

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Perspectives and Experiences of Fatherhood among Young People: A Case Study of 'Black' Students at University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTERS IN POPULATION STUDIES

In the School of Built Environment and Development Studies

By

SIPHAMANDLA CHILI

204516585

Supervisor: Professor Pranitha Maharaj

2013

Table of Contents

Declaration of originality	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
List of acronyms	iv
Chapter One: Introduction	2
1.1. What is known about young fathers	2
1.2. Why focus on young fathers	3
1.3. Definition of young fathers	6
1.4. Objectives and research questions	6
1.5. Conceptual framework	8
1.6. Structure of the dissertation	9
Chapter Two: Literature Review	11
2.1. Introduction	11
2.2. Teenage pregnancy	12
2.3. Young fathers	13
2.4. Young men at risk	15
2.5. Barriers and challenges	16
2.6. Costs of young parenting on the State	19
2.6.1. Child Support Grant	19
2.7. Reaching out for help	20
2.8. Beneficial effects of fathers to children	21
2.9. The situation and structure of families in South Africa	24
2.9.1. Apartheid	25
2.9.2. Migrant labour and its contribution to absent fathers	25
2.9.3. Poverty	27
2.9.4. The HIV/AIDS pandemic	27
2.10. Summary of chapter	29

Chapter Three: Method	31
3.1. Introduction	31
3.2. Study context	32
3.3. Demographic profile of the University of KwaZulu-Natal	32
3.4. Research design	33
3.5. Data collection	33
3.6. Sample selection	34
3.7. Sample size and characteristics	35
3.8. Data analysis	36
3.9. Ethical considerations	37
3.10. Credibility and trustworthiness of data	38
3.11. Limitations	38
3.12. Summary of chapter	39
Chapter Four: Research findings	40
4.1. Introduction	40
4.2. Characteristics of the respondents	40
4.3. Unplanned pregnancy	41
4.4. Responding to the news of pregnancy	42
4.5. Factors influencing the child's primary residence	44
4.6. Relationship with the mother of the child: Impact on the father-child relationship	45
4.7. Contraceptive knowledge: Usage with past and current partners	46
4.8. What does being a father mean?	49
4.9. Fatherhood roles: Playing the role of being a father	51
4.10. Impact of being a father while studying	54
4.11. Limitations and challenges	57
4.12. Summary of chapter	58

Chapter Five: Conclusion	60
5.1. Introduction	60
5.2. Discussion	60
5.3. Comments	66
References	69
Appendices	76
Appendix 1 – Consent Form	76
Appendix 2 – Interview Guide	77

Declaration of Originality

This research has not been previously accepted for any degree and is not being currently considered for any other degree at any other university.

I declare that this Dissertation contains my own work except where specifically acknowledged

S. Chili

204516585

Abstract

Not much is known about young fathers in South Africa; as a result, there is a lack of literature that focuses on young fathers and fatherhood in South Africa. However, there is a growing body of international literature about young fathers and their perceptions of fatherhood, even though this is mostly concentrated in the global north, especially the United States.

The overall aim of the study was to explore the perspectives and experiences of early fatherhood among 'Black' university students in Durban. This was done by engaging young black men that are fathers. A qualitative approach was adopted in order to give the respondents freedom to discuss their experiences at length. The sample consisted of seven respondents that are Black, fulltime students and aged 18-25. Young fathers who are 'Black' were chosen purposefully because the statistics show that the fertility rate of young Black people is significantly high when compared to young people of other race groups in South Africa.

This study found that all the young fathers that participated in this study had not intended to have children, and were therefore not ready to become fathers when their partners told them that they were pregnant. Furthermore, it was found that all the young fathers that participated in this study did not live with their children. Instead, the children lived with their mothers. There were various reasons given for this arrangement, but the most dominant one was that it was because the young fathers had not paid damages to their partners' families, as cultural practices dictate, for having impregnated them.

Most young fathers that participated in this study are no longer intimately involved with the mothers of their children. However, they are on good terms with them and they have managed to maintain civil relationships with them in order to have access to their children. This study found that modern contraceptive knowledge is high amongst young fathers, although the usage is inconsistent. Finally, this study found that young fathers equate fatherhood to responsibility, providing financially, giving emotional support, and spending quality time with their children. However, there was a feeling of inadequacy and dissatisfaction amongst young fathers because of hindrances that prevent them from executing their roles of fatherhood effectively.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, all thanks be to God, without whom this work would not have been possible.

Thank you to my supervisor, Professor Pranitha Maharaj who was very supportive and patient with me throughout this work.

Thank you to my dearest and very special friend, Khanyisile Mncwabe, for transcribing the interviews for this research.

List of acronyms

CCRRl	Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity
CSG	Child Support Grant
ECD	Early Childhood Development
FCG	Foster Care Grant
ICPD	International Conference for Population Development
SMG	State Maintenance Grant
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
W.H.O	World Health Organisation

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. What is known about young fathers

Promoting greater male involvement in reproductive health and greater gender equity in child care and domestic tasks were endorsed at the International Conference for Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo in 1994 (Maharaj, 2000). Attention has begun to be called to fathers' roles in child development and child rearing, including the roles of young fathers. This call is driven by various aspects including the increased participation of women in the formal workplace and a greater demand on men to take responsibility for child-rearing as well as research findings showing that an increasing percentage of fathers around the world are not living with their children (Mikulencak, 2000). Various studies have highlighted migration for work and instability of men's employment as some of the reasons that impact on men's roles and participation in the family. In South Africa migrating for labour, since the advent of colonisation and through apartheid, has become an entrenched way of life for many Black fathers, and is complicit in father absence (Ramphela & Richter 2006; Wilson, 2006; Hunter, 2006).

According to Mikulencak (2000), citing a 1993 World Health Organisation report, young fathers may be reluctant to establish legal paternity or to acknowledge having fathered a child because of the stigma associated with young pregnancy or pregnancy outside of formal unions. Swartz and Bhana (2009) found that many young fathers do not acknowledge paternity because of being uncertain of whether they are in fact the father as well as the fact that most are financially unfit to support children and as a result may be shamed and ridiculed by their partner's family. This means that the financial burden that comes with being a father is a factor in the decision of whether or not to accept responsibility and paternity. Furthermore young fathers are often reluctant to participate in research studies because of the fear of being punished for being involved in pregnancies (Dallas & Chen, 1998). The opposite has also been found in studies, where young fathers do acknowledge paternity and take responsibility. These have been motivated by their own fathers' involvement in their upbringing (Swartz & Bhana, 2009) as well as by the absence or abandonment by their own fathers (Dallas & Chen, 1998, Swartz & Bhana, 2009).

Moreover, Mikulencak (2000) points out that studies show that many young fathers do not participate in providing for or caring for their children. At the same time, other studies conducted in the United States of America (see for example Dallas & Chen, 1998; Smith *et al.*, 2001 & 2002) found that young fathers frequently provide some support and seek to maintain relationships with their children even if they are not living with the mother and the child.

Not much is known about young fathers in South Africa; as a result, there is a lack of literature that focuses on young fathers and fatherhood in South Africa. However, there is a growing body of international literature about young fathers and their perceptions of fatherhood, even though this is mostly concentrated in the global north, especially the United States. Most of this literature stems from research that was attempting to find out and address the needs of young fathers that are involved in fatherhood programmes (see for example Allan & Doherty, 1996; Dallas & Chen, 1998; Lane and Clay, 2000; Smith *et al.*, 2001; and Weinman, Buzi & Smith, 2002a, 2002b, 2005a, 2005b). Various reproductive health surveys have asked young men whether they have ever impregnated a partner, but research on young men's attitudes toward fatherhood, their involvement as fathers, or their desire as fathers is lacking (Mikulencak, 2000).

1.2. Why focus on young fathers

The ICPD programme of action states specifically: "Special efforts should be made to emphasise men's shared responsibility and promote their active involvement in responsible parenthood, sexual and reproductive behaviour, including family planning; prenatal, maternal and child health; prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV prevention; prevention of unwanted and high risk pregnancies; shared control and contribution to family income, children's education, health and nutrition; and recognition and promotion of the equal value of children of both sexes" (United Nations, 1995:197 cited in Maharaj, 2000: 37). Furthermore children should be taught about male responsibility in family life from the earliest ages, while they are still highly receptive to new information.

According to Smith *et al.*, (2001) there is evidence that the absence of fathers contributes to the poverty rates faced by children who live in such families. In addition, these children are at

a higher risk of experiencing social problems such as youth violence, poor academic performance and young pregnancy. Just these few reasons alone, highlight the importance of having a father present in a child's life. These reasons also call attention to the fact that young fathers need some help in becoming responsible fathers to their children, and the starting point for providing this help is to engage with them and hear about their perceptions, experiences and expectations of fatherhood.

There is limited research data on fathers because of the lack of interest of researchers as well as the general, long standing insufficient participation and inclusion of men in sexual and reproductive health issues. There have been studies on fatherhood in Africa and internationally, even though these are limited (Richter & Morrell, 2006). What is even more lacking is information on young fathers and their perceptions of fatherhood. The few studies focusing on young fathers that have conducted were done mostly in the global north, and their focus was mostly on the causality between being a young father and socio-economic status of the father years later in life (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). However, there is one comprehensive study on young fathers and their perceptions of fatherhood that was conducted in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal by Arvin Bhana and Charlene Swartz (2009). This study offers an important starting point for further studies to be done on young fathers in South Africa. Swartz and Bhana's study covers a wide range of subjects around young fatherhood including poverty and the young fathers' relations with their close relatives, the society in general as well as their aspirations in life and how these can affect their relationships with their children (Swartz & Bhana, 2009).

More studies are done on women rather than men with regard to parenting. Those that were done have focused on the young fathers mostly in the global north than the south and many of them merely looked at causality between being a young father and the socio-economic status of the young father many years later. "The majority of studies investigate the links between early fatherhood and negative life outcomes" (Swartz & Bhana, 2009: 3). Moreover young fathers are often neglected and sometimes if they are studied it is often secondary investigations done through interviewing young women who are in relationships or have children with young fathers.

This study will contribute to the understanding of young fathers in South Africa, how they view and experience fatherhood, and what they see their roles as fathers to be. In addition this study will look closely at the impact of being a young father whilst still a university student;

the positives and negatives of being a father at a young age as experienced by the young fathers themselves as well as the coping mechanisms that the young fathers use in their situation.

This study focuses on university students who are young fathers because of the uniqueness of their situation in that they are studying fulltime and also have this responsibility of being a father which also requires their full attention, more or less. When compared to other young fathers, for example in the study by Swartz and Bhana (2009), where most of the young fathers that were interviewed were either high school drop outs or unemployed after completing high school; the young fathers in this study are pursuing fulltime degree studies. This puts them in a uniquely interesting position as study subjects.

Issues such as unemployment and absentee fathers are both dire and complex in a developing world context. In the developing world, young fathers experience higher levels of poverty and unemployment when compared to their developed world counterparts (Wilson, 2006, Swartz & Bhana, 2009). This means that the consequences of fatherhood vary depending on the context in which fatherhood occurred. This study was conducted at university amongst Black male students who may or may not be from similar backgrounds. The study will make a contribution to the emerging literature on fatherhood and young fathers in South Africa with the hope that these will be taken into consideration when formulating early childhood intervention programmes as well as other future interventions that are aimed at assisting young fathers. This study is, of course, a small one therefore it would not make sense to generalise its findings to the rest of South Africa's young fathers' population. However, important lessons can be learnt from it.

Young fathers often face similar issues as their female counterparts, although in different ways and to different degrees. These are issues such as too-early role transition from youth to parent; social isolation; unstable relationships; and social and family opposition to their involvement as fathers (Mikulencak, 2000). This is partly why studies on the experiences and perceptions of fatherhood amongst young fathers are important.

Swartz and Bhana (2009) found that young fathers seldom plan to become fathers. Their children arrive as a consequence of sexual activity engaged in impulsively and or without the use of contraceptives or through contraceptive failure. Moreover studies on contraceptive prevalence and use often focus on women; this study will therefore bring to the fore some of

the young fathers' current knowledge and views of contraceptives and their past usage of condoms; that is, before they became fathers. This will contribute to the development of strategies that can be adopted in promoting the uptake and usage of, and knowledge, about contraceptives and condoms amongst young people who are sexually active.

The primary purpose of this study is to capture the perspectives and experiences of fatherhood among young fathers. This study aims to find out what 'fatherhood' means to these young men, what their expectations of being a father are and how have they experienced fatherhood. The study aims to find out if, according to these young men, fatherhood goes beyond the biological definition and includes other factors. The secondary purpose or rather the by-product of this study is to identify some opportunities and barriers in preventing young fatherhood and as such, to a limited extent, some questions regarding these young men's knowledge of contraceptives and their past condom usage were asked.

1.3. Definition of young fathers

Young fathers are generally defined as male parents under the age of 24 or 25. Allen and Doherty (1996) define young fathers as male biological parents aged 15-19 whereas Weinman, Buzi and Smith (2005) define young fathers as males who are biological parents aged 16-33. Dallas and Chen (1998: 211) define fatherhood simply as "the state of being a father". For the purpose of this study, taking into account that it will be conducted amongst university students, young fathers shall be males who are biological parents and are aged 18-24 and 'fatherhood' shall refer to the state of being a biological father to a child.

1.4. Objectives and Research Questions

The overall aim of the study was to explore the perspectives and experiences of early fatherhood among 'Black' university students in Durban. In South Africa pregnancy among young Black people is high when compared to other races. Older teenagers account for the bulk of fertility in South Africa. Furthermore, Blacks have a significantly higher fertility rate when compared to their Indian, White and Coloured counterparts (Panday *et al.*, 2009). This is caused by various social factors including disruptions of family structure, inequitable

access to health care and education as well as unemployment and poverty (Panday *et al.*, 2009). This was done by engaging young Black men that are fathers. Young fathers who are 'Black' were chosen purposefully because the statistics of the student population at the University of KwaZulu-Natal indicate that Black Africans are in the majority in all its campuses. Furthermore, preliminary preparation for this study, including the recruitment of potential study participants, yielded results that were skewed towards the Black population of young fathers. Key informants that were used to help with the recruitment of participants all led this researcher to Black young fathers. Attempts were made by the researcher to solicit potential study participants that would be demographically representative of the student population of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, to no avail. At this juncture it is important to indicate that the term "Black" is only used in the study as a reference term for purposes of distinction only. It is not used to discriminate or support any stereotypes.

The specific objectives of this study were:

- To obtain an in-depth understanding of early fatherhood from the perspective of young Black men who are full time students.
- To explore some of the impacts of early fatherhood on young Black fathers who are full time students.
- To examine some of the opportunities and barriers to preventing early fatherhood among men.

The key research questions were:

- How do young Black men perceive fatherhood?
- How do young Black men view their roles as fathers?
- What are the implications of fatherhood for the young men?

These key research questions informing the study were used when conducting in-depth interviews. These questions were developed with the intention of getting some understanding of the situation of young fathers in South Africa, how they view and experience fatherhood, what they see as their roles as fathers, as well as their knowledge and past usage of condoms and contraceptives in their relationships.

1.5. Conceptual framework

This research adopts the Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1985, 1987) framework of paternal involvement. This framework has three dimensions of adult fatherhood involvement namely; interaction, availability and responsibility.

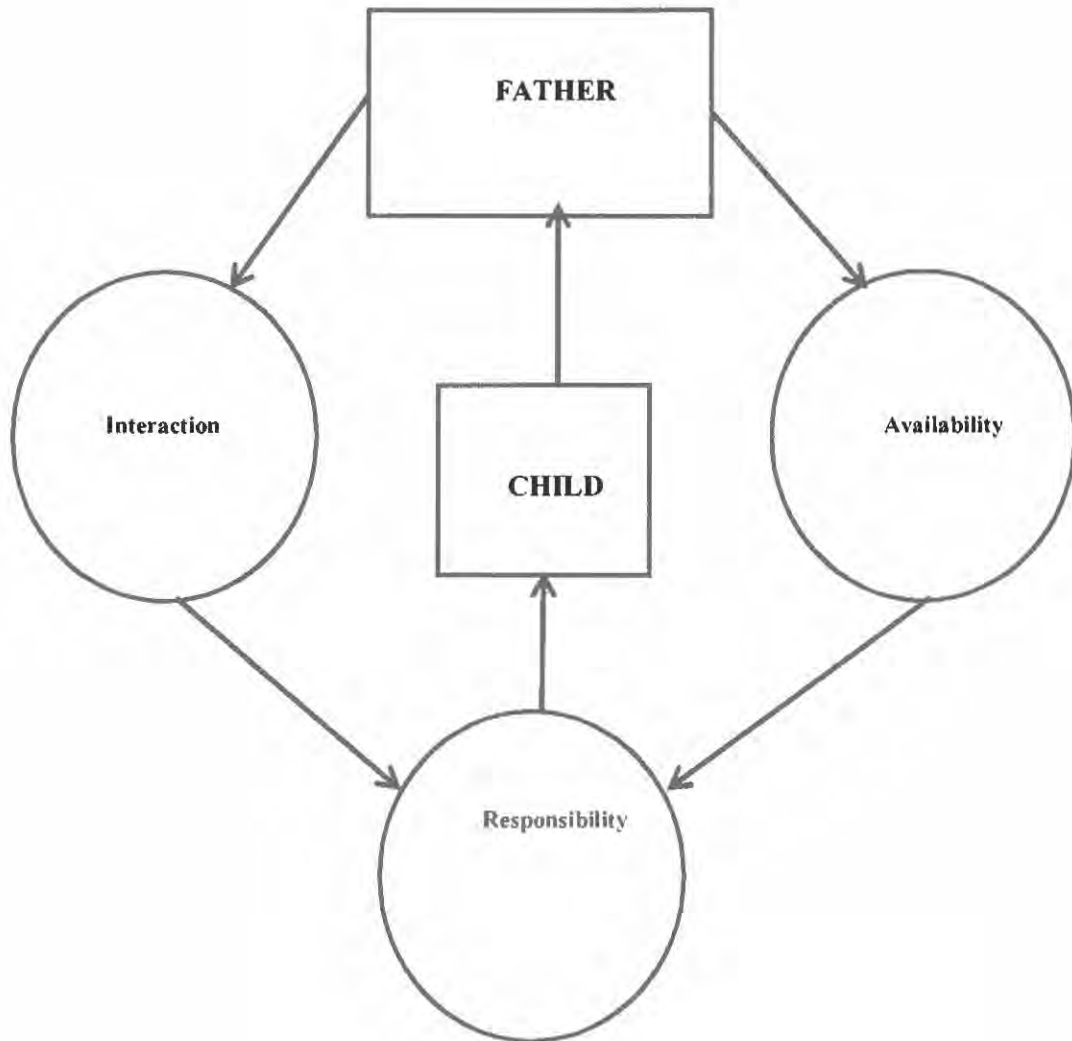


Figure 1: Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1985, 1987) framework of paternal involvement

The first dimension, interaction, is defined as one-on-one engagement with the child. This could include feeding the child, playing with the child or other child caretaking activities.

The second dimension, availability, refers to the father's presence in the child's life which provides opportunities for other types of father-child interaction. Face-to-face interaction is not necessary in this dimension. An example for this dimension is a father being in the same room with the child doing something on his own while the child is playing on its own (Saleh *et al.*, 2005).

The third dimension, responsibility, is defined as arranging for resources and meeting the needs of the child. Examples of responsibility include ensuring that the child has clothes to wear, and that the child visits a doctor when he or she is sick. It is important to note here that responsibility in this context does not mean "breadwinner" or "provider" but it is rather characterised as responsibility for everyday caretaking (Saleh *et al.*, 2005).

The Lamb, Pleck, Charnor and Levine (1985, 1987) framework of paternal involvement is relevant and applicable to this study because it speaks directly to some of the issues that the young fathers that participated in this study spoke about. The responses of the young fathers that participated in this study centred on issues of being responsible for their children, being available when their children need them and interacting with their children.

This Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1985, 1987) framework of paternal involvement provides a useful tool for identifying involved fathers. Furthermore, this framework allows for consistency in assessing fatherhood involvement among men and also allows for easy comparison between and across different studies. This framework is also flexible in that a researcher could easily add certain things that relate to fatherhood involvement that Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine may have not addressed. Furthermore researchers can customise or build on this framework in order to make it more relevant and applicable to their study.

1.6. Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation comprises of five chapters. Chapter one gives a background of what is known about young fathers in South Africa and the rest of the world. It also explains why this research has chosen to focus on young fathers. Moreover, this chapter provides the general definition of young fathers and a specific definition of young fathers for the purposes of this study. It also gives the objectives of the study, key research questions, and describes the conceptual framework for the study.

Chapter two looks at the available literature on young fathers. The first part of the literature review section focuses on young fatherhood in the developed countries, specifically focusing on findings of studies conducted in the United States. It explores some of the perceptions surrounding young fatherhood. It also looks at some of the challenges that young fathers face. Focus is then shifted towards the South African experience of young fatherhood; here the apartheid system will be explored and its relationship with the emergence of absent fathers and young fatherhood. The situation and structure of families, particularly Black African families in South Africa, will also be explored with the aim of understanding the context in which young fatherhood occurs in South Africa.

Chapter three focuses on the method that was used in this study. It explores the research design and the sampling techniques that were utilised in this study. Chapter four gives the findings and analysis of the results and also a summary of the key findings. Chapter five provides discussion of the results, a conclusion and suggests some possible areas for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This section reviews literature on fatherhood. The aim of the review is to identify trends and the experiences of young fathers from different continents and countries. This review will be crucial in informing the research findings. The literature review covers issues that are directly and indirectly related to young fatherhood. As its starting point, the section explores the issue of young pregnancy. There is a strong relationship between young pregnancy and young fatherhood; in a significant number of cases, young pregnant mothers are partners of young fathers.

The chapter further interrogates issues related to young fatherhood; it unpacks the risks that are associated with young fatherhood. Crucial to note is the fact that young fatherhood is a consequence of risky sexual behaviour which puts young fathers and their partners at a higher risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and unwanted pregnancies. Furthermore, challenges that young fathers face, including economic, social and psychological problems are examined.

The chapter also looks into the various forms of support that are available to young fathers. The aim is to highlight some of the sources of help for young fathers. In this regard, the support from the young father's parents is seen as playing an important role in the fatherhood experience by these fathers. The benefits to the children of young fathers are also examined. It is suggested that children who do not grow up with a father figure are often prone to behavioural problems and a lot of them face problems during their childhood development.

Moreover, the chapter explores family structure in South Africa. It traces how the apartheid era, through separate development, paved the way for the migrant labour system which ultimately led to the breakdown of the family and caused all sorts of problems within the South African family structure. Like in the developed world, the cost of supporting children in single-headed families has been borne by the State. In this context, the chapter explores how the child support grant in South Africa assists a number of poor children from both fatherless and poor families.

2.2. Teenage Pregnancy

Mentioning of young fatherhood should go together with young pregnancy. Studies that focus exclusively on female and child bearing reflects a “general lack of concern with the male role in caring for infants and young children. This is because child bearing has for longer periods of time been seen as a female issue” (Mahan & Browning, 2003: 96). In this light, the fatherless family scenario is a matter of concern. Young pregnancy is a common occurrence in South Africa, with empirical findings suggesting that more than 30% of 19 year-old girls have given birth at least once (Kaufman, de Wet & Stadler, 2001). In South Africa, young pregnancy is not a new phenomenon; research shows that early childbearing has been sustained over several decades with 30 to 40% of women in five year age cohorts having given birth as young mothers for about 40 years (Kaufman, de Wet & Stadler, 2001). In the United States, Mahan and Browning (2003: 96) posits that, 900 000 Americans younger than 20 years old fall pregnant every year.

For a long time however; teenage pregnancy has been seen as a “problem” for the young mothers. Although young pregnancy is not a new phenomenon, there has been too much emphasis and focus on the mother and the child to the neglect of the father (Mahan & Browning, 2003). A worrying factor is that about 78% of births happen amongst unmarried teens (Mahan & Browning, 2003). In the same vein, young relationships and marriages tend to last for a short period of time (Barret & Robinson 1981). Because the ultimate burden of child care falls on the mother, efforts to curb young pregnancy or parenting have for the most part been focused on the young mother (Coleman, 1998).

In as much as young pregnancy is a concern, a fatherless family is also of concern (Mahan & Browning, 2003). Young fathers are often involved in the decision making regarding the pregnancy and its confirmation. Leaving out these young fathers in this crucial decision-making process can result in negligent behaviour. Involvement in the decision making process about pregnancy is reported to result in a greater likelihood that the father will be involved in the life of the children (Miller, 1997).

2.3. Young Fathers

Mahan and Browning (2003) argue that neglecting young fathers is a consequence of not acknowledging that they play a crucial role in the lives of children. Very little attention has been given to the role that males play in young pregnancies (Davies *et al.*, 2004). The young father has always been regarded as “a shadowy, unknown figure--more a culprit than a potential contributor to either the mother or his offspring” (Parke, Power, & Fisher 1980: 90). Barret and Robinson (1981, 1985) note how the young father has traditionally been profiled or defined in a negative light. They state that the young father is normally viewed through the stereotype that society has created about them which is that young fathers are irresponsible people who failed to control their sexual desires and as a result fathered a child. The absence of the young father in the child’s and its mother’s lives is normally viewed as proof that they are indeed irresponsible. Furthermore, Huey (1991) states that unwed young fathers are often stereotyped as “macho studs” who only want to satisfy their own pleasures.

In most parts of the world, early parenthood has been stigmatized over the years (Coleman, 1998). When a child is born, more attention is focused on the mother. The father is in most cases often invisible (Barret & Robinson 1981). Florsheim *et al.*, (1999) observe that as the incidence of single-mother headed households has been on the increase, there has also been a growing interest in fathers and fatherhood. In most cases, studies have shown that the young father is usually unmarried at the time the child is born (Barret & Robinson 1981). Contrary to the widely held belief that young fathers are not in contact with their children, Coleman (1998) argues that a large number of younger fathers maintain close contact with their children.

Young fathers are often invisible in society due to several factors that militate against what is considered a good enough level of responsibility or fatherhood (Miller, 1997). It is crucial to note that most fathers do not perceive fatherhood as negatively affecting their lives and they argue that it does not affect their future. Miller (1997) further observes that initially fathers are not ready for fatherhood with signs of uneasiness but as the pregnancy progresses they become more involved. Young fathers are usually not prepared psychologically for their new fatherhood roles because of their young age. They are especially hesitant in assuming the role of provider and caretaker that comes with fatherhood. Furthermore both young parents (father and mother) lack knowledge and experience of children (Barret & Robinson 1985).

Moreover studies have shown that young fathers are often as vulnerable, afraid and confused like their female counterparts once they become parents (Barret & Robinson, 1985). It is also important to note that as much as young fathers are often stereotyped and labelled by society; studies have shown that these young men are actually interested in their children (Barret & Robinson, 1981, Earls & Siegel, 1980; Stengel, 1985). Most young fathers who participated in counselling programmes in the United States, showed a strong willingness to take part in the lives of their children (Barret & Robinson, 1981). In addition, it has also been observed that naming the child after the father results in willingness by the father to be actively involved in the upbringing of the child (Barret & Robinson, 1981).

The biggest challenge for a researcher interested in studying the population of young fathers is that they are difficult to recruit, they are often guarded in their responses and there is a level of mistrust especially at the beginning of interviews (Allen & Doherty, 1996). Assessing the impact of ethnicity on outcomes for young fathers or the potential influence that ethnicity might have on pregnancy resolutions is another big challenge that is faced by researchers that are interested in studying young fathers (Allen & Doherty, 1996). Several studies have found that young African Americans who impregnate are highly likely to discourage their partners from undertaking abortions than their European counterparts, and therefore are much more likely to become fathers as a result of an unplanned pregnancy than their European counterparts (Washington 1982, Zelnik & Kantner, 1980). Efforts to improve paternal involvement of young fathers in their children's lives are mostly aimed at encouraging them to take full parental responsibility and positively contribute to the lives of their children (Dallas *et al.*, 2000).

A study that was conducted amongst young African American fathers which sought to explore the link between paternal attitudes and actual behaviour found that the extent to which the young men perceived themselves as fathers influenced the extent to which they fulfilled that role; meaning they acted based on what fatherhood meant to them (Allen & Doherty, 1996). In a study amongst African-Americans, Davies *et al.*, (2004) found that most of the males do not consider marriage as important. In addition, young fathers are in most cases "afraid, confused and anxious" (Mahan & Browning, 2003: 93). This emanates from their unpreparedness for the experience of fatherhood; bearing in mind that this group has limited years of schooling and in most of the cases, are unemployed (Bunting & McAuley, 2004). They cannot provide for themselves because they are poor, with this background in

mind it also follows that they cannot make any meaningful contribution to the lives of their children. Coupled with their inability to provide for their children, most young fathers do not ask for help. Bunting and McAuley (2004) observe that young fathers tend to have low or no contact with their children.

2.4. Young men at risk

Many men have often found themselves in dire situations due to their actions. Early fatherhood has been attributed to risky sexual behaviour and irresponsible behaviour (Mahan & Browning, 2003). Men who have failed to take care of their children and the mothers of their children have been labelled sexually reckless youth (Jaffee *et al.*, 2001). In a study of absentee fathers in the United States by Jaffee *et al.*, (2001), it was reported that there was a high positive correlation between young fatherhood and absentee fathers. It is also important to note that there is a positive correlation between low education attainment and early pregnancy (Coleman, 1998).

Most girls who become mothers have a low level of education. Likewise, those who become young fathers are more likely to share the same background of low education attainment (Coleman, 1998). Coleman and Dennison (1998) studied risky sexual behaviour and contraceptive use among young men. They concluded that as the level of sexual activity increases, contraception use decreases. This explains why there are more children out of marriage amongst this group (Coleman & Dennison, 1998).

The sexual trends of teenagers point towards a general picture of increased sexual activity at a tender age (Coleman, 1998). In addition to low contraceptive use, young fathers are more likely to have more frequent sexual encounters with multiple partners and therefore are at an increased risk of contracting STIs (Weinman *et al.*, 2002, Barret & Robinson, 1981). Furthermore, most young fathers are infrequent users of contraceptives, substance abusers and are highly likely to be school drop outs (Weinman *et al.*, 2002).

The inconsistent use of contraceptives coupled with early sex debut results in teenage pregnancy among girls and boys become young fathers inevitably (Bunting & McAuley, 2004). Early sexual debut and frequent sexual encounters are compounded by the young father's indulgence in unprotected sex and infrequent use of effective birth control methods

(Coleman, 1998; Barret & Robinson, 1981). This indicates a general lack of sexual education and information, there is therefore a great need to educate the young (Barret & Robinson, 1981). It can therefore be concluded that early parenthood has been necessitated by a combination of low sexual education and low contraceptive use and early sexual debut (Coleman, 1998).

2.5. Barriers and challenges

Young fathers are often faced with a myriad of challenges. According to various studies that have been done on young fathers it is common to find that they experience multiple barriers and challenges to paternal involvement. These challenges include; lack of maturity, lack of economic support, unemployment and low educational attainment, time constraints and emotional stress among others (Miller, 1997, Dallas & Chen, 1998, Stouthamer-Loeber & Wei, 1998). Furthermore, some of the barriers that are faced by young fathers can be compounded by the maternal family who may prevent the young father from making contact with the child and its mother. In some instances young fathers are even rejected by their own families (Batten & Stowell 1996; Knitzer & Bernard 1997) Due to all these constraints, young fathers are thought of as irresponsible beings who abandon new born babies (New York Amsterdam News, 2001: 22).

The role of employment should not be undermined as young fathers view financial stability as key to a healthy relationship with their children as this affords them the chance to be with their children (Weinman *et al.*, 2004). Despite the barriers faced by these young fathers; studies have also found that many of them desire to be actively involved with their children (Barret & Robinson, 1985, Glikman, 2004). On the one hand it is unfortunate that young fathers are often overlooked in efforts to assist the young mother (Lowenthal & Lowenthal, 1997). Young fathers' needs are often overlooked and those of the young mothers are often met (Lowenthal & Lowenthal, 1997).

One of the biggest responsibilities that befall any parent, whether young or old is providing financially for their child. Responsibility refers to the arranging for resources and meeting the needs of the child. This dimension includes things such as ensuring that the child has clothes, food and sufficient medical attention when she needs it (Saleh *et al.*, 2005). This normally

means having a source of income with which a parent can sustain the wellbeing and provide financial support to their child. For fathers it is normally expected that they become responsible for their child and the mother of the child, at least during pregnancy and when the child is still very young. Young fathers can expect to earn less income than their counterparts who are not fathers yet (Lowenthal & Lowenthal, 1997). This is because a young father's education is normally disrupted once they become a father; and level of education is an important determinant of one's income level (Swartz & Bhana, 2009).

Maternal parents have often been frustrated by the young father's inability to provide financially and this has resulted in them excluding the young fathers in almost all facets of the child's life (Bunting & McAuley, 2004). Families have a significant part to play in the young father's relationship with the child. In most cases maternal resistance is an obstacle to contact between the young father and the child (Weinman *et al.*, 2002). This importance that has been attached on the financial aspect of fatherhood has resulted in young fathers adopting a demeaning image of themselves and lack of financial resources has culminated in "disinterest and un-involvement in all aspects of the child's life" (Bunting & McAuley, 2004: 299). Continued resistance by maternal parents subsequently results in a lack of interest by the young father in the child's life (Bunting & McAuley, 2004; Miller, 1997). The nature of the relationship between the young father and the mother of the child is also very important if contact is to be maintained between father and child. Weinman *et al.*, (2002) argue that the bad relations between the father and the maternal side often pose difficulties for the young father when it comes to seeing their child. Young fathers have to deal with emotions that emanate from the rejection they suffer from the family of the mother (Miller, 1997).

Another challenge that is experienced by young fathers is the transition of roles from being a normal young boy to becoming a father. Young fathers usually struggle to deal with issues of adolescence, let alone the transition to fatherhood (Miller, 1997). This can be very challenging for the young father (Lowenthal & Lowenthal, 1997). Furthermore, some young fathers find it difficult, and therefore neglect their responsibility to become fathers because their own fathers were not there to provide young parenting to them (Lowenthal & Lowenthal, 1997). This was found to be true in studies conducted in the United States (Weinman, Buzi & Smith, 2005) and in South Africa (Swartz & Bhana, 2009).

In addition to social factors that hinder contact between father and child, Coleman and Dennison (1998) cite economic factors as playing a major role in the relations between

paternal and maternal relations. They point out that young fathers are either in school, looking for work or attending training in a different area (Coleman & Dennison, 1998). The quest to provide for their children often means that young fathers have to go to another area to look for opportunities that might change their situation. In doing so, they might not find enough time to visit the child let alone support them (Coleman & Dennison, 1998). Furthermore, most young fathers are themselves economically dependent on their families and this makes it difficult to provide for their children considering that they also need financial assistance (Miller, 1997). This does not go well for the young fathers as they are often stressed due to their incapacity to meet the demands of the children (Miller, 1997).

Although young fathers have been labelled irresponsible, they do possess feelings towards the mothers of their children (Miller, 1997). Miller (1997) further observes that the behaviours of parents are a result of the environmental and cultural contexts that surrounds them. In their study, Weinman *et al.*, (2004) found out that most fathers complained that their inability to support their children has often been misunderstood by the mother of their child who saw this as a general lack of interest. A number of young mothers expect their partners to share childcare tasks with them (Dallas *et al.*, 2000). Moreover, Dallas *et al.*, (2000), in their study observed that a lot of young mothers wanted their partners to be involved in the upbringing of their children. Those who lacked parental knowledge were urged to take parenting classes to further their knowledge about child development (Dallas *et al.*, 2000).

The parenting exercise can be a daunting task especially for young fathers who do not have the means to make positive contributions to the lives of their children. In this light, young fathers can suffer from depression and lose hope of a positive future (Mazza, 2002). The general fear that young fathers face is their inadequacy to provide for their children. Young fathers desire consistency, quality and closeness in their relationship with their children. In order to provide for their children, young fathers may end up dropping out of school (Weinman *et al.*, 2004). Dropping out of school further limits the likelihood of finding meaningful employment for fathers. As a consequence, most young fathers have many unmet needs of their own (Mazza, 2002).

2.6. Costs of young parenting on the State

In most developed countries the cost of parenting has often been borne by the State. In the United States due to many disintegrated families, the cost of parenting has often been borne by the state (Bunting & McAuley, 2004). In lay person's terms a disintegrated family is when a family is no longer a unit, has a single parent or is headed by a child. This means that the conventional structure whereby there are two adults who are in a relationship and are helping each other with the upbringing of their children is no longer there. This trend of bearing the costs of parenting has slowly been adopted by some of the developing countries. In South Africa, the Child Support Grant (CSG) has helped a lot of households to cope with the burden of child rearing and has helped children to access Early Childhood Development (ECD) education and pay fees, buy school uniforms and access health care (Economic Policy Research Institute, 2010). The study that evaluated the overall impact of the CSG in South Africa found that the CSG generates positive developmental impact that multiplies its benefits in terms of directly and indirectly reducing poverty and vulnerability, promoting long term developmental changes, helping to break the inter-generational transmission of poverty (Economic Policy Research Institute, 2010).

2.6.1. Child Support Grant

In 1998, South Africa adopted the Child Support Grant (CSG) to reach out to poor children in households. The CSG marked the end of the State Maintenance Grant (SMG) which had been in place for some time and assisted up to 400 000 poor women and children (Lund, 2008: x). The CSG is a grant that has been developed to assist children in need thereby eradicating the ever increasing incidence of child poverty (McEwen, Kannemeyer & Woolard, 2009). The adoption of the CSG in South Africa was welcomed by all as a means of supporting children in need. There have been measures put in place to ensure that those in real need of the support actually get it. In this light, the income of the caregiver has to be within a means tested level (McEwen, Kannemeyer & Woolard, 2009). The CSG is an unconditional cash transfer that is targeted at poor children within households (Lund, 2008). There are two types of grants that are intended for the benefit of children in South Africa. There is the CSG, where the caregiver of the child receives R280 per month for each child that is registered with the Department of Social Development and is under 18 years of age (Department of Social

Development, 2012). There is also the Foster Care Grant which a caregiver receives if they are looking after a child that is under 18 years of age and is not their biological child. For the Foster Care Grant, the caregiver receives R770 per month for each child that is under their care (Department of Social Development, 2012).

The rationale behind the CSG is to enable access to resources by children in under resourced environments. This support goes a long way in preventing school drop outs, ensuring good health through the improvement of child nutrition. The CSG is specifically targeted at the poor and thereby reaches the needy (Lund *et al.*, 2008). Studies suggest that the CSG has led to widely accepted social and economic benefits for children.

2.7. Reaching out for help

Responsible parenting can be a problem if one does not have the means to support a family. Due to the fact that most young fathers are usually in school or unemployed, there is general consensus that they need a great deal of support if they are to execute their roles as fathers effectively (Davies *et al.*, 2004). Therefore this shows that there is need for some form of support so that young fathers can have access to their children. According to Davies *et al.*, (2004), most young fathers receive some form of support from their family and friends. This help goes a long way in assuring that young fathers make meaningful contributions to the lives of their children.

The support from the young father's family usually comes from the paternal grandparents, especially the grandmothers (Bunting & McAuley, 2004). Research suggests that most fathers who are involved with their children are those that receive some form of support from their family and peers (Bunting & McAuley, 2004). This support is mostly financial in nature and it is useful in ensuring that young fathers support the mother of the child to ease the burden of child rearing (Bunting & McAuley, 2004). The support that young fathers receive from their families and communities ultimately results in more involvement with their children (Miller, 1997).

Glikman (2004) found that many young fathers who were not involved with their children pointed out that it was because they lacked some form of support. Young fathers who wanted support highlighted that they would prefer financial support as they feel it is more important

to be involved with their children in pleasurable activities (Bunting & McAuley, 2004). Although most of the young fathers struggle, many of them have a strong desire to be active participants in the lives of their children (Glikman, 2004). For young fathers to be actively involved in the upbringing of their children there is a need to identify and utilise sources of support (Miller, 1997). In a study by Dallas *et al.*, (2000), young mothers who participated in the study argued that there was a need for young fathers to spend some time with their children and also to volunteer in some childcare tasks as this would lessen the burden of childcare and also help children to develop relations with their fathers.

However, on the other hand, young fathers in the United States have programmes in place that are designed to help them get more involved with their children and seek assistance with regards to barriers and challenges that they experience in their new roles as fathers (Saleh *et al.*, 2005). But in the developing world, such programmes are few to non-existent. There is a lot that needs to be done to facilitate and promote the participation of fathers in the lives of their children.

2.8. Beneficial effects of fathers to children

Child development is affected by the presence or absence of fathers mainly by supporting or failing to do so (Lorsheim, 1999). In a study of young fatherhood, Dallas *et al.*, (2000) observed that most young fathers in the study reported poor or non-existent relationships with their biological fathers and this influenced their parental expectations. Rates of abuse are high in families headed by young parents mainly because the mothers of the children do not have adequate knowledge of child development and they often mistake children's development immaturity as intolerable behaviour (Dallas *et al.*, 2000). In most instances, this perceived misbehaviour is punished unnecessarily and this affects the child and as a result the child may develop more problems (Dallas *et al.*, 2000).

Studies have shown that it is beneficial for children to grow up in the presence of both parents (Fagot *et al.*, 1998; Dallas *et al.*, 2000; Jaffee *et al.*, 2001; Mahan & Browning, 2003; Davies *et al.*, 2004). Therefore it is desirable for all children to grow up with both parents around. Dallas *et al.*, (2000) observe that most research that focuses on fathers tries to explore what fathers and mothers contribute to the upbringing of their children. The mother and the

young father expect to be involved actively in the lives of their children not only financially but also emotionally (Dallas *et al.*, 2000). In a study in the United States, although the young fathers who were involved in the study did not grow up with their fathers present, most of them felt that this has a negative impact in the child's life (Davies *et al.*, 2004).

Research suggests that children who receive poor parenting will find it difficult at a later stage in life to be good parents also (Fagot *et al.*, 1998). This is because they would be lacking in skills that are essential for good parenting. Fathers have a crucial role to play in the upbringing of their children as they influence the development of their children (Jaffee *et al.*, 2001). In the same light, children follow normal development patterns when they grow up in intact families. Therefore, sensitive and responsive parenting benefits children (Jaffee *et al.*, 2001). In the United States, the lack of a father in the household has largely been associated with delinquent behaviour in the children (Mahan & Browning 2003). Most boys who grew up in families that lacked a father figure are reported to be involved in alcohol abuse, substance abuse, marijuana and sexual activities (Mahan & Browning, 2003). Children from female headed families in most of the cases have behaviour difficulties (Fagot *et al.*, 1998; Mahan & Browning, 2003).

Gender wise, the absence of a father figure in the household impacts negatively on children especially the boy child (Mahan & Browning, 2003). This is true in most cases because fathers mould their boy children and they develop a masculine behaviour which is strongly associated with the masculine way in which the father interacts in the family (Davies *et al.*, 2004). There is a strong relationship between a boy's masculinity and the degree to which the father behaves in a masculine way in the household (Mahan & Browning, 2003). The father's personality is an important aspect in the development of the child. The father's presence in the child's life may provide opportunities for other types of interactions between the child and the father.

However the availability dimension does not require face-to-face interaction. In this instance the father could be in the room doing something while the child plays at his feet or is in the same room with him (Saleh *et al.*, 2005). The lack of, or, avoiding involvement of fathers would then negatively affect the lives of their children, who in most cases would grow up without role models and later in life the children will also be involved in deviant behaviour (Miller, 1997).

Other benefits of having a father present in the household when a child is growing up include higher scholastic achievement; which in turn has an influence on employment prospects in the future. According to Eddy and Holborn (2011), a study conducted in South Africa and published in a journal, *Adolescence*, in 1999 showed that on average pupils who lived with their fathers scored higher on a scholastic achievement test in all subjects when compared to pupils who had absent fathers. Eddy and Holborn (2011) further observe that American studies have also found that one of the impacts of absent fathers on children is underachievement in school. This leads to disruptive employment in the future. Moreover, research in the United Kingdom shows that children who grow up without their fathers are 80% more likely to experience educational failure than their counterparts who grow up with both their parents. Furthermore, children who grow up with absent fathers are 40% more likely to be unemployed or to receive a welfare grant from the state in their later life than their counterparts whose fathers are present in their household (Eddy & Holborn, 2011).

In South Africa, the impact of disrupted families on educational outcomes of learners can be observed in the matric results that have been declining from 73% in 2003 to 61% in 2009 (Eddy & Holborn, 2011). At a tertiary level as well, the number of drop outs is ever increasing and the number of those that completes their tertiary education also keeps declining. According to Eddy and Holborn (2011), of the 138 000 students that enrolled at university in 2002, about 52% dropped out and 15% were still studying after five years. It should be noted that while these statistics do not necessarily suggest that the low scholastic achievement rates as well as high university drop-out rates are as a result of absent fathers; they do however emphasise the importance of having both parents present in a child's life because studies have shown that children that grow up with both parents have higher scholastic achievements, are unlikely to drop out of university and generally have better and more stable prospects than their counterparts who grow up with one parent. It is therefore clear that having both parents who provide emotional and practical support has beneficial effects on the child; and these will go a long way throughout the child's life right up to their adult life.

2.9. The Situation and Structure of Families in South Africa

In a study conducted by Devey and Posel (2006) which sought to find out the demographics of fathers in South Africa it was found that between 1993 and 2002 there was a large and increasing proportion of children in South Africa who did not have a father who was either alive or was living in the same residence as his child or children. The findings of the study also revealed that in 2002 children were more likely not to stay with their biological father than they were to be living with him; and lastly, the study found that out of all the children in South Africa, 'Black' children are the most likely of all children to be living without their biological fathers either because their fathers live elsewhere or they are deceased.

In 2009 the proportion of 'Black' children with absent fathers was 56%, up from 46% in 1996 (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). The proportion of 'Black' single parents in urban areas was 54% in 2009. About 40% of the children were living with single mothers while only 2.8% was living with single fathers in 2009 (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). If one looks at the flip side of these findings one sees households that are run and are headed by women single-handedly; households that are run and headed by children, and one also sees orphans. The findings of this study raise cause for concern because of the economic and psychological implications that the absence of a father has on a child (Posel & Devey, 2006). The few highlighted findings of this study already paint a rather sad picture of the 'typical' average South African nuclear family. They show a worrying trend; one dominated by absent fathers.

When disaggregated by race, research shows that less than one third (28%) of Black children live with both parents while the majority of Indian (81%) and White (77%) children live with both their parents. Furthermore, 42% of Black children live with their mothers but without their fathers. Young children (under 5 years) are more likely to be living with their mothers than older children (Meintjies & Hall, 2012). These figures speak volumes about the seemingly high prevalence of absent fathers in the domestic lives of Black children in South Africa.

Children growing up without their father or with one parent are at a disadvantage in many respects when compared with their counterparts who have both their parents (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). Holborn and Eddy (2011: 1) confirm the findings of Posel and Devey (2006) when they state that "in South Africa, the 'typical' child is raised by his mother in a single-parent household." The 2001 census results showed that 43% of children aged 0-4 years, 42%

aged 5-13 years and 42% aged 14-19 years had both parents respectively (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). This means that about 57% of the children aged 0-4 and 58% of the children aged 5-13 and 14-19 had single parents. Holborn and Eddy (2011) suggest a number of reasons that have caused a disturbance to the family life in South Africa. These include the migrant labour system which was intrinsic to the apartheid system, and is somewhat still entrenched in today's South African society; poverty and HIV/AIDS.

2.9.1. Apartheid

The apartheid regime, at its core, advocated for separate development. However this development was unevenly spread amongst the South African population, with non-Whites receiving sub-standard and poor quality services when compared to their White counterparts. One of the main ways to implement and enforce separate development was through the manipulation of space which saw the minority occupying about 70% of the productive land and the majority restricted to the remaining 30% of the land. According to Durlington (2006) the apartheid system was primarily a geographical process which aimed to restrict access and movement of certain groups into certain areas.

Space was manipulated and enforced by introducing and implementing laws such as the 1913 Native (Urban Areas) Act and the Group Areas Act (Maylam, 1995). The apartheid segregationist laws had an impact on the quality of life that was led by non-White families. Apartheid created a dual economy in South Africa; an economically sound urban environment and a stagnant rural economy. This dual economy necessitated the migration to areas of economic activity.

2.9.2. Migrant labour and its contribution to absent fathers

Although the cities and suburban areas were reserved mostly for White South Africans during apartheid, there was a need for an abundant, cheap labour supply. Labour was available in abundance in the native (Black) homelands; however it was also regulated through the pass laws which gave the holder special permission to be in the city for a specified period of time for the purposes of working (Maylam, 1995). Men were mostly recruited to supply labour in

the mines which were often very far from their homelands, meaning they had to migrate to go to work. The migrant labour system of the apartheid regime thus became one way through which the stability and lives of many Black South African families were disrupted. Not only did women have to look after households by themselves for up to eleven months in a year because their husbands were away working far from home; some women also had to endure physical abuse and violence from their jealous husbands upon their return home from work (Ramphela & Richter, 2006).

Furthermore, most men who worked in cities far from their homes ended up having two families; one in the rural area and one in the urban area where they worked (Ramphela & Richter, 2006). This meant that the rural family ended up being neglected because the men spent most of their time in the urban areas where they worked, and thus with their newly-formed urban families. The wages that the men earned were low and therefore could not maintain two families (Ramphela & Richter, 2006). This meant that the rural family continued to be trapped in poverty. According to Ramphela and Richter (2006: 76) “many men [...] in the townships felt helpless to provide for their children and opted out in self-defence. The decision by many poor men to shed family responsibilities left little room for young men to model themselves on a successful male”.

The migrant labour system saw family members, mainly fathers or heads of households leaving their family household to go and work in the mines, cities and other areas of the country; far away from their families. The migrant labour system led to the breakdown of the family unit (Lund, 2008). These migrant labourers would go for extended periods without seeing their families (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). The migrant labour laws have since been abolished in South Africa; however, the practice of migrating to economic hubs of the country to seek employment is still very much alive in South Africa. In 2001, it was established that about 15% of families in South Africa received remittances from migrant labourers; it was also found that about 39% of female-headed households received remittances as a source of income (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). According to Spjeldnaes *et al.* (2011) in the Limpopo province almost 60% of fathers are absent from their households for periods spanning six months in one year. They go on to state that the same is observed in the United States where up to 50% of all children live without their fathers at some point in their childhood; with up to 58% of African-American children living without their fathers (Spjeldnaes *et al.*, 2011).

2.9.3. Poverty

The second likely cause of disturbance in the South African family structure that Holborn and Eddy (2011) suggest is poverty. According to Holborn and Eddy (2011) in 2008 there were about 5.6 million children that lived in over-crowded households. These children were aged between 0 and 17 years old. Out of all the children aged 18 and under, only 34% lived in households where there was an employed adult in 2008. This means that over 60% of children lived in households where there was no one who was working in 2008. It is important to note that the proportion of children living in households that have reported child hunger has decreased from 30% in 2002 to 18% in 2008; however the proportion of households facing poverty is still high (Eddy & Holborn, 2011).

Furthermore, Holborn and Eddy (2011) state that the proportion of children living in income poverty has declined from 77% in 2002 to 64% in 2008. They attribute this decline to the child support grant. Eddy and Holborn (2011) state that in 2009/10 about 9.4 million received the child support grant. The grant helped with income and poverty alleviation in those households that do not have employment.

Moreover, according to Holborn and Eddy (2011), research that was conducted in the United Kingdom shows that single-parent households are two and a half times more likely to be living in poverty than households with both parents. A child that grows up in a poverty stricken household is highly likely to live in poverty as an adult, and bear children which will also grow up in poverty; thus creating a vicious cycle. Eddy and Holborn (2011) observe that, 73% of 18-35 year old South Africans who had a childhood where there was not enough money for basic things such as food and clothes had never had a job. It is important to note that one of the benefits of the CSG in South Africa is that it enables poor households and carers to participate in productive economic activity, for example, to look for work (Economic Policy Research Institute, 2010). The number of CSG beneficiaries in KwaZulu-Natal has more than doubled from 1.3 million in 2002 to 2.8 million in 2010 (Hall, 2012).

2.9.4. The HIV/AIDS Pandemic

The third factor or cause of family disturbance is the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The HIV/AIDS pandemic has affected the health and well-being of household family members, and has

placed an additional burden on children (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). One of the most visible impacts of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in South Africa is the prevalence and increase of orphans and child-headed households. According to Holborn and Eddy (2011) out of the 9.1 million double-orphans in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2005, about 60% of them had lost at least one of their parents to HIV/AIDS.

Moreover, the total number of double-orphans in Sub-Saharan Africa would have declined between 2001 and 2010 had it not been for HIV/AIDS. Eddy and Holborn (2011) go further to state that in South Africa in 2008 there were 2 468 000 paternal orphans (meaning children whose fathers had died) and 624 000 maternal orphans (children whose mothers had died). In 2007 UNICEF estimated that about 2.5 million children in South Africa had lost one or both parents to all causes; but more than half of these children had lost one or both parents as a result of HIV/AIDS (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). Estimates by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) show that by 2015, about 5.7 million children would have lost one or both parents to HIV/AIDS; some 3.1 million children under 18 years would be maternal orphans and about 4.7 million would be paternal orphans (Holborn & Eddy, 2011).

HIV/AIDS in South Africa has stabilised and the infection rate has decreased; however the number of orphans will either increase or remain high for some time before showing any signs of declination as a result of parents that are already infected with HIV but have not yet reached the full-blown AIDS stage after which they will die as a result of an AIDS related illness. There is a lag gap between infection and illness which can take up to anything between 5 and 10 years depending on how the patient is managing the virus in their system (Amoateng *et al.*, 2004).

It is well known that the biggest individual contributor to the infection rate of HIV/AIDS is unprotected sex with an infected person. It therefore follows that the young fathers have at some point in their lives engaged in unprotected sex, and therefore were exposed to the risk of getting infected with HIV/AIDS. This study does not investigate the HIV status of the participants, however, it does not rule out the possibility that some of the young fathers could in future be part of the above estimates in terms of being absent as a result of an AIDS related death.

2.10. Summary of chapter

This section has discussed young fatherhood and its associated causes and consequences. From the discussion, young fatherhood is a result of early sexual debut coupled with low or non-existent use of contraceptives and condoms. The young father is usually between 16 and 24 years of age, is still in school and is unemployed. Most young fathers are not married, do not have a healthy relationship with the mother of the child and are financially unstable. The news of pregnancy has been received by young fathers in different ways; the most common has been feelings of shock and then acceptance as time progresses. Young fathers play a significant role in the decision on whether to keep the pregnancy or to terminate it.

Due to their young age and lack of proper education on sex, young fathers have often been victims of risky sexual behaviour. Coupled with risky sexual behaviour is the issue of multiple partners. They have at some stage engaged in risky sexual behaviour. Young fathers often have multiple infrequent sexual partners; this puts them at risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and eventually unwanted pregnancies. Young fatherhood comes with its consequences, in most cases these males will drop out of school due to diversion of funds from their education to their children. There are also many stresses that young fathers suffer due to their inability to meet their new responsibilities. The socio-economic background of most young fathers is one of low education, unemployment and growing up in households where the father was absent. In South Africa, female headed households have been necessitated by the apartheid past which induced migrant labour through the planning of economic hubs away from reserves where Black people were confined. This resulted in young men going to cities and economic hubs in search of employment. In these places, the men have established second families making it difficult for them to support their rural families.

The section also discussed the benefits to children of having a father in the house. It has been highlighted that children who do not grow up with both parents have behavioural problems and in most of the cases end up being substance abusers and involved in all sorts of criminal activities. In addition, children who do not grow up with a father figure can also be adversely affected in their studies. Although the young father cannot be in a position to support his new family, the paternal grandparents have carried the burden of the young father, in most cases supporting him financially and also in some cases providing material things for their grandchild. Young fathers have often found it difficult to spend as much time as they would

want with their children because of resistance from the maternal parents. A young father's inability to fend for his child has often been misinterpreted as unwillingness to help. For poor families, the cost of parenting has been borne by the state. In South Africa, the Child Support Grant has been of great importance in fighting child poverty.

Chapter 3: Method

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the research method that is used in this study. It gives a broad but brief description of the study context and a profile of the research site, the University of KwaZulu-Natal. A qualitative approach was used to conduct this study. The data for this research was collected at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Howard College campus. This site was chosen because its diverse student population presented an ideal environment where a good study sample could be obtained. Furthermore, this was an environment which the researcher is familiar with and has networks which were of assistance in the recruitment of study participants. University students were chosen because most of the studies that have been done on young fathers abroad and in South Africa have tended to focus on teenagers who are still in high school or are high school drop-outs or are in programmes for young fathers. At the time of this study, this researcher could not find any study, conducted abroad or in South Africa, that focused on university students.

This study aimed to obtain an in-depth understanding of early fatherhood from the perspectives of young, Black male students who are fathers. It also explored some of the impacts of early fatherhood on young men and examines opportunities and barriers to preventing young fatherhood. Seven in-depth interviews were conducted with appropriate respondents. Initially, ten respondents were recruited to participate in the study, however, three ended up pulling out of the study at the last minute and because they were not obliged to provide any reasons for pulling out of the study, their reasons are not known. Due to the time constraints and the difficulties involved in identifying the correct participants, the three that dropped out were not replaced.

A qualitative approach was chosen because of the exploratory nature of this study. A qualitative approach allows for an in-depth understanding of a subject. This was an exploratory study which aimed to get intricate personal views and perspectives on lived experiences and feelings of the respondents on the subject. This cannot be effectively achieved through applying statistical procedures or any other quantifying procedures; instead employing a qualitative approach is more appropriate. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998: 11) "qualitative methods can be used to explore substantive areas about which little is known or about which much is known to gain novel understandings."

3.2. Study context

KwaZulu-Natal is home to about 21% of South Africa's population. When measured by its wealth, KwaZulu-Natal is the third richest province in South Africa after Gauteng (Provide Project, 2005). The province of KwaZulu-Natal is situated on the east coast of South Africa. KwaZulu-Natal's racial composition is estimated by the 2000 Labour Force Survey and 2001 Census to be 82, 9% African, 2% Coloured, 9% Indian and 6, 1% White (Provide Project, 2005).

Moreover, KwaZulu-Natal is home to 23% of the total child population (under 18 years) of South Africa (Meintjies & Hall, 2012). In South Africa it is common for children to live separately from their biological parents because of factors such as labour migration, educational opportunities or cultural practices. Many of these children are looked after by different caregivers at different stages of their lives, live in different households to their biological parents, and are raised without fathers (Meintjies & Hall, 2012). Meintjies and Hall estimate that about 39% of all children in South Africa live with their mothers but not with their fathers. This figure represents more than seven million South African children.

3.3. Demographic profile of the University of KwaZulu-Natal

The research site, the University of KwaZulu-Natal, is an institution of higher learning that was conceived in 2004 as a result of a merger between the University of Natal and the University of Durban-Westville. According to the Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity (2010) the merger of these two institutions was driven by national government plans to restructure and reconfigure the higher education landscape in South Africa so that historical imbalances between former privileged and underprivileged institutions of higher learning could be redressed.

Student enrolment at the University of KwaZulu-Natal has increased from 5 386 students in 2007 to 7 922 students in 2010 (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2012). Demographically, the student population of the University of KwaZulu-Natal has seen a decline in the number of Indian and White students being admitted to study and an increase in the number of African students. On average over the 2007 to 2010 period the in-take of new students at the

University of KwaZulu-Natal is constituted as follows: 55% Africans, 32% Indians, and 9% Whites (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2012).

3.4. Research Design

According to de Vos *et al.*, (2002) the research design bridges the gap between the research questions and the data that is to be collected. Research design should outline the methods that are going to be used when collecting data and these should be able to draw good, reliable data. This research used in-depth interviews to collect data from the interviewees who are young fathers, aged between 18 and 24, full-time university students and 'Black'.

The in-depth interviews approach proved to be useful and relevant for this research because the questions were designed to be open-ended thus removing restrictions and allowing the respondents to respond freely and openly to the questions. Furthermore, the questions were probing the respondents' experiences and therefore needed to be as unrestrictive as possible. The in-depth interview approach allowed for this.

3.5. Data collection

In-depth interviews are preferred for data collection in this study. This is because this is a study of experiences and perceptions of fatherhood and what young fathers make of and how they interpret their experiences. According to Greeff (2002: 298) in-depth interviews are sometimes referred to as a "conversation with a purpose"; the purpose not being to get answers to questions or to test hypotheses. At the core of in-depth, one-to-one interviews is "an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (Greeff, 2002: 298). Furthermore Greeff states that this method of interviewing is used "to determine individuals' perceptions, opinions, facts and forecasts, and their reaction to initial findings and potential solutions" (2002: 298). This is the case with this study. The researcher did not go out with the intention of testing hypotheses or to get answers to predetermined questions. The aim was to gain an in-depth understanding of fatherhood based on the experiences of young men.

In-depth interviews fall under the broader category of qualitative research. Like any other scientific research method that exists, qualitative research has its advantages and its disadvantages. However, it was used in this study because it was suitable for the nature of this study and the mechanism (in-depth interviews) with which responses were sought from the participants. According to Plikinghorne (1991) qualitative methods generate data in the word form rather than the number form. Furthermore, Plikinghorne (1991) asserts that qualitative methods are especially useful when generating categories for understanding human phenomena and the exploration of interpretation and meaning that people give to events they experience. Qualitative research helps in clearly comprehending experiences and feelings of people because of the nature of the investigation.

Moreover, the questions that are asked when one uses qualitative methods are usually open-ended. This gives the respondents more room to be honest in their responses and avoid giving predetermined responses to the questions. Furthermore, this method of research allows the researcher some flexibility to probe further any issues that may arise during the interview. When the researcher probes, the respondent has an opportunity to elaborate further on their response instead of being restricted to selecting from a set of predetermined responses. Qualitative methods encourage the respondents to provide detailed information than they would not be possible if quantitative methods were used.

The disadvantage of qualitative methods is that they are time-consuming and can be very costly. Qualitative methods tend to generate a lot of information which may be difficult to analyse and sift through. Respondents tend to be withdrawn and reserved when the topic of research is sensitive. However, a well-trained researcher is able to diffuse any tensions and build trust with respondents.

3.6. Sample selection

The snowballing technique was adopted when recruiting respondents. This is partly because of the difficulties that are involved in identifying young fathers because of the stigma that is associated with young parenting. De Vos *et al.*, (2002: 336) state that snowball sampling “has direct value in qualitative research since it is directed at the identification of hard-to-reach individuals.” Young fathers are not very visible in society and are not easy to locate,

especially in a closed research site, the university in Durban. A secondary technique of identifying the target population was done through the use of student residence informants.

Students at residences create bonds and relationships regardless of whether they have been through similar life experiences or not. This was taken advantage of in identifying potential study participants. Participation in the study was voluntary and all personal details of the respondents acquired during the course of the study were kept confidential and will be destroyed once the study has been completed.

The interviews took place at various locations on campus, depending on where each respondent was most comfortable. Some took place in one of the offices inside the EG Malherbe Library. The respondents that opted for the library felt that this was a neutral place which would not raise any suspicion or bring about unwanted attention. They felt that if their fellow students saw them they would not know whether we were discussing university work or socialising. Some respondents felt that this study was probing a sensitive subject and had opted to have the interview conducted in the privacy of their residence rooms. Two respondents opted to have the interview conducted at a coffee shop. The coffee shop is a busy and noisy place. However, the researcher used two audio recorders, one for back-up, and took notes during the interviews in order to capture as much information as possible from the respondents.

3.7. Sample size and characteristics

The study sample comprised seven respondents altogether. The study participants are all Black males who are fathers and they are aged 18-24. The broad age category ensured that a diverse set of views and perspectives about fatherhood within the selected study group were obtained. All the respondents are Black because the majority of students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Howard College campus are Black and this increased the chances of identifying appropriate study participants. Latest statistics on student enrolment at the University of KwaZulu-Natal show that Black African students are in the majority (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2012).

3.8. Data Analysis

According to de Vos *et al.*, (2002: 339) “data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data.” In analysing data for this study, use will be made of the grounded theory coding and categorizing system. In grounded theory, data is usually collected using interview techniques although not exclusively (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), and analysis of data begins as soon as the first bit of data has been collected. It is necessary to do this in order to direct the interview and observations, and to make sure that all the relevant data is included in the interviews and observations (Corbin and Strauss, 1990).

Grounded theory is appropriate for a study on perceptions and experiences of fatherhood because the study does not aim to prove or disprove an existing theory; nor is it to test hypotheses. The first interview was used as a yardstick and quality control for the subsequent interviews and the themes that emerged from the first interview were further explored in the subsequent interviews, and developed further in order to ask relevant questions and extract relevant information from the respondents while also eliminating unnecessary and redundant questions.

Moreover grounded theory utilises open coding, axial coding and selective coding (de Vos *et al.*, 2002). This allows for the breaking down, examining, categorizing, comparing, conceptualization and repackaging of data (de Vos *et al.*, 2002). These are very important components of data analysis; especially for a study like this one, where new information on the subject is likely to surface. Data that was generated during this study was broken down into major themes, then sub-headings were generated from the major themes and lastly, data collected from each respondent was compared with data from other respondents. This data was then merged and repackaged to make up one data set for the whole study.

Interviews for this study were conducted in English; therefore there was no need for translation. The interviews were transcribed by a third person, a female, who was not involved with the study in any way. The interviews were transcribed the following day after they were conducted. This was done to prevent the work from piling up and also to help the researcher identify any gaps that may have been there so as to cover them in subsequent interviews. The research data was cleaned by the Transcriber and the researcher. This was done to improve the quality of the data collected.

3.9. Ethical considerations

“Ethics is a set of moral principles that are suggested by an individual or group, are subsequently widely accepted, and offer rules and behavioural expectations about the most correct conduct towards experimental subjects” (de Vos *et al.*, 2000: 63). Ethics are a very important aspect of any scientific research (Babbie, 2001). Scientific research cannot even commence without ethical approval having been granted by a relevant authority.

As research ethics require, the researcher was honest at every level when dealing with the respondents. The researcher indicated at the outset to all respondents that the interviews were designed to last about 45 to 60 minutes each. They were also assured that all information collected would be kept confidential. The respondents were given informed consent forms to sign, but not before they were read out and explained in full to the respondents. According to Williams *et al.*, (1995) obtaining informed consent implies disclosing to the respondents all the advantages, disadvantages and dangers which the respondents may be exposed to by partaking in the study. Moreover, Williams *et al.*, (1995) add that obtaining informed consent includes giving adequate information to the respondents about the study that is being conducted.

De Vos *et al.*, (2000) states that for participants to be able to give consent to voluntarily participate in a study; they have to be psychologically and legally competent and must be aware that they are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Each respondent was given a brief about the nature of the study and its objectives. This was done to assist the respondents to decide whether to participate in the study or not. They were also informed that they were at liberty to refuse to answer any question that they were not comfortable with answering and that they could withdraw from the study at any time if they were no longer comfortable with participating.

For each participant that agreed to take part in the study, the researcher explained the measures that would be taken to protect them and asked each respondent to sign a consent form which stated the aims of the study and also gave the researcher permission to record their responses. The ethical clearance for this study was obtained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Ethics Committee.

3.10. Credibility and trustworthiness of data

Reliability and validity of data collected during the in-depth interviews were ensured by taking field notes, using a digital audio recorder and transcribing the audio verbatim. Grammar was not corrected on the transcripts in order to ensure authenticity of the data collected. Furthermore, the interviews were conducted by the principal investigator in order to ensure high quality of data and ensure that ethical considerations were observed throughout the study.

The researcher that conducted the study is male. He did not have a child at the time of the study. He was 25 years old when he conducted this study. This is the same age group as the participants of the study.

3.11. Limitations

One of the major limitations of this study was the recruitment of appropriate study participants. The researcher had been able to identify ten potential study participants; however three of them kept rescheduling interview dates and times and eventually decided to withdraw from the study.

Furthermore the study focuses on Black young fathers even though the university has students of various races and cultures. This decision was hard-to-reach for the researcher. Initially the researcher had set out to conduct a demographically representative study of young fathers at the University of KwaZulu-Natal; however due to difficulties experienced in identifying young fathers, the researcher ended up settling for the demographically skewed sample that was available. This sample was deemed sufficient because the findings of this study are not going to be used to make generalisations about the population of young fathers in South Africa.

Furthermore, some of the participants that had been recruited to participate in the study were reluctant to talk about certain aspects of their experiences that they were interviewed about. Questions were posed in different ways to try and convince them to “open up” but these were also not very effective. These participants seemed very withdrawn and cautious about the information that they were giving out to the interviewer.

3.12. Summary of chapter

This chapter provided information about the research methodology that was used to conduct this study. This study is qualitative in nature and made use of in-depth interviews to collect information from the respondents. Respondents were given the liberty to choose the location of the interview. Respondents gave informed consent to take part in the study after the objectives of the study and the ethical considerations were discussed with them. Limitations of the study were also outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 4: Research findings

4.1. Introduction

This chapter looks at and gives an account of the research findings and provides a description of the major findings of the study. In order to ensure that the research questions in the introductory chapter are properly addressed this chapter was divided into sub-themes that relate to the specific objectives of the study as a whole as outlined in the first chapter of this study. These specific objectives were:

- To obtain an in-depth understanding of early fatherhood from the perspective of young Black fathers who are full time students.
- To explore some of the impacts of early fatherhood on young Black fathers who are full time students.
- To examine some of the opportunities and barriers to preventing early fatherhood on young men.

The first sub-themes that will be looked at are unplanned pregnancy, reacting to the news of an unplanned pregnancy, factors influencing the decision about the child's primary residence, meaning of fatherhood, fatherhood roles, relationship with the mother of the child and how this can affect the father-child relationship, contraceptive knowledge and usage with current and past partners, impact of being a young father whilst still studying, and their outlook for the future. Actual quotes from the interviews with the participants of the study are used in this chapter, and grammatical errors are intentionally left uncorrected in order to maintain the authenticity of the data.

4.2. Characteristics of the respondents

As explained in the first chapter, in this study young fathers are defined as males who are biological parents to their children and are aged 18-25. Fatherhood refers to the state of being a biological father to a child.

The age of the young fathers that were interviewed for this study ranges between 21 and 25. All of the young fathers are single and have never married. All the participants in this study have one child each. The youngest age at first child for the young fathers that participated in this study is 19, with three young fathers having had their first children at this age. The highest age at first child is 24. The young fathers are full time university students who are at different levels or years of study. Four are doing their undergraduate studies while three are busy with their postgraduate studies.

4.3. Unplanned pregnancy

In many instances, when young people engage in sexual intercourse, it is usually for pleasure and gratification and satisfaction. One of the most immediate consequences of unprotected sexual activity is pregnancy. More often than not, young people who engage in unprotected sex do not intend to have a child, but ultimately the female will fall pregnant and the young male eventually becomes a young father.

The study found that all the respondents did not plan to have children when their partners fell pregnant. When asked during the study if the pregnancies of their partners were planned, the respondents indicated that being parents was not what they had in mind at that particular point in time because they were, and still are, full time students whose primary occupation is to attend lectures and read towards their respective degrees.

“At that point, no. It was a kind of surprise. Yes, let say that because I was not expecting any child at that particular point in time” (IDI#1).

“I think it just happened because I was not planning to have a child at such a young age and as I told you before I really can’t afford to pay for damages and even pay lobola. So it is something that I had not planned and had not thought of. Now it is, I cannot say it was a mistake but it was also something that I did not plan for” (IDI#3).

“Oh no it was not planned at all, I would be very silly to plan a child at 19” (IDI#7).

The young fathers were not prepared for fatherhood and the pregnancy was not planned. Being in a relationship for an extended period of time and gaining each other’s trust is one of the many reasons that is given by young people when explaining why they engage in

unprotected sex. This study found that one respondent indicated that he was in a long-term relationship with his partner and had been taking measures to prevent pregnancy. However, his girlfriend fell pregnant regardless of the measures they were taking.

"No, actually it was an accident, it happened by accident because you see me and my girlfriend, she was my long-time girlfriend and we were using other methods of contraceptives" (IDI#4).

This claim by this young father brings about two possible issues; the first one being the issue of consistency in the usage of contraceptives, and the second issue being that of the effectiveness of certain contraceptive methods or other practices in preventing pregnancy.

Moreover, one respondent stated that his preferred method of preventing unwanted pregnancy is the withdrawal method. Some traditional methods of contraception are less effective at preventing pregnancy than modern methods.

4.4. Responding to the news of pregnancy

All the young fathers that were interviewed admitted that they had reacted with shock to the news that their partners were pregnant. None of the young fathers said they had been excited or happy about the pregnancy when they were first informed. All of the young fathers that participated in this study stated that they had a strong negative reaction to the news of their partners' pregnancy; the most prevalent reaction being "shock".

"Shocking, it was shocking, but, it was shocking. The thing is as young people you do certain things and expect things to work, to come up differently and you do not take much responsibility for our actions and we had to accept some things" (IDI#2).

"I was shocked because I thought; you know it was something that I never thought of. I thought, ok, fine but, I was not ready to be a father" (IDI#3).

"Well, look, I mean every man's reaction when something that is unplanned happens; it is shocking news" (IDI#4).

One respondent revealed that he was so shocked that he wanted to ask his partner to terminate the pregnancy but he found that he could not make this request. This is a thought that may cross a number of young fathers' minds, when they receive the news that they are expectant fathers. However, in most societies, the subject of termination of pregnancy is taboo. It is something that is not even up for discussion. Out of all the young fathers who participated in this study, this young father was the only one who admitted to having had the thought of suggesting termination of pregnancy when his partner told him that she was pregnant. The respondent was not asked a direct question in relation to termination of pregnancy. He voluntarily disclosed this information to the interviewer.

I was shocked; I was shocked when I heard that I'm going to have a kid with this girl! The thing is I couldn't tell her to, you know; abort the child because the child doesn't know anything about that (IDI#1).

The study found one respondent who, unlike the rest who reacted with shock to the news of pregnancy; this young father's reaction was fear. This young father stated that when his partner told him that she was pregnant he was afraid. The respondent talked about the fear of having to face his parents and his partner's parents and having to break the news of the pregnancy to them. Even though the respondent did not explain further what he was afraid of, there are numerous possible reasons for this fear. It is possible that he feared he would be kicked out of the household, or that his partner would be kicked out of her household, or that he would have to drop out of university and find a job, or that the news of the pregnancy would cause stress or tension in his or his partners' household. Depending on the circumstances of the young father at the time, there are many possible reasons that may cause him to be fearful if his partner tells him that she is pregnant.

"Obviously when such a situation arises you try figure out, you've got that fear, firstly the fear of having to face your parents and then facing the girl's parents and then everything" (IDI#9).

4.5. Factors influencing the child's primary residence

The study found that none of the fathers lived with their children. The children often lived with their mothers or their mothers' families. The young fathers could only see their children at certain times.

"No I am here at varsity studying. The child lives with the mother" (IDI#4).

The respondents revealed a number of reasons that influenced the decision that led to the child staying with their mothers or their mothers' families. Chief amongst these reasons was the cultural practice of paying damages, "*inhlawulo*", to the family of the girl that they had impregnated as a way of apologising to the girl's family for having disgraced them. The young fathers indicated that culturally they could not lay claim to their children until such damages had been paid. Other respondents cited age at the time of the conception of the child as the reason why the child ended up staying with their partners' parents. They were too young to take responsibility for their child. In addition, they are not in a financial position to pay for damages.

"Actually it was not my decision; it was the mother's decision, the child's mother's decision because she said that I cannot take care of the child on my own because at that particular point in time I was very young, when we broke up" (IDI#1).

"The mother of the child is staying with the child because you know what happens is if you do not, if you haven't paid lobola or any damages then what happens is as a man you are not allowed to stay with the child. So I sometimes visit my child but I'm not allowed to because I have not paid damages. You see I have not got money right now" (IDI#3).

One respondent was very cautious when responding to this particular question. All he was prepared to say was that it was complicated. However, he did allude to the fact that he owed his partner's family some dues in the form of damages. His partner's family was not sympathetic at all to the fact that he was still a student and could not afford to pay damages. This seemed to upset the young father and he referred to his partner's family as "hard", meaning difficult. Later on during the interview, this particular young father expressed the desire to live with his daughter but was frustrated by the fact that he had to pay damages first.

"Yes there are those complications. Yes because when there are dues, they are like ... some people are hard" (IDI#2).

This young father's situation may not be unique to him. There may be other young fathers who find themselves in similar situations whereby they do not have access to their children because of cultural beliefs. When seeing or hearing about such situations, one cannot help but wonder about the extent to which some cultural beliefs contribute to the poor upbringing of children as a result of "absent" fathers who are not really absent by their own volition.

4.6. Relationship with the mother of the child and its impact on the father-child relationship.

The study found that most of the fathers had broken up with the mothers of their children. During the study it emerged that some of the break ups were as a result of a clash of personalities which were fuelled by the family of either the mother of the child or the family of the father of the child.

"The thing is, with the mother we broke up. Maybe it is because after we had a child we found out that we did not really love each other" (IDI#1).

This young father did not provide a concrete reason for his break up with the mother of the child except to say that they realised after having had a child together that they did not like each other. The researcher could deduce from this statement that this was a case of clashing personalities which could have been avoided by better conflict resolution skills. This clash may have been brought about by the stress that came about as a result of the circumstances under which this young couple had their child. It is possible that they were both not ready to be parents, both emotionally and financially.

As the study had already established, most of the children were staying with their mothers or their mothers' families, the relationship that the fathers have with their children's mothers and how this affects the relationship that the fathers have with their children was interrogated. The study found that even though the young fathers were no longer romantically involved with the mothers of their children, they were civil towards one another for the sake of the

child. However, the opportunities of the fathers spending more time with their children were reduced.

“Unfortunately things happened and...you know how it is. It is not like you plan these things but it just happens and things do not work out the way you would have planned and stuff like that but look, at the end of the day, the fact still remains the same that there is a child involved and the child has to be taken care of” (IDI#4).

This young father’s statement is very important and shows a level of commitment of the young father to his child. This young father is obviously not delighted that he broke up with the mother of his child; however, his resolve to look after his child is adamant. One can deduce from his statement that this young father has decided to put his differences with the mother of his child aside and has decided to focus on taking care of the wellbeing of their child. This is in direct contrast with some of the stereotypes about men – that young fathers are irresponsible and do not care about their children.

4.7. Contraceptive knowledge and usage with past and current partners

As indicated in the introductory chapter, this question on contraceptive knowledge and usage with past and current partners is meant to be used to identify barriers and opportunities to preventing unwanted pregnancies, and ultimately young fatherhood or parenting. This question was asked with the hope that it will provide helpful insights into understanding men. However, this study is not suggesting that men should take sole responsibility for safer sexual practices. It just so happened that this study is focusing on young men who are fathers.

When asked about how knowledgeable the young fathers were about the different types of contraceptive methods that are available to them, the study found that in fact they are highly knowledgeable of the different contraceptive methods.

“I am quite aware of different contraceptives that are available and other methods as well for preventing pregnancy and stuff like that. My favourite is the withdrawal method. I mean, there is the male condom, there is the female condom, there is the injection, there are the pills, you know and yes, those are the different types” (IDI#4).

"I think I am quite knowledgeable about contraceptives like I know the use of condoms, pills and, you know, maybe injections" (IDI#3).

"Well my mother used to work at the AIDS Heart Organisation so since I was a child I would read books about that so I had a lot of information on that" (IDI#5).

Respondents were knowledgeable of the different types of contraceptives, both the modern methods such as the pill, injection, male and female condoms; and traditional methods such as the withdrawal method. Knowledge of modern contraceptive methods stems from popular media campaigns on safe sex and also accessing information from non-profit organisations that work in the health sector. The withdrawal method is not promoted as a safe method of sex. It is possible that the respondent may have heard about the withdrawal method from his peers.

The study found that even though the respondents were quite knowledgeable about the different contraceptive methods, some of them were inconsistent in the way that they used their chosen contraceptive methods, hence impregnating their partners and becoming young fathers.

While some respondents could not point to a specific reason as to why they were inconsistent in their chosen contraceptive methods, others cited trust in the relationships as the reason for not being consistent. These respondents indicated that they had been in relationships with their partners long enough to trust them to the extent of sometimes engaging in unprotected sex with them. This finding reveals that some of the young fathers only used condoms for protection against sexually transmitted infections, rather than for both protection from infection and unwanted pregnancy. This is evident in one of the young fathers' response where he says that his favourite contraceptive method is withdrawal.

"I am quite aware of different contraceptives that are available and other methods as well for preventing pregnancy and stuff like that. My favourite is the withdrawal method" (IDI#4).

"We like used condoms inconsistently but you know like I think sometimes we also just like used to have unprotected sex as we had been together for quite some time you know then you develop a sense of trust between each other and all that" (IDI#3).

"Contraceptives? I was cautious of them but you know if you are in love with the person for a long time maybe with a person for 2 years and more sometimes you end up being negligent not using contraceptives because you thought you know that person better. Yes, that is how it happens" (IDI#6).

But if I were to be honest, with other ones I was using condoms; but with this one I thought she was my fiancée, sometimes when you trust someone and you think it's your fiancée you ignore some other things (IDI#6).

There was one respondent in the study who claimed that he still did not understand how his partner had fallen pregnant because he was adamant that they had used condoms consistently whenever they engaged in sexual intercourse. The respondent further claimed that even with his current partner he still uses condoms consistently whenever they engage in sexual intercourse.

"Yes, I would never do it (sexual intercourse) without a condom; even now" (IDI#5).

One respondent admitted that prior to him having a child, he did not know much about contraceptive methods and did not use any form of contraception. However, the respondent stated that impregnating his partner and having a child with her made him more aware of the dangers of having unprotected sex or not using a method of contraception if engaging in sexual intercourse.

"Hey, since I got the child I think it was a wakeup call because I learned that I need to plan for the child and when it comes to sexual intercourse I am so cautious that every time I use protection otherwise I'm going to have another baby" (IDI#6).

The study found that the young fathers currently do not want to have more children. They indicated that they had learned the hard way to have protected sex and be consistent in using modern contraceptive methods in order to prevent unwanted pregnancy. For these young fathers, the first pregnancy was an eye opener and it motivated them to be more careful in future when engaging in sexual intercourse.

4.8. What does being a father mean?

Part of the study was to hear the perspectives of and what being a father means to young fathers who are also fulltime students at university. The study found that almost all the respondents associated fatherhood with greater responsibilities. These responsibilities were mostly associated with providing for the child financially, even though this was presented in various ways by the young fathers.

"You know having a child is not like keeping a puppy or something, it is a big responsibility" (IDI#9).

The study was able to gauge the different levels of seriousness with which the young fathers treat fatherhood. One respondent spoke of fatherhood as not merely raising a child but he went further and talked about how he wants to raise his child in such a way that he will be proud of him in future for having effectively played his role as a father. This showed the level of commitment that some of the young fathers have in terms of getting involved in raising their children even though at times it may seem as if the odds are against them.

"Well, look I mean part of being a parent or I mean, what I can say is when you become a parent there is a lot of responsibilities associated with that. You have a huge responsibility of raising a being; a being who is not only your child but somebody who is going to be proud of you when he grows up or when he becomes man enough to realize what actually happened you know. So it is a huge responsibility" (IDI#4).

One young father mentioned how being a father makes him stand out from his friends. This young father stated that the new responsibilities and duties that come with being a father set him apart from his peers who are not fathers. He further mentioned that his line of thought is now influenced a lot by his child; this includes his spending patterns. Previously he would have spent all his money on his friends; buying alcohol and having fun; however, since becoming a father he spends his money buying essential items such as clothing and other necessities for his child. This young father feels responsible for his child hence he, as he puts it, owns up to that responsibility.

"It means you have a certain responsibility. That already makes me stand out from my friends. If you do not have a child and someone else has a child, they have certain

responsibilities that they have to fulfil. Remember there are certain things that I'm starting to train myself like my friends could get money and just use it on alcohol and everything but I have to think of the clothes, the baby's birthday is coming up, what the father is getting him and all that stuff. So it's a responsibility and I mean it's something I did so I have to own up to it" (IDI#5).

There was one respondent who gave a more encompassing explanation of what being a father means to him. This respondent did not just focus on the financial side of being responsible but also mentioned emotional and psychological support. This kind of support to the child is of fundamental importance to the development of the child and most often fathers who can provide financially for their child usually neglect this other important aspect of support. Some fathers feel that providing financially for their children is sufficient. However, this is not always true. Emotional, psychological support and physical interaction with a child are very important aspects for the healthy and balanced development of a child. This study concedes, however, that such opportunities may, for various reasons, be very limited or completely unavailable to some young fathers hence their insistence on financial support as a priority.

"I think being a father means to be responsible, to support emotionally, psychologically any kind of support. I think being a father is more like that" (IDI#6).

One respondent related how becoming father had helped him to view the world from a different, somewhat positive, perspective than when he was not a father. This young father, in a way, expressed some sort of gratefulness for being able to have some sort of greater purpose in life as a result of becoming a father. To this young father, being a father means ensuring that his child needs him even though they do not stay together.

"Being a father has made me see the world from a different perspective that now when you are a father you need to be more responsible and you need to think ok fine I'm doing what do I need to do for my child, how do I need to act so that I can show my child that I love my child, I support him even though I do not stay with him I need him to know that I'm the father. I'm available whenever he needs me" (IDI#3).

4.9. Fatherhood roles: Playing the role of being a father

The study asked the respondents to elaborate on the fatherhood roles that they play in their children's lives. Most of the respondents indicated that for them the main role of being a father to their children is to provide financially. As all the respondents are fulltime students, some are fortunate to have time to hold down part-time employment while studying in order to support their children.

"Look, for me, my child is my first priority. Everything else comes second. Every time I get a little bit of something I put it away for the child; I am quite fortunate that I have a part-time job that I do" (IDI#4).

Some are not that fortunate and rely on student financial aid to pay for their education; and on some occasions, to support their children, as one respondent claimed in this study.

"For now I do send money for my kid because now she is at school. Yes I do send it although I get a small amount from financial aid but some I do take it" (IDI#6).

This respondent depends on the financial assistance that he receives for his studies to support his child. The financial assistance that he receives is barely enough to meet his needs as a student but he still takes some of it and contributes towards the upkeep of his child. This shows the extent to which some of the young fathers are willing to go in order to be involved in their children's lives, even if it means they themselves will suffer. This gesture by this young father also echoes the silent cry for help that many young fathers are experiencing. If there were programmes in place that assisted young fathers, such difficult positions that the young fathers find themselves in would be avoided. Furthermore, more young fathers that are not known would possibly come forward and get assisted in being actively involved in the lives of their children. Currently, there are not many institutions that offer this kind of assistance that the young fathers so desperately need in South Africa.

One respondent even added that he would like his child to learn moral values espoused by his chosen religion, in this case, Christianity. They feel they would like their children to learn and appreciate their values.

"Well, look, just like any good father out there, I strive to provide the best, nothing else but the best. And I also try to make sure that my child is raised, guided by good

morals. Look, I am a devoted Christian and I would love my child to be, you know, raised in a Christian family or, I can't really call it family, but in a Christian environment. And also somebody who grows up to respect elders and somebody who does things that I deem morally right, you know; like respecting elders and you know, just being a nice guy, you know; somebody that people would appreciate and would love to be around, you know what I mean" (IDI#4).

Other respondents mentioned spending quality time with their children as part of the fatherly roles that they play with their children. One respondent related how he is actively involved in planning the educational future of his young child. This young father makes the most of the time that he gets to spend with his child. He mentioned that he drops everything and spends time with his child whenever such an opportunity avails itself.

Furthermore, even though this young father is no longer in a relationship with the mother of his child, he makes sure that he does not alienate her when planning for the future of their child. He mentioned that he is constantly in active conversation with her and they plan the future of their child together.

"I think I am playing an important role as a father figure in that I provide some finances, I also spend some time even if it is not really a lot of time but I think I spend some quality time with my child and when he's there and when I am there we spend a lot of time, I put everything aside and say ok I am just going to devote this time to my child and yes so the other thing that I think I am also doing is I am planning because my child now is almost 2 years and I was thinking maybe if I start saving because he needs to now go to day care but you know I need to think about his education and all these kinds of things, so I have been in conversation with the mother and say, fine how do we plan this and we both want our child to go to good primary schools and you know so that they then, our child can have a good foundation, educational foundation" (IDI#3).

One respondent stated during the interview that he was fortunate in that the paternal and maternal grandparents of his child are both financially fit people and have decided to look after their grandchild like they would a child of their own since both the father and the mother of the child are not yet in a financial position to be able to support a child. However,

the respondent claimed that he still contributes by buying gifts for his child when he has some money at his disposal.

“Ok I am not working. I am a student but I come from a wealthy background and the mother of the child also comes from a wealthy background so the grandparents of the child have decided that at the moment they are taking care of the child the same way they would take care of their child but of course whenever I get money to do certain things I would get my child certain gifts and you know all of that stuff” (IDI#4).

However, this respondent indicated that he is always there to provide the emotional support needed for the wellbeing of his child. He mentioned that although he does not live with his child, the best he can do is to phone the child and speak to him over the phone. He stated that he asks the child if he is happy and tells him that he loves him. This young father mentioned that he does this because he does not want his child to forget about him. He wants his child to know that he is there for him; that is why he gives his child attention because that is what children like.

“I would send different gifts back at home, call them up to remind him how much daddy loves him, ask him what’s going on if he’s fine, if he’s happy. Try and find out stuff like that because the children all they need is attention and they want that attention to know that I have got this person there. So it is not very easy if you are here and the child is away as a father you can lose the child because they do not grow up with you” (IDI#5).

The study asked respondents if, judging from what they did, they feel that they are playing their role of being fathers to their children adequately, in other words, if they felt that they are doing enough for their children and whether they are satisfied. The study found that there was a feeling of dissatisfaction and inadequacy amongst the young fathers in terms of how they felt about playing their role as fathers to their children. Various reasons were given for these feelings, and most of them resonated with the fact that the young fathers are not employed and therefore cannot provide adequate financial support for their children. In addition they felt they did not spend enough time with their children.

“Doing enough as a father? I would not claim that because I do not spend time with my child. So to say that would be quite ambiguous and not true” (IDI#2).

"So at the moment it does not feel like I have gone that extra mile but it is because of limitations that are beyond me at the moment but I think as a father just being there. I have tried my best to play my role" (IDI#5).

"At the moment actually there is not much I can do because it all requires money, lots of money so right now I am only studying" (IDI#1).

Furthermore, the issue of unpaid "damages" to the parents of the women that were impregnated by the respondents kept cropping up as one of the reasons that prevented the respondents from playing the fatherhood role to the fullest.

"I think it's adequate but it's not really enough because what is happening is I'm still in varsity and also the fact that just because I haven't paid damages and lobola then what happens is I'm restricted to say ok, cause I have to beg to say can I come and see the child this week and sometimes they will tell you we are not available and this doesn't give me enough opportunity to see my child as much as I would want and like I spoke about university, I've got assignments and I've also got some piece jobs that I'm doing and you know all these take a lot of time" (IDI#3).

This particular respondent highlighted one of the major challenges that the young fathers who are students face, that of juggling numerous responsibilities. These young fathers have to juggle their studies, part time jobs and finding time to be with their children. Some young fathers have to beg in order to be able to see their children because they have not paid damages to their partners' families. This most certainly adds to the frustrations and stress of the young fathers.

4.10. Impact of being a young father while studying

The respondents were asked if their being young fathers had an impact on their studies since they are full time students. The study found that all the respondents stated that their status of being young fathers does indeed have an impact on their studies. Most of the respondents described how being a young father while studying fulltime can be difficult. One respondent gave an account of having to juggle a number of important activities at once and having to often make sacrifices in order to fulfil their obligations. This young father's explanation also

gave an account of the strain he is forced to undergo when one is a young father who has to be responsible for a child and also be a fulltime student. This young father did indicate, however, that as much as his studies are important, his child takes priority over his studies.

“It is like you have two loads on your shoulders, both of your shoulders. You cannot stand; you cannot do anything because if it is not your academic work it should be, it should be my child because whenever I am not doing my work I am going to see him. So whenever like he is sick maybe, maybe like I am writing a test, I am forced to leave because I have always chosen him over my academic work, so I go home” (IDI#1).

One of the respondents asserted that being a young father while studying fulltime is not easy. This young father stated that his studies are disturbed as a result of his new role as a young father. He further pointed to the fact that he is now obliged to look for a job on campus because he has to support his child. Furthermore this young father stated that even with the contract jobs that are sometimes available to students on campus, the remuneration is not nearly enough to provide the needed support to his child. Moreover, by virtue of the job being a contract position, it means that he will not be consistent in supporting and providing for his child because the contract eventually comes to an end and it may or may not be renewed.

“I am studying but it is quite disturbing. Because you know that you have to provide and sometimes studying will prevent you from doing that but yes there are jobs on campus but the money you get from that job is not enough. So you will be inconsistent in terms of giving the child support. They are contract jobs and you cannot work for the whole year” (IDI#2).

This young father, like all the young fathers interviewed for this study, stated that being a young father does have an impact on his studies. He stated that being a young father means that your mind is always occupied by your child. This in turn becomes a distraction to his studies and his performance gets affected. This young father further explained how one needs to be relaxed and not to have a preoccupied mind when studying. According to this young father, it becomes impossible to be in this state of mind when you are a young father who is studying fulltime because you have to think about all the problems that have to deal with as a young father.

"Yes, my performance was affected I would say. Yes, because you need to relax when you are studying. You need to have a relaxed mind not a very busy mind which is always thinking about problems and all that" (IDI#2).

Another young father alluded to the fact that his studies were interrupted by the fact that he has a child because he now had to divide his attention between his studies and working in order to be able to support his child financially. Furthermore this young father does not receive any financial support from his family, and therefore has to also support himself financially. However, unlike most young fathers that participated in this study, this young father stated that while his newly acquired status of being a father as well as a fulltime student was a difficult challenge, it was also a learning curve for him because he had learnt to become even more responsible and had become mature. This young father stated that looking for extra jobs in order to support his child has added value in terms of career advancement whilst still a student.

"It has been quite difficult because really instead of concentrating on studies I then have to look for jobs because I need money to support my child, I need also money to, to support myself in varsity so it has been quite a difficult challenge but I also think it is also a good experience because it teaches me to be mature. I guess if I did not have a child then I would not have looked for maybe so many job opportunities as I am doing now. This has also added to my career advancement" (IDI#4).

In terms of his studies, this young father conceded that indeed being a young father affected his academic performance. He stated that before he had a child to support, he used to get good grades; however, after getting a child his grades slipped and he was not doing as well as he used to. This is mainly because his time was now divided between studying fulltime, working part-time and supporting his child financially. The young father stated that because of his work commitments he sometimes had to miss some of his lectures in order to go to work. Sometimes when the young father gets the time to attend lectures, he is often tired and cannot concentrate in class. The young father further stated that he also could not attend any group discussions and could also not participate fully in group assignments. The resulting impact of his inconsistent attendance at lectures is the attainment of lower grades.

"But I think my full-time studies are also being compromised by the fact that sometimes I have to go to work and maybe I also need to attend a lecture and when

you attend a lecture you are tired and sometimes you know when you write assignments, you write them in a rush, because you are juggling too many things at the same time but I guess there are more positives than negatives" (IDI#4).

Furthermore this young father also alluded to the fact that he had to make a compromise in order to be able to do both the studying, and also working part-time. He also indicated that he is grateful to have part-time employment and gets worried at the prospect of losing it. That is why he sometimes has to sacrifice his studies and miss some lectures; just so that he can keep whatever job that he is holding at that time so that he can support his child. However, this practice has had a negative impact in terms of his performance in his studies. His grades have deteriorated because he now dedicates less time to his studies as he tries to juggle both his studies and his part-time work.

"I think I would be getting more grades, higher grades because what happens now is when you, when you bite more than you can chew there's always a difficulty missing things you know to say, so and you can't compromise at a job because I will lose the job but also then I have to compromise on the education and when some people maybe are meeting for group work and discussing assignments I don't have that kind of time because I'm working, I think I would have gotten better grades if I was really, really fulltime as you know" (IDI#4).

4.11. Limitations and challenges

Data collection for this study commenced in August 2011. Initially, twelve respondents had been recruited to participate in this study. However, when the time of agreed appointments with the respondents came, some of them did not pitch for their interviews and cited urgent unforeseen commitments. The interviews were then postponed for later dates. The fact that the interviews were conducted during the course of the semester did not help very much either because many of the respondents that had agreed to participate in this study cited assignments and preparing for tests as a reason they could not honour the agreed upon appointments. Five of the twelve initially recruited respondents decided to pull out of the study before they had been interviewed citing personal reasons which they could not disclose.

After postponing the interviews several times, data collection for this study eventually commenced in mid-September 2011 with only seven respondents taking part in the study.

The biggest limitation to this study was recruitment of young fathers to participate in this study. This exercise proved to be very difficult, especially because a lot of the young men at university who are fathers prefer that it is not known that they are fathers, and therefore are largely unidentifiable. Furthermore, out of the twelve that had been initially recruited, five pulled out at the last minute, significantly reducing the number of respondents. This affected the study negatively in that if more respondents took part then there would have been wider perspectives and experiences of fatherhood amongst young fathers and the findings would have allowed for a broader analysis and results.

Moreover, none of the young fathers who participated in this study were willing to give any details about the mothers of their children which may have provided an opportunity for this researcher to get the views of the mothers of the young fathers' children about the roles that they play as fathers to their children. This would have been very useful for the study in terms of comparing and contrasting the information that was provided by the young fathers with the information provided by the mothers.

4.12. Summary of chapter

This chapter has presented the major findings of this study on young fathers. This study found that all the young fathers that participated in this study had not intended to have children, and were therefore not ready to become fathers when their partners told them that they were pregnant.

Furthermore, it was found that all the young fathers that participated in this study did not live with their children. Instead, the children lived with their mothers. There were various reasons given for this arrangement, but the most dominant one was that it was because the young fathers had not paid damages to their partners' families, as cultural practices dictate, for having impregnated them.

Most young fathers that participated in this study are no longer intimately involved with the mothers of their children. However, they are on good terms with them and they have managed to maintain civil relationships with them in order to have access to their children.

This study found that modern contraceptive knowledge is high amongst young fathers. However, this study found that most young fathers were not consistent in their usage of the different contraceptive methods.

Finally, this study found that young fathers equate fatherhood to responsibility, providing financially, giving emotional support, and spending quality time with their children. However, there was a feeling of inadequacy and dissatisfaction amongst young fathers because of hindrances that prevent them from executing their roles of fatherhood effectively.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This study has explored the perspectives and experiences of early fatherhood among 'Black' university students in Durban. This was done by engaging young Black men that are fathers and are fulltime university students. The study draws on in-depth interviews conducted with seven respondents who are young fathers and are fulltime students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

5.2 Discussion

The findings of the study revealed that young fathers who are fulltime university students are burdened by their dual roles of having to focus on being good fathers to their children and also having to perform well in their studies. For the young fathers that participated in this study, fatherhood simply means being responsible, available and being able to provide for their children. A study conducted in the United States of young fathers found that to those young fathers fatherhood meant being responsible and being there (Allen & Doherty, 1996). The results of this study are in line with the framework developed by Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1985, 1987) on paternal involvement. This framework promulgates three dimensions of fatherhood involvement namely; interaction, availability and responsibility.

Moreover, the young fathers who participated in this study gave an account of some of the difficulties that come with being a young father whilst a fulltime university student. The young fathers explained the difficulty of having to juggle fulltime studies, focusing on their children's needs, and for those fortunate enough to have a part time job, having to work in order to provide financial support to their children. The young fathers that are fortunate to have contract part time jobs on and off campus also revealed the stress that they have to endure when their employment contracts are about to end, as well as the pain of not being able to provide for their child after the contract has ended.

The feelings of helplessness and worry are common amongst young fathers. In their study on risk behaviour, service needs and mental health needs of young fathers in the United States, Weinman, Buzi and Smith (2005) found that at least 25% of the young fathers that

participated in the study identified with such feelings as sadness/depression, nervousness/tension, helplessness and aggressiveness. These feelings are brought about by the different experiences and encounters, which are more often than not difficult, that the young fathers go through as a result of their newly acquired roles of fatherhood. Some of these experiences and challenges are addressed below.

Young fathers that participated in this study expressed a desire to have part-time employment, since they are full-time students, so that they can be able to provide sufficient financial support to their children and also pay damages to their partners' families. The feeling by young fathers of the need to find employment was also found to be a central concern in a study on young fathers that was conducted in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape provinces by Swartz and Bhana (2009). Furthermore, the study by Swartz and Bhana (2009) found that young fathers in the two abovementioned provinces stated that unemployment and lack of money were the greatest hindrances that prevent young men from becoming good fathers to their children. This shows the degree of importance that young fathers attach to financial support for their children. Furthermore, some respondents in the study by Swartz and Bhana (2009) were worried about how they would support their children financially because even though they were employed, their work contracts could end anytime (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). A study on young fathers conducted by Weinman, Buzi and Smith (2005) in the United States found that the services that were requested by most young fathers in programmes were work related or employment related services.

According to Saleh *et al.*, (2005), a few studies suggest that low income or young fathers tend to view the role of provider as their primary duty to their children. They further assert that this should not be the case because if these low income or young fathers are not able to perform this role, then their interaction with their children tends to be limited or becomes negative. Furthermore, the framework of Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1985, 1987) on paternal involvement states that its third dimension, responsibility, does not necessarily mean "breadwinner" or "provider". Most of the young fathers that participated in this study seemed to see their primary role as providing financial support and saw this as their most important duty to their children.

Moreover, some of the respondents in the study indicated that their studies were negatively affected by them becoming fathers because their minds became preoccupied by their lack of fully meeting their children's needs and often stressing about the wellbeing of their children

and being constantly haunted by the powerlessness of not being able to be there and not being able to provide for them.

In the study of young fathers conducted by Swartz and Bhana (2009) it was found that the education of young fathers that participated in their study was disrupted as a result of their newly acquired roles of fatherhood. Some of the young fathers in the study by Swartz and Bhana (2009) had even dropped out of school to find employment so that they could support their children while others had cancelled any plans that they had of furthering their studies after completing high school.

Furthermore, the study revealed that young fathers usually have children that were not planned for. The majority of the respondents indicated that they became fathers as a result of engaging in unprotected sex with their partners. They also indicated that it had not been their intention to become fathers at the time. The respondents gave various reasons that they think may have led to them becoming fathers. The young fathers explained that they had been with their partners long enough to trust them and as a result they engaged in unprotected sex with them. Other young fathers blamed their fatherhood statuses on their inconsistent usage of condoms, or their partners' inconsistent usage of contraceptives.

The study also found that the young men were shocked at the news that they had become expectant fathers after their partners told them that they were pregnant. Moreover, the study revealed that the young fathers' personal lives also changed once they became fathers. They now had more responsibility and had to show maturity in the way that they carried themselves so to speak. The young fathers' decisions were now influenced by the presence of their children and their newly acquired roles as fathers. The young fathers indicated during the study that they felt that their newly acquired roles as fathers had made them more responsible and less reckless. In a study conducted by Allen and Doherty in the United States it was found that a lot of the young fathers that participated in the study saw their new role of fatherhood as a "blessing" that had given them "purpose" and direction in life (Allen & Doherty, 1996).

Most of the young fathers who participated in the study stated that they now had to find part time work in order to support their children. Those young fathers that used to go to parties and spend money on alcohol and other less important things indicated during the study that

they had to change their lifestyles as a result of becoming fathers and divert the money that they used to spend on alcohol and other things to their children.

The study also found that all the respondents do not live with their children. The main reason that the study found for this is the cultural practice of lobola or payment of damages to the female's family that is practiced predominantly amongst 'Black' communities. This practice requires that the male 'cleanses' the female's household of the disrepute or disgrace that he has brought to it when he impregnated her out of wedlock by paying them 'damages' in the form of an animal, usually a goat or cow, or money or both. Failure to pay the required price to cleanse the household usually results in the child being kept by the female's family and the male having little or no access to his child. The study found that this is problematic for most young fathers because they usually do not have this payment that is required hence they have limited or no access to their children.

Swartz and Bhana (2009) found that out of all the young fathers that participated in their study in KwaZulu-Natal and Western Cape provinces, only two had paid damages to the family of the mother of their child. The rest of the participants had not. Swartz and Bhana state that "for many of the young 'Black' men the cultural tradition of damage payment produces a further reason for why they become estranged from their children" (2009: 64). Swartz and Bhana further stated that "failure to pay or to make arrangements to pay damages means that the mother of the child's family make the young father feel unwelcome, or he is afraid to go and see the family because he is guilty of disrespect" (2009: 67).

In this study none of the participants had paid the damages, and they did not quantify the amount of damages that they were due to pay to the family of the mother of their children. Some of the participants in the study on young fathers conducted by Swartz and Bhana did quantify the amount that they had to pay in damages. Their study found that the amount ranged between R2000 and R5000, and some families start negotiating at an amount as high as R10 000 (Swartz & Bhana, 2009).

The study further found that this puts a lot of strain on the young fathers because it means that they can only see their children for a limited time. Moreover, despite the many challenges that the young fathers currently face, all of them during the study expressed a desire to one day become fulltime fathers and live with their children. Studies on young fathers reveal that despite the barriers that they encounter, the young fathers have a strong

desire to become more involved with their children (Barret & Robinson, 1985, Saleh *et al.*, 2005).

The study found that the majority of the young fathers were no longer intimately involved with the mothers of their children. However, they still maintained contact with their former partners and had a cordial relationship with each other for the sake of their children. This study found that the father-child relationship was affected by this because there are limited opportunities for the fathers to spend time with their children. If the young father had still been together with the mother of his child, then he would have had more time and opportunities to see his child. Swartz and Bhana found in their study on young fathers that one of the contributory factors to the breakdown and eventual ending of relationships between young fathers and the mothers of their children which ultimately has a bearing on the father-child relationship, is the alienation of the young father from the family of the mother of his child (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Swartz and Bhana found that this was the second biggest hindrance, after unemployment and lack of money, to young fathers' quest to fulfil their fatherly roles. To a lesser extent, another contributory factor to the ending of relationships with the mother of the child is when she finds another partner or the young father finds other partners (2009).

“The usual catalyst is that the couple have a falling-out and the relationship becomes acrimonious, with the family of the child's mother reinforcing the estrangement in (assumed) support of their daughter” (Swartz & Bhana, 2009: 64).

Furthermore Allen and Doherty (1996) found in their study that the main obstacle that prevents young fathers from being the best fathers that they can be is a strained relationship with the mother of the child. Moreover, strained relationships with the mothers of children can affect both the quantity of time spent with the child and the quality of father-child interactions (Allen & Doherty, 1996). Allen and Doherty assert that their study found that “participants whose relationship with the mother was strained tended to see their child less frequently” (Allen & Doherty, 1996: 150). This has an effect on interaction, one of the dimensions of fatherhood involvement in the framework developed by Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1985, 1987) on paternal involvement. The interaction dimension refers to one-on-one engagement with the child and includes feeding the child, playing with the child and other child caretaking activities. Moreover, the acrimonious relationship between the young father and the mother of the child has a bearing on the second dimension of fatherhood

involvement, namely, availability. This dimension refers to the physical presence of the father even if there is no direct interaction between the father and the child.

The finding that most of the young fathers are no longer intimately involved with the mother of their child can be attributed to many factors some of which include the fact that perhaps when the young father and mother engaged in unprotected sex they did not have a view of a long term relationship with each other. It is also possible that they lacked conflict resolution skills that would have prevented their ultimate falling-out that would eventually have a bearing on the father-child relationship.

All the young fathers that participated in this study were aware of the different contraceptive methods that are available. They were asked this question in order to identify some of the barriers and opportunities in preventing unwanted pregnancy, young parenting and specifically becoming a young father. The study found that, despite their knowledge of different contraceptive methods, the respondents still impregnated their partners and became young fathers. Only one young father pleaded ignorance and stated the he was not aware of any contraceptive method prior to him impregnating his partner. He only became aware of the different contraceptive methods afterwards.

The study found that six of the respondents currently see their role of being fathers being to provide financially for their children. This is because of the fact that they do not currently reside with their children and therefore there is currently limited or no emotional attachment between them and their children. Moreover, the young fathers that participated in this study indicated that they try to the best of their ability to arrange resources, whether financial or otherwise, in order to meet the needs of their children. This is consistent with the third dimension of the Lamb, Pleck, Charnor and Levine (1985, 1987) framework of paternal involvement namely, responsibility. According to this framework, examples of responsibility include ensuring that the child has clothes to wear, and that the child sees a doctor when he or she is sick.

The framework of paternal involvement developed by Lamb, Pleck, Charnor and Levine (1985, 1987) provides limited analysis of fatherhood involvement because it fails to address certain issues that are culture and context specific. An example of this is its failure to address the practice of paying damages, *inhlawulo*, that seems to be one of the biggest hindrances to healthy father-child relationships of young fathers. This framework assumes that the father and the child stay together. This is not the case with the young fathers that participated in this study. The children of the young fathers that participated in this study reside with their

mothers or their mothers' families. According to various studies and surveys, this is typical in South Africa, especially amongst Blacks (Meintjies & Hall, 2012; Holborn & Eddy, 2011).

5.3. Comments

South Africa currently does not have an official government programme that deals specifically with issues of fatherhood and provides assistance to young fathers. This study has found a number of issues that young men and young fathers have to deal with on a daily basis. These issues that young fathers face range from not being able to support their children financially, having to find employment, which on its own is difficult, and having to focus on their studies. There are also cultural practices, such as *inhlawulo*, that may arrest the young fathers' efforts to be actively involved in the upbringing of their children. There needs to be dialogue and discussions around such cultural issues, especially in a country with such high levels of absent fathers. A study conducted by Nduna and Jewkes (2011) in the Eastern Cape found that non-payment of *inhlawulo* and the insistence of its payment may have future detrimental consequences for the child involved. These include exclusion from critical decision-making and bullying by non-biological siblings.

Most of the studies on young fathers that were conducted in the United States and the United Kingdom used young fathers that were enrolled in government funded fatherhood programmes whose aim is to encourage and assist young fathers to be actively involved in the upbringing of their children. Programmes such as The Fatherhood Initiative in the United States and the Fatherhood Institute in the United Kingdom have the backing of the president and government funding and they are very effective in addressing this pressing social issue of absent fathers. These programmes are formal and have policies that guide them. They provide a range of services to young fathers, such as teaching them parenting skills, helping them find jobs in order to have an income so that they can provide financially for their offspring and helping those that have dropped out of school as a result of becoming fathers to finish their schooling or obtain vocational qualifications which they can use to find jobs (Fatherhood Institute, 2012).

South Africa is a country that is in the process of healing old wounds as it has just emerged from an oppressive apartheid regime just over 18 years ago. This system had contributed to

the disintegration of the family unit especially within the Black African households in South Africa. However, the gains that South Africa has achieved since the eradication of this regime are proof that this country has the potential to come up with good fatherhood programmes that will assist young fathers. South Africa has one of the best and most comprehensive HIV/AIDS programmes in the world. It also has one of the most advanced social assistance programmes in Africa (Kallmann, 2003). It has one of the best constitutions in the world and some of the best policies (Kende, 2003). All these show that South Africa has the potential to develop and sustain a good fatherhood programme that will benefit the country by addressing issues that young fathers have to grapple with.

Young fathers should be involved with their children's upbringing as soon as it has been established that their partner is pregnant. They should not be alienated. The health facilities should also be accommodative to the young fathers so that they can be encouraged to accompany their partners during visits to check on the health of the foetus. They should be included in discussions about the wellbeing of the child and be given space to bond with them. The dangers and consequences of engaging in unprotected sexual activity should also be exposed more creatively in order to grab the attention of young men and women and it should be emphasised that it is not the sole responsibility of men to ensure safe sexual activity but it is the responsibility of both men and women. In this era of advanced technology social networks form part of our daily lives and internet access is readily available on mobile devices such as cellular phones, popular social networks such as Facebook, MXit, and Tweeter can provide a useful platform to disseminate this important information to young people.

Future research is needed to probe the prevalence of young fathers in the general population of South Africa and the issues that they are faced with. In addition to this, future studies can also look at ways of addressing the issue of young fathers and modelling different approaches that can be adopted as programmes to assist young fathers in South Africa. The high number of absent fathers in South Africa is an indication that such programmes are needed as a matter of urgency.

This chapter has presented the discussion or the results of this study. The discussion was presented in relation to the conceptual framework that was used in this study. This chapter has also presented some suggestions for future policy development and future research in relation to providing support to young fathers and tackling societal ills that are bred through

absent and uninvolved fathers. This chapter also suggested modern platforms through which important sexual and reproductive health information can be made available to young people in South Africa.

References:

1. Allen, W. D. & Doherty, W. J. (1996). The Responsibilities of Fatherhood as Perceived by African American Teenage Fathers. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 77(3): 142-155.
2. Amoateng, A.Y., Richter, L. M., Makiwane, M. & Rama, S. (2004). *Describing the structure and needs of families in South Africa: Towards the development of a national policy framework for families*. A report commissioned by the Department of Social Development. Pretoria: Child Youth and Family Development, Human Sciences Research Council.
3. Babbie, E. (2001). *Practice of Social Research*. 8th ed. New York: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
4. Barret, R. L. & Robinson, B. E. (1981). Teenage Fathers: A Profile. *The Personnel and Guidance Journal* 60(4): 226-228
5. Barret, R. L. & Robinson, B. E. (1985). The adolescent fathers. In S. M. Hanson and F. W. Bozzet (Eds.) *The Dimensions of Fatherhood* (pp. 353-368). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
6. Batten, S. & Stowell, B. (1996). *School Based Programs for Adolescent Parents and Their Young Children: Guidelines for Quality and Best Practice*. Center for Assessment and Policy Development
7. Bunting, L. & McAuley, C. (2004). Research Review: Teenage pregnancy and parenthood: the role of fathers. *Child and Family Social Work*, 9: 295-303.
8. Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity (2010). Race classification at the University of KwaZulu-Natal: Purposes, sites and practices.
9. Coleman, J. & Denison, C. (1998). Research Review: Teenage parenthood. *Children & Society*, 12: 306-314.
10. Coleman, J. (1998) Teenage parenthood. *Children and Society*, 12: 306-314.

11. Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13(1), 3-21.
12. Dallas, C. M & Chen, S. C. (1998). Experiences of African American Adolescent Fathers. *Journal of Nursing Research*, 20(2): 210-222.
13. Dallas, C., Wilson, T., & Salgado, V. (2000). Gender Difference in Teen Parents' Perceptions of Parental Responsibilities. *Public Health Nursing*, 17(6): 423-433
14. Davies, S. L., Dix, E. S., Rhodes, S. D., Harrington, K. F., Frison, F., & Willis, L. (2004). Attitudes of Young African American Fathers Toward Early Childbearing. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 28(5): 418-425.
15. De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouche, C. B. & Delport, C. S. L. (2002). Research at the grass root: For the Social Science and Human Service Profession. 2nd ed. Pretoria: J. L. Van Schaik Publishers.
16. Devey, R. & Posel, D. (2006). The demographics of fathers in South Africa: an analysis of survey data, 1993-2002. In L. Richter and R. Morrell (Eds.). *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 38-52). Child Youth and Family Development, Human Sciences Research Council.
17. Durlington, M. (2006). Race, space and place in suburban Durban: An ethnographic assessment of gated community environments and residents. *GeoJournal*, 66: 147-160.
18. Earls, F. & Siegel, B. (1980). Precocious fathers. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 50: 469-480.
19. Economic Policy Research Institute (2010). South Africa's Child Support Grant: Overall findings from an integrated qualitative-quantitative evaluation. Available at <http://www.epri.org.za> . Accessed on 30 September 2012.
20. Eddy, G. & Holborn, L. (2011). First Steps to Healing the South African Family. South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), Johannesburg, South Africa.

21. Fagot, B. I., Pears, K. C., Calpadi, M., Crosby, L. & Leve, C. S. (1998). Becoming and adolescent father: Precursors and parenting. *Developmental Psychology*, 34(6): 1209
22. Fatherhood (2012). Fatherhood statistics: national fatherhood initiative. Available at <http://www.fatherhood.org/media/fatherhood-statistics> . Accessed on 26 September 2012.
23. Fatherhood Institute (2012). Fatherhood: parenting programmes and policy – A critical review of Best Practice. Available at: <http://www.fatherhoodinstitute.org/sector/sector-content/fi-research/> . Accessed on 21 September 2012
24. Florsheim, P., Moore, D., Zollinger, L., MacDonald, J. & Sumida, E. (1999). The transition to parenthood among adolescent fathers and their partners: Does antisocial behaviour predict problems in parenting? *Applied Developmental Sciences*, 3(3): 178-191.
25. Glazer, B. G. & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.
26. Glikman, H. (2004). Low-income young fathers: Contexts, connections, and self. *Social Work*, 49(2), 195-206.
27. Greeff, M. (2002). Information collection: Interviewing. In Devos, A. S. *Research at the grass roots: For the Social Science and Human Service Professions*, 2nd ed. Pretoria: J. L. Van Schaik Publishers.
28. Hall, K. (2012). Income poverty, unemployment and social grants. In Hall, K., Woolard, I., Lake, L. & Smith, C. (Eds.) *South African Child Gauge 2012*, Children's Institute, University of Cape Town.
29. Huey, W. C. (1991). Counseling teenage fathers: The "maximizing a life experience" (male) group. ERIC digest, Ann Arbor, MI: ERIC Clearinghouse on Counseling and Personnel Services.

30. Hunter, M. (2006). Fathers without amandla: Zulu-speaking man and fatherhood. In L. Richter and R. Morrell (Eds.). *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 73-81). Child Youth and Family Development, Human Sciences Research Council.
31. Jaffe, R. S., Caspi, A., Moffitt, T. E., Taylor, A., & Dickson, N. (2001). Predicting Early Fatherhood and Whether Young Fathers Live with Their Children: Prospective Findings and Policy Reconsiderations. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 42(6): 803-815.
32. Kallmann, K. (2003) HIV/AIDS and Social Assistance in South Africa: a Study of Social Assistance available in South Africa with a comparison to assistance available in Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Black Sash, available at: <http://www.salan.org/file-storage/cases-projects/hiv-and-social-assistance/> . Accessed on 2 February 2013
33. Kaufman, C. E., De Wet, T. & Stadler, J. (2001). Adolescent pregnancy and parenthood in South Africa. *Studies in Family Planning*, 32: 147-160
34. Kende, M., S. (2003) The South African Constitutional Court's Embrace of Socio-economic Rights: a Comparative Perspective. 6 *Chapman Law Review*, 137. Available at: <http://academic.udayton.edu/race/06hrights/georegions/africa/safrica03.htm> . Accessed on 2 February 2013.
35. Knitzer, J., & Bernard, S. (1997). Map and track: State initiatives to encourage responsible fatherhood. New York: National Center for Children in Poverty.
36. Lamb, M. E., Pleck, J. H., Charnov, E., & Levine, J. (1985). Paternal behavior in humans. *American Zoologist*, 25: 883-894.
37. Lamb, M. E., Pleck, J. H., Charnov, E., & Levine, J. (1987). A biosocial perspective on paternal behavior and involvement. In J. Lancaster, J. Altmeuin, A. Rossi, & L. Sherood (Eds.), *Parenting across the lifespan: Biosocial dimensions* (pp. 111-142). New York: Aldine de Bruyter.
38. Lane, T. S. & Clay, C. M. (2000). Meeting the service needs of young fathers. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 17(1): 35-54.

39. Lowenthal, B & Lowenthal, R. (1997). Teenage parenting: challenges, interventions and programs. *Childhood Education*, 74(1): 29-32.
40. Lund, F. (2008). Changing Social Policy: The child support grant in South Africa. Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Press.
41. Mahan, S & Browning, K. K. (2003). Delinquent dads in detention. *Journal for Juvenile Justice and Detention Services*, 18(2): 93-110.
42. Maharaj, P. (2000). Promoting male involvement in reproductive health. *Agenda* 44: 37-46.
43. Maylam, P. (1995). Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21(1): 19-38.
44. Mazza, C. (2002). Young dads: The effects of a parenting program on urban African-American adolescent fathers. *Adolescence*, 37: 681-693
45. McEwen, H., Kannemeyer, C. & Woolard, I. (2009). *Social Assistance Grants: Analysis of the NIDS Wave 1 Dataset*. Discussion paper no. 10.
46. Meintjies, H & Hall, K. (2012). Demography of South Africa's children. In Hall, K., Woolard, I., Lake, L. & Smith, C. (Eds.) *South African Child Gauge 2012*. Children's Institute, University of Cape Town.
47. Mikulencak, M. (2000). What about boys? A literature review on the health and development of adolescent boys. Department of Child and Adolescent Health Development, World Health Organisation.
48. Miller, D. (1997). Adolescent fathers: What we know and what we need to know. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 14(1): 55-69.
49. Nduna, M. & Jewkes, R. (2011) Undisclosed paternal identity in narratives of distress among young people in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 20(3), 303.
50. New York Amsterdam News, (2001). Program with a heart: Helping young dads help themselves. *Children's Express* 17-23 May 2001, pp. 22.

51. Panday, S., Makiwane, M., Ranchod, C., & Letsoalo, T. (2009). *Teenage pregnancy in South Africa - with a specific focus on school-going learners*. Child, Youth, Family and Social Development, Human Sciences Research Council. Pretoria: Department of Basic Education.
52. Parke, R. D., Power, T. G., & Fisher, T. (1980). The adolescent father's impact on the mother and child. *Journal of Social Issues*, 36: 88-106.
53. Plikinghorne, D. E. (1991). Two conflicting calls for methodological reform. *Counselling Psychologist*, 19: 103-114.
54. Provide Project (2005). A profile of KwaZulu-Natal: Demographics, poverty, inequality and unemployment. Elsenburg, Western Cape.
55. Ramphele, M. & Richter, L. (2006). Migrancy, family dissolution and fatherhood. In L. Richter and R. Morrell (Eds.). *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 73-81). Child Youth and Family Development, Human Sciences Research Council.
56. Richter, L. & Morrell, R. (Eds.) (2006). *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*. Child, Youth and Family Development, Human Sciences Research Council.
57. Saleh, M. F., Buzi, R. S., Weinman, M. L., & Smith, P. B. (2005). The Nature of Connections: Young Fathers and their Children. *Adolescence*, 40(155): 513-523. Libra Publishers, Inc.
58. Smith, P. B., Buzi, R. S., & Weinman M. L. (2002) Programs for Young Fathers: Essential Components and Evaluation Issues. *Adolescent Fathers: North American Journal of Psychology*, 4(1): 81-92.
59. Smith, P. B., Buzi, R. S., Weinman, M. L., & Mumford, D. M. (2001). The Use of Focus Groups to Identify Needs and Expectations of Young Fathers in a Male Involvement Program. *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy*, 26(2): 100-105.
60. Spjeldnaes, I. O., Moland, K. M., Harris, J. & Sam, D. L. (2011). "Being Man Enough": Fatherhood Experiences and Expectations among Teenage Boys in South Africa. *Fathering*, 9(1): 3-21

61. Stengel, R. (1985). The missing-father myth. *Time*, p. 90. Vanderslice, C. (Ed.). (1980). *His baby too: Problems of teenage pregnancy* [Filmstrip]. Pleasantville, NY: Sunburst Communications
62. Stouthamer-Loeber, M. & Wei, E. H. (1998). The precursors of young fatherhood and its effect on delinquency of teenage males. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 22(6): 56-65.
63. Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
64. Swartz, S. & Bhana, A. (2006). *Teenage Tata: Voices of young fathers in South Africa*. Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Press, Cape Town.
65. University of KwaZulu-Natal (2012). Symposium tracks new NSC undergraduates. Available at: <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/UKZNonline/V4/12/s12.html>. Accessed on 26 September 2012.
66. Washington, A. (1982). A cultural and historical perspective of pregnancy related activity amongst U.S. teenagers. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 9: 1-28.
67. Weinman, M. L., Buzi, R. S., & Smith, P. B. (2005b) Addressing Risk Behaviors, Service Needs, and Mental Health Issues in Programs for Young Fathers. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services*, 86(2): 261-266. Families International Inc.
68. Weinman, M. L., Buzi, R. S., & Smith, P. B. (2002a) Young Fathers: An Analysis of Risk Behaviors and Service Needs. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 19(6): 437-453. Human Sciences Press, Inc.
69. Williams, M., Tutty, L. M. & Grinnel, R. M. (1995). *Research in Social Work: an introduction*. Itasca: Peacock.
70. Wilson, F. (2006). On being a father and poor in South Africa. In L. Richter and R. Morrell (Eds.). *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*. Child Youth and Family Development, Human Sciences Research Council.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent Form

1. **EXPLANATION OF THE RESEARCH and WHAT YOU WILL DO**

You are being asked to participate in a research study of *Experiences of Fatherhood among Young People: A Case Study of 'Black' students at University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*. You will be required to answer a number of questions that will be posed to you by the researcher.

2. **YOUR RIGHTS TO PARTICIPATE, SAY NO, OR WITHDRAW**

Participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You have the right to say no, you may change your mind at any time and withdraw. You may choose to answer specific questions or to stop participating at any time.

3. **COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY**

You will **NOT** be compensated in any way should you choose to participate in this study.

4. **CONTACT INFORMATION FOR QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS**

If you have any concerns or questions about this study you can contact the researcher on the following email address: ets.transcribe@gmail.com. OR you can contact my supervisor, Prof. P. Maharaj, on maharajp7@ukzn.ac.za

5. **DOCUMENTATION OF INFORMED CONSENT**

Your signature below means that you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

SIGNATURE

DATE

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Perspectives and Experiences of Fatherhood among Young People: A Case Study of 'Black' Students at University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.

Interview guide

Key questions the study seeks answers to:

1. How do young men perceive fatherhood?
2. How do men view their roles as fathers?
3. What are the implications of early fatherhood?

Interview questions:

1. What does being a father mean to you?
2. Do you live with your child/children?
3. Are you romantically involved with the mother of your child/children?
4. As a father, what do you see your role to your child/children to be?
5. How did you react to the news that you were going to become a father?
6. How have your experiences of fatherhood been? In other words how have your experiences of being a father to your child/children been?
7. How much do you know about condoms and contraceptives? Were these used with your previous partner(s)?
8. What impact, if any, has being a father while studying full-time had on (a) your life in general, and (b) on your studies?
9. In view of your account of what being a father means to you; would you say that you are doing enough to fulfill your role as a father?
10. Do you have a relationship with your child/children?