat jy dalk tydens die navorsing bewus kan word van persoonlike of gesinsprobleme waarmee jy dalk hulp of ondersteuning nodig mag hê. In so 'n geval, kan jy 'n afspraak met die voorligting onderwyser in jou skool maak om dit te bespreek of hom/haar vra om vir jou 'n afspraak met die skool sielkundige te maak. Jy kan ook van die gratis voorligting dienste gebruik maak wat deur die Kindersorg organisasie (tel. no: 023 551 1694) in jou gemeenskap verskaf word. Of jy kan die tolvrye nommer vir Childline (08000 55 555) of Lifeline (0861 322 322) skakel vir gratis telefoniese ondersteuning en raad.

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 van vaderskap. Verder sal jy, jou pa en jou ma elkeen R100 geskenkbewys ontvang sodra ons die vraelyste en onderhoude met elkeen van julle voltooi het.

Sal enige iemand weet ek neem deel?



Enige inligting wat uit die navorsing verkry word en wat met jou gekoppel 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.** Jy kan dus self besluit of jy sulke inligting aan die onderhoudvoerder wil vertel. Wanneer die onderhoudvoerder vir jou vrae vra waar jy dalk sulke inligting bekend mag maak, sal sy/hy jou hiervan bewus maak sodat jy kan besluit wat jy wil bekend maak. Voorbeelde van sulke vrae is wanneer ons jou vra oor drank of dwelmiddel gebruik in die gesin of dissiplinerende van kinders. Onthou ook dat jy op enige stadium kan sê dat jy nie meer wil voortgaan met die onderhoud nie. Jou inligting sal dan vernietig word. Jy kan ook weier om 'n vraag te antwoord waarmee jy ongemaklik voel sonder dat jy benadeel sal word. Indien jy wel in jou onderhoud inligting omtrent moontlike mishandeling van jouself bekend maak, sal die onderhoudvoerder die projekteier in kennis stel. Die projekteier sal dan reël dat die maatskaplike werker wat in jou gemeenskap met hierdie gevalle werk, met jou kontak sal maak om jou situasie met jou te bespreek.

Ons sal nie jou regte naam in enige van die navorsing dokumente gebruik nie en jou inligting sal dus nie herken kan word in sulke dokumente nie. Jy sal jou eie skuilnaam kies vir gebruik in die onderhoude en jou regte naam sal dus nie gebruik word nie. Die inligting wat ons in hierdie studie kry, beide elektronies en papier kopieë, sal veilig bewaar word sodat ongemagtigde persone nie toegang tot die inligting kan kry nie. Alle harde kopieë met jou inligting (byvoorbeeld jou getekende ingeligte toestemmingsvorm) sal in die projekteier se kantoor toegesluit word. Slegs sy en die projek administratiewe assistent sal toegang hiertoe hê. Alle elektroniese inligting sal beskerm word met 'n wagwoord. Die opnames van die onderhoude sal uitgevee word sodra dit volledig neergeskryf/getranskribeer is. Elektroniese kopieë van demografiese inligting en getranskribeerde onderhoude sal vir minstens 8 jaar bewaar word vir die moontlike gebruik deur toekomstige studente navorsers wat onder die leiding van die projekteier werk.

Wie doen die navorsing en met wie kan ek oor die studie praat?

Dr. Elmien Lesch van die Sielkunde Departement aan Stellenbosch Universiteit is die leier van hierdie navorsing. Indien jy enige vrae of bekommernis oor die navorsing het, kontak haar by: Tel: 021 808 3455, E-pos: el5@sun.ac.za. Indien jy vrae het oor jou regte as deelnemer by die navorsing, skakel met Me Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] van die Afdeling Navorsingsontwikkeling aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch, of vra jou ouers of onderwyser om dit namens jou te doen.

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 navorsing proses besluit om te stop en jy sal nie in die moeilikheid beland nie.

Verstaan jy hierdie navorsingstudie, en wil jy daaraan deelneem?

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

JA		NEE	
JA		NEE	

Dui asb aan met 'n X

Indien jy en jou ouers instem om aan die navorsing deel te neem, voltooi en teken asb hieronder. Gee asb ook vir ons 'n naam en kontaknommer sodat ons jou kan kontak om verdere reëlings te tref. **Bring asb die voltooië vorm terug skool toe en handig dit in soos gereël.**

Kontakpersoon: _____

Telefoonnummer: _____

Naam van kind

Naam van ouer of voog

Handtekening van kind

Handtekening van ouer of voog

Datum

Datum

Addendum C1: Fathers working interview schedule

Agtergrond inligting vir volwasse deelnemers (sosiale pa/dogter)

Vertroulik

	Hoe verkies u moet ons mekaar aanspreek?						
A	Demografiese vrae						
1	Naam						
2	Ouderdom						
3	Geboortedatum (DD/MM/JJJJ)						
4	Waar kan ons jou kontak (selfoon of telefoon no.)?						
5	Watter taal praat jy by die huis?						
	Afrikaans		Engels		Xhosa		Ander (spesifiseer)
6	Wat is die hoogste vlak van onderrig wat jy voltooi het? (Kies een)						
	Geen skoolopleiding		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		B-graad (Baccalaureus)				
	B-graad en diploma		Honneursgraad				
	Hoër graad (meesters- of doktersgraad)						
7	Behoort jy aan 'n geloof?				Ja		Nee
8	Indien ja, aan watter geloof behoort jy?						
9	In Suid-Afrika dink mense dikwels aan hulself in terme van ras. Aan watter rassegroep voel jy behoort jy?						
	Bruin		Swart		Indiër		Wit
	Ander (spesifiseer asb.)						
10	In watter soort huis leef jy? (Kies een)						

	Baksteen huis op 'n aparte standplaas			
	Huis/struktuur in agterplaas			
	Informele hut/blyplek in agterplaas			
	Informele hut/blyplek NIE in agterplaas NIE			
	Ander (spesifiseer asb.)			
11	Wie se huis is dit?			
	Jou eie		Huweliksmaat of <i>partner</i>	
	Ma of pa		Broer of suster	
	Ouma of oupa		Uitgebreide familie	
	Plaaseienaar		Ander (spesifiseer asb.)	
12	Hoeveel mense bly in die huis?			
13	Hoeveel vertrekke is daar in die huis? (<i>Track answer</i>)			
14	Hoeveel slaapkamers is daar in die huis?			
15	Hoeveel mense deel 'n slaapkamer? (<i>Track answer</i>)			
16	Hoeveel mense deel 'n bed? (<i>Track answer</i>)			
17	Is daar 'n badkamer in die huis?	Ja		Nee
18	Is daar 'n toilet in die huis?	Ja		Nee
19	Is daar elektrisiteit in die huis?	Ja		Nee
20	Is daar water in die huis?	Ja		Nee
21	Het jy of jou huweliksmaat/ <i>partner</i> jul eie motor?	Ja		Nee
22	Het jy 'n selfoon?	Ja		Nee
23	Drink of rook jy? (<i>Indicate one/both</i>)	Ja		Nee
24	Indien ja, hoeveel sigarette/eenhede alkohol per dag/week?			
B	Inkomste			
1	Verdien jy enige geld?	Ja		Nee
	[B1. As jy tans werk]			
2	Indien ja, omtrent hoeveel uur werk jy per week?			
	Minder as 10	10 tot 20	21 tot 30	31 tot 40
	Meer as 41			
3	Watter soort werk doen jy?			
4	Omtrent hoeveel geld verdien jy per week en per maand? (<i>Prepare participant for question</i>)			

	Week		Maand	
5	Vir hoeveel persone moet jy sorg (jousef ingesluit)?			
	[B2. As jy nie tans werk nie]			
2	As jy nie werk het nie, van wanneer af het jy nie werk nie?			
3	Is daar enige maande in 'n jaar wanneer jy geld verdien?	Ja		Nee
4	Indien <u>ja</u> , hoeveel maande in 'n jaar verdien jy geld?			
5	Wat was die laaste werk wat jy gehad het?			
C	Huishouding			
1	Het jy of enige ander persoon in jou huishouding enige ander vorm van inkomste, soos 'n toelaag?	Ja		Nee
2	Kry enige persoon in jou huishouding ander inkomste soos 'n toelaag?			
3	Ongeveer hoeveel geld verdien die mense in jou huishouding altesaam in 'n maand? (<i>Prepare participant for question</i>)			
	MAANDELIKSE INKOMSTE			
	JAARLIKSE INKOMSTE (huishouding) <i>(Veldwerker bereken die jaarlikse inkomste vir die huishouding.)</i>			
	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			
4	In watter soort verhouding is jy nou? (Kies een) (<i>Give alternatives below to participant</i>)			
	<i>[Indien jy tans in meer as een verhouding is, spesifiseer elke verhoudings tipe]</i>			
	In 'n verhouding maar bly nie saam nie			sedert
	Getroud			sedert
	Getroud, maar bly nie saam nie (bv. maat bly/werk in 'n ander dorp)			sedert
	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 (<i>partner</i>) is oorlede			sedert

5	Beskryf die soort verhouding waarin jy nou is as jy nie een van die opsies hierbo gekies het nie.				
6	Hoeveel kinders is daar in die huishouding?				
7	Wat is hul ouderdomme?				
8	Wie is die biologiese ouers van hierdie kinders? [Dui aantal kinders op wie hierdie opsie van toepassing is aan]				
	Jy en jou huidige maat				
	Jou kind uit 'n vorige verhouding				
	Jou huidige maat se kind uit 'n vorige verhouding				
	Iemand anders se kind				
9	Het jy enige kinders wat nie by jou in dieselfde huis bly nie?	Ja		Nee	
10	Indien ja, hoeveel?				
11	Wat is die ouderdom(me) van hierdie kind/kinders?				

Vrae vir die Pa		Naam van kind:
		Geslag van kind: dogter
1	Waarom het julle besluit om deel te neem aan die projek?	
Biografiese beskrywing		
2	Vertel my van jou kind? Hoe sal jy haar beskryf? (Onthou die fokus hier is op die kind wat aan die studie deelneem en dat jy die pa moet help om hierdie fokus te behou in die onderhoud.)	
3	Watter tipe kind is sy? Wat is die eienskappe van haar wat jy van hou? Watter eienskappe hou jy nie eintlik van nie, of wat jy sou wou verander?	
4	Hoe het dit gebeur dat jy die pa-figuur van jou kind geword het? Hoekom het jy ingestem om dit te doen?	
5	Hoe het jy daarvoor gevoel toe dit gebeur? Hoe voel dit nou vir jou?	
Aktiwiteite		
6	Watter tipe goed doen julle saam as pa en dogter? (Prompt en brei uit na aanleiding van antwoorde) Prompts: Neem na plekke, take by die huis, kerk, stap ens.	
7	Watter tipe goed/aktiwiteite geniet sy om saam met jou te doen? Hoe weet jy dat sy dit geniet?	
Skool motivering en toekoms		
8	Hoe voel jy oor jou kind se skoolvordering? Is jy tevrede daarmee?	

9	Hoe ondersteun jy haar om goed te doen op skool?	
10	Woon jy gebeure by waaraan sy deelneem? <i>Prompts: by die skool, kerk, belangstellings</i>	
11	Wat sou jy wil hê moet jou kind doen as sy eendag klaar is met skool?	
12	Hoe beplan jy daarvoor?	
Kommunikasie		
13	Waaroor gesels jy en jou kind? Gee asb. voorbeelde.	
14	Wie begin meestal die gesprekke: jy of jou kind? Hoekom?	
15	Wat is jou kind se belangstellings? Hoe voel jy oor hierdie belangstellings?	
16	Ek wil bietjie met jou gesels oor jou kind se gevoelswêreld. Ouers sê dikwels vir ons dat dit vir hulle moeilik is om hulle kinders te verstaan as die kinders tieners word. Hulle weet veral nie lekker hoe om dit te hanteer as kinders kwaad of hartseer word nie. Wat is jou ervaring/hoe is dit vir jou met jou tienerkind?	
17	Wat weet jy wat jou kind bly, hartseer, bang of kwaad maak? Wanneer sy hartseer is, wat maak jy daarmee? As sy kwaad is, wat maak jy daarmee? <i>(Nota vir onderhoudsvoerder: ons wil graag meer weet oor hoe die pa se ingesteldheid, kennis en hantering mbt sy kind se gevoelens is. Watter tipe gevoelens kan hy sag en positief op reageer, en watter vind hy moeilik om meet te "relate" of positief te reageer.)</i>	
18	Weet jy wat jou kind se bekommernisse is? <i>(Vra vir voorbeelde indien antwoord vaag is.)</i> Wat doen jy daaromtrent?	
19	Verskil jou kind soms van jou of praat terug? Hoe voel jy daarvoor en wat doen jy sulke tye?	
20	Is daar goed waaroor julle nie praat nie, maar wat jy dink julle behoort oor te praat? Hoekom?	
21	Een van die dinge wat gewoonlik vir ouers moeilik is, is om met 'n kind te praat of te leer oor seks. Is dit vir jou ook moeilik? Wat is vir jou belangrik dat sy moet weet oor seks? Wat het jy al met jou kind gepraat oor seks? (Bv. seksopvoeding)	
22	Hoe wil jy hê moet jou kind optree mbt seks? (Verwagtinge)	
Netwerk in die gemeenskap		
23	Watse tipe goed buite die huis in die gemeenskap, soos aktiwiteite ens. (kerk/naskoolse aktiwiteite/organisasies), moedig jy jou kind aan om van deel te wees?	
Dissipline en toesig		

24	Watse reëls het jy vir jou kind?	
25	Wat gebeur as sy nie by daai reëls hou nie? (<i>Vra voorbeelde, bv. Watter gedrag pla jou die meeste?</i>)	
26	Wie in julle huis maak seker dat sy by die reëls hou? Soos bv. dat huiswerk gedoen word of dat sy by inkomtye hou?	
27	Is jy bewus van waarheen jou kind gaan en wat sy doen saam met haar vriende?	
Prys en liefde		
28	Wanneer was jy trots op jou kind? (<i>Kry ryk voorbeeld</i>)	
29	Wanneer was jy teleurgesteld in haar? (<i>Kry ryk voorbeeld</i>)	
30	Hoe vertel en wys jy vir jou kind dat jy lief is vir haar?	
Voorsiening/Sosiale en materiële indirekte sorg		
31	Is jy bewus van wat jou kind nodig het? Voorbeelde? <i>Prompts: skool, gesondheid, klere</i>	
32	Hoe maak jy seker dat sy dit alles kry?	
33	Hoe voorsien jy vir haar basiese behoeftes? <i>Prompts: kos, klere, behuising, gesondheidsorg, vervoer</i>	
34	Hoe neem jy verantwoordelikheid vir die finansiële ondersteuning van jou kind?	
Sosiale pa		
35	Sien jy jou dogter as jou kind? Hoekom/hoekom nie?	
36	Noem sy jou "pa"? Sê jy vir ander dat sy jou kind is?	
37	Is dit vir jou anders om haar pa te wees as vir jou biologiese kinders? Hoe is dit anders? Hoekom is dit anders? <i>(Indien van toepassing)</i>	
38	Hoe sou jy graag wou hê moet sy jou hanteer as pa-figuur?	
39	Wie dink jy is eintlik haar "regte" pa: jy of haar biologiese pa? Hoekom?	
Betekenis van pa-wees		
40	Hoe is dit vir jou om 'n pa te wees?	
41	Baie keer is dit nogal swaar om 'n pa te wees. Wanneer is dit vir jou swaar of sleg?	
42	Wat is die goed waarmee jy sukkel van pa-wees?	

43	Waarvan sou jy meer wou weet of leer van pa-wees wat jou sal help om die beste pa moontlik te wees?	
44	Wat maak 'n pa 'n goeie pa?	
45	So dis wat 'n goeie pa is. As jy nou dink aan hoe 'n slegte pa is, watse prentjie kom op in jou kop?	
Sorgproses verantwoordelikheid (m.a.w. in watter mate sien hy toe dat in al die bg voldoen word)		
46	<p>Daar is baie goed wat pa's dalk self doen vir kinders, maar dan is daar weer ander goed waar hy reëlins tref sodat dit wel gebeur, al doen hy dit nie self nie. Is daar sulke goed wat jy vir jou kind doen?</p> <p><i>Note to interviewer: The answer to this question should be gained from the total interview, in other words this one question is not meant to illicit all the necessary information to answer this aspect of care. So, ask yourself to what extent you have obtained an idea of how this particular father takes responsibility to ensure that his child's needs are met.</i></p>	

Addendum C2: Mothers working interview schedule

Agtergrond inligting vir volwasse deelnemers (ma/dogter/sosiale pa)

Vertroulik

	Hoe verkies u moet ons mekaar aanspreek?						
A	Demografiese vrae						
1	Naam						
2	Ouderdom						
3	Geboortedatum (DD/MM/JJJJ)						
4	Waar kan ons jou kontak (selfoon of telefoon no.)?						
5	Watter taal praat jy by die huis?						
	Afrikaans		Engels		Xhosa		Ander (spesifiseer)
6	Wat is die hoogste vlak van onderrig wat jy voltooi het? (Kies een)						
	Geen skoolopleiding				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				B-graad (Baccalaureus)		
	B-graad en diploma				Honneursgraad		
	Hoër graad (meesters- of doktersgraad)						
7	Behoort jy aan 'n geloof?				Ja		Nee
8	Indien ja, aan watter geloof behoort jy?						
9	In Suid-Afrika dink mense dikwels aan hulself in terme van ras. Aan watter rassegroep voel jy behoort jy?						
	Bruin		Swart		Indiër		Wit
	Ander (spesifiseer asb.)						
10	In watter soort huis leef jy? (Kies een)						

	Baksteen huis op 'n aparte standplaas			
	Huis/struktuur in agterplaas			
	Informele hut/blyplek in agterplaas			
	Informele hut/blyplek NIE in agterplaas NIE			
	Ander (spesifiseer asb.)			
11	Wie se huis is dit?			
	Jou eie		Huweliksmaat of <i>partner</i>	
	Ma of pa		Broer of suster	
	Ouma of oupa		Uitgebreide familie	
	Plaaseienaar		Ander (spesifiseer asb.)	
12	Hoeveel mense bly in die huis?			
13	Hoeveel vertrekke is daar in die huis? (<i>Track answer</i>)			
14	Hoeveel slaapkamers is daar in die huis?			
15	Hoeveel mense deel 'n slaapkamer? (<i>Track answer</i>)			
16	Hoeveel mense deel 'n bed? (<i>Track answer</i>)			
17	Is daar 'n badkamer in die huis?	Ja		Nee
18	Is daar 'n toilet in die huis?	Ja		Nee
19	Is daar elektrisiteit in die huis?	Ja		Nee
20	Is daar water in die huis?	Ja		Nee
21	Het jy of jou huweliksmaat/ <i>partner</i> jul eie motor?	Ja		Nee
22	Het jy 'n selfoon?	Ja		Nee
23	Drink of rook jy? (<i>Indicate one/both</i>)	Ja		Nee
24	Indien ja, hoeveel sigarette/eenhede alkohol per dag/week?			
B	Inkomste			
1	Verdien jy enige geld?	Ja		Nee
	[B1. As jy tans werk]			
2	Indien ja, omtrent hoeveel uur werk jy per week?			
	Minder as 10	10 tot 20	21 tot 30	31 tot 40
	Meer as 41			
3	Watter soort werk doen jy?			
4	Omtrent hoeveel geld verdien jy per week en per maand? (<i>Prepare participant for question</i>)			

	Week		Maand	
5	Vir hoeveel persone moet jy sorg (jouself ingesluit)?			
	[B2. As jy nie tans werk nie]			
2	As jy nie werk het nie, van wanneer af het jy nie werk nie?			
3	Is daar enige maande in 'n jaar wanneer jy geld verdien?	Ja		Nee
4	Indien <u>ja</u> , hoeveel maande in 'n jaar verdien jy geld?			
5	Wat was die laaste werk wat jy gehad het?			
C	Huishouding			
1	Het jy of enige ander persoon in jou huishouding enige ander vorm van inkomste?	Ja		Nee
2	Kry enige persoon in jou huishouding ander inkomste soos 'n toelaag?	Ja		Nee
3	Ongeveer hoeveel geld verdien die mense in jou huishouding altesaam in 'n maand? (<i>Prepare participant for question</i>)			
	MAANDELIKSE INKOMSTE			
	JAARLIKSE INKOMSTE (huishouding) <i>(Veldwerker bereken die jaarlikse inkomste vir die huishouding.)</i>			
	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			
4	In watter soort verhouding is jy nou? (Kies een) (<i>Give alternatives below to participant</i>)			
	<i>[Indien jy tans in meer as een verhouding is, spesifiseer elke verhoudings tipe]</i>			
	In 'n verhouding maar bly nie saam nie			sedert
	Getroud			sedert
	Getroud, maar bly nie saam nie (bv. maat bly/werk in 'n ander dorp)			sedert
	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 (<i>partner</i>) is oorlede			sedert

5	Beskryf die soort verhouding waarin jy nou is as jy nie een van die opsies hierbo gekies het nie.		
6	Hoeveel kinders is daar in die huishouding?		
7	Wat is hul ouderdomme?		
8	Wie is die biologiese ouers van hierdie kinders? [Dui aantal kinders op wie hierdie opsie van toepassing is aan]		
	Jy en jou huidige maat		
	Jou kind uit 'n vorige verhouding		
	Jou huidige maat se kind uit 'n vorige verhouding		
	Iemand anders se kind		
9	Het jy enige kinders wat nie by jou in dieselfde huis bly nie?	Ja	Nee
10	Indien ja, hoeveel?		
11	Wat is die ouderdom(me) van hierdie kind/kinders?		

Vrae vir die Ma		Naam van kind:	
		Geslag van kind: dogter	
1	Waarom het julle besluit om deel te neem aan die projek?		
Biografiese beskrywing			
2	Vertel my van jou kind? Hoe sal haar pa hom beskryf? (Onthou die fokus hier is op die kind wat aan die studie deelneem en dat jy die ma moet help om hierdie fokus te behou in die onderhoud.)		
3	Watter tipe kind is sy? Wat is die eienskappe van haar wat jy dink haar pa van hou? Watter eienskappe dink jy hou hy nie eintlik van nie, of wat hy sou wou verander?		
4	Hoe het dit gebeur dat hy die pa-figuur van jou kind geword het? Hoekom dink jy het hy ingestem om dit te doen?		
5	Hoe dink jy het hy daarvoor gevoel toe dit gebeur? Hoe dink jy voel dit nou vir hom?		
Aktiwiteite			
6	Watter tipe goed doen hulle saam as pa en dogter? (Prompt en brei uit na aanleiding van antwoorde) Prompts: Neem na plekke, take by die huis, kerk, stap ens.		
7	Watter tipe goed/aktiwiteite geniet sy om saam met haar pa te doen? Hoe weet jy dat sy dit geniet?		
Skool motivering en toekoms			
8	Hoe voel jou kind se pa oor haar skoolvordering? Is hy tevrede daarmee?		

9	Hoe ondersteun jou kind se pa haar om goed te doen op skool?	
10	Woon haar pa gebeure by waaraan sy deelneem? <i>Prompts: by die skool, kerk, belangstellings</i>	
11	Wat sou haar pa wil hê moet jou kind doen as sy eendag klaar is met skool?	
12	Hoe beplan jou kind se pa daarvoor?	
Kommunikasie		
13	Waaroor gesels jou kind en haar pa? Gee asb. voorbeelde.	
14	Wie begin meestal die gesprekke: jou kind of haar pa? Hoekom?	
15	Wat dink jou kind se pa is jou kind se belangstellings? Hoe voel hy oor hierdie belangstellings?	
16	Ek wil bietjie met jou gesels oor jou kind se gevoelswêreld. Ouers sê dikwels vir ons dat dit vir hulle moeilik is om hulle kinders te verstaan as die kinders tieners word. Hulle weet veral nie lekker hoe om dit te hanteer as kinders kwaad of hartseer word nie. Wat dink jy is jou kind se pa se ervaring/hoe is dit vir hom met jou tienerkind?	
17	Wat dink jy weet jou kind se pa van wat haar bly, hartseer, bang of kwaad maak? Wanneer sy hartseer is, wat maak haar pa daarmee? As sy kwaad is, wat maak haar pa daarmee? <i>(Nota vir onderhoudsvoerder: ons wil graag meer weet oor hoe die pa se ingesteldheid, kennis en hantering mbt sy kind se gevoelens is. Watter tipe gevoelens kan hy sag en positief op reageer, en watter vind hy moeilik om meet te "relate" of positief te reageer.)</i>	
18	Weet jou kind se pa wat haar bekommernisse is? <i>(Vra vir voorbeelde indien antwoord vaag is.)</i> Wat doen hy daaromtrent?	
19	Verskil jou kind soms van haar pa of praat terug met hom? Hoe dink jy voel haar pa daarvoor en wat doen hy sulke tye?	
20	Is daar goed waaroor jou kind en haar pa nie praat nie, maar wat jy dink hulle behoort oor te praat? Hoekom?	
21	Een van die dinge wat gewoonlik vir ouers moeilik is, is om met 'n kind te praat of te leer oor seks. Is dit vir haar pa ook moeilik? Wat dink jy is vir hom belangrik dat sy moet weet oor seks? Wat het hy al met haar gepraat oor seks? (Bv. seksopvoeding)	
22	Hoe dink jy wil haar pa hê moet jou kind optree mbt seks? (Verwagtinge)	
Netwerk in die gemeenskap		
23	Watse tipe goed buite die huis in die gemeenskap, soos aktiwiteite ens. (kerk/naskoolse aktiwiteite/organisasies), moedig jou kind se pa haar aan om van deel te wees?	
Dissipline en toesig		

24	Watse reëls het jou kind se pa vir haar?	
25	Wat gebeur as sy nie by daai reëls hou nie? (<i>Vra voorbeelde, bv. Watter gedrag pla hom die meeste?</i>)	
26	Wie in julle huis maak seker dat sy by die reëls hou? Soos bv. dat huiswerk gedoen word of dat sy by inkomtye hou?	
27	Is jou kind se pa bewus van waarheen sy gaan en wat sy doen saam met haar vriende?	
Prys en liefde		
28	Wanneer was jou kind se pa trots op haar? (<i>Kry ryk voorbeeld</i>)	
29	Wanneer was jou kind se pa teleurgesteld in haar? (<i>Kry ryk voorbeeld</i>)	
30	Hoe vertel en wys jou kind se pa dat hy lief is vir haar?	
Voorsiening/Sosiale en materiële indirekte sorg		
31	Is jou kind se pa bewus van wat sy nodig het? Voorbeelde? <i>Prompts: skool, gesondheid, klere</i>	
32	Hoe maak haar pa seker dat sy dit alles kry?	
33	Hoe voorsien haar pa vir haar basiese behoeftes? <i>Prompts: kos, klere, behuising, gesondheidsorg, vervoer</i>	
34	Hoe neem haar pa verantwoordelikheid vir die finansiële ondersteuning van jou kind?	
Sosiale pa		
35	Dink jy hy sien jou kind as sy kind? Hoekom/hoekom nie?	
36	Noem sy hom "pa"? Sê hy vir ander dat jou kind sy kind is?	
37	Dink jy dit is vir haar pa anders om vir haar 'n pa te wees as vir sy biologiese kinders? Hoe is dit anders? Hoekom is dit anders? <i>(Indien van toepassing)</i>	
38	Hoe dink jy sou hy graag wou hê moet jou kind hom hanteer as pa-figuur?	
39	Wie dink jy is eintlik haar "regte" pa: hy of haar biologiese pa? Hoekom?	
Betekenis van pa-wees		
40	Hoe dink jy is dit vir jou kind se pa om 'n pa te wees?	
41	Baie keer is dit nogal swaar om 'n pa te wees. Wanneer dink jy is dit vir jou kind se pa swaar of sleg?	
42	Wat is die goed waarmee hy sukkel van pa-wees?	

43	Waarvan dink jy behoort jou kind se pa meer te weet of te leer van pa-wees, wat hom sal help om die beste pa moontlik te wees?	
44	Wat maak 'n pa 'n goeie pa?	
45	So dis wat 'n goeie pa is. As jy nou dink aan hoe 'n slegte pa is, watse prentjie kom op in jou kop?	
Sorgproses verantwoordelikheid (m.a.w. in watter mate sien hy toe dat in al die bg voldoen word)		
46	<p>Daar is baie goed wat pa's dalk self doen vir kinders, maar dan is daar weer ander goed waar hy reëligns tref sodat dit wel gebeur, al doen hy dit nie self nie. Is daar sulke goed wat jou kind se pa doen?</p> <p><i>Note to interviewer: The answer to this question should be gained from the total interview, in other words this one question is not meant to illicit all the necessary information to answer this aspect of care. So, ask yourself to what extent you have obtained an idea of how this particular father takes responsibility to ensure that his child's needs are met.</i></p>	

Addendum C3: Adolescents working interview schedule

Agtergrond inligting vir dogter (sosiale pa)

Vertroulik

A	Demografiese vrae							
1	Naam							
2	Ouderdom							
3	In watter graad is jy?							
4	Het jy al 'n graad herhaal? Indien ja, watter graad?							
5	Waar kan ons jou kontak (selfoon of telefoon no.)?							
6	Watter taal praat jy by die huis?							
	Afrikaans		Engels		Xhosa		Ander (spesifiseer)	
7	Wie woon almal saam met jou in die huis?				Totaal:			
8	Woon jou biologiese pa in dieselfde huis as jy?							
9	As hy nie by jou woon nie, waar woon hy en saam met wie?							
10	As jou biologiese pa nie by jou woon nie, woon daar iemand anders by jou wat jy jou pa noem en wie is dit?							
11	Wie is meer van 'n pa vir jou, jou biologiese pa of die persoon wat jy by die vorige vraag aangedui het?							
12	Is daar nog ander mans wat die rol van pa in jou lewe speel?							
13	Werk jou pa op die oomblik?							
14	Watse werk doen jou pa?							
15	Hoe oud is jou pa?							
16	Tot watter graad het jou pa skoolgegaan?							
17	Behoort jy aan 'n geloof?				Ja		Nee	
18	Indien <u>ja</u> , aan watter geloof behoort jy?							
19	In Suid-Afrika dink mense dikwels aan hulself in terme van ras. Aan watter rassegroep voel jy behoort jy?							
	Bruin		Swart		Indiër		Wit	
	Ander (spesifiseer asb.)							
20	In watter soort huis leef jy? (Kies een)							
	Baksteen huis op 'n aparte standplaas							
	Huis/struktuur in agterplaas							

	Informele hut/blyplek in agterplaas			
	Informele hut/blyplek NIE in agterplaas NIE			
	Ander (spesifiseer asb.)			
21	Wie se huis is dit?			
	Jou pa/ma/versorger s'n		Ouma of oupa	
	Broer of suster		Uitgebreide familie	
	Plaaseienaar		Ander (spesifiseer asb)	
22	Hoeveel vertrekke is daar in die huis? (<i>Track answer</i>)			
23	Hoeveel slaapkamers is daar in die huis?			
24	Met wie deel jy 'n slaapkamer? (<i>Track answer</i>)			
25	Met wie deel jy 'n bed? (<i>Track answer</i>)			
26	Is daar 'n badkamer in die huis?	Ja		Nee
27	Is daar 'n toilet in die huis?	Ja		Nee
28	Is daar elektrisiteit in die huis?	Ja		Nee
29	Is daar water in die huis?	Ja		Nee

Vrae vir die Tiener		Geslag van kind:	
1	Waarom het julle besluit om deel te neem aan die projek?		
Biografiese beskrywing			
2	Vertel my van jou pa? Hoe sal jy hom beskryf?		
3	Watter tipe pa is hy? Wat is die eienskappe van hom wat jy van hou? Watter eienskappe hou jy nie eintlik van nie, of wat jy sou wou verander?		
4	Hoe het dit gebeur dat hy jou pa-figuur geword het? Hoekom dink jy het hy ingestem om dit te doen?		
5	Hoe dink jy het hy daarvoor gevoel toe dit gebeur? Hoe dink jy voel dit nou vir hom?		
Aktiwiteite			
6	Watter tipe goed doen julle saam as pa en kind? (<i>Prompt en brei uit na aanleiding van antwoorde</i>) <i>Prompts: Neem na plekke, take by die huis, kerk, stap ens.</i>		
7	Watter tipe goed/aktiwiteite geniet jy om saam met hom te doen? Dink jy hy weet dat jy dit geniet?		
Skool motivering en toekoms			

8	Hoe voel jy oor jou skoolvordering? Dink jy jou pa is tevrede daarmee?	
9	Hoe ondersteun jou pa jou om goed te doen op skool?	
10	Woon jou pa gebeure by waaraan jy deelneem? <i>Prompts: by die skool, kerk, belangstellings</i>	
11	Wat wil jy eendag doen as jy klaar is met skool en wat wil jou pa hê moet jy doen?	
12	Hoe beplan jou pa daarvoor?	
Kommunikasie		
13	Waaroor gesels jy en jou pa? Gee asb. voorbeelde.	
14	Wie begin meestal die gesprekke: jy of hy? Hoekom?	
15	Wat dink jou pa is jou belangstellings? Hoe voel hy oor hierdie belangstellings?	
16	Ek wil bietjie met jou gesels oor jou gevoelswêreld. Ouers sê dikwels vir ons dat dit vir hulle moeilik is om hulle kinders te verstaan as die kinders tieners word. Hulle weet veral nie lekker hoe om dit te hanteer as kinders kwaad of hartseer word nie. Wat is jou ervaring/hoe is dit vir jou met jou pa?	
17	Weet jou pa wat jou bly, hartseer, bang of kwaad maak? Wanneer jy hartseer is, wat maak hy daarmee? As jy kwaad is, wat maak hy daarmee? <i>(Nota vir onderhoudsvoerder: ons wil graag meer weet oor hoe die pa se ingesteldheid, kennis en hantering mbt sy kind se gevoelens is. Watter tipe gevoelens kan hy sag en positief op reageer, en watter vind hy moeilik om meet te "relate" of positief te reageer.)</i>	
18	Weet jou pa wat jou bekommernisse is? <i>(Vra vir voorbeelde indien antwoord vaag is.)</i> Wat doen hy daaromtrent?	
19	Verskil jy soms van jou pa of praat terug met hom? Hoe dink jy voel hy daarvoor en wat doen hy sulke tye?	
20	Is daar goed waaroor julle nie praat nie, maar wat jy dink julle behoort oor te praat? Hoekom?	
21	Een van die dinge wat gewoonlik vir ouers moeilik is, is om met 'n kind te praat of te leer oor seks. Is dit vir jou pa ook moeilik? Wat dink jy is vir hom belangrik dat jy moet weet oor seks? Wat het hy al met jou gepraat oor seks? (Bv. seksopvoeding)	
22	Hoe dink jy wil jou pa hê moet jy optree mbt seks? (Verwagtinge)	
Netwerk in die gemeenskap		
23	Watse tipe goed buite die huis in die gemeenskap, soos aktiwiteite ens. (kerk/naskoolse aktiwiteite/organisasies), moedig jou pa jou aan om van deel te wees?	
Dissipline en toesig		

24	Wat is die reëls in julle huis?	
25	Wat gebeur as jy nie by daai reëls hou nie? (<i>Vra voorbeelde, bv. Watter gedrag pla jou pa die meeste?</i>)	
26	Wie in julle huis maak seker dat jy by die reëls hou? Soos bv dat huiswerk gedoen word of dat jy by inkomtye hou?	
27	Is jou pa bewus van waarheen jy gaan en wat jy doen saam met jou vriende?	
Prys en liefde		
28	Wanneer was jou pa trots op jou? (<i>Kry ryk voorbeeld</i>)	
29	Wanneer was jou pa teleurgesteld in jou? (<i>Kry ryk voorbeeld</i>)	
30	Hoe vertel en wys jou pa vir jou dat hy lief is vir jou?	
Voorsiening/Sosiale en materiële indirekte sorg		
31	Is jou pa bewus van wat jy nodig het? Voorbeelde? <i>Prompts: skool, gesondheid, klere</i>	
32	Hoe maak jou pa seker dat jy dit alles kry?	
33	Hoe voorsien jou pa vir jou basiese behoeftes? <i>Prompts: kos, klere, behuising, gesondheidsorg, vervoer</i>	
34	Hoe neem jou pa verantwoordelikheid vir die finansiële ondersteuning van jou?	
Sosiale pa		
35	Dink jy hy sien jou kind sy kind? Hoekom/hoekom nie?	
36	Noem jy hom "pa"? Sê hy vir ander dat jy sy kind is?	
37	Dink jy dit is vir hom anders om vir jou 'n pa te wees as vir sy biologiese kinders? Hoe is dit anders? Hoekom is dit anders? <i>(Indien van toepassing)</i>	
38	Hoe dink jy sou hy graag wou hê moet jy hom hanteer as pa-figuur?	
39	Wie dink jy is eintlik jou "regte" pa: hy of jou biologiese pa? Hoekom?	
Betekenis van pa-wees		
40	Hoe dink jy is dit vir jou pa om 'n pa te wees?	
41	Baie keer is dit nogal swaar om 'n pa te wees. Wanneer dink jy is dit vir jou pa swaar of sleg?	
42	Wat is die goed waarmee hy sukkel van pa-wees?	

43	Waarvan dink jy behoort jou pa meer te weet of te leer van pa-wees, wat hom sal help om die beste pa moontlik te wees?	
44	Wat maak 'n pa 'n goeie pa?	
45	So dis wat 'n goeie pa is. As jy nou dink aan hoe 'n slegte pa is, watse prentjie kom op in jou kop?	
Sorgproses verantwoordelikheid (m.a.w. in watter mate sien hy toe dat in al die bg voldoen word)		
46	<p>Daar is baie goed wat pa's dalk self doen vir kinders, maar dan is daar weer ander goed waar hy reëlings tref sodat dit wel gebeur, al doen hy dit nie self nie. Is daar sulke goed wat jou pa doen?</p> <p><i>Note to interviewer: The answer to this question should be gained from the total interview, in other words this one question is not meant to illicit all the necessary information to answer this aspect of care. So, ask yourself to what extent you have obtained an idea of how this particular father's takes responsibility to ensure that his child's needs are met.</i></p>	

Addendum D1: Follow-up interview schedule (father-figures)

Paternal caring vrae

Watter sorg/omgee behoeftes het jou kind?

(What are your child's care needs?)

Op 'n gewone dag, hoe sorg jy vir jou kind? Hoe lyk daardie sorg? Hoe help jy?

(On a usual/normal day, how do you care for your child? What does that care look like? How do you help?)

Hoe sorg jy vir jou kind, wat is die goed wat jy doen?

(How do you care for your child, what are the things that you do?)

Wat doen jy wat wys dat jy omgee vir jou kind?

(What do you do to show to your child that you care?)

Watter emosionele sorg/ondersteuning gee jy vir jou kind?

(What emotional care/support do you give to your child?)

Hoe reageer jou kind op hierdie sorg/omgee wat jy doen? Lyk dit asof h/sy bewus is daarvan?

(How does your child react/respond to this care that you give? Do you think your child is aware of your care?)

Lyk dit vir jou asof h/sy tevrede is daarmee?

(Does it look as though your child is satisfied with the care that you give?)

Sou jy wou hê dat h/sy anders reageer?

(Would you have liked your child to react/respond differently?)

As jy nou dink aan hierdie sorg/omgee, hoe voel dit vir jou? Wat beteken dit vir jou?

(If you think about this care, how does it feel to you? What does it mean to you?)

Van die sorg/omgee wat jy doen, waarvoor voel jy die trotste? Wat is vir jou die lekkerste/slegste daarvan om dit te doen?

(Of the care that you give for you child, what do you feel most proud of? What is the best/worst of giving this care?)

Sou jy graag op 'n ander manier wou sorg/omgee vir jou kind? Sou jy iets wou verander van hoe jy sorg/omgee vir jou kind?

(Would you want to care differently for your child? Do you want to change the manner in which you care for your child?)

Watter sorg kry jy by die mense in jou huis? Hoe voel jy daaroor?

(What care do you get from the people in your house? How do you feel about that?)

Watse tipe sorg wat jy as kind gekry het, het vir jou die meeste beteken of was vir jou die lekkerste?

(Of the care that you received as a child, what meant most to you or what did you enjoy most?)

Speel dit 'n rol in hoe jy as pa sorg/omgee?

(Does this play a role in how you care as a father?)

Hoe dink jy moet 'n pa sorg/omgee vir sy kinders? Hoekom?

(How should a father care for his children? Why?)

Verskil dit van hoe 'n ma sorg/omgee? Hoekom/hoe?

(Does this differ from how a mother care for her children? Why and how?)

Wie dink jy is die hoof van die huis/moet die hoof van die huis wees? Hoekom?

(Who do you think is the head of the house/should be the head of the house? Why?)

Wat het verander vir jou toe jy 'n pa geword het? Is dit soos wat jy verwag het dit gaan wees?

(What changed when you became a father? Is being a father how you expected it would be?)

Addendum D2: Follow-up interview schedule (mother-figures)

Paternal caring vrae

Watter sorg/omgee behoeftes het jou kind?

(What are your child's care needs?)

Op 'n gewone dag, hoe sorg jou kind se pa vir hom/haar? Hoe lyk daardie sorg? Hoe help hy?

(On a usual/normal day, how does your child's father care for your child? What does that care look like? How does he help?)

Hoe sorg jou kind se pa vir jou kind, wat is die goed wat hy doen?

(How does your child's father care for your child, what are the things that he does?)

Wat doen jou kind se pa wat wys dat hy omgee vir jou kind?

(What does your child's father do to show to your child that he cares?)

Watter emosionele sorg/ondersteuning gee jou kind se pa vir jou kind?

(What emotional care/support does your child's father give to your child?)

Hoe reageer jou kind op hierdie sorg/omgee wat hy doen? Lyk dit asof h/sy bewus is daarvan?

(How does your child react/respond to this care that he gives? Do you think your child is aware of his care?)

Lyk dit vir jou asof h/sy tevrede is daarmee?

(Does it look as though your child is satisfied with the care that he gives?)

Sou jy wou hê dat h/sy anders reageer?

(Would you have liked your child to react/respond differently?)

As jy nou dink aan hierdie sorg/omgee, hoe dink jy voel jou kind se pa daaroor? Wat beteken dit vir hom?

(If you think about this care, how do you think does your child's father feel about? What does it mean to him?)

Van die sorg/omgee wat jou kind se pa doen, waarom dink jy voel hy die trotste? Wat is vir hom die lekkerste/slegste daarvan om dit te doen?

(Of the care that your child's father gives for you child, what do you think he feels most proud of? What is the best/worst of giving this care?)

Sou jy graag wou hê dat jou kind se pa op 'n ander manier sorg/omgee vir jou kind? Sou jy iets wou verander van hoe hy sorg/omgee vir jou kind?

(Would you want your child's father to care differently for your child? Do you want to change the manner in which he cares for your child?)

Watter sorg kry jou kind se pa by die mense in sy huis? Hoe dink jy voel hy daaroor?

(What care does your child's father get from the people in his house? How do you think he feels about that?)

Watse tipe sorg wat jou kind se pa as kind gekry het, dink jy het vir hom die meeste beteken of was vir hom die lekkerste?

(Of the care that your child's father received as a child, what do you think meant the most to him or what did he enjoy most?)

Speel dit 'n rol in hoe hy as pa sorg/omgee?

(Does this play a role in how he cares as a father?)

Hoe dink jy moet 'n pa sorg/omgee vir sy kinders? Hoekom?

(How should a father care for his children? Why?)

Verskil dit van hoe 'n ma sorg/omgee? Hoekom/hoe?

(Does this differ from how a mother care for her children? Why and how?)

Wie dink jy is die hoof van die huis/moet die hoof van die huis wees? Hoekom?

(Who do you think is the head of the house/should be the head of the house? Why?)

Wat dink jy het verander vir jou kind se pa toe hy 'n pa geword het? Dink jy dit is soos wat hy verwag het dit gaan wees?

(What do you think changed for your child's father when he became a father? Do you think being a father is how he expected it would be?)

Addendum D3: Follow-up interview schedule (adolescents)

Paternal caring vrae

Watter sorg/omgee behoeftes het jy?

(What are your care needs?)

Op 'n gewone dag, hoe sorg jou pa vir jou? Hoe lyk daardie sorg? Hoe help hy?

(On a usual/normal day, how does your father care for you? What does that care look like? How does he help?)

Hoe sorg jou pa vir jou, wat is die goed wat hy doen?

(How does your father care for you, what are the things that he does?)

Wat doen jou pa wat wys dat hy omgee vir jou?

(What does your father do to show to you that he cares?)

Watter emosionele sorg/ondersteuning gee jou pa vir jou?

(What emotional care/support does your father give to you?)

Hoe reageer jy op hierdie sorg/omgee wat hy doen? Is jy bewus daarvan?

(How do you react/respond to this care that he gives? Are you aware of his care?)

Is jy tevrede daarmee?

(Are you satisfied with it?)

As jy nou dink aan hierdie sorg/omgee, hoe voel dit vir jou? Wat beteken dit vir jou?

(If you think about this care, how does it feel to you? What does it mean to you?)

Van die sorg/omgee wat jou pa doen, waarom dink jy voel hy die trotste? Wat is vir hom die lekkerste/slegste daarvan om dit te doen?

(Of the care that your father gives for you, what do you think he feels most proud of? What is the best/worst of giving this care?)

Sou jy graag wou hê dat jou pa op 'n ander manier sorg/omgee vir jou? Sou jy iets wou verander van hoe hy sorg/omgee vir jou?

(Would you want your father to care differently for you? Do you want to change the manner in which he cares for you?)

Watter sorg kry jou pa by die mense in sy huis? Hoe dink jy voel hy daaroor?

(What care does your father get from the people in his house? How do you think he feels about that?)

Hoe dink jy moet 'n pa sorg/omgee vir sy kinders? Hoekom?

(How should a father care for his children? Why?)

Verskil dit van hoe 'n ma sorg/omgee? Hoekom/hoe?

(Does this differ from how a mother care for her children? Why and how?)

Wie dink jy is die hoof van die huis/moet die hoof van die huis wees? Hoekom?

(Who do you think is the head of the house/should be the head of the house? Why?)