

**Deconstructing African identities: Notions of fatherhood amongst
Zulu men in Eshowe, KwaZulu-Natal**

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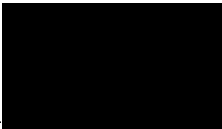
August 2023

Declaration:

I, Prudence Thandeka Mdletshe, declare that this dissertation is my own original work. I acknowledge the work of other people through references which both appear in text and in the bibliography. I also declare that this dissertation has not been previously submitted for a degree or examination at the University of KwaZulu-Natal or at any other University.

Prudence Thandeka Mdletshe

As the candidate's supervisor, I have approved this thesis for submission.



Dr Sbonsile Zibane

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30 August 2023

Date

Dedication:

To the Sons and Daughters of Africa.

I think

I think from where I stand,
The stoic mountains of Africa,
The dense dark forest of my dreadlocks
My black body,
Racialised, sexualized, brutalized, objectified,
That's where I think from in case you wonder,
From the beacons of your glory,
So vain, so hollow.

Let me think because I too think,
Speak because I too speak,
I feel,
My blood flow deep in my veins,
Like the African river,
That roars like the lions of the Serengeti.
I can't sing the chorus of your empty hymns,
Universities without a soul,
Dangerous deadly dungeons,
Of servitude and ineptitude,
So I read my freedom away into yet another form of slavery.
Is it African universities?
Or just universities in Africa?

Source: LD. Moyo

Acknowledgments:

This has been a long journey, and I would like to thank the people who have travelled this bumpy journey with me.

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Abstract:

This study is a decolonial study of fatherhood in South Africa. It is located within the broader ambit of decolonial liberatory psychology and Afrocentrism. It is informed by the hypothetical claim about the erosion of African cultures, being, and subjectivities. It posits that while fatherhood is obviously socially, culturally, and historically contingent, the Anglo-American notions of fatherhood are the most dominant in South Africa. This is because of the matrix of power of the modern colonial world system that undermines African identities. Data was collected using Indigenous research methods which share some similarities with qualitative research methods. These included the sharing circles and conversational interviews that were used to collect data. A total of two sharing circle interviews and 20 one-on-one in-depth conversational interviews were conducted in Eshowe which is a rural community of KwaZulu-Natal. Study participants consisted of Zulu people from 35 to 75 + years of age. The interviews were conducted in IsiZulu; and recorded using a digital audio-recorder, and then transcribed later. The transcription first took place in the language of the respondents and then were translated into English. Zulu Folklores and proverbs were also used in the data collection process. They also served as conversation starters, reflection points, and for stimulating the conversation exchanges in sharing circles. Data was analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA was chosen because it is a method that allows for the data to be collected using Indigenous research methods. It is a qualitative analysis method that is primarily used in the disciplines of the human sciences. This method is mainly concerned with giving voice to the voiceless people who are either marginalized or excluded in society such as peasants, women, and indeed racialized populations. Most significantly, IPA also seeks to explore such participants' experiences and the meaning they attribute to their experiences. The findings of the research are presented in the form of thick descriptions of the participant's notions of fatherhood. The participants' experiences, memories, and stories symbolized the resilience of indigenous knowledge systems in Eshowe. As one of the participants opined, as long as the Zulu people still live, their culture cannot be entirely obliterated by the old and new forms of colonialism.

keywords: decolonisation, fatherhood, masculinity, Zulu, Eshowe, KwaZulu-Natal, Coloniality, modernity

Glossary of Terms:

TERM	MEANING
Ubaba	A Zulu word for Father
Utata	A Xhosa word for father
Khotsi	A Venda word for father
Ubab'Mkhulu	A father's older brother
Ubab'mncane	A father's younger brother
Malume/malome	A Nguni and Sotho term for a mother's younger or older brother respectively
Apartheid	A south African system of institutionalised racial segregation and discrimination from 1948-1991.
Amaphara	Petty thieves addicted to a heroin-based drug locally called nyaope
Ukusoma	Thigh sex
imbeleko	A ceremony celebrating the birth of a child and serves to introduce the child to the living and to the ancestors
Ukuhlonipha	Respect
Fatherhood	The kinship relation between an offspring a the father
Kinship	The web of social relationships that form an important part of the lives of all humans in all societies. They can be based on ties of blood, marriage or adoption
Ubuntu	An African philosophy that is loosely translated to refer to compassion and human kindness. It emphasizes the interdependency and the interconnectedness of all living things. It is generally defined as the African idiom: "Umuntu ngu muntu ngabantu" (I am because we are)

Umtwana aka hlawa	A child must never be abandoned
Ngwana ga se washete, ke wa kgoro	A sperm does not beget a child. This Tswana idiom stresses the notion that the child does not belong to his/her parents but belongs to the whole family/village

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0. Introduction:

The South African Black family community is suffering from a “fatherhood crisis” caused by the apartheid regime and colonialism... The brutality of apartheid on the African family structure was so toxic that it affected the roles of fathers in their families and perpetuated a culture of absent fatherhood as a norm. ” (IOL, 21 June 2021).

This thesis begins with a media extract that summarises the state of fatherhood in South Africa. The above media extract makes three significant claims on fatherhood in South Africa. First, it highlights the fatherhood crisis prevalent in South Africa. Contemporary Black fathers in South Africa have inherited a flawed legacy of fatherhood due to apartheid and colonialism (Sooryamoorthy, 2016; Budlender, 2011; Richter, 2010). Second, it reflects on the effect that apartheid and colonialism had and continue to have on the African family and also on the father. Third, it exposes the culture of absent fathers prevalent in Black communities. These claims talk directly to the focus of the discussions reported in this thesis.

This study seeks to explore notions of fatherhood among the Zulu-speaking people living in Eshowe in rural KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), South Africa. Eshowe represents the oldest footprint of European settlement during the colonial epoch (Dube, 2011). Since the town has been an epitome of cultural ferment where local indigenous cultures collide with European culture. This study is located within the broader ambit of decolonial and liberatory psychology approaches. The study is underpinned by a keen interest in the 'insurrection of the subjugated knowledges' (Foucault, 1980) of the indigenous Zulu people as the (ex) colonized other. It is based on the hypothetical view that the protracted years of apartheid colonialism and its enduring hegemonic cultural and ideological legacies not only silenced the indigenous African conceptions of fatherhood, but also African worldviews, subjectivity, and identity. While fatherhood is socially, culturally, and historically contingent, it is assumed that Anglo-American notions of fatherhood have become the most dominant in KZN due to the matrices of power of the modern colonial world system that work to undermine the subjectivities and being of the non-

Westerners (Mignolo, 2001, 2011, Maldonado-Torres, 2000). Coloniality privileges Eurocentricism while undermining the "Other" in the form of other alternative modernity's of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans. The study perceives coloniality of being as central to the death of the subject, that is, the end of African fatherhood as we know it through the lens of indigenous knowledge that is now part of the silenced epistemologies.

1.1. Background to the study:

Paternity and fathering are essential aspects of a man's identity, especially in African culture (Lesejane, 2006; Mfecane, 2018). The father has always been a highly respected individual who enjoyed authority over the family (Lesejane, 2006). However, political and economic transformations have undermined the status of fathers and men in the African family (Lesejane, 2006). The State of South African fathers and families has acquired negative meaning and has been identified to be in crisis (Mkhize, 2006). Research on fatherhood in South Africa has focused on absent fathers and the emotional, psychological, and educational effects it has on the children (Mdletshe, 2016; Morrell, Posel, & Devey, 2003; Richter, Chikovore, & Makusha, 2010; Roy, 2008). Little research has been done that focuses on studying fatherhood from an African perspective using Indigenous African knowledge system research methods. To date, studies conducted on fathers in South Africa have done so using western notions of fatherhood. Western concepts of fatherhood tend to emphasize the biological traits and focus less on social and kinship ties. This is one of the main differences in the conceptualization of western fatherhood and African fatherhood. The focus of this chapter is on reviewing the literature on fatherhood, especially fatherhood in South Africa and the factors that shape fatherhood in South Africa.

To date, the discourse on Fathers and fatherhood in South Africa has mainly focused on Black fathers (Rabe, 2018). Although there is no available data that directly addresses this issue, the public perception of Black fathers is generally negative compared to those of White fathers (Marsiglio, 1995). Researchers in South Africa are continuing this stereotypical view of Black fathers by conducting studies on fatherhood using primarily poor Black fathers as research participants (Marsiglio, 1995). Interestingly, these studies are often titled as if the study is a fair representation of class and race, but the actual sample is Black fathers, mostly from rural and poor communities. Thus more research on fatherhood that does not focus on one racial group and class is needed in South Africa. Furthermore, a literature search reveals that most

research in South Africa has mainly focused on the high and prevalent rates of absent fathers (Clowes, Ratele, & Shefer, 2013; Padi, Nduna, Khunou, & kholopane, 2014b). The media has tended to report negatively on fatherhood in South Africa, and fatherhood has become associated with words such as ATM father, abusive, violent, and uncaring (Rabe, 2018). Some social science researchers describe South African fathers to be in a state of crisis (Kopano Ratele & Nduna, 2018), and others describe fatherhood as a problematic phenomenon, which is a critical contributing factor for society's ills. The effect with this research is that Black men are then classified as absent and uninvolved fathers. It is against this background that the researcher of the current study gave a voice to a group of people whose voices are marginalized in the mainstream research literature.

1.2. Black Feminist Thought: A Researcher's Reflection

The researcher of the this study is a Black African woman who has had her own share of knowledge, perceptions experience, positive and/ or negative encounters with Black African men. As a Black woman, it is difficult to write a study about Black men in South Africa without pathologizing and dehumanizing them. This is especially true when the numbers of gender-based violence and femicide are increasing every day. I do not seek to justify gender-based violence and femicide in this study but seek to write about the African fathers from an African perspective that treats the fathers as African subjects who are rooted in African cultures, values, and epistemologies of family and family order. Mainstream psychology has tended to focus on the negative stereotypes and negative reported cases about African fatherhood. For example, Black fathers are identified as mostly absent, uncaring, and uninvolved in their children's lives. Generally, the research on fatherhood in South Africa is deeply rooted in the Eurocentric views of alternate cultural models of fatherhood. Most of the research tends to use fathers from impoverished communities in urban and rural contexts, which presents a distorted version of the truth about African fathers. Their research not only distorts reality but pathologizes and dehumanizes the Black father.

The black body is seen as a problem that needs to be fixed. Interventions and solutions are identified and designed to fix the other, to fix what is considered to be broken and does not fit with the Eurocentric template of good fatherhood. My aim with this study is to examine the silenced realities, interests, experiences, and ways of being of Black fatherhood in South Africa by talking to black fathers within their cultural contexts and seeking to understand them within

that context. I think that the task of Black feminism is not to destroy the black man but to study him as a product of his society. Black feminism, as part of decolonial or liberatory psychology, emphasizes analysis that takes into consideration race and the colonial difference in African contexts. It seeks to produce knowledge that does not dehumanize but liberate and empowers the Black father.

1.3. Research problem statement:

This study seeks to explore the identities of fatherhood in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Looking at conceptions of fatherhood in Eshowe in that province, it examined whether Zulu culture, subjectivity, values, and worldviews about fatherhood still underpin notions of fatherhood in Zulu societies. While African culture and subjectivity are not represented as static, the research problem is framed within the broader context of global coloniality, where western modernity is seen as dominating everything, including African social identities and subjectivities. African cultures, subjectivity, and worldviews are seen as fundamental in understanding African agency in social identities like fatherhood. They must constitute the locus of enunciation that Grosfoguel (2011, 216) defines as "the geo-political and body-political location of the subject that speaks." In other words, the idea behind the locus enunciation is that we are all situated mediators of our cultures and worldviews, even within the broader context of the contradictions emanating from the matrices of domination by Western modernity (Ngugi, 1986).

In decolonizing fatherhood as a social identity, it is important to explore how European epistemes of fatherhood are increasingly presented as global universal norms due to the logic of coloniality that drives western modernity. According to Maldonado-Maldonado-Torres (2007), western modernity is based on the logic of coloniality that is essentially an ideology of classifying the "other" or "alterity" as inferior and primitive. Mignolo (2000, 54) defines coloniality as "the hegemony of Eurocentrism as an epistemological perspective where dominated populations [are] assigned identities and subjected to it as [a worldview]". Coloniality is about how Eurocentricism is a benchmark for everything, including the humanity of non-Westerners. Maldonado-Torres (2007, 247) observes that "coloniality is still "alive in books...and in cultural patterns", such as how fatherhood is performed. It is the heart and soul of EuroAmerican modernity, which as Mignolo (2000) observes, is based on a colonial matrix

that enslaves the body and the mind of the "other". Consequently, this study seeks to analyse how coloniality as westernization's hegemonic project has influenced and potentially impacted Zulu notions of fatherhood as an identity.

Fatherhood in this study is seen as directly affected by the broader issue of the coloniality of being in Africa in which Eurocentrism has produced liminal subjectivities that suffer a double consciousness. As Ngugi (2009) argues, through slavery, colonialism and globalization, Africa lost not only its cultures and identity, but also knowledge systems. Elsewhere, Ngugi (1986, p. 3) equates coloniality to a "cultural bomb" whose "effect has been to annihilate a people's belief in their names, languages... capacities and ultimately in themselves'. This points to the liminality of African subjectivities. However, African identities appear to be resilient. For instance, Mkhize (2006, p. 183), has argued that fatherhood in the traditional Zulu context is a "collective social responsibility of the family" and, to a certain extent, the community as well. This presents alterity to western notions of fatherhood because in the African worldview uncles, aunts, grandparents all participated and were involved in raising the children. Marriage in the African tradition was not about uniting two people but was about uniting and connecting two families (Mkhize, 2006). Parenting, and indeed fatherhood, was communally and institutionally defined as a collective responsibility. The collective social Act of raising children had solutions to many problems like children born out of wedlock with parents who were not intending to marry.

The paternal and maternal families discussed issues about how the children were to be raised because in the African culture, a child is valued and believed to be a gift, hence the idiom "*umtwana aka lahlwa*" (a child must not be abandoned). Therefore, the study perceives African notions of fatherhood as constituting alterity to Western ones, thereby resulting in schizophrenic identities because of the cultural alienation of the Africans whose culture is demonized as primitive by the west (Mazrui, 1973). Western modernity has arguably demonised African identity, culture, and epistemes in ways that are disempowering (Munyonga, 2020; Ukah, 2007). For example, through Eurocentrism, western modernity "bifurcates the world into the "West and the Rest", and organises everyday language into binaristic hierarchies implicitly flattering to Europe: our nations, their tribes; our religion, their superstition; our demonstrations, their riots, our defence, their terrorism" (Shohat and Stam, 2000, 2). Shohat and Stam have stressed the need for learning to unlearn Eurocentrism so as to resuscitate the silenced cultures and knowledge's of the "Other".

1.4.0. Research Aim:

The aim of this study is to conduct a decolonial critique of fatherhood amongst Zulu people in Eshowe.

1.4.1. Research Objectives:

- 1) To explore the narratives of fatherhood as an identity by Zulu speaking men in rural KwaZulu-Natal
- 2) To analyse the practice and performance of fatherhood in KwaZulu-Natal
- 3) To reflect on the influences on fatherhood in Eshowe, KwaZulu-Natal

1.4.2. Research questions:

The research questions that underpin the study are as follows:

- 1) What are the narratives of fatherhood as an identity by Zulu speaking men in rural KwaZulu-Natal?
- 2) How is fatherhood practised and performed in KwaZulu-Natal?
- 3) What are the influences on fatherhood in KwaZulu-Natal?

1.5. Justification and significance of the Study:

Research on fatherhood in South Africa has focused mainly on masculinity, absent fathers, and parenting (Hunter, 2006; Rabe, 2006; Ramphele & Richter, 2006). Most scholars have been interested in patriarchy as a social order or the analysis of the effects of having absent fathers on children, especially the consequences on child welfare (Rabe, 2006). This research breaks away from this trend by focusing on fatherhood as a form of identity that is expressive of African subjectivity and being that are, as stated earlier, under attack by Eurocentrism and western neoliberal values. It breaks new ground in the sense that not much has been done in the humanities and social sciences on the role of global coloniality in suppressing African identity and culture.

Through decolonial or liberatory psychology, the research seeks to make very significant theoretical interventions not only to mainstream psychology but the broader field of critical humanity studies in Africa. Critical psychology is an intellectual project that generally stands

in opposition to mainstream psychologies applied or industrial perspective. It perceives mainstream psychology as an intellectual project that is always in service of power, especially clinical and industrial psychology. Mainstream psychology is a discipline that specializes in the science of the mind and behaviour in various economic, political, social, and cultural contexts (Bulhan, 2015). This is important because it should be noted that psychology and similarly other humanity disciplines in South Africa are still disciplines that have their roots in European colonialism (Bulhan, 2015). The tools used in psychology, social work, sociology etc such as concepts, theories, and practices, serve as modern forces of colonization, which lead to further colonization, marginalization of the Africans as the (ex) colonial subalterns of modernity (Hill, Lau, & Sue, 2010). Thus colonialism continues to live and influence the behaviour and being of the Africans. It does this through the erosion of social ties, identities, indigenous beliefs, and knowledges (Bulhan, 2015; Hill et al., 2010). Research done in Africa shows that coloniality still continues to exert powerful psychological effects on the identities of the colonised people (Richards, Pillay, Mazodze, & Govere, 2005).

Mainstream psychology is hegemonic, working mainly to produce occupational identities that serve as critical elements of capitalism. In South Africa, mainstream psychology has been largely a crucial part of social engineering for racial capitalism. Its "development came from the rise of mental testing and the concern about menace presented by the discovery of a category of people known as mental defectives" (Foster, 1993:68). As such, mainstream psychology has been central in the onslaught of alterity, especially blackness (Fanon, 2008). It is a kind of psychology that invested its intellectual capital in the service of an explicitly racist-capitalist system (Painter, 2004: 522). The use of critical psychology in this study is meant to create an alternative psychology whose epistemology is Afrocentric with difference to African subjectivity and ontology. Critical psychology is emancipatory and seeks to deconstruct the relationship between identity and liberation for those who are marginalised by Western modernity. It seeks to reconfigure "psychology as a socially relevant, progressive, and even revolutionary practice along new epistemological, theoretical, and methodological line" (Painter, 2004: 525).

Through critical psychology, the study will rethink the question of identity in South Africa in ways that unmask how race and class have always intersected in the demonization of black people. Closely interwoven with that is decolonial or liberatory psychology that is largely associated with Franz Fanon. Decolonial psychology condemns the marginalisation of black

thought and indigenous knowledge. It is a project of the re-humanisation and rehabilitation of Black epistemologies where African identities like fatherhood are simultaneously criticised and celebrated as representative of African beings, histories and ontologies. Decolonial psychology shifts from focusing on Africans as a problem to focusing more on Eurocentrism and coloniality as a problem.

It is important to state why this research is being conducted now. South African universities have seen a rise in the decolonial wave where students are questioning why universities privilege Western Eurocentric and imperial epistemologies instead of African ones. The discourse of decolonising disciplines and institutions has gained ground in the country. This thesis, in many ways, hopes to contribute to the larger theoretical debate of decolonising psychology so as to allow for previously silenced and subalternised knowledge to move to the centre of the cultural politics agenda. I do not see the study as primarily having a utilitarian value at the level of restoring African cultures and identities, but the essence of the research is the re-awakening of silenced knowledges on fatherhood. This indigenous knowledge is of great value in the broader discourse of decolonizing the knowledge, culture, and mindsets of black South Africans. Future studies on fatherhood may use the shifting notions on fatherhood to influence public policies, but this is currently outside the scope of my study.

1.6. Brief Introduction of the Theories framing the Study:

The main theories underpinning this study are decolonisation, Afrocentrism and social constructionism. These theories are used in order to enhance our understanding of fatherhood amongst Zulu men in Eshowe. These three theories allowed for a critical exploration of indigenous means of fatherhood.

1.6.1. Social Constructionism:

Social constructionism is concerned with the nature of knowledge and how knowledge is created (Andrews, 2012). Thus concepts are socially created and are then subjectively understood and experienced in everyday life (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Burr (2003) argues that identities are not static but are continuously re invented through power, discourse and cultural symbols. According to DeLamater and Hyde (1998) knowledge is socially and culturally created through the use of language . Language organizes and categorizes events into

meaningful events by providing the means in which people interpret events (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998). Mignolo and Tlostanova (2006, p. 207) state that “Languages are not something that human beings have but they are a part of what human beings are”. Therefore according to this theory fatherhood is neither biological nor static but it is a cultural construct given meaning by language and dominant discourses. DeLamater and Hyde (1998) assert that each society has a dominant discourse about fatherhood and a way of thinking that influences their behaviour. This theory will help us understand how fatherhood in South Africa and in particular for Black Africans has been constructed, and the dominant discourses that are surrounding the identity of fathers and fathering.

1.6.2. Decoloniality:

Internationally; decoloniality is largely associated with Latin American scholars such as Walter Mignolo, Anibal Quijano, Ramon Grosfoguel, Maldonado-Torres, and others. African scholars such as Franz Fanon, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, and Achille Mbembe have also written extensively within that tradition, including the postcolonial tradition, although they did not identify themselves as working exclusively within the decolonial canon. Decoloniality addresses the problems of coloniality that characterize the modern colonial world system (Mignolo, 2000). The modern colonial world system is a product of Western modernity that cannot survive without coloniality, a form of economic exploitation and domination underpinned by identity politics from West.

Mignolo (2011) identifies three kinds of coloniality that form what he refers to as the colonial matrix of power that undergirds Western modernity. Western modernity rests principally on (i) the coloniality of power, (ii) coloniality of being, and (iii) coloniality of knowledge. Coloniality of power refers to the fact that Western modernity has developed a whole institutional and technological infrastructure for its global hegemony. It is about the control of the non-Western subject through an entanglement of institutions, technologies, and discourses that have global power and appeal to ensure the continued relationship of domination and subordination between the West and its “Others”.

Coloniality of being refers to those issues to do with subjectivity, identity, and personhood. Western modernity isolates and marginalizes the “Other”. It assaults the personhood or sense of being of all alterity resulting in schizophrenic dispositions at the border. Western modernity frames all alterity as inferior to it thus implicitly inventing the myth of white supremacy and

Western progress (Kebede, 2009). Coloniality of knowledge is about how Western knowledge is presented as deterritorialized, universal, and cosmopolitan. Grosfoguel (2008) argues that Western knowledge's claims to universality is based on the strategy of hiding its locus of enunciation. This is key to the continued epistemic, political, economic and cultural colonization of Africa and the Global South since these spaces suffer from either neutralized agency or no agency at all. Meantime, through "epistemic apartheid" (Rabaka, 2010), Western modernity discriminates all knowledge from the non-Western critical and scientific traditions. This has culminated in problems of dependence in all sectors, including telecoms hardware, software, management, organization, and indeed political economy. As such, problems that are at the centre are often reproduced in the periphery because the periphery is, in many ways, an appendage of the centre.

Western epistemic apartheid is located in the geo-politics, bio-politics, and ego-politics of knowledge and follows the contours of race, place, and colonial difference. Those who sit on the oppressed side of colonial difference are seen as ideological dwarfs, dupes who can never think for themselves. They lack initiative to develop their own industries, institutions, medicines, and societies. Decoloniality rejects dewesternising and internationalization thesis in media and communication studies because both are ambivalent to the problem of the ego-politics and bio-politics of Western knowledge. Both view the universality and superiority of Western theory as unproblematic. Africa and Asia only provide case studies for northern theory.

Decolonial theory acknowledges the subalternity and border thinking of the non-Westerners since they are rejected in the centre. It is about "realiz[ing] and accept[ing] that your life is a life in the border as opposed to being a universal being" and "knowledge conceived from the exterior borders of the modern/colonial world system" (Mignolo, 2000, 11). From slavery, colonialism, and now globalization, the cartographical power of the border as a space, line, symbol, and boundary has always been part and parcel of the darker side of Western modernity. Slavery created plantations as the border, colonialism created nations as the border, and the promise of a borderless world by globalization is increasingly seen as a hoax. The border, however, is not an iron cage. Far from it, it is as epistemic site that is giving birth to alternative worldviews, critiques from below, and "histories from below." Border thinking is not only counterhegemonic to global orders and epistemologies, but is also liberatory.

1.6.3. Afrocentricism Theory:

Afrocentrism is a theory that will be used as a conceptual lens to the study, According to Asante (1998) Afrocentrism is about making the African to be the subject and not the object of study, in other words Africans need to write their own history, knowledge systems and not have white people write about them. Kershaw states that the study of Black people has tended to follow the models and experiences set by white people (Kershaw, 1992). The problem is that Black people do not share the same life experiences, and to suggest that they are the same is intellectual arrogance (Kershaw, 1992). This arrogance is rooted in white supremacy and has the power to influence people's lives. The White supremacy and power is enhanced through knowledge (Kershaw, 1992). Williams (1999) argues that the efforts done by Black people to find their identity and "real self" are complicated by the imposition of cultural definitions by European epistemes.

Asante (1998) states that ideology and knowledge are generated and produced by humans who are products of a particular culture, history and context. This reason is what makes Afrocentrism important, Afrocentrism does not seek to create and disempower other ideologies but seeks to argue that there is another version of truth other knowledge's besides the European knowledge's. The Afrocentric method main focus is on generating and promoting knowledge from the South and argues that the best people who can research indigenous African culture is African people, people who belong to the culture and have insight in the culture. Thus According to Kershaw (1992) the study of African people can be liberating and both inter and intra studies of African people should focus on the forces that affect/ impact the life experiences of Black people. Therefore the major purpose for Afrocentric generated knowledge is to humanise (Kershaw, 1992).

1.7. Introducing Research Methodologies:

The research methodology is discussed in detail in chapter four of this report. This section presents a brief summary of the research methodology used in this study. The social constructionism approach and Afrocentric design guided this study. Social constructionism argues that all knowledge is constructed from a social context (Andrews, 2012). Additionally, Afrocentric design is about recovering and recreating silenced knowledge in society (Lee,

2009). Therefore, the research approach and design allowed another version of fatherhood to be heard.

The focus on the study was on Zulu fathers in Eshowe. Non-probability purposive sampling was used (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016). Data was collected from two sharing circles and followed by twenty conversational interviews. The first sharing circle consisted of ten grandfathers, men over 65 years of age. The second sharing circle consisted of twenty Izinduna under Chief Mpungose who are considered to be philosophical sages in Eshowe. Both the izinduna sharing circle and the conversational interviews had a mix gender. However, males dominated both the izinduna sharing circle and the interviews. The focus was on hearing the Zulu father's voices with regard to fatherhood in Eshowe. Included as a part of data collection is the use of Zulu folklore and proverbs on fatherhood.

The collected data was analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). This allowed for the collection of in depth data on personal lived experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2015). The data analysis acknowledges the interpretativeness of human beings and thus focuses on the sense-making that the participants make on their lived experiences of fatherhood. This allowed the researchers to understand the participants lived experiences that were not distorted by any theory or preconceptions. Furthermore, it gave the fathers the freedom to express themselves through the sharing of their personal stories. Thus, the participants' voices remained crucial during this study's data collection, analysis and writing.

The folklores and proverbs were analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is concerned with studying hidden power relations and ideologies embedded in discourse (Johnson & McLean, 2020).

1.8. Basic Assumptions:

This study is influenced by three basic assumptions. First, it is the assumption that the participant's experiences and accounts on fatherhood are true and reflective of their personal stories. Second, the assumption that the izinduna who in this study are referred to as philosophical sages do indeed possess the cultural and historical knowledge on fatherhood. Lastly, is the assumption that apartheid and colonialism through modernity continue to influence the African family, and in particular influence how Zulu fathers perform their fatherhood.

1.9. Structure of the thesis:

This report is comprised of seven chapters. What follows below is the synopsis of each chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter 2 discusses the literature and overview of fatherhood in South Africa. The chapter defines what it considers to be essential concepts in literature on fatherhood in South Africa; such as the concepts of social fathers and absent fathers. Furthermore, concepts of colonialism and apartheid in the context of fatherhood are also discussed. Lastly, the chapter focused on the factors that influence fatherhood such as political economic factors, cultural factors, masculinity and religion.

Chapter 3: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I discuss the theories that support this study. The main theories addressed are 1) Critical decolonial theory, 2) Afrocentrism, and 3) Social Constructionism. The three theories are used to understand constructions of Zulu fatherhood, and further seek to argue and empower Zulu notions of fatherhood that may be silenced due to coloniality and modernisation.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this section, I discuss the design and approach of the study. The chapter begins with a brief account of how access was gained to the study site. The section further discusses, the sample, data collection methods and how the data was analysed. This section also discusses the challenges I faced in the field.

Chapter 5: Fatherhood rooted in Afrocentrism

Chapter 5 and 6 are based on the discussions of the study findings. This chapter discusses the conceptualization of fatherhood amongst Zulu men. This chapter is mainly descriptive and provides a detailed account of how people of Eshowe and Izinduna understand a Zulu father and the role that a Zulu father played.

Chapter 6: Fatherhood and the influence of coloniality

In this chapter, I discuss the changing constructions of fatherhood amongst Zulu men. I consider the factors that influence and transform the conceptualization of fatherhood amongst Zulu people in Eshowe. Therefore, this section focuses on the factors that shape fatherhood.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter is the concluding chapter. Discussed in this section includes the summary of the chapter 5 and chapter 6. This chapter ends with recommendations for other researchers, government officials and policy makers working with African fathers.

1.10. Strengths and Limitations of the Study:

This study has several strengths, for instance, it is a decolonial study that used indigenous knowledge research methods as tools of enquiry into African culture. First, conversational interviews proved to be more flexible and liberating for indigenous societies as oral societies compared to structured and unstructured interviews. In conversational interviews, the participants treat the interview as convivial and open, and, in some instances, they can invite others to join the conversation. Although this can assist in gaining more information, the researcher needs to be vigilant and ensure that the conversation remains relevant to the topic of interest for the researcher.

Indigenous research methods emphasize the notion of research that is culturally sensitive and respectful. Thus it promotes the idea that the researcher should be familiar with the culture of the participants. The Zulu culture is generally considered as patriarchal. As a female researcher my participation in the sharing circle with the grandfathers was limited since the circle consisted only of men who were discussing experiences and issues that were relating to men. I therefore took the role of a fly on the wall in the sharing circles where my role was largely to listen and pose questions and pointers here and there to allow the conversations to flow.

This new experience of using indigenous research methods was instructive as one had to eliminate the idea of hierarchy in the circle, including the idea that the villagers should not think that they are being talked down upon by a scholar. As Chilisa (2012) contends, indigenous research is about letting go of the power and giving the power to the participants so that knowledge is produced discursively in lateral contexts of equality. As a researcher who was educated and skilled in western epistemology and western ways of knowledge creation, I could immediately see epistemological conflicts between western and indigenous ways of knowledge creation. Therefore, one had to constantly re-orient their mind in decolonial approaches and

consciously explore their process in order to create the most ideal environments that recast the respondents as the knowers of their cultures and the researcher as a learner.

Although my approach was qualitative, some can argue that this study's methodological limitation is the sampling. The sample did not have equal representation of the populations. For example, fewer younger fathers were included in the sample as most tended to be in the city as migrant employers. Therefore, the voices of the older fathers might have dominated the discussions and ultimately influenced and shaped the findings. Initially, the Izinduna sample was going to be males only. However, females were included as participants because they were part of Izinduna. The female participants provided in-depth information regarding their views on fatherhood. Interestingly, their views were in most instances similar to the views of the fathers thus showing the power of cultural context. Further, exploring mothers' views would have also been beneficial to get a holistic view and understanding of Zulu fathers in Eshowe. Another limitation to this study is that the sample is not representative of the South African population. The sample was context-specific. Therefore, collected data cannot be generalized to other contexts because this was a case study of Zulus in Eshowe. However, this is one of the few studies that used the decolonial approach to study fathers' experiences in Eshowe.

1.11. Summary and conclusion:

This chapter discussed the research problem and also outlined the central questions underpinning the study. It also gave a preliminary and brief discussion of different perspectives on fatherhood with a view of not only situating the concerns of the research but also showing the potential knowledge gaps the thesis aims to fill. Fatherhood in the African context is socially constructed and is mostly a communal experience. For instance, the term Father in the African context is fluid and does not refer to the biological father.

Lastly, the chapter discussed Black feminist thought as background to the study and as an extension of the Afrocentric paradigm. Black feminist thought is critical because a Black female writes this study on fatherhood. In this study, I do not seek to romanticize Black masculinity and fatherhood but seek to write about African fathers from an African perspective. Thus making them subjects of inquiry and not objects of investigation. In conclusion, this chapter served as a brief introduction to the arguments that this thesis will present. Chapter 2 is a detailed discussion of the literature on fatherhood and the factors that shape fatherhood.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.0. Introduction:

This chapter is a review of the literature on fatherhood. The section will begin by discussing the western conceptions of fatherhood and will focus on how historical changes have and continue to transform the conceptualization of fatherhood in the West. The chapter will then discuss the South African conceptualization of fatherhood focusing, among others, factors that have shaped fatherhood in South Africa. The main factors identified as shaping fatherhood in South Africa include the national political history, the changing economy, the political economy of social relations, cultural factors, pandemics like HIV/AIDS, and masculinity, and religion. South Africa's history is essential when studying South African families. For example, the apartheid laws such as the migrant labour system, disrupted the South African family structure by separating fathers or men from their families for long periods to go work in the mines in the cities. The chapter will discuss the primary apartheid laws that have affected Black fathers and the South African family life.

The chapter further discusses changing economic factors and how unemployment and underemployment have shaped fathers' behavior and roles. The emphasis of this section will be on how unemployment and poverty cause Black fathers not to be able to provide for their families. Unemployment further undermines fathers' patriarchal roles as providers, breadwinners and heads of the home. The chapter then discusses the effects of unemployment and underemployment and their intersection with the cultural expectations of fathers. This section will focus on how cultural gatekeeping prevents and dictates the relationship and involvement the father can have with his children.

HIV/AIDS and how it has shaped fatherhood is also discussed. HIV/AIDs and how it has impacted fatherhood and masculinity in South Africa is often mis understudied yet it has a significant effect on gender power relations, especially in the contestation of sexual and reproductive rights between women and men. The focus is on the political economy of sex and the role it plays in promoting the transmission of HIV. This chapter will also discuss masculinity in South Africa because the everyday experiences of what it means to be a father are embedded in other subject positions such as what it means to be a man, what it means to husband, and the roles associated with those subjects positions (Johansson & Andreasson, 2017). Thus fatherhood cannot be discussed in isolation; you cannot discuss fatherhood without

discussing man and masculinity. Lastly, the chapter will discuss how religion in particular Christianity influences the concepts of fatherhood in South Africa. Which also impacts and shapes fatherhood, but the focus is on how religion has specially shaped fatherhood. Then will be the conclusion, which is the summary of the whole chapter and will highlight the critical ideas identified throughout the section.

2.1. Conceptualizing Western notions of fatherhood: History of fatherhood in the West

A father, in Western terms, can be understood as a male biological parent who contributed their gametes to the conception of a child (Morrell, 2006). Traditionally a father is defined as someone who is a breadwinner, who is a teacher, and who protects the family (Day, Lewis, O'Brien, & Lamb, 2011). The father's role in the family was often influenced by history in terms of what was happening in a given historical moment. Lamb (2000) states that historical changes affect how fatherhood is conceptualized and operationalized. For instance, fatherhood conceptualization shifted from an emphasis on moral guidance to a focus on breadwinning, sex role-modeling, marital support, and nurturance.

According to LaRossa (1988), the conceptualization of fatherhood in the Western societies can be characterized as going through three distinct phases. The first phase is from the early 19th to mid-20th centuries. During this phase the father was conceptualized as someone who was a distant breadwinner (LaRossa, 1988). Johansson and Andreasson (2017) argue that before industrialization, the father and mother both played an active role in the care of children with no clear distinction between work and home. It was during the industrialization period where a good father was defined by his role as a breadwinner in the family (Lamb, 2000). According to Furstenberg (1988, p. 196), a man's occupational standing established his authority in the home and his worthiness as a husband and father.

The second phase of the conceptualization of fatherhood is from 1940 until 1965. During this phase, the father was defined mainly through the sex role model (LaRossa, 1988). The fathers' ability to provide a positive sex role model, especially for the boy child was the focus during this period. Although the breadwinner role remained prominent, social scientists during this period emphasized the good father as a sex role model (Lamb, 2000).

The third phase of conceptualizing fatherhood began in 1966, social scientists during this period began to conceptualize and define a good father as a nurturer (Lamb, 2000; LaRossa, 1988). Active parenting became the defining characteristic of a focal component of what it meant to be a good father (Lamb, 2000). Mass media took over and presented this type of fatherhood and fathering as the “*new father*,” a father who was considered to be more gender-neutral (Johansson & Andreasson, 2017). Furstenberg (1988) called this type of father androgynous father. This androgynous father is a father who is a full partner in parenthood, a father who was nurturing, caring, and an emotionally attuned parent.

The father, as a nurturer and involved father, has remained the ideal type of fatherhood in the West, which continues to receive support from feminist groups and mass media (Lamb, 2000). Shows like the *Bill Cosby* and *One-on-One*, which promoted the androgynous father as the ideal father, to date mass media continue to advocate for the nurturing father as the perfect father (Furstenberg, 1988). Interestingly with the literature in the West supporting an involved father, Lamb (2000) argues that the concept of involvement has not been clearly defined and proposed that father involvement should be conceptualized and separated into three components (Day et al., 2011).

The first element of father involvement is engagement. This is when the father has direct interaction with the child (William Marsiglio, Day, & Lamb, 2000). The emphasis on this type of father involvement is on the actual one-on-one time that the father spends with the child and includes activities such as feeding, changing diapers, and assisting the child with homework (LaRossa, 1988).

The second component is accessibility, which refers to how accessible the father is to the children. The father must be available to the children every time they need him, even when the father is busy with another activity (LaRossa, 1988).

The third component is responsibility; this includes making sure that the father takes full responsibility for the child. This includes ensuring that the child has clothes and is aware and up to date with the child’s needs, such as pediatrician appointments (LaRossa, 1988).

Although fatherhood is continuously changing, so too is the conceptualization of fatherhood and involvement. As shown above, however, the father as an involved father is continually being promoted as the ideal type of fatherhood in the West, the debate has shifted from what is a perfect father to what involvement means and how father involvement should be measured and conceptualized (William Marsiglio et al., 2000). Johansson and Andreasson (2017) argue

that most fathers who are living up to the ideal type of fatherhood and have the opportunity to be involved in their children's lives are fathers from the upper-middle class. According to Summers, Boller, Schiffman, and Raikes (2006), fathers from low-income classes tend to focus more on the provider role and less on the nurturing role; thus, for them, a good father is the one who can provide for their children.

In summary, Western conceptualization of fatherhood has its roots in industrialization and capitalism and thus is modelled according to the development of the white man (Lamb, 2000). In contrast, African concepts of fatherhood have remained primarily influenced by cultural aspects. According to Malinga and Ratele (2022), the concept of fatherhood is fluid and constantly changing. Seward and Rush (2015) argue that history, economy and geography are crucial in the conceptualization of fatherhood.

2.2. Conceptualizing fatherhood in South Africa:

In South Africa, a father (uBaba) does not only become a father because his gametes contributed to conceiving a child but becomes a father because of their excellent behaviour. Therefore to call someone a father is a title given to men because they earned it through doing good deeds (Lesejane, 2006). The person assigned the name father (ubaba) would then be considered as the head of the family and, in some instances, would become heads of the extended family. For example, an unmarried sister's home will be taken care of by uBaba (Lesejane, 2006). The father, who was the head of *umuzi* (household), was respected. According to Mkhize (2006), in South Africa, to biologically father a child does not necessarily make one be a father. This is because of the strong association of other forms of fathering and fatherhood, such as social fathers. Social fathers in African culture are significant because it means that a child can never have an absent father. After all, there will always be '*Ubaba omncane*' and '*ubaba omdala*' meaning younger father and older father, respectively (Mkhize, 2006).

In African culture, a child did not belong to just the nuclear family but belonged to the entire extended family and village, for instance, in Sepedi there is an idiom that says '*ngwana ga se wa shete, ke wa kgoro*' which means that sperm does not beget a child. Also, it stresses the notion that a child belongs to the broader family (Lesejane, 2006). It was everyone's responsibility to raise the children, and to provide for the family. According to Mfecane(2018), providing for the family was a shared responsibility; young men herded the cattle, and women ploughed the fields. The father's primary role was to protect the family and the community

(Mfecane, 2018). Therefore, any father can be a father not because he biologically fathered a child. Still, he plays the role of caring, protection, and provision to other children who may not necessarily be related to him (Langa, 2014). For instance, the children might be his late sister's or late brother's children, or they may even be children of a current partner. However, the erosion of social value, and with the increasing demand for monetary support but decreasing employment, has meant that fewer men are able to meet their obligations as fathers and even so as social fathers (Langa, 2014). Therefore it suffices to say that Fatherhood in the African culture is traditionally a collective social responsibility for the whole family and community at large; the father had no specific assigned role (Mkhize, 2006). This further shows that fatherhood is socially constructed (Datta, 2007), and it is experienced differently by different cultures and is subject to variations to social structures such as kinship patterns, family structures, and economic systems (Ozgun, Erden, & Ciftci, 2011). According to researcher LaRossa (1997), culture is critical in the discourse on fatherhood and argues that cultural context should be taken into consideration when defining fatherhood. This is because cultural norms, values, and beliefs influence the role that fathers play in society.

2.3. Absent fathers: South Africa's challenge to fatherhood

Research shows that South Africa has a high prevalence rate of absent fathers. According to the statistics general household survey 2017, one in every four South African child does not live with their biological parents, and the most astounding is that one in every three Black children do not live with their fathers (Ratele & Nduna, 2018).

It is essential to conceptualize what an absent father means. This is important for theorizing on fatherhood, as the lack of correct definitions could lead to wrong conclusions about fathers and possibly lead to misguided interventions (Madhavan, Townsend, & Garey, 2008). Father's absence is more complicated than what researchers make it out to be. for example, a father can be absent or partially absent (Padi, Nduna, Khunou, & Kholopane, 2014). The father can live in the same household as the child but be emotionally, psychologically and even financially absent from the child's life, and in some instances, the child can reside in different households with their father, but their father can be financially, emotionally and psychological present in their child's life (Mavungu, 2013). Research on absent fathers does not specify what type of absent they are referring to and to what extent the father is absent in the children's lives.

According to Padi et al. (2014) six types of absent fathers can be identified. These comprise absent and unknown; absent but known; absent and undisclosed; unknown; incarcerated and deceased.

An absent but unknown father can be defined as a father that the children have no information about their father or the information that they have is not enough for them to conclude that they know their father (Padi et al., 2014). In some instances, the father may be unknown to the mother herself. She might not be sure who the father of her child is and also might have lost contact with them. In most cases, the father might not only be unknown to the child and the mother but will most likely also be unknown to the father (Padi et al., 2014a). The department of home affairs has tried to come up with policies to assist in decreasing the number of unknown fathers by introducing unabridged birth certificates. The unabridged birth certificate allows for not only the mother's details to be included on the birth certificate but allows for the father's details to be included on the birth certificate. However, that does not prevent women from not including fathers on their children's birth certificates.

An undisclosed father is when the mother chooses not to disclose the father's identity to the child or misleads the child by providing incorrect information about their father. The possible reasons for mothers wanting to undisclosed the father's identity might be because the father was a married man, incest, denied pregnancy, and so forth (Padi et al., 2014). An incarcerated father may not always be considered entirely absent because, during that time, the children may regularly visit their father in jail, and when the father's jail term ends, the father might continue to be present in his children's lives (Padi et al., 2014). And a deceased father might be a father who died when the child was young; therefore, the child has never seen the father, or the dead father might have been once absent and then reunited with the child just before the father died. This highlights the complexities of defining absent fathers.

2.4.0. Factors that influence fatherhood in South Africa:

Fatherhood is socially constructed and thus susceptible to change due to environmental factors. The main factors that have shaped and continue to shape fatherhood in South Africa include South Africa's political history, the changing economy, HIV/AIDS, and masculinity.

2.4.1. Historical factors that shaped fatherhood and the Black South African family

2.4.2. Apartheid and Segregation:

Historically, the South African family has been shaped by the apartheid system (Padi et al., 2014). Racial segregation and Apartheid have been deemed to be the cruelest Act on humanity and was seen as the most immoral system on humanity (Beinort & Dubow, 2003). Apartheid which is an Afrikaans name for apartness or separate development can be understood as the increase of White domination and the intensification of segregationist laws in South Africa (Clark & Worger, 2013). Segregation was an ideological, political, and economic system that was used to exploit Black people into doing cheap labour (Wolpe, 2003). Segregation in South Africa can be simply defined as a period starting from 1900 to 1948, and the apartheid period began from 1948 to 1990. Segregation can be defined as the various legislative Acts which were used to restrict the rights of Black people. Beinort and Dubow (2003, p. 2) define segregation in South Africa as a “composite ideology and set of practices seeking to legitimize social difference and economic inequality in every aspect of life.”

Three main laws were developed to promote segregation and had devastating effects and fractured the Black South African family. These Acts and policies include the 1911 Mines and Works Act (this was used to facilitate segregation in employment), 1913 Natives land Act, and the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas Act). According to O'Malley (n.d.), the 1911 Mines and Works Act which was also referred to as the Colour Bar Act referred to a group of labour practices, informal trade union practices, government regulations, and legislations all of which were developed to prevent Blacks from competing for specific categories of jobs monopolized by whites. Black workers were treated as cheap and disposable labour in the gold mining industry (Crush & Tshitereke, 2001). They were encapsulated in massive single-sex barracks and forced to work in degrading and inhuman conditions (Crush & Tshitereke, 2001). At the end of their contract, which was usually at the end of the year, they returned home if not physically injured

then had lung disease. If they didn't have either, then they were rewarded with a new contract the following year (Mabin, 1992). Thus the fathers were treated as temporary disposable units and suffered intolerable abuse and exploitation (Crush & Tshitereke, 2001, p. 50; Mabin, 1992). This affected the Black South African family in several ways, for instance, by first keeping the fathers away from their families and increasing single-headed families and when the fathers come back are emotionally, physically, and psychologically harmed.

The second Act is the 1913 Natives Land Act, which had critical elements of the segregation policy that reinforced the conditions of the migrant labour system. The migrant labour system ensured that the mines used the labour of Adult Black males whose families remained in rural areas (Beinort & Dubow, 2003). The 1913 Native Land Act was considered to be one of the most vicious legislations under Apartheid laws (South African Government, n.d.). The Act caused families members to be displaced by forcibly removing thousands of Black families from their land, and many were lost (South African Government, n.d.). The Black people were relocated to impoverished homelands and townships and allowed to the city as workers for White people (Modise & Mtshiselwa, 2013). Black families lost their land and their cattle. Eventually, this marked the beginning of the socio-economic challenges, poverty, and inequality that many Black families are still facing in the year 2020 (Modise & Mtshiselwa, 2013).

The third Act was the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which controlled the movement of Black men between Urban and rural areas (Maylam, 1990). The Act represented the first significant intervention of the State in the business of managing the Urban Black labour force and ensuring the continuation of reproduction (Maylam, 1990). The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 laid the foundation for other Acts such as the Native laws Amendment Act of 1937, which prevented Black men from establishing a permanent place of residence in the Urban cities (Smit, 2001). This meant that they could not bring their families with them to the Urban areas an ensured that their families remained in the poor rural areas and increasingly became dependent on the fathers for survival (Smit, 2001).

2.4.3 Apartheid policies that negatively impacted the family in South Africa:

Sakhumzi Mfecane (2018) outlines two critical policies that had a substantial negative impact on the lives of Black people in KwaZulu-Natal. These policies were used to force Zulu men into paid labour and thus forced to work for white men in the farms and the mines. The first

policy was the Hut tax law, which was imposed throughout Africa by the British colonial authorities as a means of raising capital and as a way of coercing Black people into capital wage labour (Mfecane, 2018; Worden 2012). In South Africa, the hut tax laws were imposed at different times from the 1860s in the Eastern Cape Frontier, Natal, Cape Colony, and the inland regions. The hut tax law required every household to pay tax every month using either cash, livestock, or agricultural produce.

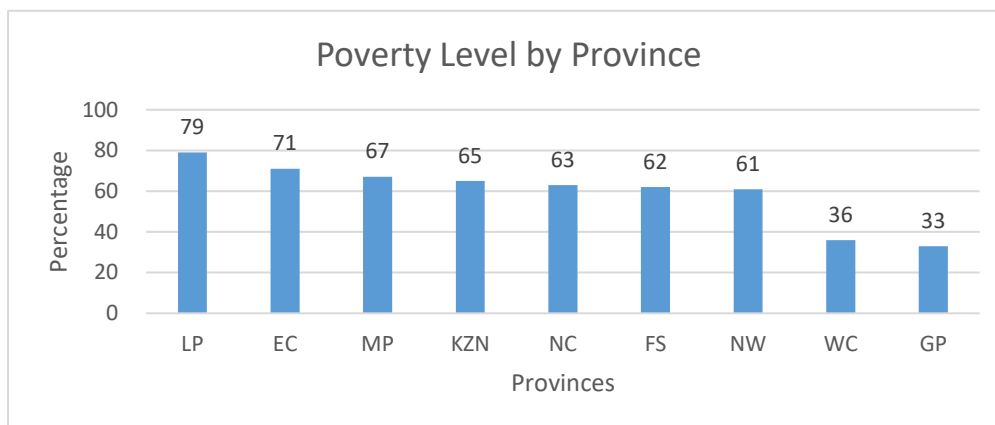
However, the increasingly high demand for cash coupled with the decreasing agricultural produce and the death of livestock because of diseases forced Black men to be incorporated into the migrant labour system as miners, farmworkers, and domestic servants for white households (Mfecane, 2018; Worden 2012). By the mid-nineteenth century, this resulted in the change of gender roles whereby Black African women were becoming mostly domesticated, and Black African men became the sole primary providers of the family. This was in line with the British colonial ideas of patriarchy, which became imported into colonized African regions (Mama (1990) as cited in Mfecane, 2018). The second policy was the marriage tax laws, which were introduced in Natal in 1869 as a way to regulate African marriages and to stop the practice of polygamy. The law imposed a tax on every marriage contracted which affected the practice of ukulobola (bride price paid to the women's family), the law also required that the bride to formally express their consent before an official witness for the marriage to be validated (Mfecane, 2018).

2.5. Economic factors that Shape Fatherhood in South Africa:

Although migrant labour practices in South Africa are attributed to the Apartheid migrant labour system which caused the migration of men to the urban areas as discussed above, contemporary research shows that the movement for employment purposes continues in post-apartheid South Africa (Smit, 2001). According to Smit (2001), housing shortages in the urban areas and the high unemployment rate in rural areas, are the contributing factors for the continuation of labor migration. The prospects of rural land ownership are high and force fathers to leave their families in rural homes and migrate to the Urban areas for economic survival (Smit, 2001). For example (see Table1 below), Limpopo, Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, and KwaZulu-Natal have the highest poverty levels in South Africa, while the Western Cape and Gauteng provinces have the lowest Poverty levels reported. Limpopo, Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, and KwaZulu-Natal are mainly rural areas whereas Cape Town and Gauteng are

urban areas. This shows that more rural areas have high unemployment rates, and the urban regions have fewer unemployment rates (Hurlbut, 2018). The devastating fact is that the level of poverty gap between rural areas and urban areas has widened between 2006 and 2015, and it has become deeper and more unequal (Hurlbut, 2018).

Table: 2.1. Poverty levels by province:



Currently, South Africa has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world. Almost half of the population in South Africa is considered extremely poor (Hurlbut, 2018). The South African labor force reveals high levels of inequality, and the increasing unemployment rates further exacerbate this. In the first quarter of 2019, the unemployment rate rose to 27.6 %; this has been the highest unemployment rate recorded since the third quarter in 2017 (Statistics SA, 2019). These results mean that the number of unemployed people went up by 62 thousand. The statistics reveal that more men were unemployed than women in 2018 compared to 2008.

Research shows that unemployment may represent a painful, detrimental, traumatic, and a threat to the psychological well-being of an individual (Strier, 2014). According to Jahoda (as cited Strier, 2014), unemployment deprives people of the by-products of work such as time structure, contact with others, personal status, identity, and activity. Some Gender researchers argue that the effects of unemployment may be experienced differently according to the gender. For example, patriarchal and traditional fathers experience severe unemployment effects in comparison to females and more flexible fathers who are less patriarchal (Strier, 2014). This is

not to say that women do not suffer severe psychological effects from unemployment. Several studies that have been conducted reveal that some women do experience the same amount of distress due to unemployment as men.

According to Strier (2014), gender affects hegemonic views of fatherhood, which affect how unemployment is experienced. According to gendered aspects of masculinity, unemployment is significant for men's identity formation. For example, the dominant gender roles of fathers are that of a breadwinner and expected to live up to that role. Historical studies on men and masculinity indicate that the dominant masculinities are generally associated with power and never with poverty (Strier, 2014). Therefore men living in poverty are at increased risks of falling short of the dominant views of what it means to be a man (Strier, 2014). Thus for men, poverty does not only represent economic hardship but also includes exclusion from their gender status (Ruxton, 2002).

Marriage is one of the areas that men living in poverty are excluded. This is because of the practice of *ilobolo* payment, and according to Posel, Rudwick, and Casale (2011), marriage amongst Black people is decreasing in South Africa. The reason for the decrease is the rising unemployment and the high monetary value of *ilobola* practice. This has meant that most men are unable to meet the demands of *ilobola* payment. This is especially the case for KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) where *ilobola* payment still forms an intricate part of the marriage. The decrease in marriage rates has caused an increase in living arrangements such as cohabitation and increased children out of wedlock. According to Ngema (2013), in the Zulu culture, a father is not allowed to live with his partner and children when he has not paid lobolo to the partner's family. This cultural factor contributes to the low marriage rates and also contributes to high numbers of non-resident fathers (Ngema, 2013; Posel & Rudwick, 2014).

2.6. Cultural factors that shape fatherhood in South Africa

In South Africa, there are many factors that influence the father's involvement with his children. These include cultural factors, the type of relation the father has with the mother, and the mother's and the maternal family's attitude towards the father (Makusha & Richter, 2016). Unemployment has not only affected the process and levels of marriages in the Zulu culture but has also affected other cultural aspects that have an impact on the father's involvement

with his children (Makusha, Richter, Knight, & Bhana, 2013; Richter et al., 2010). *Inhlawulo* (damage) is one of the most important cultural values in the Zulu culture. *Inhlawulo* refers to the payment made to the mother's family for damages for impregnating a girl before marriage (Makusha & Richter, 2016). If the father does not pay *inhlawulo*, the maternal family may not recognize the father as the legitimate father of the child, and he may even have restricted visitation rights and also be prevented from having a relationship with his child (Makusha & Richter, 2016). However, when the non-resident father contributes to the financial upbringing of the child, the mothers may allow the child to visit his or her paternal family and move between the households but having permanent residence at the maternal homestead (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012).

According to Makusha and Richter (2016), in most cases, the mothers cut off communication between the father and the child when the father fails to make a financial contribution towards the child's upbringing, which shows that financial connection is more valued over an emotional connection. This becomes difficult for fathers who are unemployed and cannot afford to make any financial contribution (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012). However, in other instances, the father's inability to pay *inhlawulo* and to make monthly financial contributions causes fathers to feel like failures. It forces them to voluntarily choose to be absent from their children's lives (Eddy, Thomson-de Boor, & Mphaka, 2013).

2.7. HIV/AIDS as a factor that shapes fatherhood in South Africa:

Sub-Saharan Africa, and especially South Africa, has one of the highest incidence and prevalence of HIV/AIDS rates in the world (Rohleder, Swartz, Kalichman, & Simbayi, 2009). In 2008 Approximately 5.7 million people were infected with HIV in South Africa (Abdool Karim et al., 2011) and had increased to 7.52 million people in 2018. Globally, South Africa accounted for 21% of HIV positive people living in the world. Although HIV affects every South African, the burden of the disease has been with the majority Black African population (Leclerc-Madlala, Simbayi, & Cloete, 2009). And in particular Black African females have the highest prevalence rate in South Africa, while Black African men have a prevalence rate of 12.5%. Heterosexual men's behavior has been identified to be the source of spreading HIV and increasing women's vulnerability (Higgins, Hoffman, & Dworkin, 2010).

According to Hunter (2007), the leading cause of the increase in the HIV incidence rate is linked to the political economy of sex. Hunter argues that the rising unemployment and social inequalities, reduced marital rates and the movement of both women and men in search of jobs are responsible for the increase in the HIV /AIDS pandemic (Hunter, 2007). The rise in unemployment contributes to fathers not being able to perform their patriarchal male identity as heads of the household and breadwinners and thus end up expressing their masculinity through aggressive multi-partnered sexual relations (Gibbs, Sikweyiya, & Jewkes, 2015). A study in Uganda found that limited educational and job opportunities undermined young men's abilities to achieve ideal marriages and families, which has led them in relationships and behaviors that increased their risk of HIV (Mathur et al., 2016).

Interestingly, in South Africa, it is not only the unemployed and underemployed men who engage in multi-partnered sexual relations but men who are considered to be in the upper class participate in what is known as transactional sex. Transactional sex is the exchange of sex for money and other material goods (Maxmen, 2016). Research shows that 60% of new HIV infections in young women and teenage girls may be linked to older men. Younger women are more likely to engage in relationships with older men due to poverty. The women engage in transactional sex and, in most instances, are not able to negotiate for safer sexual intercourse practices. In South Africa, it's become a phenomenon labeled *blesser/blessee*. The *blesser* is a rich older man who, in most cases, is married but engages in extramarital affairs with younger women and gives them money or buys them expensive gifts including but not limited to cars, rent, etc. According to Lindegger and Quayle (2009), it is not biology that makes women more susceptible to HIV, but it's the social construction of masculinity that puts both women and men at risk of HIV. This is an understudied subject, and the limited research in this area focuses more on the young females and less on the *blesser* fathers.

Furthermore, the discussion and the link between fathers, HIV, and masculinity has been understudied in South Africa but yet is an essential factor in influencing the sexual and reproductive rights of mothers (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010; Sherr, 2010). Research on the intersection of parenthood HIV prevention is focused more on HIV positive mothers and their desire for having children and less on HIV positive Fathers (Nattabi, Li, Thompson, Orach, & Earnest, 2009). Men's fertility, status, and lineage considerations contribute to HIV positive fathers' desire to have children (Sherr, 2010). This contributes to men continuing to have children and risking transmitting the virus to their partners despite their HIV status (Nattabi et al., 2009). According to Taylor, Mantell, Nywagi, and Cishe (2013), cultural expectations

pressurizes HIV-positive men to have biological children who will carry on the family surname. Therefore, HIV plays a massive role in shaping fatherhood, their desire to be fathers, and, most importantly, affects the way they construct their masculinity (Sikweyiya, Jewkes, & Dunkle, 2015).

2.8. Masculinity and how it shapes fatherhood:

Masculinity can be defined as social roles, behaviors, and meanings prescribed for men in any given society at any given time (Nyerere, 2008). Fatherhood and masculinity coincide; for instance, according to Johansson and Andreasson (2017 p. 3), fatherhood and the experience of becoming a father are essential aspects of defining masculinity. According to Kimmel (2008, p. 5), masculinities are not only multiple but exist as “embodied practices, beliefs and also as institutionalized symbols.” Messerschmidt (2018) argues that the driving force behind the growing field of masculinities is due to the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is a concept that was developed by sociologist Raewyn Connell (1987, 1995) through her theoretical work on masculinity. She adopted the term from Gramsci’s work on “hegemony.” Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as “ the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Connell, 2005, p. 105).

Hegemonic masculinity is not static, but can change since it is about who has authority and power at that given point in time. Hegemony for Connell is the direct claim to authority and not the violence, even though violence often supports and leads to authority. Therefore any group may challenge the dominant hegemonic group and create a new hegemony (Connell, 2005). Connell theorized about four different types of masculinities, the first type of masculinity is hegemonic masculinity which is the dominant type of masculinity and is theorized as using force to maintain that dominance. The second type is Subordinated masculinity; these are men who are excluded from being part of the hegemonic masculinity because they are homosexuals or display specific characteristics that may be considered to be feminine and do not fit in with hegemonic masculinity ideals (Connell, 2005). For instance,

homosexual men are oppressed and subordinated to heterosexual men, making them to be at the bottom of the hierarchy among men.

The third type of masculinity conceptualized by Connell (2005) is complicit masculinity. These are men who do not practice hegemonic masculinity but benefit with those who forcefully practice hegemonic masculinity. Complicit men are men who engage in extensive compromises with women in their marriages, fatherhood, and their community. They do not seek to have ultimate authority and dominion over their wives, children, and the community at large. Therefore, hegemony, subordination, and complicity are internal relations to the gender order. However, the interplay of other structures such as race and class create further relationships and orders between masculinities (Connell, 2005). These new relations and order of masculinity have helped to identify a new type of masculinity, which is marginalized masculinities.

According to Adler (1956), marginalized masculinity gives rise to protest masculinity which is the type of masculinity that wants to have the status and the authority of hegemonic masculinity and does so by overemphasizing masculine behaviors such as risk-taking behavior, violence, drug, and alcohol abuse (Stanistreet, 2005). Thus Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity illustrates how men can take up different positions of masculinity, such as complicit, subordinate, and marginalized. The concept also shows the different levels of power that men can occupy over both women and other men (Morrell, Jewkes, Lindegger, & Hamlall, 2013). Hegemonic masculinity offers an alternative to the sex-role treatment of men. It combines several interrelated features, such as the interplay between men's identities, ideals, relationships, power, and patriarchy (Morrell et al., 2013, p. 4).

2.9.1. The influence of Western notions of masculinity in Africa:

African researchers such as Ratele (2016) and Mfecane (2018) argue that Hegemonic masculinity is a difficult concept to apply to the African context mainly because it is a concept that was conceptualized with the ideals of a rich White man from the developed Western countries. Ratele (2016) further states that the meaning of hegemonic masculinity will not be the same when it is applied in the peripheries to poor Black men. South Africa's history of colonialism, apartheid, and decreasing resources make western concepts of masculinity challenging to implement (Morrell et al., 2013). Interestingly, this form of masculinity is

characteristic of the white body, which the black body has adopted the same values (Lipenga, 2014). Unterhalter (2006, p. 162) asserts that “ *hegemonic masculinities in South Africa have both formed and been formed by the politics of racialization. The apartheid state linked to a particular form of capitalist accumulation in South Africa provided both the conditions for the social construction of white male identities, and for the formation of masculinities linked to the subordinated racialized groups*”. According to Ratele (2008, p. 25.) the dominant form of masculinity in post apartheid South Africa can be defined as “a heterosexual, patriarchal capitalist masculinity”. Ratele’s (2008) concept of masculinity is characterized by high levels of self-reliance, aggressiveness, ambition and strength.

Research by gender academics and activists conducted in South Africa on men tend to portray African men negatively (Ratele, 2016). Research by gender activists and academics characterizes African masculinity as “*crisis masculinity*” (Decoteau, 2013). According to Decoteau (2013), problems associated with males, such as high levels of violence against women, sexual promiscuity, and high-risk behaviors, have been narrowly explained as crisis masculinity. Mfecane (2018) further argues that gender academics and feminist activists not only pathologize black men but are ignorant of Black cultures. Mfecane argues that research on African masculinity is driven mainly by narrow activist agendas of feminist scholars as quoted below:

“Researchers regard men chiefly as a ‘problem.’ They view African notions of masculinity as inherently dangerous. This has had a great impact on types of interventions designed for men. Most of these are funded by international donors. They target ‘African masculinity’ as an arena for intervention among men. Intervention practitioners tend to pathologize black sexuality by focusing solely on its negative aspects, like gender domination. Furthermore, these interventions have a strong aversion to African culture. They view culture simply as a barrier to the fight against AIDS, and not part of the solution. A related problem is that research and intervention programmes have focused solely on Black men. In South Africa we know nothing about sexual conduct of White heterosexual males, Coloureds, and Indians. Yet the leading academics and gender activists come from these communities....Lastly these research and intervention efforts have been based on superficial understanding of African notions of masculinity.” (Mfecane, 2013).

According to Mfecane (2018), South African masculinity research relies heavily on theories developed on the global North. The Western approaches are not only used to define masculinity in South Africa but are used as frameworks for designing intervention programmes for men in South Africa (Mfecane, 2018). The major problem with applying Western concepts of masculinity in Africa is because the concepts are not able to account for the complex life experiences of African men fully and thus offer narrow definitions.

2.9.2. African Masculinity and fatherhood:

Mfecane argues that to understand and theorize about African fathers, researchers, gender activists need to understand the complex reality of Black African men, the very essence that makes them who they are. According to Lipenga (2014), context is often used as one of the characteristics used to describe African masculinity. Lipenga (2014) further states that context is not just about the geographic location of individuals but includes culture. For instance, in the African culture, African masculinity is influenced by immaterial and material forces such as ancestral spirits and other forces that can influence human behavior (Mfecane, 2018). Uchendu (2008) asserts that masculinity is shaped by culture and includes religion, belief systems, environmental realities, and historical experiences. Pre-colonial Zulu masculinity was characterized as being highly disciplined and full of wisdom, respect for authority, bravery, and honesty (Uchendu, 2008). Furthermore, the family played a central aspect of the Zulu masculinity. For instance, the father's ability to instill discipline in the family especially for the boy child, forms an essential part of the father's masculinity and identity (Mchunu, 2005).

Masculinity in the Zulu and other Nguni cultures is shaped by *amasiko* (cultural rituals and practices) (Malinga & Ratele, 2022). For example, cultural rituals such as *imbeleko* are considered an important ritual that a father needs to perform for his children (Nduna, 2014). Imbeleko is a traditional ritual performed by the paternal family for the newborn child. The ceremony serves to introduce the newborn to his family and, more in particular, to the paternal ancestors (Nduna, 2014). A child who has had this ritual performed for them knows their identity and can claim protection from their ancestors. A child who has not had *imbeleko* performed is believed to be followed by bad luck and may experience many social problems like being unemployed, alcohol and drug addiction, poor performance at school, undisciplinable, and engaging in high-risk behaviors (Mfecane, 2018; Nduna, 2014). This cultural tradition and the high absent rates of fathers has created the need for many young

people searching for their paternal families, this has inspired reality TV programmes such as *Utatakho* and *Khumbulekhaya*.

Utatakho is a popular docu-reality show which was first screened in South Africa in 2015(see mzansimagic.dstv.com/show/utatakho); it screens on channel 161 Tuesdays at 20:00 pm Central African Time (CAT). *Utatakho* is a Xhosa word that can be loosely translated as ‘your father.’ The primary purpose of the docu-reality show is to deal with the issue of absent fathers in South Africa by resolving paternity problems using DNA testing. It also assists participants in their path of finding their genetic identity.

Khumbulekhaya is also a docu-reality show which is produced by the Urban Brew Studios and is screened on SABC 1, a public broadcaster every Wednesday from 21:00 CAT (see khumbulekhaya.net.za). *Khumbul’ ekhaya* is an isiZulu word, which means ‘remember home’ the show is about helping people find and reunite with their long-lost family members through the assistance of social workers and the department of social development (Mboti, 2016). Many young people use the show as a platform to find their fathers and paternal families because they believe that their bad luck in life is linked to the fact that they do not know their fathers and consequently their extended paternal families and thus are not protected by their paternal ancestors. Thus, a father’s masculinity and fatherhood were based on fulfilling cultural rituals for their families. This shows the complex relationship between culture, fatherhood, and masculinity. In addition, Malinga and Ratele (2022) state that high unemployment rates further complicate the relationship between notions of masculinity and fatherhood. According to Ratele, contemporary ideals of masculinity are linked with the ability to provide economically for the family. Poverty and unemployment forces fathers to be unable to fulfill their cultural obligations.

2.10. Religion and how it shapes fatherhood:

Religion in Africa is a crucial aspect amongst Africans. According to Mbiti, religion and culture, which are sometimes difficult to separate, express the philosophy of African people (Gathogo, 2008). Mbiti (1969:1) narrates the following about African people and their religion:

“Africans are notoriously religious, and each people has its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices. Religion permeates into all the departments of life so fully that it is not easy or possible always to isolate it. To ignore these traditional beliefs, attitudes and practices can only lead to a lack of understanding of African behavior and problems. Religion is the strongest element in traditional backgrounds, and exerts probably the greatest influence upon the thinking and living of the people concerned.”

Zulu people have always been spiritual and believed in a higher power; they interchangeably used terms such as *Unkulunkulu* (the great one) and *uMvelinqangi* (the first to appear) to refer to a supreme being (Masubelele, 2009). *Unkulunkulu* was considered to be the first ancestor of the Zulu people, who created all things. The arrival of the missionaries in Africa influenced and changed many aspects of the Zulu religion. The missionaries rejected the Zulu religion and way of life and demanded that the Zulu members abandon traditional customs such as Zulu brewing, paying *ilobolo*, doing *umsebenzi*, and polygamy (Houle, 2008). However, It was the second generation of the missionaries that managed to spread the gospel by recruiting youth *Amokholwa* through revivals and opening up churches in Urban and city spaces in the 19th Century (Houle, 2008). Today according to statistics SA (2013), 84.2% of the population in South Africa are Christians.

Christianity has changed the way of life for many Africans, with African traditions and religion becoming hidden practice while Christianity and its values are being promoted and publicly displayed (Masondo, n.d.). Masondo (n.d.) argues that this is confusing for many Black families especially for fathers as they do not know how to find a balance between Christian values and the Zulu cultural rituals that are highly valued and respected and performed by fathers (Masondo, n.d.). Njeza et al. 1998:1 (as cited in Ntombana, 2015, p. 105) wrote a personal account of how being Black and Christian affects his identity:

“...for the African individual, the existence of the two systems co-existed even though for the Church the African one did not exist. However, as I begin to reflect on my personal African Christian identity, I discover that I have inherited a legacy of confusion and identity conflict in my life. The problem for me is that ‘the other’ dimension, which acknowledged our traditional African heritage, was somehow tagged on and operated as a disguise. This resulted in what seemed to be a split personality and an identity crisis because it led to the denigration and destruction of Africanness.”

Njeza's accounts show the role that religion plays in the lives of individuals; it not only shapes their identity but also shapes how they perform their fatherhood and masculinity roles. Research on fathers, fatherhood, and masculinity often overlooks the role that religion play in the construction of fatherhood (Strier, 2014). Religion, in particular Christianity, plays a crucial role in the construction of fatherhood identity, Christianity is deeply rooted in patriarchal ideologies on fatherhood and the family (Meyer, 2018). Christianity emphasis has been that men are the heads of the family and that they are the providers and protectors of the family. Thus Fatherhood and Christianity cannot be separated from patriarchy (Meyer, 2018; Strier, 2014). Christianity gives power and authority to the human father and sees him as God of the family. Many scriptures call for men to be heads and for women to be subservient and obey their husbands. For example, 1 Timothy 5:8 reads as: *"Anyone who does not provide for their relatives, and especially for their own household, has denied the faith and is worse than an unbeliever."* This scripture calls for men to take up the role of the breadwinner and be the providers in their family.

Meyer (2018) argues that the biggest problem with the Christian masculinity and fatherhood is that it abandons and isolates other types of fathers. For example, unemployed fathers, unwedded fathers, divorced fathers, especially in a country like South Africa, where there are so many factors that shape fatherhood, such as limited resources and employment opportunities. Although some of the intentions of Christianity are good, Christian values on fatherhood and families emphasize on building strong family bonds by assisting fathers and mothers in their roles as husbands and wives and teaches them how to perform their gender-specific duties (Meyer, 2018). The problem with Christianity is the fact that it remains a colonial project that rejects African family systems and forms of fatherhood and how fatherhood is performed by Black Africans.

2.11. Conclusion:

Fatherhood is socially constructed and always transforming due to different factors such as History and culture. This chapter presented a discussion on fatherhood and first discussed the conceptualization of Western fatherhood and the factors that influenced the transformation of the concept of fatherhood. Fatherhood in South Africa is complex to study because of the factors that shape and influence fatherhood. These factors include but are not limited to South Africa's history of apartheid and colonialism, economic factors, and the increasing poverty

rates, Culture, HIV/AIDS, masculinity, and religion. South Africa's History of Apartheid and colonialism displaced and fractured the South African family. The three primary laws which were used to promote segregation in South Africa that had a devastating effect on the families include the 1911 work Act, 1913 Natives land Act, and the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act. These laws were used to reinforce the conditions of the migrant labour system. The migrant labour system created conditions that ensured the continuation of Black cheap labour. The Black men were given temporary contracts and had to work under harsh conditions and were only allowed to go back home at the end of their contract and could only return if they didn't get ill or get physically hurt.

Although the end of Apartheid brought many opportunities for Black South Africans, the labour system still reflects the Apartheid trends. Many people continue migrating between the city and their homesteads, mainly due to lack of land in the urban areas to build a home and because of high unemployment rates. Thus economic factors continue to shape and influence fatherhood in South Africa.

Culture as a factor that influences fatherhood was also discussed. In the Zulu culture, the inability of a man to pay *inhlawulo* may lead to the mother and the maternal family of the child denying the father access to the child. The high unemployment and underemployment have been identified as factors that contribute to fathers not being able to meet their cultural obligations. Research shows that fathers' inability to meet their cultural requirements leads them to feel like failures and forces them to become estranged from their children. Thus cultural factors contribute to the increase of non-resident fathers and, to a certain extent, to absent fathers.

HIV and AIDS have been identified as a factor that shapes fatherhood, according to Hunter (2007), the increase in the HIV incidence rate is linked to the political economy of sex. The rise in unemployment contributes to fathers not being able to perform their patriarchal role as heads of the homestead and breadwinners and thus end up expressing their masculinity through aggressive multi-partnered sexual relations.

This chapter then discussed masculinity is another factor that shapes fatherhood. The discussion argued that fatherhood and masculinity could not be separated as they form part of the identity of fathers. The chapter first discusses Western notions of masculinity and then demonstrates how the western concepts of masculinity cannot be used to understand African masculinities. Physical and metaphysical elements shape African masculinity. Cultural rituals

like such as *imbeleko* and surnames are believed that they form men's identity and their behavior. Therefore if *imbeleko* was not performed specially for a boy child, it is thought that his paternal ancestors will not protect the child and bad luck will always follow him, making him vulnerable to unemployment and illnesses.

Lastly, the chapter discussed religion as a factor that shapes fatherhood. Christianity was a colonial project used to colonize African people. Christianity forced African families not to practice cultural rituals and left many African fathers in a state of confusion and as they believed in the importance of the cultural rituals which Christianity strongly rejects. Christianity is deeply rooted in patriarchal ideologies of fatherhood and emphasise on fathers being breadwinners. The shortfall of Christianity is that it excluded other types of fathers, such as fathers living in poverty, unwedded fathers, and divorced fathers.

This chapter presented the literature on fatherhood in South Africa and discussed the factors that continue to shape and transform fatherhood. More research is needed in South Africa that conceptualizes fatherhood from an African perspective. The next chapter is the theoretical chapter, which argues on the importance of using decolonial and African psychology as a base for analyzing and understanding African people.

Chapter 3: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

3.0. Introduction:

This chapter will discuss three theoretical and conceptual frameworks used to understand fatherhood in the Zulu culture in South Africa. These include the decoloniality theory, Afrocentrism, and social constructionism. The chapter focuses on the decoloniality theory, where the concepts of colonialism and coloniality are unraveled through its lens. Thereafter, the chapter will discuss Afrocentrism. Lastly, the chapter discusses social constructionism which is used mostly as an auxiliary theory to support decoloniality and Afrocentric theories. Social constructionism is informed by the perspective that subjectivities, identities, and knowledges about the self and the world are constructed.

Decoloniality, Afrocentricism, and social constructionist theories do not seek to attack Western identities and knowledges, but advance the view that all identities and knowledges are constructed. They are resistance epistemologies that aim to resist the imposition of hegemonic identities through old and new modes of cultural imperialism. In particular, decolonial and Afrocentric research argues that social and cultural identities and knowledge created in Africa should be informed by African ontologies, histories, cultures, and social contexts (Bent-Goodley, Fairfay, & Carton-LaNey, 2017). The end of apartheid and colonialism did not logically end the dominance of Eurocentric cultural values, norms, and knowledges because these continued in newer forms (Geduld, 2020). These hegemonic Eurocentric values and knowledges continue to be at the centre of Africa (Geduld, 2020), within which Africans negotiate and navigate their social identities such as fatherhood.

Fatherhood is an important aspect of a man's identity. When men become fathers, their sense of identity changes and this influences their social behavior in the family and community (Hofner, Schadler, & Richter, 2011). Thus, factors such as culture are critical in shaping the development of behavioral attitudes, role-playing and social expectations, and most importantly, fathers understanding of the self (Hofner et al., 2011). However, for modern day African fathers, fatherhood is often navigated based on the contestations between the dominant Western cultural ideology and African ideologies which are often demonized (Mfecane, 2020).

3.1. Decoloniality Theory:

Decoloniality represents a body of theories emanating from Africa and the Global South that constitute a resistance imaginary against the Global North archive of imperial epistemologies (Andreotti, 2011; Maldonado-Torres, 2011; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). It is a critique that represents a new language to unpack the complex problem of coloniality in hegemonic identities and knowledge's, while also consciously rejecting some of the terms of cultural reference and stereotypes used by Anglo-American paradigms to describe the 'other'. Decoloniality, advocates for other cultural identities and knowledges to co-exist with Eurocentric knowledge without cultural domination and cultural imperialism from the latter (Mfecane, 2020).

In this study on fatherhood, decoloniality was used to understand fatherhood from a southern critical and indigenous cultural perspective and not from a modern and Western perspective. Decoloniality also questions Eurocentrism which always presents itself as the only position from which to know the truth or as a litmus test for understanding human behavior. Eurocentrism is part of the coloniality of being and knowledge where "dominated populations [are] assigned identities and subjected to it as a worldview or way of knowing the world" (Mignolo, 2000, p. 54). For example, researchers who write on African fatherhood tend to write from a Eurocentric perspective. This is problematic because the knowledge that is created is what goes to inform African thinking and policies. As such, Eurocentrism has colonized all alternate identities and knowledges and naturalized itself as the only interpretive paradigm that makes sense. Thus, from a decolonial theoretical perspective, the project of decolonizing fatherhood would require inoculating African identities and knowledges of the self against the problem of Eurocentrism.

Decoloniality places race, culture, and colonial difference at the centre of the analysis of the colonial subaltern agencies on being and subjectivity and in knowledge production about their societies. It is a critical theory that is important in the unlearning of distorted identities, realities, and knowledge of the self, especially in postcolonial contexts that suffer the legacies of colonialism. For Maldonado-Torres (2010), decoloniality is about confronting colonial distortions about race, gender, and sexualities imposed by colonial modernity and Eurocentrism on the communities of the ex/colonized. As outlined in Schiwy (2010), a crucial aspect is its emphasis on decolonizing the soul, that is, to rid the body of cultural and racial

self-denigration that afflicted and continues to afflict the colonized. It exposes the coloniality of the hegemonic identities and allows for new imagination and resistance spaces to confront and challenge them (Schiwy, 2010). In essence, it aims to develop a critical theory for the re-humanization of Africans as a people with their own cultures, knowledges, myths, worldviews, and languages. As the praxis of decolonial theory, it represents a restorative process of returning to African cultures and histories. In other words, it represents a radical theory from the South.

Decoloniality theory does not amount to cultural essentialism. It is not a fundamentalist theory but a true democratic quest for cultural diversity and pluralism to exist without classification into the racial and cultural hierarchies created by modernity. Therefore, colonial subalternity is meant to emphasize a point of departure for an African critical theory whose locus of enunciation directly addresses the problem of the freedom and the liberation of Africans, as the colonial subalterns of Western modernity and its Eurocentric paradigms (Moyo, 2020). Lugones (2007, p.186) has convincingly demonstrated this point using gender, which she perceives as "a colonial concept [that serves] as a mode of organization of relations of production, property relations, and ways of knowing". While acknowledging the legitimacy and necessity of the feminist struggle in Africa and the Global South, she advises that the struggles of women of colour in the border cannot be separated from that of asserting their humanity as the colonial subaltern of western modernity. Put differently, as far as gender is concerned, the colonial subaltern of western modernity cannot be a woman before they are a human being. However, in reality, there is no linearity of struggle because the multiple hierarchies of race, class, and gender domination require the simultaneity of struggle. The importance of Lugones' views on gender is about the development of a kind of African consciousness that realizes that African identities, particularly those of Black fathers are constantly under attack by Eurocentrism.

3.2. How Decoloniality theory understands the problem of colonized people :

Decoloniality theory understands fatherhood as an identity by acknowledging the impact that coloniality and colonialism have on colonized people's identities. According to Maldonado-Torres (2010, p. 243) “colonialism denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation, which makes such a nation an empire”. Coloniality refers to those "long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that also define culture, inter-subjective relations, and knowledge production between [the West and its Others]" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 247). Decoloniality argues that on the one hand, colonialism was an administrative project of the empire that was implemented through the physical violence on the oppressed by the colonizer. For instance, South Africa experienced this through the form of apartheid, that fractured many families lives (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). The colonizer ensured the conquest of the oppressed through genocide, including cultural genocide, where identities of the oppressed people were destroyed.

On the other hand, coloniality points to the problem of the ideology of Eurocentrism and neo-colonialism that continue to exist long after colonialism has ended. This refers to the continuation of seeing and understanding African fathers from a colonial perspective. According to (Ratele & Nduna, 2018) the concept of social fatherhood which is based on the African kinship system still remains underdeveloped in research on fatherhood.

Decoloniality views Africans and other non-Westerners as colonial subalterns who live on the darker side of Western modernity that is defined by the colonial difference, which is experienced by those on the oppressed or underside of Western modernity as colonized subjects. While Western modernity brought prosperity for the Western subject through its Renaissance, Enlightenment, and Globalization, it brought slavery, colonialism, racism, and neocolonial oppression for Africans (Mignolo, 2001, Moyo, 2020). The colonial subalterns are not only a product of these specific historical experiences but, more profoundly coloniality. To illustrate this point, in the 'State of South Africa's fathers report' published by the Sonke Gender Justice and the Human Sciences Research Council, African fathers in contemporary South Africa continue to face barriers such as inequality and low levels of employment. This makes it difficult for African fathers to fulfill their fatherhood role. Therefore, coloniality continues to reproduce colonial difference, through colonizing the mind and the body of the colonial subaltern using the coloniality of theory in disciplines. Africans, as the colonial

subjects of Western modernity, belong to the zone of non-being, characterized by their othering, pathologization, dehumanization, and inferiorization (Moyo & Mutsvairo, 2018). Coloniality suggests that Africans cannot produce any culture or history since they are regarded as primitive and backward. In mainstream social sciences, Africa is considered to be a location for raw facts and case studies where theory will never emerge since modernity and time are exclusive to the West (Moyo & Mutsvairo, 2018). Therefore, Africa is constructed as a place of tradition, superstition, and irrationality and not as a place where knowledge is created (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015).

3.3. Decoloniality and the effects of modernity in the creation of fatherhood identity

According to the decoloniality theory, Eurocentrism views modernity as a positive attribute and as a way to improve the lives of uncivilized people. However, according to Quijano (2008), modernity is another form of colonial domination that is implemented through modernization projects that demonize alternate subjectivities and identities. For example, social scientists have been promoting a new father, who is more involved and caring, yet African fathers who experience high levels of unemployment tend to focus on the provider role and less on caring. Furthermore, Mignolo (2018) asserts that the project of modernity is only visible as half of the truth; the other invisible, hidden truth of modernity is global coloniality.

According to Mignolo (2018), social institutions not only create and transform the domains of modernity, but they also maintain the interrelation of modernity and global coloniality. To illustrate, during apartheid, the capitalist system forced African fathers to abandon their agricultural economy in favour of the Western monetary value by working at the mines (Rabe, 2018). Moreover, at the mines, White fathers were given higher wages compared to African fathers, and it was argued that White fathers had their families with them and thus required higher wages. However, at the same time, African fathers were not allowed to bring their families to the city (Rabe, 2018). Thus, modernity created a power system by creating hierarchy and boundaries between people, by deciding who should be treated as subjects versus those who should be the objects of history (Patil, 2008). For instance, the modern system has created the African social and physical body as a metaphor for cultural disorder and pathological identities (Patil, 2008). In effect, modernity represents coloniality itself.

The objective of coloniality is to strip off the traditions and customs of the colonized in order to justify their oppression and exploitation (Fanon, 1963). He argues that in reality, coloniality is about the uncivilized European world giving itself the moral justification to exploit and oppress other people. Hegemonic understandings that are rooted in epistemic perspectives of the Global North are used to theorize and control African identities (Adams & Estrada-Villalta, 2017). Modernity falsely promotes the idea of a democratic, equal society characterized by democratic institutions, economic growth, and general 'happiness' (Adams & Estrada-Villalta, 2017). In reality, South Africa is characterised as the most unequal country globally, and has the highest levels of unemployment (stats SA, 2020). According to stats SA, 2020, the South African labour market is heavily racialized and gender-biased. This shows that Africans continue to earn less than other racial group years after apartheid ended. Malinga and Ratele (2022) argue that fatherhood should not be discussed in isolation but should include poverty and unemployment. This is because unemployment directly impacts fatherhood and, in some instances, on father involvement. The Eurocentric perspective argues that societies in the Global South are grappling with issues of poverty because of their traditional beliefs and suboptimal institutions that hinder their development. Therefore, in order for the societies in the Global south to develop they need to adopt Global north hegemonic perspectives (Adams & Estrada-Villalta, 2017).

Modern perspectives produce a modern economy by promoting individualistic views and values, which are often in contrast with African communalistic values (Adams & Estrada-Villalta, 2017). These individualistic values permeate every social aspect of society, including family relations. Research on Fatherhood in South Africa is one of the social aspects that have become saturated from the global north perspectives. Research has characterized South African fathers as absent, violent, and uninvolved in their children's well-being (Eddy, Thomson-de Boor, & Mphaka, 2013). The objective of many NGOs such as Sonke Gender Justice and scholarship on fatherhood has advocated for the 'new' father. The new image of the modern Black father that is promoted is the involved father, one who takes care of the children and is involved in household chores. However, the new modern father image is an example of how modern colonization works.

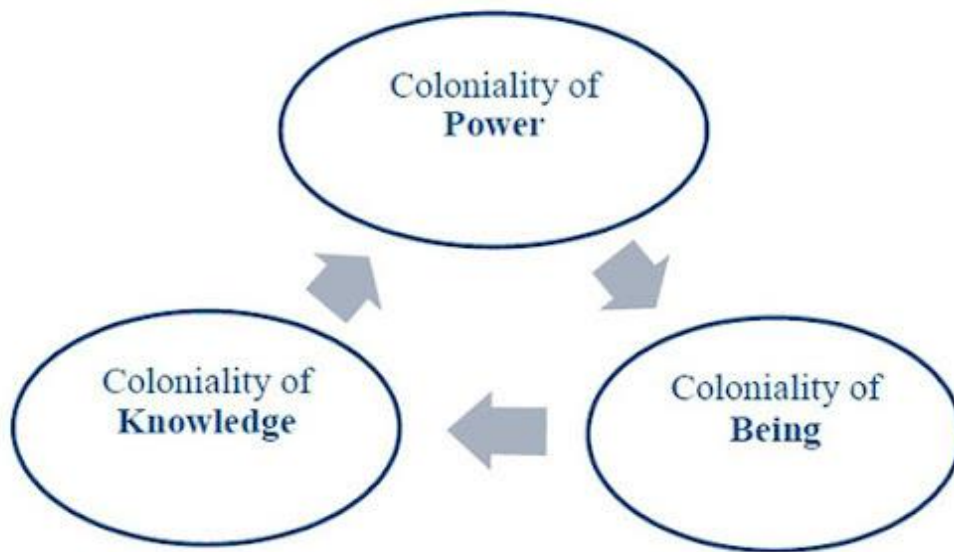
3.4. Decoloniality, fatherhood and Grosfoguel's Colonial matrix of Power

Decoloniality as a theory understands the world to function based on the colonial matrix of power system. This study used Grosfoguel's concept of the colonial matrix as a part of the decoloniality theory. Grosfoguel, a Puerto Rican decolonial sociologist, is a professor at the department of Ethnic studies at the University of California, Berkley (Islamic Human Rights Commission, 2012). He is famous for his work on the decolonization of knowledge and power as well as his work in international migration and the political economy of the world system (Islamic Human Rights Commission, 2012).

According to Grosfoguel (2006), people live according to a world system that is structured according to the colonial matrix of power. Grosfoguel (2006, p. 172) describes the colonial matrix of power as the entanglement of "sexual, political, epistemic, economic, spiritual, linguistic and racial forms of domination of exploitation where the racial/ethnic hierarchy of the European/ non-European divide transversally reconfigures all other global power structures". This means that how Africans experience their self, fatherhood as a form of identity which is shaped by the colonial matrix of power.

The decolonization of subaltern identities and knowledges of the self is premised on understanding the colonial difference in Western modernity. Since its emergence 500 years ago, Western modernity created a colonially structured world for non-Europeans based on a colonial matrix of power that is threefold: first is the coloniality of power and second, the coloniality of being, and lastly, the coloniality of knowledge (Mignolo, 2011). The colonial matrix of power (CMP) is a theoretical concept that is used to unmask the hidden truth and make what is invisible to the human eye visible (Mignolo, 2018). CMP for Grosfoguel (2006, p. 174) is the organizing principle involving the exploitation and domination exerted in all spheres of life such as "gender relations, structures of knowledge, state institutes and households". Below is Grosfoguel's figure (Figure: 3.0) of the colonial matrix of power. The figure illustrates the interrelatedness of relationships between the coloniality of power, coloniality of being and coloniality of knowledge.

Figure: 3.1. Colonial Matrix of power (Taken from Grosfoguel 2007,p. 203)



3.4.1. Coloniality of Being:

Coloniality of Being focuses on the lived experiences of colonized people (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). In this study, the focus will be on fatherhood as a lived experience. It places emphasis on the impact of the colonial technologies of subjectivities on the body and the mind of the colonised people (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). These are used to question and assault the humanity of the colonized people while celebrating and sanitizing that of the colonizer (Maldonado-Torres, 2010). Colonialists doubted the humanity of the colonized people and questioned whether they had souls, this thinking led to the politics of “Othering” (Maldonado-Torres, 2010).

Maldonado-Torres (2010) discusses the aspect of misanthropic skepticisms as an extension of the coloniality of being where-Black racism is used as a tool of ontological exclusion for black people while ‘ontological density’ is used for the validation of the White body and cultures. The Black people are excluded from the zone of being and are viewed to be nothing or stereotypes produced by coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2010). For instance, research on fatherhood focuses on western concepts of fatherhood and tends to view the African Black

father from the western perspective. This makes Blacks be open and vulnerable to all sorts of abuses from the West as an episteme and dominant cultural centre (Maldonado-Torres, 2010).

According to Fanon (1963), the concept of the *damne* from his book the 'Wretched of the Earth' refers to Blacks as condemned people whose being amounts to nothingness. Dastile and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013, p. 112), citing Maldonado-Torres (2007) wrote, "coloniality of being primarily refers to the normalization of the extraordinary events that take place in a place of war". These extraordinary events that have been normalized in Africa include poverty, violence, absent fathers, and HIV and AIDS (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). It is thus one of the tools to decipher mechanisms that continue to produce and put Africans in dire conditions (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Furthermore, the coloniality of being is about the need for the restoration of denied self-pride and sovereign subjectivity for colonized people (Seroto, 2018).

According to Ngwena (2018), African identities are often ascribed racial and cultural identities by European imperialists and erstwhile colonial systems. The ultimate goal is to create an African with a single simple identity that will continue to serve the interests of the colonial system (Ngwena, 2018). In contrast, African culture is not simple and cannot be reduced into simplicity. For example, in African culture, the father enjoyed the status of a patriarch. However, the patriarch during pre-colonial times did not exert power over the mother but was connected and dependent on other family members (Rabe, 2018). Fathering and mothering, according to African ideology, is a collective responsibility for the family, including the extended family and the community (Nathane & Khunou, 2021).

Nathane and Khunou (2021) state that in the Setswana and Sesotho traditions, a father's sister may take on the role of a father, especially when conducting traditional rituals in the absence of a father. Prinsloo and Bosch (2012) bring to our attention the fact that in the Northern Sotho language a father's sister is called *rakgadi*, which means female father. Similarly, in the Zulu culture, *ubabakazi* (female father) refers to the father's sister (Prinsloo & Bosch, 2012). The prefix *ra* in *rakgadi* and *baba* in *babakazi* are used to describe fathers in Northern Sotho and Zulu cultures. Therefore, the female father is afforded the same status as the father and often involved in serious family matters such as lobola negotiations and family disputes (Nathane & Khunou, 2021). This shows how complex and different are African concepts of fatherhood and fathering from Western concepts of fatherhood and fathering.

Europe maintained its dominance by forcing the colonized to learn their culture in a way that would reproduce and serve the status quo. Ngwena (2018, p. 18) states

“Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in mere ‘recovery’ of the past, which is waiting to be found and which when found will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity. Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within the narratives of the past”.

Identities are not only situated but they are constructed within a given historical and cultural context (Ngwena, 2018). However, the history of Africans is manipulated and is told by the colonizer, which is performed indigeneity. So too is fatherhood as a form of identity is shaped by external factors. Zulu fathers are influenced by cultural aspects, history, and political economy. According to Ngwena (2018), African identities are often racial and cultural constructions by European Imperialists and colonial systems. Quijano (2008) views this as a cognitive process and argues that Europe and America have placed themselves as the superior race because they have not only colonized other races but have managed to homogenize and distort their identities. Mamdani (2012), in his *Define and Rule* book, that the colonizers not only racially categorized Africans but further divided them according to ethnicity. Ndlovu (2019) contends that the effects of ‘define and rule’ are pathologizing. The divide and rule philosophy can also be seen according to class. For instance, African fathers who are in the high to middle socio-economic status often follow and are able to live according to western ways of fathering.

3.4.2. Coloniality of knowledge:

Mignolo (2008) sees the demonization of non-Western identities as intricately linked to the problem of the geopolitics of knowledge whereby the creation of knowledge is about the social world is limited to the West. For example, knowledge produced about fatherhood in Africa is rooted in Western epistemologies. Knowledges of the social world created and from the Global South, and other geopolitical spaces such as Asia is neutralized and rendered irrelevant to the colonial discourse. According to Quijano (2008, p. 204), the Eurocentric perspective of knowledge operates as a mirror that does not give a reliable reflection:

"When we look in our Eurocentric mirror, the image [of ourselves and the colonizer] that we see is not just composite but also necessarily partial and distorted. The tragedy is that we have all been led, knowingly or not, wanting it or not, to see and accept that image as our own and as belonging to us alone. In this way, we continue being what we are not. And as a result we can never identify our true problems, much less resolve them, except in a partial and distorted way".

The continuation of the denial of non-western cultures and humanity directly culminates in the universalisation and normalising of the social experiences and value systems of Eurocentrism and the west. This means that fathers understand and judge themselves as fathers through the western lens. Thus, African fathers are more distant from their culture and way of life in pursuit of ideal western fatherhood.

As discussed in the previous section, it is imperative to note that the coloniality of being and the coloniality of knowledge are interrelated concepts. Coloniality of knowledge is about how Europe and America have made and legitimized themselves to be the sole creators of the hegemonic knowledge order that has managed to silence and repress other forms of knowledge (Quijano, 2008). Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981) contends that coloniality of knowledge focuses on colonizing the minds of Africans by undervaluing their social practices such as culture, religion, education, and history. According to Makusha (2018) social fatherhood is an important concept in African culture since time immemorial, yet has only recently received attention. Tlostanova (2015, p. 39) defines coloniality of knowledge as a

" Modern syndrome, consisting in the fact that all models of cognition and thinking, seeing and interpreting the world and the people, the subject-object relations, the organization of disciplining divisions, entirely depend on the norms and rules created and imposed by Western Modernity since 16th Century, and offered to humankind as universal, delocalized and disembodied".

According to Grosfoguel (2011), knowledge as disembodied and dislocated is a western myth, and further claims that all knowledge is epistemically located, either at the dominant or subaltern side of power. Grosfoguel (2011) defines this as the geo and body politics of knowledge. Moreover, Grosfoguel (2011) asserts that the geo and body politics of knowledge is not merely about how knowledge is partial but is much more deeper . The focus should be on the "locus of enunciation, that is, the geo-political and body political location of the subject that speaks" (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 5). Western knowledge, hides the epistemic location of the

subject that speaks in order to produce Universal knowledge (Grosfoguel, 2011). For example, research on fatherhood may be written by researchers that are located in Africa; however, cognitively, they are writing from the west. Therefore, Western knowledge conceals the colonial power structures that produce it (Grosfoguel, 2011). Ndlovu (2018) suggests that the future of Africa cannot be fully realized without transcending the current colonial knowledge production system. For example, Grosfoguel (2011, p. 7) states that it is important to understand the difference between ‘epistemic location’ from the ‘social location’ and further offers that “ *the fact that one is socially located in the oppressed side of power of relations does not mean that he/she is epistemically thinking from a subaltern epistemic location*” . Therefore, writing about fatherhood in Africa does not necessarily mean that one is writing from an African perspective.

According to Seroto (2018), institutions such as schools, universities, and churches continue to produce Eurocentric knowledge. Universities are mostly targeted since they are a space where knowledge is produced and disseminated (Ndlovu, 2018). Ndlovu (2018, p. 100), quoting Odoro Hoppers and Richards, states, “*a university is a place where people think, researchers produce knowledge. Teachers communicate knowledge. Students acquire knowledge, skills, values and professional qualifications*”. For example, Universities often emphasise and, in some instances, only teach scientific ways of knowledge creation. It is the methods that are used to understand society, such as fatherhood and fathering in Africa.

Ndlovu (2018) further questions whether Western education systems in Africa serve the interests of the Africans or that of the colonial system. The knowledge that is being taught at African Universities is the knowledge that was created in the West. Thus leading to a continuation of Western concepts and Western ways of knowing (Saul, 2008). For instance, in the human sciences, theory development and application is considered to be very important as it sets the foundation for policy work and clinical practices (Bent-Goodley et al., 2017). However, Universities focus on teaching Western theories driven by western values, which makes issues of applicability in the African context difficult (kurevaskwesu & Maushe, 2020). According to Nathane and Khunou (2021), research on African fatherhood and masculinity neglect to theorise that fathering is a social process underpinned by African worldviews. Nsamenang (2010) adds that little research is known about African fathers, especially how they perform their fatherhood in their cultural contexts. kurevaskwesu and Maushe (2020) state that the interventions informed by western theories and models do not succeed in African settings. For example, the rate of absent Black fathers in South Africa continues to increase despite

many interventions and research. Therefore, there's a clear need to not only decolonize knowledge but include Afrocentric ways of knowing (kurevaskwesu & Maushe, 2020).

3.4.3. Coloniality of Power:

Quijano (2008) defines coloniality of power as the Eurocentric structures of power, control, and hegemony over non-European countries. It refers to the racial and epistemological hierarchies that are entangled with Euro centered capitalism (Seroto, 2018). Grosfoguel (2011) suggests that it is about the entanglement of multiple heterogeneous hierarchies. Thus for Grosfoguel (2011, p. 9) "race, gender, sexuality, spirituality and epistemology are not additive elements to the economic systems and political structures of the capitalist world system but are integrated of the European modern, colonial, capitalist, patriarchal world system". This control of power translates to African fathers not having power and authority in their daily lives and experiences, not having power in how they raise their children, and in how they choose to perform their fatherhood role.

According to Grosfoguel (2011), race becomes the organizing principle of the multiple hierarchies and divides those who belong in the zone of being and those who belong in the zone of none being. Similarly, Quijano (2008) also argues that the colonial concept of race and the hegemony of global capitalism are essential components of Eurocentrism and Western modernity. According to Ratele and Nduna (2018), statistics on fatherhood in South Africa show that colonialism and racially differentiated socio-economic levels negatively affect fathers and fathering. Research shows that one in every Black child did not live with their biological father (Ratele & Nduna, 2018). Race thus is an important aspect when theorizing about fatherhood in South Africa (Ratele & Nduna, 2018).

Race is a crucial component of modernity because it provided the colonizers the ability to classify and differentiate people in a hierarchical and unjust manner which placed Whites higher (Quijano, 2008). Race differentiated and ranked between the colonizer and the colonized, the superior and the inferior, the dominated and the dominant (Quijano, 2008). Whites were placed at a position of superiority and were ranked higher than other races, and Blacks were identified as the lowest inferior of all the racial groups and were subjected to slavery and serfdom (Quijano, 2008). Racial categorization formed the basis for Europe to become the center of the global economy and modern world system, "this it did first through

epistemic suppression, that is repressing the colonized forms knowledge production, models of the production of meaning, symbolic universe and models of expression and objectification and subjectivity" (Quijano, 2008, p. 189).

According to Saul (2008), there can never be decolonization without liberation, especially the economic liberation of the subordinate. Ratele and Nduna (2018) assert that one of the major reasons for causing the high absent rates in Black fathers is access to economic resources. Therefore, to build a society with more involved Black fathers and to decrease the rates of absent fathers, Black people need to be empowered economically. Decolonization without true liberation of the racialized and oppressed is false decolonization (Saul, 2008). Fanon, in the wretched of the earth, argues that African countries get independence but are still trapped in the capitalist colonial system (Fanon, 1963). This is because of their colonizers; the Western world holds the means of production of the colonial country (Fanon, 1963). The colonists know more about the indigenous people's country and the resources their country has to offer and "their economy has always developed outside their control, and as for the present and potential resources, their country's soil and subsoil, their knowledge is purely academic and approximate" (1963, p. 99). Therefore decolonization cannot be true when the colonized continue to be oppressed and subordinate to economic and political capitalist structures (Saul, 2008).

3.5. Afrocentrism:

Afrocentrism is a philosophical and theoretical perspective that is important for researching African identities (Mkabela, 2005). Smith (1998, p. 108) defines Afrocentrism as: "Referring to the underlying thoughts, patterns, beliefs, and values that explain how [African] communities should view the world [and themselves] ."

Afrocentrism's main argument is that Africans should be viewed firstly as humans and subjects of their own lives and not as de-humanized objects that Eurocentrism has made them be (Mkabela, 2005). Afrocentrism argues that Africans are not objects of history, but subjects of history with a culture and identity like other races. Afrocentrism is underpinned by the facts of cultural and historical contingency and the rejection of colonial stereotypes of Blacks in general and Africans in particular.

Researching fatherhood using Afrocentric worldviews will advance the decoloniality project by helping to build resilience in families against colonial power structures. Furthermore, there

has been a dearth of empirical evidence on African culture and how it influences the development of children (Abubakar, Wanjala, & Van Baar, 2017). Thus, studying fatherhood using the Afrocentric theory will add to knowledge about African culture and child rearing practices that have been silenced by Eurocentric knowledge. Amos (2013) adds that advancing African ways of fathering is better than western ways of fathering since all fathers from different socioeconomic standings could easily access African ways of fathering.

According to Hoskins (1992), Afrocentrism is an attempt to restore what Eurocentrism has stripped away from African people; that is, their culture, their identity, their history, their worldviews, and their futures. This theory argues that Eurocentrism stripped away how African fatherhood was performed pre colonialism. Furthermore, Hoskins (1992) offers that Africans can never fully move on and be independent because they are not rooted in their history and cultures. They do not acknowledge their achievements, which influences their interpretation of a successful future. Langmia (2016, p. 6) states that “without culture, humankind loses its dignity, and without dignity, one is not fit to live” . Eurocentrism's main goal was to distort African people's perceptions about themselves and placed them at an inferior, subordinate position that depends on the superior and civilized West (Hoskins, 1992). Malcom X (1963), in one of his speeches, expressed the following:

"The Black man has no self-confidence, he has no confidence in his own race because the White man (European) destroyed you and my past; he destroyed our knowledge of our culture, and by having destroyed it, now we don't know of any achievement, any accomplishment, and as long as you can be convinced that you never did anything, you can never do anything." (as cited in (Hoskins, 1992, p. 249).

Afrocentrism is a philosophical project for Africans to be at the center and not at the periphery of knowledge creation and knowledge dissemination (Mkabela, 2005). This means that African fathers must be at the centre of knowledge creation and dissemination and should be the ones creating knowledge about themselves and for themselves. The discipline of human sciences tends to generate knowledge that is rooted in particular ideological and philosophical views (Kershaw, 1992). Asante (2008) mentions three broad world views that are Afrocentric, Eurocentric, and Asioncentric, which impact on the interpretation and meaning of basic terms like '*human being*.' Asante (2008, p. 47) provides an example to illustrate the difference between the world views; "Europeans seek to conquer and subdue nature, Asians flee from the illusions of the world while African seek coexistence with nature and build a harmonious

relationship with all the elements of the universe." Afrocentrism as philosophy argues that consciousness determines being, which means that the way that man views and conceptualizes the world is what defines his life chances more so than exposure to or deprivation from various material conditions(Harris, 1998).

According to Harris (1998), ontology and epistemology are essential components of Afrocentrism. Afrocentric ontology is communalistic and views everything to be connected, the physical, the unseen, nature, and every person. It believes in the notion that we are; therefore, I exist, which demonstrates the co-independence between man and nature (Harris, 1998). For instance, fatherhood in the Zulu culture was never performed in isolation, but every family member participated in raising the children and providing for the family (Mkhize, 2006). Asante (2008) suggests that Africans understand themselves by accepting their worldview of reality. Also, the African worldview places them at the center of reality that co-exists with nature and seeks harmony, whereas Eurocentrism seeks to conquer and own nature (Asante, 2008).

Afrocentric research contends that knowledge produced about Africans must include the historical and contemporary realities of Black people (Kershaw, 1992). Kershaw (1992, p. 160) further notes that the significant purpose of Afrocentric knowledge is to re-humanize the African subject. For Asante (2008, p. 49), "Afrocentricity is the ideological centerpiece in human regeneration" and a method for discovering the truth about intercultural communication. However, for Afrocentric knowledge to be produced, it needs to liberate and humanize, issues of power and inequality, especially economic inequality, therefore, have to be addressed (Asante, 2008). Ratele and Nduna (2018) argue that the state of South African fathers is considered to be in crisis. Afrocentrism proposes that in order to improve the state of African fathers, research rooted in Afrocentrism which liberates, needs to be conducted. Asante, adds (2008) that in societies with different cultural perspectives, the perspectives of those with power rules perspectives. Power relations not only dictate what is right, logical, and reasonable, but those in power set political, economic, and cultural limits for those without power (Asante, 2008). Therefore, for effective intercultural exchange issues of power require interrogation.

Adams and Estrada-Villalta (2017) express that colonial violence is when "practitioners draw upon hegemonic knowledge forms developed in Eurocentric settings and impose them on the global South. Thus colonial violence continues in everyday settings, especially through knowledge formations(Adams & Estrada-Villalta, 2017). The focus of Afrocentric research is

on forms of coloniality that continue presently in contemporary society long after colonial rule ended (Apfelbaum, 2002). Power and the coloniality of knowledge continue to dictate which voices will be heard and which voices will be silenced (Apfelbaum, 2002). Apfelbaum (2002 p. 80) offers that "personal memories [indigenous people] cannot be shared because they are meaningless to others; we risk being seen as hallucinating. Then there is no other alternative but to forget. To become silenced and alienated from our own society". Furthermore, the inability to speak or express themselves not only alienates but entrenches the subordinate people's feelings of shame (Apfelbaum, 2002).

Afrocentrism argues that writing about fatherhood from a Eurocentric lens does not empower Africans but further alienates them and increases their sense of shame, especially when they do not live up to the ideal father. According to Morana, Dussel, and Jauregui (2008), modernity and violence are intertwined; moreover, the encounter between Europeans and non-Europeans has always been defined by violence. For instance, slavery, genocide, land invasion, and exploitation are violent acts that have led to the trauma experienced by indigenous people. Thus the modern subject is a product of a traumatic origin (Morana et al., 2008).

3.6. Social Constructionism:

In order to understand social identities and indeed knowledges about them, we must begin by acknowledging that both are socially constructed. This theory argues that Fatherhood as an identity is a social construction. Therefore, social constructionism helps us to understand not just indigenous cultures and how Western knowledges about social identities are situated knowledges, but also that all of them are socially and historically contingent. Hence, social constructionism argues that non-Western notions about their social identities must be understood within their social and historical context. Fatherhood cannot be understood in isolation, but social history needs to be considered. Therefore, social constructionism is concerned about identity creation and views knowledge and the truth as socially constructed and not discovered (Andrews, 2012; Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Galbin (2014) states that social constructionism is also referred to as the social construction of reality, arguing that everyday life experiences are a construct of social reality. This means that research on Black fathers which is rooted in Eurocentric ideology, is not the truth but is a social construct. Moreover, this gives evidence that the negative research on fatherhood in South Africa may not be the absolute truth but just constructions of those in power. That means that

how the social world is understood is dependent on the subjective experiences of individuals and the community (Andrews, 2012).

Galbin (2014) argues that social constructionism views language and communication as playing an essential role in how humans understand their social world. Reality is not only socially constructed, but it exists as both subjective and objective (Bury, 2008). For example, objective reality, such as human behavior, is interpreted and given meaning by subjective humans, and this subjective knowledge, in turn, shapes the objective reality (Bury, 2008; Galbin, 2014). Thus research on fathers in South Africa, which is rooted in Eurocentric perspectives, is considered to be subjective. However, due to the West's power, that research becomes an objective reality and the ultimate truth. Moreover, for Andrews (2012), objective reality results in routinization and habitualization, which form a general store of knowledge for future generations.

This store of knowledge is developed, maintained, and transmitted in social situations (Andrews, 2012). Also, these objective reality and knowledge are passed on through interaction and communication in everyday lives. Thus this constructed subjective knowledge has to be understood as objective knowledge by people in society (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Therefore, this theory argues that knowledge on fatherhood in South Africa is highly subjective and thus one sided. This is extremely dangerous as it the knowledge that is communicated everyday through media and other social interactions and eventually will be internalized by African fathers.

According to Andrews (2012), the experience of society as subjective reality is transmitted through primary and secondary socialization. This socialization occurs mainly in the micro and macro levels of society as it is internalized by individuals primarily through language (Andrews, 2012). Language can be defined as a vocal sign system and is considered to be the most crucial of human society (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). People therefore construct reality by sharing the meaning of a sign systems (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Therefore according to Galbin (2014, p. 90), "language is more than a way of connecting people. It is an important aspect of the process of knowledge and identity creation. People exist in language". Thus the Zulu language becomes an important aspect in the construction of fatherhood as an identity.

della Porta and Keating (2008) note that human beings are meaning-making individuals and social scientists should be concerned about studying the meaning that influences peoples' behavior rather than focusing on universal laws that are external to individuals. Gergen (1973)

identified four key assumptions that underpin the social constructionism approach, as discussed below:

1. A critical stance toward taken for granted knowledge:

Social constructionism argues for a critical stance in understanding knowledge, power and their role in the construction of the social world and social identities. For instance, to understand notions of Zulu fatherhood, there needs to be a critical evaluation of the knowledge produced and subsequent power relations.

2. Historical and cultural specificity

According to Hibberd (2005), knowledge and identity are socially constructed and susceptible to historical and cultural changes. Social constructionism demonstrates how everyday cultural concepts like fatherhood, motherhood, Black, White are created and reproduced through historical processes within institutions and culture (Kang, Lessard, Heston, & Nordmarken, n.d.). It is Individuals who give meaning to the different cultural concepts (Kang et al., n.d.). Thus how we understand the world and human behavior depends on where one is situated in the world (Hibberd, 2005).

3. Knowledge sustained by social processes

It is postulated that social processes sustain knowledge. For example, through daily social interactions between people, knowledge is created and not through observed objective observation of the world (Burr, 2015). This makes language to be important in social constructionism (Burr, 2015). According to Berger and Luckmann (1966, p. 15), “the conversation is the most important means of maintaining, modifying, and reconstructing subjective reality”. In order to empower African fathers, knowledge that is true and seeks to empower African fathers needs to be produced and shared amongst African men. Therefore, changing the discourse on Zulu fathers is what will emancipate African men.

4. Knowledge and social action go together

According to Burr (1995), social construction and social action go together. Hence, every construction invites a different action from human beings. For example, how we construct fatherhood will be followed by how a father needs to behave. Moreover, Social constructionism suggests that some constructions of the world receive preference while some are excluded (Burr, 2015). Therefore, power relations are often involved in the construction of knowledge (Bury, 2008). The knowledge produced according to positivist and empirical rules is often favoured over knowledge produced that does not follow empirical values. Social

constructionism acknowledges alternative and silenced knowledges and thus has applicability for this study.

3.6.1. Social constructionism, fatherhood and the Epistemological position (summary):

Social Constructionism challenges the objectivism epistemological position in the humanities and social sciences (Burr, 2005). It takes a radical stance against the positivist approach by questioning concepts of truth, rationality, objectivity, and individualization (Hibberd, 2005). Positivist research argues that identities and knowledges are objective realities (della Porta & Keating, 2008). However, social constructionism advances that identity and knowledge is subjective. Therefore, research produced on fatherhood represents a subjective reality, and this is exacerbated by the idea that reality is rooted in Western, positivist epistemologies. Therefore, it is impossible to understand historical and social events without studying individuals' perceptions of their world (della Porta & Keating, 2008). Thus knowledge is context-specific and subject to historical and cultural values and practices (Galbin, 2014).

3.7. Conclusion:

This chapter has discussed decoloniality, Afrocentrism, and social constructionism as theories that will be used to understand how Zulu fathers in Eshowe construct their identities. A lot of research that uses decoloniality and social constructionism theories tends to focus on issues that deal with the colonial power structures in society, education, and political-economic factors. However, they seem to focus less on the family and fatherhood in particular. According to Cornthassel and Scow (2017), mundane everyday things such as fatherhood and families are important as they offer sources of resilience against colonial power structures. Research on fatherhood in South Africa is usually conducted against the backdrop of Eurocentric ideals that promote Western values of how fatherhood should be performed (Adesina, 2010). This not only continues the colonial domination but forces researchers to understand African fathers from a purely a biological and Eurocentric perspective that is potentially alienating to Africanity (Adesina, 2010).

Fathering and mothering, according to African ideology, is a collective responsibility for the family, including the extended family and the community (Nathane & Khunou, 2021). Lesejane's (2006) work on fatherhood from an African perspective informs us about social fathers and the role that they play in the African family. Furthermore, the example shows how African fatherhood does not emphasize biology and secondly it shows how social roles are different from sex and gender.

Empirical evidence shows that western notions of fatherhood are mostly accessible to middle-class fathers, thus excluding a majority of African fathers (Amos, 2013; Nathane & Khunou, 2021).

Moreover, Nsamenang (2010) asserts that using western notions of fatherhood to set benchmarks for policies on fatherhood and families has a pathologizing effect on African fatherhood and family life. According to Bent-Goodley et al. (2017), Afrocentric theory can assist policy makers and researchers in developing policies and interventions relevant to human social relations. Bent-Goodley et al. (2017, p. 4) posit that Afrocentric theory "is not just an idea but also a way of thinking, acting, and living to advance social justice and human rights".

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.0. Introduction

Research on fatherhood and masculinity in South Africa has relied on Western research approaches, including Western ways of conceptualizing and theorizing fatherhood. This research is grounded in the indigenous knowledge systems research paradigm and the Afrocentric methodology (Chilisa, 2012a; Hoskins, 1992; Schreiber, 2000). The Afrocentric research methodology is a resistance method that is counterhegemonic to knowledges that are produced by colonial and Eurocentric methods. As a methodology, one could also argue that it is a worldview, a locus of enunciation, or prism through which the African is seen as a subject of history and not an object of history. As part of the broad tropes of decolonial epistemologies, the Afrocentric method seeks to rewrite knowledge, culture, and social identities as products of situated practices.

It is important to note that indigenous knowledge systems and Afrocentric research may not necessarily be synonyms, but they are sometimes used interchangeably in this research study. Afrocentric research design favors approaches that are rooted in indigenous people 'realities and takes into consideration their history, social environment, the physical, and metaphysical realities (Pellerin, 2012). The study was conducted in Eshowe, KwaZulu-Natal. African research design allowed the researcher to conduct research that accommodated African values and principles. This chapter discusses the research strategies and methods used to collect the data. Included in the chapter are the researcher's field experiences and challenges. It is important to remember that the study attempted to answer the following research questions.

- How do the Zulu speaking people in rural KZN understand fatherhood as an identity?
- How does Zulu culture and traditions influence their conceptions of fatherhood?
- What are the connections, ruptures, and differences between Zulu and dominant Eurocentric notions of fatherhood?

4.1. Research Approach:

Social constructionism was used as an approach. Social constructionism is a radical approach used to understand human beings and the world in the social sciences and the humanities (Burr, 2015). According to Burr (2015, p. 222), the social constructionism approach argues that “our knowledges of the world, including our understanding of human beings, is a product of thought rather than grounded in an observable, external reality.” This means that theories, knowledge and facts are socially constructed and brought into existence by communities, scientists, and those in power (Hibberd, 2005). Social constructionism problematizes the theory of objective truth and argues that there are different versions of the truth (Burr, 2015). This approach is relevant for this study as it allowed for another version of the truth on fatherhood to be heard. This study focused on notions of fathers from Eshowe.

4.2 Research Design:

This study is decolonial and uses an Afrocentric research design. The Afrocentric research design allows for exploratory research design (Dlamini, 2018). The Afrocentric research design’s primary purpose is to liberate African people from a cultural order that is modern/colonial/ Western/White/Eurocentric and Christian-centric (Grosfoguel, 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Afrocentric research design is about recovering and recreating research using indigenous people's ontological and epistemological philosophies (Lee, 2009). The African research design argues for African-centered researchers whereby the African person, their experiences, traditions, and culture become the center of analysis (Dlamini, 2018). As such, Afrocentric research design is, by its very nature, a resistant imaginary. They are a product of decolonizing the Western research designs by reconfiguring the power relations between the researcher and the researched, the knower and the known, and giving greater prominence to the voices and views of the indigenous people.

This exploratory design allowed for the gathering of in-depth knowledge about fathers from the Zulu people’s perspective. Moreover, This research design allowed participants to provide accurate, in-depth information and possibly strengthen African people's morale and self-realization (Herskovits & Mintz, 1990). According to Mkabela (2005), Afrocentricity is a philosophical and theoretical perspective that focuses on cultural location over the topic or the data studied. Afrocentric research favours cultural and social immersion instead of scientific

distance as the best approach to understanding African phenomena (Mkabela, 2005). This research study is based on Asante's two principles of Ma'at and Nommo (Reviere, 2001). Ma'at "is the quest for justice, truth, and harmony," and in the research setting, research must be used as a tool to seek for truth and justice (Reviere, 2001, p. 711). Nommo means "the productive word," which refers to creating knowledge as a tool used to improve human relations (Reviere, 2001, p. 712). This study has achieved the principle of Ma'at as the researcher engaged in a quest to find the truth and justice about African notions of fatherhood amongst Zulu people in Eshowe.

The researcher was not an objective, detached observer but was an observer who was rooted in the community and understood its cultural and traditional values. Asante (1990) argues that a researcher needs to have the following three characteristics to be considered Afrocentric: a) They hold themselves responsible for uncovering hidden, subtle, racist theories that may be embedded in current methodologies. b) Work to legitimize the centrality of African ideals and values as a valid frame of reference for acquiring and examining data. c) Maintain inquiry rooted in a strict interpretation of place. To apply the principle of Nommo, this study tried to deconstruct the notions of fatherhood amongst Zulu men in Eshowe. Research on Fathers in South Africa tends to negatively portray the African father. Research tends to focus on the high and increasing numbers of absent fathers amongst African people. This research argues that there are many factors that contribute to the high numbers, the Eurocentric notions of how fatherhood is understood and the political and economic factors that render the African father powerless and thus not able to live up to the Western concepts of fatherhood. Further to meeting Asante's principles, the study also met Rievere's (2001) five canons: Ukweli, Utulivu, Uhaki, Ujamaa, and *Kujitoa*. These are further discussed below:

1. Ukweli:

Ukweli refers to the groundedness of the research in the community experiences; this means that the participants' experiences should be taken as the truth (Reviere, 2001). According to Herskovits and Mintz (1990), many Eurocentric scholars have been inaccurately writing about Africans and their culture. Therefore the context and location of the study become a critical aspect in the research process (Reviere, 2001). For example, this study was conducted in Eshowe amongst Zulu people; therefore, their experiences should have authority over determining what is to be considered true. Knowledge in African communities is mainly for

the advancement of the community. According to Dlamini, this allows the community to remain the rightful owners of the knowledge created.

2. Utulivu:

According to Reviere (2001), this canon refers to the concept of justice and requires that the researcher refrains from promoting, creating, or exaggerating division between the participants. Utulivu is about bringing harmony and peace amongst the community members. This study achieved Utulivu by uniting participants to discuss a matter that not affects fathers but affects every member of the family. According to the participants this study was the first opportunity where leaders, elders and community members got a chance to openly discuss fatherhood and issues surrounding fatherhood in Eshowe.

3. Uhaki and Ujamaa

Requires that the research process must be fair to all participants, and the Afrocentric researcher must seek to maintain harmony between the groups (Reviere, 2001). Moreover, Ujamaa requires that the researcher rejects the researcher/participant separation and encourages the spirit of communalism in the research process (Reviere, 2001). Ujamaa was achieved by the researcher consciously researcher guarding against power relations between the researcher and the research participants and also between the participants themselves. For example, the researcher began the sharing circle by reminding the research participants about the principles of Ubuntu and communalism which are embedded in the Zulu culture. Furthermore, conducting the sharing circles and interviews in IsiZulu further assisted in decreasing power relations that may arise due to language barriers.

4. Kujitola:

Kujitola requires that the researcher focuses on how knowledge is constructed over the need to meet research objectives and outcomes of the research process (Reviere, 2001). The Concept of Kujitola argues that the Eurocentric notion of objectivity and value-free research is deceitful as what can be considered to be value-free could be a Eurocentric subjectivity. This study used Zulu values to explore notions of fatherhood amongst Zulu men in Eshowe. Thus the study presents views that are subjective to the people of Eshowe and rooted in their belief systems and personal experiences.

4.3.1. The location of the Study:

The research was conducted in Eshowe, a small town located in KwaZulu- Natal (KZN) under Umlalazi municipality. KwaZulu-Natal is a coastal province of South Africa re-named in 1994 when the Zulu Bantustan of KwaZulu and the Natal province were merged (Lotha, 2019). KwaZulu-Natal is situated in the South East of the country along the Indian Ocean shoreline (Lotha, 2019). The capital city is Pietermaritzburg, and the major city is Durban (Lotha, 2019). According to statistics SA mid-year population estimates KZN has the second largest population of 11.3 million in South Africa; it is the third smallest province with an area of 94361 square kilometers (Statistics SA, 2019).

The main language in KwaZulu-Natal is IsiZulu. About 77.8% of the population speak IsiZulu, and only 13.2% of speakers speak English. KwaZulu-Natal has been generally known to be the birthplace of the Zulu people. It has still been characterized as more traditional and cultural than any other society. The Umlalazi area is chosen as a study site because of the rich cultural history and is considered one of the rural areas that are deeply rooted in their culture. Thus it is assumed that more in-depth data will be collected from there.

The Umlalazi municipality is one of five local municipalities situated in the King Cetshwayo District. Umlalazi is made up of three towns, namely, Eshowe, Mtunzini, and Gingindlovu. Umlalazi consists of 14 tribal authorities. Tribal authority can be defined as local leaders, chiefs appointed by the community to govern the community (Amtaika, 1996). The tribal authorities provide several governmental services, which include the promotion of law and order, settling minor disputes, and the allocation of tribal land held in trust (Amtaika, 1996). Umlalazi municipality has the largest geographical area for municipalities in South Africa, with a total land area of 2 217 km² (Stats SA, 2015). The population for Umlalazi is 213 601 people, with IsiZulu being the dominating language at 92% and English at 4%. The education level is 23% for people who completed high school and 5.7% for people who got a higher education (Stats SA, 2015). The overall unemployment rate is 35.2%, with 45.1% for unemployed youth.

Figure 4.1 Map of KwaZulu Natal:



Eshowe was selected because it is the oldest town of European settlement in Zululand. It is considered the administrative and service center of the Umlalazi municipality. Eshowe is a town that is rich in the history of Zulu Kings, War, and British colonialism (Ballard, 1983). For example, in the late 1800s, the arrival of the Norwegian missionaries who not only built homes and churches but were determined to convert the Zulu Nation to Christianity. Eshowe is the birthplace of King Cetshwayo. King Cetshwayo was the last King of the independent Zulu nation (Ballard, 1983). Thus, Eshowe is rich in cultural and colonial history, making it the ideal location for this study and getting in-depth information.

Eshowe was also selected as the location of the study because Eshowe is the birthplace of my father. I am familiar with the culture in terms of beliefs, customs, and traditions. This study is not about studying 'other' cultures and 'other' societies but about my people and studying my culture. Methodologically, it can also be framed within the broader framework of indigenous knowledge research because the Eshowe Zulu community is also where I come from and the culture that I identify with in terms of my upbringing and socialization.

Eshowe consists mainly of commercial farming that stretches from the West of Eshowe to Gingidlovu and North of Mtunzini. The average household income per annum is; 16.6% earn between 76 401- 153 800; 14.7% of the population earn between R19601- R38200; 14.3% earn

between R9601- 19600; 13.1% percentage of the population earn between R38201-76400; 12.5% percentage of the people make between R153801- R307-600 And 11.8% percentage of the people have No Income (Stats SA 2015). This shows that Eshowe has a high unemployment rate, with most of the population living below the poverty line. The poverty is worsened by the fact that development is tempered by red tape and bureaucracy, and the fact that 80% of the Eshowe population lives in isolated and remote areas, make it more difficult to reach and provide services to the people. (Dardagan, 2010).

Figure 4.2: Welcome to Eshowe Sign



Table 4.1: Names of Sections in Eshowe (village

	Name of section /isgodi
1	Mahudlu
2	Siphezi
3	Thintumkhaba
4	Mbizo I
5	Mbizo II
6	Ziqwaqweni
7	Mtilombo
8	Mhlathuzana
9	Ngeza
10	Mncongo
11	Nyathini
12	Mandawe
13	Ncemaneni
14	Sqwanjan
15	Zindophi
16	Mabambelela
17	Maqeleni
18	Mfenyane
19	Makhilimba

4.3.2. Political customs in Research site:

Two authorities govern Eshowe: the modern government authority and the traditional tribal authority. The modern western oriented authority operated by giving the researcher access to western institutes that are usually located in the Central Business District (CBD), such as the hospital, the schools, and other legal spaces. However, if the researcher wanted to work with the indigenous community of Eshowe, then the researcher needed to seek for permission from the tribal authority. This study was located in an indigenous community, and I then had to seek for approval from the tribal authority, which included Izinduna and Inkosi. This was a process that proved not to be easy, as I have experienced in the study. The tribal authority in Eshowe is highly respected by members of the community, including the people who work in government. For instance, there are no police stations in the village itself, but the only single police station you will find is in the CBD.

Criminal acts are reported to the tribal authority unless a serious offense has been created, such as a death. For other matters, whether they are criminal or civil, for example, robbery, family disputes, the tribal authority will handle it. Also, no event or any kind of gathering can take place at any community members' home without informing the tribal authority. This meant that I could not show up at any person's house and hold a gathering such as a focus group meeting or sharing circle without informing the tribal authority. The community needed to be notified by izinduna about my study. The advantage was that it made the community aware of the study and prepared them for my possible arrival at their households. However, the disadvantage about participants knowing about the study in advance was that it could lead to the possibility of them discussing the study which could have opened up the study to possible research errors such as response biasness (McGrath, Kim & Hough, 2010).

The Izinduna and Inkosi met three times a week at the royal tribal court. For instance, they met on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, from 8 am until 3 pm. In this tribal court, Inkosi Mpungose and Izinduna would call the community members inside (case by case) to state their case. The community members are invited on a first-come, first-serve basis, and Inkosi and Izinduna would listen to their situation and give a verdict. However, before individuals can approach the traditional court, they need first to contact and present their case to their local Nduna. Their Induna will determine whether he or she can solve the case themselves, or they need the input and decision of the other Izinduna and Inkosi. This process made it easy for me to meet them and get permission to conduct my study at Eshowe.

4.3.3. A personal journey into gaining entry into Eshowe Village

My research began in 2018, shortly after receiving ethical clearance approval number: HSS/1978/017D from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

The community of Eshowe is governed by Western authority and tribal authority. The Tribal authority consists of the chief “inkosi” Mpungose and her 19 (elders) izinduna. Each Nduna has a specific land and area known as isigodi that they govern, as outlined in the table below. Each Induna oversees Isigodi (an area) allocated to them by the chief. The people in the community, before reporting anything to Inkosi they first must report to their local Induna, who will assist them and go with them to Inkosi. This is the same process that I had to follow to

gain access to the village. I first had to seek my grandparents' assistance and approval about the study I wanted to conduct in Eshowe. Once I got support from my grandparents, then my grandparents were the ones who took the message to our local nduna. Once the nduna approved of my study, he invited me to the tribal court to inform and seek for permission from the rest of Izinduna and Inkosi.

The nduna seemed excited about the project and was very supportive in every step of my research project. He took great care to help me prepare for my appearance in the tribal court and made sure that he was present every time I was there. He would inform me of how to address the elders, what I should carry with me, i.e., my ID document and my grandparents' proof of residence documents.

The tribal court has no formal process but worked on a first-come, first-serve basis, from 8 am until 3 pm. I arrived at 8 am at the tribal court but found a long queue of people, and my turn only began at 2 pm. However, my patience was rewarded because I got the chance to state my study in front of the elders and in front of some community members. I thus got to hear not only the elders' views but the views of some community members. The community members well received the study, and they were very interested in speaking about fatherhood and fathers and the issues they were facing.

The elders (izinduna) agreed that it was a good study, and I was given provisional acceptance pending the chief's final approval, who was not present for the meeting. My request was taken up to the chief, and I then had to wait about two months before I can get a reply from the nkosi, giving me full permission to conduct my study at Eshowe. The two-month waiting period was difficult because I was ready to start my data collection, and I was working on a timeline that I wanted to adhere to strictly. This was my first experience of how much the Eshowe community followed protocol and obeyed and respected the order of things. Thus without tribal authority approval, I could not do anything; if I had started the study without permission, I would have been fined to bring a goat or a sheep as a sign of asking for forgiveness.

This total surrender to authority was very challenging and exciting. I had cried to my supervisors feeling like I was running out of time, but my supervisors, who are Zulu, understood the Zulu processes and calmed me down. This experience taught me so much about Zulu's high regard for protocol and process. When they were able to permit me, they gave me all the assistance and time that I needed from them, and they assisted me by informing and inviting other participants to be part of the study.

Thus I learned that I needed to let go of all the academic structures, the timelines, the correct procedure, and focus on what was important at that point in time, which was following culture and due procedures and fully embrace being part of the community and partake in every cultural aspect of what they believe. This is what Afrocentric research is all about. Mkabela (2005) stated that culture forms the nucleus of Afrocentric research that is research needs to be sensitive to all cultural aspects. Therefore, Afrocentric research is about being part of the community; what happens in the community directs and dictates the study.

4.4.0. The Sampling Process

4.4.1. Sampling:

The study used non-probability purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a technique used to ensure that the participants are experts about the cultural domain that the researcher is studying (Tongco, 2007). The study targeted participants who are viewed to be the custodians of the Zulu culture, and these were the elders and headsmen (Izinduna). According to Tongco (2007), purposive sampling is also known as judgment sampling because the researcher has to depend on their judgment to find participants who have knowledge and experience and are will to share their information.

My inclusion criteria for the study was that participants need to be considered knowledgeable of the Zulu culture and processes. These included the indigenous sages and the philosophical sages. Sages are elders, members of cultural communities, diviners, pastors, and other key informants identified by the researcher (Bodunrin, 1981). The indigenous sages are represented by the grandfathers aged between 70 years to 92 years. In African philosophy, grandparents are considered wise and knowledgeable and are the transmitters of culture (Ezenkwe, 2015). The Izinduna represented the philosophical sages; Oruka (1978) defines philosophic sagacity as the ideas of those who are considered to be wise in the community and offer advice and guidance in their communities. Each Induna was from a specific area/ sgodi that they govern, this meant that I had a representative from each Sgodi which might have been difficult to attain with the assistance of Izinduna.

The study's actual sample comprised of two sharing circles and 20 individual interviews with men and women whose ages ranged from 50 years to 75+ years of age. Therefore my total

number of participants was fifty. Initially, the research was supposed to be about men, and the sample was supposed to comprise only men. However, when I got to the research location, things had changed; women were now given opportunities to be Izinduna. I, therefore, could not exclude them from the study. Thus the actual sample had forty men and ten women. Below is a table description of the sample.

Table 4.2: Sample

No	Data collection method	Number of participants	Range of Age	Gender	Venue
1	Sharing Circle (grandparents)	10	70-90	Men only	Mahludu area in a traditional hut
2	Sharing Circle (Izinduna/elders)	20	45-92 years	Women and Men	Tribal court
3	Interviews (community members and elders)	20	45-92	Women and Men	Eziphezi community hall

4.5.0. Data collection:

The Field Work:

The data collection is divided into two parts; the first part is the pre-data collection process, which includes the recruitment and training of research assistants. The second part focuses on the data collection and will consist of the sharing circle focus group and interview methods. Included as a part of the data collection was collecting folklore and proverbs about men and fathers in the Zulu culture. However, before moving into that, it is imperative to begin by illuminating the dynamics in the research site in terms of not only geo-political location but also the demographics, etc.

4.5.1. Preparation for data collection: Training of indigenous research assistants

I had two indigenous research assistants who assisted me in this study. Indigenous research assistants are often referred to as insider research assistants living in the community of interest to the researcher (Angotti & Sennott, 2015). An advantage of indigenous research assistants is that they have access to the social processes and interactions of their communities (Angotti & Sennott, 2015; Schatz, Angotti, Madhavan, & Sennott, 2014). Thus using the indigenous research assistants assisted in facilitating access to the research participants and improve efficiency in the data collected (Angotti & Sennott, 2015). However, according to Merton (1972), one disadvantage of indigenous research assistants is that they are not immune to being biased and tend to view issues from their context and their social status in the community. I recruited my indigenous research assistants through the help of the nduna from the Mahudlu section. The indigenous research assistants were both born and resided in Eshowe and knew about the cultural processes and rituals.

The indigenous research assistants are rich in cultural knowledge but lack understanding of the academic research processes to assist them. I had to train them so that they could understand my study and be able to participate in it critically. In total, I had two Workshops on fatherhood with the indigenous research assistants. The workshop's first purpose was to educate the indigenous ethnographers about the study, and I asked them to collect folklores and Zulu proverbs on fathers. We analyzed and discussed the folklores and proverbs' meanings and discussed how the proverbs influence fathers' behaviours. This workshop facilitated their understanding of the study and also changed how they approached and recruited participants. The advantage of my indigenous research assistants is that were familiar with cultural processes and procedures and, unlike me, were permanent residents of Eshowe. Although my father is from Eshowe, I grew up in Johannesburg, which is 575km away; therefore, my knowledge is limited about Eshowe. My research assistants were there to guide and assist me and helped to inform me about things that I had forgotten about the community of Eshowe.

4.5.2. Conducting Sharing circles: A method of data collection

I conducted two sharing circles. The sharing circle is a tribal method used for sharing and discussing information in a group. The sharing circles, which is also referred to as the talking circle, are a form of indigenous focus group (Redman-Maclaren, Mills, & Tommbe, 2014). Indigenous focus groups emphasize a conversational and interactive method (Redman-Maclaren et al., 2014). The sharing circle is based on mutual respect and not hierarchy (Drawson, Toombs, & Mushquash, 2017). This study will employ the talking circle approach and, in particular, adopt Lavallée's concept of the sharing circle. The sharing circle's main principle is that all aspects of the individual are shared, such as the heart, the mind, spirit, and body, and permission needs to be sought from the participants to share the discussions (Lavallee, 2009). The researcher in the sharing circle assumes the participant's role, which emphasizes the principle of equality amongst the people in the sharing circle. The sharing circle is considered a highly culturally sensitive method that will allow for gathering rich data (Lavallee, 2009 ; Rothe, Ozegovick, & Carroll, 2009).

The first sharing circle I conducted was with the Eshowe community's indigenous sages, which was 1hour 47 minutes. Indigenous sages are people from the community who are considered to be wise and possess great knowledge about their culture, and can teach others about their culture (Masolo, 2016). The indigenous sages' ages ranged from 70 to 90+; these were men who were highly respected because of their age. Culturally, they were considered the elders of the community.

The first sharing circle meeting was held in the Mahudlu area in my grandfather's homestead in a rondavel. A rondavel is usually a place where men would gather and have conversations, especially during an event. I informed the nduna and my participants about the meeting that I would like to host for the philosophical sages of Eshowe. The nduna and my research assistants informed the sages about the meeting, which took place at 13:00. When the sages came in, we introduced ourselves and explained to them that this is not a formal meeting but was a simple conversation between the sages of Eshowe on Zulu men and fatherhood.

When all the men gathered in the traditional Zulu hut, I introduced myself and the study and the purpose of the study. However, after the introductions, I noticed that there were some tensions, people were not speaking, and I unsuccessfully tried some ice breaker games that I learned about when conducting focus groups. I then realized that perhaps, there are certain topics that men can speak freely about with other men but may find it difficult to speak freely

about with women (Williams & Heikes, 1993). Williams and Heikes (1993) argue that gender just like race-ethnicity and class and form barriers to building rapport with the participants. I knew then that I needed to change my strategy and my mentality to get an in-depth discussion around the topic of fatherhood. I wanted them to be free and open enough to share a part of their lives and experiences around fatherhood. For them to be free, I had to excuse myself from participating and relied on my male research assistants, whom I have trained on this study. This worked in favor of the chosen research paradigm. One of the most important philosophies of doing research using IKS is the issue of power relations. Researchers have more power than their research participants, and doing research with indigenous communities, the researcher needs to share that power with his/her research participants, and equality should be at the center of the research process (Datta et al., 2015).

The second sharing circle was with izinduna, the leaders of the Eshowe community, and lasted for 2 hours. The sharing circle discussion took place in the tribal court hall in umlalazi area. This sharing circle had about 20 participants; the number was high according to qualitative Western focus group principles. Traditional sharing circles consisted of all community members, and these had numbers as high as 50+ people participating in the discussions. The interviews were conducted in the community center with izinduna and other community members. Izinduna, in this study, represents the philosophical sages; Philosophical sages for Oruka (1978) are critically oriented and emphasize rational explanations and justifications over customary explanations. Therefore the philosophic sagacity interview will give the researcher access to a large body of knowledge from the sages that are not available in the written literature (Chilisa, 2012b). The izinduna are the tribal authority in the community and also possess cultural knowledge. Still, most of them are younger than the indigenous sages. Philosophical sages are not the only source of knowledge but also serve as catalysts of change in their communities (Masolo, 2016).

The second sharing circle was more comfortable to conduct. Initially, this study on fatherhood amongst Zulu men was only going to include men as participants. I wanted men to tell their stories and be subjects of their own stories and not be objects of inquiry. However, when I met izinduna, I found out that Izinduna were not just men, but there were female izinduna. This was both shocking and surprising because the dominant propaganda is that in Zulu culture, women never had the lead roles alongside men. Authors such as Bhana et al (2009) have written how Zulu women would be leaders in the field amongst other women, and the decision-maker roles were roles put aside for men. The presence of the female izinduna made me make changes

to the research sample. I decided that I will not exclude the female izinduna from my research. They are also leaders of the Eshowe community. I wanted their input and insight into the issues of fatherhood in Eshowe. Another positive feature of having the female izinduna part of the discussions was that my gender was not as important as it was in the first focus group meeting. Thus I could participate in the discussions because these were men who were used to discussing different types of issues with women.

The gender dynamics in this sharing circle meeting were not as evident as the first meeting group; this is mainly because these people were people who have power in the society and thus had no problem to speak up and say their views. However, one of the observations I made was that even though the males and female izinduna had the same power, there were still some gendered dynamics that took place. For instance, the focus group meetings were held at the traditional court after the court proceedings have taken place. This meant that the meetings could only start at 3 pm, and we had food prepared so that people could eat while we continue having our discussions. I had set up the meals to be in a serve-yourself buffet style. However, I observed that the female izinduna were the ones who took up the role of serving the men food. The men were served according to their ages, the older men were served first, and the younger men last. Once all the men had received a plate of food, only then did the female izinduna help themselves. This could be of the cultural influence, that although they have acquired new roles as leaders of the community, they have kept their cultural roles in the community. Or perhaps there might exist some gender power dynamics amongst the izinduna. The second focus group took place without any significant problems.

4.5.3. Conducting the interviews

A total of 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted. The interviews consisted of ten women and ten men, whose ages ranged from 45 to 92 years. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes to an hour. The interview method has been used for decades in research to gain in-depth knowledge and understanding of a phenomenon (Lillejord & Soreide, 2003). However, the conventional interview method generally favors individuality, such as having a one-on-one conversation with little input and interference from the researcher (Chilisa, 2012b). The interviews I conducted were different and rooted in indigenous Afrocentric research practices. They were more conversational, the participants are allowed and also encouraged to ask the researcher questions, and does not restrict the conversation to a one-on-one process, but people

around can also comment on the questions (Lillejord & Soreide, 2003). For example, during an interview, a participant would ask another person nearby to verify a cultural practice.

The semi-structured interviews took place at various venues, the venue, which was convenient and safe for both the researcher and the research participants. For example, some interviews were held at the local community hall, we booked space, and some participants had time slots for when they can come for their interview. The interviews for older men took place at their homes because traveling would have been a challenge for them, and it was easier for us to travel because we had a reliable mode of transport. The interview participants mainly were participants from the sharing circles and had other community members interested in the study but did not get the opportunity to be part of the sharing circles. They were more of a conversation and a follow-up discussion from the sharing circles. Although they resembled the one-on-one interview, the participants sometimes invited other people to join in the discussion. This happened often for the interviews that took place at the participant's home. For example, during an interview with a participant, the participant had a visitor who joined the discussion.

This also reflected the Zulu culture and philosophy, they believe that issues that affect the community should be solved collectively, and perhaps that's the reason why when they had the opportunity to invite someone to the discussions they did. Having a one-on-one private setting to discuss issues that affect not only the individual but affect the whole community was strange. The Zulu people believe that 'umuntu ngu muntu ngabantu' "a person is a person because of others." Thus, collecting data in a private setting with just the researcher and the research participant was going against the cultural Zulu norms.

4.6. Data analysis:

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was chosen. This type of analysis was chosen because it is a qualitative analysis method that is primarily used in the human and social sciences. This method is mainly concerned with giving voice to the voiceless (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006) and seeks to explore participants' experiences and the meaning they attribute to their experiences (Shineborne, 2011). IPA believes that humans are not passive beings but are actively constructing their own biographical stories to interpret and understand their world (Brocki & Wearden, 2006; Shineborne, 2011). This method is an excellent choice to use in research using Afrocentric research methods because it is a culturally sensitive method that is

concerned with people's subjective world and thus allows for the analysis of multicultural research experiences (Larkin et al., 2006).

The data analysis process began every day after data collection by engaging in self-reflection; I reflected on the discussions that I had with my participants and, most importantly, on my preconceived ideas about fatherhood. This analytical process is known as double hermeneutics or dual interpretation process (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). The most important part of my data analysis for me was to be consciously aware of my own preconceived ideas about fatherhood. This was very important as someone from an academic background that favours empirical worldview. The objective of this was that it allowed me to fully understand the participants' experiences and their perceptions and views. Heidegger argued that to access the participant's world and make meaning of the participant's personal world, the researcher needs to engage in an interpretative activity because access to the participant's world is hindered by the researchers' preconceptions (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). Therefore, the researcher is not just a passive listener but also actively engages with what the participants say. I had a notebook that I used to write down my participants' expressions and my own expressions and feelings.

The transcripts were transcribed after data collection. The data was first transcribed verbatim into Zulu and then transcribed and translated into English. This was done to minimize data being lost in translation (Venkatasalu, 2016). I then engaged with the collected data by repeatedly reading the transcripts and taking notes of how the transcripts affected me emotionally and psychologically. This 'free coding' is another reflexive method that will help reveal the researcher her preconceptions and assist in identifying the influence of her assumptions on the study (Larkin et al., 2006).

The data reduction process began through first coding the transcripts on a case-by-case process and identified themes, and interpreted the participants' narratives on fatherhood, which included their experiences, events, and their understanding of fatherhood (See table 4.3). According to Brocki and Wearden (2006), IPA acknowledges that research is a dynamic process that is dependent on the researcher's ability to meaningfully understand the participants' world and make sense of their world through a process of interpretation free from the researchers' preconceived ideas. After analysing the data case by case, I then looked for themes in single transcripts and themes that connected across transcripts. The data was combined and analysed through a cross case analysis, as shown in table 4.4. The themes that

emerged were organised in tables, common themes were grouped together. Below are tables that show examples of how analysis was conducted.

Table: Table 4.3 An Example of Case-By- Case Analysis

Name	key words used	Developing line by line coding:	Transcript Excerpt	Themes
Zimande	Change	Rejection of African identity, Feeling forced to change	“There are religions that now change us.... These religions that don’t like African traditions “	Marginalization by a superior religion, group with more power
	power	Feeling lack of control in his life, lack of control in raising his children	“in this modern life, we as fathers raise amaphara, and we do not know how they were created.” “Fathers no longer have the power to be a father”	Powerlessness

Table: 4.4. Example of Cross–Case Analysis

Interview question	Zimande	Hlangu	Maphosa	Thoughts/connections
What was a father known to be like in the past and how is a father known to be today	Fathers have changed , father in the modern life has no power Marginalization of more powerful group – feeling powerless in their roles as fathers	“Fatherhood is finished , the world has robbed us” Feeling that fatherhood has been taken from them, by the world – implying more superior group	“The fathers are really not the same, there is no respect in today’s fathers. I do not know what to blame .” The word blame is suggesting that there might be an external cause for the change	The participants share the idea that the father in the past is different from the father today. Zimande states that fathers have changed and the modern father is less powerful, and has no authority even on how to raise his own children. Hlangu argues that for him fatherhood is finished and has not changed or is transitioning but has been stolen. The word robbed implies that a more superior/powerful culture has taken over. For Maphosa, Fathers have changed too. Maphosa further states that fathers today have no respect and do not

				<p>know who to blame, suggesting an external force that could be blamed for the change.</p>
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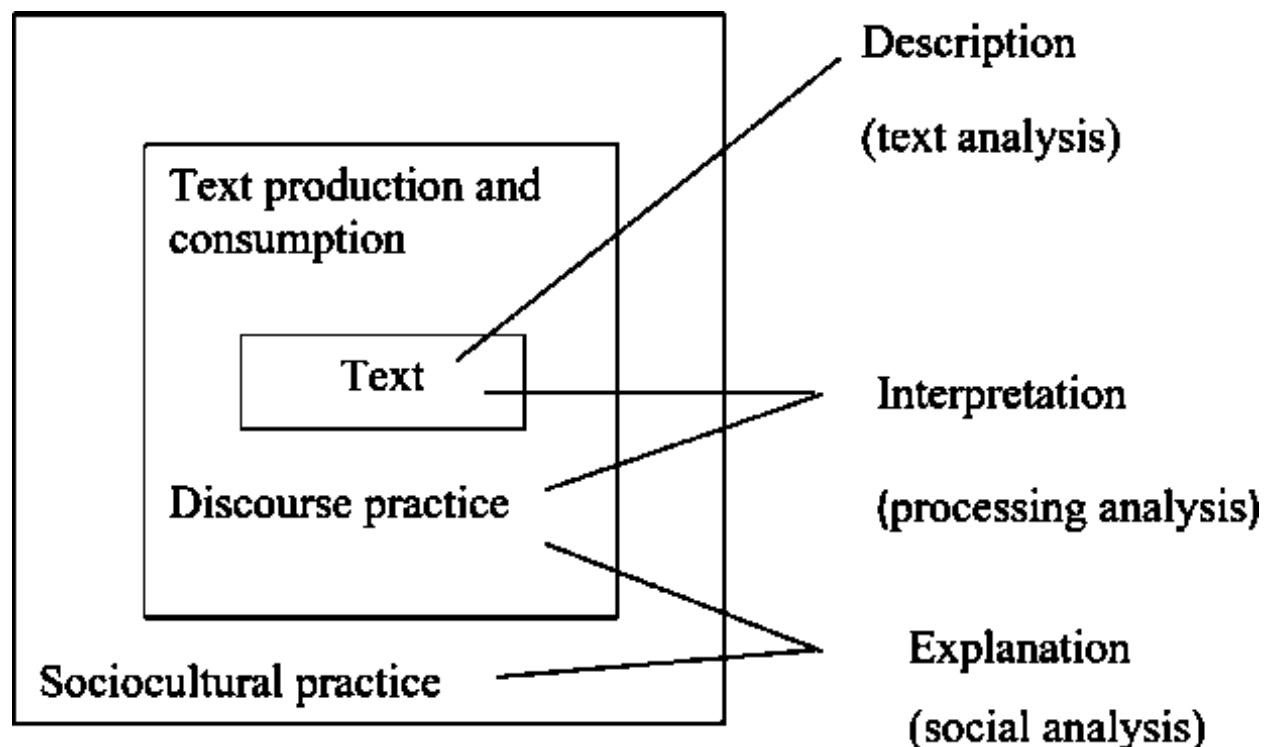
4.7.0. Folklores and Proverbs:

The Zulu culture, like many other Indigenous communities, can be classified as oral (Mkabela, 2005). They pass their knowledge mainly through storytelling, folklore, proverbs, and recitals (Mkabela, 2005; Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013). The Zulu Folklores were used for training purposes and were also used as a part of data collection and analyzed using critical discourse analysis. Folklores and proverbs were added as part of data collection because they are intrinsically linked to the Zulu tradition. According to Bareh (2007), folklores and proverbs are used to maintain and sustain a society's culture. Magwaza (2004, p. 37) concurs and argues that folklores and proverbs are “oral expressions of culture, life, attitudes, ideals, and hopes of its people.” Therefore proverbs and folklores are an essential part of the Zulu culture, and people who use them are considered to have wisdom (Magwaza, 2004).

4.7.1. Data analysis for folklores and proverbs:

The folklores and proverbs were analysed using critical discourse analysis (CDA). Discourse analysis was chosen because of how it relates to the theories used in this study. For instance, discourse analysis is linked to social constructionism. It supports the idea that language is not just a channel through which information about the world and human behaviour are communicated (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 9). Jorgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 10) assert that “a language is a machine that creates and constitutes the social world.” Thus discourse contributes to creating the subjects and for making meaning to the social world (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). This study employs Fairclough’s CDA three dimensional framework see figure 4.5 for the illustration.

Figure 4.3: Fairclough's CDA model



Adapted from (Waller L. 2006, p.12)

Fairclough's three-dimension framework involves the following: 1) The text or the semiotic aspect of being realized as a particular oral and written form of representing the world; 2) Discursive practices or the processes of text production, distribution, and consumption; and 3) The Social and cultural context where discursive practices are embedded (Fairclough, 1995).

Analysis began by engaging with the proverbs and with the folklore, by repeatedly reading them. Secondly, the texts were used to stimulate discussions in focus groups; the participants were asked what they understand by the proverb “indoda ifela emaqeleni” (A man dies at the hilltop/far from), as the researcher, I was also focusing on the reaction and the interpretation of the texts by the participants. According to Fairclough (1995, p. 9) “the interpretation of texts is a dialectic process resulting from the interface of the variable interpretative resources people bring to bear on the text and the properties of the text itself”. For example, looking at the two proverbs “Indoda ifela ezinkomeni” (A man dies at the cattle kraal which implies a father needs to provide cattle) and “Okwehlula amadoda kuyabikwa” the creators chose to use the words

indoda/amadoda (singular/plural words for man) instead of Ubaba (father), one of my probing question during the focus group sessions was for participants to tell me what does it mean to be a father in the Zulu culture and what does it mean to be indoda in the Zulu culture.

I wanted to find out the meaning behind the word choice and most importantly how the words were related to power and ideologies in the Zulu society. Thus for Fairclough (1995), textual analysis cannot take place in isolation. One of the crucial principles of discourse analysis is its emphasis on contextual knowledge. Data analysis cannot happen without contextual knowledge (van Dijk, 1993). That is knowledge about the culture, the behavior, values of the society. CDA attempts to show the interrelationship between language, power, and ideology and describes the social practices in texts that reveal sociopolitical powers, ideologies, and identities (Sudajit-apa, 2017, p. 3). Lastly, the final stage of analysis included looking at how certain concepts are used in the Zulu society and how they help construct Zulu identities.

4.8.0. Limitations faced during data collection.

The challenges that I faced throughout my study were mainly due to my strong biases in western knowledge production systems. I found myself unconsciously and uncritically wanting to impose western norms of conducting research. For instance, when the chief and izinduna permitted me to do my research in Eshowe, I kept on wanting them to sign my acceptance form and acknowledgment forms, which the ethics committee required as proof that I have permission to conduct my study. This was strange for the Inkosi and Izinduna because they gave me a verbal agreement, and their words were final. At the traditional court hearings, I noticed that the verdicts that they offered were verbal and not written down in a formal setting and handed out to the people; in fact, the only person who wrote anything down was the secretary who wrote in the book for record-keeping. However, I still felt unsettled as I was used to having tangible proof for myself and other institutes such as the ethics committee and other fellow researchers.

The second instance was before I began data collection. I wanted to capture my participants' demographics by filling in a form that I brought along to the focus group discussion. The document contained their names, surnames with their names and ages, and sign a consent form. I desperately needed them to sign the consent forms that I had given them so that the ethics committee can see that the participants were not forced to participate in my research study.

However, the minute I requested them to sign the consent form and I requested them to fill in the demographics they became, defensive and confused as to why I needed them to sign what looks to be an official document from an institution. It suggested two things; the first one was that the sharing circle shifted from being a sharing circle to a formal official meeting, possibly with a feeling of government and official process. This made the participants uncomfortable and a bit suspicious about the whole event. The second suggestion was that I disregarded important cultural principles, i.e., principles of oral practices that people's words are final, and there is no need for written confirmation. Most importantly, it is seen as disrespectful to ask for an elders' age and their name in the Zulu culture.

The third challenge I faced was in the write-up. Indigenous knowledge system research advocates for the inclusion of the indigenous research community to be part of every step in the research process. This means that the indigenous community needs to be acknowledged in the research study by adding their names in the final research and also be considered co-authors. However, this contrasts with the ethics committee's principles of confidentiality and anonymity of the research participants. The challenge was how I would report back to the ethics committee and how I negotiate between these two different worlds. This experience has shown me how ethics committees are fixated on the western ways of knowledge production and pay little emphasis on the new and developing methods of knowledge production. This study epistemologically challenged me and deconstructed the stereotypes I had of conducting research. I was caught up between two worlds with differing epistemes. I had to continually remind myself to be critical and conscious about my research methodology and research paradigm.

4.9. Trustworthiness:

Trustworthiness or rigor refers to the extent of the quality of the data, methods used, and data interpretation of the study. Establishing the data quality is crucial for the integrity of the study findings (Cope, 2014). This study used Lincoln and Guba's framework for establishing rigor in research which includes the following criteria: credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

1. Credibility

According to Guba and Lincoln (1989), credibility is similar to the concept of internal validity. Credibility focuses on how congruent the research findings are with the reality of the participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Credibility is concerned with the truth value of the findings (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Guba and Lincoln (1989) further discuss techniques to increase credibility in research studies: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, and member check. *Prolonged engagement* requires that the researcher spends substantial time in the field to minimize the effects of misinformation, distortion, and represented fronts (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). In this study, the researcher spent one year in the field getting acquainted with the community and its values and traditions. This allowed the researcher to understand the community's values and traditions.

Persistent observation involves the continuous focus in detail on a particular issue in the community (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). The focus of this study was on fatherhood; thus the researcher persistently focused on the constructions of fatherhood and how fatherhood was performed. *Triangulation* involves the use of different data collection methods to gather in-depth data (Shenton, 2004). To meet the criteria of triangulation, data was collected by using the sharing circles, semi-structured interviews, and folklore and proverbs. According to Korstjens and Moser (2018), there are many ways to meet the criteria of triangulation, such as gathering data from different types or levels of people. For example, data was gathered from the community elders, grandfathers, and young people in this study. *Member check* refers to presenting the researcher's data interpretation and discussions to the participants for verification (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Member check is an essential aspect in Afrocentric research as it gives participants the power and authority over their own stories (Asante, 2008).

2. Transferability

Transferability is the equivalent of external validity and is concerned with the generalizability of the research findings (Shenton, 2004). Generalizability in quantitative research refers to the researcher drawing inferences to the population from a particular observation (Polit & Beck, 2010). In contrast, generalizability in qualitative research provides a thick description of data gathered from the participants and the research process (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Thus, context becomes a very important aspect of the concept of transferability (Polit & Beck, 2010).

3. Dependability and Confirmability

Dependability is parallel to the concept of reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 2013), refers to the consistency of the data, and focuses on the extent to which the research findings can be replicated (Shenton, 2004). While confirmability is parallel to the concept of objectivity, it is concerned with aspects of neutrality (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Confirmability emphasises that data interpretations and study findings are rooted in the participants and contexts and are not the researcher's views and assumptions (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). A strategy used to ensure the concepts of dependability and confirmability are met is the *audit trail*. According to Korstjens and Moser (2018), the audit trail requires that the researcher produces information about every decision they made during the research process, such as sampling, research findings, data management, and reflective thoughts.

4. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is another important aspect to ensure transparency and quality of the research (Polit & Beck, 2010). Reflexivity requires that the researcher engages in self-reflection throughout the research process by examining their preconceptions and assumptions and how they have influenced research decisions (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Throughout this study, I continuously engaged in self-reflection. For instance, I constantly reflected on the research findings as evident in the data analysis. In addition, throughout this chapter and in chapter 1, I created awareness about who I was and my values.

4.10. Ethical Considerations:

This research received ethical clearance from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and received protocol reference number: HSS/1978/0170 (See appendix 1). Ethics in research is essential because the researcher is entering into people's private space. Therefore, the researcher has the responsibility to respect the participants' rights, needs, and values (Flick, 2009). According to Edwards and Mauthner (2012), ethics in social sciences refers to the moral deliberation and accountability of the researcher throughout the research process. Several ethic committees and councils, such as the National Health Research ethics council, provide broad ethical principles for researchers such as Beneficence and non-maleficence; Distribution Justice and Respect for persons (National Health Research Ethics Council, 2015). *Beneficence and non-maleficence* refer to the ethical obligation to increase benefit and avoid causing harm to participants (National Health Research

Ethics Council, 2015). *The distribution of justice* focuses on the principle of equality (Flick, 2009). Thus, it requires a fair balance of risks and benefits for everyone involved in the research (National Health Research Ethics Council, 2015). Respect for persons recognises that all research participants' dignity, well-being, and safety interests are the primary concern in research that involves human participants (National Health Research Ethics Council, 2015, p. 15). The following section discusses how this study has addressed ethical issues in social science research.

1. Informed consent:

The participant must make an informed decision to voluntarily participate in the research (National Health Research Ethics Council, 2015). In this study, participants were informed about the purpose of the research study prior before data collection commenced. The participants were also informed about what participating in the research entails. The prospective participants were informed that participating in this study was voluntary and that they can withdraw at any stage of the study (see appendix). In this study, participants were read and given the consent forms but they preferred to give verbal approval instead of signed approval (see section on challenges in the field).

2. Harm and Risk

In this study, the researcher stated that no participant would be exposed to physical or psychological harm. Weber (n.d.) argues that it is easy to recognise, prevent and compensate for physical harm but very difficult to recognise, prevent and compensate for psychological harm. The researcher also provided the participants with toll-free crisis lines from established organisations such as South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG) and South Africa Suicide Crisis Helpline to contact should they feel distressed.

3. Privacy, Confidentiality, and Anonymity

This study included sharing circles as part of data collection, and thus total anonymity was not possible. Since the sharing circle, is similar to the conventional focus group, it also shares some advantages and disadvantages. Therefore Issues of confidentiality and anonymity become acute. Wellings, Branigan, and Mitchell (2000, p. 256) state that “the nature of the group setting is such that participants are obliged to express in public what they usually regard as private, and neither the reaction nor the discretion of the group can necessarily be predicted.” To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, the researcher used pseudonym names. However, according to Sim and Waterfield (2019), individual

participants can still be identified through other indirect means, which is known as deductive disclosure. Deductive disclosure refers to the ability of the participants to identify themselves and others in published work, even though no identifying information has been published. In light of this, the researcher explained to the participants about challenges of confidentiality and anonymity in the group setting.

4. Honesty and Trust:

The researcher adhered to all ethical guidelines and principles of Trustworthiness during the research process.

4.11. Conclusion:

This chapter discussed Afrocentric research methods and what it entails researching with an indigenous community in Eshowe KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. I conducted two sharing circles and 20 interviews. These had no defined structure like the western research methods; for instance, the interviews, although they were on a one-on-one basis, most of the participants often called someone to join in the discussions and interviews. This study argued that in decolonial research, there are no set rigid structures that inform one on how to conduct research. Researchers are guarded by UBUNTU principles, which is mutual respect for the participants, respect for the participants' culture, hospitality, politeness, love, and humility.

The Zulu culture can be characterized as an oral culture, which means that knowledge is passed on through storytelling, folklore, proverbs, and so forth. Therefore I have included the collection of proverbs and folklores, which served as an opportunity for participants to share their personal experiences on fatherhood. IPA was chosen as the method of analysis. This method can be simply summarized into three parts that are descriptive, interpretative, and idiographic. It is descriptive because it follows a phenomenological principle that seeks to uncover how participants experience phenomena and events. IPA is pursuing a dual interpretative process through the participant trying to make meaning of their personal and social world, and the researcher makes meaning of the participant trying to make meaning of their personal and social world. The last part is idiographic because of the detailed case-by-case analysis. It believes that transcripts of individuals or cases should be analysed in detail before they can be grouped, and general themes are formulated. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 discuss in detail the analysis of the transcripts.

Chapter 5: Zulu fatherhood rooted in Afrocentrism

5.0. Chapter layout:

This chapter is the launch pad of the findings of the study that will be presented systematically in Chapters 5 and chapter 6. Chapter 7 will be used for the conclusion and recommendations that emerge from the overall findings. The chapters endeavour to answer the main research questions that undergird the study. The findings presented in all these chapters emanate from the data collected using the tools and methods outlined in chapter 4. These comprise the sharing circle, semi-structured interviews, folklore, and proverbs.

Table 5.0 Layout of Chapters on Findings

	Theme	Subthemes
Chapter 5	Zulu fatherhood rooted in Afrocentrism	1. Life periods that groom a man to be a father 2. Life events that groom a man to be a father 3. Fatherhood and hierarchy in the family 4. Social Fatherhood 5. African discourse on Zulu men as providers 6. African discourse on Zulu men as protectors
Chapter 6	Zulu fatherhood and the impact of coloniality	1. Western concepts of fatherhood 2. Western religion and African fatherhood
Chapter 7	Recommendations and Conclusions	

5.1. Introduction:

This chapter discusses the findings on how the Zulu people of Eshowe conceptualize and understand fatherhood. Apart from the views of the fathers themselves, it also examines the perspectives of key respondents such as the grandfathers and the chiefs who can be regarded as custodians of the Zulu culture. The chapter analyzed the views of the participants and created a typology of how fatherhood is conceptualized and understood among the villagers in Eshowe. While the typologies provide a way of explaining the perspectives of the individual participants on fatherhood, they also give us an opportunity to see how their views on identity are culturally-embedded and also socially and historically contingent. Consequently, this means that the participants' views amount not only to a Zulu cultural perspective on fatherhood but also a

perspective that can also be called African as it intersects with what other cultures consider fatherhood to be.

5.2. Life periods that groom a father:

An essential aspect of the conceptualization of fatherhood amongst the participants was that fatherhood is a status that is 'earned' through various social processes where a young man must pass through pre-determined life stages that groom him to be a responsible man. According to them, the typical life period of a Zulu father involves passing through the following stages:

Table 5.1 Life periods of fatherhood

Stages	Developmental stages of Zulu boys
1.	Abafana
2.	Amajaha
3.	Izinsizwa
4.	Amadoda

5.2.1 Abafana stage:

In this study, the participants stated that in the Zulu culture, the abafana stage (boyhood stage) is a stage where boys learn how to herd cattle; for instance, Zondo expressed the following:

"When we were young boys, we woke up very early to go herd cattle" Similarly, Mthethwa added, "it was our duty as young boys to go and herd the cattle; we would look after the cattle from the morning until late in the evening."

Herding cattle was a very important activity given to young boys, especially given that in the olden days, cattle was a much-priced possession in the Zulu family. This meant that boys were entrusted to take care of the families' wealth and resources. According to De Bruin (2002), boys as young as seven years are made to herd the cattle and are severely punished if they become negligent and lose cattle. Interestingly, the participants shared that herding cattle was

not just about the cattle, but it provided them with the opportunity to have a private space for social interactions with the other boys; this was expressed by Mda below:

"As a young boy, I enjoyed going to herd the cattle with my older brother. We would look for ripe fruits and sometimes find wild honey; it was enjoyable".

Like Mda, Tshabalala also stated that he too found herding cattle to be fun and said:

"When we got to the field, we would leave the cows grazing and go hunt for wild pigs, we will get home full, not wanting any food hahaha....".

The space also provided the opportunity for the young boys to experiment and engage in stick fighting (ukuthabela ngenduku). For instance, Tshobekhulu voiced the following:

"the best part about herding cattle was the stick fighting, I was very good at stick fighting, and I used to win a lot in stick fighting competitions."

Stick fighting was considered by participants to be essential in providing young boys the opportunity to build their fighting skills so that they become brave and accomplished warriors in warfare. According to Carton and Morrell (2012), Zulu stick fighting did not only build warfare skills but taught young boys how to be resilient and have self-control. These are attributes that a Zulu father must possess.

5.2.2. Amajaha stage:

The amajaha stage is the stage of manhood (amajaha). This stage is where young boys learn how to be protectors so as to graduate into becoming men (izinsizwa), as expressed by Qhawe:

"When I was now considered a ijaha my dad took me to the forest to look for my very own stick, a stick that will be mine for ever."

Similar to Qhawe's statement, Xulu added the following:

"The stick is very important to us Zulu men, its not only for the stick fight games, but is a message that nothing or no one should harm your family in your presence"

According to Qhawe, amajaha were now ready to choose their sticks that would belong to them time immemorial. The choosing of sticks was not only for pretend play like they did when they were young boys but symbolised their transition into manhood. In addition, Xulu highlighted

the symbolism of the stick and stick fighting, and stated that for them, It also meant taking up the responsibility as protectors of the family and the greater community.

5.2.3. Izinsizwa stage:

The participants described what or who is Insizwa with so much of passion. To them, a stage of being called Insizwa was a proud moment, as stated by Zulu:

"I always looked up to my older brothers who were Izinsizwa, I felt like they were given more freedom than us young boys. It is a stage when they (older brothers) can have girlfriends"

According to Zulu, the izinsizwa are given more freedom because, during this stage, the young men are allowed to court women but are not yet allowed to marry. Qhawe stated the following:

"When I was a young man, I did not show anyone, my girlfriend, like we see today. Today you find young boys and girls walking around holding hands. It was not allowed during our time. I had to hide my girlfriend until such a time I could afford to pay lobola for her"

According to Qhawe, even though the izinsizwa were allowed to court women, they were not allowed to bring their girlfriends home or show them to their fathers. According to Mchunu (2005b), insizwa is not allowed to talk to his father about his girlfriend, including mentioning her name as a sign of respect for his father and older men in the community.

Jabulani reiterated Qhawe's statement and stated:

"During our times, it was disrespectful to be seen by elders holding hands with your girlfriend in public. If I did that my father would have given me a good beating, because I would have shamed him."

Interestingly, both Qhawe and Jabulani seem to emphasise that it was not just about fearing their immediate family but also about respecting the elders in the community. This also shows the communalistic nature of the Zulu culture, where every person is considered important as if they too were family. Mchunu (2005b) asserts that a insizwa is a young man who respects his father by behaving in a disciplined manner.

5.2.4. Amadoda stage:

It is only when the young men become what is considered to be mature men (amadoda) that they are considered culturally ready to marry and become fathers. The narratives that emerged from the sharing circle and interviews shared the following view about amadoda, as stated by Mda below:

"A father is a real man (indoda emadodeni). To be a father you must build a big homestead, have many cattle and four to five wives. To the educated people in the city, they think isithembu (polygamy) is abusive, but for us as Zulu isithembu (polygamy) is about responsibility. To be able to perform that, a man must be a hard worker and lay a good foundation.

According to Mda, to be considered a real man, the man must be a hard worker and accumulate resources for his family. Mda and other participants argued that to be considered a 'real man' (indoda), men were required to own land, possess a big herd of cattle, and produce many crops for their livelihood and that of the family. Such a man was not only considered to be a 'real man' but was deemed to be wealthy and thus could have more than one wife. By definition, a father must own a substantial amount of livestock, expansive and adequate acreage for agricultural produce, and a big homestead (umuzi). These factors constituted the core of the participant's view of fatherhood as further opined by Dube:

"As a father ... you are a man... if you have built (a house), you have cattle, you have wives and children and a homestead, then you are a real man".

Indeed, while there may be small variations from clan to clan, Kunene (1995) contends that in Zulu culture there was evidence of a normative social structure of progression for men to become fathers. Clearly, based on the above quote and observation, the status of a father is bestowed on those who acquired and demonstrated the capacity to own possessions that will enable them to care for their families. However, it was not so much the accumulation of wealth that mattered, but the demonstration that one was ready to take responsibility for his family's welfare as a provider. This is consistent with Kunene's (1995) argument that among the Zulu no man was allowed to marry without first proving that he is a man (indoda) that can be a provider and is capable of being a good father. In addition, Hunter (2006) states that the economic focus for men in the twentieth century was building a homestead (umuzi) and acquiring a substantial number of cattle. In addition, if wealthy enough, a man could have more

wives so as to increase the labor force within his homestead. Hence, the richer and more esteemed a household head (umnumzana) became.

5.3. Life events that groom a father:

Emanating from the participants' narratives was that a man goes through three distinct life events in the Zulu culture: birth, puberty, and marriage. The father plays an essential role in ensuring that the children and the elders in the family go through these life events without any major challenges.

5.3.1. Birth:

The participants were in agreement and argued that a Zulu father is present in the baby's life from conception until birth. For instance, Nene expressed the following:

If one of my wives is pregnant, I give her traditional medicine to drink. This medicine is taken from the forest, and I mix the medication, this will clean her inside, and she will deliver the baby safely."

The extract above illustrates the critical role that the Zulu father played in the birthing process of their children. The father ensured and assisted the mother in carrying and delivering the baby by administering certain medications safely. This contrasts with the dominant discourse around fathers being absent from the baby's life for the first 1000 days (Makusha & Richter, 2018; Mercer, 2015). Another essential point that can be purported from Nene's statement is the idea that time spent by young boys and men in the fields herding cattle also gave them the opportunity to learn about the indigenous plants and their uses. Hence it is fathers who are responsible for finding and mixing the indigenous herbs. To illustrate Mbatha stated:

"We as fathers have the duty to learn about what the forest has to offer; this knowledge is the knowledge that our older brothers taught us. It is from the forest that we will feed our families and heal them from all the diseases".

Mbatha clearly demonstrated the importance of fathers in protecting and healing their children, especially the role they play for their unborn children. When the baby is born, it is the father's duty to introduce the baby to the family, community, and ancestors. The father will introduce

the baby by performing a " imbeleko " ritual. For example, Zulu had the following to say about imbeleko:

"imbeleko is very important to us as Zulu people, a father must do a imbeleko for their children, so that the ancestors can protect them and bless them, without the imbeleko the child is not safe".

In addition: Mkhize stated:

"When my children were born, I slaughtered a goat for them and introduced them to my ancestors, so that they can know them and protect them and give them goodluck."

The above extracts highlight the presence and the active role of a father in his child's life. Moreover, the participants discuss the process and importance of a father performing imbeleko for their children. According to Mbebe (2020), the imbeloko is performed by the father, who burns imphepho (incense), which is believed to attract the ancestors into the umsamo (sacred gathering place). The father will also offer the ancestors the umacishana (a small pot of traditional Zulu beer that the mothers brewed a few days before the ceremony). A goat will also be brought forward in the umsamo, and the baby will be made to stroke the goat so that the ancestors will link the baby to the sacrificial goat. While the baby is made to stroke the goat, the father will sing praises and talk to the ancestor. Then after the goat will be slaughtered, the baby will be anointed with the bile and be given an isiphandla (bracelet made out of the sacrificed goat's skin). Therefore, According to the participants, doing imbeleko for the child will keep them safe and ensure that they are blessed, translating into them living a fulfilling life.

5.3.2 Puberty:

Puberty is considered to be one of the most critical stages in both boys' and girls' lives. Ear piercing becomes the first step to mark the transition from childhood into adulthood. To illustrate Mthethwa stated the following:

"In my days, there were many traditions that were done for young boys when they reached puberty, first, they had to get their ears pierced and then there would be ukuthomba"

Mthethwa makes reference to the ear-piercing ritual, which was done for both boys and girls. Like all Zulu events, this ear-piercing event is followed by feasting and celebrations. According to Magubane (n.d.) the significance of ear piercing shows that the boy is becoming a man as

they have displayed bravery and courage. Therefore, boys who have had their ears pierced are given a higher status than the one who have not had their ears pierced. Similar to Mthethwa's sentiments, Xulu proclaimed:

"In the olden days Zulu boys had an event called ukuthomba which is very important for young boys to do because there you learn a lot and you learn how to be indoda".

Shobekhulu said the following:

"People now no longer observe important traditions, which is what is producing weak men, We now end up raising boys who end up being amaphara, because they did not follow the rituals that they were meant to follow. For example, Ukuthomba was very important in a young man's life. They young men learnt what it means to be a true man, and a father, now all that is gone."

According to the extracts above, the most important event in a boy's life is the ukuthomba ceremony. Thabede (2008) defines ukuthomba as the attainment of physical maturity which is identified by the boy's nocturnal emission. The boys with the assistance of their father have to go into seclusion for a couple of days and is not supposed to be seen by any female (Raum, 1973). During their seclusion, the boys are advised by their fathers and other males about the secrets of manhood (Raum, 1973). It is also during this stage that the boys are warned about impregnating a woman as stated by Blose:

"During our times when we were young, the times when culture was still practiced, as young boys we had initiations and during that time, we learnt to be strong men, and one of the ways we had to be strong was when we learnt how one can control their sexual desires and not impregnate a girl"

In addition Shobekhulu added

"I too learnt about ukusoma, ukusoma is very good because it prevented young boys from becoming fathers. Now the streets are full of young fathers, because they don't practice ukusoma"

According to the participants, the young men were advised that they can only engage in ukusoma which can be defined as thigh sex. Similar to Blose and Shobekhulu's statements, Ngomane reiterated the following:

“When you engage in penetrative sex and have a child out of wedlock, you are not a man; you are a man because you have a penis like all other men. There is no confidence that you can discuss serious matters that will build the nation with other men in the community.”

The extracts above show how having children out of wedlock was despised by Zulu people. Men who had children out of wedlock were seen to be weak and lacked self-control and thus were found to be unworthy of the title of father. Thus, those who impregnated women out of wedlock were punished by the community by not acknowledging their fatherhood identity and not including them in important community dialogues.

5.3.3. Marriage:

Marriage is an important event and rite of passage for men to become fathers, as expressed by Mda:

"Marriage is very important for us Zulu people, it's the final stage of becoming indoda emadodeni (a man above other men), it's even worse if you can afford four five wives, you are respected by everyone".

Additionally, Xulu asserted the following:

"Marriage for Zulu people is not about the man and wife but it is about bringing two families together and forming an even bigger family"

Xulu and Mda attest to the importance of marriage in the Zulu culture. Furthermore, Mda highlighted that marriage for a man came with a higher status, and that status will mean more if they married more than one wife. For young men to reach the stage of marriage assisted in formulating their identity, but it also confirmed their father's identity to be deserving of the fatherhood title as they managed to raise successful young men. The Zulu culture, which is primarily patrilineal, places great pressure on the young men to finance the wedding. According to Mthembu (2020), the pressure put on men to pay ilobolo is the first sign that proves that the man will be able to provide for his family. For example, Khoza stated the following:

“When my son from Egoli called and told me he wants to get married, I asked him one question where are your cows? When he said that he has them, I was very happy because it meant that my son has grown up and that he will be able to take care of his family, now I can call the uncles and family elders to come and discuss this matter”

A statement by Khoza above illustrates the importance of lobolo in the Zulu culture, as it assists in consolidating individual and community identities. Interestingly, Khoza had to make sure that his son had cows for lobolo before he could be happy and continue with the discussions. Importantly, Khoza makes reference to the need to include extended family members in the lobolo discussions. This speaks to the Zulu value system of communalism, social cohesion and collective harmony. It involves bringing together two families through the exchange of gifts called umbondo (brides gifting grooms family) and umembeso (groom gifting the brides family) (Ntshangase, 2021). This is followed by umabo which is the traditional wedding ceremony that takes place at the groom's family and signals the last stage of Ukulobola process (Ntshangase, 2021).

5.3.4. The father's role in the son's marriage process:

The father plays a vital role in assisting his sons to transition into manhood by assisting him morally, emotionally, and financially as stated by Shobekhulu

"When a young man wants to marry. He will approach his father, who will help him with the paying of lobola. Using cattle was in the household that belonged to the father. That is why when the son is married, if his father is still alive, the son will say that his household belongs to his father. The son will not say that the house is his. It is not so".

The participants suggested that men are allowed to receive assistance from their fathers. For example, a father can provide his son with cattle for lobola (bride price) and land to build their homestead. In other words, the father had the responsibility not only to guide his sons as they took cultural steps to become a man but also to provide the material resources when certain cultural norms such as marriage were done. Xulu stated that:

"To be a father, you must go to work and get your cows; your father will do your lobola for you to get married. After getting married, my child, I will now take you out of my house or homestead and build you your own home and become a father there. After you have built, you will now enforce your laws where your father has placed you."

The above demonstrates the father's facilitative role in assisting their sons to be fathers and heads of their families. Equally important to note is the level of involvement of the father in the sons life and family. To elaborate, a son does not leave the fathers' family and will remain under the father's authority; hence, it is the father who finds a place where the son will build his household. This practice allows for the formation and continuation of kinship relations.

According to Nel (2007), Zulu families are made up of kinship ties, including the nuclear family, extended family, and multigenerational family. Therefore, ways of strengthening the bonds of the kinships ties. Thus, assisting their sons becomes a way to increase and strengthen the new kinship relations that will be formed through marriage. This is stated by Mbatha below:

"Umshado wesiZulu (refers to a traditional Zulu wedding where all processes have been followed and completed) is very important compared to the white wedding that people now love. The white wedding is nothing but a piece of paper whereas umshado wesi Zulu is about uniting families, those living and those who are gone. It's about growing the family into a bigger and stronger family".

Mbatha asserts that being part of an extended family assists in developing a sense of community and belonging, which are very important for identity formation. The family in the Zulu culture is crucial because, during difficulty, the extended family often becomes the resources for which the family can seek for help (Nel, 2007). This is different for Western families, as, during times of difficulty and misunderstanding, their sources of assistance are external, for example, they seek for help from psychologists, psychiatrists etc. (Nel, 2007).

Dube reiterated the commitment to assist in facilitating the transition into the next stage of manhood:

"At home, I paid lobola for all my boys, but in a certain way. I did not want my children to know that money will come from my pocket when he was ready to take a wife. I wanted him to show me what he has got, and then I would offer my assistance. I only added on what they already have, because if they do not have anything how will they treat their wives well."

The extension of independence is emphasized by Dube, which is also reflective of the communal ideal of support in the Zulu culture. The transitioning into an extended family is acknowledged as a strength of belonging. It also infers that despite the assistance there was a definitive focus on promoting independence into the next stage of their lives. Moreover, this strengthens the bond between fathers and sons (Mchunu, 2005a). To illustrate, Mthethwa said the following:

"Marriage not only unifies the two families, but it makes the bond between father and son to be stronger. The father feels very proud of his son who was growing up to be a man, this means that the father raised him well."

According to Mthethwa, marriage helps to create a bond between father and son, and it also serves as a first sign that the father did a good job in raising his son. In the Zulu culture, sons are expected to emulate the father and be the image of the father (*isithombe sika baba/ isibuko sika baba*) by observing their fathers' behavior and actions. To foster such emulation, sons are expected to observe their fathers' behavior and be in the constant company of their fathers and other men in the community. It is in this teaching space that the father and other men would continuously impart and discuss key components of fatherhood and emphasize their responsibilities (Mchunu, 2005). In addition, this space affords the demonstration of upholding the values of society. This is important because, more often, sons succeed their fathers in leadership positions and inherit all the power that their fathers had (Lipenga, 2017).

5.4. Self-Discipline and how it shapes fatherhood:

As discussed earlier, a Zulu father must be highly disciplined. From a young age, boys were expected to practice self-restraint. The public and private domains constituted distinct behaviors, as noted by Mhlongo:

"..doing something that is private in public is an indication of self-hatred. For example, kissing a girl in front of the elders, you have embarrassed your manhood."

From the above it is evident that when a person lacks discipline it is an indication of disrespect since discipline in the Zulu culture is what makes a person's sense of dignity and self-esteem. Thus, self-discipline is a focal component of Zulu male identity. The missing element *ukuzihlonipha* (self-respect or self-representation) is defined as a fundamental essence of Ubuntu (personhood/humanity) (Mbele et al 2015). This is ultimately about a person knowing themselves to preserve a positive reputation and not suffering any disgrace.

Ukuzihlonipha as a concept of self- respect and discipline is focal to becoming a father. This was elaborated upon by Zulu:

"I never had a child out of wedlock, never with my father, who was born in 1914! It was a big shame that one could be dating a girl and carelessly have sex with her. This was not done, when I started dating we engaged in ukusoma (thigh sex)"

Zulu argues that having a child out of wedlock was despised on and the man will be considered to have shamed the family. Furthermore, Zulu also alluded to the idea that the man needed to

protect the woman by not impregnating her. Nduna Zulu's response is similar to findings from Mchunu's (2005) study, whereby first-generation fathers portrayed high levels of self-discipline and as a result never had children out of wedlock. This was indicative of the ideal Zulu masculinity and Zulu customs and traditions on gender identities. The self-discipline and respect ensured unplanned pregnancies did not occur before marriage. Fatherhood was governed by strict control measures and managed by the responsibilities of a mature father who was not absent. Thus, it could be argued that there was no crisis of fatherhood in the Zulu culture. Modern fatherhood in Africa has been characterized to be in a crisis with the high number of absent fathers amongst African people (Ratele & Nduna, 2018). Dastile and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) observe that Africa is facing modern problems for which there are no modern solutions. Although, this study does not advocate for absent fathers, but argues that many of Africa's problems have been characterized to be in a state of crisis. This study reaffirms that modernity creates this crisis by disrupting and dehumanizing the African way of life.

If a man fathered a child out of wedlock, he was considered to be weak and lacking self-control, and traditionally would not be accepted as a father. Such a father would not only bring shame to himself but to their family. Mathonsi elaborated on this point:

"From my children, the boys are the ones who disappointed me and ended up having children outside marriage. ...But the three of them finally got married. This was bad because they ended up paying more cows for damages, which does not build any household".

Such transgression of the rules within the system created social disillusionment. Moreover, the prevention of unwanted and early pregnancies were ensured. Any lack of self-discipline as a father incurred further financial repercussions for the family. As Mathonsi stated above, damages known as *Inhlawulo* had to be paid to the mother's family as a sign to acknowledge paternity and be granted access to the child.

However, non-penetrative sex between unmarried couples was permitted, such as *Ukusoma*. *Ukusoma*, was one of the methods to control unwanted pregnancies (Hunter, 2006). *Ukusoma* was not only useful for preventing unplanned and unwanted pregnancies, but it also prevented the risk of young boys becoming fathers and reduced the chances of having absent fathers. Thus for Zulu people controlling fertility was crucial and reserved for only building and growing *umuzi* (homestead) (Hunter, 2006). Importantly, the practice of *ukomosa* was also used to preserve girl's virginity as great importance was placed on women being virgins (Chisale, 2016). This assisted in preserving young women's dignity (Chisale, 2016).

5. 5. Fatherhood and hierarchy:

All participants argued that the father is the head of the homestead, whose responsibility was to provide leadership and inspire a sense of direction for the family. The father continues to be affectionately called *inhloko yomuza* (head of the family). *Inhloko*, which means "head", was explained by Shandu:

"A father is a person who looks after the family and may be regarded as the head of the homestead. He is the one who takes care of everyone at home and teaches everyone. A father must be a leader, a thinker, a problem-solver"

Mhlongo also expanded on the concept of headship and the associated responsibilities:

"Being a father means heading the house; a father is the manager of the family and the entire family assets."

According to Mhlongo, the father as the head had the responsibility to manage the family's resources. Headship, patriarchy and family life in the South African context has been studied extensively. Sathiparsad, Taylor, and Dlamini (2008, p. 8) describe heading the family "as making decisions, controlling household activities and providing materially for the family". The financial management as noted by Mhlongo resonates.

According to the participants, the father is the king (*Inkosi*) over the entire homestead, as elaborated on by Bab'Zondo from the grandfather's sharing circle:

"When I think of a man of the house, I think of an inkosi, there is no one else who is above that man. Even the village inkosi is not above that man".

The suggestion of the hierarchy is acknowledged within the family and community. Importantly, Zondo's statement shows the importance of the father, who is regarded to be more important than the actual chief of the community. Importantly, this speaks to the idea that families need to first respect and honour their fathers at home before they can extend their respect and honour an external family member. Additionally, Mkhize, during Izinduna sharing circle discussion, reasserted that the father has the same status and equal power as that of the king:

"A Father was a king of the house; he had to rule over everything that had to happen in the household. If there was a person who disobeyed, it was like the person does not obey the rules of the king.....if there is someone who does not adhere to the fathers' rules and does the opposite then that father should not be referred to as a father."

Mkhize's sentiments highlight two essential features that firstly, the father had authority over everyone, and secondly, the fathers' authority had to be obeyed. Failure to obey the father was not seen as the failure of the family members but was seen as the father's failure and his inability to control his family. According to Kapff (2012) the term *Inkosi* is the general expression for the head of the family in the Zulu culture. The above statements emphasize Zulu fathers as kings of the homestead, whereby the national King had less power than the fathers. Furthermore, in terms of the power dynamics, the participants mentioned that there could only be one father per household. If a homestead had more than one male, then the eldest son can only be the head of the family when the father died, which Xulu expressed:

"If you are a father, you probably are the father of the whole household. The name father, it was not possible for every male person to be a father, and no young man could be referred to as a father amongst matured men even if he had a child".

According to Xulu, the father had the highest status, followed by the oldest son, other male relatives, and women and children. However, although the father possessed ultimate power and authority in the homestead and the community, his power was negotiated with the eldest wife, who also wielded a lot of influence, especially in the families that were often polygamous (Lesejane, 2006). Xulu argued that the hierarchical structure was meant to promote the efficiency and maintenance of a supportive family system. Thus Xulu's statement aligns with Lesejane's (2006) descriptions of African fatherhood that was always conceptualized hierarchically.

Another salient aspect of headship was shared by Mhlongo, who reflected on the traditional and cultural eminence of fatherhood and the rules of engagement:

"In the past a father had his own hut, his cutlery, seat, and even different food than the rest of the family"

Tshabala as quoted below supported Mhlongo's statement:

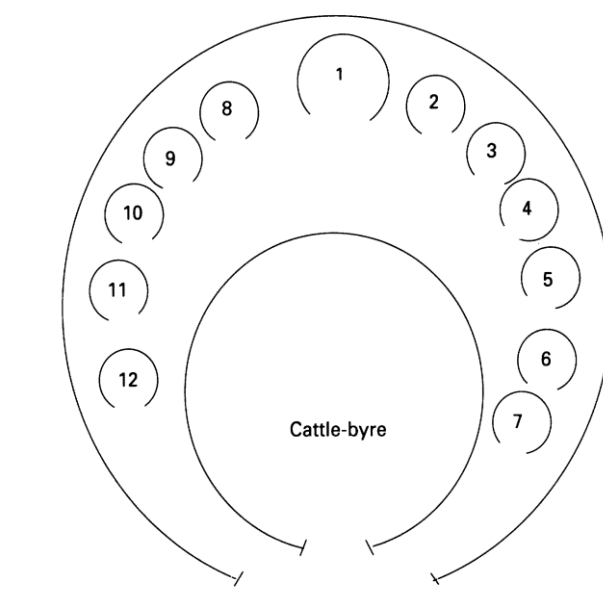
"In the olden days, the homestead had different houses which belonged to the wives, and the father had his separate house where he would invite the wives."

The hierarchy and respect are further elaborated upon by Mthethwa, who declared the following:

"The father is the king of the house; his diet is not the same as that of children. When a chicken is prepared, it is reported that it is for the father. The children will only eat the chicken feet and the intestines."

Clearly, the narratives above emphasize the prestige and respectful presence the father occupies even physically with being afforded separate private demarcated area in the Zulu homestead. According to Kuper (2016), the hierarchal structure of the Zulu family was seen from the structural organization of the huts in the homestead. Traditionally the Zulu homestead comprised of many huts that were built to form a horseshoe structure with the cattle byre at the centre (Kuper, 2016). At the apex of the horseshoe is the great hut (Indlunkulu) which belongs to the father's mother (see the figure below). The father's mother will occupy the great hut and upon her death, the father's first wife will occupy the great hut. The father occupies the second house on the right numbered 2. The hierarchal structure was also implemented amongst the wives of the father. For instance, the right side of the homestead was referred to as isibaya esikhulu (great cattle byre) and belonged to the first wife and her children. The second side of the homestead, which is known as Uhlangothi (left hand side), is reserved for the second wife and her family (Kuper, 2016).

Figure 5.1: Zulu Homestead (Kuper Adam, 1993 p.g 478)



5.6. The role of inhlonipho (respect) in the construction of a Zulu father's identity:

This study emphasized the dominant discourse about a father as a powerful patriarch who everyone respected and admired. Mda further elucidated on this:

"A father was a person who was highly respected, everyone respected the father and we feared him at the same time".

According to participant Mda, the father was supposed to be given respect and also feared at the same time. This is also linked to the hierarchical order and status associated with the father in the Zulu family. The power of respect and its direct implications is acknowledged by Mchunu (2005) who suggests that women and children are expected to respect the father so that the father can retain his dignity in his homestead and his community. Thus, a father who is disrespected by members of his family will automatically be disrespected by those outside his homestead.

Interestingly, all participants used the concepts of fear and respect interchangeably when referring to the father, which inferred differing interpretations. This is expressed by Mkhize below:

"A child knows a father as a beast and is seen to be the most powerful person by anyone and thus had to be given the respect that he deserves."

Mkhize in his statement above makes reference to the status of the father, but moreover compares the father to be a beast who should be feared by children. Although this is done so that the children can respect the father. The negative effect is the social distance that it could create between the father and the children. Children might find it difficult to be in the presence of the father because, to them, the father is like a beast. As stated in the previous section, great care was taken to separate the father from everyone else in the family. The father had his own cutlery, chair, and hut, which children could not enter unless summoned by the father. This assisted in creating the narrative of the father as a beast and someone to be feared.

The reference to the beast by Mkhize is also noted in the study by Hunter (2006) on Zulu men in a rural village in KwaZulu-Natal, whereby the comparison of the beast was also noted. In particular, participant Mkhize and the other elders conceive the analogy of the beast as

powerful. However, in Hunter's (2006) study, a beast was considered as someone to be feared. These splintered interpretations of powerful strength and fear communicates differing perceptions. In the Izinduna sharing circle discussions, the Izinduna specifically interrogated this further, with some arguing that it was more fear than respect, as detailed below:

Tshabalala: *"growing up, when my father was at work, my mom looked after the livestock. She would say to us, if you do not behave the right way, you will make me sleep in the bushes because of your father. Be careful and do not cause trouble for me here at home."*

Moderator: *"Mother said this because she too feared the father?"*

Tshabalala: *"not that she was afraid, she respected him"*

Xulu: *"fear and respect are two different things, I can fear you and not respect you. Older people were respected."*

Blose: *"I'm sorry, but let's not take away the word fear because the father at home is feared. I'm scared that if I do something that is not right at home I get scared of my father. That's why I am afraid; I'm afraid to do this because I will be punished".*

The interchange above demonstrates the nuanced interpretations in Zulu culture. Therefore, the father was someone who was not feared but was someone highly respected. Mbele et al. (2015) assert that respect in the Zulu culture has meanings of great depth and height. Thus far, the participants have demonstrated the importance of the concept of respect through self-respect which is internal respect. Secondly, through respect that is extended to another person such as the father. According to Rudwick (2008), respect in the Zulu culture helps in the construction of individuals' identity. Furthermore, respect as a cultural concept helps to shape how children should behave around elders and fathers in particular. This reinforces the father's identity as the head of the family and the authority that he has in the family (Rudwick & Shange, 2009).

Beyond Hunter's 2006 study, such interpretations prevail beyond Africa. According to Bates (2012, p. 1) negative perceptions of Africans date back to the days of Herodotus, who stated that "Africa was not only different but also threatening, sinister and dangerous than Greece." Thereafter, Western scholars continued to write about Africa stereotypically and the sustained perception of Africa and its people (Poncian, 2015).

5.7. Social Fathers:

All the participants referred to the importance of social fathers. Fatherhood is not perceived to be exclusively biologically determined. To a greater extent, fatherhood amongst the Eshowe people was considered to be socially and culturally determined or earned. The participants emphasized that biology, although vital, was not the sole determinant for the designated title as declared by Mhlongo:

“The name father in our culture, it can be used to indicate that the person is being praised and recognized as a man of status. He is a father because he contributed to solving a difficult situation. However, one can also become a father because he biologically fathered a child or is referred to as a father as a result of his age. These last two are used amongst Zulus, but are not the major points in our culture.”

Mhlongo suggests that fatherhood and fathering is a status acquired through a man's contribution to resolving difficult situations and demonstration of his levels of maturity as a Zulu man. Although the Zulus knew about the biological determinants, fatherhood was traditionally not about whether a man begets a child or not. This is evidenced by Mbatha, who stated the following:

“Yes, I agree the father is important but equally important is also the father's sister u babakazi, she was great, whenever I wanted something from my father I would go to her and she would either go to my father on my behalf or would support me whenever I wanted something from my father”

Similar to Mbatha, Ntombhela added the following:

“I grew up with my maternal grandparents, my grandfather was more like a father to me, he did everything for me”

Mbatha and Ntombhela show that fatherhood is a role that can be performed by other family members either than the father. Nathane and Khunou (2021) stress that fathering can also be done by other members in the family such as omalume (Uncles), ubab'mdala (older father), ubab'mncane (younger father), babakazi (father's sister) etc. Interestingly, fathering in the Zulu culture was not a role reserved only for a male person as the father's sister (ubabakazi) could also take on the father's role. In contrast to popular beliefs and discourse, Zulu women also occupied leadership positions in the family, as evidenced above.

5.8. African discourse on Zulu fathers as providers:

In this study, as the primary provider, the father was not part of the discourse in most of the discussions. This could be because before a man becomes a father, he needs to have a big herd of cattle, agricultural land, and build a home. After he accumulates the means that will enable him to provide for his family, only then will he marry and have children. After he has married and has children, every family member will later play a role in utilizing the fathers' resources for their sustenance, as expressed by Mthethwa:

"A father used to feed his family with the resources he had acquired before marriage. Then the whole family would work together by ploughing, and milking cows."

According to Mthethwa, acquiring the resources first before marriage showed that the father will be able to take care of his family. In addition, Zulu said the following:

"In my days the father was not the only one responsible for bringing food home, everyone played a part in making sure that there is food to eat".

According to Zulu, providing for the family was everyone's duty, not only the father's responsibility. The father's responsibility was to acquire the resources, and the whole family had the responsibility to take care of the resources and ensure that the resources increased. This approach is important as it allowed the family to function as a unit and assisted in lessening the pressure put on fathers to provide for the family. Additionally, According to the participants, the fathers in pre-colonial times could easily provide for the family's needs, whereas now providing has become a problem that has affected the number of children the father can have. This is expressed by Mthethwa below:

"A father used to give birth to 12 children or more and experience no problem and still be able to feed them now you cannot".

Xulu added the following:

"A man would have 9, 15, or 16 wives; those were the fathers of the time. And they would have more than 20 children without having any problems."

The above statements show how the provider role shifts in the Zulu culture and how it affects their way of life. For instance, money has become necessary in people's lives, and providing

for the family has become about providing money. This has affected the number of wives men can have, and further limited the number of children fathers can have. In the pre-colonial era, providing for the family was not about money but was about putting food on the table by producing crops and cattle. The participants, when they spoke about providing for the family, the focus was not about getting a job and working to provide for the family.

5.9. African discourse on Zulu Fathers as Protectors:

The dominant and most important social role of the father identified by the participants is the role of a protector. A father in the African culture was not just responsible for protecting his family but was responsible for protecting everyone who needed protection in the community (Lesejane, 2006). There are two levels of protection identified in the participants' discourse. The first level of protection refers to the protection from physical harm that the father extended to the whole nation and not just his family. The second level of protection applied to protection from the spiritual forces and protection from illness; this type of protection was private and only performed for the family members.

5.9.1. The father as the protector from physical harm:

The participants identified the father's primary role as the protector of the family and the community. The first type of protection they identified was physical protection. During the sharing circle with izinduna, Blose said the following when describing the father as a protector.

“Men in the past, when going out used to carry a stick. Because the father was more of a policeman, when a father encounters a misbehaving person, he does not continue on his way but would intervene as a father.”

According to Blose, it was the father's duty to ensure that the community was safe and they had the responsibility to discipline anyone who is found to be misbehaving. Thus the father's operated as policemen in the community; they had to be always ready to confront any misbehaving individual. This is expressed by Nduna Magasela below:

“When a father passes a shepherd who allows his herd to graze in someone else’s field, the father had the duty to beat the shepherd and chase away his herd from someone else’s field”.

This shows that the fathers had a common goal but also shows the interconnectedness of the individuals within the community. The fathers had to be each other’s keepers and always ready to defend and protect each other’s resources from thieves etc. Additionally, Nduna Zulu said:

“Fathers were known as defenders of the nation. They demonstrated their role by carrying an assegai, but currently, men are walking around without any form of weapon in their hands.”

According to Zulu, carrying an assegai is very important for Zulu fathers as it shows their readiness to defend the families and the community. Therefore, the stick-fighting tricks they learned as young boys herding cattle become very important when they become fathers.

Similarly, Gumede expressed the following during the sharing circle with the grandfathers:

“A father had to be strong in order to protect you like family, for example, a father always carried a stick or a sjambok, and those are some of the things that a father should carry with him. A father must never go empty-handed if a man is going with a woman and then comes a snake, the man is not expected to run away with the woman but is expected to remain behind and kill the snake.”

In addition to Gumede’s statement, the Izinduna also reinforced the idea of the father as a protector for the community during their sharing circle discussion. Thus the quotes mentioned above show that a father was not only responsible for the safety and protection of his children and family, but he had the responsibility to protect the community. The above quotes are in line with the collective belief system of the Zulu people, whereby a father was not just a father for his children but was the father to every child in the community. This philosophical view is entrenched in the philosophy of Ubuntu and communalism and is what informs the father’s behavior.

However, to date, the carrying of assegai has been stereotypically written as Zulu men being violent and always being ready to engage in fights. Thus the carrying of an assegai is seen as negative and primitive. This has affected the construction of contemporary Zulu identities and changed the father’s role (Nhamo, 2009). One participant during our interview argued that those fathers were known as defenders of the nation. They demonstrated their role by carrying an assegai, but currently, men are walking around without any form of weapon in their hands.

5.9.2. Father as the protector from spiritual harm and as a healer of the family:

The second discourse around fathers as the protector in the sharing circles and interviews was the father as the protector from spiritual forces. Spiritual protection was for family members only and not for the community members. This is because the father consulted his ancestors for protection. For example, if his surname were Kunene, then he would consult the Kunene ancestors. The father ensured that he prevented and treated any ailments the family members had. This he did by performing rituals and mixing herbs if one member was unwell, as expressed by Mthethwa below:

“The father protects his family by ensuring his children’s wellbeing in terms of health. If the children are not well, a father will mix herbs, clean a child’s internal system, and perform certain rituals”.

The extract above illustrates a crucial role that the father plays in the his children’s lives. According to Mthethwa, once the children fell ill, it was the father’s responsibility to get them back to health. The father is the one who is responsible for mixing the herbs because he is considered to know more knowledgeable about the forest and its plants. From a young age, boys were sent out to herd the cattle, and it is where they learn about the herbs found in the fields. Fathers have always been encouraged to spend their time in the fields and learn what nature can provide. For instance, a famous Zulu proverb would often be said to men who do not like going to the fields : *Indoda ifela emaqeleni* (a father dies at the hillside).

Importantly, the father’s crucial role in protecting his family is to protect them from spiritual attacks. The father's responsibility was to ensure that the kids had done all the necessary rituals needed. Magasela expresses this;

“My father was always the one who decided on the rituals that needed to be done by family members, he knew what ritual was needed and for what purpose. Because you cannot just do a ritual there must be a reason for doing that ritual”.

Magasela's statement shows the importance of the father in spirituality and, most importantly, shows the father's role in the family. Thus it was imperative for the fathers to know the different

rituals that the family needed to do. This is further supported by Mbatha's interview, who noted the following about fathers:

"In the past, there were traditions and culture. A man was the one who tells his children to do particular rituals if there is a need for it."

Mbatha shows the importance of spirituality and the role that the father plays in the spiritual health of their family. The spiritual world is significant in the Zulu belief system and culture as Shobekhulu added:

"For us Zulu people, we believe in amadlozi and fathers are very important because they are the ones who do rituals for the children, like introducing the children to the ancestors."

The statement from Shobekhulu shows the importance of ancestors in the Zulu culture and further speaks to the role of the father to connect to the ancestors. The Zulu people's belief in the Ancestors and the metaphysical world shapes their behavior and assists in constructing their identity. Zulu people have always been spiritual and believed in a higher power. The ancestors are known as Amadlozi (idlozi for plural) or umoya.

As head of the family, the father is the only one allowed to burn the incense (imphepho), which is used to connect with the ancestors on behalf of the family. This is expressed by Gumede below:

"When children are facing problems, like not finding a job, they can go to their father and ask their father to burn imphepho for them and plead with the ancestors to give them a job".

According to Gumede, the father is the gateway to the ancestors and to receiving protection and wealth from the ancestors. Therefore, if there is a problem of a spiritual nature, this gets reported to the father, who then will connect and plead with the ancestors on behalf of the family member. Thus, respecting the father will assist the individual in ensuring that the father will readily be able to assist them by connecting with the family ancestors. The father also has to ensure that his family members maintain a healthy spiritual harmony within the family. This is expressed by Nene below during the Izinduna sharing circle:

"You see there are so many diseases all over, I worship those who have passed on the ancestors when a person is ill, I would call on the grandfathers [passed on grandfathers] and say to them I am here, my cows are dying and my children are sick. I would call on the ancestors and say where are you now?"

Nene demonstrates the idea of the ancestors who are known as the living dead (Amadlozi), and who continue to influence the lives of the living positively by bringing them fortune and protecting them from harm. They can also negatively influence the lives of the living by bringing misfortune and harm; this only happens when the bond between the living and the living dead is broken and if the living disobeys or disrespects the wishes of the living dead (Monteiro-Ferreira, 2005; Ntshangase, 2018). To mend the broken relationship umsebenzi (sacrificial event) will need to be done with the father leading the ceremony.

Interestingly, Magasela mentioned how the father is involved in the pregnancy of his wives, and as the family herbalist, how he protects his unborn children.

“The father plays a very important part in a pregnant woman’s life. He monitors her and provides her with traditional medicine that will help her be strong and help the baby grow strong and healthy.”

Magasela’s statement above expresses the indigenous ways of how a Zulu father used to protect his family from spiritual harm and how the father ensured the health of his children. Notably, the above statement shows how the Zulu father was involved in the baby's life as soon as the mother was pregnant; the father ensured and assisted the mother in carrying and delivering the baby by administering certain medications safely.

5.10. Conclusion:

This chapter discussed fatherhood within the Zulu social and cultural context through the prism of the Eshowe community. The participants gave us insights about how they conceptualize fatherhood as informed by Zulu social mores and norms. Although the participants largely agreed that culture was dynamic, they however were clear that this must not be confused with cultural domination by the West. In other words, even in Zulu traditional societies, identities and subjectivities always changed and that change was celebrated. However, change did not amount to the loss of the underlying values systems, beliefs and cosmologies. The following chapter discusses the problem of coloniality in Zulu culture and how it impacts Zulu fatherhood. It critically engages with the findings at a much deeper level in terms of decolonial analysis.

Chapter 6: Zulu fatherhood and the influence of Coloniality

6.0. Introduction:

This chapter discusses how coloniality has influenced fatherhood in Eshowe. The chapter will show how Eurocentric constructs and conceptualisations are transforming Zulu men's experience of fatherhood in Eshowe by showing the connections, disconnections, ruptures, and differences between Zulu notions of fatherhood and dominant Eurocentric notions of fatherhood. Ratele (2012) and Richter (2010) posit fatherhood as a social construction that is shaped by ideological power relations factors between hegemonic and subaltern agencies. Consequently, it can be argued that fatherhood in South Africa has been changing due to such influences (Dermott, 2003). Western concepts of fatherhood dominate the literature available on fathering and fatherhood. However, many scholars argue that most research in South Africa tends to undermine African cultural factors which have a significant influence on African Black men's fathering identity and behavior (Mkhize, 2006; Lesejane, 2006; Sikweyiya, Shai, Gibbs, Mahlangu & Jewkes, 2017).

6.1. Social construction of fatherhood and how it influences Zulu fatherhood:

During a discussion on how constructions of fatherhood have changed at Eshowe, the dominant discourse amongst the participants was the constant changes in the constructions of the structures, roles and images of the Zulu fathers. Most participants said that fathers no longer have control of their families because of Western traditions and ideologies, as Mkhize, one of the participants suggests below:

“My home is no longer managed according to Zulu culture and customs, which I knew growing up as a young boy....Western culture has destroyed the African culture. There is no longer a difference between fathers and other family members.

According to Mkhize, colonialism and coloniality have managed to destruct the Zulu culture and has dismantled the sense of being and identity of fathers. This is supported by Xulu who stated:

“Zulu fatherhood is finished, we now do things according to White people’s customs, we now all live in a four room house whereas before, the father had his own private hut/house with his own cutlery and things”

Zulu like Mkhize highlights the transformation of fathering in Zulu households, and moreover, shows the slow adaptation of Western values of fathering. Similar to Mkhize and Xulu’s statement Zondo said the following:

“ Fatherhood has changed, fathers enjoyed authority and respect, this was shown in every aspect of our lives, fathers had their own huts and control who entered their huts, even the food we ate, fathers used to have a full chicken all for himself and children were only allowed to eat the chicken intestines. Now fathers only get one piece which is the same as children. This means that we have become just like children, there’s no difference between the father and other family members, we eat the same things, we live in the same house, use the same chairs and cutlery”

Participants speak of privileges associated with being a father. The privileges served to emphasise the hierarchy and the authority of the father. The father as the head of the family received certain privileges that reinforced the status and authority that he had in the family. Importantly, Mthethwa’s emphasizes the decrease in the fathers hierarchal status by pointing out that fathers now receive the same portions as children. This highlights the importance that culture plays in understanding and performing fatherhood. A lot of research has been conducted to define and conceptualize fatherhood. However, most research on fatherhood paid little regard to cultural variations (Day, Lewis, O'Brien, & Lamb, 2011). Yet culture plays an essential role in conceptualizing fatherhood and further helps to shape fathers' identity and sense of responsibility (Hewlett, 2000). To show the importance of culture in conceptualizing fatherhood Mpungose argued that when a person loses their cultural background, they become unstable, as quoted below:

“When Africans accepted Western religion, it became clear that African traditions were no longer relevant. I strongly believe that tradition is something that represents the ancestral foundation. When you refuse to acknowledge your tradition, it means that you are standing in the air, which is not stable.”

Mpungose in the above extract acknowledges that the loss of African traditions is the loss of people's foundations, beliefs, and value systems. Without a sense of belief system then, people’s identity becomes affected. Interestingly, Mpungose argues that when people lose their

culture and traditions they become people who are standing in the air and thus are susceptible to anything such as the dominant culture and value systems. Similar to the participants' expressions, Mazrui (1986, p. 11) states that " Africa is at war. It is a war of cultures. It is a war between indigenous Africa and the forces of Western civilization".

Mbatha reiterated the idea of a diminishing Zulu culture and the resultant destruction of Zulu fatherhood and expressed:

"Zulu fathers no longer exist, we have fathers who don't follow tradition and do things the right way, they have become Christians and now say they don't practice important rituals for their children"

According to Mbatha, western religion is one of the factors that influences Zulu fatherhood. For Mbatha the adoption of the Christian religion and its values draws fathers further away from their culture and way of life in favour of the Western values that are embedded in the Christian religion. Additionally Shobekhulu argued the following:

"Fathers used to ensure that all rituals were performed for children, like the ritual of genital mutilation (ukungcongwa) which used to be done for young babies to delay them from having sexual feelings and having babies at a young age. Now western religion came with the gospel telling people to abandon their traditions and now genital mutilations is stopped and we are now seeing strange things like people raping and children as young as 12 years having babies, where else have you seen that?"

The extract above highlights one of the traditions that was abandoned due to western religion. According to Shobekhulu there were important rituals and traditions that the father ensured that the children completed. A ritual such as the one described above was used as a preventative measure to stop early sexual explorations and further prevented teenage pregnancy. Thus fathers no longer continue with the roles that they used to do such as performing spiritual rituals for their families. In Addition to Shobekhulu's statement, Zondo stated the following:

"Fathers were important because they were the ones who knew what rituals were needed to be done, and the father needed to be close to all the family members so they can easily approach him when they have problems which needed ancestral interventions. The father knew everyone's problems and formed an important part of solution either through advice or by appeasing the ancestors. But western religion stopped everything and everyone goes to their churches to receive help".

The above extract illustrates the importance of performing spiritual rituals which were considered to also facilitate the connections between fathers and their children and other family members. For instance, fathers as the person who is able to plead to the ancestors on behalf of the children when they face problems, forced family members to open up to the father about their problems. This created a bond between fathers and children and the father became an important part of fixing whatever ills that the children would be facing. Christianity disconnects the father from the children. The Christian God who is easily accessible by everyone becomes the source of hope for the children's problems, rendering the father less important.

The participants' views above demonstrate the cultural war in Africa that continues in modern-day Africa. Moreover, Ndlovu-Gatsheni during an interview conversation with Omanga (2020) argued that colonialism as a power structure and an epistemic project continues to destabilize people's lives by committing crimes such as epistemicide, linguicide, and culturecide. Thus according to Mpungose, without culture, people will have no foundation to build strong families. Mazrui (1986) claimed that Africa for decades has been going through a gradual and persistent process of dis-Africanisation and Westernisation. The participants in the following sections below describe the gradual process of dis-Africanisation, which shape the Zulu family and impact fathering.

6.2. The destruction of African personhood and its influence on fatherhood:

The participants were also asked: What is the difference between fathers in the olden days and fathers now? The participants stated that for them, Zulu fathers had a metaphysical aspect that influenced their decision-making and how they performed fatherhood. The metaphysical aspect and its influence on Zulu fathers were explained by Ngema, as a participant:

“The problem I have noticed is that as Zulu fathers, we have lost our philosophies, Ubuntu. We no longer know whether we are Xhosa, Sotho, Indian, Coloured. It's not a religion or anything; we can't even fault the constitution. The problem is that we have forgotten who we

are; if we don't know ourselves, where we come from, our traditions, and values, then how can we be good fathers."

In the above quote, Ngema expressed that an African father always had something more rooted in him, which goes deeper than religion and cannot be seen in the physical but forms a big part of men's being. Ngema asks an essential question that without the unseen elements of Ubuntu that form part of fathers' identity, "how then can fathers be good fathers when they have forgotten who they are, their identity, and their beliefs." According to Ngema, a Zulu father cannot be considered a good father when he doesn't know his culture and traditions, and most importantly, when he doesn't know who he is. This is different from Western notions of fathering. Western notions of fatherhood tend to emphasise fathers meeting their roles and responsibilities such as providing for the family (Lesch, Gittings, Dunn, Maharaj, Louw, Enderstein, Nell, Nordien-Lagardien & Pretorius, 2021). Western ontological and epistemological views are rooted in empirical values and thus are less likely to focus on the metaphysical world explained by the participants. Mfecane (2018) identified this metaphysical aspect as personhood, an unseen element that influences African men to behave in specific ways. For instance, Zulu expressed the following:

"A Zulu father had dignity (Isithunzi) which meant that he had a responsibility to behave and act a certain way."

Zulu's statement above emphasizes the idea of Zulu fathers being led by innate aspects that compel them to behave in a certain way. Similarly, Nyowe (2017) asserts that African personhood is Ubuntu which is often characterized by the popular Nguni proverb "umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu". According to Mfecane (2018), personhood in most African societies is believed to have an essence and is not just a product of social constructions and performances. That is, a person is a composite being made up of physical elements and unseen elements that both possess the power to influence behavior and character (Mfecane, 2018). This means that a father's identity is not only influenced by social constructions and performances.

Additionally, another participant confirmed the notion of African personhood and its effect on Zulu fatherhood. To illustrate, Ntombela expressed the opinion that:

" Ubuntu was respected in the past; even now, it is still respected. It's just those rebels who have given their lives to doing things their way until they die. ...therefore, Ubuntu does not perish. It is a person who perishes. Men have developed self-hatred, which is what is destroying fatherhood in KwaZulu."

Ntombela argued that what is currently destroying fathers in the Zulu Society, is that men have forgotten about the unseen elements that form part of their identity. Ntombela further argues that fathers have thus developed a sense of self-hatred by rejecting their culture and traditions and adopting to do things their way. In most instances, African fathers tend to adopt western ways of fathering and in so doing reject African ways of fathering. Thus, if fathers don't know their identity and with the loss of their sense of being, their personhood will have consequences on how they perform their fatherhood role.

Interestingly Shandu, who also alludes to the loss of personhood, argued that disrespecting Zulu customs and not following Zulu traditions has dire effects on the father's dignity. As quoted below:

"fathers have disrespected the Zulu culture by not practicing our traditions, they have stopped what we used to do as adults, and that was the end. Now it appears as if Zulu fathers are violent, of which is not the case. It is the result of the loss of respect through traditional practices. father's dignity is lost."

Shandu implies that this loss of personhood also affects the father's dignity and influences men to behave negatively and sometimes violently. Shandu refers to an essential point about the loss of a Father's dignity and the mental effects it could have on him. Mfecane (2018) argued that to understand men, fathers, and masculinity, we need to understand their being and what makes them who they are. This is entirely different from Western concepts of fatherhood, which are rooted in Christian fathering ideals.

6.3. The South African legislation and policies and their effect on fatherhood:

All the participants agreed that the Zulu father before apartheid and colonialism enjoyed his earned status of a father in the family. The participants also felt that current Zulu fathers no longer enjoy the status and authority that the title of the father had in society. For example, Ngomane stated the following:

"A father in the olden was a very important member of the family, he was valued and given all the respect, today fathers have become nothing because of the government. It doesn't matter anymore whether a home has a father or not".

The above extracts speak to the father's decreasing status in the family. Interestingly Ngomane blames the government and its policies for the father's decreasing status in the family. This could be that the policies are not founded on African epistemologies and thus interfere with Zulu people's belief system and way of life. For, example MaZulu expressed the following:

"We are now equal with fathers; the law states that fathers and mothers should be equal, but this leads to disrespect....even for fathers who happen to have about four or five wives, they are disrespected and ridiculed. In the past, a father with many wives had dignity and was highly respected."

MaZulu is a female Nduna and expresses that the state and government laws have made them equal with fathers. The western value of equality has penetrated the cultural authority in the rural villages of KwaZulu-Natal. Rural KwaZulu-Natal relies on customary law as part of their everyday lives. Pre-Colonialism, traditional roles of leadership such as being Induna were reserved for fathers; however, in post-colonialism, more mothers are becoming Izinduna. This shows the gradual change in the customary law system. MaZulu also speaks about the consequences of promoting equality in the Zulu family. For MaZulu, when the state makes mothers equal with fathers it becomes destructive to the Zulu family structure and further leads to disrespect for the fathers.

Another female Ntombela, supports MaZulu's statement and stated the following:

"You see now, we live where a 50/50 ideology system works, where women's rights rule everything. You see, we are now able to oppress men as women. For example, when I am with my husband but somebody else will come and praise my name (MamNtombela) while my husband is present. And I allow it to happen, this affects my husband's dignity."

According to Ntombela the concept of 50/50 refers to equality between fathers and mothers. However, for Ntombela the concept of equality has the ability to cause mothers to oppress fathers. She further states, that people end up recognizing the mothers in the homestead over the fathers, which degrades the status of fathers. Most of the participants shared similar sentiments to MaZulu and Ntombela; for instance, Blose shared the following:

"Fathers no longer have the power to be a father, you will find that even if a father talks, the mother will talk back; in this way, the father loses his dignity."

The above suggests that the father's power and authority are diminishing within the marital dyad. Mazrui (1986) wrote that European power destroyed Africa's institutions and structures

of authority, which led to the corrosion of their culture. The participants suggest that the decreased status of the father is because of equality. The cultural system afforded the father a hierarchal position above the other family members, which seems to become de-stabilising presently when roles and responsibilities are shared. A concomitant aspect is reasserting, maintaining, and practicing respect for the father, as Gwala illustrates by example:

“We are now staying together with children. There is no difference between older people, even in the seats. You would go out and come back, seeing a child sitting on your seat. You cannot keep quiet; you will have to tell the child that that is the father’s seat”.

Gwala’s reference to the father’s chair symbolizes the changing power relations within the family. As mentioned in the previous chapter, traditionally, the father had his room, chairs, and cutlery that was not shared by other members of the household. Presently when inhabiting the same house with his family and children, his status as the king is interrogated for its utility. The symbolism of the chair dedicated to the father is eroded and reduces his status and power within the family.

According to the participants, as shown above, Western culture has meant that the father is no longer considered to be the head of the family in the same sense that it had meant in the past, but the mother is now the head who seems to have more control over the family resources and wellbeing. For example, Mthethwa said the following:

“Long ago, the father was the head of the family, but now, mothers are the ones who control everything. Some mothers even want to be the ones who keep the bank card”.

Mthethwa argues that there has been a shift in the headship in the Zulu family, where there is now a rise of mothers occupying leadership positions in the family. Colonialism as a metaphysical power structure is used to sustain and continue the hierarchical and unequal relations of domination and exploitation in Africa (Omanga, 2020).

6.4. Modernisation and the disruption of the life stages that groom a boy to be a father:

During the conversational interviews, the participants argued that modernisation interferes with their way of life including the life stages that groom boys into Zulu fathers. This is expressed by Mthethwa:

“In these modern days, we now raise children who become amaphara”

According to Mthethwa due to modernization, fathers are now raising their children who end up to be amaphara. Amaphara is an informal word for people who abuse drugs and end up living on the streets. In addition, Xulu added:

“Children have become amaphara, it's because we don't have a say in their lives anymore as their fathers. It's the new government with their changes”

The above extract illustrates some of the effects of modernization amongst the Zulu people in Eshowe. Xulu further states that children become amaphara because they as fathers and mothers feel like they do not have authority over their children like they used to do in the olden days. Interestingly, Xulu attributes the lack of their authority to the new government, for him, it's the government that influences their way of life. MaZulu expressed similar sentiments and stated the following:

“These rights have destroyed our children, we now are no longer able to raise our children because of these rights”

Similar to Xulu MaZulu, argued that children's rights destroy their children as they sometimes compete and conflict with their cultural way of life. To illustrate the interference of children's rights and the Zulu Culture, Mbatha said:

“Children have rights now, they no longer listen to us, we can even send them to the shops. They will tell us they are tired and it's their right to not go if they don't want to. These rights have made our children be very disrespectful”.

Mbatha's statement emphasizes the influence that children's rights have on their children and most importantly the fluence it has on the fathers. Implicit in this is also the influence that it has on the child and father relationship. According to Mchunu (2005), respect and discipline are very important for fathers in the Zulu culture, fathers who feel disrespected feel that they are not entitled to be called fathers. This is further exacerbated when they end up raising children who end up becoming amaphara. For instance, Zulu fathers are known for the value they put in disciplining children and instilling a culture of discipline this is explained by Ngomane:

“raising a child who has respect and is well disciplined is very important, it reflects well on the father. It means that a father did a good job and raised good children who will find work and build their homesteads. If a child becomes a phara, it means you have failed badly as a father. How do you call yourself a father after raising amaphara”.

According to Ngomane, fathers take the responsibility for the outcome of their children and when children end up being amaphara it reflects badly on the father and not necessarily on the children. Additionally, Ntombela stated the following:

“We can no longer discipline children, if we want to beat them, they tell us that they will get us arrested”.

Ntombela illustrates an important aspect of the influence of children’s rights in the Zulu family. Furthermore, this shows the shift of power relations due to fear of being arrested. Shobekhulu add and said the following:

“We can not discipline our children anymore because we do not want to be arrested. So we just let them be”

Similar to Ntombela, Shobekhulu argued that the fear of being arrested influences fathers to not discipline their children. This further disconnects fathers from their way of life and understanding of how to raise children and disconnects fathers from their children. This is exemplified by Mthembu who expressed :

“When we were young we were beaten hard by our fathers. Sometimes my father will call me to go to him and when I went to his hut, he would then beat me, and when his friends asked him why he would beat a child for nothing. He said that it’s been a while since he last beat me so he needed to remind me that he can beat me anytime, and this has helped me to be the best man I can be and to be strong ”.

According to Mthembu, beating children was the Zulu fathers way of instilling discipline and respect in their children. Corporal punishment was found to be effective in ensuring that children were raised well. This is expressed by Qhawe:

“I say things are worse in terms of children’s behavior because they grow up Not disciplined through beating. When you discipline a child by beating you are told that you are abusing the child”.

Similar to Qhawe’s statement Xulu added:

“While we were supposed to discipline, guide, and monitor our children to see if they do as we guide them. For example, when a child repeats the same offense, you then discipline them(child) by beating them until they do the right thing because you would have told them that a particular thing is not allowed in this family. That’s how we instill respect and self-

discipline in children. But now when you beat up a modern child, you may find yourself in huge trouble and possibly arrest. Our children have been taken away from us by the government through these so-called human rights things. Now the child is able to put the adult in prison while I am the one supposed to be telling the child that he/she will be arrested”

According to the above extracts, corporal punishment formed an important part of the father’s role in the Zulu culture. The father relied on and used corporal punishment to groom their children. However, currently, in South Africa, all forms of corporal punishment have been abolished and it is illegal to chastise a child, including a little smack on the wrists (Lutchman, 2021). It is against this backdrop that disconnects the fathers from their children and from their way of life. Although this study does not advocate for the use of corporal punishment but presents the views of fathers who have used corporal punishment for generations and the effects the change has on fathers' lived experiences.

Another interesting factor that the participants felt was disruptive to the order of the life stages was western education, as expressed by Mdlalose:

“The first thing to begin with, you see this food that we eat causes damage to our way of life. Second thing is that legislation or the Constitution of the country when it is found that you had hit a child; radio and yourselves who are educated, you say the child should arrest. Those are some of the things that were not happening in the past”.

Mdlalose adds to the narratives above and states that smacking a child will get fathers to be sent to prison. Additionally, Mdlalose refers that educated people are in support of constitutional laws that do not build families. MaZulu expressed the following about the influence of western education in the Zulu structures:

“The children are older than us now and I sometimes also criticize the modern type of education. This is because it teaches children everything even the secrets that we were not taught at a young age like teaching them that teachers can not touch a child everything like conducting him/herself. When a child is told so much information about sex, it then starts misbehaving. Now you often see children going in partners like a girl with a boy. I never did such when I was young I used to just go straight home after school. Today they are told together in a classroom setting how a person gets pregnant even to such an extent of using charts. We used to know that a child is bought. We were ignorant and our ignorance was good to us.”

The above extracts highlight the influence of western education on the Zulu structure and life stages. According to MaZulu, the problem with western education is that it undermines the cultural developmental stages of Zulu children. Thus children are given information that is not appropriate for their age groups. This makes children grow up faster and be more knowledgeable about things that their parents only got to learn about in their adult years, creating a disconnection between the parents and the children.

6.5. Fathers as breadwinners:

The dominating discourse across all sharing group discussions and conversational interviews were the evolving intersecting dynamics of politics, economy, and social environment that continuously influence Zulu families. According to the participants, the changing power dynamics are also linked with the changing financial and economic environment. Xulu exemplifies these contestations:

“In the past, the father would go out and come back with food, but now in the modern days you hear that the father is working and he is expected to give money to the mother, the mother will then see what needs to be done in the household. And the father, if he doesn’t have money, he is expected to borrow money again.”

Xulu is expressing how the father’s role has been reduced to that of providing finances with little power over how those resources will be allocated in the household. In the statement above, Xulu shows how vital money has become in the Zulu culture. Importantly, it reveals that Zulu fathers have become the sole breadwinners and are expected to bring the money. The traditional western concept of fatherhood has promoted the breadwinner role as the father’s primary role in the household (Dermott, 2003). The changes highlighted by the participants are indicative of the Western values, where fathers are the main breadwinners providing for the family as their major role in the family.

Zulu fathers have thus become the main breadwinners and are expected to find money including borrowing money that will take care of the family. This view of the father reduces the father to be that of an ATM. Furthermore, it contrasts with the Zulu traditional responsibility of providing for the family, whereby providing for the family was everyone’s responsibility and not the fathers’. According to the participants, the father’s inability to bring money home decreases the father’s status in the household. This is made worse when it’s the

younger generation who is bringing money home. For instance, Nduna Shandu said the following:

“Fatherly respect is for when fathers have money, he (child) normally finds it difficult to respect his father because he considers himself as having money, and he has a lot of money than his father. It gets worse when that person (child) is driving a car as he often does not care about anyone.”

Shandu supports Xulu’s statement and argues that fathers in current times gain respect only when they have money. This speaks to the increased value of money and shows the shift from an agrarian economy to a monetized economy in rural KwaZulu-Natal. Interestingly, Shandu emphasizes the effect the monetized economy has on intergenerational family relations in Eshowe. For instance, Shandu expressed that for him, young people tend to become disrespectful to their fathers because they have more money than their fathers. Furthermore, their disrespect intensifies when they own a motor vehicle. A study which was investigating the effects of social change on family life by Campbell (1994) yielded similar results to this study. Campbell’s (1994) study found that the older generation men repeatedly expressed the breakdown of intergenerational respect. This breakdown of intergenerational respect is attributed to the changing socio-economic context. In addition, Buthelezi expressed the following:

“Today’s youth are different, when we were their age, we respected our fathers and treated every man like our father, they don’t respect anyone because they have money, they don’t know how important respect is in our Zulu culture and for us fathers if we don’t get their respect we lose our dignity”.

The extract above supports the idea of the breakdown of intergenerational respect because of the changing socio-economic landscape. Buthelezi highlights the negative impact this has on fathers and states that fathers lose their dignity if they do not receive the respect that they feel is due to them. During the sharing circle discussion with the grandfathers, they discussed that they felt disrespected by the younger generation. For instance, Mthembu stated the following:

“If they (the younger generation) can be taught respect, then all these diseases would not be following them, because they (younger generation) are going everywhere because they have money. They should follow God’s commandments, especially commandment number 4, which states that you must respect your father and mother. However, the influence of money leads the person to misbehave, thinking that he can do anything and can go anywhere anytime.”

The above extract reiterates the struggle for respect between the older and younger generations. Mthembu asserts that diseases like HIV/AIDS, which research shows to have a high incidence rate amongst young people in KwaZulu-Natal (Steinert, Cluver & Romero, 2017;), are due to young people not respecting their elders. In a similar study by Campbell (1994), older Black men also reported feelings of being disrespected by younger Black men. According to Campbell (1994, p. 621), older men are struggling to reconcile their traditional view of what it means to be a father. That is fathers as potent, powerful, proud beings as well as repositories of community wisdom and experience, with a set of social relations. In contrast, the participants felt that fathers and mothers have become low in the current social hierarchy and have little power in the family. This is expressed by MaZulu:

“Children see themselves as old even to us. It gets worse when they start working; they turn to be the heads of the family. Whereby it does not work like that, it did not work like that in the past.”

In the above statement, MaZulu argues that working young people tend to behave as if they are older in the family; this could be because gainfully employed people tend to be responsible for the finances in the family. Currently, in South Africa, there is an increase in the younger Black generation getting access to higher education. Access to higher education leads to getting employed in high-paying jobs, which can bring financial freedom to the homestead. Interestingly, the older generation participants have difficulty adjusting to this change, and the new reality of having younger family members have more economic power than the fathers.

According to MaZulu, the younger generation is taking over as heads of the family as they tend to be more educated and in well-paying jobs. As owners of the financial resources, they become responsible for decisions over their funds. This shows how the social roles are changing within the household and for every member of the family. One of the things that arose from the sharing circles and conversational interviews was that the economic shift and change in social roles have led to tensions between the older and younger generations. This is further exacerbated by mothers joining the workforce and having access to jobs, especially jobs that were once reserved for men; MaMbambo expresses this:

“We as mothers have influence in fathers abusing alcohol when we abuse our equal rights as mothers, which leads fathers to confuse their minds with too much alcohol and avoid doing evil and criminal things in the household. An employed mother must know that she is doing the

job that was previously done by the father. But she (employed mother) must know that this does not mean that they are above the father of the house.”

Nduna MaMbambo discusses how the changing political economy influenced the roles between the father and the mother. Although there were no clear, distinct gender-assigned roles in the Zulu culture in pre-colonial times, everyone worked in the field to provide for the family. The gender-assigned roles came with colonialism, where the mother's social roles became working in the household, and the kitchen, and the father's main role became that of providing for the family (Matlon, 2016). The father's inability to meet his social role decreases his power in the household. The participants stated that they felt threatened by the increasing power of the youth, who have access to better jobs and are able to bring the money home; the increase in the financial resources is seen as an increase of power in the household.

6.6. Coloniality of being and Zulu fathers lived experiences:

All the participants agreed that the father pre-colonialism and pre-apartheid enjoyed his earned status of a father. The participants also felt that current Zulu fathers no longer enjoy the status and authority that the title of the father had in society. Grandfather Ngomane went further and expressed that Zulu fathers no longer exist as shown below:

“The topic on fatherhood is easy; all I can say is the world has robbed us, and fatherhood is finished.”

According to grandfather Ngomane, Zulu fathers no longer exist; they have been taken away by the world, meaning that colonialism and modernity have changed or diminished the way Zulu fatherhood was understood and performed. Similarly, Ntuli said the following:

“I think that there used to be fathers and amadoda mature men in the past now we just have males”.

According to Ntuli, there used to be fathers in the past, but now there are no longer fathers. Interestingly Ntuli added more to the discourse by referencing that there are also no Amadoda (plural for Indoda) but umuntu wesilisa (males). To be called umuntu wesilisa is a term often used to refer to young boys who have not yet matured and are thus at the bottom of the masculinity hierarchy. This implies that Zulu fathers have not only been stripped off their titles as fathers but their titles as Indoda (men) and put at the bottom of the masculinity hierarchy. Thus the participants felt a deep sense of decrease in their powers as fathers and men.

According to Maldonado-Torres (2010), when the colonizers came to colonize Africa, they did so using the ethics of war. Ethics that governed human relations in Europe were suspended in Africa, as Africans were considered to be the other and not humans (Maldonado-Torres, 2010). By virtue of race, non-European people were forced to assume the position of slavery and serfdom. A female nduna MaZulu reiterated the idea that fathers are not there but added another dimension to the discussion as expressed below:

“It’s not like fathers are not there, they are there but they are really hurting and weak.”

According to MaZulu, Zulu fathers are still there however, for her, they are powerless and hurting. MaZulu acknowledges the emotional and psychological pain due to changing socio-political systems which disrupt the Zulu family structure and way of life. Interestingly another female nduna, nduna MaMbambo shared the same view as MaZulu and reiterated the following:

“Today’s fathers are hurt. They are there, but they are hurting.”

Nduna MaZulu and MaMbambo are referring to fathers hurting and have become weaker, which may imply that the presence of contemporary fathers is not as strongly felt as the presence of fathers during pre-apartheid and colonialism. Interestingly, the female izinduna found it easier to talk about the pain that fathers are experiencing whereas the male izinduna preferred to say that Zulu fatherhood does not exist. Nduna Ntombela is amongst the first females to be made Induna in the village of Eshowe; she felt that one of the reasons she was chosen to be Induna was that fathers are consumed by pain and have become weak, which has led to more women being appointed to leadership positions. This is supported by nduna MaZulu, who said the following during her conversational interview:

“Fathers are no longer strong. At first, they were the ones who took up these positions [leadership/izinduna] because they were the wise ones. That is why they held these positions. Today there are no fathers; women are the ones who bring food home and working to take care of the household. Today fathers are weak”.

Nduna MaZulu statement shows the power shifts and positions of leadership in the community of Eshowe, where more mothers are becoming community leaders and heardsmen over fathers. Furthermore, MaZulu alludes to the shifting socio-economic changes in the society, whereby more women are getting employed and becoming the family breadwinners. Interestingly, MaZulu argues that fathers are weak, and as a result, it is women who are now providing for

the family and taking care of the household. Ironically, in pre-apartheid South Africa, mothers were also responsible for bringing food home and taking care of the household, yet fathers were not considered weak. This is evidence of an epistemological and ontological shift in the view of what a father is and the father's role in the household.

One male nduna made reference to the pain and lived experience of Zulu fathers. For instance, nduna Xulu argued that fathers are not being entirely honest about themselves and stated the following:

“We as men we feel depressed because we can no longer speak for ourselves, we are not honest with ourselves.”

Xulu's statement adds to the discourse of fathers feeling powerless but ironically makes reference to fathers not being true to themselves. Xulu asserts that fathers have been silenced. This is ironic as research on the culture of silence in South Africa focuses on mothers and young people and emphasises issues of absent fathers and gender-based violence (Lynch, Morison, & Garden, 2017). According to Dube (2016) certain research on Black South African men tends to focus on destructive and antisocial behaviors of Black men, which leads to Black men being held responsible for all social ills in South Africa. Little research in South Africa focuses on Black men and fathers and their lived experiences. Moreover, how they have become silenced. Dube (2016) further argues that the notion of 'crisis of/in masculinity' was a concept that originated in America and focused on capturing Black men's experiences of changing work and family structures.

Colonialism and apartheid has left many fathers alienated and with decreased powers to fulfill their social roles as Zulu fathers. Xulu in the above statement, calls for fathers to be honest and speak up about their experiences on fathering and fatherhood in Eshowe. According to Siberschmidt (2001, p. 657), “patriarchal structures and stereotyped notions of gender hide the increasing disempowerment of many men in rural Africa.” This study's results are similar to a research study conducted by Campbell (1992), which focused on the effects of apartheid and capitalism on African family life in Natal. Campbell's (1992) study found that fathers were in a state of being wounded by the changing power relations of the family.

Changing social, political, and economic structures have left some fathers with unclear roles and, in some instances, tasks that are difficult to fulfill (Siberschmidt, 2001). According to Campbell (1992), one of the reasons for the fathers' pain comes from South Africa's political past. For example, apartheid and colonialism stripped Black fathers of their status and power

and oppressed them. The space that they had to practice their dominance and authority was the family, whereby they had control over their homestead. However, the changing socio economy has further affected patriarchal father's ideology of roles and responsibilities which affects fathers' identity and self-esteem (Siberschmidt, 2001).

According to the participants, the changing socio-economy has caused many fathers and men to resort to negative ways of coping with the pain such as alcohol. For example, Nduna Dlamini expressed the following:

"Today there is no respect in today's fathers I don't know what to blame but I will blame this alcohol".

According to the participants, fathers have changed and have resorted to abusing alcohol and have become more violent. Mayekiso (2016) argues that the changing roles of fathers and men's loss of power in the household has resulted in men resorting to other means to express their masculinity such as violence. In the sharing circles, the participants argued that the fathers' feelings of lack of being valued in their families and with a sense of being overwhelmed of not knowing how to adapt and be part of the constantly changing community, has led many fathers to engage in unhealthy and risky behavior such as excessive drinking of alcoholic beverages, as MaMbambo quoted below:

"It is the alcohol because, in the past, there were men who were not church believers, but they were respected because they were only drinking sorghum beer. These many different alcoholic flavours available now are allergic to some people as it intoxicates and overpowers them. Sometimes it just forces a person to have a high sex libido, which leads him into wanting to have sex with a woman immediately."

Additionally Nduna Shandu expressed the same view as MaMbambo and is quoted below:

"People were not overpowered by alcohol, but nowadays, people are drinking different flavours of alcohol that overpower them. Some of these alcohol flavours overpower them, and they find themselves doing wrong things, losing self-discipline and respect to such an extent that some end up engaging in inappropriate sexual acts".

Western alcohol was seen as the cause of society's ills by this study participants. For example, the participants believed that western alcohol is too strong for the human body as it makes fathers lose control of themselves and their behavior. This is unlike umqomboti (traditional sorghum beer), which the participants believed did not cause any harm to the body and did not

cause the father to behave differently. For instance, the participants think that things like rape, violence and women abuse are caused by the strong alcohol that the fathers drink, which causes them to lose control over their bodies and minds. Nonetheless, the discourse around fathers and their alcohol consumption was not only just about drinking the different types of alcohol available, but it was about how, where, and when the alcohol was consumed. For example, Shandu expressed the following:

“We are destroyed, children are now in taverns which never happened before. We only knew that they (wives) used to make umqomboti where the men would come and drink at a certain time in a particular household. Now you find that people are drinking alcohol every day together with children. Sometimes you also find a man waking up early in the morning like seven o clock to drink alcohol. Also, the same man would come back later in the afternoon like someone coming back from work. This is not good.”

The participants argued that there were rules that were set to govern the consumption of alcohol; for instance, fathers only drank in the afternoon, around 1 pm, and never for the whole day. In current times, according to the participants', fathers drink from early in the morning until late at night. This is against the Zulu culture as one of the Zulu cultures' philosophies for fathers was their ability to exercise enormous control. Zulu culture took pride in being highly disciplined and exercising great control over their lives. This lack of control makes many fathers in distress and pain. The older generation despises excessive drinking and getting drunk as its behavior that is against the Zulu culture and philosophy. It is made worse by the increasing number of homes turning into taverns, which are viewed as promoting excessive drinking and as a sign of the breaking down of morality and the Zulu value system.

6.7. Coloniality and the Changing gender relations:

Although western conceptions of the Zulu culture have considered the Zulu culture to be highly patriarchal, whereby mothers are regarded as subordinate to fathers and have no sense of authority. Instead, the participants argued that while Zulu culture was hierarchical, it highly respected and valued women, wives, and mothers. For example, Xulu argued that most changes that are associated with abusive fathers or husbands are a product of coloniality and modernity. He stressed the following:

“Traditionally, the husband must be respectful to his wives. Even when the husband makes decisions, the wives must be consultedDecisions are taken collectively with the wives but mostly with the first wife, who is part of the head. ...The man has to approach the first wife, and the first wife will pass the message to the other wives and will give feedback to the husband.”

Xulu argues that decision-making in the family was never done in isolation but was done through consulting the mother. Thus the mother’s opinion was valued. Importantly, Xulu shows that there was a structure in the Zulu family in terms of polygamous marriage. For example, Xulu asserts that the first wife enjoyed a certain level of status and shared the headship with the father, she was the one who passed on critical issues to the other wives. This structure assisted in uniting the wives together and ensured that the first wife was always respected by the father and the other wives.

In Eshowe, the dominant discourse about mothers’ and fathers’ relations was positive and did not portray Zulu men as dominant and wives as living in oppression. The participants argued that knowledge in society often views Zulu fathers as violent and incapable of treating their wives with dignity and respect. This is expressed by Zwakele:

“Well, I must say this that no other nation (i.e., ethnic group) has treated women well than the Zulu nation; the father has never done anything without telling the mother.”

Zwakele, confirms what the other participants have been saying about Zulu fathers and how they related to the mothers. According to Zwakele, even though the fathers were the heads of the family, they never acted on anything without consulting the mothers. A study by Kunene (1995) on gender relations in Zulu society argues that women in Zulu society played significant leadership roles within the family. Fathers could not make decisions in isolation but always consulted with the mothers. This shows that in Eshowe, the ideal traditional notions of “headship” and “leadership” must not be individualized or personalized but institutionalized. Fatherhood is an institution in which power is shared. Although culturally, the man is seen as the head of the family, in reality, mothers were seen by participants to be just as influential because they too occupied essential roles in the family. For instance, if the father is not able to fulfill his duties because of sickness, the elder wife (umakhulu) naturally takes over his responsibilities in not only galvanizing the productive power of the family in the field but also ensuring that the harmonious relations between the wives continue.

The discourse of mothers in the Zulu culture shows the partnership that mothers and fathers had on the homestead and proves that Zulu fathers were not violent and oppressive to mothers as widely portrayed in the Western stereotypes of the Zulu man. According to Saungweme (2021), colonialism changed gender relations and redefined roles in African families. This change has led mothers to take up subordinate roles with less power.

Interestingly, Khoza asserts that mothers in the Zulu culture are regarded as close to the ancestral spirits and thus protected by their ancestors. Khoza argued that based on Zulu cultural beliefs, a man who lays a hand on a mother was bringing bad luck to himself since the spiritual world manifested mostly through women:

“In the Zulu culture and traditions, women are powerful custodians of our customs and beliefs. The ancestors recognized the mother at home and treated her as an important part of the route to the spiritual realm. Hence, culturally it is taboo to lay a hand of a woman for the son or the husband.

Khoza added, *“The ancestors punished a father who harmed and abused a mother.”*

The Zulu worldview, as demonstrated by the participants' feedback, shows the complexity of the gender relations that span the natural and spiritual world. The social hierarchies are not only limited to family and community but extend to the metaphysical world.

6.8. Coloniality and polygamy:

When the participants were asked about fathers and the Zulu family, Polygamy seemed to be a recurring theme. For example, Xulu stated the following:

“Isthembu (polygamy), is very important for us fathers. When you are a father with two wives, you are highly respected by everyone in the village”.

For Xulu, fathers who are in polygamous marriages were given more respect compared to those in monogamous relationships since polygamy functions more as an endorsement of one's status as a responsible father who can provide for and protect his family. In addition, Gumede expressed:

“It is a strong man, the best of the best in all men who can marry more than one wife. Polygamy carries more weight and respect...”

According to Xulu and Gumede polygamy epitomized wealth and responsibility for a man who has risen above the social hierarchy to contend with the rigorous and demanding family and community expectations associated with polygamy. As such, polygamy is regarded as not being just for any other man. The participants see it as not being about having multiple sexual partners in the form of wives, but more as archetypal of the kind of social responsibility earned by “real man” or “indoda emadodeni. Similarly, during the conversational interview, Gwala mentioned that he too aspired to be like his father and have more than one wife and said the following:

“I grew up with four mothers and I am inspired to work hard and be like my father. Having more than one wife will earn me respect and I will be admired by many. I need to work hard and be like my father.”

Gwala’s statement further highlights the meaning of having more than one wife for fathers in Eshowe. For him, his main inspiration is to be like his father and receive the same respect that was given to his father. Gwala further elaborated on his current status and said:

“Like us having one wife, we are not fully respected as others have two wives and more. We only have one wife, and they boast about their wives.”

According to Gwala, having one wife put him on a lower social status, and hence he felt less respected and valued in society. He argued that having one wife made him feel less respected because socially and culturally monogamy did not carry much weight compared to polygamy. An interesting view about polygamy was stated by MaZulu who stated the following:

“People need to know that polygamy, is not just about fathers having more than one wife, A man cannot have more than one wife without having resources to take care of them. And again, mothers are important, a family does not grow without a mother, thus when a man has more than one wife his resources will multiply”.

According to MaZulu a mother, she too seemed to not object to the idea of polygamy and further stated that it is not just about fathers having more wives but it was about growing the family. MaZulu argued that mothers are very important. Therefore, it is important to note that while polygamy enjoys a greater social status in Eshowe, it is also more about how the man as a head of the family can lead his family in wealth production primarily through subsistence agriculture. The wives are not seen as trophies for the man’s masculinity and phallic prowess

but as responsible mothers who can work together as a team in the fields to boost agricultural production and provide for the family (Moller & Welch, 1981; Sakhumzi, 2007).

Apart from being valued for driving the agricultural economy, polygamy in Eshowe was also appreciated for procreation since the family is a strategic part of the political economy of rural societies. This is expressed by Khoza:

“A father becomes highly respected by having a big homestead with two or three wives who will bear you children” In addition Shobekhulu stated:

“Children are very important in a family especially boy children because they are the surname carriers and the father lives on through them. Therefore polygamy helps to make sure that the father is able to get many children who will grow the homestead”.

According to Shobekhulu, having children in the Zulu culture is crucial because it is seen as a way to increase the man’s lineage, thus immortalizing the fathers as sons who will carry and perpetuate his surname. Although having a boy child is not necessarily a prerequisite for a man to be considered a father in the Zulu culture, the boy child brings a sense of achievement and continuation of the father’s legacy that he worked hard to build, achieve and protect.

In contrast, Polygamy in South Africa is viewed in negative terms. The dominant discourse is that Polygamy gives rise to domestic violence (Combrinck, 2021). Mabaso, Malope, & Simabyi (2018) assert that research on polygamous marriages shows that women often experience jealousy, loneliness, neglect, and unhappiness. However, the participants shared a different and interesting view, as illustrated below by Mbatha:

“Isilungu, changed everything, polygamous marriages were a beautiful thing now, islungu came and ruined everything.”

According to Mbatha, polygamous marriages were loved and enjoyed by the Zulu people. Furthermore, Mbatha argued that modernity changed Zulu traditional polygamous marriages. He referred to as “Isilungu”. Isilungu is derived from the word “umlungu”, umlungu means White people, and therefore islungu refers to white people's ways and values.

6.9. Masculinity and fatherhood:

Masculinity is an essential aspect of a Zulu man's life, and one cannot speak of fathers without speaking about masculinity. This is more important for Zulu fathers and is seen throughout the conversations and sharing circles we had. For example, in this study, when participants were asked to define a father in the Zulu culture. The participants often referred to the father as "indoda" and, in some instances, when they were praising the father or wanted to emphasize the greatness of the father, they used the following praise: "*Indoda emadodeni*" which translates to a man who is considered to be a greater man amongst other men in the community. To illustrate Mthethwa said the following:

"You become a father when you have built your house, you have a wife or wives and cattle, and you are a man above other men".

According to the extract above, The ideal hegemonic masculinity in Eshowe was of a father who can build a homestead, has wealth, many wives, and can provide for the family and one who had physical strength (Sayi, 2017). Such a man was considered to be "indoda emadodeni" (man, amongst other men). Interestingly, Mthethwa illustrates the interchangeability of the concept of a father and a man. For example, Dube said the following:

"You're a man; you are strong, you're a man when you have a lot of cows, big fields, and many wives, that is a father a man above other men."

In the above extract, Dube uses the word man interchangeably with the word father. Thus in this study, the word ubaba (father) and indoda (man) was used interchangeably by the participants. This shows the interconnectedness and intertwining of the concepts of fatherhood and masculinity and "indoda" and "ubaba". It also shows the fluidity of the definition of fatherhood in the Zulu culture. For example, a man can biologically father a child, but if he does not take responsibility for the child, he can be rejected as indoda (man) and ultimately rejected as the father in Zulu culture. Whereas a childless man who is highly respected for his good deeds can be given the status of "indoda"; and can be considered a father. Thus fatherhood and manhood cannot be separated from each other (Locke, 2016). Therefore, the Zulu notions of fatherhood and masculinity are different from the western notions of fatherhood and masculinity.

In addition, Ngomane expressed the following:

“In our times there used to be real fathers, not fathers because they have children but they are considered fathers because of their behavior. These men are respected by everyone and they are always available to assist everyone. But now these men no longer exist. We have fathers because they have children but their behavior does not show that they are fathers”.

According to Ngomane what differentiates males from fathers is their good behavior and their social actions within the community. In other words, in Zulu culture, the ordinary male status is barely adequate for one to enjoy the coveted status of a father because both fatherhood and manhood are culturally derived and informed by the values and beliefs of society. Ngomane further highlights the changes in the behavior of fathers in the olden days and current fathers. The behavior change is also reflective of the changing social and economic context. For example, Makiwane, Makoe, Botsis & Vawda (2012) in their baseline study on families in Mpumalanga note the effects of modernisation on African families. Another similar view is from Nduna Mpanza who said the following about fathers in Eshowe:

“There are males, but no longer men and fathers in our community, there's chaos and no order, with no sense of progress because we don't have fathers.”

According to Mpanza, fatherhood and manhood are synonymous with leadership at home and in the community, there is a great sense of not progressing as a society and for Mpanza it's due to the idea that there are no true men and fathers who can lead the community forward. An interesting aspect is expressed by Shobekhulu who added the following:

“Fathers today are different from fathers in the olden days, maybe it's because things are no longer the same. Fathers today focus on bringing money home and does not care about anything. Again mothers like that, they want money from fathers and that's it”. In addition to Shobekhulu's statement, Mbatha said the following:

“Money has changed everything, it has become the important thing in our lives. A father has value and dignity when he is able to bring money

The above extracts illustrate the shift of the ideal African masculine identity of fathers towards a western view of masculinity that favours monetary value. According to Shobekhulu, fathers are now prioritizing the provider role and neglecting the other roles that a father should be doing. A study conducted by Malinga (2021), shows that fathers from low socioeconomic status tend to focus on fulfilling the provider role and find it to be an important aspect in constructing their identity as fathers. Similarly, Mbatha argued that being able to fulfill the

provider role, plays an important aspect of the father's identity. Mbatha further adds that providing for the family brings a sense of dignity to the father.

6.10 Fatherhood and the rise of absent fathers:

The participants discussed the rising number of absent fathers in Eshowe. This is expressed by Mdlalose:

“In the olden days, there were very few children raised by mothers only, or those raised by grandmothers. But today almost every child is raised by a grandmother and single mother. Grandmothers have it tough.”

According to Mdlalose, the number of absent fathers is on the rise in Eshowe, and grandmothers becoming the primary caregivers. Additionally, Blose stated the following:

“Children without fathers are all over the village, some of their fathers leave for Egoli (place of Gold/ Johannesburg) and don't return or return once in a while. Zulu homesteads are falling apart.

The above abstracts illustrate the rise of absent fathers and consequently the destruction of the Zulu homesteads. This is supported by a research report on the State of South African Fathers conducted by the Sonke gender justice, Stellenbosch University, and the Human Sciences Research Council. According to the State of South African father's report, KwaZulu-Natal had the highest rate of children living with their biological mothers without their fathers, furthermore, KwaZulu-Natal had the second highest rate of children living with neither of their biological parents (van den Berg, Ratele & Makusha, 2021). An interesting aspect raised by Blose is the idea that some fathers leave the villages in search of employment and most of them tend to go to Johannesburg which is fondly called Egoli (place of gold). This shows the continuation and legacy of the apartheid labour migration laws in rural areas in South Africa (Hall & Posel, 2019).

An interesting perspective on the rising absent father rates in Eshowe was given by Zondo who expressed the following:

“The only difference between the olden days and now is that people did not bear children before marriage. People never became fathers outside of marriage life. People were only becoming fathers within marriages. After marriage, the father would have his children who he will then become a father to them in their homestead.”

According to Zondo, the rise of absent fathers is due to fathers having children prematurely and out of wedlock. The structured Zulu culture always ensured that fathers only had children when they had resources and a homestead and were married. This assisted in building strong homesteads with a strong family bond. Similarly to Zondo, Ntombela argued that the decrease in marriages in Eshowe contributes to the rising rates of absent fathers, this is expressed below:

“Let me tell you the truth and I know fathers here will not agree with me but it’s the truth, fathers today are different, and have become weak, they don’t want to pay lobolo and get married but they have children all over the village, and they don’t even support their children, its mothers who now have to take care of the children”.

The extract above emphasizes that fathers not paying lobolo and getting married contributes to children being born out of wedlock and consequently to high numbers of children living with absent fathers.

6.10. Conclusion:

The changing social, economic, and political systems due to modernity have not only disrupted family life but have caused fathers to become distressed. The historic image of a traditional Zulu father is being replaced by the image of a western father. The western notions of fatherhood are also accompanied by western values about what constitutes a good father, whereby the breadwinner role is emphasized. However, high unemployment rates have meant that African fathers are not able to meet the breadwinner role which becomes one of the contributing factors that causes African fathers to be distressed.

This chapter discussed the continuous and enduring effect of apartheid and colonialism on the Zulu family life. The migrant labour laws introduced during apartheid disrupted family life by forcing fathers to migrate for work. In this study, participants discussed the continuation of migration of fathers for employment purposes and have further identified that as one of the factors that lead to high rates of absent fathers in Eshowe. The changing political and economic context continues to disrupt the Zulu family's way of life. The participants argued that the transformations are causing fathers to be disconnected from their children and other family members. The male participants in this study emphasized the decrease in their authority and status in the family and the effect that it has on their dignity. Fathers spoke about their pain and the factors that contribute to the pain, which include the economic landscape, the political

factor, and the laws that interfere with Zulu teachings. Intergenerational disrespect was also identified by the participants who felt that the younger people disrespect them due to the influence of modernity. The younger generation tends to have access to more resources including employment opportunities than fathers, this transformation is one of the causes that lead to intergenerational misunderstandings.

In conclusion, more research on fatherhood that acknowledges cultural aspects is a need in South Africa. The next chapter will summarise findings from chapters 5 and 6, furthermore will offer a detailed discussion including recommendations for relevant stakeholders.

Chapter 7: Summary of Findings, Major Conclusions and Recommendations

7.0. Introduction:

This study sought to explore notions of fatherhood amongst Zulu people in Eshowe KwaZulu-Natal. This chapter will begin by reflecting and presenting major conclusions on the methodology used in the study. The next part of the chapter will be the presentation of a summary of the study as a demonstration of how the objectives of the study were achieved. The findings are thematically presented and further reflect that the thesis answered the key questions that it sought to unravel. Finally, the chapter will make recommendations that may be used to replicate this study, and used to inform policy and further research on fatherhood. The study had three main questions which consisted of the following:

1. How do the Zulu speaking people in rural KZN understand fatherhood as an identity?
2. How does Zulu culture and traditions influence their conceptions of fatherhood?
3. What are the connections, ruptures, and differences between Zulu and the dominant Eurocentric notions of fatherhood?

7.1. Methodological reflections: strengths and limitations:

Framed within the Afrocentric paradigm and decolonial in approach, the research methods chosen allowed for the collection of in-depth data that reflected the lived experiences of fathers in Eshowe. The research methods allowed for fathers to openly express and interrogate their feelings as men and as fathers. The use of indigenous research methods was used in order to move away from the dominant Eurocentric ways of collecting and producing knowledge. Chilisa (2012), argues for the importance of using research methods that are participatory and assist to conscientize fathers to power relations, myths and oppression. Thus one of the focal points with participatory research method is transformatory and seeks for personal and social

transformation (Chilisa, 2012). This study contributed to the knowledge of using a decolonial approach to understand a social phenomenon like fatherhood.

Data was collected using tools of inquiry that allowed for the full participation of the participants in an environment and process that they are familiar with. The conversational interviews and sharing circles are already spaces of communication that they are familiar with. This helped to reinforce the idea that I was not bringing in something new and foreign but was incorporating a cultural form of knowledge sharing. That emphasized story telling compared to the standard interviews and focus groups (Tachine, Bird & Cabrera, 2016). Indigenous methods of enquiry which promoted values of trust, honesty and respect which lead to fathers being more open to sharing their experiences. Tachine et al, (2016), argue that story telling tends to be engendered which promotes and facilitates a deeper awareness of their experiences to be elucidated.

Integrating the sharing circle with the conversational interviews allowed me to fully explore the lived experiences of fathers in Eshowe and to understand how fatherhood is performed. Furthermore, folktales and proverbs were used to further stimulate storytelling and further functioned as a part of triangulation of methods. Triangulation of methods allows for a broader understanding of the social phenomena studied and moreover allows for more views to be collected (Heale & Forbes, 2013). This triangulation of methods allowed for a more comprehensive picture of how fatherhood is performed in Eshowe.

As a Zulu woman, the notions of insider outsider become important during the research process. As an insider and thus sharing the same characteristics with the participants such as sharing the same ethnicity etc. The status of being an insider assisted in enhancing the depth that I understood the participants. Furthermore, it supports the idea of making research participants subjects of enquiry and not objects of enquiry. However, there were moments when I was reminded of my outsider status, for example, at my first appearance the izinduna tribal court, I was referred to as someone from government who had an important announcement to make. That announcement instantly created power a power imbalance between me and my research participants. In order to equalize the power, I had to abandon my pants, and formal clothing and wore what women of my age wear such as wearing either a dress or skirt, and had a head scarf covering my hair. This allowed me to be part of the community and consequently, I was never referred to as a government official. I have realized that the IKS research seizes to become just a report for the university or for the funder but becomes an important part of the

community. Therefore IKS research does not promote extractivist approaches that somewhat exploit knowledge from communities for the benefit of the researcher, but promotes social justice research methods.

7.2. Summary of the Findings:

This section summarizes the findings of the study which were divided into two distinct chapters, that is, Chapter 5 and 6.

7.2.0. Zulu fatherhood rooted in Afrocentrism:

7.2.1. Conceptualization of fatherhood:

Conceptualizing Zulu fatherhood was an important aspect of the research. The discussion on fatherhood seemed to suggest that Zulu fathers from centuries ago is fundamentally different from the current fathers. Discussions were centered around the idea that fatherhood was not a biological aspect but was a social responsibility that was heavily dependent on the actions and behavior of men. This is similar to Lesjeane (20006) and Mkhize's (2006) notions of African fatherhood which argue that African fatherhood is not biologically determined. Therefore, fatherhood was an earned status that was given and could also be taken away regardless of whether the men had biologically fathered a child or not. For example, a man can biologically father a child, but if he does not take responsibility for the child, he can be rejected as *ubaba* (father) or *indoda* (man) and ultimately relinquished of his status in Zulu culture. However, a childless man who was highly respected by a community for his good deeds could be given the status of *ubaba* (father) or *indoda*;(man). This shows that fatherhood is a fluid concept that was more of a social construct than biologically determined.

7.2.2. Fathers as heads of the family and community:

Hierarchy in the Zulu family was a very important part of their lives with the father being on top of the hierarchy. The father as the head of the family dominated the discussions. As someone who is at the apex of the hierarchy, the father was highly respected and treated like a

king, no action would be taken without the approval of the father. Failure to follow the father's authority was not considered a failure on the family members but the failure and shame was put on the father for not being able to control his family. Proverbs have been passed down from generation to generation that are used to socialize fathers and mothers in the Zulu way of life this is exemplified in the following proverb:

"ikhanda elixegayo lofulela abfazi" - This proverb means that for a father to be respected by the society, he must ensure that women in his household are in a subordinate position (Mathonsi & Mpungose, 2015). This shows the pressure that the fathers have, an immense level of expectations have been put on Zulu men and fathers; they needed to know how to be authoritative without being abusive (Van der Merwe & Pikirayi, 2019). The leadership position in the Zulu family was passed down genealogically to the first born son of the first wife also known as indlukulu (Kuper, 2016). A matured homestead had about four to five wives each with their own huts named after their sons. The wives occupied the different hierarchies in the family structure with the last wife and her children being at the lower level of the hierarchy (Kuper, 2016).

Intrinsically linked with the concept of hierarchy is power relation amongst the father and mother. Literature on Zulu family and mothers tend to portray mothers as people who are oppressed with no sense of power in the family. The participants implicitly referred to gender relations and acknowledged that the mother is considered to be important and often assists the father in decision making. Research on fatherhood in South Africa focuses on the crisis on fatherhood and emphasized absent fathers and fathers as violent and abusive (Rabe, 2018). However, fathers in my study argued that fathers in the olden days were not abusive, and further stated that they did not find the Zulu culture oppressive to women. In contrast to that, the participants argued that it is current fathers who have lost their Zulu roots who are abusive. One of the dominating ideology in Eshowe is that current Zulu fathers are considered to be abusive because they have lost their place in the hierarchical system and which caused them to lose their authority and power.

However, both fathers and mothers argued that current fathers, who don't understand the importance of women, abuse women. Furthermore, they asserted that a violent and abusive father is also despised and rejected because a woman is very important and is believed to be protected by the ancestors. Thus beating a woman will not only be punished by the living but also by the ancestors. Zulu people believe that ancestors can protect and give wealth to the

living and they also can punish the living by taking away their wealth and bringing sickness to the person even death (Edwards, Makunga, Thwala & Mbele, 2009). Thus, every effort is made that will ensure that the ancestors are happy. Therefore, although a mother was lower in the family hierarchy, she too had some power and influence in the family as a highly valuable and respected family member.

This study showed that the mothers are considered to be very important in the family as a result the father never made any critical decision without consulting the mother. In some cases the mother is the one who would take up leadership positions in the absence of the father (Kunene, 1995). For example, when the King Goodwill Zwelithini Zulu died, Queen Shiyiwe, Mantfombi Dlamini Zulu was appointed regent of the Zulu nation (Sibanyoni, 2021).

7.2.3. Life Periods that make a father:

Answering a question of what makes a father was very important in this study. The finding presented in chapter 5 identified four life periods that make a father. These are 1. Abafana stage (boyhood stage), amajaha stage (older boys), izinsizwa stage (younger men/youth stage) and amadoda stage (Manhood stage). These stages were there to teach and socialize young boys to be strong men and fathers who will be responsible to protect the family and the community. Age appropriate activities and responsibilities were given to boys, For example, the abafana and amajaha stage, the focus is on young boys learning to herd cattle and take care of the family resources. If one cattle was lost the young boys were severely punished regardless of their age. During this stage the young boys cannot even look at a girl for they will be severely punished. It is during this stage that the young boys learn the art of stick fighting. Stick fighting was one of the games the young boys played to pass time while herding cattle. However, according to Carton (2012) stick fighting was not about having fun but was a method of teaching young men skills to protect the family and community and also skills of resilience and perseverance.

The izinsizwa stage is the stage that the young fathers in my study argued to be the best stage of a young man's life as they are afforded some freedom to explore being in an intimate relationship. However, at this stage, young men are not allowed to reveal their girlfriends to their family, especially their father. They are supposed to keep their relationship a secret as a sign of respect until a time they are at the amadoda stage and ready to marry them.

The amadoda stage is a stage that shows that the man is ready to transition into being a father. At this stage the men must demonstrate their readiness to earn the status of “indoda” and that of a father by acquiring cattle, land and building a homestead. The final step to this stage is marriage. Interestingly, the man is not allowed to marry when he has not secured resources that will enable him to take care of his family. Such a man will remain insizwa until he is able to acquire such resources. In the olden days it was rare that a man was not able to acquire the resources such as the cattle and land because the fathers often assisted their sons in acquiring the resources. For example the participants stated that the father would give their sons some cattle and a portion of their land to their sons. It was the son’s responsibility to ensure that the cattle he has, increases. According to the Zulu culture, the sons’ family belonged to his father, thus it made it easier for the father to assist their sons’ transition into fatherhood (Mchunu, 2005). Moreover, this assisted in building and uniting the bride’s family with the groom’s family ensuring that the kinship ties are kept strong. Kinship relations are a very important aspect in the Zulu culture; thus, efforts are made to keep the ties strong (Kuper, 2016).

Similar to life stages, life events also play an important role in assisting young boys’ transition into fathers. The participants discussed three main events in men’s lives which include, birth, puberty and marriage. The birth stage is a very important stage not only for the boy child but also for the fathers. In the Zulu culture it is the father’s responsibility to ensure that the mother delivers a healthy baby. The father does this by giving the mother medication to strengthen her and the baby. Learning about medicinal plants is amongst the skills and lessons taught to men while herding the cattle in the fields. Herding cattle thus became an important space for bonding and learning important survival skills. This also shows the level of involvement that the fathers had with their sons, they were involved in nurturing their sons from conception until marriage.

The puberty stage was also recognized as an important stage in a man’s life, the stage involved the piercing of ears which allowed the young men to be given a higher status. The ear piercing also symbolized the young men’s bravery and ability to withstand pain. Physical maturity was marked by the boy’s nocturnal emission. This was important and was celebrated through slaughtering a goat. During this stage the young men are warned about having intercourse and impregnating a girl. Men who impregnated a girl out of wedlock were despised and shamed, especially when they were considered young men. Mechanisms were developed that prevented young men from impregnating a woman such as ukusoma. Ukusoma is an accepted form of contraception which involves non penetrative thigh sex. Young men who are able to refrain from penetrative sex are respected as they have displayed high levels of self-discipline. This

system also ensured that no unwanted and unplanned babies were conceived out of wedlock. Furthermore, it assisted in reducing teenage pregnancy.

Interestingly, one of the participants argued that in their days, there was never a man who had a baby under the age of thirty years. In contrast, more young people are having babies at a young age, and are also at increased risk of getting infected with STIs and HIV. Current research on teenage pregnancies shows that in the year 2020 a total of 33899 births were recorded of mothers aged 1 years and younger (Stats SA, 2021). Additionally, Black teenagers had the highest teenage pregnancy rates compared to other population groups (Stats SA, 2018). Therefore, teenage pregnancy is considered to be a serious problem in South Africa (Madiba Nsiki, 2017). This further shows the role that culture played to reduce undesired and unwanted pregnancies amongst young people. Fathers in my study expressed their shock at the increasing number of young fathers. This is because for them during their generation, there was never a father who was younger than 30 years of age. The where strict rules that governed and ensured that young people adhered to them. If a young man impregnates a women they were punished and the title of father was not given to them. Furthermore, ukusoma subsequently also assisted in reducing children with absent fathers.

Fathers expressed that the incidence of absent fathers was very low compared to contemporary South Africa. Absent fathers have been identified as a crisis in South Africa as more mothers are raising children with absent fathers. A report from Stats SA (2021) shows that about 70% of Black children live without biological fathers. However, research shows that there are other contributing factors to high absent father rates in South Africa such poverty and unemployment; and political factors (Freeks, 2022; Padi, Nduna, Khunou & Kholopane, 2014; Eddy, Thomson-de Boor & Mphaka, 2013). Therefore, the findings in my study show that culture played a huge role in preventing some of the social ills that society is struggling to control.

Another life event that grooms young men into fathers is marriage. According to my study, Marriage is a very crucial life event in a man's life as it comes with a higher status, and also the man becomes recognized as a father. Moreover, marriage is viewed as an important factor that sconfirm the status of the groom's father as he becomes known as a great father who was able to raise his son to be a good father just like him. Sons are expected to be *isithombe sika baba*- which means to be a mirror image of their father in terms of behavior and value system. This is in preparation of them taking over their father's household when the father passes on.

Therefore, reaching a marriage milestone is a good indication that the son will be able to take on such responsibility and grow his father's family. Furthermore, marriage in the Zulu culture was not about the two individuals getting married but signified the growth of the family. This is where two families become one and also through the bride and groom having offspring. According to Kuper (2016), marriage was used to consolidate strong links and bonds between families, referred to as *ukuKhonza*. Kinship relations are very important in the Zulu culture, great care is taken to ensure that the bond is kept strong. Kinship relations assist in solving problems thus, when the family grows bigger meant that there will be more hands to assist the family in times of trouble (Kuper, 2016).

7.2.4. Polygamy in the Zulu family:

Included in the chapter discussions was polygamy as the ideal family structure for most Zulu fathers. All the male participants felt that a father in a polygamous marriage received more respect and status than a father with just one wife. Fathers felt that a man with one wife did not earn much respect and status compared to a man with many wives. In the study, the fathers hoped that they too could get more than one wife, so they can be like their fathers. However, lack of financial resources contributed to them not being able to take on more wives. Research on polygamy often negatively represents polygamous marriages, and states that intimate partner violence is higher in polygamous marriages than in monogamous marriages (Ahinkorah, 2021; Mabaso, Malope & Simbayi, 2018). Interestingly, both males and females in this study did not object to polygamy nor did they view it negatively.

7.2.5. Fathers' roles and responsibilities:

In this study, when participants were asked what the father's role in the family is, two main roles were identified, these were the Protector and the provider roles. The father was recognized as a protector from physical and metaphysical harm. As a protector from physical harm, the father had the responsibility to ensure that his family and the community were safe from any hazards. Furthermore, the father is not supposed to go anywhere without an assegai in his hand that can be used to defend himself or any person in times of danger. The father learnt the art of

stick fighting from a young age, and it's those fighting skills that he relies on in order to defend and protect the family and the community.

The father was responsible for protecting his family from metaphysical harm or spiritual attacks, which he did by ensuring that first his children were known by the ancestors and protected by them. For instance, when a baby is born, the father would do imbeleko. This is a sacrificial ritual used to introduce the baby to the ancestors. Apart from Imbeleko, the father had to ensure that other rituals were observed and performed. Interestingly, the father was also responsible for treating sick members of the family with herbs. Thus the father had to be knowledgeable about the herbs that were found in the forest.

The provider role was the least discussed topic in this study, which is contradictory to many studies on fatherhood in South Africa that emphasize the breadwinner role of the father. This might be because the understanding of providing for the family might differ from the Western notions of providing and being a breadwinner. According to Lesejane (2006), it is everyone's responsibility to provide for the family in African culture. Thus providing for the family was a collective effort that needed the father's guidance but did not entirely rest on his hands. The Zulu people, before colonialism were dependent on agricultural produce and on having cattle. A man marries a woman when he has cattle, land, and a house. It's important to note that although primarily mothers ploughed the grounds, it was not a rigid role assigned to mothers, fathers also ploughed the fields.

7.2.6. Social Fathers:

The importance of Social fathers was discussed with the participants. Social fatherhood is an important aspect in the Zulu culture as it ensured that no children were left with absent fathers. Most importantly, it ensured that the role that the father played in the family will continue to be the social father. The status of social fatherhood becomes ascribed by the family or the community. Importantly, Social fathers does not only refer to male family members or friends but includes females (Nathane & Khunou, 2021). For example, the father's sister is given the same status as a father; thus, she is called babekazi which translates to female father. This is similar to the uncle and the uncle's wives, the uncle is often called umalume and his wife umalumekazi. Therefore, the status of a father can be given to a female person which also shows the fluidity of the concept of fatherhood amongst Zulu people.

In the event that the father dies, ubabekazi takes on the father's role and becomes responsible to assist in raising the children. Babekazi becomes the one who will perform the family rituals to the ancestors, a position that can only be done by fathers. Interestingly, it is not only family members who can become social fathers, but members of the community can take up that role. However the changing economic landscape and competing for resources has made it difficult for social fathers to take on the responsibility of extended family members which may lead to the breakdown and the dearth of the concept of social fathers.

7.3.0. Zulu fatherhood and the influence of apartheid and colonialism:

The Findings in chapter 6 focused on how Zulu people experience fatherhood post-apartheid and colonialism. The emphasis of the chapter was to find the connections and disconnections, similarities and ruptures between indigenous Zulu fatherhood and Western fatherhood.

7.3.1. The state of Current Zulu fathers:

The dominant discourse amongst the participants was the decreasing status of Zulu fathers. An interesting discussion on current fathers focused on the lost the authority and power that the fathers once enjoyed. Fathers stated that true fathers no longer exist, current fathers are not worthy to be given the title of a father, and should be referred to as izinsizwa (young men). According to the participants, current fathers have been stripped off their status as traditional Zulu fathers and have been given the status of izinsizwa which is very demeaning to old men. This is due to participants feeling that fathers no longer behave like they used too.

The prevalent discourse was centered on fathers who have neglected their fatherhood roles and principles and have instead become alcoholics. The female participants argued that fathers have become weak and have thus resulted to be alcoholics and not taking responsibility for the family, resulting in them taking over their roles as heads of families and the community. Interestingly, the male participants were in agreement with the female participants and further argued that men have not only become weak but are also depressed. Fathers in distress and pain was one of the dominating discussions during the sharing circles. In this study, participants argued that some fathers have resorted to abusing alcohol whilst others have decided to be silent. Silence seemed to be the most prominent coping strategy that fathers often adopted. This shows that more research that focuses on fathers experiences is needed. To date, little research

is written about Zulu fathers' experience of fathering and coping strategies they use when feeling depressed. Available literature on fatherhood in South Africa tend to narrowly focus on negative representations of fathers such as absent fathers (Padi, Nduna, Khunou Kholopane, 2014), abusive and violent fathers.

7.3.2. Westernization and how it influences Zulu fatherhood:

The findings of the study also highlighted how coloniality and Westernization influence how Zulu fathers understand and perform their fatherhood role. One of the dominating discussions was the destruction of the Zulu culture and how that further influences lived experiences at home. According to the participants, homesteads are no longer governed according to the Zulu culture and customs but are now governed by the western values. The modern system has created the African body as a metaphor for disorder (Patil, 2008). Colonialism and modernity has taken away the fathers control and families now live according to western customs and values.

The loss of Zulu traditions and the disregard of important cultural rituals that the father needs to perform disrupts family life. For example, important rituals were highlighted during the discussions which include the imbeleko ritual and female circumcision. These changes not only disrupt family life but further change how individual roles are performed. This leads to the loss of personhood and moreover alienates fathers from their role as Zulu fathers and as leaders in the community. Ndlovu, (2017), argues that the tragedy with cultural alienation is that Africans leave their cultures and are forced into a Western culture of people who do not recognize them as human beings.

7.3.3. The influence of state policies in the Zulu family:

The state policies have been found to interfere with the Zulu family lives. For instance, male participants argued that through laws and policies promoted and implemented by the government, mothers had been made to be equal with fathers. This is something that is foreign to Zulu fathers, as they come from a culture that is considered to be patriarchal (2015). Similar to the participants in this study, Nyembezi (1990 p.132) asserted the following “ in the Zulu

society, the woman definitely takes second place. She is not her husband's equal and must obey him. She must also give due respect to her in-laws". When mothers occupy the same leadership position as the fathers, this diminishes the father's status because in the Zulu culture, a mother cannot occupy the same position as the father. When the father is ill or has died, it is only then that the mother can take over the leadership position. Interestingly, the female participants seemed to be happy to be made izinduna, a role that was previously reserved for fathers, but surprisingly, they too were in agreement that the promotion of equality between fathers and mothers led to mothers losing respect for fathers.

The problem is that fundamentally, the notion of equality interferes with the Zulu way of life and with the concept of *ukuhlonipho*. *Ukuhlonipha* is a custom practiced in the Zulu culture that impacts behavior and controls other factors such as posture, gesture, movements and dress code. Therefore, married mothers are expected to practice this custom of displaying linguistic and social submissiveness to the father and the in-laws, failure to do so negatively impacts the father. However, with the increasing GBV and femicide in South Africa, CGE plays a crucial role in the prevention of GBV and femicide and seeks to empower mothers. Therefore, this shows the complex relationship between the constitutional laws of gender equality and South African customary law (Rudwick & Shange, 2009).

Apart from promoting equality among fathers and mothers, participants argued that children have been given rights that give them more power than them. The children's rights that have been enforced through state law negatively impact the family as they have stripped away the authority that they, as fathers have on the children. For example, section 28 in the Bill of Rights in the constitution of South Africa focuses on Children's rights. However, the participants felt that the children's rights encouraged children to disrespect them as elders and as fathers. Furthermore, fathers argued that they could no longer control their children as they will tell them that they are violating their rights. This further impacts on the Zulu custom of *ukuhlonipha*.

In addition, the participants spoke about the fear of being sent to jail and constantly reminded by children that they can send them to jail if they violate their rights. This causes fathers to be unable to fulfil one of their roles as a father, such as disciplining a child. Corporal punishment is the most common method fathers and mothers use to discipline children. However, corporal punishment has been abolished at school and in the homes (Veriava & Power, 2017). This further distances fathers from their children, as they feel restricted in how they can raise their

children. One participant argued that they now raise children who lack the strength of character and end up being “amaphara”. Amaphara as defined by Hunter (2021) – refers to petty thieves who are addicted to a heroin based drug often referred to a *nyaope*.

The Zulu culture is known for being disciplined and structured (Mchunu, 2005); thus, fathers are considered disciplinarians. However, when fathers fail to raise children who grow up to be responsible adults then the fathers believe that they as fathers have failed in raising them. Thus participants believe that the state policies interfere with their parenting roles and the result of that is children who are ill-disciplined and who become amaphara. Interestingly, not all state policies negatively impact the fathers. For instance, the Natural fathers of children born out of wedlock Act 86 of 1997, which gives fathers the right to get access and custody of their children born out of wedlock regardless whether they have paid damages or not. Thus the Act makes provision for fathers who are not pay for damages or lobolo have full rights over their children. However, that contradicts the Zulu cultural values which require fathers to meet their cultural obligations before they could get access to their children.

Intertwined with the changing state policies and its impact it has on family life, is the idea of modernity. The fathers argued that modernization disrupts and corrupts their children and further stated that modern day children are fundamentally different from when they used to be children. Modern day children are politicized and thus have a sense of independence. This sense of independence has made the older generation to become disconnected from the young people. Interestingly, the education system was accused of instilling and reinforcing western philosophy, which causes young people to be disconnected from their culture and the older generation. For instance, the western education system tends to teach children things they consider not age appropriate such as sex education. Furthermore, western education interferes with the Zulu life stages and periods that groom young people to be mothers and fathers. According to the participants there are certain topics that a certain age group is not allowed to talk about; for instance, a boy who is at an insizwa stage may be allowed to date but is expected to keep it a secret. In contrast, boys of similar age in current times can be seen walking hand in hand with girls (Mchunu, 2005).

7.3.4. Fathers and the economy:

Socioeconomic factors have been identified as contributing to the father's lived experiences. The participants argued that the changing power dynamics are linked to the changing socioeconomic factors in the society. For instance, historically, providing for the family was everyone's responsibility, not just the father's (Lesejane, 2006). However, in contemporary South Africa providing for the family has become the father's responsibility. According to the participants, fathers are expected to provide money for the family, failure to do so has negative implications on the status of the father. According to Malinga (2021) the apartheid government and its migrant labour system, which disrupted African families, saw fathers leaving their families to work in mines to provide for them. This cemented the provider role in the conceptualization of fatherhood. Therefore fathers have internalized the provider role and feel the need to ensure that they are able to provide for their families including having to borrow money from people.

This is reflective of the western value system of the nuclear family, whereby the father is the breadwinner and the mother takes care of the household needs (Lamb, 2000). Western families have clear defined roles in the household with the father being the provider of the family and mothers taking care of household. This shows the change of Zulu households from traditionalist values towards western values and character.

The adoption of the provider identity as a one of the main factors that make a good father often makes fathers unable to fulfill that role and considered not good fathers. South Africa has one of the highest unemployment and underemployment rates; Black people have the highest unemployment rate (Galal, 2022). For example, in the first quarter of 2022, the unemployment rate for Black people was 38.6% but 10% for White people (Galal, 2022).

My study found that rural transitional and urban fathers viewed the breadwinner responsibility as the most critical sole responsibility of the father. Fathers felt that good fathers are those fathers who are able to bring money to the family. What was evident in the arising discussion about providing for the family was that the fathers felt immense pressure to provide financially for their families. Fathers expressed frustration because of the value put on money, and further stated that they felt that they had to always ensure that they have money, if they didn't have it they had to go borrow. Not having money, made fathers feel less powerful and argued that life in the olden days was better due to the agrarian economy. According to Malinga (2021), fathers who are unemployed and underemployed often experience feelings of shame, humiliation and

depression for not being able to fulfil their provider role. Unemployment and underemployment has a negative impact on fathers and further impacts on their provider role. This pushes fathers to end up prioritizing the provider role at the expense of other roles. Therefore, causing fathers to be disconnected with their children and families.

Research shows that some fathers abandon their families and children when they cannot adequately provide for them.

The participants have discussed the disconnections between the older and younger generations due to changing socioeconomic factors. The participants argued that the younger generation who tend to be more educated and thus have access to employment than their fathers often become disrespectful to their parents. The intergenerational conflict was one of the discussions that the older participants had, and they mentioned that they feel disrespected by the younger generation. According to Malinga (2021), research shows that mothers and children tend to antagonize fathers who are not able to provide for the family. This further pressurizes fathers to focus on financial provision for their families.

Contemporary socio-economic policies have made employment to be more accessible for mothers. However, research shows that the unemployment rate for Black women remains very high. Nonetheless, mothers are able to also participate in the labour market and become providers in the family (StatsSA, 2021). This further causes structural transformation in the family, by changing the provider role in the family. According to research by Smit (2002), dual-earner African families tend to promote more gender-equal roles, with less emphasis on traditional masculine roles. Therefore, this shows how socio-political and economic policies work together to facilitate a gradual change in society and, ultimately, the African family.

7.4. Major contributions and conclusion of the Study:

This section focuses on the study's major contributions to knowledge. It is divided into two subsections which will address the major theoretical contributions and conclusions and the major methodological conclusions.

7.4.1. Major Theoretical contributions and conclusions:

This study contributes to the broader theoretical discourse of decolonizing knowledge. In particular, it contributes to the topic of decolonizing knowledge produced by the human and

social sciences. By using decolonial approaches in the study of fatherhood, the study allowed for silenced indigenous and endogenous knowledges of the Zulu to move to the center of knowledge production in alternate ways of conceptualizing fatherhood. Generally, research on fatherhood in South Africa has often been based on and informed by Eurocentric theoretical traditions which obviously anchored on Western values, histories and social contexts. This study demonstrated how indigenous notions of Zulu fatherhood continue to be marginalized even though there are still people who value them as part of their culture and worldviews. Furthermore, it highlighted the politics of knowledge production whereby Western knowledge and culture are privileged as universal over other forms of knowledge production. Thus, the study exposed the relationship between power and knowledge production. The hegemonic and totalizing nature of Western ideologies on fatherhood is not accidental but is based on the global colonial matrix that privileges Western knowledge. For example, according to Mamndani (2016) knowledge production is socially and historically contingent. This means that knowledge has a specific locus of enunciation in term of the geo-political and body political of the subject that speaks. Echoing Mamdani and other decolonial scholars such as Ramon Grosfoguel, the study revealed that the pervasive Western knowledge power structure has an overbearing impact on indigenous cultures as evidence by its disruption of the Zulu worldviews of fatherhood. While all cultures must obviously be dynamic, it must be noted that the Western knowledge power structure amounts to global coloniality in which alternate ideas of fatherhood are not only dominated, but also demonized and pathologized.

This study advances the idea of epistemic de-linking from dominant Eurocentric knowledge and encourages re-thinking the world from African world views and global south perspectives. It supports the rethinking and reconstructing knowledge from an Africa as a geo-epistemic locus of enunciation. This means that while remaining cosmopolitan in approach, African notions of fatherhood must first and foremost be rooted on African cultures, histories, worldviews, and social contexts. For example, while the study acknowledges the significant of modern forms of fatherhood amongst the Zulu, it also demonstrated that it was very important to study the people's indigenous knowledge on fatherhood before the advent of colonization and neocolonialism. As such, it was important to revisit historical knowledge on culture and traditions and understand what fatherhood before colonialism and apartheid meant. Therefore, the study posits that history, social context, and culture play a crucial role in how fatherhood is understood and performed in postcolonial settings. However, it also argued that the legacy of apartheid, colonialism, and newer forms of coloniality that are occasioned by globalization

cannot be overlooked in how they shape fatherhood. The analysis and discussions in this study further showed that there are other contingent factors that influence how people perform fatherhood. These include the social policies and the changing political environment created by a largely neoliberal post-apartheid state and state elites who admired and enforced universalized western values and ethics.

7.4.2. Major methodological contributions and conclusions:

The use of indigenous research methods for data collection further contributed to decolonizing knowledge in this study. It is important to note that, decolonization approaches emphasize the importance of departing from Western extractivist approaches and embracing social justice and anti-oppressive methods that eliminate and redefine the role of the researcher and respondents in knowledge production. For example, the use of sharing circles and conversational interviews was not only liberating and lateral for communities, but also contributed to the collection of in-depth data that is embedded in Afrocentric worldview. Research that uses indigenous methods often focus on agriculture and climate with little research on human and social sciences. Therefore, this study's major methodological contribution is its use and reliance on indigenous knowledge research methods for data collection.

7.5. Recommendations:

The general trend of research on fatherhood in South Africa has tended to focus on the negative aspects of fathers such as violent fathers, absent fathers, and fathers who abuse alcohol. There is generally little focus on external factors that contribute to the negative behaviours that fathers display. Cultural, political and economic factors have been identified to be amongst the factors that contribute to a father's negative behavior. Similarly, global coloniality and the dismemberment of African fathers is very important in understanding fathers in post-apartheid South Africa.

In this study, most of the fathers acknowledged being depressed and living in constant pain in due to the demonization of notions of Zulu fatherhood. Furthermore, the fathers also mentioned

that they have been silenced and are increasingly having no voice in family and in society as the neoliberal values permeate their cultural landscapes. Little research has been done that focuses on fathers' mental health in relation to cultural coloniality and domination. Therefore, based on this finding I recommend that non-governmental organisations, health care workers, legislators and researchers focus on father's mental health in postcolonial contexts. Moreover, programs that promote positive coping strategies need to be developed and communicated both formally and informally through the media, community based organizations, and the government.

According to the participants, state policies and modernization has had a major impact on the Zulu family and also on the roles of members of the family. This transformation has made it difficult for some fathers to accept and cope with the changes, particularly those impacting fatherhood as a position of power and responsibility in the family and community. As most laws appeared to be empowering women, most fathers stated that they felt othered and alienated by state processes.

This has also led to conflicts between family members. I also recommend that participation and awareness sessions that focus on educating community members about the changes to family legislation and how they impact lived experiences and cultural experience need to be conducted, especially in rural areas where people still value their traditions and customs. For instance, the ban of corporal punishment came with racial undertones of the abusive nature of African fathers. However, participants felt that this amounted to demonization of the Zulu fathers who are generally seen as coming from a violent ethnic group. The participants argued that communities did not participate. If they had been consulted, the state would have discovered that Zulu fathers prioritized alternative ways of disciplining children. In Zulu culture, corporal punishment was only used in exceptional situations.

Leaders in Eshowe, including but not limited to izinduna, church elders, and other influential men need to be empowered so that they can be isithombe (positive role models) for other fathers in the community. Fathers and men forums need to be re-introduced. In pre-colonial times, men and fathers met in the inkundla where they shared knowledge about fatherhood. They could also share ideas on fatherhood while herding cattle. The meeting place for izinduna which is central to everyone in the Showe community can be used as a space for fathers and men to meet to discuss critical issues that relates to them and to share ideas and solutions to the critical issues.

7. 6. Conclusion:

This study explored the impact of colonialism and apartheid on fatherhood in rural KwaZulu-Natal. The findings in the study show that colonality through modernization continues to disrupt family lives and fathers lived experience. Although colonialism and apartheid no longer exist, their effects are still felt in contemporary South Africa as they continue through new modes of colonialism. Nkwame Nkrumah (1966) referred to these new modes of colonialism where the state elites are used to maintain the colonial model of Africa by the West, as neocolonialism. Furthermore, the transforming cultural, political and economic contexts due to globalization have an impact on fathers lived experiences. Fathers expressed feelings of pain and distress and stated that most fathers are often depressed due to neocolonial cultural dismemberment. They have been silenced and increasingly have no voice in family and society.

This study contributed to our understanding of how the changing social, political and cultural contexts impact Zulu notions of fatherhood. Moreover, the study showed that more research that focuses on the transformations in postcolonial rural contexts and their effect on fatherhood needs to be further investigated so as to create participation and support structures for locals. The study also demonstrated that mental health amongst Zulu fathers is very important as it affects the family, children's development, and social cohesion. Yet mental health amongst fathers in post-apartheid South Africa is under studied, especially in rural areas. Therefore, more research that focuses on rural fathers' mental health is needed.

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Appendices:

Appendix 1: Gate keeper letter



THE SCHOOL OF SOCIALWORK AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

06 October 2017

Chief Mpungose

Residency

Eshowe

3815

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION LETTER

Dear Chief Mpungose,

My name is Prudence Mdletshe I am psychology lecturer in the school of Applied Human Sciences, University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Currently, I am registered for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the school of Social Work and Community Development, UKZN, Howard College. I am writing to request permission to undertake research in your area at Mpungose, Eshowe. This study forms part of a requirement to complete Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work degree. The study has been sent to the University of KwaZulu-Natal Human Research Ethics Committee for ethical clearance and, as part of that process, I am required to obtain a gatekeeper permission from where I will recruit participants.

The research is titled, *Deconstructing African identities: Notions of fatherhood amongst Zulu people in Eshowe, South Africa*. The aim of the proposed study is to investigate indigenous

knowledge about fatherhood in the Zulu culture. This study will benefit the chief of Mpungose as she will get a chance to learn about the challenges that fathers face in her area. Moreover, this study is important because it will help us understand what influences fatherhood and fathers in Mpungose area and will also influence policy makers when they develop policies around fathers and fatherhood.

I hope to conduct the research over a period of three months, through the use of one focus group with Izinduna and twenty interviews with men between the ages of 18 years and 65+ years. The focus group and interviews may last approximately 1 hour to 2 hours each. Participation to the study will be voluntary and non-threatening. There is no possibility of discomfort or danger that I think would be involved in my research. Should any of the participants experience any discomfort, crisis social work intervention will be rendered.

Throughout the research process, I will take written field notes, and when necessary or appropriate an audio recording will be made. These will not jeopardize privacy of the research participants. I will ensure confidentiality and anonymity of the participants by using coded and pseudonym names in the report. The only people who will have access to the study's information are my research assistants and my supervisors. All participants will be briefed as to the exact nature and purpose of the study. In addition, they will be informed that their participation is voluntary and that they have the right to withdraw or discontinue participation at any time. They also will have the right to refuse to answer certain questions if they choose to.

It will be greatly appreciated if permission to conduct this study would be granted. Please sign the reply slip below which acknowledges that you have read the participant information sheet, you understand the nature of the study being conducted and the risks and likely benefits of participation in this study, and you give permission for this research to be conducted at your site.

Your co-operation in this regard will be greatly appreciated.

Yours Sincerely

Researcher: Ms Prudence Mdletshe
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Faculty of Humanities,
School of Applied Human Sciences,
Howard College, Durban,
400

Supervisor no1: Dr. Sibonsile Zibane
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Tel no (w): 0312601216
Email: ZibaneS@ukzn.ac.za

Supervisor no2: Dr. Mthokozisi Hlengwa
University of Kwa-Zulu Natal
Tel no (w): 0312607982
Email: HlengwaM@ukzn.ac.za

REPLY SLIP

DECLARATION AND UNDERSTANDING

Ithe chief of Mpungose
area in Eshowe hereby confirm that I understand the content of this document and the nature of
the research project, and I grant permission to Prudence Mdletshe to conduct the study in my
site.

.....
Chief's Signature

.....
Date

Appendix 3: Participants' Information sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Invitation

Hello. My name is Prudence Thandeka Mdletshe. I am a registered PhD student at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. You are being asked to take part in my PhD research study on perceptions of fatherhood by Zulu speaking people in KZN. While much research has been conducted fatherhood in South Africa, not much has been done specifically on indigenous knowledge pertaining to fatherhood as an indentity. I would like to listen interview you as individuals and groups in order to understand fatherhood within the context of Zulu culture, customs and traditions.

The research is being supervised by Dr Maud Mthembu from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and has been approved by the University's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

The process

You will be interviewed as an individual and you will also be kindly requested to share your views and opinions in a focus group discussion. Both will be audio-recorded so that I can transcribe the content later. However, you can choose not to have it audio-recorded if you wish.

Permission to audio-record (please tick and initial above the block):

Yes

No

Please note the following:

- Only my supervisor and I will have access to the audio content and any notes from the session with you, and all content will be stored safely and confidentially.
- Your participation in this study is completely confidential – your name and other personally identifiable information will not be released. Pseudonyms will be used to protect your identity.
- Please understand that your participation is voluntary and you are not being forced to take part in this study. However, your participation will be greatly appreciated.
- If you decide not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any point, there will be no consequences for you whatsoever, and you will not be required to justify your decision.

- The results from this study will be documented in a thesis, and may be provided in journal articles and conference presentations.
- We also hope that what we learn about your experiences will enable us to make useful recommendations to leaders in the public sector.

There are no foreseeable risks and benefits for participating in the interview. But should a question upset you, you can contact SADAG (South African Depression and Anxiety Group) on their 24hr helpline 0800 12 13 14 or sms 31393 (and they will call you back).

This study is exploratory in nature and will contribute to a greater understanding of what fatherhood means in the Zulu culture. If you have any further questions please feel free to contact me the researcher or my supervisors (details below).

Thank you for considering participation in this study.

Ms Prudence Mdletshe

TEL: (031)260-1770

Email: Mdletshep1@ukzn.ac.za

Dr Sbonsile Zibane

Dr Mthokozisi Hlengwa

Email: ZibaneS@ukzn.ac.za

Email: HlengwaM@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix 4: Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

(* Copy to be provided to research participant)

By signing below, you agree that: (a) you have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet; (b) questions about your participation in this study have been answered satisfactorily; and (c) you are taking part in this research study voluntarily.

Participant's Name

Participant's signature

Date

Researcher's name

Researcher's signature

Date

Contact details of researcher:

Ms. Prudence Mdletshe

Cell number: 0793676730

Email address: Mdletshep1@ukzn.ac.za

Contact details of research supervisor:

Dr Sibonsile Zibane and Dr Mthokozisi Hlengwa

Tel number: 031 260 2006

Email address:

Contact details of Humanities & Social Sciences Ethics Committee

Ms. Phumelele Ximba

Tel number: 031 260 3587/2381

Email address: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix 5: Conversational interview and Sharing circle Questions

A total of 2 sharing circles and 20 conversational interviews will be conducted in Eshowe. The research will use the conversational interviews for further in-depth data with members identified during the sharing circle discussions as experts and opinion leaders.

Focus Group Interview Guidelines

Date: _____

Participant's Details:**Age:** _____**Language:** _____**Municipality:** _____**Questions****A. Izinduna**

1. What does fatherhood entail in the Zulu culture and traditions?
2. How does a good father act and behave in the Zulu culture and traditions?
3. Do people in this area (Showe/Ulundi) still practice fatherhood as defined by the Zulu culture?
4. What do you think has impacted positively or negatively of Zulu notions on fatherhood?
5. Do you think Westernization (Isilungu) is one of the factors?
6. What do you think is the impact of Westernization on Zulu notions of fatherhood?
7. List proverbs, folktales, and stories that are about fatherhood?
8. What are the meanings of those proverbs, folktales, and stories?

B. Married and Unmarried Men

1. What are the general qualities of a good father in Zulu marriage?
2. List the qualities of a good father to his children in a Zulu marriage?
3. List the qualities of a good father (ubaba) to his wife?
4. How has Westernisation affected the qualities of a good father and a good husband (ubaba) in this community?
5. What other factors have affected those good qualities?
6. What are the qualities of a good father who is not married?
7. What do you understand about fathering from the following proverbs?

C. Young adults

1. What is a good father to you?
2. List the qualities of a good father to his children?
3. List the factors that are affecting fatherhood in your community.

4. What would you see as the impact of Westernisation (Isilungu) on fatherhood in your community

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Appendix 6: Isicelo semvume yokwenza ucwaningo

Siyabingelela Nkos' u Mpungose.

Igama lami ngingu Prudence Mdletshe Ngingumfundisi wezifundo zengqondo esikoleni se-Applied Human Sciences, enyuvesi yaKwaZulu-Natali. Njengamanje, ngibhalisele iziqu zobuDokotela ezifundweni ze Philosophy esikoleni sezemhlalakahle nokuthuthukiswa komphakathi, eNyuvezi yakwa Zulu-Natal, ophikweni lase Howard. Ngibhala lencwadi

ukucela imvume yokwenza ucwaningo endaweni engaphansi kwesolakho eShowe. Lolu cwaningo luyingxenye yemfuneko yokuqedela iziqu zobu dokotela ezifundweni ze philosophy kwezenhlalakahle. Ucwaningo luhanjiswa eKomidini leNyuvesi yaKwaZulu-Natali lezokuLawulwa koBuntu lokuKhishwa kwezokuziphatha, njengengxenye yalolu hlelo, ngidingeke ukuba ngithole imvume yomnyango wesigodi lapho ngizothola khona abazobamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo.

Ucwaningo lubizwa ngokuthi, Ukuxilonga kabusha ukuzazi kwabampisholo: Imibono yokuba ubaba Phakathi kwamadoda akwaZulu aseshowe, eNingizimu Afrika (Deconstructing African Identities: Notions of fatherhood amongst Zulu people in Eshowe, South Africa). Inhloso yalolu cwaningo oluhlongozwayo ukuphenya ngolwazi lwendabuko mayelana nokuba ubaba ngokwesiZulu. Lolu cwaningo luzosiza nesizwe sakwa Mpungose ngokuveza izinkinga obaba ababhekana nazo endaweni yaseShowe, esigodini sakwaMpungose. Ngaphezu kwalokho, lolu cwaningo lubalulekile ngoba luzosisiza siqonde ukuthi yini ethinta igalelo lokuba ubaba endaweni yaseShowe, esigodini sakwaMpungose, futhi izoba nomthelela kubenzi bemithetho lapho behlakulela izinqubomgomo eziphathelele negalelo lobaba.

Ngithemba ukuqhuba lolucwaningo esikhathini esiyizinyanga ezintathu, ngokusebenzisa iqoqwana lezinduna bese ngiba nezingxoxo ezijulile (interviews) namadoda angama 25 aphakathi kweminyaka engama-18 kuye ku-65 kuyaphezulu. Iqembu lokugxila kanye nezingxoxo zingadlulela cishe ihora elilodwa kuya kumahora amabili ngamunye. Ukubamba iqhaza ocwaningweni akuphoqiwe futhi akuzolimaza. Ngicabanga ukuthi akukho bungozi nokungaphatheki kahle okuzodaleka ngenxa yalolucwaningoi. Uma ngabe omunye wababambe iqhaza uzithola ephatheke kabi usonhlalakahle uzongenelela asize.

Kuyo yonke inqubo yokucwaninga, ngizothatha amanothi abhaliwe ngokuqhubeka komsebenzi, futhi uma kunesidingo noma kufanelekile ukuqoshwa komsindo kuzokwenziwa. Lokhu ngeke kuveze amagama abantu. Ngizoqinisekisa ukugcinwa kwemfihlo nokungaziwa kwababambiqhaza ngokusebenzisa amagama ekungasiwo awabo noma kube ngamagama angabonakali embikweni. Abantu abazokwazi ukuthola imininingwane yocwaningo

bangabasizi bami bokucwaninga nabaphathi bami kuphela. Bonke abahlanganyeli bazokwaziswa ngokuqondene nalokho kanye nenhloso yocwaningo. Ngaphezu kwalokho, bazokwaziswa ukuthi ukubamba iqhaza kwabo ngokuzithandela nokuthi banelungelo lokuhoxisa noma ukuyeka ukubamba iqhaza nganoma isiphi isikhathi. Futhi bayoba nelungelo lokungafuni ukuphendula imibuzo ethile uma bekhetha.

Ngingabonga kakhulu uma imvume yokuqhuba lolu cwaningo inganikezwa. Sicela usayine kwisikhala sokuphendula esingezansi esivuma ukuthi ufundile kabanzi ngolwazi lokubamba kwakho iqhaza, waqonda uhlobo lwesifundo esenziwayo kanye nezingozi nezinzuzo ezibonakalayo zokuhlanganyela kulolu cwaningo, futhi unikeza igunye lalolucwaningo oluzoqhuntshwa endaweni yangakini.

Ukusebenzisana kwakho kule ndaba kuyobongwa kakhulu.

Ozithobayo

Umcwaningi: uNksz Prudence Mdletshe

University of KwaZulu-Natali

I-Faculty of Humanities,

School of Applied Human Sciences,

I-Howard College, eThekwini,

4001

Umqondisi no1: UDkt. Sibonsile Zibane

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Ucingo (w): 031260116

Imeyili: ZibaneS@ukzn.ac.za

Umqondisi no2: UDkt Mthokozisi Hlengwa

University of Kwa-Zulu Natali

Ucingo (w): 0312607982

Imeyili: HlengwaM@ukzn.ac.za

REPLY SLIP

UKUFANELEKA KANYE NOKUQALA

Mina inhloko yendawo yakwaMpungose e-Eshowe ngiqinisekisa ukuthi ngiyaqonda okuqukethwe kuleli pheshana kanye nenhlobo yocwaningo oluzocwaningwa. Nginika imvume ku Prudence Mdletshe ukuba acwaninge endaweni yaseShowe esigodini sakwaMpungose.

..... ..

Usuku lwesivumelwano.

Appendix 7: Ulwazi ngobambe iqhaza.

Ulwazi ngobambe iqhaza.

Isimemo

Sawubona. Igama lami nguPrudence Thandeka Mdletshe. Ngingumfundi owenza iziqu zobu Dokotela (PhD) obhalisiwe eNyuvesi yaseKwaZulu-Natali. Ucelwa ukuba ube yindlenye kucwaningo lweziqu zami olumayelana nemibono yokuba ubaba kubantu abakhuluma siZulu kwisifundazwe sakwa Zulu Natal. Nakuba luningi ucwaningo oselenziwe eNingizimu Afrika ngobaba, kodwa aluluningi olwenziwe oluthinta ngqo ulwazi lwakudala (indigenous

knowledge) ngomqondo wobubaba okusho ukuthi kusho ukuthini. Ngicela ukukulalela ngikubuze imibuzo ngawedwana nangeqoqwana ukuze ngizoqonda ngobubaba kwi siko lesiZulu, imikhuba nokwenza kwesiZulu.

Lolucwaningo lugadwe/luqondiswa nguDkt Maud Mthembu waseNyuvesi yaKwaZulu-Natali, futhi luvunyiwe yi komidi lezolawulo locwaningo lweNyuvesi.

Inqubo

Uzobuzwa imibuzo ngawedwana uphinde unxuswe ukuthi uzwakalise imibono yakho eqoqweni elizokwenziwa lengxoxo. Kokubili kuzoqoshwa ukuze ngikwazi ukubhala phansi ukuthi ubani utheni ngokuhamba kwesikhathi. Nakuba kunjalo, usangakhetha ukuthi ungafuni ukuba iqoshwe uma ufisa.

Invume yokuqoshwa (ngicela u thikhe uphinde ufinyeze amagama akho ngenxa kwe bhokisis):

Uyacela uqaphele okulandelayo:

- Ngumgadi/Ngumeluleki wami kuphela ozokwazi ukuthola esizobe sixoxa ngakho nama nothi azobe enziwe engxongweni yami nawe, okunye kuyobe sekubekwa endaweni ephephile Futhi eyimfihlo.
- Ukubamba kwakho iqhaza kulolucwaningo kuyimfihlo- igama lakho nokunye okuveza wena angeke kuvezwe. Uyonikezwa igama Elisha ukuvikela ukukwaziwa.
- Uyacelwa ukuba uqonde ukuthi awuphoqiwe ukuba ube yingxenye yalolucwaningo. Kodwa ukubamba iqhaza kwakho siyokuthakasela kakhulu.
- Uma ukhetha ukuhoxa kulolucwaningo endleleni ayikho imiphumela emibi eyokwenzeka kuwe, Futhi angeke ucelwe ukuba uchaze isinqumo sakho.
- Imiphumela yalolucwaningo iyokhishwa kwi thesis, Futhi ingatholakala kwi mibhalo yama –journals iphinde yethulwe emhlanganweni.
- Siyathemba ukuthi esizokufunda ngawe kuyosisiza ukwenza izincomo ezinhle kubaholi bethu emiphakathini.

Appendix 8: Kunikezelwa kwemvume emva kolwazi

UKUNIKEZELWA KWEMVUME EMVA KOLWAZI

(* Ikhophi okufanele inikezwe Kobambe iqhaza ocwaningweni)

Ngokusayina ngezansi, uyavuma ukuthi: (a) ufundile futhi waqonda ngolwazi lozobe ebambe iqhaza kulolucwaningo); (b) imibuzo mayelana nokubamba kwakho iqhaza kulolucwaningo iphendululekile ngokugculisayo/ ngokwanelisayo; futhi (c) ubambe iqhaza kulolucwaningo ngokuzikhethela.

Igama lobambe iqhaza

Ukusayina Kobambe iqhaza

Usuku okusayinwa ngalo

Igama lomcwaningi

Ukusayina Komcwaningi

Imininingwane yokuxhumana yomcwaningi:

UNksz Prudence Mdletshe

Inombolo yeselula: 0793676730

Ikheli lombiko wonyazi:

Mdletshep1@ukzn.ac.za

Imininingwane yokuxhumana yombhekeleli/Umgadi womcwaningi

UDkt Sbonsile Zibane noDkt Mthokozisi Hlengwa

Inombolo yocingo: 031 260 2006

Ikheli lombiko wonyazi:

Imininingwane yokuxhumana neKomiti lezokuziphatha kwabacwaningi nenhlalakahle

UNksz Phumelele Ximba

Inombolo yocingo: 031 260 3587/2381

Ikheli lombiko wonyazi:

ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix 9: I interview nemibuzo yeqoqwana

Kuzoqhutshwa izingxoxo ezingama-20 endaweni yase Eshowe. Ucwangingo luzosebenzisa iqembu elilodwa elizoba yingxenye yezingxoxo ezijulile elizobe litholakele kwi ngxoxo zokuqala enikiwe ngenhla ezobe iveze abantu abakhulume njengochwepheshe nemibono enohlonze.

Imihlahlandlela yengxoxo yeqoqwana

Usuku: _____

Imininingwane yombambi qhaza:

Ubudala: _____

Ulimi: _____

UMasipala: _____

Imibuzo

A. Izinduna

1. Ukuba ubaba kubandakanya noma kuchaza ntoni kwi Siko LesiZulu nendlela yokwenza?
2. Ubaba oqotho wenza kanjani futhi uziphathe kanjani kwisiko LesiZulu?
3. Ingabe abantu kule ndawo (Showe / Ulundi) basaqhubeka benza ubuqotho njengoba kuchazwe ngeisiko LesiZulu?
4. Ucabanga ukuthi yini ebenomthelela omuhle noma omubi ekuqondeni ukuba ubaba njenge siko LesiZulu?
5. Ucabanga ukuthi isiko lase Ntshonalanga (Isilungu) ingenye yezinto ezinomthelela?
6. Ucabanga ukuthi yimuphi umphumela odalwe yisiko laseNtshonalanga kwi siko LesiZulu?
7. Faka uhlu lwezahhlulelo, izintambo, nezindaba eziphathelele nobaba? Nikeza izaga, izisho nezindatshana ezikhuluma ngokuba ubaba?
8. Zisho ukuthini lezo zaga, izinhlamvu, nezindaba? Yimuphi umqondo ochazwa yilezaga, yisho nezindatshana ezinikwe ngenxa.

B. Abesilisa Abashadile nabangashadile

1. Yiziphi izinkomba zokuba ubaba oqotho kwisiko leSiZulu?
2. Nikeza izinkomba zobaba oqotho kubantwana bakwe emshadweni wesiZulu?
3. Nikeza izinkomba zokuba umyeni oqotho ku mkakhe?
4. Ingabe isiko lase Ntshonalanga liziphazamise kanjani izinkomba zokuba ngubaba oqotho nokuba ngumyeni oqotho ku lomphakathi?

5. Yiziphi ezinye izimo okungaba zibe nawo umthelela ekuphazamiseni izinkomba zobaba oqotho.
6. Yiziphi izinkomba zobaba ongashadile?
7. Ukuqonda kanjani ukuba ubaba kulezaga ezilandelayo?

C. Abantu abasha

1. Ubaba onjani oqotho kuwe?
2. Nikeza izinkomba zokuba ubaba oqotho ku bantwana bakhe?
3. Nikeza izinto eziphazamisa obaba emphakathini wangakini?
4. Yikuphi okubona njengomthelela wesiko lase Ntshonalanga kobaba emphakathini?

SIYABONGA KAKHULU NGOKUBA YINGXENYE YALOLUCWANINGO!!