UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF TAXI DRIVERS ON FATHERHOOD IN WENTWORTH, DURBAN

By

SBONISILE OFORI ADARKWA

216073770

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

MASTERS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

College of Humanities

School of Applied Human Sciences

Discipline of Social Work

Supervisor: Ms Boitumelo Seepamore

JULY 2017

DECLARATION

I, Sbonisile Ofori Adarkwa, declare that:

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

4. This thesis does not contain other person's writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:

   a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced.

   b. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks, and referenced.

5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References section.

Signed: ……………………………   Signed: …………………………………..

S O Adarkwa   B Seepamore (Supervisor)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to God almighty my Father and my strength. Lord thank you for good health to be able to finish this study, thank you for being the source of my strength and soundness of mind, peace that surpass all understanding. DADDY your word assured me that nothing is not doable when I have you in me.

I CAN DO ALL THINGS THROUGH CHRIST MY STRENGTH

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the people who made this thesis successful it was not going to be possible without you, my supervisor, thank you so much for the time you invested on me, the cheering and your support throughout this study, your effort is valued, you the finest supervisor ever.

To my participants thank you for your contribution towards my study

Pastor Kwadwo my precious husband thank you so much for empowering me to do this degree, thank you for your prayers and support financially and all other sacrifices you made for this study to be successful, I thank God for bringing you in my life you are such a gift I wouldn't trade. Once gain, thank you may God increase you in every area of your life.

The woman who gave birth to me MOMMY, I thank God for creating you to be my pillar and strength, your encouraging words "I know you will master it, you are the best and I love you Sbo" those words kept me going and assuring me that I am not alone. I love you too Muso! ♥. My sister Ayanda and Zinhle you are the best, thank you for your support darlings.

To my friends, Pumla, Thomas, Thembelihle, Hlo and Khona you are a superlative friend I ever had, thank you for your support and kindness and thank you for encouraging me to keep on.

To myself, thank you for not giving up on yourself, you are an exceptional woman, nothing can ever pull you down, love yourself.

ABSTRACT

South Africa has one of the highest rates of absent fathers globally with many children growing up without fathers. This has prompted many studies to be undertaken in South Africa to understand fathers' absence with few studies being done on those fathers that are present in their children's life. Against this backdrop this study set out to understand the perceptions and experiences of taxi drivers as fathers due to the dearth of research on taxi drivers as fathers in South Africa. Taxi drivers in South Africa are commonly stereotyped as violent, reckless and stubborn. With this stereotype in mind it was important to find out their experiences and perceptions of fatherhood and whether the taxi industry environment has an impact on their role as fathers.

To achieve this the study aimed at understanding the perceptions and experiences of fatherhood amongst taxi drivers in Wentworth Durban. The study adopted a qualitative research paradigm which was guided by an ecological framework. It was an explorative study which utilised purposive sampling where ten taxi drivers with one or more children were interviewed. Semi-structured individual interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed, the data were analysed using thematic analysis. The major findings of the study were that taxi drivers perceive fatherhood as comprising both biological and social fatherhood. With biological fathers as those that have fathered a child whilst social fathers are those that play a part in the lives of other children other than their own.

Most of the taxi drivers preferred a boy child over a girl child with the underlying belief that a boy child will eventually carry on the surname unlike a girl child who will get married and leave. The participants saw their role of fathers as that of providers and protectors of the family and that of their partners as essentially child carers. This showed their belief in the masculine roles that divides the roles of men and women in society. The participants also work long tiring hours which adds to their inability to spend quality time with their children..

Keywords: Taxi drivers, fatherhood, masculinity, biological father, social father

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The taxi industry plays an important role in the lives of many black South Africans. Minibuses provide an important service to millions of South Africans and they serve 65% of those people taking public transport (Boundreaux, 2006) to and from work, school and other destinations. Taxis are convenient, accessible and relatively inexpensive, therefore the most widely used form of public transportation (Sauti, 2006). Despite minibus taxis being referred to as unsafe, moving coffins, they continue to be the most popular mode of transport in South Africa. The taxi industry has grown exponentially from only 8,000 registered taxis in 1994 to about 298,000 today. In the Durban central business district alone, there are now over 2,960 demarcated minibus taxi bays and facilities, with 56 ranks (Knox, 2016). Not only does the taxi industry provide job opportunities to drivers, marshals, washers and conductors but also to street traders, thereby supporting hundreds of thousands of jobs in South Africa (Boudreaux, 2006). The taxi industry also employs about 40,000 people to wash taxis. Taxi washers earn between R20 and R25 per taxi and wash about seven to eight taxis a day and it is estimated that the total taxi industry is worth R40 billion and directly employs about 600,000 people (Knox, 2016).

Not surprising, this industry is dominated by males with females far less in number, although there are no ready statistics to account for them. The taxi industry is associated with violence and aggression factors which might make women skeptical about becoming taxi drivers. With over 298,000 registered minibus taxis in South Africa, it is assumed that there are over 298 000 taxi drivers, and they earn between R3,200, or R 800 per week (Knox, 2016), however this depends on the agreed mode of payment. Taxi drivers are paid in four different ways. The first method of payment is a fixed percentage of the week's earnings whilst with the second method taxi drivers are paid a basic salary (International Labour Organisation, 2003). The third approach involves taxi drivers giving all the money to the owners and receiving a fixed, regular wage and the fourth approach involves the taxi drivers taking the cash-up from one day of the week as payment and giving the rest of the week's cash-up to the taxi owner (International Labour Organisation, 2003). Taxi drivers do not earn much, and because they control the money in their taxis, it is often alleged that they sometimes steal money from their employers by overloading their vehicles and exceeding

speed limits in order to increase their take-home. Therefore, there is increased pressure to maximize their earnings by transporting as many people as possible during the day (Lister & Dhunpath, 2016).

There is a dearth of research regarding fatherhood and parenting in men who are in the taxi industry, the focus being usually on taxi violence or the negative experiences of passengers in taxis. As previously stated, most authors who have written about the taxi industry mainly refer to the minibus taxi itself and do not directly mention minibus taxi drivers (Sauti, 2006). A perception of the taxi driver is one of an employee who has no interest in the welfare of others. However, being a taxi driver is an employment-related identity, these men also have other identities, such as husband, son, father, and friend. This study focuses on the perceptions and experiences of fathers who are taxi drivers in Wentworth and surrounding areas.

1.2 RATIONALE FOR THE SUDY

. This study wanted to understand the lived experiences and perceptions of taxi drivers in relation to parenting. The study made use of the ecological theoretical framework to understand the parenting experiences of taxi drivers in Wentworth. It is anticipated that this study will add value to through the experiences and perceptions of taxi drivers concerning fatherhood, and the role played by men in parenting their children. These men play a large role in their children's lives which sometimes is overshadowed by the stereotypes and stigma associated with the industry they work in. Taxi driving is a challenge on its own because of reckless driving and continuous violence between taxi driver and taxi owners it is very risky (Sauti, 2006). The taxi industry suffers from continuous problems of violence and safety concerns (Boudreaux, 2006). Although the minibus taxis are the most used and convenient mode of transport for the majority of people in South Africa, there is always a certain stereotype associated with taxi drivers. They are perceived as violent, reckless and rude individuals. It is within this context that I want to study fatherhood and fathering.

In a workplace which is characterized by violence and a macho image, the idea of fatherhood seems misplaced as it looks at nurturing, affection, support and guidance, yet these men are also human and play more than one role in society, they are also husbands, boyfriends, fathers, sons and uncles.

The study was located in Wentworth which is a township in Durban on the east coast of KwaZulu-Natal. It is located inside an area known as the South Durban Basin near major freeways the M4 and M7, approximately 11 km south of the Durban City Centre (Census, 2011). Wentworth is predominantly made up of colored's people with Blacks and Indians also living there but predominantly colored. The languages spoken in Wentworth are English, Afrikaans and IsiZulu. Taxi drivers in this township transport workers from the nearby Umlazi Township, Seaview, Montclair, Yellowwood park and surrounding areas. This township has a well-established taxi association with drivers living mainly in Wentworth and Austerville.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The study aimed at highlighting the role of fathers in an area that does not always receive attention, but is important to the family and community. This study aims to understand the experiences of taxi drivers as fathers in the South African context, particularly in Wentworth in KwaZulu-Natal. Due to the dearth of research in this field, the experiences and perceptions of taxi drivers on parenting is limited, therefore it is anticipated that this exploratory study will add more knowledge on the subject of parenting.

1.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1.4.1 Aim

The aim of the study is to understand the perceptions and experiences of fatherhood amongst the taxi drivers in Wentworth.

1.4.2 Objectives

- To explore what fatherhood means to taxi drivers
- To explore how constructions of masculinities influence their way of parenting
- To gain an in-depth understanding on the experiences of taxi drivers concerning fatherhood
- To understand the extent to which they are involved in their children's lives

1.4.3 Research questions

- What does fatherhood mean to taxi drivers?
- How does constructions of masculinities influence their way of parenting?
- What are the taxi drivers' experiences concerning fatherhood?
- How involved are taxi drivers in the lives of their children?

1.5 UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

The study assumed that the taxi drivers may not be emotionally involved with their children or may only play a provider role in their lives. I also assume that taxi drivers are not very much involved in parenting. Additionally, I assume that the industry is constructed through the lenses of aggression and violence which might impact on child care.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Fatherhood does not occur in a vacuum, there are different environmental factors that positively reinforce or negatively hamper the ability of taxi drivers in their role as fathers. The environmental factors are found on the micro, mezzo, exo and macro levels thus the ecological theoretical framework provides the lense to better conceptualise and understand the fatherhood experiences of taxi drivers in society. This approach looks at the two-way reciprocal influence between an individual person and life circumstances alongside the interactional patterns of family, school, workplace, and community (Naidoo, 2004).

The micro level refers to the smallest ecosystem that the individual performs most of his/her work as well as those elements of the larger environment such as family within the person's life space (Fiedeldey, 1995). Thus there is an interaction, interdependence and spill-over of frustrations/ problems and joys between work and family life (Ross, 1993). Employees can face challenges or problems at work which can affect the family at the micro level. Naidoo (2004) highlights that the mezzo level includes those elements of the larger environment that include the neighbourhood and community. The community can influence taxi drivers to be good fathers or bad fathers depending on the nature of socialisation that they are exposed to.

The exosystem contains environmental elements that have a profound influence on a person's development, even though that person is not directly involved with them, for instance the workplace. parent's workplace. Thus this level can involve the taxi drivers' workplace which has immense influence on his/her life because everything that takes place there. Lastly the macro level represents the bigger socio-cultural features within the person's life space and beyond the limits of the mezzo system (Carroll & White, 1993). Macro factors such as the economic, political and sociocultural factors are predominantly relevant to the South African context, some of these are recessions, inflation, poverty, unemployment, education policies, racial discrimination, patriarchy, violence, crime and unrest (Naidoo, 2004). All these factors shape taxi drivers' experiences and perception of fatherhood.

This theory seeks to assist individuals to solve the problems that arise in their lives. Gitterman and Germain (2008) further assert that the ecological perspective focuses on the person-in-environment looking at the interactions and transactions between persons, families, groups and communities and their environments. This perspective focuses on the person and his environment, the study focused on fatherhood in taxi drivers, their perceptions and experiences of fatherhood, interaction with peers, family, and community. I focused on how taxi drivers perceive and experience fatherhood taking into account the physical and social aspects of their environment and how it impacts on their role as fathers.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I utilised a qualitative research paradigm. Non-probability sampling was used, specifically snowballing   A semi-structured interview guide was used to gather data with consent from the participants to tape record the interviews. The data were analysed by thematic analysis.

1.8 VALUE OF THE STUDY

This study aims to contribute to research on fatherhood in the taxi industry in particular, little research has focused on taxi drivers' experience of parenting and this study helps to fill this gap of study. Research on fathers is particularly valuable, as their role has shifted significantly in recent times. Moreover, it is relevant to understand fatherhood, as fathers are important in the well-being of their children considering that many children in South Africa are growing up without

fathers. Additionally, the ecological theoretical framework utilized in this study is important in order to fully understand the environmental factors impacting fatherhood and the paternal role, as it is difficult to fully understand fatherhood unless we examine fathers in as many different socio-cultural contexts as possible.

1.9 STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

This dissertation is organised into five chapters.

Chapter One: This is the introductory chapter which also gives an overview of the contextual and theoretical framework of the study. It includes the background of the study, together with the definition of frequently used concepts. It further provides the rationale of the study and identifies the research objectives and assumptions that underpin the study. Moreover, it contextualizes the study and explains the theoretical framework guiding the study.

Chapter Two: This chapter consists of a review of the literature and provides useful statistics from a global perspective, Africa, and South Africa. It focuses on important discussions and references relevant literature on fine line with the study objectives and questions.

Chapter Three: This chapter deals with the methodology. It reports on the research design and sampling method. It also informs of the steps and materials used to collect and analyse the data. More importantly, it reports on how trustworthiness was maintained throughout the research and reports on matters relating to ethical issues and limitations of the study.

Chapter Four: This chapter details the findings of the study. It is the discussion of findings using participants' words during interviews.

Chapter Five: This chapter is the final section of the thesis. It summarises the entire dissertation, draws out the major conclusions of the study, and makes relevant recommendations.

1.10 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Taxi driver: is a person, predominantly male, whose job is to transport people in a taxi to the destination they want to go in return for money.

Care: Section 1 of the Children's Act 38, of 2005 defines care as providing a conducive place for the child to live; supporting the child's well-being and rearing; securing the child's education maintaining sound relationships with the child and meeting the special needs of the child.

Consequently, in brief, care is being responsible for the daily needs of the child such as food, clothing, and accommodation/home, and affection, guidance and support.

Contact: Section 1 of the Children's Act 38, of 2005 defines contact as keeping a connection with the child. If the child lives with someone else it means communicating with the child by means of visits or being visited by the child or through other means such as the post, telephone/any other electronic communication means.

Fatherhood- is a state of being a father, constructed by society in which a father is expected to provide and take care of his family (Ives, 2007).

Parenting- is a process in which parents support the physical, emotional, social and intellectual development of a child from infancy to adulthood (Cramer, 2002).

A social father - is a man that supports either his nephews and nieces or the children of the woman he is involved with and are not his. Social fatherhood is prevalent in South Africa where men are involved in the fathering of non-biological children of their partners or relatives, especially as the family takes collective responsibility of the family in child-rearing (Hosegood *et al.*, 2009; Hunter, 2006; Jones, 1992; Mkhize, 2006).

1.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the background and introduction of the study. After which the aims, objectives and research questions were outlined. Additionally, the problem statement contextualized the problems associated with the taxi drivers such as violence, rudeness, recklessness and aggressiveness and how it was important to understand how they impact on their role as fathers. Finally, the chapter discussed how the ecosystem theoretical framework guided this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Fatherhood is an identity constructed through the lenses of sociocultural, historical and economic contexts. Additionally, fatherhood is the process of men coming to an understanding of who they in society (Mkhize, 2006). Mkhize (2006) further state that fatherhood occurs in a social and political context and is generally informed by the current dominant discourse of what it means to be a man in society. According to Lamb (2000:4) "Fatherhood and father involvement has shifted over time, with a change from moral disciplinarian to breadwinning role, marital support, and nurturance".

Perceptions of fatherhood also influence the next generation of fathers. Although young fathers believe fathers are important, they generally view the father's role to be centrally centred only economic and emotional support (Allen & Doherty, 1996; Bunting & McAuley, 2004).

Fathers seem to be invisible as a group – they are rarely quantified and statistics often give estimates in term of fathers in general. Even less is said regarding their relationships with their children, regardless of whether they co-reside or not (Speak, Cameron & Gilroy, 2006). However, some studies on fatherhood show that there is increased interest in studying fatherhood, particularly in post-apartheid South Africa (Richter & Morrell, 2006; Nduna, 2014; Khunou, 2006; Hunter, 2006; Rabe, 2007). Father involvement in their children's lives is a crucial issue for social policy and programs implementation. Meanwhile a comprehensive understanding of the nature and form of fatherhood in South Africa is a necessity, not only that as well as an understanding of how fatherhood has been influenced by South Africa's history, culture, and traditions.

In order to contextualize this chapter, I will start with a background on various aspects of parenting, followed by fatherhood, including varous aspects of fatherhood. Further, I will discuss contemporary socioeconomic and cultural factors that influence fatherhood in the local South African context.

2.2 PARENTING

Parenting is a method that entails stimulating and being supportive towards the growth and social well-being of the child (Richter & Naicker, 2013). Parenting can be viewed as a process of providing a safe, secure, nurturing environment for children, and is one of the most difficult roles that parents face because it is not a skill that one is born with, or one has to go to school to learn, but rather involves considerable trial and error. Parenting influences how children develop and become when they grow, meaning positive parenting can have a positive influence on the child whilst negative parenting can have disastrous effect on how a child grows up. Parents have a great influence on their children's personality, character, and competence (Baumrind, 1978). The functions of parenting such as being a provider and a protector greatly influence how children develop (Arendell, 1997). One of the most important parenting tasks is the socialisation of children so that they learn important life skills which prepare them for adulthood. In each stage of development, parental expectations and guidance will change to encourage positive child outcomes (Cramer, 2002). Three parental styles have been written about which are authoritarian, permissive and authoritative. The authoritarian parenting style is characterized by lack of love (Cramer, 2002). This kind of parenting takes place when the parent is older and conservative and expects that the child should forcefully respect and obey them all the time and the child is not given the ample opportunity to communicate his/her feeling towards his/her parents. this parenting style being has negative repercussions for children such as low levels of self-worth (Lamborn, *et al.*, 1991) and poor adjustment at school (Shumow *et al.*, 1998). On the other hand, permissive parents as compared to authoritarian parents love their children and give them the room to communicate with them (Cramer, 2002). Although permissive parents are loving, however they get agitated and angry when they reach their level of tolerance (Cramer, 2002). The negative outcomes for children with permissive parents include drug abuse and delinquency (Lamborn *et al.*, 1991). Lastly authoritative parents speak openly with their children and encourage them grow and develop independently without their meddling. This type of parenting style has positive outcomes for children unlike the other two parenting styles. Children of authoritative parents have higher levels of independence than children of authoritarian and permissive parents (Deslandes, 2000).

Poverty levels are high in South Africa, and food insecurity is high, Wilson (2006) highlights a study done in Mossel Bay in 1999 which found that there was a strong correlation between children going to bed hungry, and depression by parents for not being able to provide for their children. Men are socialized to believing that they arebreadwinners of the family therefore the inability to provide for their families, has a detrimental effect on their masculinity and sense of competence (Edin & Lein, 1997). Poverty goes hand to hand with family stress (Murray *et al.* 2012; Richter, 2003) and it increases parents' mental health problems such as depression or anxiety (Russell, Harris & Gockel, 2008). Additionally, poverty can trigger sexual, emotional and physical abuse on children. Studies done in South Africa recently pointed that family poverty, distress and conflict is likely to cause violence against adolescents (Meinck, Cluver & Boyes 2015; Steele *et al.* 1997).

In the contemporary context parents are faced with various challenges ranging from poverty, unemployment, and technology which makes it difficult for them to parent their children well. Poverty constitutes a particular risk for parenting (Gould & Ward, 2015) when there is a shortage of financial resources it discourages the parents capability to afford food, well-being, and the child's education. Parents struggling with poverty are also more likely to suffer from depression, leading to the use of harsh punishment, which is inconsistent in their responses to their children's behaviour (Elder *et al.,* 1995). Because women are most likely to be caregivers, mothers in this situation are less likely to be affectionate towards their children, and more inclined to use corporal punishment and leave their children unsupervised (Bradley *et al.*, 2001). This type of punitive, unreliable parenting that features a lack of warmth and support, increases the likelihood of children abusing drugs or alcohol, engaging in risky sex and becoming involved in crime (Bradley *et al.*, 2001). Interventions to support and develop positive parenting in South Africa are mandated by Chapter 8 of the Children's Amendment Act (Act No. 41 of 2007), which deals with prevention and early intervention (Gould & Ward, 2015). Section 144 of the Children's Act focuses on developing the capacity of parents to act in the best interest of their children by strengthening positive relationships within families, improving the care-giving capacity of parents, and using non-violent forms of discipline. Although there are such expectations, support to parents is limited.

In addition, dual earner families imply that child supervision and monitoring is limited. Even in extended families, the supervision of children may be so poor that adult presence does not equal child supervision. Exposure to social media such as Facebook, Instagram and others have also become a haven for children getting exposed to unwanted behaviour. This means that to parent well, parents need support from the community. Lau (2002) echoes the same sentiments by stating that a supportive social environment is necessary for the successful performance of the parenting roles. The environment consisting the family, extended family and community at large play an important role in making sure that parents are supported.

Children need to be shown that they are loved by their parents when they are young and Erickson stage of development theory is very important in showing the impact of external factors, parents and society on personality development from childhood to adulthood. According to Erickson theory every person must pass through a series of eight interrelated stages over the entire life cycle Erickson (1994). The first stage is important for the child nurturing as good parenting from the mother and the father will enable the child to gain trust, confidence and security if properly cared for, whilst bad parenting in this stage will result in the child feeling insecure and worthless and will develop mistrust towards the world. The first stage is important because it lays the foundation for the other stages thus good parenting will enable a child to develop and grow to be a responsible adult (Erickson, 1994).

2.3 FATHERHOOD AND FATHERS

The word father is a Nguni word used to refer to an elderly man or male, it comes from isiZulu suggesting a comprehensive usage that centers on a generational, and masculine hierarchy which rests on a basis of respect (Morrel & Richter, 2006). *Baba* is also a broad term used beyond South African borders, for instance it is also used by the Shona in Zimbabwe to express a relationship, convey respect and it gives dignity to the receiver. *Baba* also implies a man who meets certain fatherhood responsibilities, regardless of age such as the role of a career, protector and provider for children who many not be his biological children is also regarded as *ubaba* (Morrell & Richter, 2006). Fatherhood is laden with many responsibilities such as material provider and guide not only to the family unit, but to the entire community. The social construction of a father as a provider and breadwinner has greatly influenced social policy development on families throughout the

world and particularly in South Africa as evidenced by the White paper on families. However, ideas about fatherhood keep changing with an increase in the engagement of fathers in their children's lives being encouraged (Khunou, 2006). A closer look at the definition of what it means to be a father, it is interesting to see the dissimilarity between the terms "father," "fatherhood," and "fathering." There is a general acceptance that a father is a man who is accorded the responsibility for a child by the community (Morrell, 2006).

Fatherhood cannot be easily explained as its meaning differs. The collection of regular household data through nationally representative household and labour force surveys is problematic in terms of defining fathers (Posel & Devey, 2006). Enumerating fathers is important, and it acknowledges the crucial role that men can and do play in parting. Counting fathers is important because statistically it gives us the number of biological father we have in the country, not only that but also to know the number of fathers living with their children or those paying maintenance and providing guidance, protection and affection to families. Further, determination of paternity is not always as straightforward as one can assume with different factors determining the disclosure of biological fatherhood especially regarding birth of children out of wedlock, the conditions under which the pregnancy occurred and the social acceptability of the child's birth (Posel & Devey, 2006). Uncertainty or refusal surrounding reported paternity has consequences not only for the pregnant woman, but also for the unborn child.

Statistics in South Africa shows that children living with both a father and mother continue to drop significantly every year. This is supported by the Child Gauge (2016) which states that less than one-third which is (29%) of African children are living with both their parents whilst Whites and Indians have high percentages of 78% and 84% respectively. These figures are somewhat really striking and sad especially for the African children who most of them are growing up without knowing their fathers. Younger children are more likely than older children to have co-resident mothers, while older children are more likely to be living with neither parent (Child Gauge, 2016). While 14% of children aged 0 – 5 years (860,000) live with neither parent, this increases to 27% (1.64 million) for children aged 12 – 17 years (Child Gauge, 2016). Biological fatherhood continues to be elusive because of the assumptions related to fatherhood since it is rather difficult to pinpoint biological paternity within the range of definitions around fatherhood.

2.3.1 Fatherhood in the South African context

Morrell and Richter (2006) state that not all fathers are proud to be fathers, or want to participate in the lives of their children. Being 'responsible' is determined by the social environment that the family finds itself. Social fatherhood in South Africa is very common whether formally through fostering, or more informally through extended family. Social fatherhood is also widely practiced and important for men and extended families in South Africa (Mkhize, 2004). This arises when men are involved in the fathering of step-children, or other non-biological children. A number of factors contribute to the extent of involvement by men in the raising non-biological children including cultural practices that emphasise collective responsibility of the extended family in child-rearing (Hosegood *et al.*, 2009b; Hunter, 2006; Jones, 1992; Mkhize, 2006) and community child-rearing by disciplining a child that is not yours biologically. It can also be that the father only does not send money or is not working at all and the children are provided for by the mother or the uncles. Mkhize (2006) highlight the important roles that his father's brother, aunts and grandfathers all played in raising them when he was growing up.

Employment is vital in determining the level of fathers involvement in the lives of their children and for those who are employed and providing for their family needs get validation and trust from their partners (Coley & Chase-Lansdale, 1998; Rangarajan & Gleason, 1998). The roles of fathers are not only influenced by the structure of families including marriage, paternity and co-residence but also the quality of primary relationships amongst the nuclear family and extended family that exist. Father and child relationship is greatly influenced by the quality of the relationship the father has with the child's mother. The nature of involvement and father support to their children is greatly influenced by the context of the workplace, for example taxi drivers work long hours and also the taxi industry is associated with violence, aggression and recklessness which might impact negatively on father involvement and support towards their children. There is an assumption that a father's financial status in terms of employment, educational level, beliefs and cultural background (Day & Lamb, 2004; Hauari & Hollingworth, 2009; Rabe, 2007; Richter *et al.*, 2011) all have a role in how he enacts the father role.

Nosseir (2003) and Nsamenang (1987) argue that the father is a *de facto* authority figure, and so shoulders a major responsibility to care for members of his family. Gendered roles are not a new phenomenon even from the time of the bible when Adam disobeyed God by eating the forbidden fruit God told him that "by the sweat of your brow you will eat your food until you return to the ground". Since then men had to work hard to be able to provide for their families. Colonialism has also had an impact on the gendered role of parenting (Hunter, 2006; Rabe, 2007). In South Africa the 1913 Land Act forced men to migrate to farming and mining areas to seek work in order to pay taxes to the colonial government (van Onselen, 1976) which was reinforced by the prior role of men who hunted and farmed in order to support their families.

Men are beginning to increasingly share household chores with their employed female partners and providing emotional care for children. This Important social trend has fundamentally changed the sociocultural contexts in which the conception of fatherhood prevails (Cabrera *et al.,* 2000; Tamis-LeMonda & Cabrera, 1999). There is a general belief that there is an emergence of a 'new father' who is going against socially constructed norms of men to be greatly involved and committed to their children and families (Marsiglio & Roy, 2012; Roy, 2008). While on the one hand, older conception of fatherhood entailed some form of detachment between fathers and their children. The realization, on the other hand, is that a man is not only a provider, but also a caregiver for his children (Day & Lamb, 2004).

2.3.2 Involved Fathers

Involvement of a father is in many ways not just being around children but being engaged with them. Lamb *et al.* (1985: 884), define father engagement as "a father's direct contact with his child, through caretaking and shared activities". Building upon Pleck's 1997 work, Lamb *et al.* (2000) elaborate further that the determination of fathers' involvement with their children involves, engagement which means the amount of time that fathers spend in face to face interaction with their children (e.g., hands-on activities). Additionally, the father should also be available which denotes the amount of time that fathers spend in close vicinity with their children, but does not include direct interaction with their children (Lamb, 2000).

Overall, positive paternal engagement has been found to be meaningfully connected to increased self-control, self-esteem, life skills, and social competence in children with involved fathers (Maine, 2004; Goncy & van Dulmen, 2010). Accessibility is when a father is available for communication meaning he is physically and emotionally available thus accessible to the child without any hindrances (Cabrera *et al.,* 2000; Lamb *et al.,* 1985; McBride, 1990; Pleck, 1997). Fathers may be accessible by way of cooking in the kitchen while the child lingers nearby, being physically absent but easily accessible by phone or other means, or watching television together (Lamb, 2000; Van Wel *et al.*, 2000). Men's own accounts of their involvement includes a wide range of traditional and non-traditional roles including intimate physical care, education, play, emotional engagement, organisation, and monitoring (Montgomery *et al.,* 2006; Ramphele, 1993; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). This connection is strengthened as the adolescent or emerging adult grows older. Older and more educated fathers with satisfying salaries tend to be highly involved with their children than those with limited material resources. They are also able to engage in childrearing activities and to maintain a high quality relationship with their young children (Danziger & Radin, 1990). This is different for young and uneducated fathers who are forced to look for jobs such as mining that forces them to work away from their children thus not getting the time to get involved in the lives of their children.

Responsibility is not the easiest type of involvement to define however (Cabrera *et al.*, 2000; Lamb, 2000) defines it as the most important type of involvement that reflects the extent to which a father takes ultimate responsibility for the care and welfare of his children. Furthermore, responsibility also involves applying strategies to meet certain necessities, such as, selecting a pediatrician and making appointments, selecting child care settings or arranging for babysitters, and making arrangements for care and nurturance for a child when they are sick (Cabrera *et al.*, 2000; Lamb, 2000; Lamb *et al.*, 1985; McBride, 1990). This is usually done in the context of assisting the mother, and, researchers have yet to fill the gap on child-care task for which fathers normally have primary responsibility (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004). Bradford, Hawkins, Palkovitz, Christiansen, and Day (2002) report that in order to gain a more complete understanding of father involvement, future studies need to include children's reports and perspectives, which would yield important and somewhat different information that fully captures the concept of father

involvement whether in marriage or with children being parented by single mothers and fathers separately.

2.3.3 Single fathers

Single fathers tend to be sidelined in childrearing. Due to a changing sociopolitical and cultural environment, and the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and a rise in orphans and vulnerable children in South Africa some fathers are increasingly taking over a childrearing roles (Hughes, 2011). Societal perceptions that fathers or males in general are unable to be good parents inhibits single fathers from taking a more active parenting role. It is also very common for mothers who are divorced or not married to get primary custody of children with the estimates at 68-88% most times, with fathers receiving primary custody at 8-14% and equal residential custody is awarded in only 2-6% (Hughes, 2011). Men also do not enjoy a good image as parents, Abramovitch (1997) states that the image of men in the community is that of barbarians who are not able or worthy of being good parents particularly when stories of child sexual abuse are reported and sensationalised. In the past fathers used to be well respected in society however that respect has been replaced by suspicion and mistrust on them as cases of violence and sexual abuse of women continue to increase unabated (Lesejane, 2006).

Child care and nurturing continue to be a challenge for single fathers who are confronted with societal stereotyped (Monama, 2007). There is a sense of disapproval and prejudice against single fathers in societies where they are already seen as incompetent in child rearing, with doubts about men's ability to perform the role of single parent (Warshak, 1987). Child care is still predominantly feminized, and black men in particular, are stereotyped as abusive and not capable of looking after children. In the case of mother absence, a maternal relative may be asked to step in to help with childrearing. There are also cultural barriers preventing men from being single parents particularly when certain rituals have not been undertaken or damages not paid in the case of unmarried fathers. Despite some fathers being able to rise above these stereotypes and parent their children well, single parenting is not seen in a good light, and often not highlighted or acknowledged. As long as there is a mother to care for the child, men's role remains peripheral (Greif, 1995). Single fathers need affirmation and support from the extended family and the community, to better manage the responsibility of parenting

2.4 FATHERHOOD

Fatherhood involves much more than financial support, but also the cultural coding of men in terms of rights, duties, responsibilities and the status of being a father (Hobson & Morgan 2002; Lupton &Barclay 1997). Although fathering is the act of fatherhood obligations and could be perceived as "doing" fatherhood, this terminology is rarely used (Plantin, Manson, & Kearney, 2003; West & Zimmerman, 1987). One of the complexities of studying fathering is that behaviours, identity, and beliefs do not always neatly correlate into one fathering method or script (Marsiglio, Day, &Lamb 2000). Society defines fatherhood usually in terms of the ability to provide for their families and other needy children in the family or community. Society tends to see fathers who cannot provide for their families in a negative light leaving them feeling undervalued, marginalized and disrespected (Wambugu, 2006). Blaming the individual for their poverty misses the point that environmental circumstances may place them in exactly that position. The ecological approach suggests individual problems emanate from interaction of psychological, social, economic, political and physical forces (Pardeck, 1988) in their lives. Where fathers are not able to provide for their families, structural issues of poverty and unemployment have to be acknowledged.

The high rate of poverty can be attributed to increased unemployment among youth (Smith, Krohn, Chu & Best, 2005; Ramphele & Richter, 2006; Jansen, 2015; Ward, Makusha & Bray, 2015). However, unemployment is not even across all race groups. While Africans have an unemployment rate of 40%, followed by colored at 32%, Indians have 23% unemployment, however it is much lower for whites at 11% (Graham & Mlasheni, 2015). De Lannoy, Leibbrandt and Frame (2015) state that about 58% of youth lived in poor families in 2011. The major reason for father's inability to meet their fatherhood requirements results from poverty and unemployment in South Africa (Mkhize,2006).

Cohabitation, low marital rate and the inability to pay *ilobolo* result from increased unemployment (Hunter, 2006; Tinkew & Horowitz, 2010). Lack of jobs and the loss of jobs lead to perceptions of men as failures, particularly when they cannot support their children financially (Wilson & Prior, 2011). Not all fathers act in a 'fatherly' way, some undertake their fatherly responsibilities

seriously while others do not. They either deny the child, choose not to be involved in raising the child or actually harm children. Morrell (2006) states that fathering can be performed in any of three ways: through his identity, beliefs, and behaviour.

As a head of the house, a man is recognised as a father and given the authority and respect he automatically commands. Being able to provide materially for his children also gives him status and puts him in a position to make the rules of the house.

Although a man commands respect, he is also expected to behave in a way that will not tarnish his identity. His behaviour both inside his home and in the community will determine how much respected he is accorded. Richter (2006) affirms that while we know a great deal about how behaviours, identity, and beliefs are incoherent among fathers, there is a need to understand that there is more than one type of fatherhood. According to Blankenhorn (1995) states the requirements for effective fatherhood is being a co-residency with children and a parental alliance with the mother. These two basics do not assure effective fatherhood, but they do sustain the possibility of good-enough fatherhood.

It is common for a majority of African males to be employed in the taxi industry. Being a taxi driver is not a job many aspire to, however it has some status in people who are unemployed. It also requires some skill, driving therefore opens more opportunities for those with a driver's license. As a result of high dropout rates from school, working as a taxi driver is not always a choice, but a way to make ends meet. For those who impregnated a girl while they are still in school, earning a living becomes a priority.

Smith, Krohn and Best (2005) assert that the main contributor to youth poverty and unemployment is lack of education and skills. They further assert that increased job uncertainty, income reduction and increased dependence on public assistance comes from having a child at young age, dropping out of school and being unable to further one's education. Taxi drivers are in the low income category and it requires driving and interpersonal skills, the work does not vary on a daily basis and one person may work in one route for many years. They work long hours and do not spend time with their families. Some of them come from rural areas to the city to make ends meet for their children and without the education and qualifications that would help them enter the formal

working sector, those with driver's licenses and professional driving permit(PDP) are able to settle for taxi driving. A man's capability to be responsible for his family does impact on his sense of self, and how he is perceived by the community. The discussion moves on to fatherhood and masculinity.

2.4.1 Fatherhood roles

Fathers have to be available meaning that a father had to physically spend time with his children in order to show his willingness to know his children well. Fathers are known to be harsh when disciplining their children and the decision they take is always final. Lesejane (2006) affirms that involvement of the father in the maintenance of family customs and laws is important, as is showing leadership, providing guidance, organizing and generally overseeing the management of family matters. Certain decisions may only be undertaken with the father's permission, for instance the decision to go to initiation school, marriage partner, or naming the baby (Lesejane, 2006).

A father's role has traditionally been defined along a provider or breadwinner role, with the responsibility for moral oversight over children and the family (Lamb, 2000). This means that fatherhood comes with great responsibilities which have been sanctioned by society and he is ascribed the responsibility to provide for the family and teach good behaviour, enforce discipline and command respect from his family and children.

For some men just because their female partners are employed, often in non-standard hours of work, middle class men are increasingly involved in parenting, such as attending health centres with children who require immunization, walking and driving children to and from school, and providing care at home (Richter, 2006). This is a role which has traditionally been associated strictly with motherhood, but seems to be changing. In dual earner households, men are thus taking on more parenting responsibilities which were previously associated with women and motherhood or mothering.

2.4.2 Fatherhood impact on masculinity

The different ways in which people understand both fatherhood and masculinity are shaped by historical as well as current political, social, cultural and economic factors (Makusha, 2013). Fatherhood is integral to the construction of masculinity, having a child can infer this status. Masculinity makes most men anxious about becoming a father as the failure to father a child carries

with it shame and embarrassment. In the South African context, fatherhood is a highly visible role which confers respect and authority (Makusha, 2013). Fatherhood goes beyond men's biological contribution to conception, it includes the responsibility to be a provider, supporter and protector of both his children and the family at large. Research shows that fathering is socially patterned, and in the South African context, this means it is intricately linked to histories of apartheid, unemployment, poverty, migration, racism, family structure, and masculinities (Ramphele & Richter, 2006). Men sense of themselves as father's rests on a sense of being able to provide materially for their children, but it is often difficult for men to live up to this traditional role (Montgomery *et al.,* 2006). A strong father role identity and commitment to parenthood are linked to father participation at the time of birth and continued involvement over time, Men's sense of themselves as 'rests on being able to provide materially for their children (Morrell & Richter, 2006).

There are various definitions of what masculinity entails and all of them are culturally defined (Hadebe, 2010), for instance, what counts as 'a real man' in a rural Zulu community is not the same as in an urban white or colored community. A number of factors influence the understanding of masculinity including family life, sexual relations and how society defines masculinity in line with how men present and understand themselves (Hadebe, 2010). Socialisation has a significant role to play in the definition and perception of masculinity and the dominant form of masculinity which is ascribed and celebrated is defined by the community in which boy children live. Society and family have the power to inculcate ideals of what constitutes a real man, in the form of aggressive, competitive behaviour or the level of respect to command from other, especially women.

Stemming from the preference for boy children, valorizes males. Patriarchy dictates that boy children carry on the family name, have rights of inheritance and make decisions on behalf of the family. In a patriarchal system such as the Zulu culture, men as expected to be providers and acquire wealth, whether it is in the form of cows and land or cash and other assets, including women as assets. Boys are expected to begin working towards their own independent life from a young age, while girls are prepared to keep house and may also be discouraged from studying further. Male children are prepared towards becoming household heads in future, and claiming

their role through material provision and protection of the family from a young age. In relation to women, Hamber (2010) points out that masculinity is closely linked to the way power relations play out between men and women and between men. Society ascribes power to men without question; it seems naturally ascribed instead of being socially sanctioned. Men are also ascribed the role of guide, disciplinarian and enforcer of laws and rules which are often oppressive and marginalize women (Fraser, 1989), however parenting involves much more than men as distant, uncaring, or uninvolved parents. Masculinities are in flux, allowing for the positive roles that men play as fathers and caregivers (Richter & Morrell, 2006). This is influenced by the high rate of unemployment in South Africa which has affected the role of men as breadwinners as they do not have the capacity to take care of their children. Thus in a way masculinity is in decline in South Africa with some women also taking the role of a breadwinners, a role which was only meant for men.

2.4.3 Legislation and the rights of unmarried fathers

Section 20 and 21 of the Children's Act, 38 of 2005 distinguishes between married and unmarried fathers in the acquisition of parental rights and responsibilities. With married fathers having full parental responsibilities and rights to their children, unmarried fathers do not have automatic rights. Despite this there are specific criteria unmarried fathers should meet to be able to have full parental responsibilities and rights. The inclusion of unmarried fathers under sections 20 and 21 acknowledges unmarried fathers for the first time and this also recognises their importance in parenting. Father's without automatic rights are given the opportunity to be actively involved in the lives of their children, especially those who want to be involved.

Section 21(1)(a) of the Children's Act 38 allows unmarried fathers have full parental responsibility and if they are staying permanently with the mother of the child at the time the child's birth. Those unmarried fathers who show willingness to be identified as the father by paying cultural damages and maintenance also acquire parental responsibilities and rights to their children. Furthermore, maintenance of a child has to be paid even when paternity has not been confirmed in terms of Section 21(2). In the case of a disagreement emanating between the biological parents on whether cultural damages and maintenance requirements are met by the father the case should be referred for mediation to a qualified person such as a social worker for clarity, in Section 21 (3). The

researched data shows that care of children born outside of marriage is taken care of mostly by the mother's family (Latamo & Rakgosi, 2000). In Botswana child support provided by mothers is at 76%, 48% by fathers and 39% by maternal relatives, support from paternal families is at a very low level with 35% from biological fathers, 15% from grandparents and 11% from paternal relatives (Latamo & Rakgosi, 2000). Fathers without automatic parental responsibilities and rights can enter into a parenting plan in the best interest of the child, in terms of section 22. The agreement must be trustworthy and lawful through registration with a family advocate, or an order of the high court or children's court (Bosman & Corrie, 2010). A biological father who does not have parental responsibilities and rights and who has not entered into an agreement with the mother can approach the court for parental responsibilities and rights in terms of sections 23 and 24 of the Children's Act (Bosman & Corrie, 2010).

2.4.3.1 Care parental responsibility and right

Children's Act define Care as offering an appropriate place for the child to reside, supporting the child's welfare and rearing; securing the child's education; keeping sound relationships with the child and accommodating the special needs of the child (Section 1; Gallinetti, 2006). Hence, in summary, care is providing for the daily needs of the child such as food, shelter and clothing (Skelton, 2009). Bonthuys (2006:12) argues that poor parents find it very difficult to provide all the needs contained in the "care" definition. The Childnre's Act makes it possible for unemployed fathers, or those without the means, to keep contact with their children. Contact does not hinge on financial provision, the focus is rather on the holistic well-being of the child.

2.4.3.2 Contact parental responsibility and right

Children's Act defines contact as keeping a relationship with the child, if the child is not under your guardiancy but someone else. Keeping a relationship means having a continuous communication with the child either by visiting the child or the child visits you or by writing to the child or electronically for example daily phone calls or emails (Section 1). An unmarried father who is not staying with his child but is committed in meeting all the necessary needs of his child has a full responsibility and right to keep contact with the child. (Madhaven *et al.*, 2014).

2.4.3.3 Guardianship

The responsibilities and rights of a guardian are to administer and safeguard the child's property and interest (Children's Act Section 18 (3); Colgan, 2009). Guardianship relates to the legal duties concerning the child such as management of the child's property, application for a passport, consent to adoption, marriage and medical treatment and surgical operations (Section 18; Gallinetti, 2006).

Since the Children's Act has come into force there have been a number of court cases involving guardianship responsibilities and rights. For example, the case of SDI v KLVC (2014), where an unmarried mother took her child to the United Kingdom from South Africa, changing the place of residence of the child without the father's consent. The High Court of South Africa (KZN local division) concluded that the father met the categories of Section 21(1) (b) of the Children's Act and he therefore had automatic parental responsibilities and rights over his child (SDI v KLVC, 2014). Being the guardian of the child, his consent was required prior to the removal of the child to another country (SDI v KLVC, 2014). The father's consent was also required to apply for a passport for the child (SDI v KLVC, 2014).

The above case reveals the difficulties that unmarried fathers experience. However, it should also be noted that some unmarried mothers experience problems when unmarried fathers who have automatic responsibilities disappear. This is particularly in relation to the application for passports since the mother cannot proceed without the father's consent.

For example, the case of GM v KI (2015), where the mother had to apply to court because she wanted to apply for her child's passport, but she had challenges due to the father being untraceable. Since he had guardianship his consent had to be obtained. The South Gauteng High Court in Johannesburg concluded that all the father's parental responsibilities and rights in respect of the child be suspended and the Department of Home Affairs was ordered to register the child with the mother's surname (GM v KI, 2015). Therefore, the mother became the sole guardian of the child and she thus did not require father's consent to apply for a passport (GM v KI, 2015).

2.4.3.4 Child maintenance

From the 1940s the application of the common law system of maintenance in South Africa, disregarded customary law. Unmarried biological fathers were forced to be accountable to support their children at the insistence of civil actions by the mother or criminal prosecution by the state if they had financial power but failed to pay maintenance for the upkeep of their children (Maintenance Act 99 of 1998, as amended in Act 9 of 2015). According to Letamo and Rakgoasi (2000) and Gallinet (2006) mothers are permitted to seek legal action against the fathers of their children to claim child maintenance through the court. After which the court will investigate the financials of the father after the investigation the court will then place a child maintenance order (Skelton, 2009). This is a continuing payment of a particular amount of money in relation to the child's maintenance (Colgan, 2009). When the child is independent or self-supporting, then the child maintenance ceases (Gallinetti, 2006). This legislation was mean to increase father child support Morrell (2006).

Fathers are supposed to support their children and family in ways other than financial support. Coley and Hernandez (2006) found that fathers with permanent jobs are believed to be highly involved in their children's lives and parental conflict is reduced. When a father is able to provide for his children it seems to be a prelude to peace in the household. When a man is unable to provide for his children, feelings of shame and humiliation are likely to add to conflict in the house (Wilson, 2006). Morrell (2004) asserts that economic provision for children goes beyond mere financial support but is also linked to power and status in the wider community, and he is perceived as a responsible man. This form of social capital is another benefit to men, but may also put them under pressure even when they are unable to provide for their families. Social capital to the family and community benefits the children's cognitive and social development as there are networks and people that can play an important role in the lives of the children (Morrell, 2004). In addition, human capital is part of the support that a father gives to his children by equipping them with skills, knowledge and qualities that foster their development. Fathers or father figures fulfill a role modeling function, particularity to male children. Not only are boys socialized into manhood, but they also emulate their fathers' behaviours. It is also common for some males to aspire to be better fathers where they feel that they were misguided or did not have good role model.

2.4.3.5 Customary law and natural or biological father's rights.

There are some similarities between customary law and the Children's Act Particularly Section 21 with emphasis on unmarried biological fathers. The recognition of Customary Marriages Act no 120 of 1998 denies unmarried biological fathers any parental rights to a child, rights that he can only secure through marriage or the payment of damages. Prior to that the child belongs to the mother's family, although in other systems paying of damages bear no such right and an additional condition (*isondlo*) is payable. *Isondlo* would be an indication that the father is responsible enough to take care of his child. However, when the mother marries another man, the biological father may relinquish his parental rights because the woman's new husband is considered to be the father. The biological father may also forfeit his rights if he fails to claim a girl child before she gets married so that he can reap the benefits of his daughters *ilobolo* and can only do so only if he took care of her through the payment of maintenance. The payment of damages, a traditional African practice of acknowledging paternity enables unmarried fathers to obtain parental rights in terms of Section 21 of the Children's Act (2005). Although unmarried fathers may get parental rights according to customary law, they have to settle the matter privately through negotiations with the child's guardian, however the Children's Act requires a court order. The disadvantage of private negotiations is that can drag for a long time without any interim arrangements in place do not take the child's best interests into account.

2.5 FATHERHOOD IN DIFFERENT CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

During precolonial times and in the hierarchal and patriarchal authority systems, fathers were providers and protectors, for instance "fathers sat at the pinnacle of the pecking order followed by older sons, other male relatives, women and children coming in last" Lesejane (2006:173). Males are often seen as the head, the representing power and responsibility for their families and the community at large. However, in contemporary times, not all fathers are in authority especially in urban areas where roles have been reversed and women manage the household and take important decisions. The employment of women has also emancipated them from many patriarchal views and ways of life.

Traditionally fatherhood was an assigned status rather than an attained "one meaning one did not become a father only by virtue of having biologically fathered a child" (Lesejane, 2006:175). In

other words, fatherhood includes more than just a father providing genetic composition to a child but he is also involved in child rearing practices. Furthermore, various idioms attest to this for example according to Lesejane (2006:175) in Sepedi they say "*ngwana ga se wa sheke ke wa kgoro*" which literally means that a 'sperm does not beget a child'. A man come to be a father, and is treated with respect in relation to his role and it means taking responsibility for his family and becoming an exemplary authority for the young men (Lesejane, 2006). Being a father comes with responsibilities. An elderly male who is able to meet his fatherly responsibilities despite not having biological children qualifies to be called baba. Guidance and emotional support are some of the good fatherly qualities. Lesejane (2006:176) further explain that "number of processes and practices were designed to sustain fatherhood in African cultures", *bogwera* or initiation school, *mephato* (regiments), *kgoro* (clan) and *kgotla* (court).

According to Lesejane (2006:177) "A man inherits assets from his father upon marriage, it was a broader clan (*kgoro*) which apportioned him a piece of land to plough and farm so that he could take care of his family". Monareng (2017) state that:

> *in terms of intestate succession law, only certain people called beneficiaries can inherit from the deceased intestate, these beneficiaries are the deceased legal spouse, children, blood relatives and adopted children. When the deceased has left a spouse and children the spouse biological children will inherit however firstly it is crucial to calculate the children's share first. To calculate children's share you divide the value of the state by the number of children. An adopted child can inherit from his adoptive parents and their blood relatives, but she or he cannot inherit from the natural parents and their blood relatives and they in turn cannot inherit from the child.*

Illegitimate and orphan children are normally cared for by the brother of the mother and undertake the responsibility of being a father to them (Mkhize, 2006). This surrogate fatherhood role is expected or him and male relatives are often appointed to take care of the family upon the death of a family patriarch. Male children are often expected to share the assets of the father whilst female children are not given much as they are expected to get married and live with their husbands and his family (Mkhize, 2006).

Kgotla is the body that functions as the last mediator of the communal differences and it also serves as the law execution court, the *kgotla* was critical in family life. While only men sat on the council,

women who had complaints, even against their husbands were allowed to make personal representations to the *kgotla* (Lesejane, 2006:177). It was not uncommon for men to be disciplined particularly once they were perceived to have gotten the image of the community into disgrace (Lesejane, 2006). In a South African context in the local community there are also civic structures in place to help resolve community issues. Although personal issues of *inhlawulo* are no longer brought before a kgotla, the law makes provision for civil cases to be handled in court. Section 21 of the Children's Act (2005) makes it possible for maternal families to demand that certain processes such as *inhlawulo* to be paid in the case of pregnancy out of wedlock.

2.6 BEING A FATHER AND ITS CHALLENGES

Wambugu (2006) state that society also sees fathers who cannot provide in a negative light leaving them feeling undervalued, disregarded, and excluded with those who are unemployed are disadvantaged by this perception which may lead to resentment.

According to (Castillo, Welch & Sarver, 2011:1343)

> *"After the birth of a child, fathers face the difficult task of putting their own fatherhood self-image into practice. If their self-image is conflict-free, fathers are able to experience a motivational force for greater involvement with their children. If their self-image is not conflict free, fathers find it difficult to deal with the demands of their new role and easily experience feelings of exclusion and disconnect from their social surroundings, leading to less involvement with their children".*

Young fathers by their very nature of being immature and inexperienced in taking care of their children face a lot of challenges. Wambugu (2006) states that fatherhood is one of the hardest jobs anyone can take on which it is more difficult when the father is young. Young fathers who themselves are still teenagers or young adults may still lack the skills to shoulder the burdensome responsibilities of fatherhood. Young fathers who are not able to be part of their children's lives feel ashamed and result in low self-esteem and diminished self-confidence (Bunting & McAuley, 2004; Caldwell & Antonucci, 1997). This occurs due to the fact that most of the times the young fathers would have broken up with their girlfriends before the child is born. This is supported Bunting & McAuley (2004) who reiterate that a most new parents especially juvenile parents tend to separate when the child is born and this is one of the reasons why there is lots of children growing up without fathers.

That feeling of becoming a father when you are too young for such responsibilities is overwhelming to the extent that they run away from such responsibility. Not only that but being a young father brings a lot of problems with your family and also your girlfriend's family, to make matters worse the young fathers will not have the financial means to take care of the children and in most cases this is attributed to unemployment. This means that they are not in a position to provide for the needs of the child. The shortage of new father's participation and not able to support the child financially is perceived to be related to the conflict between two families not being able (Bunting & McAuley, 2004). Additionally, qualitative research explains that new fathers feel very saddened about the fact that they are not able to be there for their children financial wise and connecting with their children. (Glikman, 2004; Allen & Doherty, 1996). For young fathers to be able to provide for their children and be there for them they need support from family members to be able to cope with such a great responsibility. It has been suggested that social support from the families of both parents minimizes the effects of parental stress on father involvement (*Fagan et al.,* 2007).

Due to economic constraints, poor fathers face many challenges in taking up their fatherhood roles and responsibilities (Makusha *et al.*, 2013). Many fathers do not live with their children, they are neither in a socially recognised relationship with the child and the child's mother, and are also not capable of providing for their children, which effectively excludes them from being a part of their children's lives.

2.6.1 Absent Fathers

Fathers may be absent from the lives of their children in different ways, such as complete absence where the children do not know or ever see their father. A father is absent when he is physically absent in the house where the child resides, this maybe be caused by factors such as divorce, domestic instability, work and social dislocations including wars (Morrell & Richter, 2006). They can be partly absent where the children know their father, but he does not live with them and occasionally visits them (Morrell, 2006). Other recent reasons, as shown by Mancini (2010) are lack of co-residence with their children, or absence as a result of divorce, separation, and incarceration. The nature of employment such as those employed in the military, business or long

shifts at work, such as taxi drivers has a bearing on fathering. They work long hours, driving on average 8 000 km per month, or 2.3 trips per day, usually working 6 days a week (Boudreaux, 2006).

In the absence of a biological father, uncles have a duty to care for his family because a child is born not only in a family but into the extended family and the community. Mkhize (2006) highlights the important role of *Ubab'omncane* (paternal uncle) or *umalume* (maternal uncle) whose duty it is to care for the family in the absence of the biological father.

According to Makusha and Richter (2015) South Africa has one of the highest rates of absent fathers in Africa. It is common in South Africa for children not to co-reside with their fathers especially when they were born outside marital or cohabiting unions (Kiernan, 2005; Madhavan *et al.* 2008; Rhein *et al.* 1997). Lack of interaction and communication with the father, even in cases where he was known, accounted for a perception of him as unknown (Padi, Nduna, Khunou & Kholopane, 2014).

Growing up without a father has the potential to create a sequence of children who grow up without fathers because their fathers had no fatherly guidance themselves when they were young. Young fathers speak with sorrow regarding never knowing their own fathers and recognize that they lack experience and guidance on father roles and responsibilities (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Growing up without a father is devastating for young men as they often need a father figure or a male against whom they can related and model their behaviour. Because they are expected to carry on the clan name, young men are faced with a huge challenge to carry on the clan name because they do not have fathers and in most times they are raised by the matrilineal family. In a patrilineal society, children take their clan name from their fathers and in times past, children, like the famed Zulu King Shaka Zulu were ostracized for being fatherless. Today, being fatherless may cause a sense of loss and confusion (Ramphele, 2002). The lack of fathers leaves young men with no preparation for the responsibility of fatherhood, inability to carry the clan name or act as authority figures in decision making and family-related matters. Father absence impacts negatively on children.

Children growing without fathers sometimes fail to strive at the micro level as they lack that connection or bond with their fathers and this might have future negative repercussions on their lives because they have grown without guidance, discipline and love from their fathers.

Berk (2000) states that the innermost level of the environment is the micro system which refers to activities and interactions patterns in the child's immediate surroundings. Meaning that the child's lack of interaction or relationship with an absent father can affect the child's functioning and well-being.

Many fathers travel to different countries around the world in pursuit of greener pastures or employment opportunities in other countries so as to be able to provide for their children. In Southern Africa there has migrant labour ever since the days of colonisation when men would go to other countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe to work in the mines, Cross-border migration for employment within SADC was dominant long before the drawing of colonial boundaries. (Crush, Williams, and Peberdy, 2005) The countries of Southern Africa have been sending and receiving migrants since the mid19th century when labour migrants came to work on the Kimberley diamond mines, including from modern-day Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Crush *et al.*, 2005). This meant that migrants were not selective in terms of employment, they would settle for anything and this contributed immensely to them being used as cheap labour. Remuneration was based on a single person, and not enough to support a family, therefore they earned very little and subsequently could not go to see their families often. In Zimbabwe, the mines recruited workers for the gold, coal and asbestos mines from Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia (Crush *et al.,* 2005). Cross-border migration to work in the mines continues as men come to South Africa to look for better job opportunities. Co-residence has been shown to have only limited utility as an indicator of father involvement in South Africa given the context of labour migration, household fluidity and non-marital childbearing (Brookes *et al.*, 2004). Children are growing with fathers who are absent in their lives for the entire or significant parts of their childhood. This means that children are growing without love, guidance and protection from their fathers, however other fathers or father figures may be present in the extended family.

Extended families constitute an important support system where families in Africa have a communal way of life. In South Africa extended families have played a significant role in taking

care of orphans and vulnerable children. Despite the disruptive consequences of the migrant labour system and perhaps devastating effects of death due to HIV/AIDS, most people still find a family arrangement usually with close family members (Amoateng, 2007). Thus fathers who are not biological fathers have g a social fatherhood role to take care of children that are not necessarily their own.

2.6. 2 Relationship between parents

The relationship with the mother of the children is another important factor which may hinder father involvement and support. When a man does not co-reside with his children and does not get along with their mother, it affects the extent to which he can exercise his fatherhood role. A strained relationship with the mother of the child affects both the quantity of time with their child and the quality of father-child interactions (Allen & Doherty, 1996), therefore it is essential that the father be involved and also have a good relationship with the mother or maternal relatives. Although it has been accepted that some fathers are absent in the lives of their children as a result of neglect, there are still some fathers who take their role seriously (Wambugu, 2006). While father absence may be openly discussed in some families, others choose to avoid the subject. Padi *et al.* (2014) assert that the degree and nature of non-involvement are not spelt out, single motherhood does not always imply father absence as the father may be present in some way in the child's life. In the case of non-resident, structural barriers such as distance, time, and expense preclude them from being as involved with their children as they would have liked to. Continue the discussion on the relationship between the parents, not father absence. For instance, physical distance, an amicable relationship between them, co-parenting or a parenting plan, etc.

2.7 MOTHERHOOD

Motherhood has largely been seen in socially constructed gendered lenses with women taking care of the household whilst men were breadwinners. Her role being mainly in reproduction and housekeeping. Childcare is a major role in motherhood throughout the world, as women usually assume childcare responsibilities until children are self-supporting (Mies, 1989). Despite women taking up paid work outside the home, there is still an expectation that they continue with caregiving responsibilities, the dual breadwinner/caregiver role (Bruhn & Rebach, 2014) means more work and increased responsibility. The current social expectations for mothers have

continued to exist regardless of increased "rights" for women (Vigil, 2012). In other words, the institution of motherhood has not changed much. The idea that the male will be a breadwinner and the female an unpaid caregiver, perpetuates a middle class, Christian ideal which renders those who do not follow this script, deviant (Fraser, 1989). Women are thus expected to do unrecognized and uncompensated work in the household such as caring for children and dependents.

Mothering experiences are unique and largely shaped by the socio-cultural and political histories. (Ngabaza, 2010). The good mother becomes self-abnegating, meaning that she abandons her own needs for that of her children and husband (Ladd-Taylor and Umansky, 1998). This implies that a mother's role is to make sure that she takes care of her children at the expense of her own needs as the children take Centre stage or priority in her life. In addition, taking care of men's needs is also valorized, the household chores that women undertake benefit men. Women are also expected to meet the sexual needs of men, there is a cultural and social expectation for women to take care of others before themselves. Being a mother comes with many challenges for women as there is ambiguity and contradictions associated with motherhood in an African context. There are multiple and contesting elements within contemporary ideological constructions of motherhood (Glenn, 1994). It is paradoxical that when a child excels in something the father gets the recognition. Ideological constructions and theoretical work on motherhood remain a contested terrain, in which mothers are set up for failure by the huge expectations set out for them, in their own homes and the broader social context (Ngabaza, 2010).

There is difference in the meaning of motherhood where social and cultural expectations of families and households impact on the role of mothers. Magwaza (2003) compared perceptions of motherhood among black and white mothers in Durban, and found stark differences, particularly in the constitution of families or households in which mothering occurred. Most white families are essentially nuclear families whilst extended family is normative for blacks. Russell (2003) also questioned if black families are nuclear, and her findings point to adaptation to changed economic realities where families have changed patterns of co-residence as a result of urbanization. Africans normally live in extended families, therefore motherhood is constructed as a communal practice where mothers shoulder full responsibilities of childcare and general housekeeping. Mothering is largely gendered, with mothers bearing most of the weight of childcare (Magwaza, 2003; Fraser,

1999). Patriarchy frames normative expectations for women to assume important, yet marginalized roles as the nurturers in African societies and such roles are regulated in ways that mostly undermine women's power and benefit men. Despite being a breadwinner, the woman still expected to perform housekeeping duties. It is further assumed that when a woman undertakes paid work outside the home this is or should be in order to supplement the male breadwinner's wage, but with the expectation that who will abdicate her primary housewifely and maternal responsibilities (Fraser, 1989).

The empowerment of women has also increased single mothers, who have also become providers, however the nuclear family with father as breadwinner and mother as caregiver is still the ideal against which families are measured. The stigma of single motherhood continues to decline somewhat, causing a number of women to opt for single motherhood outside of marriage. This means that single mothers can play the role of the breadwinner for their children a role that is associated with fatherhood. Ngabaza (2010) however highlight that being single does not give women authority over men as they are still viewed as inferior to men by society. The discussion on parenting would be incomplete if traditional customary practices were not discussed. In the next section I discuss the pertinent issue of inhlawulo and its significance in parenting.

2.8 *INHLAWULO* (DAMAGES)

In most African countries when a man makes a woman pregnant out of marriage, he is expected to pay damages to acknowledge the pregnancy, apologise to her family and also provide for the unborn child. This practice of paying damages is not confined to South Africans but to other African countries as Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and others, while some men are unable to pay *inhlawulo*, others choose not to. They simply do not acknowledge the pregnancy due to their unpreparedness or inability to take on the responsibility of raising children and a family (Makusha *et al.*, 2013).

 In Zimbabwe this cultural practice of paying damages is well common and is very common amongst the Shona people. According to Jones (2009) when a man impregnates a woman he is charged 'damages' for having 'broken the law' and making the woman pregnant meaning that he has disrespected another man and brought shame into his home. The payment of damages is only

accepted by the family of the woman who was impregnated as a sign of the commitment by the man to eventually marry their daughter. Meekers (1993) states that in the Shona culture if a man sleeps with a girl before paying '*roora*' or bride wealth he is expected to pay damages for having 'spoiled' or deflowered the girl. In Meekers (1993) study he indicated that 35% (or 60 respondents) had damages paid for them. However, in this era most young men do not pay damages because they no longer value culture as important and also because of high unemployment rates, they do not have the financial capacity to pay damages or bride wealth which is astronomical and often beyond their means.

In South Africa the payment of damages is still enforced, the community has made sure that the practice is sustained even when the man is unemployed. Damages are paid as acknowledgement or acceptance of the pregnancy despite very high levels of denial of the pregnancy, particularly in young men thereby adding to the number of fatherless children in South Africa. Hunter (2006) states that most fathers do not want to acknowledge the paternity of their children if they are not in a position to pay *inhlawulo* or have no interest in raising a baby. *Inhlawulo* in the isiZulu culture defines a man's masculinity (Ramphele, 2002), there is some sense of pride attached to the payment of damages (Langa & Smith, 2012). In 2012, Langa and Smith found that it fluctuated between R1 500 and R 12 000. This according to Swartz & Bhana (2009) has made *inhlawulo* lose its cultural significance as a symbol of apology to a girl's family because of its high cost among contemporary black communities. The payment of *inhlawulo* is more commonly practiced in predominantly rural areas than in urban areas, but is not uncommon in urban areas (Langa & Smith, 2012) possibly due to the erosion of cultural practices in the townships. The payment of *inhlawulo* opens the way for the child to use the father's surname, but does not accord him the permit to stay with the child. Premarital pregnancy has escalated simple because men are able to acquire rights to their children through the payment of *inhlawulo* to the maternal family (Hunter, 2010), others choose to pay both *inhlawulo* and *ilobolo* at the same time. However, for some there is a preference to pay *inhlawulo* rather than *ilobolo* simply because of affordability. Posel and Rudwick (2014) state that the cost of *inhlawulo* is considerably lower than the *ilobolo* payment, making it perhaps a more attractive option to men. *Inhlawulo* is also a way of financial support to the child even before it is born, cash has replaced cattle which used to be paid to maintain the child from infancy. The child Maintenance Act stipulates that a child deserves a decent maintenance to provide for

clothing, housing, dental and medical care, education and training and where applicable, recreation. The Maintenance Act No. 99 of 1998 administrates all the laws that link to maintenance and honours the decision that both parents have legal responsibilities to maintain their children. Further the Maintenance Act states that one parent can apply to the Maintenance Court for the other parent to pay support for their child/children even if the child was born out of wedlock, or one parent has remarried or has been denied access to the child. Men who are unemployed are still expected to pay maintenance and the amount is charged according to their means.

With growing unemployment and poverty it has become difficult for fathers maintain their children and the child support grant helps most single mothers to take care of their children despite this money being very little at R350 per month. To some extent this grant has led to some men abdicating their role and responsibilities towards their children. Government has taken over fatherly responsibilities which on the one hand, emasculate men and on the other, support children. Many beneficiaries of social grants are women who can now be recognized as heads of households (Hamber, 2010).

Against the backdrop of many children in South Africa growing without a father or knowing their father the obligation of maintenance on the father is one important way to force fathers to take care of their children and not leave the burden to only to the mother. Makusha *et al.* (2013) highlight how young men and women today express with despair about the experience of growing up not knowing their natural fathers. This largely is because of the lack of responsibility, and paying maintenance is one way of making sure they participate in their parenting responsibilities. Other men prefer simply not to own up their responsibilities as fathers, or are not prepared unprepared and unable to share his earnings on the additional responsibility for children and family (Makusha *et al.*, 2013).

However, many fathers fail to honor their fatherly responsibilities to their children not because of their own fault but circumstances beyond them which makes it impossible for them not only to pay *ilobolo* but also to pay maintenance of their children. Makusha *et al.* (2013) states that because of economic constraints, young and poor fathers face many challenges in taking up fatherhood roles and responsibilities, even in the case where the father himself would like to play a part to his

child he may have limited capacity socially, financially or legally obtain access to his child (Makusha *et al.*, 2013). This means that most fathers have just become biological fathers only because they are not in a position to take care of their children. Khunou (2006:265) asserts that "many fathers love their children and want to spend time with them, but unfortunately courts and law enforcers overlook this and treat fathers simply as providers of financial support and discipline".

2.9 CONCLUSION

This part of the study focused on discussing literature on fatherhood and the different aspects of fatherhood. It was important to understand what fatherhood entailed by providing different definitions for it and the different components of fatherhood such as biological fathers and social fathers. Not only that but it was also important to focus on literature on fatherhood and masculinity which accords men and women different roles in society with men being seen as breadwinners and women as caregivers. Parenting was another important topic that was discussed in this section with emphasis on parents' involvement and their lack of it in their children's lives. Additionally, it was important to discuss the Children Act 38 of 2005 particularly section 20, 21 and 22 which focuses on parental rights and responsibilities for married and unmarried fathers over their children. Furthermore, I discussed *inhlawulo* damage payment and its importance in the African culture and absent fathers and the challenges facing fathers in South Africa.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3. 1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I discuss the research methodology and the qualitative paradigm which was used in this research to better understand the perceptions and experiences of taxi drivers concerning fatherhood. I further justify the use of the exploratory research design and the purposive sampling strategies of snowballing. I elucidated on the use of the semi-structured interviews as a data collection strategy and how I analysed the data, thereafter I show how I exercised rigour, and finally discuss the limitations of the study.

The aim and objectives of the study are:

AIM	OBJECTIVES
• The aim of the study is to understand the perceptions and experiences of fatherhood amongst the taxi drivers in Wentworth.	• To explore what fatherhood means to taxi drivers • To explore how constructions of masculinities influence their way of parenting • To gain an in-depth understanding on the experiences of taxi drivers concerning fatherhood • To understand the extent to which they are involved in their children's lives

3.2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This was a qualitative study with the aim of gaining deeper insight into the perceptions and experiences of taxi drivers concerning fatherhood. According to Matthew and Carol (2003:36) "qualitative research tends to be associated with the idea that social life is the product of social interaction and beliefs of actors, that the social world is not populated by things, but by relationships and actions". For a study it is always important to gain a deeper understanding of

participants behaviours and the reasons that govern such (Cooper & Schindler, 2008). Qualitative research aims at understanding a person's experiences in a specific context and how they manage the situation or circumstance (Willig, 2001). Because qualitative research tends to view social worlds as holistic and complex, it enables the engagement of researchers in systematic reflection on the conduct of the study and to remain sensitive to how their own biographies shape their studies (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). These factors were reasons for the researcher to adopt a qualitative paradigm.

3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:74) "a research design is a plan or blueprint of how one intends conducting the research". This study was exploratory because it makes it possible to make inroads into an area of study that has received very little research, or where not much is known about such as the experiences and perceptions of taxi drivers as fathers. An explorative descriptive research design allows for an open and inductive approach to research into relatively unknown areas of research (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). Society stereotypically views taxi drivers as violent and uncaring, not as fathers capable of nurturing and care, there was need to explore fatherhood in this sector.

3.4. SAMPLING STRATEGY

I used snowballing sampling, a type of non-probability sampling to invite ten taxi drivers aged 22 to 35 years to the study. Purposive sampling was used in this study because it allowed for the recruitment of participants who met the research criteria and who were willing to be interviewed. The criteria used to select the participants was that they would have at least one child between the ages 1 year to 18 years be taxi drivers for at least one year, and work in Austerville or Wentworth, under the Austwent Taxi Association which granted permission for the study (see appendix 4 for gatekeeper letter).

With purposive sampling individuals who have the required information or experience are identified and targeted (Davies, 2007), therefore it requires careful identification of the sampling criteria. Terre Blanche *et al.*. (2006:334) highlight that "purposive or judgmental sampling in qualitative research allows the interviewer to select cases that can shed light on the object of the

study". I used purposive sampling because it allowed the recruitment of participants who met the criteria and provided useful information. The type of purposive sampling I used was snowballing which relies on referrals where participants are not always accessible. Snowball sampling thus depends on participant to provide access to other potential people who meet the study criteria it relies on participants' social networks in determining other potential participants (Guest *et al.*, 2013; Corey, 2009). Although the Austwent Taxi Association granted permission to undertake the study, I still needed to find the participants therefore I was introduced to a few participatns who then referred others. Snowball sampling was useful since they referring me to their collegues and told others about the study.

3.5. DATA COLLECTION

In order to collect data, aninterview guide was used, this is a guide which "lists the questions or issues to be explored during the interview and includes a consent form, and probes where necessary" (Boyce & Neale, 2006: 5). The interview guide was semi-structured (see Appendix 1) in order to allow participants to speak at length, in detail and in a more comfortable way . This has the advantage of giving the researcher a detailed picture and insight into a participant's experiences, beliefs and perceptions about a particular topic (De Vos *et al.*, 2002). However, semi-structured interviews have challenges which include respondents not always being truthful, or misconstrued facts, particularly where participants are unwilling or uncomfortable to share certain information either from fear of judgment or perceived pressure to give the desired responses (De Vos *et al.*, 2002). The ten participants had increased flexibility and room to elaborate on their experiences, and I had room to follow up particularly interesting avenues that emerged in the interview (De Vos *et al.*, 2002).

The semi-structured interviews made it possible to obtain in-depth data from the participants through the use of open-ended questions. I worked with a male research assitant, and we constantly emphasized anonymity and confidentiality in order to relax the participants, they were assured that they would not be identifiable at all by the use of pseudonyms in the final report. We started by developing collaborative relationships with the participants, and by acknowledging that the participants are the experts in their own lives and communicated this to them. We spent time at the taxi rank speaking to the participants about their roles as fathers. Data collection was also

facilitated by their curiosity about the study, and willingness to share their parenting experiences. Not only that we took a position of curiosity by being genuine in pursuing the way in which the participants view their lives. Our stance was that of learner and not expert, and we used the clients' language and concepts that are best understood by them, for instance the referral of children as *incosi* or father as *tymer*. It was an advantage that we can understand the lingo used by men in the taxi industry. Prior to the actual interviews, we prepared the participants by going over the information sheet again with them. On the day of the interview, we discussed the aim and objectives of the study and encouraged them to ask questions. The research assistant was always on site with me and approached potential participants prior to interviews. He also followed up those who had been suggested through snowballing, and stepped in particularly when participants showed discomfort with being interviewed by a female or when I felt uncomfortable. This was a male qualified social worker, and is bound by an oath of confidentiality which he took in his third year of study. He was taught how to use the data collection tool.

We asked for the participants' permission to record the interviews beforehand, all but two agreed to be tape recorded. According to De Vos *et al.*. (2002) the importance and value of recording cannot be underestimated, because it allows for a more detailed record than taking notes during the interviews. We were able to concentrate on the interview better when a tape recorder was used. The disadvantage of using a tape recorder, however, is that participants may not always be truthful if trust has not been established . We asked non-threatening questions in the beginning to put the participants at ease, please see Appendix 1. For those participants who were uncomfortable with the use of a recording device, immediately after the interview, we reflected on the interview and made detailed notes. We made sure that following every interview we wrote down what we vividly remembered, including some of the non- verbal cues communicated by the participants. The ten participants were interviewed individually and some were interviewed more than once, each interview lasting about 30 minutes to an hour. The views of those participants who did not wish to be interviewed

3.6. METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis involves reading through data repeatedly and engaging in activities of breaking down the data (Baum *et al.*, 2006; Rubin & Babbie, 2011). Non-verbal communication on the part of

the participant was also useful data. I used thematic analysis which moves beyond counting explicit words and phrases but focusing on identifying both explicit and implicit words and ideas within the data (Rubin & Babbie, 2011). I began with a verbatim transcription of the data. This was followed by identification of themes and patterns that emerged from the data. The process of data analysis allows the researcher to find similarities and differences that give her an in-depth insight of the phenomena under investigation, and keeps the data in an orderly manner. Because data analysis is not an event which is done once when interviews have been transcribed, it is ongoing therefore I started data analysis when I was conducted my interviews. Braun and Clarke (2006) support this assertion by stating that the researcher must have some prior knowledge of the data before analysis begins. In this case thematic analysis helped me with "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns or themes within the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006:79). Data analysis was started on 25 November 2016 and finished in 15 January 2017. I started by immersing myself in the data, this involves "repeated reading of the data, and reading the data in an active way, searching for meanings and patterns" (Braun & Clarke, 2006:16). Analysis began with listening and transcribing the interviews, followed by generating a list of initial ideas about what was interesting and initial coding of the data. Marshall and Rossman (2011:212) reiterate that "coding data is the formal representation of analytical thinking". Codes determine a feature of the data which is the semantic content or hidden information which looks significant to the researcher, and refers to "the simplest section or component of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998:63). I used manual coding to identify emerging patterns or themes. I coded sentences, lines and phrases which were then sorted into potential themes, after which the themes were reviewed and fine-tuned in order to verify their applicability to the study.

3.7 RIGOUR

Qualitative research is trustworthy when it accurately represents the experiences of the participants in the study by the credibility, transferability dependability and conformability. Streubert, Speziale and Carpenter (2003: 364) describe trustworthiness as "establishing the validity and reliability of qualitative research" The accuracy of qualitative research is judged according to the extent to which it was rigorous.

3.7.1 Credibility

Credibility is demonstrated when participants recognise the reported research findings as their own experiences (Streubert Speziale & Carpenter 2003:38). Thomas and Magilvy (2011:152) argue that "a qualitative study is considered credible when it presents an accurate description or interpretation of human experiences that people who also share the same experience would immediately recognise". To ensure the credibility of my research I did member checking which comprised returning to the participants from whom data were collected to ensure that my interpretations were recognised by the participants as accurate presentations of their experiences. Prior to submission of my report I went back to my participants for them to confirm that I had captured their views correctly and that I had not distorted anything they said, however very few were interested. I also reflected on my assumptions and biases throughout the study by using a reflexive journal, I also reflected on my own biases and assumptions about taxi drivers being violent and how this interfaces with the parenting role.

3.7.2 Transferability

Transferability is also called "fittingness" for it determines whether the findings fit in or are transferable to similar situations (Streubert, Speziale & Carpenter 2003:39).

Transferability was achieved by the provision of in-depth descriptions of the sample studied and the demographic characteristics of the participants. The geographical boundaries of the study were described in full which made it possible for the research findings or methods used to be transferred to another setting.

3.7.3 Dependability

Dependability is related to consistency of findings. This refers to the extent that if the study were repeated in a similar context with the same participants, the findings would be consistent (Holloway, 2005:143). The dependability of the study was achieved through the description of the steps taken in the study, how and why the participants were chosen, how the data were collected and how long the data collection lasted and how the data were analysed. I have provided a detailed description of the research methods in this chapter in my efforts to show dependability. My

supervisor helped to check the findings, interpretations and recommendations in order to ensure that they were adequately supported by data.

3.7.4 Confirmability

Confirmability is a strategy to ensure neutrality, it means that the findings are free from bias. Similarly, neutrality refers to the impartiality of data (De Vos 2005). Thomas and Magilvy (2011) state that confirmability occurs when credibility, transferability and dependability have been established. It is also not easy to be completely free of bias in a qualitative study, however I achieved confirmability by using the process of reflexivity in which I reflected about my own biases and assumptions. I made use of a reflexive journal in which I wrote down my personal feelings and biases which helped in my efforts to reduce bias. I also made sure that my interviews were comfortable through flexibility and openness, which allowed my participants to talk freely about their experiences. My supervisor has also seen all the raw data, including consented audiotaped evidence, field notes, my diary and transcripts.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics are values, norms and moral judgments that guide behaviour. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011:22) "ethics are moral principles and laws that every social science association should develop", they usually have guidelines which are informed consent, non-deception, non-maleficence, privacy and confidentiality, and also a commitment to collecting and presenting reliable and valid material. The study was conducted ethically, I began with obtaining informed consent, and ensuring confidentiality during the data collection process. I used pseudonyms to refer to participants in this report so that the respondents are unidentifiable. Consent from the Austwent Taxi Association was granted prior to data collection and the participants I was introduced to, made full use of their right to refuse participation. I respected the wish of those participants who were uncomfortable with the use of an audio recording device, by not using it. I also assured the participants that the raw would be stored in a locked safe place and would be destroyed by fire after a period of five years.

Marshall and Rossman (2011) reiterate that ethical research practice is grounded in the moral principles of respect for persons, beneficence and justice. By studying human beings, unique

ethical problems which would never have been applicable in the pure, clinical laboratory settings of the natural sciences are brought to the fore (De Vos *et al.*, 2002). Babbie (2001) points out that anyone involved in research needs to be aware of the general agreements about what is proper and improper in scientific research, therefore in the course of this study, these are discussed next.

3.8.1 Non-malefisence

The potential to harm participants in research always exists, whether it is physical or emotional harm, therefore beneficence requires that researchers do whatever they reasonably can to ensure that their participants are not harmed by participating in their study (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). The first step in doing no harm was by obtaining ethical clearance this study was granted full ethical clearance by the UKZN Research Office (see appendix 3). This process also helped me to fine-tune the questions so that they would not be too intrusive. The participants were also given both verbal and written information so as to understand the nature of the study, I made sure that they were comfortable with the subject before we started the interviews, and also indicated that they could choose not to answer any question, for any reason such as discomfort. Some measure of confidentiality was afforded by individual interviews. Participants were also encouraged to use pseudonyms so as to protect their identity. De Vos *et al.* (2002) explain that respondents should be thoroughly informed beforehand about the study and all efforts done to minimize any harm. I did by emphasizing the availability of psychosocial support should the need arise. From my own social work training I was prepared to note any discomfort and assess the need for ongoing support in consultation with the participant. This offer was not taken by any of the participants, and I also felt that it there was no necessity for referral of any participant.

3.8.2. **Informed consent**

According to De Vos *et al..* (2002:65) emphasise the need for accurate and complete information so that participants fully comprehend the nature of the study so as to make a voluntary, thoroughly clear decision about participating in the study. Prior to commencement of this research I made sure that consent was informed. I informed them verbally and through an informed consent form, about the purpose and aim of the research, the procedures I was going to follow and also assured them about confidentiality and their freedom to withdraw at any time from the study without any negative consequences. Getting informed consent from the research participants is very important

so as to enable them to be informed of what they are getting themselves into. Marshall and Rossman (2011:48) support this assertion by stating that through the informed consent process, the researcher ensures that participants are fully informed about the purpose of the study, that their participation is voluntary, and gauge the extent of their commitment and involvement in the study, also, that their identities will be protected in order to have minimal risks associated with participation.

In addition to agreeing to participate in the study, I also asked for permission to tape record the interviews. I clearly stated this in the information sheets that I gave to them prior to involvement in the research (see appendix 2). I believe that they were clear of the nature of the study and understood what was going to be asked of them before agreeing to participate in the study.

3.8.3. Confidentiality

Apaslan, Plooy, Eeden and Wigston (2010) emphasise the importance of confidentiality. Certain information shared by participants may be sensitive and the participant may not want other people to know. Futher, the place where the interview is conducted must be safe environment for the participants to talk freely. Due to the nature of the taxi environment, individual interviews were conducted inside the driver's taxi which provided a measure of confidentiality. Although this was at a taxi rank, during the day when they are 'binding' there is very little traffic and many of the taxi drivers can be found either playing card games, sleeping in their taxis or engaged in other social activities. I assured the participants that everything we discussed was confidential, and that the final report would have no identifying details. I further assured them that all the information would be kept safe by the university and be destroyed by fire after a period of five years.

3.8.4 Anonymity

Anonymity means that no one should be able to identify any research participant (Strydom in De Vos *et al.*, 2005). It implies that only the researcher should be aware of the identity of participants, and participants are urged to maintain confidentiality. Participants have the right to confidentiality in all communication research. Anonymity of the participants was maintained in the reporting of data. I used pseudonyms to protect their identities. I told them that I would not use their real names which made them even more relaxed to express their views. Respect for persons captures the notion

that we do not use the people who participate in our studies as a means to an end, and that we respect their privacy, their anonymity and their human rights.

In summary, there were some challenges in the initial stages. Some of the participants were unsure of my intentions, they held back and could not freely express themselves. However, my research assistant and I spent some time at the taxi rank in informal discussions with them beforehand. I understood that trust is important in the quality of my data therefore I frequently stressed the issue of confidentiality. I believe that this process enabled them to relax and speak freely. I also used my social work skills to build rapport and in probing during the interviews.

3.9. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Some men did not think that parenting is something that they should be actively involved in because at the outset there was little or no interest in the study. They asked me to go and conduct my study with women or mothers. I impressed upon them that the views of the fathers are also important and that fathers seem to be neglected, yet they also contribute to raising and taking care of their children. This study focused on the views of fathers, and it was a limitation that the views of their partners cannot be used to triangulate the data. Different views on this subject would have given a clearer understanding of the role played by taxi drivers living in Wentworkth, in parenting their children.

The challenge of openness to a female researcher in this subject was also a limitation, hence I eventually employed a male research assistant who was within the age range (30 years old) of the participants. The problem with this approach was also that in the beginning, the participants werethe ones interviewing the research assistant, telling him to answer the questions himself since he was also a father. We persevered and eventually they were amenable to taking part in the study. Finally, I found that time became a constraint as a result of the nature of the taxi driver job. I could not rely on appointments to conduct the interviews since some of their taxis filled much quicker than anticipated, therefore they I had to wait for some of them to go and deliver their passengers before we could commence with the interviews. However, this worked to my favour because in the meantime I was able to interview other participants whose taxis were still 'idling' or in the queue.

3.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the research methodology and study design including the limitations and challenges in undertaking the study. Trustworthiness was also discussed, including how the participants were protected from harm. In the following chapter attention will be on data analysis and the discussion of findings.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Perceptions and experiences of fatherhood among taxi drivers in Durban Wentworth are central to the study. Thematic analysis was used to analyse qualitative data from the semi-structured interviews with ten taxi drivers who reside in the Wentworth area. Using the ecological perspective, I begin with a presentation of the demographic profiles of participants then I show the themes which emerged from the interviews. In chapter five I present a discussion and recommendations.

Figure 4.2.1 Demographic profile of participants

Name	John	Dan	Ezra	Ben	Muzi	Tso	Sabelo	Sanele	Mdu	Thiza
Age	34	35	33	29	34	35	28	31	34	35
Race	Coloured	Coloured	Coloured	Coloured	African	African	African	African	African	African
Level of educated	Grade 12	Grade 10	Grade 10	Grade 12	Grade 10	Grade 12	Grade 12	Grade 12	Grade 12	Grade 9
Marital status	Engaged	Single	Cohabiting	Single	Cohabiting	Paid lobola	Single	Cohabiting	Single	Traditional wedding

4.2.2 Demographic representation of participants

Ten taxi drivers living in Wentworth were interviewed. The demographic data show an almost even spread between two population groups, African (6) and coloured (4), eight of the participants were in their mid-thirties with only two participants in the late 20s. Participants had an average of three children who stayed with their mothers. Co-residence showed a pattern where older children

tended to stay with their mothers but younger ones with their fathers who were currently staying with a partner.

Co-residence showed the prevalence of maternal grandparents as caregivers. Those ___ participants who co-reside with their children; do so with the children of the current partner, they also revealed that they had other children who did not live with them but reside with others. In instances where the father co-resided with his children, it was noted that a grandmother or another female caregiver was present (Makusha and Bray, 2015).

The participants were asked a variety of questions (see Appendix 1) regarding parenting and fatherhood, and their responses to what parenting and fatherhood means to them, are presented

4.2.3 short profile of the participants

Thiza is was a 35 years-old African man. He had 4 children from different mothers the first two stayed with their mothers and he lived with the two youngest children. His highest level of education s grade 9 and he has been working as a taxi driver for 13 years, he was 22 years when he started working as a taxi driver because his uncle owned taxis.

Mdu was a 34 years old African man with Matric and he was planning to further his studies at UNISA the following year. He stayed with his 5 year-old son and girlfriend. He has been working as a taxi driver for three years.

Sanele wasan African man of 31 years of age with matric, having two children aged 9 and 4 years. He stayed with his children and their mother. He has been working a s a taxi driver for five years.

Muzi was an African man of 34 years with grade 10. He has threechildren from different mothers, two girls (aged 15 and 10 years), and one boy age2 years. The boylived with his mother outside the country and the two girls stayed with Muzi and their mother. He has been working as a taxi driver for seven years.

Sabelo was a 28-year-old African man with matric, and at the time of the study he was saving for university. He has a boy of 5 years who lived with his grandmother when he is at work. He has been a taxi driver for five years .

Tso was a 35 year-old African man with three children two girls and a boy. He had a matric and stayed with the mother of his children after paying ilobolo for her. He has been a taxi driver for seven years .

John is a coloured man of 34 years , he completed his matric and had three children, two boys and a girl. He lived with the mother of his children whom he was planning to marry. He has been a taxi driver for 8 years.

Dan was a coloured man of 35 years, and he had grade 10 education. He had two boys. He was cohabiting with the mother of his children and had been working as a taxi driver for 11 years.

Ezra was a 33-year-old coloured man with three children, two girls and one boy. After matric he got a job as a taxi driver, he has been a taxi driver for 11 years . He stays with the mother of his two girls and he only sees his boy on weekends .

Ben was a 29-year-old coloured man with matric. He was single and saw his child every day because he took him to school daily. He stayed in close proximity to his son and has been a taxi driver for five years.

4.2.4 themes

1. The parenting Experiences of the participants	2. Perceptions regarding the motherhood roles
3. Preference of a amle child	4. Masculinity and fatherhood
5. Maintenance	6. Payment of damages
7. Work context in relation to parenting	8. Guidance and supervision

4.3 THE PARENTING EXPERIENCES OF THE PARTICIPANTS

All the participants were fathers, with the ages of children ranging from 3 to 15 years. Their understanding of parenthood involves the provision of a safe, secure, nurturing environment for children with good parents enabling the child to grow, develop and function well. They emphasised the role of both parents in children's lives. They saw their roles as fathers being providers with women being caregivers. These constructions of fatherhood typically emphasise the provision and fulfilment of children's material needs (Osthus, 2011) as opposed to the provision of emotional of physical care. There was a strong emphasis on the provider role of the father in parenting by the participants as depicted by Dan said:

> *"I play many roles in my children's lives. I play the role of being a father to them by making sure they get what they want especially food and clothes and also uniforms and books to school as I want them to be educated. I also teach them to be good children that are respectful and well-mannered so that they cannot abandon their culture"*.

Ezra indicated that:

> *"being a father comes with responsibility, every day you just have keep on enhancing your role as father to your children, lead by example, keep your position of being the authority with love and respect"*.

The views of participants on fatherhood was that it means a man who has authority over his household and who provides and protects his family. The participants viewed themselves as heads of their households and women as caregivers. Lesejane (2011) states that there is power, prestige and hierarchy which is are very male oriented, with the father at the top of the ladder followed by the eldest son, then other male relatives and lastly women and children. Participants also seemed to have this type of hierarchy in mind when they discussed their domestic arrangements. Sabelo said that:

> *"I am the father which means that I am the head of the house I take control of the house and see that everything is ok and the groceries is enough for the month.*

Muzi also indicated that:

"I *regard myself as the father of the house and the children and the mother all look up to me*".

Closely related to this is the fatherhood role. Participants were asked how they see themselves in relation to their role as fathers, they considered themselves to be role models, breadwinner and guiders. Historically the most two dominant father roles have been providing and /or caregiving it seems that both the biological and social father were important for the participants Ramphele and Richter (2006) state that biological father is needed to introduce the child to the ancestors through the ritual called imbeleko (killing a goat or caw for the introduction of a new family member). The fathering role was defined in economic terms where fatherhood essentially meant being able to provide materially for children. All the participants held this view, and in the words of Dan:

"Ooh *a father is a man who has a child or has brought a person into this world, a father is a man that is able to take responsibility of his children and also provide them with whatever they want if they can*".

Richter (2006) asserts that fatherhood is a social role where fathers play different roles in families and society. This is also in line with Makusha *et al.* (2013) whose study which found that fatherhood goes beyond men's biological contribution to conception and includes the responsibility to provide, involvement and the protection of both the child and the wider family. This resonates well with a social father who does not only support his biological children but extends it to the children from the extended family and the community. The participants stressed that a father may be anyone who essentially takes care of children who may not be his own biological children. This is important in African culture with its grounde in the ethos of Ubuntu in which every child in the community is everyone's responsibility regardless of paternity. The emphasis on the respective roles of both maternal and paternal uncles, emphasizes their significance in all aspects of children's lives.

However, one of the participant highlighted an important point on social fathers that it is different from the past when children were essentially disciplined and would respect social fathers but today it is difficult to discipline a child that is not yours as they can talk back to you that you are not their father and you have no right to tell them what to do. This is indicated by Tony who said that:

"I *am not sure I think you can play a small role because you are no the biological father. The problem with children these days is that they no longer respect their elders so they will never listen to you and they will tell you in your face that you are not my father why are*

you telling me this and that so it's a challenge to play a fatherly role to children that are
not your own".

Although men took on a social fatherhood role, they equally emphasised the biological father role which made them feel affirmed as men by having children to carry on their legacy when they die. In order for them to carry out their fatherhood roles efficiently, they emphasised the assistance of their partners, extended family and also the community at large. There was a need for the micro system to work well within the mesosystems where adequate resources would enhance the father's role in his family and community. Having socio economic resources at their disposal meant that they could be better fathers. However, a lack of resources impacted negatively on fathers' ability to provide for their children. Because the ecological perspective views an individual as a central part of their social system, then this individual needs other people and resources to survive (DuBois & Miley, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is built around the notion of being a breadwinner and providing for the family (Ichou, 2008).

4.4 PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE MOTHERHOOD ROLE

Seven of the participants seemed to hold stereotypical views regarding the role of women in parenting. Mothers were seen in a predominantly reproductive frame confining them to caregiving. Worldwide women are expected to provide nurturance to the men in their lives as well as to children, and make everyone feel good (Malacrida, 2009). Furthermore, a woman's role is limited to that of being a biological mother whose purpose is reproduction. A point highlighted by Sewpaul (1995) is that women from all cultural groups value being biological mothers, however it is not limited to the production of offspring, and they also have a socialising role. Women, therefore tend to normalise their role and prioritise childbearing, which may compromise their own well-beings. Participants seemed to share these sentiments, for instance, Dan highlighted that:

"*the role of the mother is to love the children, nurture them and look after them, like bath*
them, feed them, wash for them, clean for them, take them to the hospital when they are
sick, check if they need anything at all".

John also indicated:

"*mmm mothers eeh they just have to be there for the children, love the children, teach them*
respect, cook, wash and keep the house clean".

Although the roles that are ascribed to motherhood involve the mother's ability to nurture children, they also involve providing guidance, supervision and support. Motherhood is largely gendered with mothers shouldering the full responsibilities of childcare (Magwaza, 2003). In contrast, one participant had a slightly different view in terms of gendered roles in parenting, Ben said that both parents have to share caregiving responsibilities despite a majority of the participants preferring to leave parenting to women. In instances where the child co-resided with the father, a female relative took on a mothering role. Some of the participants were assisted by female members of their extended families such as grandmothers to care for their children. This is highlighted by Sabelo who indicated that:

> *"my mother plays the great role in filling the shoes of my son's mother and she teaches him discipline and also tries the best to be the mother he never had''.*

it is normal for grandmothers to often step in to assist when the mother is absent (Mia, 2010) as in the case of Sabelo whose partner left the child with him. Because his work requires Sabelo to work long hours, he feels relieved that his child is left in the hands of his very capable grandmother. Mkhize (2006) highlights the importance of extended family in helping in the rearing of children. Traditionally black men are not perceived as being capable of looking after the children alone (Monama, 2007) therefore Sabelo as a single father is also important to note as a lot of attention in the literature is given to single mothers, often ignoring the plight of single fathers who are able to take on a more responsible parenting role albeit with the help of the extended family. The emergence of single fathers in South Africa is noteworthy and deserves support (Monama, 2007). Despite this emergence of single fathers in South Africa there has been some resistance and reservations from society on men's ability to take care of children on their own.

4.5 PREFERENCE FOR A MALE CHILD

The preference for a boy child by the black African taxi drivers in this study is consistent with Hadebe (2010) assertion that the preference for male children rather than female children rests on the belief that boy children can carry on the legacy of the family to future generation. These sentiments were shared by most of the participants in the study indicated the importance of having a male child than having a female child. Out of 10 participants in the study 6 of these representing 60% highlighted the essence of having a boy child.in support of this, John indicated that

"*if you have a male child you have an heir, a person that is going to keep your surname but if you have girls only you know they will grow up and get married*".

Muzi said that: "*the reality is that a boy is important because you know that he will always bear your surname forever and if he gives birth to boys you will always know the surname will always be there*".

Tso showed his disappointment when his first born child was a girl and he tried to have a boy child until eventually he had him. He indicated that:

 "*I must be honest with you when my first child was a girl I was kind of disappointed and I tried to have a boy until I got him after the third attempt. I love all my children but I think I have a soft for my last born child who is a boy*".

One particular interesting outcome from the participants was the way they referred to the girl child as isfebe (a loose woman/prostitute) and they were not ashamed to say it because they have been exposed to such way of talking in the environment they work in. When I interviewed one of the participant Tso on the gender of the child he said she is an *isfebe* and when I probed more on what he meant he said "it means that my child is a girl". Tso said this because the girl child was going to grow up and start dating and eventually get married and leave the house. This depicts the influence of the taxi industry on men's portrayal of women by looking down upon them to such an extreme level. All the participants conveyed their affection to their children, however all African participants were vocal about the importance of a male child, while the coloured participants welcomed a child of any gender, for instance Dan said:

"*to me it does not matter a child is a blessing from God, so I don't really mind either it's a boy or a girl*".

The importance of a male child cannot be emphasised in the African culture as males represent the future legacy of the clan. The importance of the family or clan name was more pronounced in participants from the black community more than those from the coloured community. It was noted that the participants also wanted their children to carry their surname.

All the participants indicated the importance of their children bearing their surname rather than their maternal surname, however it was noted that some of the children used their maternal surnames because lobola or damages had not been paid. The reason for this was because they could not afford the exorbitant charges of damages or lobola.

Another participant, Ezra indicated that:

> *"all my children bear my surname now, we changed them from bearing their mothers surname in February this year because we getting married in December"*.

In this instance the man paid *Inhlawulo* for his wife and children, and wanted them to bear his surname. Makusha *et al.* (2013) found that until the biological father pays *Inhlawulo*, he is not permitted to claim his children as his own and they cannot bear his surname hence the significance of *Inhlawulo*.

The findings are also consistent with Hunter's (2010) findings that the payment of *Inhlawulo* opens the way for the child to use his father's surname. The failure of children to bear their biological father surname is believed to carry negative repercussion in the African culture. Nduna (2014) highlight that some mothers, fathers, guardians and children alike, express a worry and a belief that not using a biological father's surname could have negative repercussions for the child and may cause personal problems and bad luck.

4.6 MASCULINITY AND FATHERHOOD

Men pride themselves on being fathers. Osthus (2011) asserts that throughout history, being a provider has been a major way of asserting masculinity and being a real man. This was the case as well in this study as all the participants saw their role as that of a provider or breadwinner. Muzi indicated that:

> *"It is my responsibility because I am a man and we are taught in our culture that every man should provide for their family and you become a real man by providing for your children"*.

These cultural constructed masculinity roles that the participants have been socialized into have also influenced how they view their partners. Thiza said that:

> *"I think the role of my partner is to take care of the family by making sure that the family has something to eat, washing and ironing clothes and making sure the household is clean. And making sure that she supports her husband in everything he does and my role is just to bring money home"*.

Additionally, a father' role was defined as that of provider or breadwinner, moral oversight over children and gender role modelling (Lamb, 2000) were equally important. Franklin *et al.* (2014)

found that men play a number of significant roles, as companions, care providers, spouses, protectors, models, moral guides, teachers and breadwinners and whose relative importance varies across generations and sub-cultural group. The ecosystem model recognises that a wide range of factors in the environment can infleunce mothers and fathers to take on a wide diversity of roles in childrearing (Cabrera *et al.*, 2004). This means that factors such as cultural practices or beliefs, economic factors and also personal beliefs influence the roles that fathers and mothers play in their children lives. Malfunctioning in any one of the micro, messo, exo and macro levels has the potential to impact negatively on the ability of fathers to provide and protect their families. Cabrera *et al.* (2004) highlight that family systems are influenced by the evolving cultural, political, economic and geographic conditions in which they are embedded.

4.7 MAINTENANCE

Against the backdrop of many children in South Africa are growing without a father or knowing their father, one of the important ways to force fathers to take care of their children and not leave the burden to only to the mother is through maintenance claims in family courts. Although paternal involvement in the care and supervision of children may be limited, the payment of maintenance is one avenue of ensuring participation in parenting. Payment of maintenance was significant in two ways, one being to show responsibility towards their offspring, and the other to affirm their position as men. Despite the participants speaking about the importance of paying maintenance, only four of the participants confirmed paying maintenance regularly to children. The general view was that children had to be maintained and a man had to do whatever he could to ensure this. Muzi said that:

> *"if you bring a person into this world you have to be responsible and meet their needs, I say maintenance is good and every father with a child somewhere should be able to pay if he is not with the mother of the child. I do send money to my son every month even though the mother tells me they do not need it but I still send so that my son will know that I value him and he is important to me like the rest of my children. I try even though sometimes things get tough, I still do send whatever I can without fail because he is grown now and loves fashion."*

In support of this also Dan said that:

> *"I do pay maintenance for my boy because he does not stay with me, I give R1000 a month or R1500 if I can, I am not earning much but I chose to deny myself for the sake of my children's wellbeing."*

Sabelo's view that despite finances being tight, he still provides suggests that he takes his role as provider seriously:

> **"T***he money is never enough; people think we make a lot of money from taxis but there is no money my sister it is not enough to provide my son with the best things he likes but I try my best"*

Even for these participants who are not paying maintenance because they are living with their children they believed that maintenance is very important for the upkeep of the children and the man who don't pay maintenance are virtually "useless men". Therefore, their masculinity was challenged and this behaviour is frown upon.

> *"there are men having good jobs out there but do not want to pay maintenance and be part of their children's lives they don't even know what the children eat, wear and pay school fees and when the children are grown up then they claim to be fathers"*

Ben highlighted that:

> *"if a man is not with the mother of his child he should pay maintenance and those man that are not paying maintenance are useless"*

Although the participants believe men who are not paying maintenance are useless however in most instances it is not their fault as they might be willing to pay but circumstances such as lack of money, unemployment and economic meltdown hinder them from paying. The guilty of not being able to pay maintenance or provide for their children emasculate their manhood to such an extent that they feel less manly. One of the participants in Osthus (2011:186) study aptly stated that "if you are not working, you are as good as dead. I have lost my dignity as a human being, I have lost my manhood. A man is a man because he can provide for his family". This means that some fathers are affected negatively by unemployment found at the macro level of the ecosystem theory which hampers their ability to take care of their children. The ecosystem theory posits that malfunctioning at one of the levels impact negatively on the other levels thus malfunctioning at the macro level for the unemployed fathers impacts negatively on the children who are left without anyone to take care of them which means that it will be difficult for them to go to school (messo

level) that will also have negative psychological effects on them (micro level) in terms of function and well-being.

One of the strategies used by men who fail to meet their financial obligations is disappearance or withdrawal from the child's life. Dan indicated that:

> *"it is really sad that men impregnate a women and run away from their responsibilities, that is what my father did, my mother really had a hard time providing for us. I think that maintenance is a good thing that can force fathers to pay money to take care of their children and I think that they should be forced to pay more money because being absent in your child's life is not good at all for the child."*

The above point highlighted by the participant is important that of absent fathers and is in line with Makusha and Richter (2015) who highlight that South Africa has one of the highest rates of non-resident fathers in Africa. Most young fathers in Swartz and Bhana (2009) spoke with sorrow regarding never knowing their fathers and recognised that they lack experience and guidance on father roles and responsibilities. This means that children that grow up without a father are affected negatively in every aspect and when they eventually become fathers they lack the necessary fatherly skills expertise. Some of the reasons that lead to absent fathers is lack of financial power and lack of involvement, which may be sanctioned by the environment in which they live (Nduna and Jewkes, 2011). This is consistent with Makusha *et al.* (2013) who highlighted that some fathers prefer simply not to take caution that they are fathers or are unprepared to take responsibility for children.

4.8 PAYMENT OF DAMAGES

Payment of damages in the African culture is very important in order for a man to claim his child after impregnating a woman out of wedlock. Paying damages in the African culture is very important and it is a practice that has withstood the test of time. In precolonial and early colonial era, a father was required to provide lobola for his sons and also pay damages should his son impregnate a woman, but nowadays the man has to work to pay his own lobola or damages. That being said out of the 10 participants in the study 5 Zulu man paid damages except Sabelo because he does not know the where about of the mother of his child because she came to drop the child to his house when the child was newly born, to support this Muzi said that:

"I did pay damages, that is why they come home without being hindered and they have all rights to Ngubane clan because that is where they belong"

Tso also stated that:

"I paid damages on my child because I had made her mother pregnant, I was forced to pay damages by the elders in her family".

This implies that the opinions of the elderly people are important to the participant as he might have been reluctant to pay damages if it was not for the elders. This goes hand in hand with the ecosystem theory messo level in which elders in a community occupy an important position that is essentially respected by the young men such as the participant.

The findings are consistent with Jones' (2009) sentiments that when a man impregnates a woman he is forced to pay damages for making a woman pregnant out of wedlock. For African men paying damages comes with some form of pride and importance, *Inhlawulo* in the Zulu culture defines a man's masculinity (Ramphele, 2002) and there is some sense of pride attached to it (Langa and Smith, 2012). Although all the 6 African participants spoke about the payment of *Inhlawulo* and its importance, not all had paid damages due to a number of reasons. Mdu explained his lack of money as a limitation and also that he was unemployed when he impregnated the women. He could not afford to pay:

"I did not pay damages to the family, I wanted to pay but I had no money at that time"

This is in line with Makhusha at el (2013) study which found that some men are not able to pay inhlawulu because they are unprepared or unable to take responsibilities of raising children and family.

This is also consistent with Swartz and Bhana (2009) who highlighted that *inhlawulo* was losing its cultural importance because of its exorbitant cost, with *Inhlawulo* was increasingly becoming expensive for men to pay, it impacts negatively on children. Not knowing their fathers or lack of acknowledgement from their paternal families implies without having contact with them. Not all participants believed in the paying of damages since four coloureds participants highlighted that paying of damages did not exist in their culture and when they get a woman pregnant she is expected to move in so they may stay together and raise the child. Dan said that:

"fortunately for us we do not pay any damages it's not our culture.

Ezra also said that

"we coloureds don't pay damages"

4.9 WORK CONTEXT IN RELATION TO PARENTING

All the participants highlighted the challenges and problems they face as taxi drivers which have a negative impact on their relationships with their children. Some of the work challenges faced by participants include working long hours with the constant threat of losing their jobs. This job insecurity implies working long hours and subsequently the inability to spend time with their children. John indicated that:

> *"sometimes the children will want you to spend time with them or do something for them and you are so tired you can't do, but if you say no they get hurt or think you do not love them"*

Ben highlighted that:

> *"this is a challenging job by 5am I am out of the house and get back by 6pm so I don't spend much time with my children."*

This is in line with Boudreaux's (2006) view that taxi drivers work long hours driving on average, and working 6 days a week. This also came out in Oirin News (2006) study in which one of the participant named Frank stated that he begins his workday at 4am and typically ends at 7pm, occasionally takes Sunday off but is always mindful that doing so will eat into hisweekly savings. This shows that the taxi drivers are away from their children most times and they spend little time with them. In terms of the ecosystem theory the taxi drivers' work place has a bearing on the indicidual. According to Cabrera *et al.* (2014) family systems are often linked to other social settings (e.g. parents place of employment) in which the child does not have an active role. Although the children do not play an active role in their fathers' work place however they are either impacted negatively or positively with it. For taxi drivers having to work long hours and being tired most of the time it means that they are not in a position to spend much time with their children which affects family functioning. Sauti (2006) study found out that most taxi drivers are always tired and they would also spend most of their time taking a nap off peak hours because they wake up in the early hours of the morning. Although this is not entirely their fault as they would want to maximise their finances because taxi drivers earn little. Sauti (2006) states that most taxi drivers work 7 days a week, in order to make up for a reasonable wage to support themselves and their families. On the other hand, taxi drivers see themselves as providers and mothers as caretakers as such they do not see the need to spend time with their children every day because them working

long hours will benefit the children at the end of the day. Despite this, children need their parents to be around most of the time so that they can talk and spend time with them which make them feel loved and adored, the lack of this time might have a negative effect on them as they grow up. For most taxi drivers their spouses or partners stay at home taking care of the children but women cannot play the roles of a father as children needs fatherly guidance and advice especially the male children.

Although taxi drivers work long hours, which makes it difficult for them to spend quality time with their children nevertheless they try to make time for their children and get involved in their children's lives. With two of the participants highlighting that they want to be there for their children because their own fathers left them and they grew without a father so they do not want to repeat the same to their own children. Dan said that:

> "Because I grew up without a father, I make sure I'm involved in everything that concerns my children. I make sure I help them with their homework and buy them food so that they do not go to bed hungry because I am alive I will work hard to make sure that I give them the best life that I never had".

Tso indicated that:

> "When I was growing up I never received fatherly love as my father left my mother when she was pregnant and I never got the chance to see my own father. This made me want to be there for my own children because I did not want them to grow the same way I did without a father and face the same hardships I faced. I buy them food, clothes and uniforms and books as I want them to be educated".

John also highlighted that

> "I am involved in my children lives in many ways physically, financially and emotionally, I spend time with them I give money when needed, also play and take them to bed sometimes. I buy clothes even though I do not go to the shop to buy but the mother does all the time, I just give money and all is done".

The findings are consistent with Montgomery *et al.*, (2006); Ramphele, (1993); Swartz and Bhana, (2009) findings that men's own accounts of their involvement report father involvement in a wide range of traditional and non-traditional roles including intimate physical care, education, play, emotional engagement, organisation, and monitoring.

Additionally, some of the taxi drivers have children with different mothers a factor they attribute to the taxi industry as women are always around their workplace. Thiza said that "*because we work around women sometimes I just approach different women to taste whether I still have the charm to get any women*". This is the reason Thiza attributed to him having four children with different mothers "*I have four children, two stay with me and my wife and the other two stay with their mother*".   This was also confirmed by Muzi who said that: "*the first two a boy and a girl are from one mother and the last born has his own mother the one I am currently in a relationship with*". In addition, Thiza highlighted that This is because the taxi ranks are always full of women with some selling food, fruits, sweets and other items to the taxi drivers and some going to work every day using public transport all the time. Taxi drivers spend most of their time at the taxi rank they are bound to come into close relationships with these women and that is how some end up having children here and there.

This is in line with Sauti (2006) who state that the behaviour of taxi driver overall is often described by society at large in a negative way. Taxi drivers have a life of their own at the taxi rank in which they spend most of the time there interacting with mostly women. Sauti (2006) highlight that drivers spend most of their time throughout the day at taxi ranks and have their breakfast and lunch time there, buying food, fruits and other necessities from women vendors and hawkers. Taxi drivers are stereotypically seen as deviant people who do as they want not only to having many women but also misbehaving in the roads. All taxi drivers are painted with a black brush and are seen to be cut from the same cloth. Sauti (2006) highlighted that the strongest statements made in the media often reflect that all taxi drivers do drive and behave similar and hence seem to be "children born from one mother."

The taxi industry is sometimes very stressful for the taxi drivers and they encounter various difficulties when they are working. This is highlighted by John who stated that:

"not all days are good days you know we working with people they make you mad to the point that that you even take the anger back home". While Tso said *"my sister this job is really stressing sometimes you come across rude customers and makes you get angry and you will be tired"*.

The findings in this part are consistent with Sauti (2006) findings on Johannesburg taxi drivers who said that some taxi drivers are easily affected by their daily experiences and continuously appear to be in a bad mood the whole day. Some even drink alcohol early in the morning to avoid being angered by the passengers.

The participants in this study were males working in the taxi industry and it was assumed that the taxi industry environment would have an impact on the participants in terms of parenting and fatherhood. Being a taxi driver is associated with aggression and violence and this might have a negative impact on taxi drivers' fatherhood expectations and roles. Taxi drivers' aggression occurs when they are driving or is a result of general aggression by them which comes with the job. Driving a taxi is one of the toughest, stressful and tiring jobs in South Africa (Boudreaux 2006) . There is a general belief that taxi drivers are like children from the same mother. According to Sauti (2006) taxi drivers are regarded as children born from the same mother in terms of their similar beliefs acceptable practices and behaviour influenced by the taxi industry through socialisation. Sometimes the taxi drivers take this violence and aggression back home to their children and family. This point is highlighted by John who said that:

> *"Not all days are good days you know we working with people, they make you mad to the point that you even take the anger back home and when you get home the children are not submissive, sometimes my children are stubborn you feel like slapping them or giving them hard punishment"*.

Thus the violent environment that taxi drivers find themselves in impacts negatively on their children mostly boys who they beat when they misbehave in order to toughen them up so as to survive in this world when they are adults and also when they have their own children. Sabelo said that:

> "*there are sometimes when he misbehaves and I have to beat him to show him the way so that he cannot grow up spoile*d".

4.10 GUIDANCE AND SUPERVISION

Fatherhood is often inextricably linked to guidance and discipline, although they may have a limited role in showing care and affection, there is often pressure to give guidance and impose discipline, even when they do not feel supported in this role. Tso was very clear about the challenges of imposing the type of discipline he grew up knowing, he said:

> *"there are challenges I experience with my children such as how to discipline them when they do something wrong, I am not keen on beating them but now they can take advantage of that to misbehave. Children of today are now exposed to things that are not proper things like whatsapp, television and facebook and it is now difficult to control your children because you don't spend most of the time with them and you don't not know that they are watching and doing in your absence".*

Having been brought up in an era where physical punishment was the norm, some of the fathers found it difficult to use non-physical forms of discipline and felt suppressed in their role in guiding their children, another form of emasculation and suppression, Muzi put it this way:

> *"there are also sometimes when he misbehaves and I have to beat him and I know that the law say parents should not beat their children but that is unfair because children need to be taught discipline by getting beatings here and there, the Bible says spare the rod and spoil the child, so I don't want to spoil my child".*

Another participant John said that:

> *"I put my children straight with hard discipline, if its beating they need man I work their bums".*

This is consistent with Franklin *et al.* (2014) in their study on fatherhood with 91% of the participants strongly agreed that children should be taught to obey their parents at all times.

Dan further indicated that:

> *"being a father means to give guidance, direction, education, life skills and spending much time to know your children".*

The task of guidance and supervision requires parental expectations and guidance that change with the development of the child to encourage positive child outcomes (Cramer, 2002). Taxi industries are synonymous with violence a point supported by Sauti (2006) who said that some of the violence

within the taxi industry was blamed on the upbringing of the taxi drivers and their cultural background. During her study in Johannesburg Sauti (2006) observed violence between taxi drivers and passengers or amongst themselves. Just because taxi drivers work long hours and also encounter difficulties such as violence at their workplace this might impact on their parenting style as depicted by some of them who believe in corporal punishment sometimes. Thus in a way the environment they work in which is found at the ecosystem influences the way they guide and supervise their children.

4.11 CONCLUSION

This part of the study focused on discussing the themes that emerged from the data analysis. The study found out that taxi drivers despite the negative perceptions associated with them as violent, irresponsible and aggressive they are responsible fathers providing for their children regardless of the challenges they face in the taxi industry. Even for those taxi drivers with children they are not staying with they are paying maintenance for their upkeep showing that they are responsible fathers. The only challenge for most of the taxi drivers is the lack of adequate time for them to spend time with their children due to the nature of their job.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided a comprehensive discussion of the findings of this study and the key themes that emerged from data analysis. In this chapter I present the conclusions and make recommendations by linking them with the aim, objectives and research questions of the.

Taxi drivers in South Africa are commonly stereotyped as violent, reckless, and stubborn individuals with this stereotype in mind it was important to find out the experiences and perceptions of taxi drivers as fathers and find out whether the assumptions and stereotypes associated with them trickle down how they take care of their children.

5.2.   SUMMARY AND CONLCUSIONS

The overall aim of the study was to understand the perceptions and experiences of fatherhood amongst the taxi drivers in Wentworth. With the study objectives being:

- To understand what fatherhood means to taxi drivers.
- To understand how constructions of masculinities influence their way of parenting.
- To gain an in-depth understanding on the experiences of taxi drivers concerning fatherhood.
- To understand the extent to which they are involved in their children's lives.

The key questions of the study were to find out what fatherhood means to taxi drivers and how they construct masculinities, and the extent to which these influence their way of parenting. I was also interested in the experiences of men who are taxi drivers concerning fatherhood and if they were actively involved in the lives of their children. The assumption I went with into the study were that taxi drivers would not be emotionally involved with their children and may only play a provider role. I also assumed that the environment in which they work would discourage the display or acknowledgement of affections, especially to girl children. I also assumed that taxi drivers are generally not involved in parenting due to being unmarried to the mothers of their children, and working long hours.

5.2.1 Men as providers

As stated above, the purpose of the study was to understand the perceptions and experiences of fatherhood amongst the taxi drivers in Wentworth. Ten taxi drivers in Wentworth participated in this study. The first theme that emerged from the study was on parenthood. All the participants understood parenthood as involving the provision of a safe and secure environment for their children to strive and develop well. The participants believed that as men their role was to provide for the family whilst women essentially play the caregiving role, by being able to provide for their families. The participants in this study felt sense of validation as men. The findings indicate that there are different perceptions attached to fatherhood by the participants. Their views of what fatherhood means were firmly in the belief that a father is someone who has authority over his household, who provides and protects his family.

5.2.2 Masculinity

Fatherhood was essentially influenced by the socially constructed masculinity with the participants viewing masculinity in terms of qualities that makes them men. Thus the participants saw themselves as the sole breadwinner of the family, not only that but they viewed themselves as the head of the household and that meant to them that they have outright authority over the household with women playing a minor supportive role, of caregiver.

Additionally, the participants viewed themselves asfathers who play an important role in the lives of children. The participants mentioned the roles they play in the lives of their sisters' and brothers' children and also the children in the community. Being a father gave the participants a great sense of pride not only that but that they have someone to carry on their legacy when they are gone from this world. In the community of Wentworth, which is urban and multicultural, these men still felt that they have a responsibility to parent their own children and those of relatives. When these participants were asked what it meant to be a father they had these common responses to describe what a good father was; "being responsible", or "to be a role-model" . Again, 'love', 'care' and 'respect' came up. However, for one to be deemed a good man by society, that man had a responsibility to also love and treat children with respect. Fatherhood does not end in one's own home, but is a process and a responsibility of all men to be fathers to other children in the

community. All the participants explained that fatherhood entails the ability of the father to provide for their own children and the family at large, therefore they were clear that a good father is one who makes sure that his children do not go to bed hungry.

5.2.3 Preference for a male child

Six of the participants mentioned the importance of having a boy child rather than a girl child, the preference of a male child by the six participants is largely influenced by the belief that a boy child will eventually carry on the legacy and clan name of the family when they are gone, unlike the girl child who will eventually get married. The entrenched deep love that the participants had for the boy child is highlighted by one of the participants who categorically stated that he was highly disappointed when his first born was a girl and he tried to have a boy child until eventually he had him on the third attempt. However, the other four participants were happy with either a male or female child. They mentioned that a child is a gift from God irrespective of gender that was also believed by other 6 participants that a child was a gift from God yet they would love it more if it was a boy then girls can follow. The importance of a boy child in the African culture is well documented and it came as a no surprise that 6 of the participants talked about this. Male children are seen as the bearers or carriers of not only the clan surname but also the legacy of the family through their children and their children also meaning that the clan name will never die.

5.2.4 Division of labour in the household

Eight out of the ten participants emphasized the stereotypical view that motherhood role entails taking care of the household and bringing forth children, with 2 of the participants however seeing women's role changing from that of a caregiver to that of a breadwinner. The two participants mentioned that their partners were working thus contributing to the household just like them. The overwhelming responses by the participants on women's role being largely confined to the household shows the entrenched socially constructed norms that men hold dearly and it means that there is still a long way to go in changing men's view of women as inferior to them. Men view themselves as the authority, protector and provider for the family and the failure to play these roles emasculates men to a large extent and takes away their manhood or macho. On the other hand, the two participants that acknowledges that women's role is changing in society as they can also

provide for the family shows that culture is not static but is changing and men are beginning to realise the importance of women in the work place.

5.2.5   Feminisation of care

Another important finding from the study was that of family members especially grandmothers stepping in to play the role of the mother in instances where the mother is not there. One of the participant stated that his grandmother helped him to take care of his child who was left by his mother. Taxi drivers work long hours as such Sabelo felt relieved that his grandmother assisted him in taking care of his child. Thus shows the utmost importance of the family and extended family in providing care and protection to children whose parents are absent. Another interesting observation from this finding is the belief that single fathers are virtually incapable of taking care of their children alone. Most literature focuses mostly on single mothers and plight of single fathers is largely ignored because in the eyes of the community they are unable to play the caregiving role mothers as such they need the help of a female family member. Therefore, there is need to change such assumptions and as such I will recommend that further research be done on single fathers to understand their experiences as there is a gap in knowledge about them.

5.2.6 The payment of maintenance and damages

There has been documented cases of many children in South Africa growing up without knowing their fathers and one way to force fathers to provide for their children is for them to pay maintenance. Out of tenparticipants, four of them paid maintenance for their children who they were not staying with. The participants concurred that it was important to pay maintenance for their children as this would make sure that their children are accorded the basic needs in their lives such as food, clothing, shelter, education and medical aid whilst the other 6 participants were not paying maintenance because they were staying with their children. Nevertheless, they agreed that paying maintenance was very important for the upkeep of children and they firmly stated that men that shun paying maintenance were useless and less of real men. Although without taking anything away from the participant's sentiments, it is crucial to some extent to highlight that sometimes fathers are not paying maintenance because of the circumstances beyond them such as poverty and unemployment. Literature documents cases of men feeling overwhelming guilt of not being able

to pay maintenance and this inability emasculates them to such an extent of not only losing their dignity but their manhood as well.

Poverty and unemployment are components found at the macro level of the ecosystem theory that negatively affects men's ability to provide for their children. The ecosystem theory used in this study state that malfunctioning in one of the levels impact negatively on the other levels, this means that malfunctioning at macro level for the unemployed and poverty ridden fathers has a great effect on the children's function and well-being on the other level of the micro and messo level. Therefore, circumstances contributing to fathers not paying maintenance should be looked upon and intervention strategies should be employed to assist them to pay maintenance. However, this is not to say that there are not fathers who have the mince to pay maintenance but would rather run away from that responsibility and these kind of men should be forced to pay.

Paying of damages known as "*inhlawulo*" is an important component in the African culture for a man to claim responsibility for impregnating a girl out of wedlock. Out of the 10 participants in the study 4 of them paid damages after impregnating their partners before they marry them, being able to pay damages in African culture carries with it some form of pride and importance as highlighted by the participants that paid. The participants said that by paying damages they were able to become part and parcel of their children's lives not only that but they were also able to give their children their surname. One of the participants who has not paid damages Mdu highlighted that he wanted to pay damages but because of financial challenges he was not able to do so but he is saving to go pay by the end of 2017. This is consisted with those man who are not able to pay maintenance because of lack of money not that they are unwilling to pay. Out of 10 participants 4 did not believe in the payment of damages but if they impregnated a woman out of wedlock they are bound to stay with the woman and support the women throughout the pregnancy and after giving birth then when the man is fit enough financially then they can get married.

5.2.7   Working in the taxi industry

All the participants highlighted the various challenges they encounter as taxi drivers which ultimately impacted on their relationship with their children. The major challenge facing the participants is that of working long hours with the constant threat of losing their jobs, this has disastrous impact on the relationship between fathers and their children. Working long hours means that the participants are not able to spend some quality time with their children. In other words, they are virtually absent fathers in the day to day lives of their children. Some of the participants mentioned that even when they come back home from work they are very tired to spend time with their children.

Children need to grow up with both their parents present at all times so that they can interact with them and share with them the happenings in their lives be it at school or in the community. Although this might be generalization at best as parents who are available most of the time with their children might also be emotionally unavailable or at worst abuse the child, thus availability of parents sometimes does not guarantee affection and love for the child. For most of the participant their partners stay at home taking care of the children but nevertheless they cannot play both the role of the mother and the father. There are certain things that require a father figure to be around especially for problems encountered by male children. Looking at the ecological perspective used in this study the taxi industry as the work place is found on the exosystem. The children of the participants have no active role to play in this level however they are impacted negatively by it as I have pointed out above. However, three of the participants said that despite working arduous long hours they try and spend some time with their children on weekends, they take them out to the beach or fishing or to the mall then on Sunday they go to church together as family. On the other hand, two participants Mdu and Tony highlighted that they were ill-fated to grow up without their respective fathers as such they want to be there for their children and do not want the same fate to befall their children thus they want to be there in every aspect of their children lives.

The taxi industry is associated with various social ills and is often described by the society at large in a negative way. The fact that the participants spend most of their time at the taxi rank there is bound to emerge problems. Most of the people in the taxi rank are woman as I observed during

my data collection who sell various items and the participants interact with them all the time, thus contributed to the participants having children with different mothers a factor they attribute to their workplace, one of the participants Thiza has four children two with his current wife and the other 2 with a different mother. Taxi drivers are all painted with a black brush by society and are seen as men belonging to the same mother that makes them behave in the same way however this is just but generalization at its best as the majority of the participants in this study have children with one woman thus it is rather unfair to conclude that taxi drivers are children born from the same mother. Additionally, it was important to know whether the taxi industry influences the way that the participants raised their children in terms of discipline.

The taxi industry is somewhat associated with violence and aggression and with that it was crucial to know how this environment positively or negatively affected their guidance and supervision of their children. The assumption being that they can bring the violence and aggression back home from work, impacting negatively on the proper guidance and supervision of their children. This is evidenced by some of the participants who indicated that they supported corporal punishment as a way of disciplining their children. One participant even mentioned that sometimes he comes back from work stressed and his children will be misbehaving at home and he feels the need to slap them. Therefore, the taxi industry has both positive and negative significant influence on the way the participants raised their children thus factors that taxi drivers come across in their day to day lives at the taxi rank has got an impact on their children

5.3   Recommendations
5.3.1 Care Support

Alternative means of showing affection besides maintenance should be explored for those fathers who are genuinely unable to contribute financially to their children but who are willing to contribute in other ways. As provided by sections 20 and 21 of the Children's Actspending time with their children and supporting them emotionally is as important as financial support. Fatherhood does not only entail financial provision, but there are other ways of being a father that ensure that willing, unemployed fathers are part of the lives of their children. Further, fathers who are primary caregivers should not be discriminated against, for example when attempting to access

a child support grant. On the other hand, fathers who are able to provide maintenance and fail to do so must be held accountable.

Section 21(1) of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 is about biological unmarried fathers acquiring parental responsibility and rights to their children only if they meet a certain requirement such as living with the mother of the child at the time the child is born, paying damages and maintenance, although plausible to some extent however, on the other hand the act is unfair to fathers who are willing to be part of their children's lives but because of poverty and unemployment they cannot pay cultural damages or maintenance so as to be granted full parental responsibility and rights. Therefore I propose that this section of the Act be amended to accommodate and confer parental responsibilities and rights to willing but financial unstable fathers.

5.3.2 Men's support groups

Men supporting groups such as the South African Men's Action Group and Brothers for life should assist men in participatory programmes which not only educate men about gender equality, parenting responsibilities, and human and parental rights but also affirm them as parents and fathers. Concerted action is needed to raise awareness amongst men of the benefits of more equal division of labour and the transformation of gender norms. Communities should be encouraged to meet and discuss the practice of traditional customs in order to address the ways in which they impact on parent-child and gender relations. Such dialogue should ensure that the views of women are heard and considered equally, rather than being disregarded by men. Awareness campaigns should be done to raise awareness on taxi drivers in South Africa with the intention of changing society's stereotype of taxi drivers as violent, reckless and aggressive people.

5. 3.3 Conditions of service

As employers, taxi associations should be doing more to protect their employees and promote family health. Taxi drivers in this study complained about working long hours and low salaries challenges that should be addressed by the various taxi associations in South Africa. These challenges are making it impossible for them to provide adequate financial and physical support to their children.

5.3.4 Further research

Further research should be done on understanding the experiences of single fathers as most of the literature focuses more on the experiences of single mothers. Additionally, research should be done on the experiences of taxi drivers as fathers in other parts of the country to understand how the taxi industry impacts on child care as this study is not a representative of the whole country. I would also recommend a wider survey to find out the demographics of drivers (ages, marital rates, etc),views and challenges of driving taxis and the average number of children they have and if this has any significance in the perceptions that they father children willy nilly. Lastly I would also recommend research on women taxi drivers experiences and whether the challenges faced by men taxi drivers in parenting their children are the same.

REFERENCE LIST

Alpaslan, A.H. 2011. Social work research: a step-by-step guide on how to conduct your fourth year research project and write the research project: only study guide for SCK 410B. Pretoria: University of South Africa

Allen, W. and Doherty, W. 1996. The Responsibilities of Fatherhood as Perceived by African American Teenage Fathers. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services*, *77*(3):142-155.

Abramovitch, H., 1997. Images of the Father in Psychology and Religion. *The Role of the Father in Child Development*, *3*, pp.19-32.

Amoateng, A.Y. and Richter, L.M., 2007, 'Social and Economic Context of Families and Households in South Africa', in A. Y. Amoateng, and T. B. Heaton, T.B(eds), Families and Households in Post- Apartheid South Africa: Socio-Demographic Perspectives, Cape Town, HSRC Press.

Arendell, T., 1997. Reflections on the Researcher-Researched Relationship: A Woman Interviewing Men. *Qualitative Sociology*, *20*(3), pp.341-368.

Babbie E. & Mouton J. 2001. *Research Design and Problem Formulation: Practice of Social Research*. Oxford University Press.

Babbie, E., 2001, *Research Methods for Social Work*, 4th edition, Belmont, CA, Wadsworth.

Barrett, J., 2003. Organizing in the Informal Economy: A Case Study of the Minibus Taxi Industry in South Africa (No. 358158). *International Labour Organization*.

Baumrind, D., 1978. Parental disciplinary patterns and social competence in children. *Youth & Society*, 9(3):239-267.

Beyl, A. E., 2013, 'A critical Analysis of section 21 of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 With Specific Reference to the Parental Responsibilities and Rights of Unmarried Fathers', LLM Thesis, University of Pretoria.

Berk, L.E., 2000. *Child development (5th ed.).* Massauchusetts: Allyn and Bacon.

Blankenhorn, D., 1995. *Fatherless America: Confronting our most urgent social problem*. Harper-Collins Publishers, : Scranton.

Bonthuys, E., 2006, Parental rights and responsibilities in the children's bill of 2003,*Stellenbosch Law Review,* 17 (3), 482-493.

Bosman-Sadie, H. & Corrie, L. 2010. A Practical Approach to the Children's Act, Cape Town: LexisNexis.

Boudreaux, K., 2006. Taxing Alternatives: Poverty alleviation and the South African taxi/minibus industry. *Minibus Industry*.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Boyce, C & Neale, P. 2006. *Conducting In-Depth Interviews: A Guide For Designing And Conducting Interviews For Evaluating Input*. USA: Pathfinder International.

Bradley, R.H., Corwyn, R.F., McAdoo, H.P. &García C. C. 2001. The Home Environments of Children in the United States part I: Variations by Age, Ethnicity, and Poverty Status. *Child development*, *72*(6): 1844-1867.

Braun, V and Clarke, V. (2006).Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 3 (2): 77-101.

Bunting, L. and McAuley, C., 2004, 'Research Review: Teenage Pregnancy and Parenthood: The Role of Fathers', Child and Family Social Work Journal, 9 (3): 295-303.

Cabrera, N.J, Tamis-LeMonda, C.S., Bradley, R.H., Hofferth, S. and Lamb, M.E., 2000. Fatherhood in the twenty-first century. *Child development*, *71*(1):127-136.

Cabrera, N.J., Tamis-LeMonda, C.S., Lamb, M.E. and Boller, K., 1999. Measuring Father Involvement in the Early Head Start Evaluation: A Multidimensional Conceptualization.

Cabrera, N.J., Ryan, R.M., Shannon, J.D., Brooks-Gunn, J., Vogel, C., Raikes, H., Tamis-LeMonda, C. and Cohen, R., 2004. Low-income fathers' involvement in their toddlers' lives: Biological fathers from the Early Head Start Research and Evaluation Study. *Fathering*, *2*(1):5-36.

Crush, J., Williams, V. and Peberdy, S., 2005. Migration in Southern Africa. A paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration. *Geneva: Global Commission on International Migration.*

Castillo, J., Welch, G.W. and Sarver. C., 2011, 'Fathering: the relationship between disadvantaged fathers' employment stability, workplace flexibility, and involvement with their infant children'. *Journal of Social Service research*, 39 (3), 380-396.

Census (2011). http://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/599037010 (accessed 11/04/2016).

Cooper, J. and Schindler, M., 2008. Perfect Sample Size in Research. USA: McGraw-Hill.

Cohen, D.A. and Rice, J., 1997. Parenting styles, adolescent substance use, and academic achievement. *Journal of Drug Education*, *27*(2):199-211.

Coley, R.L. and Chase-Lansdale, P.L., 1998. Adolescent pregnancy and parenthood: Recent evidence and future directions. *American Psychologist*, *53*(2):152-166

Coley, R.L. and Hernandez, D.C., 2006. Predictors of paternal involvement for resident and nonresident low-income fathers. *Developmental psychology*, *42*(6):1041-1056.

Corey, G., 2009, Theory and practice of counselling and psychotherapy (8th ed.). Belmont, CA: Brooks Cole, Thomson Learning.

Datta, K., 2007, "In The Eyes Of A Child, A Father Is Everything": Changing Constructions Of Fatherhood In Urban Botswana?. In *Women's Studies International Forum.* 2(30):97-113.

Davies, M.B., 2007, *Doing a successful research project; using qualitative or quantitate methods*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

Day, R., Lewis, C., O'Brien, M. and Lamb, M.E., 2004. Fatherhood and father involvement: Emerging constructs and theoretical orientations.

Danziger, S.K. and Radin, N., 1990. Absent does not equal uninvolved: Predictors of fathering in teen mother families. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52: 636-642.

De Lannoy A., Swartz S., Lake L. and Smith C., (eds), 2015, South African Child Gauge 2015. Cape Town: Children's Institute, University of Cape Town.

De Lannoy, A., Leibbrandt, M. and Frame, E., 2015, 'A focus on youth: An opportunity to disrupt the intergenerational transmission of poverty', in De Lannoy A, Swartz S, Lake L and Smith C (eds), South African Child Gauge 2015. Cape Town: Children's Institute, University of Cape Town.

Deslandes, R., 2000. Direction of Influence between Parenting Style and Parental Involvement in Schooling Practices, and Students' Autonomy: A Short-Term Longitudinal Design. U.S Department of Education, New Orleans Louisiana.

De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouchie, C.B. and Delport, C.S.L. (2002) *Research at Grass Roots: for the Social Services and Human Service Professions*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln,Y. S. 2011. The SAGE Handbook Of Qualitative Research, 4th ed. London: Sage publications .

Desmond, C., and Desmond, C., 2006. HIV/AIDS and The Crisis of Care for Children. In Richter, L., & Morrell, R., (Eds.), Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Dhever, S. and Ngwenya, M., 2015. Parental rights and responsibilities: family law. *Without Prejudice*, *15*(6), pp.35-37.

DuBois, B. and Miley, K.K., 2005. Social Work, An Empowered Profesion. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Elder Jr, G.H., Eccles, J.S., Ardelt, M. & Lord, S. 1995. Inner-city parents under economic pressure: Perspectives on the strategies of parenting. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 57(3):771-784.

Erikson, E.H., 1994. *Identity and the life cycle*. WW Norton & Company.

Fagan, J., Bernd, E. and Whiteman, V., 2007. Adolescent fathers' parenting stress, social support, and involvement with infants. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *17*(1):1-22.

Fraser, N., 1989. *Unruly practices: Power, discourse, and gender in contemporary social theory*. University of Minnesota Press: Minnesota.

Fraser, N., 1999. Social justice in the age of identity politics: Redistribution, recognition, and participation. *Culture and economy after the cultural turn*. 1: 25-52.

Fiedeldey, A.C., 1995. Qualitative Research Methods: *A Systems Theoretical Application: Advances in Systems Science and Applications. Inaugural Edition*, 160-167

Furstenberg Jr, F.F., Brooks-Gunn, J. and Morgan, S.P., 1987. Adolescent mothers and their children in later life. *Family planning perspectives*, pp.142-151.

Gallinetti, J., 2006, 'Legal Aspects of fatherhood in South Africa'. In L. Richter, & R. Morell, (eds). Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa. Cape Town, HSRC Press,pp 201- 215.

Gapp, K., Soldado-Magraner, S., Alvarez-Sánchez, M., Bohacek, J., Vernaz, G., Shu, H., Franklin, T.B., Wolfer, D. and Mansuy, I.M., 2014. Early life stress in fathers improves behavioural flexibility in their offspring. *Nature communications*, *5*.

Gavin, L.E., Black, M.M., Minor, S., Abel, Y., Papas, M.A. and Bentley, M.E., 2002. Young, disadvantaged fathers' involvement with their infants: An ecological perspective. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *31*(3):266-276.

Gitterman, A. 2009. The Life Model in, A.R. Roberts (ed.) Social Workers Desk Reference (2nd ed). New York: Oxford University Press.

Gitterman, A, & Germain, C.B. 2008. The Life Model of Social Work Practice: Advances in Theory and Practice, 3rd ed. New York: Columbia University Press.

Glikman, H., 2004. Low-Income Young Fathers: Contexts, Connections, And Self. *Social Work*, *49*(2):195-206.

Glenn, E.N., 1994. Social Constructions of Mothering: A Thematic Overview. *Mothering: Ideology, Experience, and Agency*. New York : Routledge.

Goncy, E.A. and van Dulmen, M.H., 2010. Fathers do Make a Difference: Parental Involvement and Adolescent Alcohol Use. *Fathering*, 8(1): 93-103.

Gould, C. and Ward, C.L., 2015. Positive Parenting in South Africa. Pretoria South Africa Institute for Security Studies.

Graham, L., and Mlatsheni, C., 2015, 'Youth Unemployment in South Africa: Understanding the Challenge and Working on Solutions', in De Lannoy A, Swartz S, Lake L and Smith C (eds), South African Child Gauge. Cape Town: Children's Institute, University of Cape Town.

Greif, G.L., 1995. When Divorced Fathers Want no Contact With Their Children: A Preliminary Analysis. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, *23*(1-2), pp.75-84.

Hadebe, L., 2010. *Zulu Masculinity: Culture, Faith and the Constitution in the South African Context* (unpublished PhD Thesis).
Hall, K. and Meintjes, H., 2013. Demography–Children in South Africa. *Children Count–Abantwana Babalulekile*.

Hall K., Meintjes H. and Sambu, W., 2015, 'Demography of South Africa's children'. In: De Lannoy A, Swartz S, Lake L and Smith C (eds) South African Child Gauge, Children's Institute, University of Cape Town.

Hauari, H. and Hollingworth, K., 2009. Understanding Fathering. *Masculinity, Diversity and Change. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation*.

Höfner, C., Schadler, C. and Richter, R., 2011. When Men Become Fathers: Men's Identity at the Transition to Parenthood. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, pp.669-686.

Holloway, I., 2005. *Qualitative Research in Health Care*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

Hosegood, V., McGrath, N. and Moultrie, T., 2009. Dispensing With Marriage: Marital and Partnership Trends in Rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa 2000-2006. *Demographic Research*, *20*, p.279.

Hunter, M. 2006. Fathers Without Amandla: Zulu-Speaking Men and Fatherhood. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Jansen, J.D., 2015, 'Foreword', in De Lannoy A, Swartz S, Lake L. and Smith C., (eds), *South African Child Gauge*. Cape Town: Children's Institute, University of Cape Town.

Jones, J. (2009). *It is Not Normal But it is Common: Elopement Marriage and the Mediated Recognition of Youth Identity in Harare, Zimbabwe*. New Frontiers of Child and Youth Research in Africa.

Khunou, G. 2006. The Fatherhood Project, Newsletter (no 27). Human Science Research Council Knox, A. (2016). *Long Daily Commute for South Africans-"It was by Design"*. Available at: www.urbanearth.cp.za/articles/long-daily-commute-south-africans---"it-was-design". [Accessed on 30 April 2017].
E2Ladd-Taylor, M. and Umansky, L., 1998. *" Bad" Mothers: The Politics of Blame in Twentieth-Century America*. NYU Press.

Lamb, M.E., Pleck, J.H., Charnov, E.L. and Levine, J.A., 1985. Paternal behavior in humans. *American zoologist*, pp.883-894.

Lamb, M.E., 2010. How do Fathers Influence Children's Development? Let Me Count the Ways. The Role of the Father in Child Development, p.1.

Lamb, M.E., 2000. The History of Research on Father Involvement: An Overview. *Marriage & Family Review*, *29*(2-3), pp.23-42.

Lamborn, S.D., Mounts, N.S., Steinberg, L. and Dornbusch, S.M., 1991. Patterns of Competence and Adjustment Among Adolescents From Authoritative, Authoritarian, Indulgent, and Neglectful Families. *Child Development*, *62*(5), pp.1049-1065.

Langa, M., 2010. Adolescent Boys' Talk About Absent Fathers. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, *20*(4), pp.519-526.

Langa, M., and Smith, N., 2012, Responsible Teenage Fatherhood in a South African Historically Disadvantaged Community, Journal of Psychology in Africa, 22 (2),255-258.

Lesejane, D. 2006. Fatherhood From an African Cultural Perspective. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), Baba: Meri mid Fatherhood South Africa (173-182) Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Lister, H.E. and Dhunpath, R., 2016. The Taxi Industry and Transportation for People With Disabilities: Implications For Universal Access In A Metropolitan Municipality. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, *90*(1), pp.28-48.

Lupton, D. and Barclay, L., 1997. *Constructing fatherhood: Discourses and Experiences*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Madhavan, S., Richter, L. and Norris, S., 2014, 'Father Contact Following Union Dissolution for Low Income Children in Urban South Africa', *Journal of Family Issues,* 7 May, 1 –23.

Madhavan, S., Townsend, N.W. and Garey, A.I., 2008, 'Absent Breadwinners: Father-Child Connections and Aaternal Support in Rural South Africa', Journal of Southern African Studies, 34 (3), 647-663.

Magwaza, T., 2003. Perceptions and Experiences of Motherhood: A Study of Black and White Mothers of Durban, South Africa. *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies*, (4).

Mancini, L., 2010. Father Absence and its Effects on Daughters. *Retrieved August*, *22*, p.2013.

Maine, M., 2004. Father Hunger: Fathers, Daughters, and the Pursuit of Thinness. Carlsbad.

Malacrida, C., 2009. Performing Motherhood in a Disablist World: Dilemmas of Motherhood, Femininity and Disability. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *22*(1), pp.99-117.

McBride, B.A., 1990. The Effects of a Parent Education/Play Group Program on Father Involvement in Child Rearing. *Family Relations*, pp.250-256.

Makiwane, M., Makoae, M., Botsis, H. and Vawda, M., 2012. A Baseline Study on Families in Mpumalanga.

Makusha, T., 2013, 'Determinants of Father involvement: Children, Women and Men's Experiences of Support Children Receive From Men in Kwa-Zulu Natal', PhD Thesis, Dept. of Education University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Makusha, T. and Richter, L., 2015. Non-resident Black Fathers in South Africa. *Fathering: Encyclopedia on Early Childhood Development*.

Manyatshe, L., 2013. Why Mothers Won't Tell: Narratives of Factors That Influence Maternal Non-disclosure of Biological Paternal Identity. *Johannesburg: MA Research, University of the Witwatersrand*.

Marsiglio, W., P. Amato, R. D. Day and M. E. Lamb. 2000. "Scholarship on Fatherhood in the 1990s and Beyond." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 62(4):1173-1191.

Marsiglio, W. and Roy, K., 2012. *Nurturing dads: Fatherhood Initiatives Beyond the Wallet*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. B. (2011). *Designing Qualitative Research*. U.S.A: Sage Publications.

McGrath, J., 2007. Fathering From Prison: an Exploration of the Experiences and Perceptions of a Group of Men in Mountjoy Prison (Doctoral dissertation, Waterford Institute of Technology).

Meekers, D. (1993). The noble custom of Roora: The Marriage Practices of the Shona of Zimbabwe. *Ethnology*, 32(1): 35-54.

MKHIZE, N. 2006. African Traditions and the Social, Economic and Moral Dimensions of Fatherhood. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds), Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa (pp183-196). Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Monama, T., 2011, '9 million Kids With no Dads', Sowetan, 05 April, Available [05 December 2016].

Monama , T. (2011). 9 million Kids With no Dads. Retrieved 28 April, 2012 From the World Wide Web: http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2011/04/05/9-million-kids-with-no-dads.

Montgomery, C.M., Hosegood, V., Busza, J. and Timaeus, I.M., 2006. Men's Involvement in the South African family: Engendering Change in the AIDS era. *Social Science & Medicine*, *62*(10), pp.2411-2419.

Morrell, R., 2005. Youth Fathers and Masculinity in South Africa Today. Morrell, R., 2007, 'Do You Want to be a Father? School Going Youth in Durban Schools at the Turn of the 21st century', in Shefer, T., Ratele, K., Strebel A., Shabalala N. and Buikema R., (eds), From Boys to Man: an Overview, Cape Town, UCT Press.

Morell, R. and Richter, L. M., 2006, Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa, HSRC Press, Cape Town.

Morell, R., 2006, 'Fathers, Fatherhood and Masculinity in South Africa,' In Richter, L., Morell, R., (eds). Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Morell, R., 2005, 'Youth, Fathers and Masculinity in South Africa Today', Agenda Feminist Media, 1 January, 84-89.

Ngabaza, S., 2010. *An Exploratory Study of Experiences of Parenting Among a Group of School-Going Adolescent Mothers in a South African Township* (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Western Cape).

Nduna, M. and Jewkes, R., 2011. Undisclosed Paternal Identity in Narratives of Distress Among Young People in Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *20*(3), pp.303-310.

Nduna, M., 2014. Growing up Without a Father and a Pursuit for the Right Surname. *Open Family Studies Journal*, *6*(1), pp.31-38.

Nosseir, N., 2003. Family in the New Millennium: Major Trends Affecting Families in North Africa. *Major Trends Affecting Families: A Background Document*, p.188.

Nsamenang, A.B., 1987. Parental Education and Socialization of Children in the Bamenda Grassfields: A research report. *Unpublished Manuscript. Bamenda: Institute of Human Sciences*. Ouzgane L. and Morrell R. 2005. African Masculinities (1st edition). Palgrave Macmillan. New York.

Padi, T., Nduna, M., Khunou, G. and Kholopane, P., 2014. Defining Absent, Unknown and Undisclosed Fathers in South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology*, *45*(2), pp.44-59.

Paterson, J. (1993). Adolescent Perceptions of Attachment: Parents, Friends, and Impact on Self-esteem. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Pardeck, J. T. (1998). Social Work After the Americans With Disabilities Act: New Challenges and Opportunities for Social Service Professionals. Westport, CT: Auburn House.

Plantin, Lars, Sven-Axel Manson and Jeremy Kearney. 2003. "Talking and Doing Fatherhood: on Fatherhood and Masculinity in Sweden and England." *Fathering* 1:3-26.

Pleck, Joseph H. 1997. "Paternal Involvement: Levels, Sources, and Consequences." Pp. 66-103 in *The Role of the Father in Child Development*, edited by M. Lamb. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Pleck, J.H. and Masciadrelli, B.P., 2004. Paternal Involvement by US Residential Fathers: Levels, Sources, and Consequences.

Posel, D., and Devey, R., 2006. The Demographics of Fathers in South Africa: The Analysis of Survey Data. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds), Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa (pp 38-52). Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Posel, D. and Rudwick, S., 2014. Marriage and Bridewealth (*ilobolo*) in Contemporary Zulu Society. *African Studies Review*, *57*(02), pp.51-72.

Rabe, M., 2007. My Children, Your Children, Our Children? Fathers, Female Partners and Household Structures. *South African Review of Sociology*, *38*(2), pp.161-175.

Ramphele. M. 1 993 A Bed Called Home. Life in the Migrant Labor Hostels of Cape Town. Maitland: Clyson.

Ramphele, M. and Richter L., 2006, 'Migrancy, Family Dissolution and Fatherhood'. In Richter, L. and Morell, R., (eds). Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Ramphele, M. (2002). Steering by the Stars: Being Young in South Africa. Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers.

Rangarajan, A. and Gleason, P., 1998. Young Unwed Fathers of AFDC Children: Do they Provide Support?. *Demography*, *35*(2), pp.175-186.

Rhein, L.M., Ginsburg, K.R., Schwarz, D.F., Pinto-Martin, J.A., Zhao, H., Morgan, A.P. and Slap, G.B., 1997. Teen Father Participation in Child Rearing: Family Perspectives. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *21*(4), pp.244-252.

Richter, L. 2006. The Importance of Fathering for Children. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), Baba: Men and fatherhood iii South Africa). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Richter, L., Chikovore, J. and Makusha, T, T., 2010, 'The Status of Fatherhood and Fathering in South Africa', Childhood Education, 86 (6) 360-365.

Richter, L., Desmond, C., Hosegood, V., Madhavan, S., Makiwane, M., Makusha, T., Morell, R. and Swartz, S., 2012, 'Fathers and Other Men in the Lives of Children and Families: Strategies to Overcome Poverty and Inequality', Towards Carnegie 111 Conference, pp. 1- 28.

Roy, K., 2008. A Life Course Perspective on Fatherhood and Family Policies in the United States and South Africa. *Fathering*, *6*(2), p.92.

Rubin A., & Babbie E., (2011). Essential Research Methods for Social Work. (3rd edition). Brooks/Cole Empowerment Series. Brooks/COLE. USA.

Rubin, A. and Babbie, E., 2013, Essential Research Methods for Social Work, (3rd edition), United State of America, Jon David Hague.

Rubin, A. & Babbie, E.R., 2011. Qualitative Research: General Principles. *Research Methods for Social Work*, Brooks/Cole Empowerment Series.

Sanders, M.R., Markie-Dadds, C. and Turner, K.M., 2003. *Theoretical, scientific and clinical foundations of the Triple P-Positive Parenting Program: A population approach to the promotion of parenting competence* (Vol. 1). Queensland: Parenting and Family Support Centre, The University of Queensland.

Sauti, G., 2006. Minibus Taxi Drivers Are They All 'Children Born From The Same Mother?'. Unpublished Masters Dissertation. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Sewpaul, V. 1995. Psychosocial Considerations In Infertility and The New Reproductive Technologies . Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk 31(3): 253–264.

Shumow, L., Vandell, D.L. &Posner, J.K. 1998. Harsh, Firm, and Permissive Parenting in Low-income Families: Relations to Children's Academic Achievement and Behavioral Adjustment. *Journal of Family Issues*, *19*(5):, pp.483-507.

Smith, C. A., Krohn, M, D. and Best, O., 2005, 'African American fathers' myths and realities about their involvement with their firstborn children,' Journal of Family Issues, 26 (7) 975-1001.
Speak, S., Cameron, S., and Gilroy, R., 2006. The fatherhood project, Newsletter (no 26) Human Science Research Council.

Streubert Speziale, H.J. and Carpenter, D., 2003. Qualitative Research In Nursing. *Third Editionth edition. Philadelphia: Williams & Wilkings Co*.

Swart, S. and Bhana, A., 2009, Teenage Tata: Voices Of Young Fathers In South Africa, Cape Town, HSRC Press.

Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K. and Painter, D., 2006, (eds), Research in Practice, 2nd Edition, Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press
Thomas, E., and Magilvy, J. K. (2011). Qualitative Rigour Or Research Validity In Qualitative Research. *Journal For Specialists In Pediatric Nursing*. 16: 151-155.

Van Onselen, C. (1976). Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, Pluto Press, London.

Van Wel, F., Linssen, H. and Abma, R., 2000. The Parental Bond And The Well-Being of Adolescents And Young Adults. *Journal of Youth And Adolescence*, *29*(3), pp.307-318.

Wambugu N. 2007. The fatherhood project, no 35, Human Science Research Council.

Ward, C., Makusha, T. and Bray, R., 2015. Parenting, Poverty and Young People in South Africa: What are the Connections?. *ChildGauge*, p.69.

Walker, K. and Armstrong, L., 1995. Do Mothers And Fathers Interact Differently With Their Child or is it The Situation Which Matters?. *Child: Care, Health and Development*, *21*(3), pp.161-181.

Walliman, N.2005. Your Research Project, 2nd ed. London: SAGE

Warshak, R.A., 1987. Father-Custody Families: Therapeutic Goals and Strategies. *Clinical Issues in Single Parent Household (pp101-124) Maryland: Aspen*.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D.H., 1987. Doing Gender. *Gender & society*, *1*(2), pp.125-151.
Willig, C., 2001. Qualitative Research In Psychology: A Practical Guide To Theory And Method. *Buckingham: OUP*.

Wilson, F., 2006, 'On Being a Father and Poor in Southern Africa Today'. In Richter, L., Morell, R., (eds). Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Wilson, K.R. and Prior, M.R., 2011, 'Father Involvement Cnd child Well-Being', Journal of Pediatrics and Child Health, 47, 405-407.

Ziol-Guest, K.M., Dunifon, R.E. and Kalil, A., 2013. Parental Employment and Children's Body Weight: Mothers, Others, and Mechanisms. *Social Science & Medicine*, *95*, pp.52-59.

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE WITH TAXI DRIVERS

• How old are you?

• What race are you?

• What is your main language?

• How long have you worked as a taxi driver?

• Do you have children, how many?

• How old is your child?

• Is it a boy or girl?

• Whose surname does your child bear and why?

• Do you prefer a boy or a girl?

• Tell me who is a father?

• What does being a father mean to you?

• How is it for you to be a father?

• Did you plan to be father?

• What role do you play in your child/ children's life as a father?

• Did you pay damages for the child?

• What are your perceptions regarding maintenance?

• Do you pay maintenance?

• What do you perceive to be the role of the mother?

• How do you share parenting with the mother of your child?

• What are the arrangements on raising your child between you and the mother of the child : do you see your child daily? How many hours you spend with your child?

• How are you involved in your child's life: do you buy him cloths, food, take him out, bath him, feed him?

• Do you think it is part of your responsibility to play a father's role in children you are not the father?

• What do you think are challenges regarding fatherhood?

• Do you experience challenges as a father to father your children?

• What strategies do you employ to cope with the mentioned challenges experienced in fathering your children?

- Based on your experiences and challenges as the father, how do you think the Social Workers can help taxi drivers who are fathers?

- Is there any other thing you want to bring to my attention before we close?

APPENDIX 1A: INTERVIEW GUIDE WITH TAXI DIRVERS (ISIZULU VERSION)

Imibuzo yenhlolokhono

• Uneminyaka emingaki?

• Uyiluphi uhlanga?

• iluphi ulwimi lwakho lwebele?

• Unazo izingane, uma unazo zingaki?

• Ibanga eliphezulu lemfundo onalo yiliphi?

• Kusho ukuthini ukuba wubaba kuwena?

• Kunjani ukuba wubaba kuwena?

• Wakuhlelela ukuba wubaba?

• Iyiphi indima oyidlalayo empilweni yengane/ izingane zakho?

• Wazi ngani ukuthi ingane eyakho?

• Esikabani isibongo ingane ebizwa ngaso/ ngobani?

• Uncamela ingane yomfana noma yentombazane/ ngobani?

• Usayikhokha *Inhlawulo* yengane?

• Uyayondla ingane/izingane zakho/ uyasikhokha isondlo?

• Ucabanga ukuthi iyiphi india okumele idlalwe wumama wengane ekukhuliseni ingane?

• Iziphi izinhlelo enivumelane ngazo ukukhulisa ingane nino mama wengane?

• Ingabe uyibona njalo ingane/ izingane zakho, uchitha amahora amangaki nengane /nezingane zakho?

• Ukhona kanjani empilweni yengane/ izingane zakho, uyayithengela izingubo zokugqoka, uyayithengela ukudla, uyamkhipha niyizijabulisa, uyamgeza, uyamfunza ukudla, uyamhambisa umlande eskoleni?

• Ucabanga ukuthi kungumsebenzi wakho ukudlala indima kababa einganeni okungezona ezakho?

• Ingabe zikhona izingqinamba ohlangabezana nazo ekubeni wubaba oqotho enganeni/zinganeni zakho?

• Yimaphi amasu ozimisele ukubhekana nawo ekuhlangabezaneni nezingqinamba ozichaze ngaphambilini ngokuba wubaba?

  ▪ U cabanga ukuthi osonhlalakahle bangasiza ngani ekuhlangabezaneni nezingqinamba obaba abahlangabezana nazo?

- Ingabe kukhona yini ongathanda ukuthi sikhulume ngakho ngaphambi kokuba sinqamule ingxoxo yethu?

APPENDIX 2: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Sbonisile Adarkwa. I am doing a study entitled "Perceptions and Experiences of Taxi Drivers on Fatherhood in Wentworth, Durban".

Purpose of the study

I am doing this study towards my degree study is conducted in fulfilment of the University of KwaZulu- Natal Master of Social Work Degree. I am inviting you to be part of this study because you are a taxi driver for over a year, you have a child and you are not married and you will have a chance to express views which will help increase information on how you view and experience fatherhood. Please provide accurate information so that I can get a clear picture of your experiences. The findings will be useful for making recommendations and suggestions for the improvement and development of other interventions for fathers. Your participation will be to answer the questions openly and honestly. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be interviewed for an hour in order to answer a series of questions which will take place at a time and place that is convenient to you. Your involvement will take approximately an hour. There will be no payment for the study, Participation is voluntary if you feel you cannot participate in the study you are free not to, there will be no negative consequences.

Confidentiality

I assure you that all the information, opinions and suggestions collected from the interview will be respected, treated confidentially, and used for the purpose of the study only. Your name will not be written in the report/document. I do not expect that you will come to any harm as a result of participating in this study. There may be some questions you are not able or comfortable to answer. Please let me know. You may decide not to answer any particular question and may stop the interview at any time.

 you have any question please feel free to contact me:

Sbonisile Adarkwa (Mrs)

smgityana@gmail.com

Cell no 0736731928,

Or supervisor Boitumelo Seepamore

Tel :(031) 260 7640 seepamoreb@ukzn.ac.za

Alternatively HSSREC Research Office

Ms P Ximba, Tel: 031 260 3587

Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX 2A: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (ISIZULU VERSION)
UPHENYO NGEZINGQINAMABA NEMIBONO YABASHAYELI BAMATEKISI ABAWO BABA NGOKUBA WOBABA

Isibophezelo

I gama lami ngingu Sbonisile, ngiphenya ngezingqinamaba nemibono yabashayeli bamatekisi abawo baba ngokuba wobaba.

Inhloso yesfundo

Isfundo siqonde ukufeza iziquq zokuba usonhlalakahle esikhungweni semfundo ephakeme yakwa Zulu Natal. Ngiyacela ukuba nibe yingxenye yalesisifundo ukwenezela ulwazi ngemibono nezingqinamba zenu zokuba wubaba. Ngiyanincengisisa ukuba ninginike ulwazi okuyilona ukuze ngikwazi ukuba nesithombe esibhekile mayelana nemibono Kanye nezigqinamba zenu zobubaba. Imiphumela yesfundo izosiza ekwenzeni izincomo Kanye nemibono ekuthuthukiseni Kanye nasekukhuliseni nase kuhlanganyeleni phakathi kwabanye obaba. Uma nivuma ukuba yingxenye yalesisifundo sizoxoxisana ukuze kuphenduleke imibuzo ezobe ilandelana, lokhu kuzokwenzeka ngesikhathi nendawo elungele nini, Ukuhlanganyela kuzothatha ihora elilodwa. Ukubamba iqhaza kunge ntando yakho awuphoqiwe, uma uzwa ukuthi ngeke ukwazi ukuba yingxenye yalesfundo unelungelo lokungabi yingxenye.

Imfihlo

Ngiyaniqinisekisa ukuthi lonke ulwazi nemibono eqoqeke kulengxoxo izohlonishwa iphinde ibe yimfihlo ezosetshenziswa ngenhloso yesfundo kuphela. Amagama enu ngeke ngeke aze ashicilelwe embikweni. Akukho okubi okuzokwenzeka uma ukhethat ukungabi yingxenye yesfundo. Uma kukhona imibuzo obona sengathi ngeke ukwazi ukuyiphendula ngenxa yokuthi ayihambisani nentando yakho, ngicela ungazise, ungathatha isnqumo sokungaphenduli noma yimuphi umbuzo kanti futhi unga yeka noma ngasiphi iskhathi.
Uma unemibuzo mayelana nesfundo ungangithinta kulenombolo noma uthinte umphathi wami
Ngokuzithoba

Sbonisile Adarkwa (Mrs)

smgityana@gmail.com

Cell no 0736731928,

Or supervisor Boitumelo Seepamore

Tel :(031) 260 7640 seepamoreb@ukzn.ac.za

Alternatively HSSREC Research Office

Ms P Ximba, Tel: 031 260 3587

Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX 3: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Please fill in the following to show your agreement to participate in the study: Perceptions and Experiences of Taxi Drivers on Fatherhood in Wentworth, Durban.

  I.. on (date) ………………………….. signature ………………………………. hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire

PERMISSION TO USE A TAPE RECORDER: study on the Perceptions and Experiences of Taxi Drivers on Fatherhood in Wentworth, Durban.

I... (Full name) agree to an audio recording device being used in my interview with Mrs S Adarkwa in our interview for her study entitled "perceptions and experiences of taxi drivers concerning fatherhood.

Date _____   Signature _____

APPENDIX 3A: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (ISIZULU VERSION): UPHENYO NGEZINGQINAMABA NEMIBONO YABASHAYELI BAMATEKISI ABAWO BABA NGOKUBA WOBABA

Ngicela ugcwalise lelifomu ukukhombisa ukuthi uyavuma ukuba yingxenye yesfundo.

Mina………………………………….. ngomhlaka………………………….. siginesha ………………………………

Ngiyaqinisekisa futhi ngiyaqondisisa konke okulotshwe kulencwadi Kanye nezizathu zalolucwaningo, ngiyavuma ukuba yingxenye yalolu cwaningo.

IMVUMO YOKUSEBENZISA ISQOPHA MAZWI: UPHENYO NGEZINGQINAMABA NEMIBONO YABASHAYELI BAMATEKISI ABAWO BABA NGOKUBA WOBABA

Mina…………………………………...ngomhlaka…………………………………signesha…… ………………………… ngiyavuma ukuthi

kusetshenziswe isqopha mazwi kulesisifundo sika Sbonisile.

APPENDIXE 4: GATE KEEPER LETTER

Good day

RESEARCH STUDY ON THE PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF TAXI DRIVERS ON FATHERHOOD IN WENTWORTH, DURBAN

We as austwent taxi association permit our drivers to participate in your study concerning experiences and perceptions of taxi drivers regarding fatherhood.
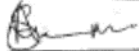
We will inform our workers and confirm with those who have children between a year to 18 years of age and let you know if they are interested in being part of the research since participation is voluntary

Thank you for choosing our association to be part of this study.

All the best with your study.

A. Symman

12/10/16

AUSWENT TAXI ASS.
236 JACOBS RD
JACOBS
TEL: 4656016

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

1 November 2016

Mrs Sbonisile O Adarkwa 216073770
School of Applied Human Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Mrs Adarkwa

Protocol reference number: HSS/1749/016M
Project title: Perceptions and experiences of Taxi Drivers on Fatherhood in Wentworth, Durban

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 19 October 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Boitumelo Seepamore
cc. Academic Leader Research: Dr Jean Steyn
cc. School Administrator: Ms Ayanda Ntuli

APPENDIX 5 – ETHICS APPROVAL LETTER