

**DETERMINANTS OF FATHER INVOLVEMENT: CHILDREN, WOMEN AND MEN'S
EXPERIENCES OF SUPPORT CHILDREN RECEIVE FROM MEN IN KWAZULU-
NATAL**

TAWANDA MAKUSHA

**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY
OF KWAZULU-NATAL IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.**

DURBAN 2013

COPYRIGHT NOTICE

The copyright of this thesis vests in the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa, in accordance with the University's Intellectual Property Policy.

No portion of the text may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, including analogue and digital media, without prior written permission from the University. Extracts of or quotations from this thesis may, however, be made in terms of Sections 12 and 13 of the South African Copyright Act No. 98 of 1978 (as amended), for non-commercial or education purposes. Full acknowledgement must be made to the author and the University.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examined the various determinants of father-child involvement, in particular, the effects of father residence, survival status and the presence of other men in households of which the focal child is a member. The study explored children, women and men's reports of support children receive from men in the context of poverty in KwaZulu-Natal.

Data for this study came from the Human Sciences Research Council's project on child and family well-being in the context of HIV/AIDS and poverty entitled "*Sibhekelela izingane zethu*" (SIZE). SIZE is a community-representative, repeated measures study of 1961 households in 24 randomly selected school communities in the Msunduzi Municipality in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Quantitative data analysis was limited to baseline data. This thesis only utilized data from households where all three participants (caregiver, focal child and household head/representative of the household head) took part in the survey (N = 1793). In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with twenty focal children, twenty female caregivers and sixteen fathers/father-figures nominated by the children in twenty randomly selected households.

The quantitative part of this thesis focused on the various determinants of father involvement, in particular, the effects of father residence or survival status and the presence of other men in households of which the focal child is a member. Household socio-economic status, household size and access to water and electricity are used to describe the households in the sample and compare the wealth of households with men and those without male members. The study also provides socio-demographic information of the individual men in the households. It presents results of individual men's relationships to focal children, their ages, and marital, educational, and employment status. This data is used to examine the associations between fathers and other men, and their socio-economic capacity. This study acknowledges that while father-child co-residence is an important determinant of father involvement, for many years in South Africa this has not been a realizable situation. In this regard, this thesis concludes that residential fatherhood is a hard-won status achieved by men with substantially higher parental capacity and general lifetime success, particularly economic and social achievements which make them able to marry and co-reside with their children. However, despite low rates of father-child co-residency, most

children have contact with their non co-resident fathers although only a third receives financial support from them.

The first qualitative study of this thesis explored children, women and men's experiences of support children receive from men in families. The rationale behind this study was that most research on fathers' involvement is usually based on men's self-reports, women's appraisals or children's accounts of men's involvement. Results from this thesis indicate that men are important in children's lives. The nomination of a father-figure by all children, even if the man was not their biological father ascertained that all children receive some support from men. The results also highlight the influence of biological ties, co-residence, family social network, and marriage or father-mother relationship on fathers' involvement with their children – financial and the quality of their interaction. This qualitative study improves methodologies and addresses the validity, reliability and interrelations of children, men and women's reports of men's involvement in providing support to children in a South African context. This study was able to determine the informal, local systems of family support and the variety of contributions made by men in supporting children. In this way, the study provides a basis for research on local father involvement and for future comparison.

The second qualitative study considered how childhood experiences with fathers are associated with women's expectations and men's experiences of fathering. Data was analysed in pairs of the focal child's caregiver and father-figure. Data from four women who were not paired was analysed individually. Results generally support both the modelling and compensatory hypotheses. Men and women exercise agency in negotiating the demands of fatherhood regardless of their childhood history with fathers. Childhood experiences with fathers, quality of father-mother relationship and father's individual characteristics are important determinants of father-child involvement.

This study is one of the few studies that have counted, described and explored the role of men in supporting children in households. Clearly more research, both quantitative and qualitative, is needed to examine the several determinants of father's residency – including socio-cultural expectations, reasons for absence and involvement in children's lives. Understanding these

fundamentals of fatherhood is crucial for the improvement of family policies already in place to better support and enable men to be more involved in the well-being of children.

Keywords: father-child involvement, fatherhood, child well-being, childhood experiences, women's expectations, men's experiences, father-child co-residency, biological father, social father, KwaZulu-Natal.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other University.

.....

Tawanda Makusha

.....

Date

DEDICATION

To my daughter, Tadiwa, I love you with all my heart, always!!

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS EMANATING FROM THIS RESEARCH

Peer-reviewed publications published:

Makusha, T., Richter, L., & Bhana, D. (2012). Children's experiences of support received from men in rural KwaZulu-Natal. *Africa Development, Special Issue on Parent's Involvement in Children's Lives in Africa XXXVII* (3), 127-152.

Makusha, T., Richter, L., Knight, L., van Rooyen, H., & Bhana, D. (2013). 'The good and the bad?': Childhood experiences of fathers and their influence on women's expectations and men's experiences of fathering in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Fathering*, 11(2), 138-158.

Peer-reviewed publications submitted:

Makusha, T., Richter, L., Knight, L., van Rooyen, H., & Bhana, D. (submitted, 2012). Men's residential patterns, relationships and their roles in supporting children in families in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Journal of Family Issues*

Conference attendances

Makusha, T., Richter, L. & Bhana, D. (2011). Children's experiences of family support in the context of HIV/AIDS and poverty in KwaZulu-Natal as reported by children, men and women. Paper presented at the 1st International HIV Social Sciences and Humanities Conference from the 11th of June to the 13th of June 2011.

Makusha, T. & Richter, L. (2010). Methodological considerations in studying children's experiences of support they receive from men in the context of HIV/AIDS and poverty in rural KwaZulu-Natal. Paper presented at the School of Psychology Postgraduate Conference on the 15th of October 2010.

Makusha, T. & Richter, L. (2009). *The role of men in supporting children in the context of HIV/AIDS and poverty in rural KwaZulu-Natal.* Paper presented at the Human Sciences Research Council Conference held in Johannesburg on the 16th and 17th of September 2009 & the HSRC Men and Morality Symposium in Durban on the 5th and 6th of November 2009.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere thanks to Professor Deevia Bhana, for supervising this thesis, and for her ongoing administrative support.

Dr. Heidi van Rooyen facilitated my access to the Human Sciences Research Council, Sweetwaters Office. During that period until now, she has been a reliable source of advice and suggestions. Dr. Lucia Knight has tirelessly facilitated my access to SIZE Project data, and has since tirelessly read drafts of my work, and her input has strengthened this thesis.

Dr. Chris Desmond, thank you so much for your great advice and for taking time off to give me good pointers on writing.

Dr. Alastair van Heerden, the SIZE project manager has always had time and patience to address my endless queries regarding SIZE data. This extends to the whole SIZE team (HSRC and NYU) who deserve a huge thank you for providing the data to me, and following up on my endless queries, but also for the dedication that has allowed the collection of such complex data.

A huge thank you to Nomonde Mathambo for assisting me with administrative issues all the time; and to Sara Naicker, thank you for formatting my thesis! You know I could not do this on my own.

Professor Linda Richter has been an anchor to me during these past years. She fully sponsored this study from her project funds. She facilitated my access to SIZE data and linked me to the various people on the study. She paid for the many professional training workshops and research conferences that I attended to enable me to better conceptualize my study. Despite her very busy schedule, she has always found time to read drafts of my thesis, conference presentations and papers for peer-reviewed submission and to provide guidance, mentorship, encouragement and support. This study would never have been a reality without the kind of love, passion and great intellectual assistance that Prof. Richter provided me with. Her input has strengthened this thesis immeasurably.

My family has been very supportive of me during this period. My mother and sisters have always provided support and encouragement. Their undying love, belief in me and faith that I can be able to complete this thesis gave me strength to soldier on even when times were hard.

Table of Contents

COPYRIGHT NOTICE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
DECLARATION	v
DEDICATION	vi
PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS EMANATING FROM THIS RESEARCH ..	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	viii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Fatherhood in South Africa	1
1.2. Measuring fatherhood in South Africa	3
1.3. The role of men in South Africa	4
1.4. Specific aims and research questions	5
1.5. Study rationale	7
1.6. Role of the candidate	8
1.7. Outline of thesis	9
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	11
2.1. Introduction to literature on fatherhood	11
2.2. A conceptual orientation to fatherhood	11
2.2.1. Diverse nature of fatherhood	12
2.3. Fatherhood in African families	13
2.4. History of fatherhood in South Africa	15
2.5. The importance of biological fatherhood in South Africa	17
2.6. Non co-resident biological fathers in South Africa	19
2.7. Social fathers in South Africa	21
2.8. The influence of father-mother relationship on father-child involvement	23
2.9. Retrospective understanding of fatherhood and its influences on fathering	24
2.10. Summary of review	26
CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	27
3.1. Introduction	27
3.2. Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model	27
3.3. Influences on fathering conceptual model	29
3.3.1. Father factor: Identity of the father	30

3.3.2.	The economic role of the father	32
3.3.3.	Residential status of the father	34
3.3.4.	Individual father factors	35
3.3.5.	Co-parental relationship	36
3.3.6.	Mother factors	36
3.3.7.	Contextual factors	37
3.3.8.	Economic and employment opportunities.....	37
3.3.9.	Socio-cultural expectations	37
3.3.10.	Child factors	39
3.4.	The three dimensional model of father involvement	39
3.5.	Concluding remarks	41
	CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY	43
4.1.	Introduction.....	43
4.2.	Methodological basis for the research design.....	43
4.2.1.	Triangulation of methods	43
4.2.2.	Triangulation of data	44
4.2.3.	Adults’ retrospective and present day children’s reflections on male involvement.....	46
4.2.4.	Child-specific and generic fathering	46
4.2.5.	Contextual considerations in understanding men’s involvement.....	46
4.2.6.	Children’s connections to men.....	47
4.3.	Quantitative research design and methods.....	48
4.3.1.	Study site for both quantitative and qualitative research	48
4.3.2.	Study context: Sibhekelela izingane zethu project (SIZE).....	49
4.3.3.	Sampling.....	50
4.3.4.	Data collection.....	52
4.3.5.	SIZE quality control	52
4.3.6.	Quantitative data analysis.....	53
4.3.7.	Strengths of the quantitative data	54
4.3.8.	Limitation of the quantitative data	55
4.4.	Qualitative research design and methods	55
4.4.1.	Research paradigm	55
4.4.2.	Reflexivity.....	55

4.4.3.	Key questions	56
4.4.4.	Interview schedules design.....	56
4.4.5	Sampling.....	58
4.4.6.	Ethical issues.....	59
4.4.7.	Pre-data collection training and activities	60
4.4.8.	Scheduling of in-depth interviews.....	60
4.4.9.	Data collection.....	61
4.4.9.1.	<i>Child participant interviews</i>	61
4.4.9.2.	<i>Female caregiver interviews</i>	61
4.4.9.3.	<i>Father-figure interviews</i>	62
4.4.9.4.	<i>Non-participants observation and reflexivity</i>	62
4.4.10.	Transcription and translation of qualitative data	63
4.4.11.	Qualitative data analysis.....	64
4.4.12.	Qualitative design validity and dependability	65
4.5.	Conclusion	67
CHAPTER 5: MEN’S RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS, RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR ROLES IN SUPPORTING CHILDREN.....		68
5.1.	Introduction.....	68
5.2.	Father-child residency in South Africa.....	70
5.3.	Socio-demographic characteristics of men who are members in households	71
5.4.	Children and caregiver reports of father-child residency and whereabouts	72
5.5.	Children’s reports on non co-resident father-child contact.....	73
5.6.	Caregiver reports on non co-resident father-child contact.....	74
5.7.	Fathers’ financial contributions to children’s welfare	75
5.8.	Children’s reports on other men’s roles in supporting them	76
5.9.	Discussion.....	77
5.10.	Conclusions.....	79
CHAPTER 6: CHILDREN, WOMEN AND MEN’S REPORTS OF SUPPORT CHILDREN RECEIVE FROM MEN		81
6.1.	Introduction.....	81
6.2.	Household demographic characteristics	81
6.3.	Women as primary caregivers.....	85
6.4.	Father-mother relationship and residential patterns	87

6.5.	Father-child residential patterns and contact	88
6.6.	Fathers' financial support of children	89
6.7.	Father-child residency and interaction	92
6.8.	Father absence in South Africa	94
6.9.	Social father-child relationships	95
6.10.	Fathering and the respect that comes with it	97
6.11.	Barriers to fatherhood	98
6.12.	The dangerous men.....	100
6.13.	Correspondence among reports from children, women and men about father involvement.....	101
6.14.	Discussion.....	102
CHAPTER 7: CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES WITH FATHERS AND THEIR INFLUENCE WOMEN'S EXPECTATIONS AND MEN'S EXPERIENCES OF FATHERING.....		106
7.1.	Introduction.....	106
7.1.1.	Childhood father absence and adult experiences and expectations of fathering	107
7.1.2.	Co-residency.....	111
7.1.3.	Father-mother relationship	112
7.1.4.	Breadwinner	112
7.1.5.	Father-child involvement	113
7.1.6.	Father as moral teacher and disciplinarian	115
7.1.7.	The shifting gendered nature of fathering	117
7.1.8.	The role of the social father.....	118
7.2.	Correspondence between men and women's reports on childhood experiences with fathers and women's expectations and men's experiences of fathering	119
7.3.	Discussion.....	120
7.4.	Conclusions.....	122
CHAPTER 8: GENERAL DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS		124
8.1.	Introduction.....	124
8.2.	The conceptual models and major research findings	124
8.2.1.	Ecological model of child development.....	125
8.2.2.	The influences on fathering conceptual model and its linkages to the research findings	125
8.2.3.	The three dimensional model of father involvement	128

8.3.	The methodological strengths of the study	128
8.4.	Methodological limitations.....	130
8.5.	Directions for future research.....	132
8.6.	Policy and practice suggestions.....	133
8.7.	Summary of main conclusions	135
8.9.	Last words.....	136
	REFERENCES.....	137

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1:	Characterization of a southern African family	14
Figure 2:	Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model of child development.....	28
Figure 3:	Influences of fathering conceptual framework.....	31
Figure 4:	Map showing the location of Msunduzi.....	48
Figure 5:	Map of Msunduzi municipality where Project SIZE is situated.....	49
Figure 6:	SIZE sample flow	51
Figure 7:	Rural community selected with clusters selected for screening	58
Figure 8:	Qualitative data analysis process	64
Figure 9:	Proposed Influences of fathering conceptual framework in KwaZulu-Natal	126

Table 1:	Measures used in qualitative data collection.....	57
Table 2:	Multinomial logistic regression for households with fathers only, with fathers and other men, with no father but have other men and households without men (N = 1793)	69
Table 3:	Correlates of the socio-demographic characteristics of fathers and other men in households (N = 2580).....	71
Table 4:	Children’s reports on father’s residency	72
Table 5:	Caregivers’ reports on the whereabouts of the focal child’s biological father.....	73
Table 6:	Non co-resident father-child contact.....	73
Table 7:	Caregiver reports on non co-resident biological father-child contact	74
Table 8:	Children’s reports on the extent of father-child contact.....	74
Table 9:	Biological fathers living elsewhere	75
Table 10:	Children’s reports on other men’s roles in supporting them	76
Table 11:	Basic household characteristics	82
Table 12:	Informant response on father-child residential patterns and contact	89
Table 13:	Informant responses on men’s financial support to child.....	90
Table 14:	Informant responses on father-child interactions	92

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Fathers are absent from two thirds of homes in which children live (Statistics South Africa, 2011); marriage rates in South Africa are low and marriage is frequently delayed until after men have fathered one or more children, potentially by different women (Posel, Rudwick & Casale, 2011). In this thesis, I address the various determinants of father involvement and the different roles that men play in supporting children aged between 7-10 years living in KwaZulu-Natal. The study was conducted in an area where 95 percent of the population is African, matched on key attributes such as high HIV prevalence and low socio-economic status. I have operationalized a broad meaning of support. Comprehensive support for children refers to a provision of a range of care from financial support, food security and nutrition; providing educational support; provision of accommodation; emotional and psychosocial support; facilitating children's access to essential health care; providing child protection, particularly from abuse and neglect, and other miscellaneous focus of care for children.

As the issues around men, fathers and fatherhood have become increasingly important, calls are being made for the inclusion of men in family research, practice and policy (Richter et al., 2009), with greater emphasis on engaging men in a wide variety of family-based HIV prevention and reproductive, maternal and child health interventions and policy (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012; Richter et al., 2009). There is a move away from the limited conceptualization of fatherhood, which focuses almost exclusively on the role of the father as an economic provider, while fostering widely-held negative assumptions about the absence or limited engagement of fathers with children (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010). Using this as a context of reference, the overall aim of this study was to explore the various determinants of father involvement and children, women and men's experiences of support children receive from men in KwaZulu-Natal.

1.1. Fatherhood in South Africa

Globally, the definition of a father is very much contested on conceptual, pragmatic and cultural grounds. Most families throughout the world include men. However, arrangements in which men live, and the roles that they play, are diverse and complex (Desmond & Hosegood, 2011). Some North American and European scholarship on fatherhood tends to focus on individual and

biological determinants (Hauari & Hollingworth, 2009; Day & Lamb, 2003), asserting that a man becomes a father when he has his first child (Mott, 1990). However, in South Africa, as in most African countries and some African-American communities, fatherhood goes beyond conception and extends to a network of other close social relationships between adult males and children who may or may not be biologically their own (Mkhize, 2004).

Men may experience fatherhood through varying relationships with children (Rabe, 2007; Richter et al., 2011). For example, men may be fathers to the biological children with whom they live. They may also be fathers to biological children living elsewhere, possibly with the children's mother in a separate home. They may live with a woman who has children from a previous partner. Men may also live with a sister who has offspring from one or more men, who may or may not be resident in the household, and such men may assume a fathering role to these children (Mkhize, 2004; Richter, Chikovore, & Makusha, 2010).

In this context, the spirit of communalism (*botho/ubuntu*) is characterized by the connectedness of people and their commitment to the common good, including one's descendants and one's ancestors (Chikovore, Richter, & Makusha, 2013; Lesejane, 2006; Roy, 2008). In this regard, men may take on childrearing roles, activities, duties and responsibilities that fathers are expected to perform and fulfill regardless of their biological connection to a child (Mkhize, 2004). These social fathers may be connected through family – including patrilineal and matrilineal uncles, grandfathers, brothers and, if the parents are separated or divorced, the mother's partner; or they may be extra-familial, and encompass friends, religious leaders, teachers and community leaders (Mkhize, 2006). Unfortunately, despite the strong justification for collecting data about social fathers in South Africa – to provide a more complete account of children's experience of fathering and protection – this information is hardly ever collected in surveys or population cohorts, and social fathers can seldom be distinguished from biological fathers even when details about fathers are collected (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010).

In South African society, a biological father is a highly visible and respected member of society, who is also often the acknowledged head and central authority for his family (Hunter, 2006). In the Zulu tradition, a man who neither marries nor biologically fathers a child may be seen as having failed to build a homestead (*umuzi*), an essential aspect of masculinity (Hunter, 2006). On

the other hand, until he pays *inhlawulo* (damages for impregnating a girl) or *lobola* (bride wealth), a biological father may not be recognised as the father of a child, especially by the family of the child's mother and he may be restricted from visiting his child at the mother's family homestead.

High levels of poverty and unemployment in South Africa mean that some men are unable to afford to pay *inhlawulo* or *lobola* (Richter et al., 2010; Posel et al., 2011). This inability to pay *lobola* is one barrier among many others leading to low rates of marriage and high non-marital fertility (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010). Despite these barriers, most fathers do have some kind of relationship with their children (Makusha, Richter, & Bhana, 2012; Wilson, 2006). Those who do not, prefer simply not to acknowledge that they are fathers, or are unprepared or unable to take on the added responsibility for children and family (Richter et al., 2010), making it difficult for them to have ongoing relationships with their children.

1.2. Measuring fatherhood in South Africa

Recognition of children by their biological fathers allows children access to both extended family and other social benefits. Estimating the number of biological fathers is thus important in that it recognizes the crucial role that men can and do play as parents (Morrell, Posel, & Devey, 2003). Despite this, there are few sources of data by which to measure fatherhood (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012).

While data about the identity and survival status of children's biological fathers is collected in most household surveys and population cohorts, measuring fatherhood has been complicated by the approaches used in enumerating households in these surveys and cohorts (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010). Posel and Devey (2006), using measures of biological mothers, marriage, and kin relations between household members, estimate that between 45-50 percent of men 15 to 54 years of age have fathered a child. Richter and Morrell (2008), however report that half of all reported biological fathers do not have daily contact with their children. This is due to the dual forces of migration by adults and children, delayed marriage and separation, divorce or death (Desmond & Desmond, 2006). This has made it difficult for many national household surveys, or indeed large prospective studies of children in South Africa, to link children to their fathers (Posel & Devey, 2006).

These national household surveys usually exclude household members who are not residents by one or other criterion, many of whom in the South African context may be fathers of children in the household (Posel & Devey, 2006). They therefore seldom capture the contact and types of involvement fathers living elsewhere have with their children, leading to underreporting of fathers and father involvement (Townsend, Madhavan, & Garey, 2006). Also, rarely is information collected about why the child's father is not present, possible causes of which are work, divorce or death and whether a biological father has been replaced or supplemented by another father-figure (Mott, 1990). Yet residential separation does not necessarily equate to a break in social connectedness between father and child (Madhavan, Townsend, & Garey, 2008; Makusha et al., 2012). Using co-residence or even shared household membership as a proxy for men's support is thus not an adequate measure of fathers' involvement in the lives of their children (Madhavan & Townsend, 2007; Madhavan et al., 2008; Townsend, Madhavan, & Garey, 2006).

Another difficulty that arises in estimating the number of fathers in South Africa is that some mothers may not know who the child's father is (Townsend et al., 2006) or some may know but the biological father may never have acknowledged paternity (Denis & Ntsimane, 2006; Hunter, 2006; Nduna & Jewkes, 2011). In poverty contexts, a man might deny paternity of a child because he cannot afford to meet the *inhlawulo* or *lobola* requirements, or provide financially for the child and the child's mother.

1.3. The role of men in South Africa

Men's presence and involvement – responsibility, availability and engagement (Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, & Levine, 1985) – in large part determine both the social and economic resources of the household (Richter & Morrell, 2006). Involved, engaged and caring fathers are important in the lives of children. International research and some studies from South Africa indicate that children whose fathers are present achieve better at school, have higher self-esteem and, especially girls are more secure in their relationships with partners of the opposite sex (Carlson & McLanahan, 2004; Carlson, 2006; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003; Richter et al., 2011; Schacht, Cummings, & Davies, 2009). Women who are supported in stable partnerships with men experience lower levels of family stress, are less likely to suffer mental health problems and

derive greater satisfaction from their roles as mothers (Richter et al., 2011). Importantly, supportive men not only contribute to women's well-being and happiness, but in several studies men have also been found to buffer children against neglectful or harsh parenting by a distant, demoralized or overburdened mother (Martin, Ryan, & Brooks-Gunn, 2010; Richter et al., 2012). Households with men are likely to be better off economically (Desmond & Desmond, 2006), while households without men are worse off, more so when affected by HIV and AIDS (Denis & Ntsimane, 2006; Richter et al., 2010). In addition to money, men usually have access to other community resources which may not be available to women, including loans, mutual support and influence. Townsend (2002a) illustrates this by concluding from a study in Botswana that "Children are not necessarily disadvantaged by the absence of their father, but they are disadvantaged when they belong to a household without access to the social position, labour and financial support that is provided by men" (p. 270). Also, in households where men are available, children and women may be more secure with respect to the potential predatory behaviour of men from outside the household (Guma & Henda, 2004).

1.4. Specific aims and research questions

In order to achieve the overall goal of the study, three specific aims are pursued. The first specific aim of this study is to describe men's membership and residency in households by identifying their patterns of presence and absence. This thesis explores determinants of father-child involvement, in particular, the effects of father residence or survival status and the presence of other men in households of which the focal child is a member. The socio-economic status (SES), household size and access to services are used to describe the households in the sample. SES is used to compare the wealth of households with a father only, households with a father and at least another man, households with no father but which have at least one man, and households without a man.

For households with men, the socio-demographic information of the individual men in the households is provided. The results of individual men's relationships to focal children, their ages, and marital, educational, and employment status are presented and this data is used to examine the associations between fathers and other men, and their socio-economic capacity. Non co-

resident father-child contact and financial support, and the various kinds of support focal children receive from social fathers in the households are also explored.

In this regard, the significance of this thesis is that it lays out the different kinds of connections that children have with their fathers and other men, the different household structures that these children grow up in and individual male capacities that impact their involvement with children in the context of poverty. This addresses the first research question: **What are men's residential patterns and their relationships to children in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa?**

The second specific aim of this study is to examine the ways in which fatherhood is defined and experienced – the roles and activities of men in supporting children in rural KwaZulu-Natal. It does so by exploring the intersection between children's reports of support they receive from men, men's accounts of the support they provide to children, and women's views of the roles that men play in supporting children in general and this man's support of this child, in particular. To understand fathering and fatherhood it is critical to obtain the perspectives of those most intimately involved. This addresses the second research question: **How is fatherhood defined and experienced by children, women and men in rural KwaZulu-Natal?**

The third specific aim of this thesis is to explore adult women and men's childhood experiences with their own fathers/father-figures and examine how these experiences influence women's expectations and men's experiences of fathering in a low socio-economic setting in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Data on women's perceptions examines how involved their father/father-figure was when they were growing up and compares own father/father-figure's involvement to the contemporary involvement of the father/father-figure of their child, and the fit between expectation and actuality.

Men's relationships with their fathers/father-figures when they were children are also examined. Using this information, the thesis explores how men thought that their relationships with their fathers/father-figures when they were growing up have influenced them as fathers/father-figures. The lessons that men learnt from their fathers/father-figures on how to be good fathers are also explored. This addresses the third research question: **How do parents' own experiences with their fathers when they were children influence women's expectations and men's own experiences of fathering?**

1.5. Study rationale

The Coalition for Children Affected by AIDS' (CCABA) Children and HIV: Closing the Gap Symposium (2012) (<http://www.ccaba.org/>) and the 2012 International AIDS Conference (<http://www.aids2012.org/>) held in Washington D.C both emphasized the importance of male involvement in the lives of children and families. This theme was topical, with issues ranging from prevention of mother-to-child transmission (PMTCT), to support of mothers and children after birth. This study complements and contributes to the growing body of literature in South Africa and internationally on the role of men in supporting children in families. While there is a significant body of literature on men and fathers in European and American contexts (including on African-American fathers and their families) (Carlson & McLanahan, 2004; Carlson, McLanahan, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008; Casey Foundation, 2009), there is a dearth of information about men's involvement in children's lives in sub-Saharan Africa (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010; Nsamenang, 2000).

One cannot generalize European and American data on men, fathers and fatherhood to other contexts given the fact that families are formed and function differently across the world and the levels, manifestations of masculinity vary, and types of male involvement differ from place to place (Morrell, 2006; Townsend, 2002a). This study focuses on a sample of participants in a low socio-economic context in KwaZulu-Natal. South Africa presents a different context from the American, European and other African contexts due to the long history of migrant labour, its socio-economic and political landscape, and the severity of the HIV epidemic that currently impact men's involvement in children's lives (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010).

Also, children in South Africa and other parts of the world live in families where men are generally unacknowledged sources of support for children. Popular perceptions and the media frequently cast men as perpetrators of violence, oppressors of women and children, absent and uninvolved in children's lives, and generally uncaring and disengaged (Richter, Manegold, Pather, & Mason, 2004). While it is acknowledged worldwide that not all men are proud fathers, and unfortunately not all fathers want to participate in the lives of their children, it should also be recognized that a proportion of South African men have always been involved in their children's lives, and some are beginning to reassess the value of fatherhood (Richter & Morrell, 2006).

Lindsay Grubb (2010), for example, suggests that fathers are now more involved in family and children's lives. Although typical of middle-class fathers, she argues that:

If you look around you, you must have seen them. They are in the local supermarkets. They are dropping their children at school every morning and sneaking out at lunch time to pick them up again. They are bathing them every evening, and reading them bedtime stories...They are even seen running and yelling supportively at school sports activities, not just on weekends, but in the middle of a work-day afternoon. They are proud South African fathers – and they are becoming more and more involved in their children's lives (Grubb, 2010, p. 137).

These different perceptions of fatherhood provide a platform for this empirical study in KwaZulu-Natal. The significance of the study lies primarily in researching fatherhood in a context which has been under-researched. This study attempts to inform policies on child and family well-being in South Africa. Including men more proactively in family research has the potential to inform the development of new programmatic approaches that make it possible to engage men's concerns and needs, and more effectively create conducive spaces where men can better support children and families. The results will be compared with research on fatherhood in other settings in order to enhance insights into fatherhood generally.

1.6. Role of the candidate

Quantitative data for this study came from the Human Sciences Research Council's (HSRC) project on child and family well-being in the context of HIV and AIDS and poverty entitled "*Sibhekelela izingane zethu*" (called SIZE). Quantitative data collection instruments were planned, designed and implemented by the SIZE project team. The candidate conducted the analysis of SIZE baseline data on all the households in the sample, describing households with men as members, comparing the SES of households with men and those without men, describing the relationships between men in the households and the focal children, analyzing the residential status of children's fathers, non co-resident father-child contact and financial support, and the role of social fathers in supporting children in these households.

The candidate planned, designed and implemented the qualitative research under the auspices of Project SIZE. The candidate designed the data collection instruments and was involved in the data collection in 2011, although he did not conduct the actual interviews due to the fact that he

is not a fluent Zulu speaker. The candidate also conducted the qualitative data analysis. He developed the research questions, trained research assistants, supervised fieldwork, attended all interviews, thematically coded and analyzed the data.

1.7. Outline of thesis

This thesis comprises of eight chapters. This chapter provides an introduction and a brief background to the study. Chapter two comprehensively reviews the South African and African literature in general on the various determinants of father involvement and the role of men, and specifically fathers, in providing support for children. The chapter also outlines the distinctions between biological and social fathers.

Chapter three provides the conceptual frameworks for the study. The study utilizes three conceptual models to better understand and conceptualize the various determinants of fatherhood and the extent to which men's personal qualities, structure of the family, quality of father's primary relationship with child's mother and father's relationship with his own father influence fatherhood in South Africa.

Chapter four presents the research methodology and the research design. The various processes undertaken in the study are explained. The instruments used and the methods of data analysis are also discussed. The chapter focuses on the methodological basis of the research design, a brief description of the study site, a discussion of the larger project in which the study is situated, the sampling methods used, the data analysis and the validity of the study. The reflection on the field process is also done focusing on ethical considerations, the interview process and the role of the translator.

Chapter five addresses research question 1: "What are men's residential patterns and their relationships to children in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa?". The chapter provides a general description of households in the study sample. It describes men's membership and residency in households by identifying their patterns of presence and absence. It also describes the relationship of men in households to the focal children. Non co-resident father-child contact, financial support and the role of other men in supporting children in the households are also analysed.

Research question 2: “What are children, women and men’s experiences of support children receive from men in KwaZulu-Natal?” is addressed in chapter six. This chapter explores qualitative data on children, women and men’s reports on the different roles that men play in children’s lives in rural KwaZulu-Natal.

Chapter seven addresses research question 3: “How do parents’ own experiences with their fathers when they were children influence women’s expectations and men’s own experiences of fathering?”. This chapter uses qualitative data to explore women and men’s childhood experiences of fathering and how this has influenced women’s expectations and men’s own experiences of fathering in rural KwaZulu-Natal. This also addresses the question: “What do men themselves think about fatherhood?”.

Chapter eight presents a general discussion, recommendations and summary of the main conclusions drawn from the study. The limitations of the study are also presented, together with suggestions for future research and policy recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction to literature on fatherhood

Morrell and Richter (2006) raise an important question in the preface to their book entitled: *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa*. They ask: “What do we know about fathers in South Africa?” (p. v). In 2008, Madhavan and colleagues also highlighted that the discussion of fathers in South Africa is affected by lack of data on what men actually do for children. In an attempt to address these questions, this study reviews literature on fatherhood in Africa and specifically South Africa.

Section two reviews literature on the conceptual orientation to fatherhood, section three focuses on literature exploring fatherhood in African families, while section four explores literature on the history of fatherhood among African men in South Africa. This section reviews literature on fatherhood in the pre-colonial era, the impact of *Apartheid* on fatherhood and fatherhood in democratic South Africa.

Section five examines the importance of biological fathers in South Africa, while section six of the review addresses literature on non co-resident biological fathers and their involvement in their children’s lives. Section seven reviews literature on social fathers in South Africa and their roles in supporting children in households where the biological father may or may not be co-resident. Section eight of the review explores literature on father-mother relationships and how these relationships affect father-child involvement. Section nine reviews literature on men and women’s childhood experiences with their fathers and how these influence men’s experiences and women’s expectations of fathering. The summary of the review is provided in section ten.

2.2. A conceptual orientation to fatherhood

Fatherhood is a fairly recent research area. The term ‘father’ comes from the Latin word ‘*pater*’ which means a male parent, or a person who takes responsibility for protecting, caring, and rearing a child (International Encyclopedia of Marriage and Family, 2003). Until the 1960s there were very few studies conducted on fatherhood (Lamb et al., 1985; Nsamenang, 1987; Rabe, 2006), with most research in the 1960s focusing on the deficit model of fatherhood, documenting father-absence and its adverse consequences on children and mothers (Lamb, 1986; Morrell et

al., 2003). From the 1980s there has been an escalation of international research on fathering and fatherhood, coming to the conclusion that fathers are an important and unique psychological, social and material resource for children and families (Lamb, 1986; Nsamenang, 1987; Rabe, 2006; Richter & Morrell, 2006). Besides the growing academic focus on fatherhood in South Africa, there has also been advocacy work on fatherhood by organisations such as the Sonke Gender Justice Network, which promote positive fatherhood role modelling.

2.2.1. Diverse nature of fatherhood

Fatherhood is not universal nor static but rather dynamic and interactive (Lamb, 1997; Mkhize, 2004), and needs to be understood in context and over time (Richter et al., 2011). Just as norms and practices change, so do perceptions, experiences and expectations of fatherhood. Sociological and historical studies on fatherhood clearly state that beyond insemination, fathering is “fundamentally a social construction”, with each cohort shaping its own conception of fatherhood (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998, p. 278). As such, contextual and socio-cultural variables are of pre-eminence in understanding fathering and fatherhood in South Africa.

Hauari and Hollingworth (2009) note that fatherhood is influenced by cultural background while Palkovitz (2002) and Day and Lamb (2003) argue that fathering roles are influenced by men’s personal qualities such as his personality, health, educational level, parenting style, child’s gender and his beliefs about being a father. Other literature on fatherhood acknowledges the importance of the structure of the family, including marriage, paternity, co-residence, father’s relationship with his own father, and quality of father-mother relationship, in influencing the roles of fathers (Hauari & Hollingworth, 2009; Makusha et al., 2012; Richter et al., 2011; Richter et al., 2012).

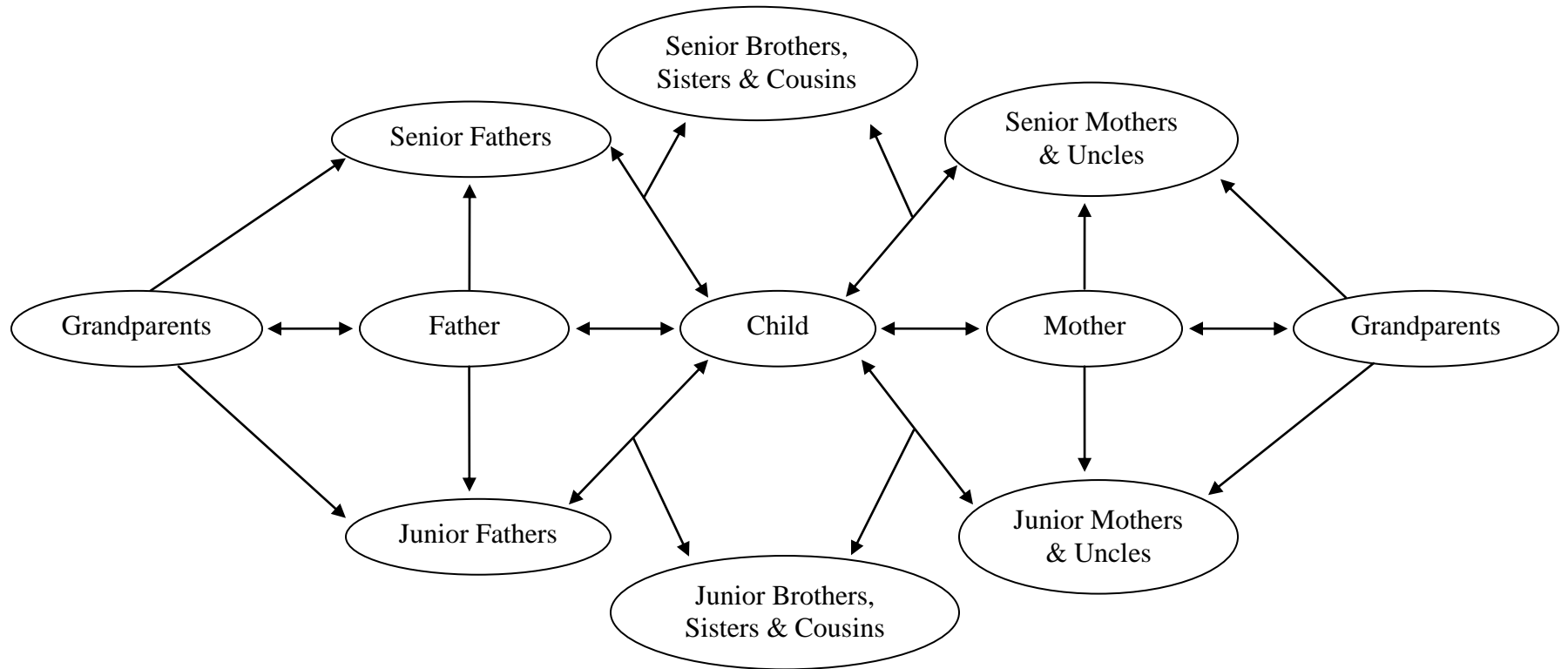
Roggman and colleagues (2002) argue that these various determinants of fatherhood present an opportunity to move beyond the traditional view of a ‘father’ as biological, co-resident with the child, and married to the mother of the child and, instead, to use a broader typology that captures most fathering roles. Such an approach to fatherhood is based on a combination of residence and biology: biological resident fathers, biological non-resident fathers, resident social fathers and non-resident social fathers. It takes into account the various individual and contextual considerations that influence fathering and fatherhood.

2.3. Fatherhood in African families

Fatherhood in the sub-Saharan African context is a collective responsibility in keeping with traditionally extensive patterns of family formation and kinship network that seeks to meet the needs of children (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012; Hunter, 2006; Mkhize, 2006). In such families, which include men, children are exposed to multiple adult figures who may participate in childrearing to a greater or lesser extent (Chirwa, 2002; Mkhize, 2004; Nsamenang, 1989; Verhoef, 2005). When biological fathers are unable to meet the needs of children, their own fathers, brothers or maternal uncles step in and assist (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010). Families in Africa represent concentric circles of an individual's social surroundings and are an important source of strength and support during times of need and crisis (Mathambo & Gibbs, 2009).

A fundamental characteristic of African family systems is the strong emotional ties that bind members together and promote sharing and mutual dependence. These bonds include not only biologic family of origin, but also extended family ties, which may include cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents, related kin and clan members, close friends, and neighbours (Chirwa, 2002; Verhoef, 2005). Figure 1 is a characterization of family structure in Malawi by Chirwa (2002, p. 99), which is typical of most African families in southern Africa.

Figure 1: Characterization of a southern African family



Adapted from (Chirwa, 2002, p. 99)

2.4. History of fatherhood in South Africa

Fatherhood in South Africa has been shaped by the country's complex social, historical, political and economic processes, including the socially disorganizing and discriminating effects of *Apartheid* (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010). Hunter (2006) argues that in the pre-colonial and early colonial era, African men were seen to be successful by the amount of agricultural labour that they controlled. A man who fathered many children tended to be a respected household head as he was able to draw on his large family for labour thereby increasing agricultural output. Fathering was centered on men's ability to build a homestead through marriage, having children and continuing the patrilineal lineage through a male heir (Hunter, 2006). With fathering and fatherhood also came *inhlonipo* (respect), where men who had fathered a child or were supporting children were held in high regard in their family and community.

However, with the advent of *Apartheid* – which strengthened the economic and political power of the ruling white minority and enforced racial segregation through oppressive laws, these constructions of fatherhood shifted (Mathews, Jewkes, & Abrahams, 2011). Morrell & Richter (2006) contend that in the *Apartheid* era, different experiences of work fundamentally shaped what was possible for African, Coloured, Indian and White fathers¹. *Apartheid* affected and continues to influence African fathers and patterns of fatherhood in South Africa. Many African men are fathers in households where some or all of the children may be neither their biological offspring nor co-resident (Chikovore, Richter, & Makusha, 2013).

This scenario arises from various factors, including historical dynamics around *Apartheid* legislation and volatile resistance to it. Families, relationships and family connections have also been disrupted due to the migrant labour system which separated reproduction and production (Burawoy, 1976). Townsend and colleagues (2006) argue that although the Pass Laws, which were introduced by the *Apartheid* regime to control the location and movement of Black South Africans, were eradicated in 1986 and independence in 1994 removed the last vestiges of formal legal segregation, the separation of opportunities for earning an income from the sites of family

¹ These are all Apartheid appellations. None are “neutral” adjectives.

life has remained a prominent and distinguishing feature of life for many South Africans (Spiegel & Mehlwana, 1997).

Lesejane (2006) highlights how economic and land dispossession, and the introduction of government taxes on African people made it difficult for fathers to provide for their families and forced them to seek work on farms and in towns. Policies of racial separation restricted African people to 'Bantustans' or 'Homelands' – which were remote, rural and impoverished (Mathews et al., 2011). This disempowerment led to men, who were only allowed to migrate from their Bantustans for the sake of labour, to leave their homes to work on annual labour contracts in mines, factories and commercial farms. These men left their wives and children at home, only to return during Christmas holidays or when their contracts expired (Townsend et al., 2006).

In the study conducted by Rabe (2006) on the conceptualization of fatherhood among mineworkers, the men, who lived in bare and demeaning single sex hostels, all saw economic support for children as being core to what it meant to be a 'good father', and stated that they only undertook dangerous work underground so they could support their children. During this period, fatherhood was enacted within the constraints of paid employment (Henwood & Procter, 2003). Labour migration became the main cause of the low rate of co-residence between fathers and their children in South Africa, as the financial muscle power of fathers became exclusively important in determining and measuring "good" fathers (Kaufman, Maharaj, & Richter, 1998; Lesejane, 2006).

Employed fathers who provided financially for their families were held in high regard because men came to be judged only on their ability to provide (Lesejane, 2006). During this period, some migrant fathers were portrayed as responsible because they would send remittances to support the homestead and make occasional visits back home (Hunter, 2006). However, other migrant fathers were labeled as irresponsible because they did not send money back home and/or had relationships and children with other women in town, while abandoning and neglecting their children from previous unions (Townsend et al., 2006).

The men who left their homesteads in search of work became what has been termed 'shadowy' heads of households, who were 'symbolically important' but with 'little actual importance in children's lives' (Roy, 2008, p. 99). Later, women also sought work away from the rural

homestead, with children remaining in the care of older relatives or siblings. Many households functioned as ‘stretched’ residential units (Spiegel, Watson, & Wilkinson, 1996, p. 11-12), with family members ‘dispersed’ between different households for reasons of work, care, support and housing. These patterns have become entrenched and continue to influence contemporary domestic and labour environments in South Africa even after independence and democracy.

The advent of democracy in South Africa has witnessed the introduction of father-friendly policies and programmes by government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The South African constitution provides for modest paternity leave and acknowledges the need to increase this in order to facilitate greater involvement of men in children’s lives. By law, South African fathers are currently entitled to three days paid family responsibility leave (Human Sciences Research Council, 2006). NGOs like Sonke Gender Justice (www.genderjustice.org.za) advocate for male involvement in HIV prevention, reproductive health and stamping out of gender-based violence.

The introduction of policies and programmes promoting involved fatherhood has led to some African men embracing what is referred to as ‘new fatherhood’. These fathers now practice direct child care work, spend more quality time with their children, attend their children’s school functions and provide financially for their children and families. However, while this scenario might be taking place in middle-class African families, it has not been possible for most poor African fathers and children because “the spatial separation of employment and family has remained a fact of life for many South Africans” (Madhavan et al., 2008). There are still a large number of children in low socio-economic contexts that do not co-reside nor receive financial support from their fathers, because their fathers have moved to look for work, take employment somewhere, and for a variety of other reasons (Madhavan, Gross, Richter, Norris, & Hosegood, 2012).

2.5. The importance of biological fatherhood in South Africa

Despite the fact that many children grow up in the care and support of multiple adults, biological fatherhood in the African setting remains very important as it has cultural, as well as social and personal significance (Nsamenang, 1987, p. 285). In South Africa, like in other African societies, married biological fathers provide a child with the ‘family or clan name’ and this represents a

significant source of social capital and status for their children as it links them to resources and other people in the communities in which they live (Madhavan & Roy, 2011; Morrell, 2006). Madhavan and Roy (2011) highlight that biological fatherhood is very important in transmitting cultural values to children and promotes identity development, because children and families identify with the biological father even when he is absent from the household.

Traditionally, fatherhood in Africa was defined by the powerful role accorded to men and fathers as acknowledged heads of households, based on a patriarchal system (Morrell, 2006; Richter et al., 2011). The biological father was seen as an authoritative figure that was consulted on important household decisions even in his absence (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007). He was viewed as a provider of economic and emotional support, who brought the family together and assumed leadership (Richter et al., 2011). Women's primary roles, particularly in the rural areas, were largely to satisfy their husbands sexually, cook for them, bear children and work the fields. Women also reared, educated and trained children in religious and cultural traditions, while taking care of the household (Richter et al., 2011).

In South Africa, this is well validated by the symbolic attachment between a married man and his homestead even when he spends most of his time away from home; such a man is usually referred to as 'the father of the house' (Hunter, 2006). Despite long spells of absence from the household, the man is still viewed as the one in charge of the household. To show the significance of paternal links for children, Ramphele (2002) highlights how boys who did not know their fathers would rather run away from home to avoid the deep shame that came from not knowing their father's name when they went for initiation. Zwang and Garenne (2008) concur with Ramphele and emphasize that, in the Shangaan culture, children who are born outside wedlock are highly stigmatized and often referred to as '*goyas*' (wild cats) (p. 104). These children suffer social vilification as they are seen as intruders that do not belong in the formal family.

Despite all the positive things that men do for children in families, fathers are not always an asset to households. Levels of substance abuse among South African men, as well as neglect of and violence towards female partners and children is unacceptably high (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2011). Notwithstanding the fact that female-headed households are invariably worse

off in resource terms than male-headed households, female heads are much more likely to invest in children's well-being, including health and education. Some fathers neglect their obligation to support their children financially (Lloyd & Blanc, 1996). Also, in recent grim testimony of the destructive role of fathers, McIntosh Polela (2012) describes how his father murdered his mother and then turned his back on him and his sister (at the time aged 3 and 5 years old). The story, set in KwaZulu-Natal in the 1980s, is an account of heartlessness and indifference to the welfare of children as well as a callous disregard for legal obligations of care (Richter et al., 2012).

2.6. Non co-resident biological fathers in South Africa

Previous studies in the American and European contexts highlight that co-resident fathers are more likely to be available to their children, engage with them, be responsible for them and provide support and protection than non co-resident fathers (Lamb et al., 1985; Masciadrelli, Pleck, & Stueve, 2006). Also father-child involvement, particularly by biological fathers who reside with their children, has been linked to positive child and adolescent outcomes, including school achievement, behaviour, and adjustment (Carlson & McLanahan, 2004). However, the benefits that children get from non co-resident biological father involvement have not been systematically evaluated. Most studies on non co-resident father involvement have focused on the frequency of father-child contact, despite the evidence that it is the quality of the relationship, not the frequency of contact that determines the impact of the father-child relationship (Carlson, 2006).

South Africa has one of the highest rates of father absence in Africa, after Namibia (Posel & Devey, 2006), with only about a third of preschool children co-residing with their fathers (Statistics South Africa, 2011), partly because of violence, abandonment, AIDS-related paternal deaths and poverty (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010). However, given the scenario of extended family relations, having children living apart from fathers, especially due to migrant labour does not automatically mean that the children are being neglected, that the men are irresponsible, nor does it equate to a break in social connectedness between a father and child (Makusha et al., 2012). Father's physical location and child involvement are two separate dimensions of father connection to his children (Madhavan et al., 2008). In South Africa, like in many other countries, some non co-resident fathers can make substantial contributions to families and children, as well

as to children who are not biologically their own, through remittances, social visits and telephone contact (Makusha et al., 2012).

Rabe's (2007) interviews with South African male mineworkers, including men who are separated from their children, suggest that men highly value their status as fathers. They express deep affection for their children and often endure extreme hardship in work and through separation from their families in order to be able to provide financial support for their children. Rabe (2006) records how one mine worker said "I found myself bound to work for a contractor although it pays so little because I could not face my children and tell them I had no job, and that is why I could not provide them with clothing and food." (p. 262).

Although images of fathers as caring and loving people exist (Mkhize, 2006), deep shame and alienation is experienced by men who can't secure employment and are unable to support their families (Ramphela & Richter, 2006; Wilson, 2006). Makusha, Richter & Chikovore (in press, 2013) argue that due to high poverty and unemployment, many South African men suffer damage to their sense of identity, masculinity, self-esteem and confidence to act as fathers to their children because they are not able to provide financial support to their children and families. Morrell (2006) concurs when he states that 'providing' is a deeply entrenched part of masculine identity and being unable to command financial and material resources undermines men's involvement in families, both practically and psychologically. Poor men may try to avoid criticism by distancing themselves from their children (Hunter, 2006).

Cultural norms, such as *lobola*, compounded by family dispersal and economic insecurity frequently contribute to the social and residential separation of biological fathers from their children (Townsend et al., 2006). The majority of young children born to unmarried parents live with their mothers, often in extended households headed by maternal kin (Russell, 2003). Such living arrangements pertain until the parents can conclude the inter-family marriage negotiations and afford a wedding. Evidence from South Africa suggests that employment status and income now largely discriminate between men who are able to get married and co-reside with their children and those who are not able to marry and co-reside with their children (Desmond & Desmond, 2006). Employed men in higher earning categories are several times more likely to be

living with their wives and children than men in the lowest income category or those who are unemployed (Desmond & Desmond, 2006).

On the one extreme are some non-resident fathers are not involved in their children's lives, and have no connection with their children at all; on the other, we have non-resident fathers who are very involved, frequently contacting and providing financial support to their children. When analyzing non-resident father-child relationships, it is also vital to consider how far apart the father and child live from each other. Fathers who live in the same community with their child are likely to have more physical contact with them than those fathers living far away from where their children reside (Makusha et al., 2012).

Shared father-child household membership even when they do not reside together is also important to consider when analyzing non co-resident father-child relationships. When a father and child share household membership, it is expected to contribute to an increase in father-child involvement. Father-child household membership implies that the father acknowledges paternity and is recognized by other family members as the child's father. This acknowledgement reinforces the father-child relationship and promotes a father's sense of responsibility to the child (Hosegood, McGrath, & Moultrie, 2009).

2.7. Social fathers in South Africa

While it is universally acknowledged that biological father-child involvement is very important, research and data on fatherhood should not be restricted only to them. Throughout Africa, there is recognition that the person fulfilling the role of father may not always be the child's biological father. The African context raises the relevance of the concept of a 'social father' – which is an ascribed, as opposed to an attained status for maternal and paternal uncles, grandfathers, older brothers and mothers' partners who singly or collectively provide for children's livelihood and education, and give them paternal love and guidance (Desmond & Desmond, 2006; Mkhize, 2006; Montgomery, Hosegood, Busza, & Timæus, 2006; Rabe, 2007; Richter et al., 2010).

In South Africa, a man may father children that he may never reside with, or he may marry and reside with a woman and support the woman's children fathered by another man, while supporting his brothers' and sisters' children in different households, thereby providing father care and support for children who may not be his biological offspring (Hosegood & Madhavan,

2010; Mkhize, 2004). Hunter (2006) highlights the importance of other male relatives in children's lives in South Africa when he notes that some children and adults refer to children's uncles (father's younger brother (*ubaba omncane*) or older brother (*ubaba omkhulu*)) as the child's father. Children in the southern African context also refer to their mother's sisters as 'junior mother' (*umama omncane*) or 'senior mother' (*umama omkhulu*) depending on whether they are younger or older than the biological mother (Chirwa, 2002). In this regard, Richter and Morrell (2008) argue that "the African notion of father, then, is a man who enacts the responsibility of caring for and protecting a child" (p. 152).

Mkhize (2006) argues that this means that even when the child's biological parents are alive and co-resident in a household, the child may also have other men and women he or she refers to as 'father' and 'mother' (a child may have more than one father and mother). This characterization of a family denotes kinship, long-term commitment and security (Mathambo & Gibbs, 2009). In this context, even where there have been shifts from the traditional co-resident extended families to nuclear families, relatives continue to maintain close ties among each other in the extended family system (Hunter, 2006; Morrell, 2006), and may jointly make decisions regarding where and how members live, what families prioritize and put resources to, and how they deal with major life events such as marriage, child-birth and naming, and death (Chikovore et al., 2013). Richter and colleagues (2011) argue that this interdependence of relatives is fostered through marriage, collaboration in social and economic activities and mutual dependencies between working adults who send home remittances and recipient households who care for children, the aged and other dependents.

In the Zimbabwean culture, like some traditions in South Africa, this is observed when a husband dies. The wife and children are supposed to be inherited by the husband's younger brother in a practice called 'wife inheritance' (*kugara nhaka*) (Drew, Foster, & Chitima, 1996). A practice called *kumutsa mapfihwa* (literally meaning restoring hearth stones) also takes place when a wife dies and the younger sister is asked to marry the deceased sister's husband (Drew, Foster & Chitima, 1996). However, it should be noted that the practice of these traditions is fading away with modernization and the HIV and AIDS epidemic.

2.8. The influence of father-mother relationship on father-child involvement

Literature on father-mother relationship and its impact on father-child involvement is largely from Western contexts. Tach, Mincy and Edin (2010, p. 181) note that: “Fatherhood has traditionally been viewed as part of a ‘package deal’ in which a father’s relationship with his child is contingent on his relationship with the mother”. Father-mother relationships play critical roles in creating and sustaining men’s relationships with their children and families (McBride et al., 2005; Rane & McBride, 2000). Father-child involvement appears also to be influenced by mother’s perceptions of fatherhood (Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2001), depending on whether or not the father is co-resident and has a good relationship with the child’s mother (Fagan & Barnett, 2003). Therefore, mothers have an important role to play in advancing fathering goals (Marsiglio, 1995). If the father-mother relationship is good, this usually enables father-child involvement.

However, mothers also play a gatekeeping role when it comes to father-child relationships (Doherty et al., 1998), especially when parents are divorced, separated or there is parental conflict. Changes in father-mother relationships are significant ‘turning points’ in the involvement of men in their families. While fathers may appear to withdraw support to their children when they are not getting along with the mothers (Hawkins, Amato, & King, 2007), mothers may also restrict father-child involvement because of the anger they might feel towards the father (Braver & Griffin, 2000; Fagan & Barnett, 2003). Mothers may also limit father-child involvement because they do not see any benefit of the child’s father on their child’s well-being (Braver & Griffin, 2000).

Father-child involvement is not only influenced by the father-mother relationship in the form of marriage or father-mother co-residence, but also by the quality of father-mother relationship. A study conducted by Fagan and Barnett (2003) showed that father’s residential status contributed little to the degree of father-child involvement. A non co-resident father who has a good relationship with the mother of his child is bound to provide more support to his child as compared to a co-resident father who does not have a good relationship with the mother of his child. Therefore, the quality of the father-mother relationship rather than legal and residential status most affects men’s roles in supporting children (Makusha et al., 2012).

2.9. Retrospective understanding of fatherhood and its influences on fathering

Despite an increasing literature on fatherhood, there have been very few studies that have focused on retrospective perceptions of fathering (Dalton, Frick-Horbury, & Kitzmann, 2006; Finley & Schwartz, 2004; Guzzo, 2011; Krampe, 2009; Krampe & Newton, 2006; Krampe & Newton, 2012), with no studies published using data from an African context. Retrospective understanding of fatherhood is defined as adults' reflections on their relationships with their fathers when they were growing up. North American studies that explore retrospective perceptions of fathering argue that adults' (both men and women) experiences and expectations of fathering are usually influenced by their relationships and experiences with their own fathers (Guzzo, 2011; Lamb, 1997; Pleck, 1997). Doherty and colleagues (1998) argue that "a father's relationship with his own father may be a factor – either through identifying with his father or compensating for his father's lapses – in contributing to his own role identification, sense of commitment, and self-efficacy as a father" (p. 288).

These views are underpinned by the modelling hypothesis which holds that men who experienced involved fathers when they were growing up tend to see involvement in their children's lives as important and natural, and that men who had less involved fathers usually have less favourable attitudes towards fatherhood (Forste, Bartkowski, & Jackson, 2009). The modelling hypothesis is based on theories of socialization and social learning, which emphasize that an individual's attitudes and behaviours are learned from and modelled upon behaviours of key people in their life (Thorn & Gilbert, 1998). In this regard, children's socialization is influenced by the attitudes and behaviours of their fathers, highlighting that when male children are older, they use their experiences with their fathers as a 'mental model' to influence their own attitudes towards parenting (Nicholson, Howard, & Borkowski, 2008) and this acts as a template for their relationship with their children. Consistent with the modelling hypothesis, attachment literature indicates how father-child involvement impacts the parenting practices of the next generation (Belsky, 1999; Bowlby, 1988).

In contrast, the compensatory hypothesis suggests that men who have adverse experiences with their fathers are likely to avoid recreating that experience for their own children by acting differently from their fathers (Daly, 1993; Townsend, 2002b). Lindegger (2006) shows how

grown men who never knew their fathers, or who experienced violence, neglect or abuse at the hands of their fathers, tend to be quiet, secretive or communicate deep sadness and emotional distress about their experience. They also express longing to have had a father or a better father than they had, and to be themselves better fathers to their children. Beaton and Doherty (2007) acknowledge the importance of both the modelling and the compensatory hypotheses in understanding how men's experience with their own fathers influences men's attitudes and behaviours towards fathering.

In addition to men either modelling or compensating for their own experiences with their fathers, Krampe & Newton (2012) argue that women's attitudes towards their partners' fathering roles are influenced by their experiences with their fathers. Most available literature on women's experiences with their fathers centres on paternal bonds, with very little research focusing on women's childhood experience of their fathers and how this influences their expectations of their children's fathers. Yet, women's expectations of their children's fathers and attitudes towards fathering have an effect on the mother-father-child relationship (Tamis-LeMonda & Cabrera, 1999). Women's expectations of fathering are largely influenced by socio-cultural factors (expressed expectations) and influenced by family of origin (enacted expectations). In both forms, women's expectations of fathering are influenced by historical experience. However, all the studies on retrospective understanding of fatherhood have been conducted amongst North American groups (Beaton & Doherty, 2007; Beaton, Doherty, & Rueter, 2003; Dalton et al., 2006; Finley & Schwartz, 2004; Floyd & Morman, 2000; Guzzo, 2011; Krampe, 2009; Krampe & Newton, 2006; 2012), and the results cannot be generalized to other populations of fathers, particularly to those within the African context (Beaton & Doherty, 2007).

Moreover, focusing mainly on the North American context, current literature on intergenerational linkages between men and women and their fathers has largely ignored the potential influence of social fathers (father-figures) on men's present experiences as fathers and women's expectations of fathering. Grandfathers, uncles, older and younger brothers, and women's current male partners are the most common social fathers. In the South African context, like in other African countries, having a non co-resident biological father does not necessarily mean that children grow up without a male father-figure present in a household or a father-figure that is influential in their lives (Mkhize, 2006; Richter et al., 2011). Children frequently grow up

in families with men who act as social fathers (Makusha et al., 2012). These social fathers may provide various kinds of support that have the potential to impact on the child's well-being by offering some forms of fathering, especially when biological fathers are either not present or are a negative influence. It is therefore important to consider how a social father, in the absence of a biological father, influences men's fathering experiences and women's expectations of fathering.

Also, in the African context, having a non co-resident biological father does not automatically mean that children are abandoned by their biological father, that the man is negligent, nor does it necessarily equate to a break in social connectedness between a father and child (Makusha et al., 2012). The majority of non-co-resident fathers still play a significant role in their children's lives (Nsamenang, 2000). Studies in South Africa have found that fathers who are non co-resident with their children due to labour migration or delayed marriage were as likely to provide support to their children as co-resident fathers (Bock & Johnson, 2002; Madhavan et al., 2008). It is thus also important to understand more about the relationship non-co-resident fathers have with their children.

2.10. Summary of review

Research with African fathers, where available, has been predominantly focused on their financial roles, reinforcing widely-held stereotypes of a familial structure where the father is either absent, barely engaged, or uninvolved and invisible (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010; Smith, Krohn, Chu, & Best, 2005). However, recent research has begun to move away from the traditional deficit model of fathering and fatherhood. Current literature shows that regardless of socio-economic status and age, African fathers show interest in their own children and those who are not biologically theirs, and are nurturing and sensitive to their needs (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010; Mkhize, 2004; Montgomery et al., 2006). The review also emphasizes that in South Africa, despite widespread poverty and unemployment, many men desire to be good fathers – but fall short because of a lack of access to resources to marry, establish a homestead and support their children (Morrell & Jewkes, 2011). This thesis builds on fatherhood work in South Africa and Africa at large by focusing on the various determinants of father involvement and children, women and men's experiences of support children receive from men in KwaZulu-Natal.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

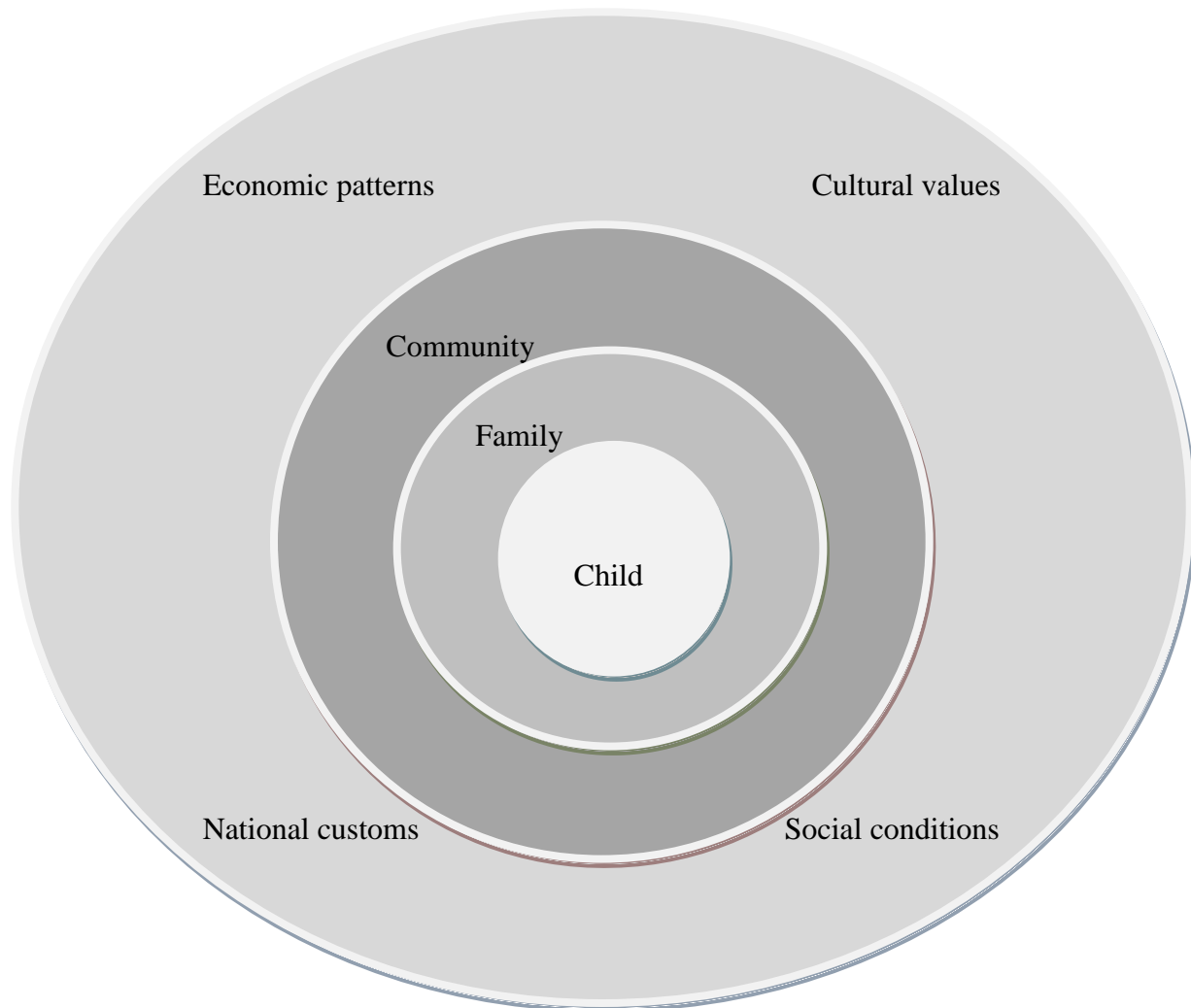
Chapter one introduced the study, specifically focusing on its main aims and the importance of conducting research to establish the different factors that impact on fatherhood and the roles that men play in supporting children in families. The second chapter reviewed relevant literature on the various determinants of father involvement and the role of men in supporting children in Africa and specifically South Africa. Hosegood & Madhavan (2012) highlight that the South African context for fathers and families presents many challenges for empirical data collection relevant to other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, particularly measuring father-child involvement among non-resident biological fathers and social fathers regardless of residence status. This chapter explores three conceptual frameworks in an attempt to better understand and conceptualize various dimensions of fatherhood, and the extent to which maternal, family and contextual factors influence fatherhood in South Africa, and particularly in KwaZulu-Natal.

In developing a conceptual framework to guide future research on fatherhood in South Africa, this study uses the following conceptual models: 1) Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model of child development; 2) Doherty, Kouneski and Erickson's (1998) influences on fatherhood conceptual model; and 3) Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine's (1985) three dimensional model of father involvement.

3.2. Bronfenbrenner's ecological model

Although not a model directly linked to fathering research, the ecological model provides a background on the essential components for child development. This study utilizes the ecological model of child development to examine various family, child and contextual factors that influence men's involvement in children's lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of child development



Source: Adapted from Bronfenbrenner (1979)

The ecological model explains how the support, involvement, guidance and structure of the society in which children live impacts on their development and competencies. Child development always occurs in a specific eco-culture, defined in part by geography, cultural history and social and cultural systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 2005; Nsamenang & Lamb, 1995). Children do not grow up in a vacuum. They are actively shaped by the social worlds in which they live. A child's personality, interests and activities are neither attributes of an isolated individual nor imposed by the environment, but are firmly located in the interactions between a child and the network of these social relationships to which each child belongs.

The ecological model of child development focuses on the ways in which individuals interact with their environment to affect development – such as the dynamic relationships between fathers and their children, father-mother relationships and how other micro- and macro-systems influence fatherhood (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). It also takes into consideration the characteristics of the father – his personality, background, beliefs and attitude towards supporting children, characteristics of the child such as age and gender and the context in which fathering takes place (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). For example, men’s employment status may affect their fatherhood roles.

Fatherhood is also affected by community and cultural networks of an ecological system. The widest level of this ecological model, the macro-system, represents overriding cultural beliefs and values in any particular society that affect how a father is engaged with his children and family. These connections between father, family and the broader community, and child outcomes resulting from these interactions, are reinforced, repeated and realized over the life course as a child grows into adulthood (Ball & Moselle, 2007).

In conclusion, the ecological model of child development should not be seen to be portraying a set of linear and deterministic influences on fatherhood but depicting a dynamic set of processes operating through proximal influences such as individual, family, and distal influences such as cultural, social and economic processes.

3.3. Influences on fathering conceptual model

This study also adapted the influences on fathering conceptual model proposed by Doherty, Kouneski & Erickson (1998). This model intends to be inclusive of fathering practices regardless of relationship status and residency of the father and transcends the “dyadic focus of much traditional child development theory by emphasizing first the child-father-mother triad and then larger systems influences” (Doherty et al., 1998, p. 285) (see Figure 3).

Like the ecological model of child development, this model takes into consideration individual factors affecting fatherhood, such as paternity, child’s gender, the mother’s attitudes towards fatherhood, mother-father relationship factors, and the broader contextual environment that

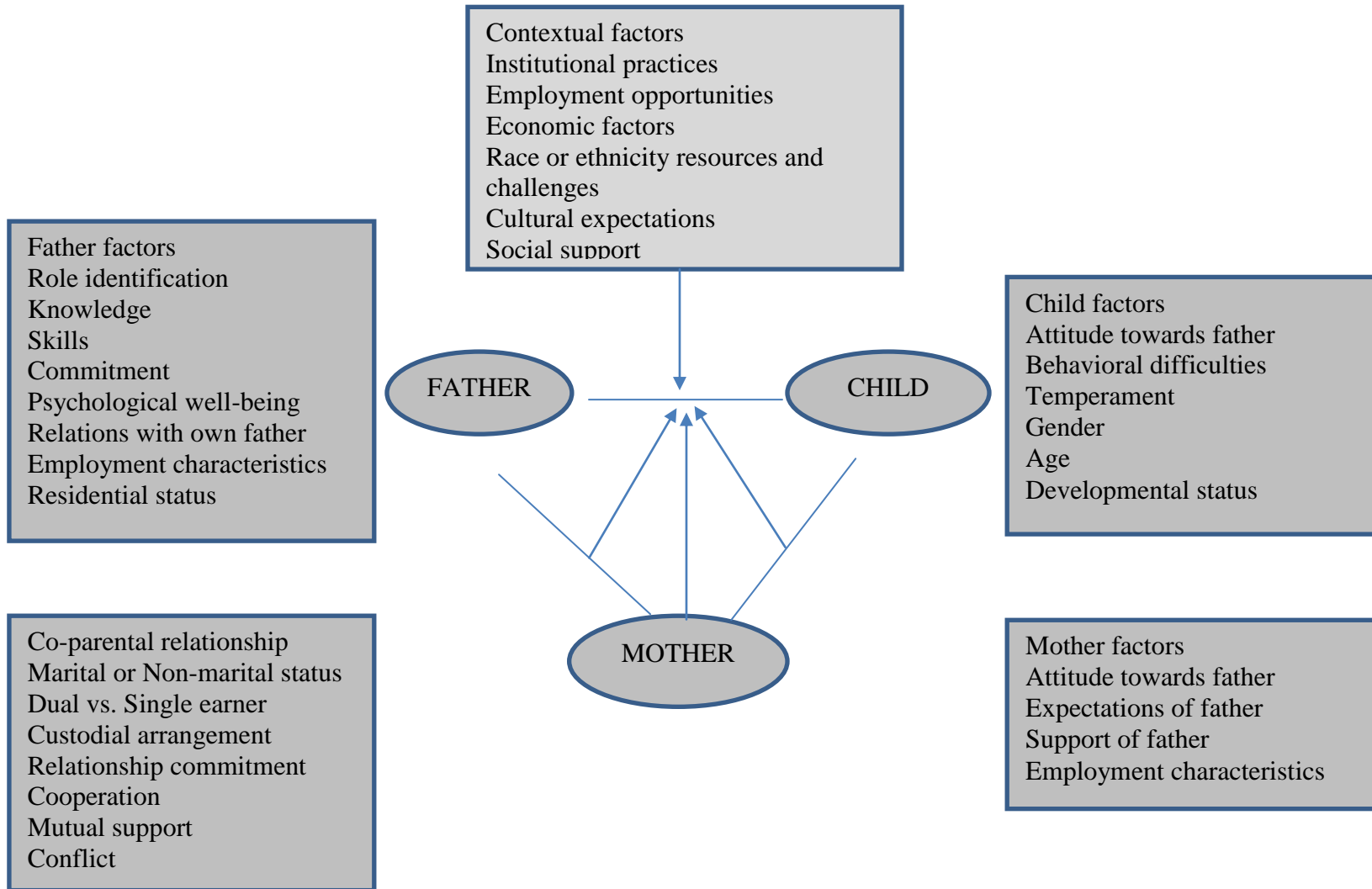
influences fathering (Doherty et al., 1998). This thesis moves a step further to consider paternal survival status and determines whether the child's biological father is alive or deceased. Child, mother, father and contextual factors which are used to examine the causes of father-child co-residency or non co-residency, determine non co-resident father-child contact and financial support, and explore the role of other men in supporting children in households are discussed in the next sections.

3.3.1. Father factor: Identity of the father

Fatherhood is an integral element in the construction of masculinity. Hunter (2006) emphasizes the importance of paternity and fathering in men's identity in South Africa. The mere fact of having a child is sometimes used to claim the status of manhood. However, fatherhood goes beyond men's biological contribution to conception, and includes the responsibility to provide, to be involved and to protect both the child and the child's mother. In South Africa, as in most African countries, fatherhood also extends to a network of other close social relationships.

Despite the marital or relationship and residential status of parents, most children will be acknowledged by their biological father and paternal kin (Preston-Whyte, 1993; Russell, 2003). The child's biological father – if he acknowledges paternity – is also important to a child in that a child carries the father's clan name which represents a sense of identity, membership and belonging to the wider extended family. It is therefore important to know whether the father and the child are biologically related or have an acknowledged social relationship (social father).

Figure 3: Influences of fathering conceptual framework



Source: Doherty, Kouneski & Erickson, 1998, p. 285

Biological fatherhood refers to a man who procreated the child, while a social father is a man who acknowledges the child and is seen by other people as the child's father. This distinction provides insights into fatherhood by exploring the different circumstances under which men fulfill the different roles of fatherhood; that is, it acknowledges biological fatherhood and accepts social fatherhood roles (Rabe, 2006). Social fathers may relate to children in lieu of or along with biological fathers, although the influence of extended kin can sometimes be contentious (Madhavan et al., 2012).

This distinction between biological and social fathers also provides a number of motivational issues relevant to understanding fatherhood and father involvement. For example, it is important to establish the reason why a father is involved in a child's life. Is it because these men (a) are the children's biological fathers and therefore feel obligated to look after the children, (b) the men are not biological fathers but enjoy the experience of being involved in children's lives, (c) are the men are doing it to strengthen their relationship with their romantic partners, (d) the men see their involvement as a way of future investment as the children will reciprocate in their later years by looking after them, (e) men feel proud when they reap the benefits of social status associated with their involvement role in children's lives, or (f) men are motivated to have children and be involved with them because such connection is related to healthy adult development? All these motivational questions highlight that while some qualitative studies show that men are more likely to want to be involved with children if they share a biological connection (Marsiglio & Cohan, 1999), some men provide support and are involved with children regardless of their biological ties (Marsiglio et al., 2000).

3.3.2. The economic role of the father

Fathers' financial and material support is an important dimension of father involvement in a child's life (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012; Hunter, 2006; Madhavan & Townsend, 2007). Traditionally, in many African settings, men's main role was to represent their families in public matters (Epprecht, 2007). However, in South Africa, the *Apartheid* era, which required Africans to pay certain levies in monetary terms, negatively impacted on men's roles as family representatives and protectors. The migrant labour system literally took men away from their families to the urban, farming and mining areas, making it difficult for fathers to be available to

care for and nurture their children (van Onselen, 1976). Men became absent breadwinners, while women became children's primary caregivers and nurturers. Men came to be judged as good fathers only on their ability to provide and this created an association between fatherhood and breadwinner.

In a study conducted in South Africa, Spiegel and Mehlwana (1997) show how fathers who were in stable relationships perceived themselves as worthless if they were not able to send money to their families. Also, other studies in the country highlight that wives and children will be angry towards fathers who are not able or willing to provide for the family's economic needs (Campbell, 1994). These studies show that when men are unable to provide money, food, accommodation, school fees, health care, and the little things that bring joy to children, their sense of themselves as fathers, and as men, is severely challenged (Makusha et al., in press, 2013).

A study conducted in the Mpophomeni area in KwaZulu-Natal on the long effects of unemployment reported parental depression and family disruption, with one participant stating; *"If you are not working you are not a genuine father. You are a father because you work. My children do not love me as they used to. I sometimes get angry with my wife when she asks me whether I am searching for a job. I have lost my status as the man of the house"* (Mkhize, 2006, p. 185). This statement shows that the absence or inadequacy of men's financial support for children is a common source of conflict within and between families, leading to an increase in domestic violence. This is made worse if fatherhood is linked to the provider role only, because if a father loses their income, they may also lose this singular attachment (provider) with their children (Connell, 1995).

Having said this, it is important to note that the economic role of the father is very difficult (if not impossible) to fulfill for men who are unemployed or those employed but earning too little to sustain their families (Morrell, 2006). On-going changes in modern societies have also witnessed the increased participation of females in both the formal and informal labour market and related gender shifts (Chikovore et al., 2013). In this context, some women have assumed the provider roles in households where their male partners are unemployed.

3.3.3. Residential status of the father

The growing diversity of father-child residency patterns has raised a new awareness about fathers' roles (Marsiglio, 1995; Marsiglio, Day & Lamb, 2000), as well as the recognition that an increasing proportion of all children do not live with their biological fathers (Makusha et al., 2012; Richter et al., 2010). In South Africa, where more than half of the children do not co-reside with their fathers, social fatherhood is commonly practiced and important for men and families (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012; Mkhize, 2004).

A large number of men co-reside with children who are not biologically related to them due to a number of factors including cultural practices that promote collective involvement of the extended family in looking after children; dual forces of migration, separation, divorce and re-partnering; related changes in social and residential arrangements, and the high rate of paternal deaths due to the HIV epidemic and other causes of early male mortality (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012; Hunter, 2006; Mkhize, 2006).

However, for those children whose non co-resident biological fathers are still alive, some do maintain contact with their biological fathers even when they co-reside with their social fathers. This situation provides children an opportunity to have relationships with both their biological and social fathers. To emphasize this point, Day (1998) argues that fatherhood takes place within intricate social relationships. He states that: "A man may begin as a biological, in-home father but then have to change that role to out-of-home, distant father, then alter the father role again as he becomes a stepfather while yet maintaining contact with his original birth children" (Day, 1998, p. 15).

Father's residential status is also seen to be a weak proxy for father-child involvement because it does not measure the quality of relationship resident or non co-resident fathers have with children. For example, a child may co-reside with a biological father who is emotionally distant and not engaged at all, while another child may have a very emotionally involved non co-resident biological father. Co-residence therefore does not mean involved, while non co-residence does not necessarily translate into non-involvement.

3.3.4. *Individual father factors*

A couple of individual characteristics of a father such as role identification, skills, motivation and commitment to fathering play an important role in determining the father-child relationship (Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Doherty et al., 1998). The influences on fathering conceptual model highlights that contextual and mother factors impact on men's fathering roles. However, by focusing more on the contextual and mother influences, there is a risk of leaving out an individual's initiative and self-determination.

It is important to acknowledge that fathers are not a homogeneous group but are diverse and their individual characteristics play an important role in influencing fatherhood. For example, a father living with his family in a highly patriarchal, rural community where men usually do not engage with their children might actually be very involved in his children's lives because he wants to, therefore breaking away from commonly held values and norms in his context. Individual fathers play a crucial role in appropriating or discarding cultural and contextual values (Doherty et al., 1998). Also, strong fatherhood commitment, knowledge, skills and motivation are important in promoting positive fatherhood and overcome negative maternal, co-parental and contextual influences (Doherty et al., 1998; Lamb, 1987).

Fathers' childhood experiences with their own fathers also impact on their attitudes and behaviour towards fathering. Fathers may identify and model their experiences with their own fathers (Doherty et al., 1998; Forste et al., 2009) or they may compensate for their father's lapses, in manifesting their own role identification, sense of commitment and self-efficacy (Daly, 1993; Guzzo, 2011; Lamb, 1997; Pleck, 1997; Townsend, 2002b). Fathers' involvement may also be influenced by men's interpretations of other men's fathering behaviours in a specific social context (Marsiglio et al., 2000). In many cases, most men aspire to be better fathers than their own fathers.

Father's psychological well-being, age, and employment status also play an important role in determining father-child relationship. Previous studies have indicated that there is a positive relationship between fathers' psychological well-being and father-child involvement (Pleck, 1997). Some literature on father's age at birth of child indicates that men who have children at a young age may be involved at the time of birth but are not emotionally or financially ready to

take on the responsibilities of fathering and, therefore, are more likely to disengage than older fathers (Danziger & Radin, 1990). However, research in South Africa among teenage fathers in Cape Town concluded that some of the young fathers were highly engaged or wanted very much to be engaged with their children (Swartz & Bhana, 2009).

3.3.5. Co-parental relationship

Previous studies have indicated that the quality of father-child relations, regardless of marital status of the parents, is highly correlated with the quality of father-mother relationship (Belsky & Volling, 1987; Cox, Owen, Lewis & Henderson, 1989). Doherty and colleagues (1998) argue that fathering is largely influenced by father-mother relationship because the “standards and expectations of fathering appear to be more variable than those of mothering” (p. 286). The quality of father-mother relationship rather than the father-mother legal or residential status is more important to father-child involvement. Parents may not reside together but have a good relationship which positively influences father-child relationship. On the other hand, some parents may be married and co-habiting but do not have a good relationship which might negatively impact on the father-child relationship.

3.3.6. Mother factors

The role of the mother is very important in determining father-child involvement. Mothers do act as both partners and gatekeepers in the father-child relationship, regardless of marital status (Doherty et al., 1998). For the reason that cultural and societal expectations place women in mothering roles, it is not uncommon that involved fatherhood might threaten some women’s identity as active parents, forcing women to act as gatekeepers. Also, young mothers, especially those with minimal educational attainment, may not possess the skills to manage father-child relationships effectively.

Whatever way one looks at it, mothers influence father-child involvement, including through the expectations they have of fathering. Mothers’ own childhood relationship with their fathers influence their expectations of fathering. These childhood experiences influence women to expect their current partners and fathers of their children to either be better fathers than their own fathers or to be like their fathers, if their fathers were involved men.

3.3.7. Contextual factors

Contextual and structural factors are important in determining father-mother-child relationship because the socio-cultural context affects them individually and the quality of relationships they have (Doherty et al., 1998).

3.3.8. Economic and employment opportunities

The high unemployment rate among Africans in South Africa means that the majority of African males are unable to assume the socio-cultural responsibility associated with fatherhood (Mkhize, 2006). Poverty and lack of employment opportunities in a community, coupled with the socio-cultural tendency to define fatherhood primarily in terms of ability to provide economically for one's family have a negative impact on fatherhood as this robs many men of the opportunity to be more involved in their children's lives (Hunter, 2006; Mkhize, 2006). Also, because of poverty and high unemployment, many South African men suffer damage to their sense of identity, masculinity, self-esteem and confidence to act as fathers to their children. The effects may be made worse when women take over the role of being the family breadwinner, resulting in the men harbouring feelings of envy, resentment and failure. This is made even worse when community development programmes target women to the deliberate exclusion of men (Makusha et al., in press, 2013).

3.3.9. Socio-cultural expectations

While previous studies have focused on social and cultural determinants of fatherhood (Bozett & Hanson, 1991), they tend to position culture as an external influence on fathers rather than viewing fatherhood itself as a socio-cultural process (Barclay & Lupton, 1999; Mkhize, 2004; 2006). However, studies in southern Africa show that fatherhood does not take place in a vacuum, but is a socio-cultural process informed by the dominant discourses of what it means to be a man in one's society according to its own time and conditions (Mkhize, 2006). Fatherhood is intertwined with the social production and reproduction of masculinities and men's practices.

Fathers as patriarchs in southern African societies have long been respected figures, who had an ascribed status rather than an achieved one and were viewed as symbols and guardians of ultimate power and responsibility in the family and in the community (Lesejane, 2006). In

keeping with traditions that view good fathers as providers and protectors of the family and communities, societal expectations emphasize the spirit of communalism (*botho/ubuntu*), which is characterised by the commitment to the common good (Chikovore et al., 2013; Mkhize, 2006; Roy, 2008). This is in line with the communal view of the self and the family, a characteristic of African societies, which contrasts sharply with the dominant view of the self and the family in some Western and European contexts (Mkhize, 2006).

It is within this broader socio-cultural context that men's relationships with children and their children's mothers and the responsibilities associated with these relationships are examined. Traditionally, in the Zulu context, a man did not become a father only by having biologically fathered a child. Children belonged to a broader family network regardless of their biological connection to adults in the extended family (Mkhize, 2004). The advantages of this collective fatherhood are not only financial but also the enhancement of the child's social capital. These collective interactions promote the child's emotional, cognitive, educational and social development (Day, 1998).

In the Sotho, Shangaan and Xhosa cultures in South Africa, boys were prepared for fatherhood by taking them through an initiation process which prepared them to be men and fathers (Lesejane, 2006). A man who did not attend or go through the initiation process was always regarded as a boy and not allowed the responsibilities and privileges of manhood, regardless of his age. Upon marriage, a man would inherit some assets from his father and get land from the broader clan to plough and farm so that he could provide for his family.

However, in modern African societies, unemployed men may struggle to raise money to perform cultural expectations such as the payment of *lobola* which in turn may act as a barrier to father-mother-child co-habitation (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010; Richter et al., 2010). A father who cannot afford to pay *lobola* may not be able to co-reside with his child regardless of the relationship he has with the mother of the child. Children born out of marriage often reside with their mothers and maternal family. Unlike unemployed men, men who are employed and earn well are more likely to be married and co-resident with their children, be present and involved in their children's lives than men who are unemployed (Desmond & Desmond, 2006).

3.3.10. Child factors

While earlier research on father-child involvement indicated that it is easier for fathers to be more involved with their sons than their daughters, especially their older sons (Doherty et al., 1998; Marsiglio, 1991), current literature has noted that children's gender does not seem to influence the level of father involvement in large representative samples of non co-resident fathers (Coley & Hernandez, 2006). Children's expectations and beliefs about their fathers also influence fathering experiences and behaviour. When fathers know that their children hold them in high regard, they may be bound to live up to those expectations by being good fathers and role models for their children. However, other child factors, such as child's age, appear to influence mothers as much as they influence fathers (Doherty et al., 1998).

In conclusion, the influences on fathering conceptual model discussed various child, mother, father and contextual factors which are used to examine the determinants of father involvement in children's lives. This section highlighted that fatherhood is dynamic and influenced by a range of factors that are important for father involvement in one way or the other. The next section discusses the three dimensional model of father involvement and its relevance to the South African context.

3.4. The three dimensional model of father involvement

Not much research in South Africa has collected information on father involvement, with descriptions of father involvement in South Africa mainly based on women and children's accounts of their biological father's survival status and if they are alive, where they reside with them and how often they have contact with them (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012). Beyond survival status and residence information, data on father involvement in South Africa is rarely and inconsistently collected.

This study adapted the conceptual framework advanced by Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1985). This is a three dimensional model of father involvement (also known as the tripartite typology of father involvement), which explores the role of men in supporting children. These three dimensions include: *engagement*, also known in some studies as *interaction*, which measures the extent to which men experience direct contact and shared interactions with children

in the context of caretaking, play, or other activities that positively impact on a child's confidence and adaptability to meet challenges (Lamb, 1995, p. 23).

Contemporary studies have gone a step further in conceptualizing father-child engagement beyond the amount of time fathers devote to their children to include the quality of engagement – warmth, support, decision making, and monitoring (Marsiglio, Day, & Lamb, 2000; Pleck, 2007). Marsiglio et al. (2000, p. 279) note that “How much time fathers devote to their child...does not always reflect depth of fathers' involvement or motivation”. Measuring engagement using time is also problematic because non co-resident fathers are restricted in their opportunities to nurture and care for their children (Marsiglio et al., 2000). This is especially true in the South African context where more than half of the children do not live in the same household with their fathers. However, even when fathers do not co-reside with their children, some fathers do spend quality time with their children as and when they have the opportunity. Also, in situations where fathers do not live in the same households with their children, some of them might spend less time on playing with their children, but may be very involved in making important decisions about how a child should spend their leisure time, by paying for the child to go to school trips and other leisure places.

Secondly, *availability*, which is also referred to in some texts as *accessibility*, measures men's presence or accessibility to the child, looking specifically at the time that the father is potentially available for interaction whether or not direct interaction takes place. According to LaRossa (1988, p. 452), this is a less intense degree of interaction. However, measuring biological father's accessibility to his child in a South African context is difficult due to high levels of circular labour migration, non-marital childbirth, and high separation and divorce rates which affect father-child co-residence (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010). Nonetheless, research in rural South Africa has shown that non co-resident biological fathers who belong to the same household with their children are more likely to be available for their children than non co-resident biological fathers who do not belong in the same household as their children (Madhavan et al., 2008).

Lastly, *paternal responsibility* measures the extent to which men arrange, provide and are accountable for personal, social and economic resources available for the child's well-being and care, including organizing and planning children's activities and responding proactively to their

needs (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Lamb, & Boller, 1999; Lamb et al., 1985). Responsibility also entails being aware of the child's physical, cognitive, emotional and social needs as well as implementing strategies to address these, such as taking care of the child when he or she is ill (LaRossa, 1988). While these dimensions of paternal responsibility are clear, most surveys focus on financial responsibilities of the father, without defining whether the father is a biological or social father and without providing information on the father-child residence (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012). Also, many studies tend to ask questions about engagement and responsibility with the child in relation to the person providing the largest contribution or the person who is primarily responsible for the child. This information will not be collected of the father unless he holds these roles (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012), and therefore leaving out the other various kinds of roles that fathers play in their children's lives.

This three dimensional model of father involvement benefits fatherhood research in that it provides greater consistency and facilitates comparability across studies on fathering and fatherhood (Bronte-Tinkew, Moore, & Cabrera, 2001). The tripartite typology of father involvement, which has a strong behavioural component, compliments the ecological and the influences on fatherhood conceptual models, which focus on both individual and external factors influencing fatherhood. However, with regards to the South African context, the three dimensional model of father involvement is limited as it focuses mainly on co-resident biological fathering, yet it is well-known that most children do not live in the same households with their biological fathers and social fathers and other relatives play an important role in supporting children (Madhavan et al., 2012; Mkhize, 2006).

3.5. Concluding remarks

This study empirically determines how fatherhood is defined, and interpersonally constructed as a biological and social status and role-making process in KwaZulu-Natal. The three conceptual models that are used in this thesis highlight that fatherhood is dynamic, fluid, contextually embedded, relative, multifaceted and complex. These frameworks are essential in studying the various determinants of father involvement and the role of men in supporting children in South Africa because they render the behaviours and beliefs of children, fathers and mothers as interdependent on each other in a web of personal, relational, and community influences. In

order to advance broader conceptualizations of fatherhood, paternal involvement and improve understanding of its implications for children and families, there is need to update knowledge of the diverse views of fatherhood that children, women and men themselves may hold.

This study appreciates that fatherhood is a social construction. Therefore, in seeking to develop a greater understanding of the various determinants of father involvement and the roles of men in supporting children in KwaZulu-Natal, as well as identifying points of possible interventions, this study utilizes concepts of fatherhood and families in their socio-structural and cultural contexts. These factors play an important role in shaping the context within which fatherhood takes place. For example, the limited availability or lack of job opportunities within a poor rural community in KwaZulu-Natal has negative economic implications for fatherhood by men, many of whom have low levels of education, lack of work experience and limited skills to search for competitive employment opportunities. The negative impact of these socio-structural problems on fatherhood is made worse by cultural norms which require men to pay *lobola* and play a provider role in families. Poor fathers may feel inadequate about their inability to financially provide for their children and families and therefore abandon them to minimize their sense of inadequacy.

In summary, this chapter provided a discussion of the different conceptualizations of fatherhood. The current study is of value as it captures the nature and meaning of fatherhood by examining the distinction between biological and social fatherhood and the various influences and motivations that make men assume fathering roles. The following chapter presents the quantitative and qualitative research methodologies used in collecting and analyzing data for this study.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This thesis explores the various determinants of father involvement and children, women and men's experiences of support children receive from men in the context of poverty in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. This chapter outlines the methodology designed and implemented in order to address the overarching aim and objectives of this thesis. The chapter is divided into three sections. Section one provides the methodological basis for the research design and in section two, the quantitative research design and methods are outlined in detail. Section three of this chapter presents the qualitative research design and methods.

4.2. Methodological basis for the research design

Current approaches to the measurement of father involvement are limited. This study seeks to address several of these limitations by including a variety of novel methodological approaches.

4.2.1. *Triangulation of methods*

Most studies on fathering and fatherhood used either qualitative or quantitative methods, with a few using both. In order to have a comprehensive understanding of the support children receive in families and specifically from men, a triangulation of methods is used. A triangulation of methods, also known as mixed methods research, involves the joint use of quantitative and qualitative styles of research and data in the examination of a social phenomenon (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This approach is regarded as an effective research method as the limitations of using either method alone are compensated for by the counter-balancing strengths of the other approach (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Triangulation not only provides an explanation for the same phenomenon from multiple perspectives, but also enriches understanding as it permits the emergence of new and deeper dimensions (Jick, 1979).

As a result of the need to measure the various determinants of father involvement and contextualize the support children are receiving from men in families, SIZE secondary data on the number of households with and without men, the number of men present in households, what their roles are, and their relationships to the focal child is analysed and for those who are absent,

the data probes the reasons for absence. This data also provides an overview of the household demographics in the area studied. Then, the qualitative (primary) data collected by the author, is used to contextualize the support children receive from men in families as reported by children, women and men and explore women and men's childhood experiences with their fathers and how this has influenced men's experiences and women's expectations of fathering.

The combination of quantitative and qualitative data and methods in these studies compensate for the limitations of using either method. For instance, sole reliance on the SIZE data would not have yielded enough information on the specific kind of support men provide to children in families. Likewise, the sole reliance on the qualitative data would have given information about the support children are receiving from men (and their households) in the study area without the benefit of background information at the aggregate level of the community.

4.2.2. Triangulation of data

Studies of fathers' involvement have frequently questioned the validity of men's self-reports, women's appraisals and children's reports of men's involvement. Measurement of men's involvement in this study improves methodologies in that data were collected from children, mothers and fathers on how they perceive fatherhood. To understand fathering and fatherhood, it is critical to obtain the perspectives of multiple individuals belonging to a family network. Women often provide basic demographic information about fathers but may not be able to report on the topics they do not observe, such as the amount of time a non co-resident father spends with his child when the child visits him (Bronte-Tinkew et al., 2001). Also, women's perceptions may be slanted by the quality of their relationship with the child's father or the expectations of fathering the mother brings to parenthood. On the other hand, men may better provide information (while there is a possibility that they may inflate their involvement in children's lives) on the roles they play in supporting children while children can also provide information on what men do for them in families from their perspective.

Theoretical and empirical research on parenting, mothering, fathering and childrearing tends to neglect the perspectives and agency of children. This decreases children's visibility in research and debate articulating their realities, suffering, the impact of different interventions on their lives and their resilience (Kisoon, Caesar, & Jithoo, 2002). Children tend to be seen as immature,

volatile, over-emotional, needy and helplessly dependent. In contrast, the new sociology of childhood emphasizes children's voices and perspectives. Attention to the perspectives of both children and adults, and a more relational understanding of the role of men in supporting children, can help bridge this gap.

Theoretical perspectives from the new sociology of childhood were also used in this study because children are active participants in the construction of meaning of their experiences and are valuable co-constructors in the research process (Christensen & James, 2008). Their perspectives are relevant to this study because children are not simply passive recipients dependent on adults, but are competent social actors who make sense of and actively contribute to their social contexts (Prout, 2005). The implication is that children have the competence to understand, reflect and comment on issues and events in their lives. While the emerging sociology of childhood conceives of children as social actors, who can be understood in their own right, and therefore as subjects rather than 'objects' of research (Richter & Smith, 2006), very little research on support for children has tapped into children's views of fathers (Bhana, 2007a, 2007b, 2008). The choice of sociology of childhood theory aims at shifting the emphasis from research on children to research with children.

Sullivan (2000), in his review of literature about "old" and "new-style" fathering and changes in conceptions of masculinity, states that "what is missing are the voices of children themselves. It is one thing for present-day adults to reflect back on what things were like when they were children, but to understand father-child relationships today, we need to also hear the views of those who are now children themselves" (p. 6). Understanding the role of men in supporting children in the context of poverty in KwaZulu-Natal, and how these are experienced by the children themselves, is also crucial to developing effective interventions to improve support for children and their families.

In this study, to maximize the validity and reliability of data being collected, data were collected using structured and in-depth interviews with the focal child, female caregiver and the father-figure.

4.2.3. Adults' retrospective and present day children's reflections on male involvement

Besides focusing on present day adults' retrospective reflections on their experiences of male involvement as children, this study focuses on what present day children say about their current relationship with men they regard as their fathers. Retrospective reflections by adults on their perceptions of men's involvement measure long-term impact that men have on children. Understanding the role of men in supporting children, and how these are experienced by children today, brings another perspective and is crucial to improving understanding and developing effective interventions to improve support for children.

4.2.4. Child-specific and generic fathering

Drawing on the distinction made between shared and non-shared environmental influences in behavioural genetics (Plomin, 1989), different children of the same father receive both a shared component of paternal influence and a non-shared, unique component. Because men differ in the behaviours and activities they engage in with different children and children's specific needs vary by their developmental stage, gender and unique personality characteristics, a focal child describes child-specific fathering while also taking into account generic fathering (for men who are involved in supporting more than one child). The study explores the extent to which child-specific and generic fathering can be empirically distinguished and investigates how their predictors and consequences vary.

4.2.5. Contextual considerations in understanding men's involvement

The scholarship of fatherhood has been criticised for its generalization of findings from middle class, European-American men to other cultural groups. This study is cognisant that men's involvement should be carefully evaluated to adequately recognize the structural and cultural context affecting father involvement. The study focuses on a sample of participants in low-income families in a South African context with high HIV prevalence. South Africa has one of the highest levels of HIV prevalence in the world (UNAIDS, 2011). According to the UNAIDS' (2011) estimates, the number of people living with HIV in South Africa was between 5.3 and 5.9 million. In 2010, KwaZulu Natal had an HIV prevalence rate of 39.5 percent among antenatal clinic attendees (Department of Health, 2011). This figure was the highest in the country.

This high HIV prevalence in KwaZulu-Natal is accompanied by severe structural violence, including poverty, and massive social and economic stress, with large numbers of mainly Black people living in areas of heightened risk (Shisana et al., 2005). In this context children are exposed to extensive vulnerability and adversity. HIV and AIDS can render children vulnerable in a multitude of ways, including placing them at increased risk of experiencing negative life events, exposing them to increased poverty, losing their parent and other significant adults, dropping out of school and being excluded from other social networks and processes in order for them to provide care for sick adults (Richter, Foster, & Sherr, 2006).

Poverty inhibits poorer men from being involved in the lives of their children. Social structural factors and cultural values and norms are interrelated and play an important role in shaping the macro- and micro- context within which men experience aspects of their paternity and alter their lifestyle in response to being a father. For example, the availability of jobs for men, most of whom have low levels of education, little work experience and limited skills, in combination with cultural norms regarding father's provider role responsibilities, have profound implications for fathers, their partners and children. Poorer men may become residentially separated from their children because they have not yet paid *lobola*, or due to their need to migrate for work and, when doing so, being unable to afford the extra costs of having their partners and children join them (Case & Wilson, 2000). Households function as 'stretched' residential units, with family members 'dispersed' between different households for reasons of work, care, support and housing (Ramphela, 1993; Spiegel, 1987).

4.2.6. *Children's connections to men*

The study explores children's varied connections to men in their lives, namely, residential connection – they reside in the same physical household; household connection – the man and child are members of the same household but do not reside in the same place, and social connection – the child and the man are neither co-resident nor members of the same household but have an acknowledged relationship.

In conclusion, this section discussed how the current approaches that measure father involvement are limited. It also provided several solutions to these limitations by including a variety of novel

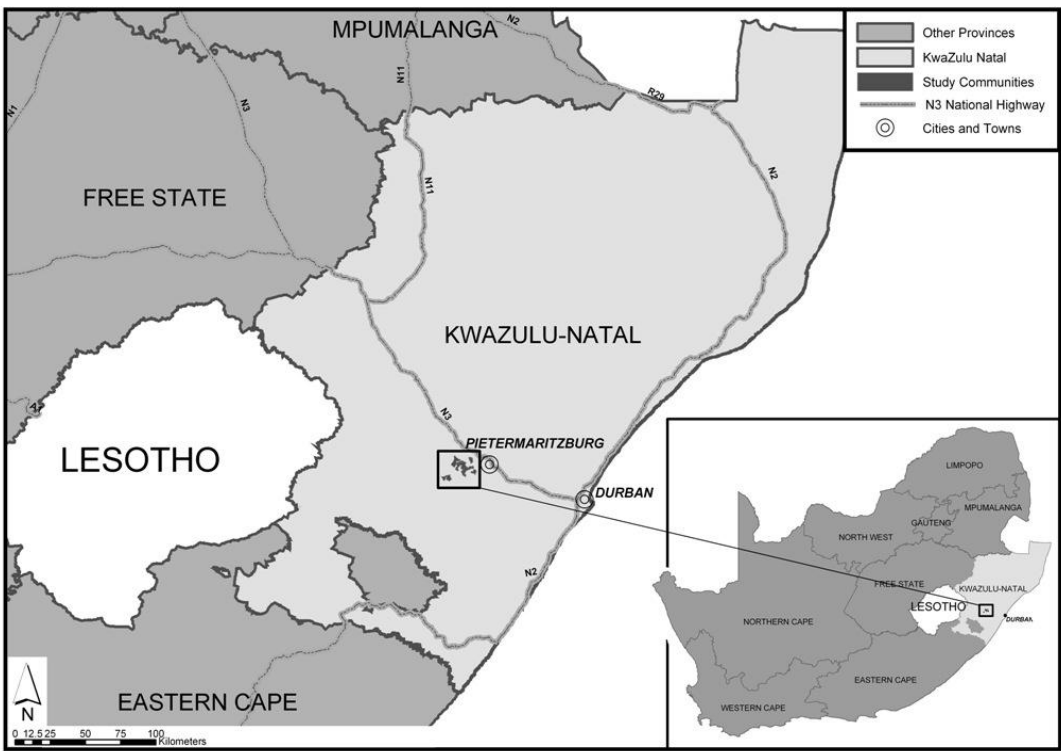
methodological approaches that this study utilizes. The next section focuses on quantitative research design and methods.

4.3. Quantitative research design and methods

4.3.1. Study site for both quantitative and qualitative research

This study is situated in the Msunduzi municipality in KwaZulu-Natal, an area characterized by high rates of household poverty, parental illness and death. Msunduzi is located along the N3, a major north/south highway that bisects KwaZulu-Natal at the junction of an industrial corridor from Durban to Pietermaritzburg and an agro-industrial corridor stretching from Pietermaritzburg to Escourt. Pietermaritzburg is the capital of KwaZulu-Natal, the second largest urban centre within KwaZulu-Natal, and it is the main economic hub within the Umgungundlovu District Municipality (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Map showing the location of Msunduzi



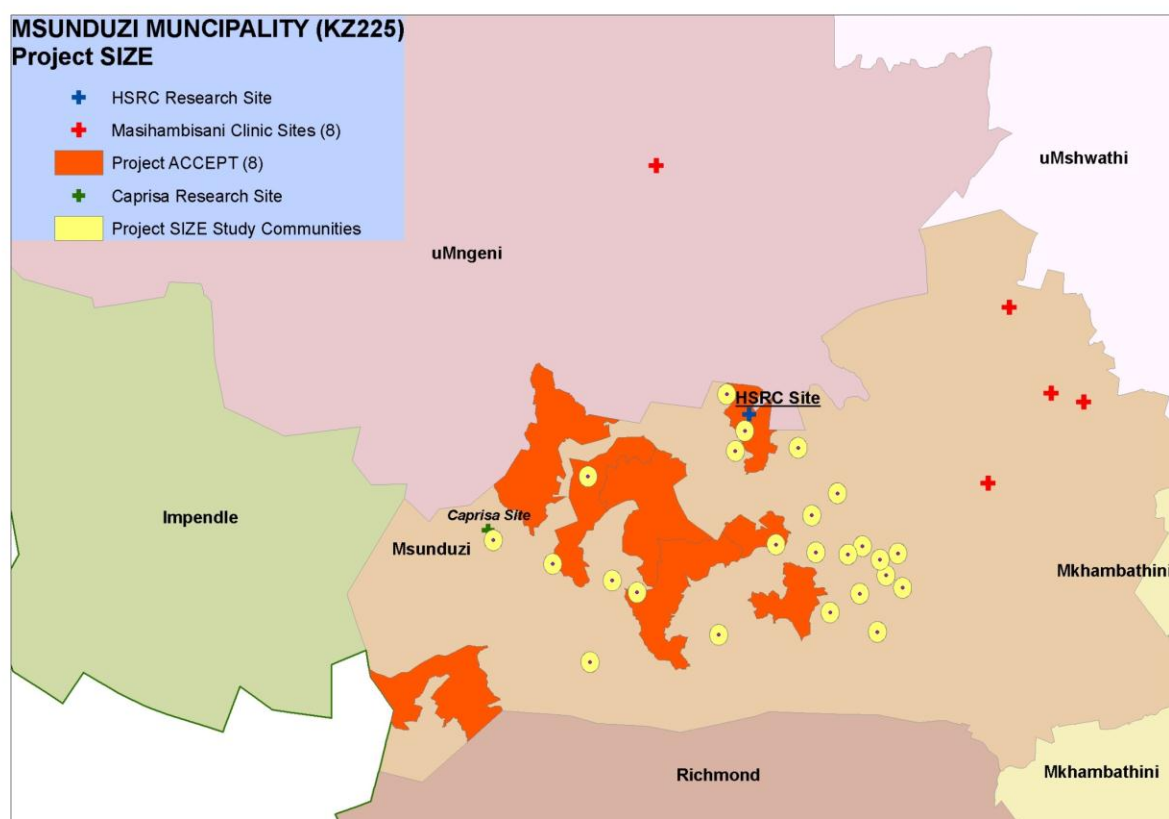
The distribution of the municipality's population of 616 730 individuals is virtually identical to the national distribution, with 49 to 50 percent living in urban areas, 26 to 28 percent living in

tribal areas and 19 to 23 percent living in informal/sparse settlements (Msunduzi Municipality, 2011; Statistics South Africa, 2007). The 2011 Census identified 134 390 household dwellings in this area. Poverty levels are high, with 21 percent of households reporting no income per month (Msunduzi Municipality, 2011; Statistics South Africa, 2007). In all areas, over 95 percent of the low-income population is Zulu, and thus the research sample is confined to this population (Msunduzi Municipality, 2011).

4.3.2. Study context: *Sibhekelela izingane zethu project (SIZE)*

SIZE is a community-representative, repeated measures study of 1961 households and children in 24 randomly selected school communities (12 rural and 12 urban) in the Msunduzi municipality (KZ225) (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Map of Msunduzi municipality where Project SIZE is situated



The term ‘school-community’ is used to refer to the geographical area estimated to be a school’s catchment area, from which the sample of households for the study was drawn. SIZE is being

undertaken by a team of researchers at the HSRC in South Africa, New York University (NYU) in the USA and collaborators locally and internationally, and includes government officials and representatives of civil society organizations as part of the advisory board. SIZE aims to provide answers to critical policy relevant questions related to how families can be supported by the state, civil society organizations and the communities to better respond to children's needs under conditions of poverty and HIV and AIDS.

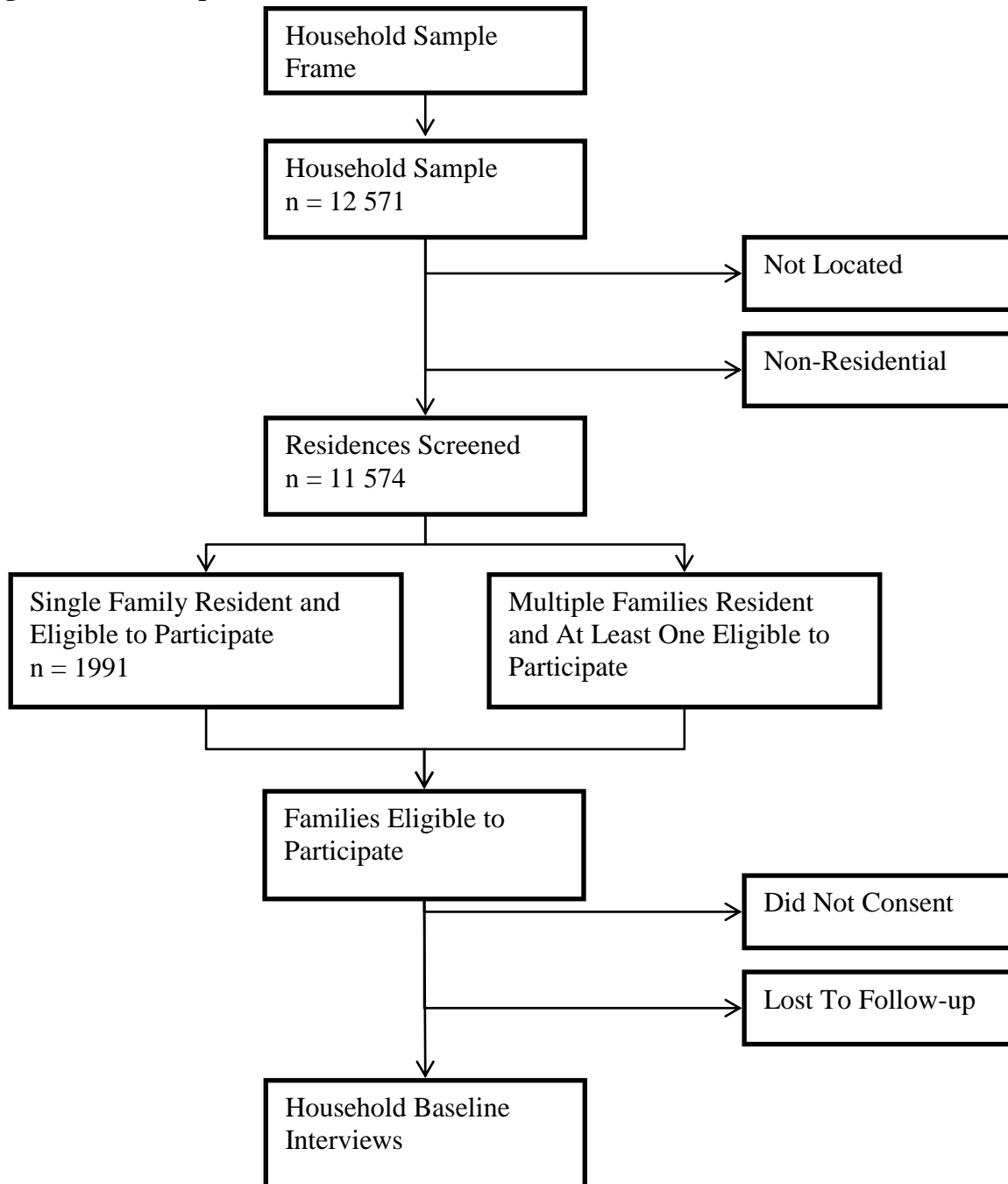
4.3.3. *Sampling*

Prior to the start of data collection, a community-entry process in which education, health and social welfare authorities, traditional and political leaders, school principals other community leaders were approached and informed of the study was used to ensure buy-in from community members and collect basic information regarding school and community boundaries and characteristics. Each community was selected based on the presence of a school serving 7-10-year-old children, and was demarcated using a combination of information about the school's catchment area, geographic boundaries identified by aerial maps, ethnographic mapping including transport routes to school, and interviews with school principals. The boundaries created from these sources of information were then merged with a physical 1km radius in rural and 500m radius in urban school communities to generate community boundaries. High resolution aerial mapping was used to identify and enumerate all potential visiting points (households) within each community.

Depending on visiting point density, one of three strategies was followed to enumerate households. In communities with more than 600 potential visiting points, twenty households were randomly selected from each community for use as cluster nodes, around each of which the nearest 30 households (including the cluster node) were selected. In communities with 450 to 599 potential visiting points, as many cluster nodes as would allow clusters of 30 visiting points per cluster were randomly chosen and then the nearest 30 households (including the cluster node) were selected. In communities with 450 or fewer visiting points, no cluster nodes were chosen (for logistics) and all visiting points were enumerated.

All selected households were screened for eligibility for the study. Eligible households were defined as those which served as primary residences for at least one child aged 7-10 years old. If more than one eligible child was found living in the household, a Kish grid method was used to randomly select one child as the focal child. This process was repeated until all selected visiting points in the school communities had been screened for eligibility (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: SIZE sample flow



4.3.4. Data collection

Following a consent process, the household head or representative of the household head was interviewed about the household and its members. Interviews were conducted in isiZulu by trained Zulu-speaking interviewers. A team of 8 interviewers was supervised in the field by a team coordinator who checked all submitted paper work and resolved any queries that arose in the field. Following another consent process, the primary caregivers of the 7-10-year-old focal child in each household were interviewed about themselves and the child. After consent was given by the primary caregiver and assent by the child, the focal child was interviewed. The child interviews and cognitive assessments were conducted either at the child's school or at the child's home after school and on school holidays.

All survey responses were recorded digitally on mobile phones. The commercially available *Mobenzi Researcher* mobile survey software and data management portal were used (www.clyral.com). *Mobenzi Researcher* is a Java 2 Micro Edition (J2Me) application and provides full survey functionality, including the ability to create various question types, mark fields as mandatory and intelligently manage survey branching.

Respondents were compensated for their time with a food parcel to the value of R30 (\$5 at the time of the study) at the initial household interview. The child was provided with a small packet of snacks during their interview and assessment.

4.3.5. SIZE quality control

In order to ensure data quality, the procedures adopted across communities enrolled in the study guaranteed that data were collected in a standardized manner, maintained in a secure and confidential way, and that the data collection procedures were implemented in a similar fashion across sites. Procedures related to quality control included developing a detailed protocol and using standard criteria for training, and supervising staff. Quality control also involved developing and implementing common measurements and assessment procedures.

Field checks were an essential quality control measure. Data collectors for all surveys were asked to carefully complete and review all work. The record of required actions on the cover sheet was critical for documenting all efforts to contact a household. Data collectors used these

sections to clearly indicate all steps taken, with dates, times and comments. Reasons for refusal were provided in as much detail as possible so that proper determination could be made about further contact, either by the data collector or team leader, to obtain cooperation.

Each data collector was responsible for entering accurate survey data and ensuring that every answer was appropriately recorded on a mobile phone using *Mobenzi Researcher* software. Automatic checks were programmed into the system to send e-mail alerts to the SIZE Project Manager and data staff. Data staff followed up by e-mail with the relevant fieldworker and made the relevant corrections in *Mobenzi Researcher*. This step was taken for every interview while still in the presence of the interviewee so that if any confusion arose about an answer to a specific question, the data collector could clarify it immediately with the respondent. Data collectors had to ensure that they adhered to instructions and skip patterns that were programmed automatically. Constructive feedback on performance was provided on an on-going basis in order to ensure that the data collected was of the highest quality. Team leaders observed some interviews for all data collectors at least once every two weeks. Video assessments were also conducted at random for review by the management team.

This thesis is limited to baseline data. Data was only analysed for households where all three participants (caregiver, focal child and household head or representative of the household head) took part in the survey (N = 1793 households out of the 1961 households in the total sample). The key factors of interest are father's residence and survival status, presence of other men in households, non co-resident father whereabouts, contact and financial support for focal child, co-resident social fathers' support to focal child, and SES. SES was measured by household asset ownership converted into wealth quintiles.

4.3.6. Quantitative data analysis

The data was analysed using *SPSS 20*, and addresses the following questions included in the SIZE household, caregiver and focal child questionnaires:

1. How do households with men differ from households without men present? In terms of:
 - Size
 - SES measured using the asset index
 - Access to water and electricity

2. What men are present and/or resident in households?
 - Households with men listed as members
 - Focal child's biological fathers' residential patterns
 - Characteristics of men in households (age, education, employment status, relationship to SIZE focal child)
 - Reasons for father absence
 - Role of other men (potential social fathers) in supporting children in households
3. Involvement of non co-resident biological fathers in children's lives?
 - Financial support for the child
 - Father-child contact

From these analyses, detailed determinants of father-child involvement are provided in Chapter 5. Information on these determinants is analysed through descriptive statistics and multinomial logistic regression analysis. The latter was used to test which characteristics (independent variables) are associated with the dependent (outcome) variables. The socio-economic and demographic information on households in the sample is used to test for association between the presence of a man in the household and household size, SES and access to services. In households with men, the socio-demographic data of individual men (all males aged 18 years old and above) is used to test whether there is an association between men's relationship with the focal child and their personal capacities such as age, educational level, employment and marital status.

4.3.7. Strengths of the quantitative data

SIZE baseline data provides a general picture of how many men are present in households, what their roles are, and their relationships with the focal child; also for those who are absent, the data probes the reasons for absence; father-child contact and financial involvement. Another strength that emanates from the baseline study is that it facilitated easy community entry and household trust for the qualitative study. The larger SIZE contact lists were used to contact primary respondents and to request their participation in the qualitative study.

4.3.8. *Limitation of the quantitative data*

One limitation of the quantitative (SIZE) data used in this study is that it is not a representative sample of the South African population. Therefore, generalizations about the role of men in supporting children cannot be made for the entire population of South Africa. Also, when probing deeper, questions on issues that were not anticipated were not included.

While quantitative data provides a general picture of the various determinants of father-child involvement, it does not provide in-depth accounts of the realities that influence the role of men in supporting children. Primary, in-depth qualitative data is therefore also used in this study to complement these quantitative data limitations. The following section describes the qualitative methods used in this thesis.

4.4. Qualitative research design and methods

4.4.1. *Research paradigm*

The qualitative study builds on the SIZE project and draws its methods from the interpretivist school, holding that reality is not objectively determined but is socially constructed (Husserl, 1965). The underlying assumption is that by placing people in their social contexts and requesting information of them in an open-ended way, there is greater opportunity to understand the perceptions they have of their own circumstances and activities (Hussey & Hussey, 1997). These considerations were significant for this study, as I was influenced by my personal experiences, culture and history in shaping the paradigm I held, and these added value to my study. In essence, this research paradigm is concerned with the uniqueness of a particular situation, contributing to the underlying pursuit of contextual depth (Myers, 1997). As indicated before, the qualitative study is complemented by quantitative research methods.

4.4.2. *Reflexivity*

In planning the research design, I took into account my personal life experiences. Having lived most of my life without being co-resident with my biological father, first due to his separation from my mother and more recently due to his death, I found myself comparing my living arrangement with the participants. While I observed many households with absent fathers, I

thought of my absent father during my childhood. My father was rarely available and accessible to me yet very responsible in terms of financially providing for my basic needs and the rest of my family. I thus wished to understand how involved and supportive current absent fathers are in their children's lives. My personal experience also made it possible for me to explore the father-child relationships of those focal children who had fathers present in their households. These personal experiences encouraged me to think creatively and avoid generalization when focusing on the role of men in supporting children. This process along with non-participant observation, made the process of data collection and analysis more reflexive.

4.4.3. Key questions

The first qualitative study set out to address the following questions:

- What are children's experiences of support they receive from men - their experiences and needs?
- How do men view and experience the support they provide to children?
- How do women view and experience the role of men in supporting this particular child and children in general?

The second qualitative study explored men and women's childhood experiences with their fathers and how they influenced men's experiences and women's expectations of fathering. Women compared their relationships with their fathers to those that the focal children had with their fathers, while men compared their childhood relationships with their fathers to their own experiences of fathering.

4.4.4. Interview schedules design

The qualitative data collection instruments (child, female caregiver and father-figure interview schedules) were designed in English, with semi-structured and open-ended questions. The design of the data collection instruments facilitated consideration of the nature of the issues, and how respondents might react to particular questions.

The interview schedules were then translated into isiZulu by a Zulu-speaking research assistant with relevant social research experience. After the translations of the instruments from English to isiZulu, six isiZulu speaking HSRC project staff back-translated the interviews guides into English in order to determine the quality of the original translation and to identify difficult

questions which required further consultation. Some questions needed to be simplified to help participants understand what they were being asked. For assistance with this, the multilingual researchers experienced in issues of translation and cross-cultural validity were invaluable. In order to facilitate the most effective possible use of the instruments, both the English and the isiZulu text were included in the final versions of the data collection material in order to allow the interviewer to cross-check between the languages.

The in-depth questions explore children’s varied relationships and interactions with men occurring through co-residence, household and social connection; the roles of men in providing and contributing to various forms of support for the children, and how these are influenced by fathers’ childhood experiences with their own fathers and women’s expectations of fathering (see Table 1: Measures used in qualitative data collection).

Table 1: Measures used in qualitative data collection

Measures		Who was asked
1	Demographic information	Child Female caregiver Father-figure
2	Support provided to the focal child	Child Female caregiver Father-figure
3	General fatherhood	Child Female caregiver Father-figure
4	Child-specific fathering	Child Female caregiver Father-figure
5	Father-figure – focal child relationship	Child Female caregiver Father-figure
6	Father-figure – focal child involvement	Child Female caregiver Father-figure
7	Childhood relationship with mother/mother-figure and its influences	Female caregiver Father-figure
8	Childhood relationship with father/father-figure and its influences	Female caregiver Father-figure

9	Childhood experiences and their influences	Female caregiver Father-figure
---	--	-----------------------------------

4.4.5 Sampling

For the purpose of qualitative in-depth interviews, one rural school community with 17 clusters (each having 30 visiting points) was purposively selected from 24 SIZE school communities (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Rural community selected with clusters selected for screening



This particular rural school community was selected because it is typical of all 12 rural communities in SIZE, and it was near the HSRC offices in Sweetwaters and therefore easy to access. In this rural community, SIZE enrolled 76 eligible households (with children aged between 7 and 10). Further specification of households was done by child's age (9-10 years). Children in the oldest age range of the SIZE baseline study were included in this qualitative study as it was expected that they would be more likely to be able to engage with the questions

posed than younger children. Of the 76 eligible households, 38 households had a focal child aged between 9 and 10 and therefore qualified to take part in this study. Of the 38 households which met the above criteria, 20 households (10 boys and 10 girls) were randomly selected to participate in the study.

4.4.6. Ethical issues

The SIZE protocol was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa and the New York University Institutional Review Board, United States of America. I also received ethical clearance to conduct the qualitative study as part of my PhD research from the University of KwaZulu-Natal Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Committee (Protocol Reference Number: HSS/0982/09D).

Internationally accepted ethical standards of conducting research were observed, which include getting written informed consent from adult female caregivers and father-figures, for their child's participation, as well as assent from children. The assent was to demonstrate that children had been briefed about and understood what the research involved and ensured anonymity and confidentiality of participant information. The form containing all the relevant information about the research was translated into Zulu and a copy given to all respondents. The information contained in the form was also discussed and explained in detail in Zulu before interviewing each respondent. Special attention was paid in preparing children for participation, protecting and respecting their rights, and ensuring their assent to procedures.

The participants were informed about a range of matters relating to the study, namely: the purpose of the study, how participants were selected, the identity and organizational affiliation of the researcher, and how the information obtained would be disseminated. All personal information, which would enable identification the respondent and their households, were removed from the transcripts of interviews. Each household and the respondents were provided with a unique identifier for the study. All the respondents' real names were replaced with pseudonyms in the transcripts. One master list of all households with the names of participants and their unique identifiers was retained in a separate electronic password-protected file. All transcripts and audio files were electronically password-protected and only those working

directly with the data have access to them. Informed consent forms and other paper records have been stored in the data archive at the HSRC.

4.4.7. Pre-data collection training and activities

Training of the interviewer and translator was an important preparatory component of the research process. It involved the familiarisation of the research assistant with the objectives of the research, the topic guides, the research questions and detailed discussion about any possible ethical issues or problems that could arise during the interviews. As part of our preparation for the qualitative research, we both attended a course on conducting participatory research with children facilitated by Glynis Clacherty and Rachel Bray in Cape Town in April 2011. The course provided various tools researchers need to use when conducting ethical research with children.

We also discussed a number of research projects reported in journal articles related to the research methods and the study topics being employed in the study. The flow of conversation, ease of interviewing and interviewing style were also essential elements that were covered in preparatory discussions with the research assistant. We conducted role plays prior to household visits. Practical issues surrounding the interviewing process were also revisited and changes were made after the initial set of interviews was conducted. Adaptations were made to all subsequent interviews once we had conducted the first round of interviews which gave us a better idea of how the interviews worked in practice.

4.4.8. Scheduling of in-depth interviews

Scheduling of interviews was done telephonically from the SIZE contact list of female caregivers. From the 20 randomly selected households, in-depth interviews were conducted with 20 focal children (10 boys and 10 girls), 20 female caregivers and 16 father-figures. Only 16 father-figures were interviewed because one older female caregiver stated that she did not want her son to be included in the study, two father-figures kept on postponing the interviews and the fourth father-figure stated that he did not have time to take part in the study.

4.4.9. Data collection

4.4.9.1. Child participant interviews

The order of interviewing a triad was that interviews were first conducted with the focal child, followed by the female caregiver and finally the father-figure, on the support children receive from men in their lives. A focal child in this study was a child between the age of 9 and 10 whose household had been enrolled to take part in the study. These interviews took place after the child participants came home from school and the responsible adult was be present at the household to give permission to conduct the interview and sign an informed consent form.

The child interviews lasted between 30 and 45 minutes depending on the child's concentration. It was difficult for the interviewer to initiate conversation with some children, and so icebreakers were used in which the research assistant played games with the children, making them say their names on the audio recorder while she was recording them and then playing back the recording for them, and so on. This usually encouraged the children and made them open up more and be interested in taking part in the study. After the interview, the focal child was asked to provide the contact details of the father-figure he or she wanted to be enrolled in the study.

4.4.9.2. Female caregiver interviews

A female caregiver was defined as a person who lives with the child, participates in most of the child's daily care and identified as being the most knowledgeable about the child's daily needs. Female caregivers included biological mothers (13), an aunt (1) and grandmothers (6). Female caregiver interviews usually followed immediately after the child interviews. On average, the female caregiver interviews took between 30 and 50 minutes to complete.

While most interviews went smoothly without disturbances from non-participants, we encountered two situations where we had to stop the interviews mid-stream. On both occasions the father-figures (who identified themselves as heads of the households) wanted us to explain to them why we had not contacted them first before inviting their families to take part in the study. We explained that we had the contact details for the child's female caregiver and had planned to interview the child and the female caregiver first before interviewing the father-figure. We assured them that the process did not mean any disrespect for their authority in the households

but it was the most convenient study procedure. In both cases the men allowed us to continue the interviews. After the interviews with the female caregivers, we verified the contact details of the father-figure the focal child wanted us to interview.

4.4.9.3. Father-figure interviews

A father-figure was defined as a male adult identified by the child as playing a significant role in parenting. These were different men, including biological fathers (8), a grandfather (1), uncles (6), and mother's partner (1). Children identified father-figures who have the greatest impact in their lives regardless of relationship and residency, and these men were contacted and asked to participate in the study. Every effort was made to interview the father-figure identified by a child participant. It sometimes took long to contact these men, and to schedule interviews because, in most of the households we visited, the father-figures were either at work or did not reside in the household participating in the study.

Also contributing to delays in contacting and scheduling interviews with father-figures was the fact that female caregivers, in most cases, told us that they needed to first inform the father-figures about us wanting to interview them before we contacted them. Considering the rural KwaZulu-Natal cultural context, this was mainly because of respect conferred on men by women, in that we could not simply contact a father-figure without him first being informed by the female caregivers that we would like to invite them to take part in our study. This meant that we had to wait for the female caregivers to let the father-figures know about our intentions of enrolling them into the study, then find out if the father-figures had agreed to be part of the study before making any contact with them to schedule the interview. Most father-figure interviews lasted between 40 and 60 minutes.

4.4.9.4. Non-participants observation and reflexivity

At least three formal visits were planned for each household. However, for some households we paid more than three visits because some participants were either not available at the time they had agreed to take part in the study or were available but busy with other important issues in their lives. This led us to reschedule some interviews. The household visits were important, because they enabled us to observe the state of the participants' houses and the interactions

between members. On-going and repeated visits afforded some indirect insight into the socio-economic status and situation of households, without the need to ask sometimes invasive questions directly. This indirect information enabled us to include probing questions in the process of validating our observations. We were also able to compare the responses of households to assess whether they matched our observations.

Issues that emerged, problems and different and unexpected interpretations of questions were recorded in fieldnotes. These additional responses are noted as important benefits of using mixed methods of data collection (Ezzy, 2002; Seale & Silverman, 1997; Silverman, 1998). The additional informal information I collected included recording personal notes about my perceptions of the interview and context. My emotional reactions to interview situations or interactions with respondents and reflections of these perceptions and my preconceived ideas were carefully considered and, after reflections, were also recorded. Detailed fieldnotes after each household visit were recorded.

4.4.10. Transcription and translation of qualitative data

All interviews were recorded using an audio recorder (permission was requested to use an audio recorder before all interviews began) and transcribed into isiZulu. The transcripts were then translated into English. Being a Zimbabwean, first language Shona-speaker, I have a basic understanding of isiZulu, but I am not fluent in the language. In order to conduct the in-depth interviews, I required the assistance of an interviewer and a translator, who conducted the interviews in isiZulu. Given the prior experience the research assistant had as an interviewer and translator in similar qualitative study settings, she was able to conduct the interviews herself, although I was always present. Although some studies have recorded the negative effects of having a non participant present during interviews, I do not think my presence affected the interview process negatively as participants were assured before the beginning of the interview that I was there as a non Zulu speaking observer.

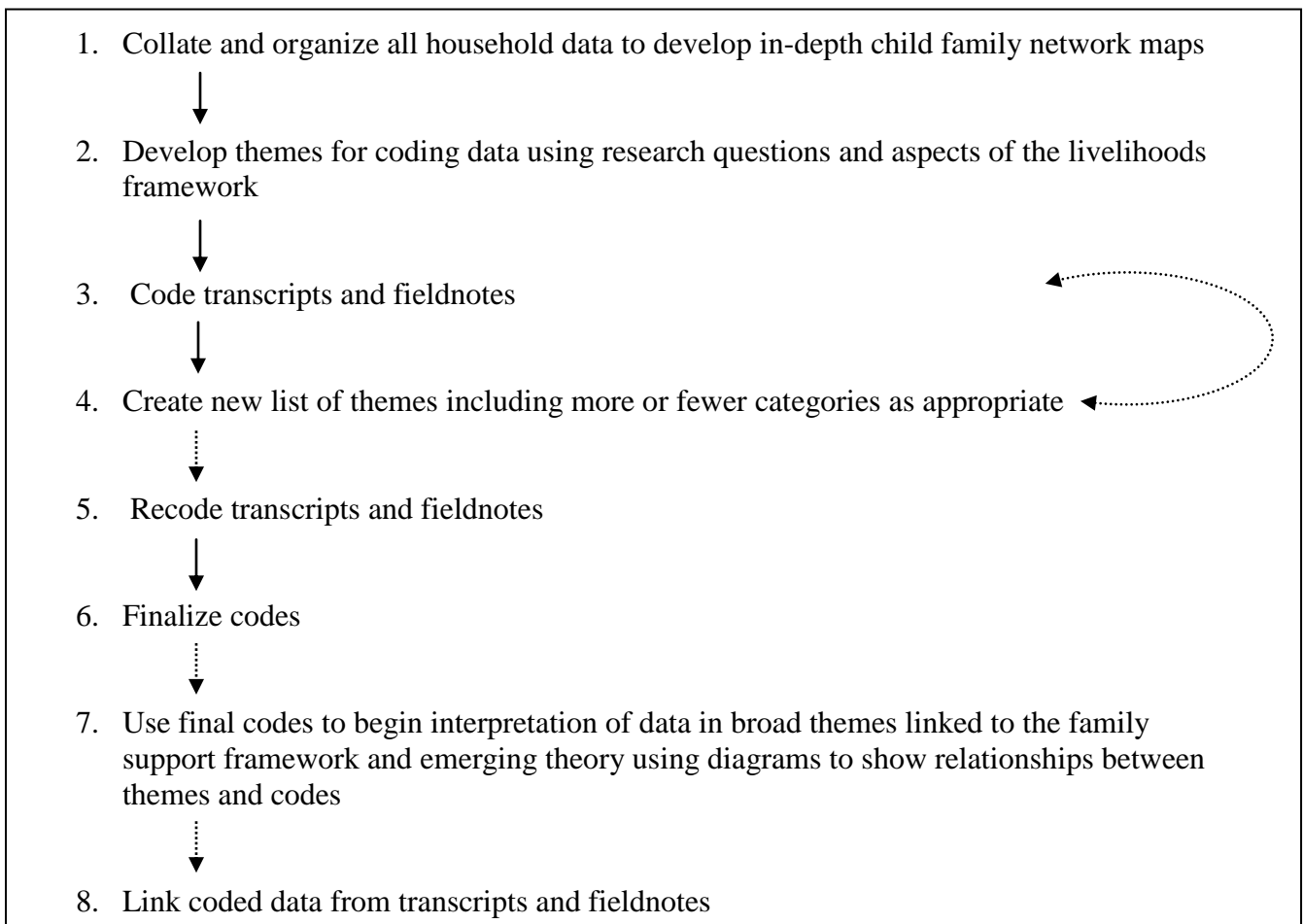
Temple (1997) notes that translation of transcripts from one language to another is not an objective process, as translators make not only literal translations of words but also afford insight into the nuanced meanings of words and phrases. The desired outcome of translation in this study was for comparable rather than literal meaning. For this, the process relies on the knowledge and

understanding of the cultural context by the translator and the concepts specific to it in order to provide meaningful translations. Hence, it was important that the translator was a first language isiZulu-speaker who lived in the study area and was able to contribute insight and context-specific knowledge and interpretation. However, the potential difficulty with using a local research assistant is that the person acquires intimate and privileged knowledge of people in her community. The research assistant was reminded of the importance of absolute confidentiality.

4.4.11. *Qualitative data analysis*

Data was coded as soon as the first interviews were completed using constant comparative analysis (Glaser, 1965) (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: Qualitative data analysis process



Adapted from (Knight, 2011, p. 109)

The first stage of the coding process involved the collation and organization of the data. The second stage involved creating an initial coding framework. The primary aspects of the family support framework and the research questions were used to identify thematic codes which were applicable to organise the data. This second stage of the coding process was an opportunity to become more familiar with the data and enabled me to refine and revise the coding framework in the following stage. In the third stage of the process, the interview transcripts and fieldnotes, were then coded, according to a customised coding framework using Nvivo software (Green & Thorogood, 2004; Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). The revised coding framework, in stage four, included more appropriate subcategories and incorporated additional themes and codes which had emerged during the initial process of coding the data.

The sixth stage of the coding process involved recoding of the data using the refined coding framework developed in stage five. Stage seven involved the codes being refined again and further emerging codes being including in the framework. The eighth stage involved a final round of close coding according the final thematic framework in an attempt to answer some of the research questions and begin interpreting the results.

The final stage of the coding process involved the interpretation of results according to the broad themes and objectives of the study. Mind mapping was done to interpret the way in which codes interact with one another and with concepts, issues, people and households within the study, in order to begin to draw some conclusions.

4.4.12. Qualitative design validity and dependability

Data collected addresses the validity, reliability and interrelations of children, men and women's reports on the various determinants of father involvement and the role of men in providing support to children in a South African context, and thus makes a contribution to methodology in this field. In this study, validity was addressed in a number of ways. The researcher addressed the issue of internal validity by avoiding an anecdotal approach to research by providing an accurate account of children, women and men's own reported experiences of support children receive from men. It is important to acknowledge that the interpretivist paradigm that the researcher used assumes that reality is socially constructed, sensitive to context and is what the respondents perceive it to be (Creswell & Miller, 2000). In addition, the subjective nature of

qualitative interviewing allows researchers to access individuals' personal interpretations of experiences and activities that are not apparent from observations and pre-coded interview responses.

Researcher reflexivity was also used to ensure validity. The researcher reported on personal experiences, beliefs, values and biases that shaped the study inquiry. This theoretical sensitivity in approaching qualitative data collection, collation and analysis was a very important process. Not only did it encompass sensitivity to, and knowledge of the literature, but also an awareness and acceptance of the researcher's experience which he brought to the subject. This reflexivity requires understanding and acknowledgement of the social, cultural and historical reality of the respondents that shape their interpretation, specifically in comparison to the researcher's own reality (Mason, 1996). The researcher's personal reflection and critique of the research methods contribute to increasing the validity and transparency of the processes, by also acknowledging weaknesses (Seale & Silverman, 1997; Silverman, 1998, 2010).

In planning the research design, the study paid careful attention in fitting the research questions to the data the researcher wanted to collect and the use of appropriate research methods (Richards, 2005). In the conceptualization phase of the project, the researcher spent time reviewing literature on father involvement in children's lives, going through past survey questionnaires and interview schedules to design relevant questions for the project. Sampling was an important part of this research process. While the researcher purposively sampled one rural community from 12 rural communities in a larger SIZE study (with 24 communities) to conduct this qualitative study, the households that took part in the study were randomly selected. Using a randomized sample addressed issues of external validity in that the results of the study can be applied to other households in the community from which the sample was selected. Also, qualitative in-depth interviews used in the study revealed micro-level individual, group, and community processes and patterns that are missed or obscured by less-intensive methods (Furstenberg & Hughes, 1997).

To ensure validity and dependability, data on the role of men in supporting children was collected from three different participants (children, women and men) as a way of data triangulation and to allow for corroboration (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The women and men had

to have some kind of relationship (biological or social) with the child. The process of triangulation ensured that the same questions were addressed and answered by each participant in the household, thereby challenging or verifying what the other had said. The proactive inclusion of men, women and children in research on support that children receive in families and specifically from men has the potential to inform the development of new programmatic approaches and services which may more appropriately engage children's concerns and needs. The reports obtained from each household can be developed to provide good contextual information and also provide a perspective of the different support dynamics for children.

Data collection was conducted until redundancy of data was achieved at the peak of data collection. As the qualitative study approached the end, no new perspectives were revealed. Visiting each household at least three times provided the researcher an opportunity to develop trust and establish rapport with the respondents so that they were comfortable disclosing information (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

To avoid being a victim to the problem of "anecdotalism" in data analysis, the researcher employed the constant comparative method (Silverman, 2010). Constant internal comparisons of data were made; meaning that during thematic coding data was always compared with the emerging premises, as highlighted in the previous section on data analysis. The researcher went over the data many times to see if the themes, explanations and the interpretation of the data provided an accurate account of what the respondents said (Patton, 1980). Each step of the analysis was properly accounted for by returning to relevant aspects in each interview, therefore employing comprehensive data treatment.

4.5. Conclusion

In this chapter the methodological orientation and research designs were discussed in detail. Information on the study context and site was also provided. Certain research experiences and hurdles were encountered and reflected upon in this study. In the following three chapters the researcher presents results of data collected and analysed in the study according to the key research questions.

CHAPTER 5: MEN'S RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS, RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR ROLES IN SUPPORTING CHILDREN

5.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the determinants of father-child involvement, in particular, the effects of father residence or survival status and the presence of other men in households of which the focal child is a member using SIZE baseline data. SES is used to compare the capacity and wealth of households with a father only, households with a father and at least another man, households with no father but which have at least one man, and households without a man.

For households with men, detailed descriptions of the socio-demographic information of the individual men in the households is provided. Variables in the analyses of socio-demographic information of individual men's relationships to focal children include their ages, and marital, educational, and employment status. This data is used to examine the associations between fathers and other men, and their socio-economic capacity. Non co-resident father-child contact and financial support, and the various kinds of support focal children receive from social fathers are also explored. This chapter lays out the different kinds of connections that children have with their fathers and other men, the different household structures these children grow up in and individual male capabilities that impact on their involvement with children in the context of HIV/AIDS and poverty.

Of the 1793 households included in the final sample in which all three participants, (caregiver, focal child and household head or representative of the household head) were interviewed, 943 (52.6%) households were in rural communities while 850 (47.6%) households were in semi-urban areas; 1356 (75.6%) households had at least one man above the age of 18 years in the household. Of these 1356 households, 244 (13.6%) had the focal child's biological father as the only male members; 204 (11.4%) had a father and at least one other male member; 908 (50.6%) had no father but at least one other male member; and 437 (24.4%) households did not have a male member above the age of 18 years.

Table 2: Multinomial logistic regression for households with fathers only, with fathers and other men, with no father but have other men and households without men (N = 1793) presents results from a

multinomial logistic regression on the sample characteristics of households that have only a father; households that have a father and at least one other man; households that do not have a father but have at least one other man, with the reference category being no man in the household. The presence of a father and at least one other male in the household is strongly associated with a higher asset quintile, while the likelihood of being in the lowest asset quintile was higher for households without men. Households with no men had the lowest household size. Only a few households (3.9%) with a father and another man had a household size of two to four household members. Most households in the sample had good access to water and electricity and access to these services, but having a flush toilet, was significantly associated with having a father and another man in the household and having electricity, was associated with having a father in the household.

Table 2: Multinomial logistic regression for households with fathers only, with fathers and other men, with no father but have other men and households without men (N = 1793)

Variable	Has only a father	Has a father and at least one other man	Has no father but at least one other man	No man in household
	n = 244	n = 204	n = 908	n = 437
	% (OR)	% (OR)	% (OR)	% (OR)
Quintiles of Asset Index scores				
Quintile 1 (Worse off)	19.3*** (0.201)	7.8*** (0.092)	16.2*** (0.289)	34.1
Quintile 2	18.0*** (0.336)	15.7*** (0.284)	21.4** (0.575)	21.7
Quintile 3	17.6*** (0.414)	24.0** (0.504)	20.7* (0.650)	17.6
Quintile 4	18.0** (0.510)	25.0 (0.622)	22.1 (0.817)	14.4
Quintile 5 (Best off)	27.0 0 ^b	27.5 .	19.6 .	12.1
Household size				
2-4	27.9 (1.116)	3.9*** (0.030)	8.8*** (0.061)	37.1
5-10	68.4 (1.555)	74.0*** (0.288)	69.9*** (0.274)	58.1

Variable	Has only a father	Has a father and at least one other man	Has no father but at least one other man	No man in household
11+	3.7 0 ^b	22.1 .	21.3 .	4.8
Water system				
Piped water (Tap)	95.9 (0.613)	96.1 (0.632)	96.7 (0.837)	97.3
Other	4.1 0 ^b	3.9 .	3.3 .	2.7
Toilet facility				
Flush toilet	24.2 (1.289)	17.6*** (0.255)	18.9 (5.042)	21.7
Pit latrine	75.4 (1.561)	82.4 (0.412)	80.4 (6.372)	78.3
Other	0.4 0 ^b	0.0 .	0.7 .	0.0

Electricity connection

Has electricity	92.2** (0.343)	95.6 (0.488)	95.9 (0.710)	95.9
Has no electricity	7.8 0 ^b	4.4 .	4.1 .	4.1

Notes: Numbers in the parentheses are odds ratios.

0^b This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

5.2. Father-child residency in South Africa

Focal children and their caregivers were asked about the residency of the child's father. The caregiver questionnaire clearly requested residential information of the biological father, whereas the child's questionnaire asked about the residency of the child's father, leaving it to the child to decide who they considered to be their father. As a means of identifying biological fathers and other male relatives co-residing with the focal children, data on household membership of the child's kin (both resident and non-resident) from the household questionnaire administered to household heads or representatives of the household heads was examined.

The household listing excluded other people who might have a social connection with the focal child but who do not share household membership, some of whom may have been their biological fathers. Residency of household members was defined as spending half of the nights in a year in the household. By this definition, this thesis indicates that the majority of men identified as members in these households were also co-resident (see Table 3: Correlates of the socio-demographic characteristics of fathers and other men in households (N = 2580)).

5.3. Socio-demographic characteristics of men who are members in households

Using household data, Table 3 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of fathers and other men in households. A multinomial logistic regression analysis was conducted to determine the associations between men's relationship to focal children and their ages, educational level, residential, employment and marital status, with the reference category being other men. The results show that while most households had men other than fathers as household members, more resident fathers of focal children's were married, older and employed compared to other men.

Table 3: Correlates of the socio-demographic characteristics of fathers and other men in households (N = 2580)

	Father	Other men ^a	B	SE	OR
	n = 448 (%)	n = 2132 (%)			
Age					
18 - 35 years	30.1	71.9	1.399***	0.28	4.051
36 - 45 years	41.7	10.8	2.845***	0.26	17.199
46 - 55 years	21.4	5.5	2.284***	0.26	9.819
56 years and above	6.7	11.8	0 ^b	.	.
Nights in household					
Less than half (1 - 90 nights)	7.1	6.5	-.150	0.26	.861
More than half (90 - 180 nights)	92.9	93.5	0 ^b	.	.
Level of education					
No education - Grade 5-7 (Standard 3-5)	21.4	18.2	-.155	0.32	.856

Grade 8 - Grade 10 (Standard 6-8)	28.6	21.9	.118	0.31	1.125
Grade 11 (Standard 9) - Grade 12 (Standard 10/Matric)	43.8	53.0	.019	0.29	1.019
Tertiary	6.2	7.0	0 ^b	.	.
Marital status					
Married	59.2	13.1	2.250***	0.18	9.483
Single	40.8	86.9	0 ^b	.	.
Employment status					
Employed	72.9	34.9	1.259***	0.14	3.522
Unemployed	27.1	65.1	0 ^b	.	.

Notes: ***p < .001

0^b This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

SE is the Standard of error

OR is the Odds ratio

In the full sample of all men in households, the odds of being a father between 36 and 45 years of age were higher than those of other men in the household. The odds of being married were nine times higher for fathers than other men, and fathers were 3.5 times more likely to be employed than other men. There was no significant difference between fathers and other men when it came to household residency and level of education. However, again caution must be exercised when interpreting the results because of the difference in sample size of fathers and other men in households.

5.4. Children and caregiver reports of father-child residency and whereabouts

Data from children indicated that 36.5 percent of children in the sample co-resided with their fathers. Results also show that fewer children (less than six percent) live with their fathers in the absence of their mothers (see Table 4: Children's reports on father's residency).

Table 4: Children's reports on father's residency

	Number of children	(%)
Children living with both parents	548	30.6
Children living with father (but not with mother)	106	5.9
Children not living with their fathers	1139	63.5

Total **N = 1793** **100.0**

Note: N is the total number of focal children in the households

From the caregiver data on the whereabouts of the focal child’s biological father, almost a fifth of the fathers were reported to be deceased, and nearly half of the fathers were either living elsewhere or their whereabouts were unknown. Almost a third of fathers were co-residing with their children (see Table 5: Caregivers’ reports on the whereabouts of the focal child’s biological father). This figure is slightly lower than the one reported by children.

Table 5: Caregivers’ reports on the whereabouts of the focal child’s biological father

	Number of caregivers	(%)
At home	544	30.3
Lives elsewhere	748	41.7
Father has passed away	342	19.1
Don't know	159	8.9
Total	N = 1793	100.0

5.5. Children’s reports on non co-resident father-child contact

Children were asked if they ever see their fathers, but the focal child questionnaire did not provide for reasons for non co-resident father-child contact. From the responses, it can be deduced that more than half of the children who were not co-resident with their fathers had some kind of physical contact with their fathers (see Table 6: Non co-resident father-child contact).

Table 6: Non co-resident father-child contact

	(%) (n)	Percentage of total sample children %
Children not living with their fathers and do not see them	46.8 (533)	29.7
Children not living with their fathers but see them	53.2 (606)	33.8
Total	n = 1139	N = 1793

N is the total number of focal children in these households

n is the total number of children who are non co-resident with their fathers

Numbers in parentheses are ns

Using data from caregivers, it can be assumed that the reason why 19.1 percent of all children were not co-resident with their fathers and do not see them, is because their fathers are deceased (see Table 5 and 6). The other 10.6 percent of the total sample of children who were non co-resident with their fathers, did not see them for one reason or the other, 36.5 percent were co-resident and therefore saw their fathers, while 33.8 percent of children were not living with their fathers but had contact with them (see Table 4 and 6).

5.6. Caregiver reports on non co-resident father-child contact

Caregivers were asked to report on how often the focal children see their non co-resident biological fathers. Excluding caregivers who reported that the children’s biological fathers were at home and those who reported that the biological fathers of the children were deceased, less than a third of the caregivers reported no father-child contact (see Table 7: Caregiver reports on non co-resident biological father-child contact).

Table 7: Caregiver reports on non co-resident biological father-child contact

	(%) (n)	Percentage of total sample %
Everyday	2.5 (23)	1.3
Several times a week	12.0 (109)	6.1
Several times a month	17.5 (159)	8.9
Several times a year	38.0 (345)	19.2
Never	29.9 (271)	15.1
Total	n = 907	N = 1793

Note: *n* is the number of caregivers who reported on non co-resident father-child contact. This excludes information on father-child contact where biological father is at home and where father is deceased.

N is the total number of the sample

Numbers in parentheses are *ns*

Nonetheless, Tables 7 and 8 show that very few children who had non co-resident fathers had daily contact with them, with the majority of children seeing their fathers several times a year.

Table 8: Children’s reports on the extent of father-child contact

	(%) (n)	Percentage of total sample children %
--	---------	---------------------------------------

Children not living with their fathers but see them everyday	4.0 (24)	1.3
Children not living with their fathers but see them several times a week	21.1 (128)	7.1
Children not living with their fathers but see them several times a month	33.8 (205)	11.4
Children not living with their fathers but see them several times a year	41.1 (249)	13.9
Total	n = 606	N = 1793

Note: *N* is the total number of focal children in these households
n is the total number of children who are non co-resident with their fathers but have some contact
Numbers in parentheses are *ns*

Results indicate that the majority of non co-resident fathers were either living in the neighbourhood or in KwaZulu-Natal (see Table 9: Biological fathers living elsewhere). This makes it feasible for children to visit or be visited by their fathers and reside with them on weekends and holidays.

Table 9: Biological fathers living elsewhere

	(%) (n)	Percentage of total sample %
In the neighbourhood	40.9 (306)	17.1
Somewhere in KwaZulu-Natal	50.0 (374)	20.9
Somewhere outside KwaZulu-Natal	7.0 (52)	2.9
Don't know where he lives	2.1 (16)	0.9
Total	n = 748	N = 1793

Note: *n* is the total number of non co-resident fathers living elsewhere. This table excludes information on fathers at home, and those fathers who are deceased.
N is the total sample of caregiver respondents
Numbers in parentheses are *ns*

5.7. Fathers' financial contributions to children's welfare

Caregivers were requested to provide information on non co-resident fathers' financial contributions to children's welfare. This data excludes information on father's financial provision for the focal child where the biological father is at home and where biological father is deceased. It was assumed that fathers who are co-resident provide some form of financial support to their children and families. However, this is a data limitation because some co-

resident fathers were unemployed and therefore unable to provide financial support to their families, whether temporarily or over the longer term.

Data on financial contributions of non co-resident biological fathers to children’s welfare was collected because, where contact between non co-resident children and their fathers is limited, data on financial provision can act as a proxy for father involvement. Results from caregivers indicate that of the 907 fathers living elsewhere, 292 (32.2%) of these non co-resident biological fathers were providing financial support for their children’s well-being. However, while more than two thirds of children had contact with their non co-resident fathers (see Table 7), only a third of these children received financial support from their fathers.

5.8. Children’s reports on other men’s roles in supporting them

Apart from the role that fathers play in their children’s lives, it is also important to explore the different kinds of support that other men provide to children who are not biologically their own. Results indicate that other than the children’s fathers, very few men were identified by children as contributing to their welfare (see Table 10). On average, less than ten percent of men other than biological fathers were identified by children as being involved in providing support to them in their households. However, these results do not necessarily minimize the role of social fathers as they are limited to children’s reports only. If they were reported by caregivers and men also, the results may have been different, as women and men themselves may know better what financial and social contributions social fathers make.

Table 10: Children’s reports on other men’s roles in supporting them

Relationship to child	Gives affection (%)	Helps with school work (%)	Gives money (%)	Buys food (%)	Keeps child safe (%)
Brother	3.3	4.8	3.2	4.3	3.2
Uncle	2.8	2.8	4.3	3.6	3.0
Grandfather	2.3	0.8	6.0	4.0	3.0
Total	N = 1793	N = 1793	N = 1793	N = 1793	N = 1793

Note: N is the total sample of focal children

5.9. Discussion

This chapter highlights the various determinants of father-child involvement, including father-child residency and survival status, father-child contact, father's financial support to the child and the presence of other men in households of which the focal child is a member. Household SES is used to determine whether there is an association between father residency and household wealth.

This data indicates a relationship between household wealth and father residency. The better off a household as judged by its asset index, the greater the likelihood that the focal child's father will live in the household. These results are consistent with Desmond and Desmond's (2006) results. They found that household level of expenditure was strongly associated with father presence. In this study, the positive association between having a father in the household and higher household SES suggests that households with fathers have more assets than households without fathers and, for this reason, children in these households are better off than children in households without men. However, caution must be exercised when interpreting these results because it is difficult to establish the direction of effect. Households may have a low SES because there is no father or fathers may leave poor households or men may not be able to form households because of poverty (Richter & Morrell, 2008).

Data reveals the complexity of connections between children and their fathers. While father-child co-residence is an important determinant of father involvement, for many years in South Africa this has not been a realizable situation (Richter et al., 2012). Data on father-child residency supports South African national demographic data which indicates that almost two thirds of children in the country do not live with their biological fathers (Holborn & Eddy, 2011; Statistics South Africa, 2011). This is partly because of paternal deaths (Chirwa, 2002; Desmond & Desmond, 2006; Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010), with results from this study showing that almost a fifth of focal children's fathers were reported to be deceased.

In KwaZulu-Natal, cultural expectations, such as the payment of *lobola* and economic circumstances resulting from high rates of poverty and unemployment (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010; Hosegood et al., 2009), have affected both men's co-residency and their involvement with their children (Richter et al., 2010). Marriage delay due to socio-cultural and economic

expectations, coupled with high separation rates and high non-marital fertility, means that rates of parental co-habitation are lower, as is fathers' membership in the same households as their children (Hosegood et al., 2009).

From results of this study one can conclude that residential fatherhood is a hard-won status achieved by men with substantially higher parental capacity and general lifetime success. In particular, economic and social achievements which enable men to marry and co-reside with their children. As indicated in the results, these co-resident fathers are more likely to be older, employed, and married. These results are consistent with Madhavan and colleagues' (2008) findings suggesting that in the context of poverty and very few employment opportunities, poor men find it difficult to live with and be involved in their children's lives because they usually have to migrate elsewhere in search for employment.

However, the results also show that despite low rates of father-child co-residency, most children have contact with their non co-resident fathers although only a third receives financial support from them. These results indicate that male involvement in children's lives goes beyond co-residence or household membership. This is in line with results from other studies in South Africa which highlight that many men support children in more than one household or families (Hosegood & Timæus, 2006). Results from this thesis provide important empirical evidence that households in *post-Apartheid* South Africa function as stretched or dispersed households where both children and adults may belong to multiple households.

What is difficult to establish from the results is whether the one third of non co-resident biological fathers providing financial support to children reflects failure of male involvement or a great devotion in the context of poverty. While from the results one might be quick to state that there is low financial support for children with non co-resident biological fathers, it is hard to prove that those men who are not providing financial support for their children are doing so deliberately. One might find that some non co-resident biological fathers are actually struggling to make ends meet for themselves only but still acknowledge paternity and would have loved to provide financially for their children, although circumstances in the context of poverty do not allow them to do so.

Unlike most studies that highlight the importance of social fathers in children's lives, especially where the biological father is not present or uninvolved (Bzostek, 2008; Mkhize, 2004, 2006; Richter et al., 2010), this study found that most potential social fathers play a less important role than anticipated as they are generally unable to provide support to children in households. Although caution should be exercised when interpreting these results on the role of social fathers because they come from children's data only, one must acknowledge that in this context, high rates of poverty, unemployment and the associated extended transition to adult independence negatively impact the potential for social fathers to support children.

This data shows that other men in households (potential social fathers) are usually resident in their households of birth, are young (most of them between the age of 18 and 35 years), unemployed, and unmarried. They are thus lacking economic resources and other capacities to provide support to children who are not biologically theirs. Instead of providing support to children in these households, it is possible that these young men may compete with children for the household resources that are available.

These results also present an empirical importance of female-headed households in the context of father absence and father non co-residence. Almost 25 percent of household in the study sample did not have an adult man as a member in the household. This indicates high adult female only households, which might mean that these women do assume most of the parenting roles for their children on their own. These women may also serve as a connection between their children and the children's fathers, who do not share the same household membership. Data on maternal households in this study presents gaps in literature on the role of women in providing alternative "fathering" support and how they act as a connection between children and their fathers.

5.10. Conclusions

This study is one of the few studies that have counted and described men in households. There is growing recognition that children are more likely not to co-reside with their fathers than live in the same households with them. However, low levels of father-child residency do not necessarily mean that fathers are irresponsible or have neglected their children. Results from this study indicate that father-child involvement goes beyond traditionally established boundaries of one household with a mother and father. Most non co-resident fathers maintain contact and about a

third provide financially for their children. Physical father and child location is therefore not a crucial factor in determining paternal support. What is actually important in determining effective father presence and involvement is father's acknowledgement of paternity, with all the responsibilities that come with being a father.

This chapter provided a general picture of how many households have men, how many of these men are fathers, how many non co-resident fathers have contact with and provide financial support to their children, and the role of other men in supporting children in households. However, as a result of one of the limitations of the quantitative data used in this thesis, that is, like all secondary data, it does not provide an in-depth account of various determinants of father-child involvement, the next two chapters explore qualitative data that was specifically collected for this Doctoral study. The following chapter examines children, women and men's reports on the support children receive from men in households in one rural community.

CHAPTER 6: CHILDREN, WOMEN AND MEN'S REPORTS OF SUPPORT CHILDREN RECEIVE FROM MEN

6.1. Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 3, studies of fathers' involvement have frequently questioned the validity of men's self-reports, women's appraisals and children's accounts of men's involvement. This chapter explores men's support of 9-10-year-old children living in rural KwaZulu-Natal. It does so by exploring the intersection between children's reports of support they receive from men, men's accounts of the support they provide to children, and women's views of the roles that men play in supporting children in general and this man's support of this child, in particular. The aim of this part of the study was to improve current methodologies with respect to men's involvement, in that data were collected from children, mothers and fathers about their perceptions of fatherhood and acts of support. To understand fathering and fatherhood it is critical to obtain the perspectives of those most intimately involved.

6.2. Household demographic characteristics

As indicated in the methodology chapter, 20 households were randomly selected to take part in the two qualitative studies. In the households selected, 20 children, 20 female primary caregivers and 16 father-figures were interviewed. Of the 20 households that took part in the study, five children had co-resident biological fathers who were married to their mothers, with the other 15 children living in households without their biological fathers. Of the 15 children living in non co-resident biological father households, the fathers of four children were deceased, one child did not know her biological father's whereabouts, seven children had non-resident biological fathers due to separation from their mothers and three children had non-resident biological fathers due to them not having paid *lobola*, but who were in ongoing intimate relationships with the mothers of their children (see Table 11).

Table 11: Basic household characteristics

Focal child's name	Type of Household	Primary caregiver for focal child	Biological father presence or absence	If absent, reason for absence	Father-figure relationship with focal child	Residency of father-figure interviewed
Nkanyiso	Matrilineal extended family	Grandmother	Absent	Never married to mother and is no longer involved with the mother	Matrilineal uncle	Same household as focal child
Anele	Matrilineal extended family	Mother	Absent	Never married to mother and is no longer involved with the mother	Patrilineal uncle	Does not stay in the same household as focal child
Nokuzola	Nuclear family	Mother	Present	N/A	Biological father	Same household as focal child
Nonjabulo	Matrilineal extended family	Grandmother	Absent	Not married to the mother but still in a relationship with her	Biological father	Does not stay in the same household as focal child
Nelisiwe	Nuclear family	Mother	Present	N/A	Biological father	Same household as focal child
Thabiso	Patrilineal extended family	Grandmother	Absent	Father deceased	Patrilineal uncle	Same household as focal child
Sandisile	Matrilineal extended family	Mother and grandmother	Absent	Not married to the mother but still in a relationship with her	N/A	**Does not stay in the same household as focal child and refused to take part in the study
Sanelisiwe	Matrilineal extended family	Grandmother	Absent	Father deceased	Matrilineal uncle	Same household as focal child
Wendy	Foster family	Foster Grandmother	Absent	Father's whereabouts unknown	N/A	N/A

Focal child's name	Type of Household	Primary caregiver for focal child	Biological father presence or absence	If absent, reason for absence	Father-figure relationship with focal child	Residency of father-figure interviewed
Tumelo	Matrilineal extended family	Grandmother	Absent	Never married to mother and is no longer involved with the mother	Biological father	Does not stay in the same household as focal child
Asanda	Matrilineal extended family	Mother	Absent	Not married to the mother but still in a relationship with her	Biological father	Does not stay in the same household as focal child
Sinenhlanhla	Matrilineal extended family	Mother	Absent	Father deceased	N/A	N/A
Ayanda	Nuclear family	Mother	Present	N/A	Biological father	Same household as focal child
Luyanda	Matrilineal extended family	Mother	Absent	Never married to mother and is no longer involved with the mother	Matrilineal uncle	Same household as focal child
Njabulo	Nuclear family	Mother and father	Present	N/A	Biological father	Same household as focal child
Sandile	Nuclear family	Mother and father	Present	N/A	Biological father	Same household as focal child
Zoma	Matrilineal extended family	Mother	Absent	Never married to mother and is no longer involved with the mother	Mother's partner	Does not stay in the same household as focal child
Aphiwe	Matrilineal extended family	Mother	Absent	Father deceased	Matrilineal grandfather	Same household as focal child
Sithuthukile	Matrilineal extended family	Mother	Absent	Never married to mother and is no longer involved with the mother	Matrilineal uncle	Does not stay in the same household as focal child

Focal child's name	Type of Household	Primary caregiver for focal child	Biological father presence or absence	If absent, reason for absence	Father-figure relationship with focal child	Residency of father-figure interviewed
Zinhle	Matrilineal extended family	Mother	Absent	Never married to mother and is no longer involved with the mother	N/A	N/A

Of the 16 biological fathers alive, eight took part in this study (five co-resident and three non co-resident biological fathers). Where biological fathers were deceased, of unknown location or uninvolved, children identified other men who play a significant role in supporting them regardless of relationship and residency. These included a grandfather (1), uncles (6), and mother's partner (1), who enacted fatherhood roles for a child. Social fathers in this study were therefore defined by the child's perception, according to social relations of co-residence, reciprocity and norms.

6.3. Women as primary caregivers

Most children equated caregiving with the basic care, support and residency associated with their mothers or other primary female caregivers. However, one child indicated that both his parents were primary caregivers. One child explained that her mother was the primary caregiver 'because she lives with me, she is the one who takes care of me. She is the one who does everything for me' (Sandisile, female). Most women, with the exception of two who reported that both parents were caregivers, viewed themselves as primary caregivers of the children because they spend most of their time with the children. One woman stated: 'Women are the primary caregivers because we make sure that children eat, they have bathed, and are dressed properly' (Zoma's mother).

Women also reported that men are usually absent from households due to work, delayed marriage or separation, therefore making it difficult for them to assume basic caregiving roles for children on a daily basis. One woman reported that:

men are too busy, they do not have time, they are rarely at home to do caregiving work, it is always women who have time to make sure that the child has eaten, bathed and dressed well to go to school. Men leave the house early and come back from work very late. I also would not expect a man who was at work the whole day to come home and start cooking and taking care of the children (Thabiso's grandmother, his primary caregiver).

The above statement shows that some women feel that employed men have their space in the workplace. There is emphasis on the fact that women should not expect employed men to provide child care at home as they are gainfully employed and provide financially for their families and thus are already 'pulling their weight'.

Like data from children and women, results from men also indicated that fathers contribute far less time than women to direct child care, although there were variations among the participants. One father reported ‘Men are too busy to care for their children. Most of the time mothers are close to their children. Fathers do provide financially but they are too busy, but the person who takes care of the child is the mother’ (Ayanda’s co-resident biological father).

While this is an acknowledgement of women’s direct child care involvement, the above statement also portrays men as ‘distant breadwinners’ who are not involved in any direct care of children.

Focusing on non co-residency as an obstacle for men in assuming caregiving roles, one father stated:

I do not do a lot for him because I do not live with him. It is his mother who is the primary caregiver because she is with him every day. She is the one who knows if he is not feeling well, what he has eaten and makes sure he is clean for school. However, when he comes to visit me, I know it is my turn to look after him so I make sure that he has eaten and that he has taken a bath (Asanda’s non co-resident biological father).

While non co-residency between the father and the child limits men’s direct child care involvement, it does not necessarily prevent some men from performing caregiving roles. Some men exercise child care at every opportunity they get.

For the child, mother and father who are reported that both parents were the child’s primary caregivers, the father reported that:

You cannot differentiate between the mother and father here in this house because we almost do all the chores together. If she is not there I take responsibility, if I am not there she takes responsibility. Fathers now clean after their kids, we wash napkins. You see we are also caregivers (Njabulo’s co-resident biological father).

However, while this family and one other pair (child’s mother and father) reported that both parents were the children’s primary caregivers, results from other households indicate that child caregiving roles and duties are still predominantly carried by women.

6.4. Father-mother relationship and residential patterns

Father-mother relationships (i.e. wife/girlfriend/ex-wife/ex-girlfriend), together with residential patterns (whether the father is co-resident or non co-resident) were analysed because these are crucial to understanding father-child involvement. Most children, women and men agreed that there were associations between mother-father relationships, residential patterns, and father-child relationships. In this study, fifteen women lived in their households of birth because they are not in a relationship with the fathers of their children, because of death of the child's father or because the spousal relationship has not yet been formalized by the payment of *lobola*.

Most children, women and men reported that conflicted mother-father relationship discourages father-child involvement, whereas an amicable relationship supports healthy father-child interaction. Most men reported that stable, well-functioning marriages or ongoing relationships were extremely important for engaged fatherhood because the mother and father are able to communicate, plan and share responsibilities harmoniously. One father stated: 'You cannot run away from the truth. Men perform far much better when married to the mothers of their children' (Sandile's co-resident biological father).

There was a strong assertion from women that where the mother-father relationship was not good or it was non-existent, it was most likely to result in minimal, if any, support for the child from the father. One woman stated that: 'if a man is now involved with another woman he usually forgets about the other (previous) woman and his children, but if they are together, they do things together to support their children' (Zoma's mother).

Another father reported that bad father-mother relationships and non co-residency are not ideal for supporting children because 'it is difficult to provide financially for a child you do not stay with because you do not actually know if the money you are contributing is being used for the benefit of the child, especially when you are not in good books with the mother' (Tumelo's non co-resident biological father). Such experiences and perceptions affect non co-resident fathers' willingness to contribute financially to their children. The problem of monitoring how their contributions are benefiting their child seems to be related to the quality of father-mother relationship and father-child residency.

One child indicated that he felt his father mistreated him because his mother and father were not married and not staying together. He reported that: ‘When I stayed with him he used to hit me and did not bring me anything but brought some nice things for his other children. I wish my father was married to my mother and that he does not only support his other children but also support me’ (Zoma, male). One child indicated how his parents’ unhealthy relationship had negatively affected his relationship with his father. Because his parents are not on speaking terms, he has not been able to talk to his father ever since his cell phone was damaged ‘I do not talk to him anymore because he used to call me on my cell phone but ever since it was damaged he does not call because he does not want to call me on my mother’s cell phone’ (Anele, male).

6.5. Father-child residential patterns and contact

While eleven (11/16) children with biological fathers still alive do not live in the same households with them, eight (8/11) children indicated sometimes sharing the same household with their biological fathers, through visits on weekends and school holidays, and that they have regular father-child contact.

However, the quality and nature of children’s connection to their biological and social fathers differed according to father, mother and child residency patterns. While most participants (seventeen of the twenty children, fourteen of the twenty women and all sixteen men) spoke of regular father-child contact, they also reported a closer child-father contact when children co-resided with both their fathers and mothers, or lived in the same area with non co-resident father compared to non co-resident fathers whose children only saw them occasionally.

Three children and six women in non co-resident biological father households indicated no father-child contact. In the three households where both the children and women’s reports concurred that there was no father-child contact, in one household the biological father’s whereabouts were unknown, in the other household the biological father did not want anything to do with the child and her family, and in another household the biological father had cut ties with the child ever since the child moved to stay with his mother (see Table 12). The other three women who reported no father-child contact did not have amicable relationships with the biological fathers of their children, and therefore might have under-reported father-child contact.

All children who nominated social fathers, their female caregivers and their social fathers reported social father-child contact regardless of their residential status.

Table 12: Informant response on father-child residential patterns and contact

	Children		Women		Biological fathers	
	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number
Regular biological father-child contact	Biological fathers	5/5*	Biological fathers	5/5*	Biological fathers	5/5*
	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number
	Biological fathers	8/11*	Biological fathers	5/11*	Biological fathers	3/3*
No biological father-child contact	Biological fathers	3/16*	Biological fathers	6/16*	Biological fathers	0/8*
	Children		Women		Social fathers	
	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number
Regular social father-child contact	Social fathers	5/5**	Social fathers	5/5**	Social fathers	5/5**
	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number
	Social fathers	3/3**	Social fathers	3/3**	Social fathers	3/3**

* Data on biological father-child contact was collected from sixteen children – whose biological fathers were still alive (– and their female caregivers and the eight biological fathers who were available to take part in the study).

** Data on social fathers was collected from eight children, eight women and eight social fathers (five co-resident and three non co-resident).

6.6. Fathers' financial support of children

All children, women and men in households where biological fathers co-resided with the children reported regular financial support from the fathers to the children. More children (8/11) than women (3/11) in non co-resident biological father families also reported financial support from their biological fathers (see Table 13). All three non co-resident biological fathers also reported regular financial support for the children. Two children, three women and men living in social father co-resident households reported that the social fathers provided financial support for children. In one co-resident social father household, where the child reported no financial support from the social father, all three participants (child, mother and social father) agreed that

the social father was not able to provide financially for the child because he was old, unemployed and not receiving an old pension grant from the government.

The variance between children and women’s reports on non co-resident biological fathers’ regular financial support for children may be attributed to current father-mother relationship. The three who reported non co-resident biological fathers’ financial support to children were in intimate relationships with the biological fathers. The other eight women were no longer in intimate relationships with the non co-resident biological fathers, hence might have under-reported the financial roles of the biological fathers. The differences in children and women’s reports may also be because children may idealize their fathers as ‘backstage’ financial providers who ‘give their mothers money’ for their upkeep.

Table 13: Informant responses on men’s financial support to child

	Children		Women		Biological fathers	
	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number
Regular biological father financial support	Biological fathers	5/5	Biological fathers	5/5	Biological fathers	5/5
	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number
	Biological fathers	8/11	Biological fathers	3/11	Biological fathers	3/3
No biological father financial support	Biological fathers	3/16	Biological fathers	8/16	Biological fathers	0/8
	Children		Women		Social fathers	
	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number
Regular social father financial support	Social fathers	2/5	Social fathers	3/5	Social fathers	3/5
	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number
	Social fathers	2/3	Social fathers	3/3	Social fathers	3/3

While thirteen children reported that their biological fathers provided financially for them, two children with deceased biological fathers indicated that their co-resident uncles had assumed the provider roles, while the two other children reported that their mothers had assumed the provider role from the time their fathers passed away. One child with an uninvolved father stated that his mother had assumed the provider role ever since he moved to her homestead from his father's home; another reported that her non co-resident social father (mother's partner) was supporting the family, while the other child indicated that her non co-resident uncle was financially providing for her and the family.

Most co-resident biological fathers tended to associate the role of the father to providing financially for the needs of the family as head of the household as well as providing managerial oversight and supervision of children. One father stated that:

My biggest role is to support the family because I am the head of this household. I am the head of this household so I am the one who has to pay when someone is sick, buy food and all that. I even sell my livestock when I do not have money so that my children can further their education (Sandile's co-resident biological father).

All three non co-resident biological fathers, highlighted the importance of financial provision for their children as they did not spend enough of their time with their children to be able to supervise and assist them with their daily needs. One father indicated that:

It is important for me to see that my daughter gets everything that she needs. I call her every day to find out if she has everything she needs for school. I make sure that every month I buy enough food to last a month in her mother's house. This is my duty as her father to make sure that my child is happy. I cannot be there for her all the time but I try to get her everything she needs (Nonjabulo's non co-resident father)

However, while most men spoke about strong cultural expectations that a father, regardless of residency, must provide financial support for his children, they also highlighted how difficult it was for them to make substantial financial contributions for children's upkeep because many of them were unemployed or working for low wages.

6.7. Father-child residency and interaction

In order to measure father-child interaction, participants were asked about the time children and their father-figures spent together and the activities they engaged in during that time. Data from this study indicates high co-resident biological father-child interaction. All five children, women and biological fathers who live in the same households reported regular father-child interaction. Njabulo’s father reported a close and loving relationship with his children when he stated:

We play boxing even in this room; we also play soccer and snooker. I take them to Durban, to the beach when I have money. When I do not have a lot of money but it’s during the weekend or during the holidays, I take them to town just to look around shops for things they would want me to buy them when I have money. I am trying to give them whatever love I can (Njabulo’s co-resident biological father).

Children, women and men agreed that there was low social father-child interaction regardless of residency. However, there were variations between children and women’s reports on non co-resident father-child interactions (see Table 14). Six of the eleven children, three of the eleven women and all three non co-resident biological fathers reported regular non co-resident biological father-child interactions. These differences in responses between children and women’s reports in pairs may be because the children were reporting on the time and activities they engaged in when they visited their non co-resident biological fathers, which the women may not be aware of or may overlook.

Table 14: Informant responses on father-child interactions

	Children		Women		Biological fathers	
	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number
Regular biological father-child interaction	Biological fathers	5/5	Biological fathers	5/5	Biological fathers	5/5
	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number
	Biological fathers	6/11	Biological fathers	3/11	Biological fathers	3/3
Low father-child interaction	Biological fathers	5/16	Biological fathers	8/16	Biological fathers	0/8
	Children		Women		Social fathers	

	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number	Co-resident	Number
Regular social father-child interaction	Social fathers	1/5	Social fathers	1/5	Social fathers	1/5
	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number	Non co-resident	Number
	Social fathers	1/3	Social fathers	1/3	Social fathers	1/3

Although many of the children spoke of their happiness that their fathers provided financially for them in terms of buying presents such as bicycles, giving them pocket money, buying clothes and sweets when their fathers came back home or when they visited them, the children who expressed low father-child interaction spoke of the need for their fathers to spend more time with them. These children reported that their fathers were ‘too busy’ and rarely available to spend time with them. One child spoke of low father-child interaction when she stated that:

My father is always not there. He sometimes comes back home late at night and leaves early in the morning, so I spend most of the time with granny, helping her doing the dishes and cleaning the house. I wish he would sometimes come back home early and play with me or take me to town (Sandisile, female).

Like the children who reported low father-child interactions, most women rejected singular definitions of fatherhood based on men’s economic support – which includes providing money for food, payment of school fees, buying of school uniforms and clothes and providing money for the child’s health care. Instead they advanced notions of fatherhood that encompassed the fathers’ engagement, availability and accessibility to their children as well as other expressions of love and care (Lamb et al., 1985). One mother stated that:

Men think that being a father is just about taking money out of your pocket and giving it to the mother. No! It’s not like that! The child needs a father who takes him out, maybe the child and the father can go and watch soccer. Maybe go to Wimpy and eat, just to say ‘my boy I love you’. Well, giving money only does not show a child that you love him; you need to be always there for your child (Zinhle’s mother).

While concerns should be raised about the low levels of interaction between children and non co-resident biological father and social fathers, some children, women and men mentioned that some fathers who did not interact with their children regularly did spend quality time with them when opportunities came up. These reports bring out the importance of the quality of father-child involvement.

6.8. Father absence in South Africa

Most men and women agreed that father absence in South Africa was a big problem. Some participants cited high mortality rates among males, while others mentioned men's failure to meet *lobola* requirements, separation/divorce and men's abandonment of child support responsibilities as major reasons for father absence in South Africa. One mother reported that father absence is widespread in South Africa because most people have children while they are unprepared to be parents:

Mostly fathers who do not live with their children are the one who had babies at the wrong time. See like us, we were still at school, we fell in love, and then I got pregnant. You then break up but now you have a 'mistake child' and the father is gone. We then have new relationships with other people and therefore have children with more than one partner. This leads men to live apart from at least some of their children for a large part of these children's lives.

Some men felt that due to high poverty and unemployment rates, most men in South Africa are unable to pay *lobola* and therefore co-reside with their children. One man stated:

You know a lot of men are absent in households which their children grow up in because they cannot afford the lobola requirements. These are so expensive. You have to pay eleven cows, and even if they convert the cows to money, it will still be too much, worse off if you are unemployed. Where would you get that kind of money to pay lobola? And they say you cannot stay with your child until you pay lobola, so it's difficult to stay in the same household with your children (Asanda's father).

One man reported that labour migration was one of the main reasons for father absence in South Africa. He reported that:

Father absence is very common in South Africa because there is a lot of labour migration in South Africa. Remember most of the mines are really there in Joburg. The shortage of employment opportunities here in KwaZulu-Natal forces families not to stay together.

This statement indicates that when people are facing limited options in their local community, some fathers seek employment outside the community.

Some participants spoke of the high male mortality rate in the community as the main cause of father absence in households which their children grow up in. One female participant stated:

Men usually die before women. If you move in this community you will find out that most households are headed by women because their husbands are deceased. You see my husband died when my children were very young and now Thabiso's father even died before me. It is a fact that women live longer than men.

Reports on father absence suggest that children are more likely to grow up in households without their biological fathers. However, in the absence of biological fathers in households where their children grow up in, these fathers may be substituted by other male father-figures or female role models who assume the social fatherhood roles.

6.9. Social father-child relationships

The reported absence – due to death or separation, and non-involvement of biological fathers provided opportunities to get information about the role of social fathers in supporting children. All eight social fathers reported that they had assumed the father-figure roles in the children's lives for one or more of the following reasons: because of *Ubuntu*; society expected them to; they felt it was their duty; they wanted the experience of having to care and provide for a child; they had to so as to strengthen the bond with their partners; they viewed these children as their own; they wanted to secure their own financial protection in their older years, or that of their children, and hoped that the child would reciprocate the support they provide them when they were grown up. One man stated that:

So like generally in our community, in the African community, you look after your brother's children or your sister's children. I know now we are in a modern society but

there is something which we cannot deviate from even though we are living in the new world, like looking after our brothers and sisters' children when they are dead. We still have to look after them (Thabiso's co-resident paternal uncle).

Another focal child's uncle reported that he assumed the father-figure role because the child's father is irresponsible. He stated:

I feel it is my responsibility to look after Anele because he is my brother's child. His father is very irresponsible; he is never there and very unsupportive. He does not even think he has a child. So we have to cover our armpits, Anele is my blood so I have to look after him. He is just like my biological child (Anele's uncle).

A matrilineal uncle reported that he was raised by his uncles and so he felt it was now his duty to support his sister's children. He reported:

I was raised by my mother's brothers. They did everything for me. Now I feel it is my turn to also support my sister's children. These children will one day grow up and support me when I am unable to look after myself or they will support my children when I die. That is just an African way of life. If you look after someone, one day they will look after you (Sanelisiwe's uncle).

However, for some women there was a conflict between the support they receive from social fathers and the trust they had of them regarding the safety of their girl children in the company of these social fathers. Even though social fathers were providing financial support for the children and mothers, some women still found it difficult to leave their girl child in the man's care. One grandmother stated that:

I taught her that this is not her biological father; she has to know that he is not her biological father. Actually she should not spend too much time with him because men are not trustworthy. You can't leave your granddaughter with a man who is not her father. You don't know what men think and what they will do when you are away (Sinenhlanhla's grandmother, her primary caregiver).

Another woman also reported mistrusting social fathers when she stated that:

It's not safe to leave your girl children with men. I hear about cases where children who are left with men are raped by the men. It is usually the uncles who rape these young children. You trust them and they rape your child. They might be relatives but it is not safe to leave your child with men (Nkanyiso's mother).

This indicates the dilemma women face in accepting social fathers as providers for their children while they do not trust them as caregivers.

There was also some skepticism about social fathers expressed by men. One father thought it was 'impossible' for a mother's partner to be the substitute for an uninvolved biological father, and become the father-figure to the women's child. He stated that:

I agree that an uncle can assume that role, because an uncle is the child's blood, that's why I agree. I do not agree with the mother's [boy] friend taking over the role of being a father for one reason. What happens in our Zulu culture is that blood shows who is the father of the child. Even if he [mother's partner] laughs with the child all he likes, it is not enough. Even if he can educate the child until the end there will always be a missing part because if we want to perform any ritual with that child we look for Mr. Mkhize even when he [mother's boyfriend] is around in this house. That means his role is not viewed as an active role (Nelisiwe's co-resident biological father).

This statement suggests that while a mother's partner may be important in some aspects of a child's life, there are occasions in African culture where the child's biological father is needed to perform one or other rituals believed to bring good fortunes for the child, such as child naming and introducing a child to his or her ancestors.

6.10. Fathering and the respect that comes with it

Most men and women reported that men get respect from being responsible fathers; fathers who look after their children and families and not only because they have biologically contributed to making a child. There was strong emphasis on the fact that getting respect as a father had very little to do with procreation and had a lot to do with performing and main fatherhood roles. One mother reported that:

Men who get respected because they are fathers are those who know that they have children and are providing support to them. Those who do not look after their children do not get any respect because they are not doing anything to deserve it. Those who do not know their responsibilities will not be respected! (Zoma's mother).

Another mother also supported this assertion when she was asked if she thought men get respect from fathering children. She stated that:

No, no, no! I don't think so. Men need to earn respect as fathers by being responsible, loving their children, and showing young boys who are growing up how to be good fathers by leading by example. Being a father alone does not make people respect you. What if you are a bad father? People will not just respect you because you are a father. Do dogs get respect for having puppies? No! So men need to be responsible if they want to be respected.

In support of these women's assertions that men only get respected for being fathers if they are responsible, one father stated that:

Men who get respect for being fathers are those who know that they have to provide financially for their children and families and love their children. These men who get respect from other community members are those who are role models. They act in ways that other people in the community want to emulate.

From the various responses by participants, one can see that esteemed fatherhood is strongly associated with responsibility. While biological fathers may be acknowledged, it is only those who are involved in their children's and families lives, and who are role models for other people in the community who get respect for being fathers.

6.11. Barriers to fatherhood

Communities, by virtue of their institutional, economic and social resources, shape opportunities for men and their families. Resources in this rural community are quite limited. The community is characterised by low rates of education, high rates of unemployment, social problems and a concentration of very impoverished families. This community is further disadvantaged by its

lack of well-developed job networks and when available, such networks are typically linked to very few available low-paying jobs.

Most fathers reported that inadequate education and limited job training kept them out of the labour force, like other poor fathers. Personalized status and respect associated with being employed and being able to earn a salary were verbalized themes. Asanda's father reported that:

I understand your chances of getting a worthwhile job are very limited especially when you do not have a Diploma. If you are not well educated and have limited or no work experience your chances of being hired on a job are very few. If you do not have a job then you do not have money, and if you do not have money it is difficult for you to support your children and family. Everyone needs money to function well in the society. If you do not have money you cannot do anything, even your heart's desires.

The availability of job opportunities often affects whether or not fathers are actively involved in their children's lives. Since most fathers associated responsibility with financial support, those fathers who were not employed felt that they were not really meeting their responsibilities as they did not have money to provide for their children and families. Tumelo's father noted:

You do not have self-esteem without a job and money, when you go and see your child without carrying even a sweet, you feel like you are useless and sometimes ask yourself why you are even going to see him yet you can't provide anything for him. If you cannot provide even small things for your child because you do not have a job people will not look at you like you are a man.

This statement brings out socially constructed perceptions of masculinity, that in order for a man to be a good father, he has to be able to provide financially for his children.

Some fathers also spoke of women's negative attitudes towards men who are unemployed as hindering them from being involved positively in their children's lives. They argued that due to their failure to provide and added criticism from women in front of children made some men 'run away' from their households, while others may become violent towards their partners and children because they are frustrated by not having a job. When asked about the barriers to fatherhood, Njabulo's father reported that:

It is because some women always shout at men in front of children, saying 'why don't you get a job like other men. You just sit here doing nothing like you are disabled'. This gets men angry and they will end up hitting the women or even run away from the house, leaving their children.

While some men develop low self-esteem because of their inability to provide support for their children and families, others suffer from women's negative attitudes towards their fathering skills because they are not able to provide financially for the upkeep of their children.

6.12. The dangerous men

When participants were asked whether there were any dangers of having men looking after children, three important themes were highlighted by most respondents. These three themes were: men who rape, men who are violent to children and their partners, and men who commit murder. Nkanyiso's mother reported that:

Some men rape children without even knowing their HIV status. They rape these innocent children and passed the virus on them. These children will have to live all their lives with HIV because some men cannot control themselves. People say that these men are strangers but they can also be the children's fathers and other relatives. Let me tell you something, last year there was a father who raped his daughter. When we found out we reported the case to SOS and followed it until it was concluded and he was jailed.

Some examples of father's responses to whether there are some men who are a danger to children are as follows:

Some men are dangerous to have around children because they are violent. You see, these men are influenced by the ways they were raised by their parents. Because we are raised in different ways, some people are brought up in violent families; others are brought up like me, in Christian families. So those who are brought up in Shebeens are violent towards their children and partners because they don't know any other kind of life other than being violent. Children actually fear them like they are lions, when they

come into a room you will see children running away or acting like slaves. These are not good fathers (Njabulo's father)

Some men rape their own children! They turn their own children into wives. We hear cases where men rape their children. How can a hen eat its eggs? (Ayanda's father)

It is true that some men are dangerous to children. This happens in today's world.

Horrible things happen and you end up not knowing who to trust. You see, people are raping their own children or relatives' children; some even kill young children for muti (traditional medicine) to get rich, so it's difficult to trust anyone. Some men also rape Albino children because of the belief that if an HIV positive man sleeps with an Albino who is a virgin they will be cured of HIV (Asanda's father).

These reports indicate that despite all the positive things that are associated with having men in households, some men are not always assets to households. Children and women need to be protected from these dangerous men by men who are responsible, loving and caring.

6.13. Correspondence among reports from children, women and men about father involvement

High levels of correspondence were identified among reports from children, women and men on regular and low social father-child interaction; regular biological father-child interaction; regular biological father-child contact and regular social father-child contact. On men's financial support for children, most children and men agreed that men were providing financial support for children, while some women disagreed with both children and men's reports. The low levels of correspondence between children and men on the one side and women on the other may be attributed to both over-reporting and under-reporting respectively.

Married women and those in intimate relationships with the biological fathers of their children generally indicated regular father financial support to children regardless of the residency of the father, as compared to women who were no longer intimately involved with the non co-resident biological fathers of their children. Most children and women also endorsed a broad view of father involvement, extending beyond financial support, to include engagement and responsibility. While most men spoke of the importance of their financial support to children,

children and women reported children's intense hunger for a secure, abiding and constant father-figure. Children and women spoke of children's 'father-need' for safety, respect and companionship provided by men.

Agreement among children, women and men on the impact of father-mother relationship and residential patterns highlight the importance of well-functioning families on father-child involvement. Children in families where father-mother relationships are bad often suffer as they find themselves caught in father-mother conflicts, and this may affect the support they receive from both parents.

6.14. Discussion

Men are an essential component in the lives of children and they can and often do affect the development of their children in positive ways. In this thesis, the researcher highlights the perspectives of children, women and men concerning the roles that low-income, rural, South African fathers play in the lives of their children and families.

The micro-level, in-depth data available in this study generated insights into the contextual, and subjective aspects of rural South African fathers and those of their children. This chapter explored nine themes that emerged from the study on the roles of rural South African fathers in supporting children: (1) women as primary caregivers; (2) father-mother relationships and residential patterns; (3) father-child residential patterns and contact; (4) fathers' financial support to children; (5); father-child residential patterns and interaction (6) social father-child relationships; (7) fathering and the respect that comes with it; (8) barriers to fatherhood; and (9) the dangerous men. Overall, these themes consider the influence of the broader contextual environment, biological ties, co-residence, family social network, and marriage or father-mother relationship on father's investment in their children.

Community context, socio-cultural expectations and opportunities shape the lives of rural South African fathers. This study found that because of the isiZulu cultural expectations of men to pay *lobola*, without which the union between a man and the child's mother is not recognized by their families and community (Richter et al., 2010), a number of the children did not have daily contact with their biological fathers because their parents were not married (Hosegood et al., 2009). In this study only five children co-resided with their biological fathers, while the rest of

the children were living in non co-resident biological father households. Although this is a small qualitative sample, these results hold true of South African context where more than half of children do not live in the same household with their biological fathers (*see Chapter 5*) (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Three of the fifteen children living in non co-resident biological father households did not reside with their fathers but were in ongoing intimate relationships with the mothers of the children. In these three cases poverty and unemployment in the community has impacted negatively on the father-child co-residency, thereby robbing men of the opportunity to be involved in their children's lives (Hunter, 2006; Mkhize, 2006).

This study found that the quality of father-mother relationship was crucial for father-child involvement. Reports from female caregivers who were no longer involved with their children's biological fathers highlighted distant or non-existent father-child relationships. The children's biological fathers were not interviewed in these cases because they were not nominated by the focal child as important father-figures. Like in other studies, what is difficult to establish from this data is whether these fathers were inhibited, pushed out by kin influence or whether the fathers just disengaged from being involved in their children's lives (Madhavan et al., 2012).

These socio-cultural norms and contextual factors, together with high rates of separation and death, make fatherhood somewhat flexible, with other men sometimes assuming fathering roles regardless of their relationship with the child (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010). Also, in situations where children are raised by single mothers or grandmothers, fathering roles may also be performed by women. In South Africa, like in some African countries women usually assume the fathering roles in providing support and guidance to their children in the absence of male figures in the household (Morrell et al., 2003). It is, however, clear that children, women and men would like closer biological father-child relationships, regardless of residential status and the quality of mother-father relationship.

Results from this study clearly indicate the importance of social fatherhood in a South African context. Eleven children reported that other men other than their biological fathers were their father-figures, indicating the importance of kin in childrearing in the African context (Mkhize, 2004). While some children in the study indicated that these men were their social fathers because their biological fathers were deceased, other children chose these men as their father-

figures because they were more involved in their lives than their biological fathers. This study is in line with research in Africa which indicates that biological-father child relationship takes place within a larger web of relationships with kin (Lesejane, 2006; Mkhize, 2006). This data is consistent with results from other studies in South Africa that conclude that in the absence of biological father involvement, social fathers step in and assume the fatherhood roles (Madhavan et al., 2008; Richter et al., 2010).

While the importance of social fathers in households where the children's biological fathers are absent or uninvolved is often acknowledged, some participants in this study were also faced with a dilemma about the degree of trust they can accord to social fathers and the limits of their roles. For example, mothers' partners may be considered to be very important in providing support to their partners' children in the absence of the children's biological father, but did not trust them enough to leave their girl children in their care. Also, these social fathers are not able to enact socio-cultural rituals to appease the child's ancestors on the child's behalf because they do not belong in the same bloodline with the child. This would require the child's biological father or paternal family if the father is deceased.

This study, like other studies on father involvement across the world established the high value accorded to fathers' financial involvement in children's lives, more so if the father does not co-reside with the child (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2012; Hunter, 2006; Madhavan & Townsend, 2007). However, in the context in which this study was conducted it is important to acknowledge that the provider role of fathers is very difficult, if not impossible to fulfill for men who are unemployed and have very little or no education and skills that will enable them to find employment and earn income (Morrell, 2006). Limited employment opportunities and resources in this study area also limit men's potential to work and provide financially for their children and families.

There was a general consensus among participants that some men are dangerous to children and their families. Accounts from this study are consistent with reports of harsh, cruel and extremely dangerous behaviours by men, such as McIntosh Polela's (2012) testimony on how his father murdered his mother and then turned his back on him and his sister. However, most men are not

a danger to their children and families. But, for men to be respected as fathers in their communities, they have to be positive role models and be responsible.

To conclude, this chapter summarises that children, women and men were mostly in agreement that residency and father-mother relationships were very important for father-child involvement. Co-resident biological father households had high levels of correspondence among children, women and men, while some children and women in non co-resident biological father households gave conflicting reports on father-child involvement. This can largely be attributed to father-mother relationships because where women were either married or in intimate relationships with the fathers of the children, they reported positive father-child involvement regardless of residency, while it was not always the case where women were no longer in intimate relationship with the children's fathers.

This chapter focused on children, women and men's experiences of support children receive from men in rural KwaZulu-Natal. The following chapter seeks to examine the various determinants of father-child involvement, including exploring the influence of the family of origin on fathering experience and women's expectations of fathering.

CHAPTER 7: CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES WITH FATHERS AND THEIR INFLUENCE WOMEN'S EXPECTATIONS AND MEN'S EXPERIENCES OF FATHERING

7.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on adult women and men's experiences with their own fathers or father-figures and explores how these experiences influence women's expectations and men's experiences of fathering in a low socio-economic setting in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Data on women's perceptions examines how involved their father or father-figure was when they were growing up and compares their own father or father-figure's involvement to the involvement of the father or father-figure of their child; it also examines the fit between expectation and actuality. The chapter also explores men's relationships with their fathers or father-figures when they were children. Using this information, this thesis explores how men thought that their relationships with their fathers or father-figures when they were growing up influenced them when they became fathers or social fathers. The lessons that men learnt from their fathers or father-figures on how to be good fathers are also examined.

Eight critical themes emerged in these interviews: (1) father absence, (2) father-child co-residency, (3) father-mother relationship, (4) father-child involvement, (5) fathers in the breadwinner role, (6) a father as a moral leader and disciplinarian, (7) the gendered nature of fathering, and (8) the role of social fathers.

At the outset, the adult participants were classified into four groups (1) those who had no knowledge of their biological fathers and reported that they had no other childhood father role model, (2) those who knew their biological fathers but did not have an involved relationship with them when they were growing up, (3) those who did not know their biological fathers but had social fathers who assumed the father-figure role, and (4) participants who reported having an involved father during childhood.

Information on childhood experiences with their own fathers and women's expectations and men's experiences of fathering were analysed in pairs (the focal child's primary caregiver and father-figure). Of the twenty female primary caregivers and sixteen father-figures interviewed,

five pairs were biological parents of the focal children, married and living together. Three pairs comprised the matrilineal grandmothers and the children's non-co-resident biological fathers. Two pairs were made up of the focal children's mothers and their matrilineal uncles. The other two pairs were that of matrilineal grandmothers and uncles of the focal children. One pair comprised of the mother and the patrilineal uncle, while the other was made up of the patrilineal grandmother and uncle of the focal child. The last two pairs both included mothers of the focal children. One consisted of a mother and her partner, while the other had the focal child's mother and the matrilineal grandfather.

Data on women's expectations of fathering from four female primary caregivers (three focal children's mothers and one grandmother) who were not matched with the focal children's father-figures because the men were not interviewed was also analysed. These women's childhood experiences with their fathers and their expectations of fathering are as important as those women paired with the focal children's father-figures because they equally influence the fathering practices of the men in their children's lives.

7.1.1. Childhood father absence and adult experiences and expectations of fathering

One woman who reported not knowing her father and not having a male father-figure in her childhood said that her grandmother was her primary role model for parenting in her life. While she felt no sense of deprivation about being raised only by a woman, she was concerned about the impact of father absence on her son:

I did not know my biological father. I was raised by my grandmother... but I think I was better because even though I did not know my father, my grandmother supported me. I am a woman, and most of the advice I get comes from other women. But this is not the case with my son, Luyanda. Luyanda's father came to see me during the time I was pregnant until Luyanda was born, and then he disappeared. He does not even know what the child needs or whether the child is alive. There are things in life that a boy child needs to talk to his father about but unfortunately for Luyanda, his father is not there. Sometimes he asks me things that I cannot answer him. That's why I say even if I did not know my father, I am better off because I could talk to my granny.

This statement suggests a gendered perspective of father-child relationships in the Zulu culture, the notion that girls need a mother-figure and boys a father-figure in their lives.

Another woman reported not knowing her father because he had abandoned the family when she was very young. She was not able to compare her relationship with her father to that of her grandson's relationship with his uncle (the child's social father):

I would not be able to compare. My father went away when I was young so I would not know how the relationship was. But Sbu (her grandson's father-figure) eish! Sbu supports this child. There are very few people who do this. He looks after him like he is his own child. When Thabiso's father died, the mother just left, but Sbu said 'don't worry I will look after Thabiso.' Here at home you see, when we don't have something, he gives me money to buy.

All female participants who knew their fathers but did not have an involved relationship with them compensated for the recollections they had of their fathers with expectations of fatherhood that comprised of economic involvement and emotional attachment. Like Luyanda's mother, these women mentioned their mothers as primary role models for parenting. Their mothers were the breadwinners in the family, the person who disciplined and raised them. Nonetheless, they did not anticipate having to look after their children on their own, in the same way as their mothers had raised them. They expected their children's fathers to be available and to provide support to their children and themselves. At the other extreme, the negative experience that some women had with their own fathers made them value their involved partners' contributions in their children's lives. This is noted by Sandile's mother who stated that:

My father was not involved. He never spent time with us when we were growing up and he did not listen to anyone. Sandile's father (her partner) and my father are two different people. Sandile's father loves him; he knows that he is his child all the time. He is always protective. He does not eat if Sandile has not eaten. You see? Whereas mine would go to Johannesburg for the whole year and come back for two days, and he will go again for the whole year and come back for two days. You see that kind of thing? You see that my father is different from Sandile's father?

Two men who also did not grow up with their fathers reported compensating for not having involved fathers in their lives by being involved, nurturing fathers to their own children. Both male participants reported having been raised by female role models. Thabiso's uncle, who had been raised by his mother, stated that his mother was his role model "because she acted both as my mother and as my father, providing everything for me and my brothers and sisters. She taught me how to be a father" (Thabiso's nominated father-figure was his uncle). Thabiso's uncle also noted that because he did not have a male role model to look up to in his own household when he was growing up, he always looked up to his neighbour. He stated that: "I looked at the way he conducted himself. He looked after his family. I could tell this man was a good father, and I said I want to be like him when I grow up. I want to be able to provide and be there for my family."

The other male participant, who was raised by his grandmother, did not know either of his parents. He reported that because he did not have any relationship with his parents when he was growing up, he has made it a point that his children will not live like that. He stated:

You see, I did not have a relationship with both my parents. This is why I want my children to grow up knowing both their parents, knowing that their mother and father are close. Children must know their father (Asanda's father).

What is interesting about both Thabiso's uncle and Asanda's father is the fact that neither co-reside with their biological children. While Thabiso's uncle co-resides with him, he also has three biological children of his own living with their mother elsewhere. Asanda's father also does not co-reside with Asanda and his mother. Although father-child co-residence is an important determinant of father involvement, for many years in South Africa this has not been a realizable situation (Richter et al., 2012). South African national demographic data indicate that almost two thirds of children in the country do not live with their biological fathers because of labour migration, low marriage rates, together with cultural norms related to household formation and childbearing, housing shortages and so on (Holborn & Eddy, 2011; Statistics South Africa, 2011). Both these fathers cite not meeting the Zulu socio-cultural and economic expectations of not paying *lobola* to the mothers of their children's families as being the main barrier to their co-residence with their children. Even though father-child co-residence might

affect the level of father-child involvement, data from these men show that the quality of involvement is not affected by father-child residence.

Asanda's father reported spending time with his children. He argued that he is different from traditional Zulu fathers because he is more involved in his children's lives than traditional Zulu fathers were. Asanda's father states that:

Most Zulu fathers long ago used to send boys to the mountains to look after cows. They would not even talk or play with them, but this is changed now. You will find fathers sitting, talking and even playing with their children. I know everything that happens to Asanda. Although I do not stay with him every day, I phone him and ask him how school was, and I also ask his mother how he is doing. The time he comes to see me, I talk to him, watch TV, play the radio and sometimes even soccer together.

However, Thabiso's father painted a different picture about his engagement with Thabiso and with his other children. He spoke of the limited engagement which men have when it comes to emotional relationships with children. He stated:

I am an involved father who makes sure that the children get the basic necessities they want in life. I buy groceries, I buy them school uniforms, and I drive them to school every day. I provide everything I can but when it comes to emotional support, men are very weak. When I have spare time over the weekend, I take them for a drive to town or probably even to McDonalds and come back home after they have had their meal. I will probably hire movies and watch. That is it. It is very limited.

Despite not growing up with their fathers, these two male participants reported being involved in their children's lives and not wanting their children to live the kind of lives they had lived without their fathers. Both these fathers reported that residency was not an obstacle to their father-child involvement. But, these two fathers are different from one another – Asanda's father is emotionally engaged with his children, while Thabiso's uncle is not.

Sandile's mother, Thabiso's uncle and Asanda's father highlight the differences between their fathers' relationships with them as children and the father-child relationship they have with their children. In contrast, Nkanyiso's aunt (his primary caregiver) reported no differences between her own disengaged relationship with her father and the relationship Nkanyiso has with his

father. She states that “I did not spend a lot of time with my father because I was not living with him. It is the same with Nkanyiso in the sense that he does not live with his father. This happens (not co-residing with one’s father) but should not happen because it affects the relationship between the children and their fathers. He has to visit him if he wants to see him”. Unlike Thabiso’s uncle and Asanda’s father, Nkanyiso’s aunt views not co-residing with one’s child as something of a norm but also as an obstacle to both the level and quality of father-child involvement.

7.1.2. Co-residency

With the exception of one male respondent, all of the male and female participants who reported that their father was involved resided with their fathers when they were growing up. The one male who did not reside with his father reported that his father was involved in his life even when he did not reside with him. He notes that “when he was around he would come visit me all the time” (Sandile’s father). One participant acknowledged having a good experience with both her father and the father of her children. Nonetheless, she highlighted being non-coresident with her children’s father as a limiting factor. She stated that:

I was staying with my father so I would go to him and ask for help when I needed help, but I do not expect Sya (the father of her children and partner) to get along with Sandisile as much as I get along with her. Sandisile stays with me and not with Sya. How do I expect him to help her with homework when they do not stay together? If I tell him that the children need this and he gives me the money and I buy. He buys school uniforms, he buys books, and to get that I am the one who talks to Sya and not Sandisile (Sandisile’s mother).

The mother in this case acts as a mediator between child and the father. This is principally because, in Zulu culture, a child born out of wedlock belongs to the mother’s family, and a man may not be allowed to visit his child until he pays *inhlawulo* (Hunter, 2006). All respondents, however, agreed that co-residence was very important for father-child engagement. Even the respondents that did not reside with the fathers of their children indicated that staying together with their partners was important for father-child involvement and engagement.

7.1.3. Father-mother relationship

Female participants who reported having involved fathers highlighted their fathers' relationships with their mothers as having played an important part in their father's involvement in their lives. One participant had a close relationship with her own father but does not have a good relationship with the father of her child. She indicated that marriage of parents was important for father-child involvement. She stated:

When I was growing up, my father was here, married perfectly to my mother. My mother was not working at the first point. My father was the only one working in this house. He was paying for everything, buying us Christmas clothes and food. He was always there for his family. It is very good to grow up with both parents. Unfortunately my children won't get that kind of love from both parents. If a child lives with his father, the father will know exactly what the child needs at that time, unlike if they are not staying together. The mother will also always remind the father what is needed in the house and for the children if they are staying together (Zoma's mother).

Generally all participants, male and female, noted the importance of female partners to facilitate contact and minimize conflict so that fathers could be involved in the lives of their children. Whereas some male participants emphasized the importance of marriage for father-child involvement, other men argued that a good father-mother relationship is essential for fathers to be involved in their children's lives, regardless of marital status or residency. Even though some female participants generally acknowledged father-mother relationship difficulties, they still expected their children's fathers to be involved in their children's lives. Women stressed the importance of father-child involvement regardless of father-mother relationship and residency. One mother stated that regardless of the fact that her relationship with the child's father was not good, she expected the child's father to provide support for the child. She indicated "He needs to support him because the child is his son. It is his blood! His relationship with me is out of the question. He needs to support his child" (Anele's mother).

7.1.4. Breadwinner

Almost all participants highlighted the importance of fathers providing financially for their child regardless of their relationship status and residency. For example, when Ayanda's father is asked

about his role in the household, he states that “My biggest role is to support my family. I am the breadwinner in this family.” By contrast, when asked to compare her relationship with her father and that of her son to his father, one participant stated that:

I think both relationships are good, but my relationship with my father was better because my father was working. Asanda’s father is not working. I can see he loves his children, and whenever he gets a bit of money he buys some groceries for the family. You can see that this man is trying (Asanda’s mother).

In this Zulu context, the breadwinner role comes out as prominent in what people perceive as a good father. Anele’s mother also underlines this in saying that “My father was responsible; he made sure that we got everything we needed. Unlike my father who provided everything for us, Anele’s father is not the same because he is not always there for his child and does not provide much for him. It is his brother (Anele’s father’s brother) who is responsible. He is the one who makes sure that Anele gets the things that he needs for school.”

Most women indicated that they not only expected fathers to be breadwinners, providing financial support for their children and family, but wanted them to be both providers and nurturers. All women agreed that men needed to buy food, clothes, send children to school and buy their children uniforms and stationery. However, fathers had to go beyond financial provision to be available to their children emotionally, spend quality time with them and engage in their children’s activities, as well as showing other expressions of love. One mother stated:

Men think that being a father is just about taking money out of your pocket and giving it to the mother of their child. No! It’s not like that! The child needs a father who takes him out, maybe the child and the father can go and watch soccer. Maybe go to Wimpy and eat, just to say ‘my boy I love you.’ Well, giving money only does not show a child that you love him; you need to be always there for your child (Zinhle’s mother).

7.1.5. Father-child involvement

Female respondents highlighted the differences between their own father’s involvement with them and their children’s fathers. Sub-themes that emerged here were mainly that of traditional

and contemporary fatherhood which is more nurturant. In comparing her relationship with her father to the relationship her child has with his father, one mother said:

My relationship with my father is different from the relationship my child has with her father. My father never talked to children. We would be afraid to go and ask for anything from him. I would go through my mother if I wanted something from my father, and then my mother will ask my father. But now things are different, you see Nelisiwe can even go straight to her father and ask him for something she wants. I do not help Nelisiwe with her homework! It is her father who helps her with her homework. My father never did that. Maybe people are now civilized. There is a lot that has changed. Some men even play with their children and take them to school. Before, this did not happen (Nelisiwe's mother).

Male participants expressed the desire to be more available to their children than their fathers were to them. Like female participants, Nelisiwe's father even went further and asserted that traditionally, Zulu fathers were only providers who did not really nurture and provide affection to their children.

Our fathers were only providing money to the mothers to buy and take care of the family while they were away (as migrant labourers). Nowadays, fathers buy food and eat with their families on one table. Before, men did not love their children in such a way that my father didn't hold me on his lap. Traditionally, fathers did not even change napkins, but now we are changing napkins while the mother is doing something else. We are nurturing children now.

Most male participants indicated that they were assisting their children with their homework and helping with child care. Some fathers also spoke of spending leisure time with their children, unlike their fathers who did not spend time with them. Others reported being more affectionate and emotionally involved in their children's lives than their fathers had been with them. Njabulo's father described his involvement in his child's life:

Do you know that he can drive the car? Njabulo is nine or ten years. But he can drive now. I am sorry to say that because he is a minor, and the government can take me to jail, but I am trying to give him whatever love I can give him, although I am not the

kissing type. You know I am not the kissing or hugging type, but he knows that I love him.

The above statement suggests that there is a masculine sub-group norm that men ‘are not supposed to kiss and hug children,’ and this is seen as ‘a sign of weakness among some men.’ But other male participants reported ‘hugging and kissing’ as a sign of affection towards their children. Asanda’s father thinks there has been a shift in both the Zulu culture and men’s roles during childbirth and childrearing as important examples of father-child involvement at a very early stage:

Traditionally, in KwaZulu-Natal, when a woman was going into labour, her husband was not allowed to be in that room. He would stand outside the room until his wife delivers, and the baby would be brought to the room he would be in to see the baby. But now men can go into the theatre room with their wives. This is a new culture in KwaZulu-Natal which gets men to be part of their children’s lives.

7.1.6. Father as moral teacher and disciplinarian

A majority of respondents who said their own fathers were involved with them suggested that their fathers played the role of moral teacher and disciplinarian. In contrast, some participants stressed that their children’s fathers were more nurturing and emotionally supportive. One participant notes:

My father loved me very much, and he was very much involved, but he used to hit me. He was the kind of person who wanted things to be straight. You see at six in the evening you were supposed to be inside the house. If you were out after 6 pm you won’t come into the house. But you see Nokuzola’s father does not hit children. You will see all children feel safe around him. When a child does something wrong, he will guide her and tell her not to repeat the same mistake (Nokuzola’s mother).

Some female participants reported that their fathers did not play the role of moral teacher to them, as they were emotionally distant and expected their mothers and other females in the household to assume that role. Njabulo’s mother said that although her father was very supportive, he did not provide moral guidance to her and her siblings. She states “Our father

supported us, but we did not sit down and talk with him because we were girls. We were talking to our mother” (Njabulo’s mother).

Although some men reported that their fathers were their role models, they also noted that they modeled their lives on the good things their fathers did and tried to compensate for the negative experiences. Ayanda’s father reported taking the good deeds and advice from his father by avoiding drinking alcohol excessively and smoking cigarettes. He reports:

My father taught me to work hard, look after livestock and provide for my family. My father was a hard worker, but he was also a drunkard and chain smoker and would cause problems at home every time he drank. I then told myself that I would never drink alcohol if I wanted to have a happy family. I live in a respectful manner because I want my child to follow my footsteps. Children might follow everything you do, thinking that it is good because you are their father. I teach my children to show respect to their elders and also to go to Church. If children go to Church they will always know the right way to go in their lives (Ayanda’s father).

Sandile’s father described his own father as his role model. Although not around most of the time, when he was, he taught him to respect his elders, speak with manners and be a good person. Sandile’s father uses his experience with his own father as a yardstick for his current parenting. “This is what I also tell Sandile. He must show respect to his elders so that when he walks in the community, people will know he comes from a respectful family.”

Except for Njabulo’s father, no other fathers reported using corporal punishment to discipline their children when they had done something wrong. Fathers reported sitting down with their children and explaining to them what they did wrong, with some fathers telling their children the consequences of their actions if they continued to do the same wrong deeds. Njabulo’s father reported having modelled his disciplining style on that of his father who used to discipline him in the same manner. He reports:

I give them a hiding although the government doesn’t allow us to do that. The Bible says when you spare the rod, you spoil the child. I don’t want them to go astray, so I give them a hiding the proper way. I call them and we talk and I tell them where they

have gone wrong and we calculate the lashes they are supposed to get. Then I give them a hiding and tell them never to do it again or I will double the lashes.

From the above remarks, one can see that the importance of fathers' teaching and showing children the right path came across strongly from interviews with both men and women. Most fathers spoke of setting the rules and regulations for their households and how they would discipline children who break the rules.

This aside, in single-mother households, women reported that female primary caregivers had assumed the role of providing moral guidance despite the child's gender, especially in contexts where the child's father was deceased or uninvolved. One mother reported that:

Right now Zoma is too young, maybe at the age of 15 that's when he would need moral guidance from men, maybe because I will not be able to talk to him about everything in his life since I am a woman. Surely he will need his father around that time. But I think since my brothers are around they will be able to talk to him. But as for now, I give him advice on everything he needs to know (Zoma's mother).

This statement highlights that in households where biological fathers are absent; child's gender only comes to the fore when a child is in his adolescent years.

7.1.7. The shifting gendered nature of fathering

Most female respondents stated that father-child relationships when they were growing up were affected by gender. They reported that fathers mostly gave advice and spent time with their boy children while the girls spent time cleaning and assisting their mothers in doing the house chores. In this regard, most female participants also agreed that this gendered nature of fathering has shifted, and more men spend time with their children regardless of the child's gender. When comparing her father's involvement to the relationship her child has with her father, Wendy's mother said:

You see what fathers do nowadays, if a child is sick they will take the child to the clinic. Nowadays when Wendy's father takes her to the shops he even knows the size of underwear she wears. He takes the underwear he wants to buy her and checks if it fits

her. He does not behave like our old-fashioned fathers who said they could not touch a young girl's underwear.

Almost all female participants reported that their children's nominated father-figures are more involved in their children's lives than their own fathers were involved in their lives when they were growing up. Despite reports from female participants who said that nowadays fathers are more involved in their children's lives regardless of the child's gender, some fathers reported that their involvement varied by child's gender. The way in which fathers' socially reinforced masculine qualities was exemplified when Njabulo's father stressed that it would be difficult to talk to a girl child and he would leave that role to the mother of the child. He stated:

I cannot advise a female child; the female child has the mother to offer advice, like a mother cannot advise a male kid because there are things a man must talk about with other men. I have strong words for my boy children, they must know, we don't do this; if we do this we will encounter such a problem but I can't tell my girl child that when you start your menstrual circle you need to be careful of boys you see? No! I feel embarrassed. But my boys I teach them to be tough.

The aforementioned, accords with traditional Zulu practices where men did not provide advice or guidance to girl children, as this was considered 'women's domain'. Older men were only meant to advise, guide, and train young boys on how to behave like men.

7.1.8. The role of the social father

From the total sample of sixteen men, there were two male participants in the study who reported that they were raised by social fathers. One of the two (Tumelo's father) reported that his paternal grandfather was the breadwinner in the family, while the other (Nonjabulo's father) indicated that he was looked after by his maternal uncle. Tumelo's father said that his grandfather "was just like a father to me. Everything that I am doing right now, I was taught by him." He recalls how his grandfather taught him to herd cattle and how he always encouraged him to focus on his education so that he could have a bright future. Tumelo's father reported that he models his life on that of his grandfather because "he was an honourable man, who looked after his family and was full of love." He said that although he is divorced from Tumelo's mother

and that both of them have remarried, he makes sure that they get along for the good of their child.

Nonjabulo's father, however, paints a less rosy picture of his relationship with his maternal uncle when he was growing up. He was made to feel like an outsider. His uncle would take his cousins shopping and would buy them sweets while he was not accorded any privileges. Nonjabulo's father spoke of the pain he felt thinking that if only his parents had not died, then he would have had a better life.

My uncle did not love me. He just took care of me because society and everyone in the family expected him to take care of me. My cousins and I would come back from school and they would go and play but I was expected to help out with the gardening and everything that was needed for the house and if I made a mistake he would beat me up like I was a snake that had entered the house. I sometimes felt like killing myself.

Nonetheless, Nonjabulo's father also looks on the bright side of having been raised the way he was by his uncle.

But now when I look at everything that happened when I was growing up and the things I learnt, I thank my uncle because today I can do a lot of things on my own. If I had an easy life, maybe I would not be able to farm the way I do now. People come here to buy vegetables every day because of how I was raised. I love my children and I also appreciate my nephews and nieces and treat them like my children because I do not want them to feel the way I feel about my uncle when they think of me.

It is clear that Nonjabulo's father modelled the good life lessons he learned from his uncle, and he compensated for the negative experiences he had with his father-figure. These results need to be treated with caution, as we cannot over-emphasize the nature and importance of social fathers with data from only two male participants.

7.2. Correspondence between men and women's reports on childhood experiences with fathers and women's expectations and men's experiences of fathering

High levels of correspondence were identified between reports from the sixteen pairs of female caregivers and nominated father-figures on women's expectations and men's experiences of

fathering. These agreements suggest the importance of well-functioning families for father-child involvement. To varying degrees, all sixteen pairs agreed that the focal children's nominated father-figures were involved in their children's lives, regardless of residency and relationship status to the children. In these pairs, the different reports on childhood experiences with fathers between women and men did not negatively influence women's expectations or men's experiences of fathering. Women and men who reported having uninvolved fathers during their childhood expressed better father-child involvement between the focal children and their father-figures.

In spite of high levels of agreement between the pairs on the involvement of the focal children's nominated father-figures, some mothers who were no longer romantically involved with their children's biological fathers reported low biological father-child involvement. They expected their children's biological fathers to be more involved in their children's lives. Some of these mothers expected their children's uninvolved biological fathers to provide financially, to be emotionally available and spend quality time with their children regardless of the father-mother relationship. The mothers of children who had biological fathers who were providing financial support also wanted these men to spend quality time with their children.

Data from four women who were not paired because the children's nominated father-figures were not interviewed were analysed individually. One participant who had an involved father during childhood reported that her child's non-coresident father was financially involved in their child's life. She also indicated that she did not expect him to be always available because he did not reside with them. By comparison, another participant, who had an absent father when she was young, reported that she had not anticipated looking after her child on her own, in the same way she was raised by her grandmother. This participant felt her son was worse-off when compared to her childhood experiences because she at least had a female role-model to provide guidance and support to her, while her son did not have any father-figure to look up to for support and role modelling.

7.3. Discussion

Many studies on fatherhood stress the importance for a child of having an involved father (Lamb 2010; Pleck, 2010; Richter et al., 2011; Shwalb, Shwalb, & Lamb, 2013). This micro-level, in-

depth study begins to provide insights into how parents' own experiences with their father impact on their fathering roles and expectations in a low socio-economic setting in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Analyses focused on the contextual and subjective aspects of retrospective understanding of fathering and links to men's experiences and women's expectations of fathering. This thesis explored eight themes that emerged from the study on the roles of rural South African fathers in supporting children: (1) father-absence, (2) father-child co-residency, (3) father-mother relationship, (4) father-child involvement, (5) father as a breadwinner, (6) father as a moral teacher and disciplinarian, (7) the shifting gendered nature of fathering, and (8) the role of social fathers.

In line with North American studies on retrospective understanding of fathering, findings revealed that childhood experiences of fathering influence men and women's attitudes and behaviours towards fathering. Data from this study indicates that there is a positive association between childhood experiences of fathering and father-child involvement which is consistent with findings (e.g., Belsky, 1999) on the positive relationship between family of origin processes and father-child attachment. Furthermore, father's individual characteristics, quality of father-mother relationship, and women's expectations of fathering are important determinants of father-child involvement. Men generally want to be good fathers despite their history with their own fathers. This aligns well with the importance of both the modelling and compensatory hypotheses in understanding father-child involvement (Beaton & Doherty, 2007; Beaton et al., 2003; Floyd & Morman, 2000). Among participants, there was the expectation that father involvement extend beyond financial provision. Female participants expected children's fathers to be emotionally available and involved in their children's lives, rather than just being 'distant breadwinners,' providing financial support only. As with women's expectations, most male participants, with the exception of one respondent, who had authoritative or uninvolved fathers, emphasized how they are attached and engaged to their children despite Zulu traditional beliefs that fathers ought not to be too close to their children, for fear of 'overindulging the children' (Chikovore et al., 2013).

The sense of being able to provide is deeply entrenched in the Zulu culture and strongly associated with being a good father (Hunter, 2006). In KwaZulu-Natal, men's inability to pay *lobola* and provide economic support to their children and partners due to high rates of poverty

and unemployment (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010; Hosegood, McGrath, & Moultrie, 2009) have affected both most men's co-residency and their involvement with their children (Richter et al., 2010). Delayed marriage because of high socio-cultural and economic expectations, coupled with high separation rates and high non-marital fertility means that rates of parental co-habitation are lower, as is fathers' membership in the same households as their children (Hosegood et al., 2009; Richter et al., 2012).

Accordingly, socio-cultural and economic expectations may act as barriers to some non-coresident fathers who want to be more involved in their children's lives because father-child non-coresidency on its own affects father-child involvement. Nonetheless, despite these obstacles, results from this study also demonstrate that some non-coresident fathers maximize opportunities for intimacy and connection with their children by keeping regular telephone and face-to-face contact with them. This non-coresident father-child involvement should, however, be viewed in the context of the father-mother relationship. Similar to some of the previous studies in South Africa, this study's results indicate that men who father children outside wedlock in the Zulu tradition are not recognized as legitimate fathers until they follow certain rituals in line with acknowledging paternity (Richter et al., 2010). For this reason, their relationships with the children's mothers play an important role in their involvement in their children's lives (see also Cabrera, Ryan, Mitchell, Shannon, & Tamis-LeMonda, 2008).

In short, this thesis shows that in this context, socio-cultural and economic expectations, together with high rates of separation, make fatherhood flexible, with other men assuming fathering roles regardless of their biological relationship with a child (Rabe, 2007; Richter et al., 2011). Some men do live with and are social fathers to their non-biological children while their biological children are living in a different household. In situations where children are raised by single mothers or grandmothers, fathering roles may be performed by women. It is, however, clear that men as well as mothers would like closer father-child relationships.

7.4. Conclusions

These findings clearly show that men and women exercise agency in negotiating the demands of fatherhood. Men use their childhood experiences of fatherhood to guide them on how to perform as fathers and women use their childhood experiences to shape their expectations of fathering

and influence their children's fathers. While conceding these important determinants of fatherhood, it is also important to point out the dynamic nature of fatherhood, and in KwaZulu-Natal, it is influenced by other factors including socio-cultural, economic and societal expectations. While some men want to co-reside and be more involved in their children's lives, these expectations can act as barriers for poor men who may not be able to meet the socio-cultural and economic obligations to be involved in their children's lives.

Quality of father-mother relationship is an important determinant of father-child involvement (Lamb & Lewis, 2010). The testimonials of families in this study reveal that women who have a good relationship with their children's fathers, regardless of marital status or residency, are more likely to influence father-child involvement in a positive direction than those women who have a poor relationship with their children's fathers. At the same time, fathers try to overcome adverse childhood experiences with their own fathers, negative father-mother relationship, and contextual influences if they have high levels of fathering motivation and skills. Thus, men generally become good fathers if they are involved in their children's lives and have the necessary capabilities needed to be good fathers.

In the absence of a biological father or in situations where the biological father is uninvolved, there are other social sources (male or female) of support and alternative role modeling for children. As such, influences on fathering are not limited to men's childhood experiences with their biological fathers, but also include the role of other social figures who assume fatherhood roles in supporting children's development. More studies are needed on childhood experiences with fathers and how they influence women's expectations and men's experiences of fathering in other cultural contexts with families in different family structural arrangements from urban, middle- and high-income households.

CHAPTER 8: GENERAL DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the determinants of father involvement and the role of men in supporting children, as reported by children themselves, women who are the children's primary caregivers and children's nominated father-figures in the context of poverty. Using both quantitative and qualitative data, this thesis shows the various influences and impacts of fatherhood in a South African context. It highlighted that children women and men are very conscious of and feel strongly about father involvement. The first results chapter (chapter 5) discusses the determinants of father involvement, including survival and residential status of the biological father, financial involvement and father-child contact of non co-resident biological fathers, and the role of co-resident social fathers in supporting children. The second results chapter (chapter 6) discusses children, women and men's reports of male involvement in children's lives. The last results chapter (chapter 7) explored men and women's childhood experiences with their fathers and how this influenced men's experiences and women's expectations of fathering. This final chapter discusses the major findings of this study, recommendations for future research and general conclusions.

8.2. The conceptual models and major research findings

The study was informed by three conceptual models: the ecological model of child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the influences on fathering conceptual model (Doherty et al., 1998), and the three dimensional model of father involvement (Lamb et al., 1985). These models complement each other in conceptualising fatherhood in this thesis. The ecological and the influences of fatherhood models posit that individual, social and environmental factors are important determinants of father-child involvement. They both emphasize that fatherhood experiences are different from one context to the other. The tripartite typology of father involvement model mainly focuses on the behaviour of the father with his children. The three dimensional model of involvement added value to the study because apart from exploring the different determinants of father-child involvement using the ecological and the influences of

fatherhood models, it is also important to examine the nature and extent of involvement fathers have with their children.

8.2.1. Ecological model of child development

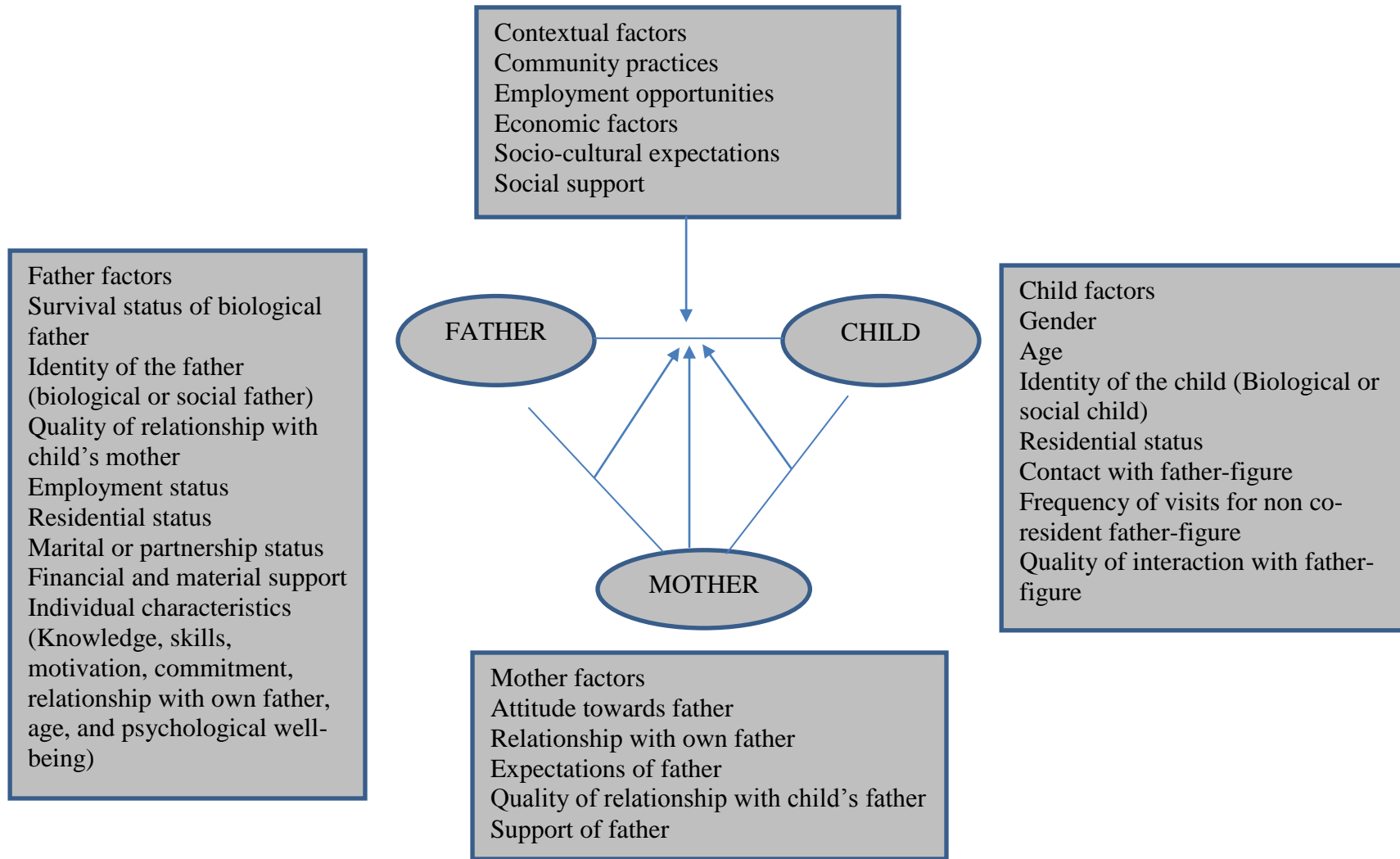
Although this model was not designed to specifically focus on fatherhood, it provides a general understanding that children are embedded in multiple levels that influence their development. Men are part of families and communities in which children grow up, thus influencing children's development in a number of ways. The various family, economic, socio-cultural and community factors that affect how children develop also affect men's roles in supporting children. This conceptual model was thus important in providing a general background on the different factors that influence men's involvement in children's lives.

8.2.2. The influences on fathering conceptual model and its linkages to the research findings

This study corroborates Doherty and colleagues' (1998) conceptual framework that essentially posits fatherhood as a social construction. While the findings in this thesis show that biological fatherhood is a very important determinant of father involvement, they also acknowledge the importance of other men who fulfill fathering roles despite their relationship to the child. However, this thesis goes a step further to include other father, mother and child factors which are important to fathering, while removing those factors that do not influence fathering in KwaZulu-Natal (see Figure 9).

Unlike the influences of fathering conceptual framework by Doherty and colleagues (1998), this study has included the survival status of the biological father as an important factor affecting fathering. In this context it is important to know whether the child's biological father is alive or deceased before one even starts to explore other determinants of father involvement. This study also found a relationship between mother's relationship with their own fathers and how these childhood experiences of fathering influence their attitudes and expectations towards fathering. Results from this thesis show that apart from other influences, mothers do compare their childhood experiences of fathering and expect their children's fathers to be better fathers than their fathers if their fathers were not involved fathers or to emulate their fathers if they were good fathers.

Figure 9: Proposed Influences of fathering conceptual framework in KwaZulu-Natal



Source: Adapted from Doherty, Kouneski & Erickson, 1998, p. 285

Results also revealed that individual characteristics of the father are equally important as determinants of father involvement. The study results indicate that some men want to be involved in their children's lives even if they had an adverse history with their own fathers. Consistent with previous research, results from this study suggest that some men overcome these adverse childhood experiences with their own fathers, negative father-mother relationships and difficult contextual influences and become involved fathers (Daly, 1993; Townsend, 2002). These fathers show a strong sense of responsibility and emotional engagement with their children. Their motivating power is that they do not want to be like their own absent or neglectful fathers.

In addressing child factors, this thesis did not focus on the behavioural difficulties, temperament and development status of the child that Doherty and colleagues (1998) explored in their conceptual model, because they aimed specifically at establishing child factors that influence fathering in this context rather than child outcomes. This study focused on the identity of the child (whether biological or social child) and the residential status of the child (whether or not the child co-resided with his or her father-figure). These distinctions are important to establish because they provide an opportunity to determine the motivation of support to the child from a father-figure. While this study did not systematically compare involvement between biological and social fathers in supporting children in KwaZulu-Natal, establishing a child's relationship to the father-figure may provide future opportunities to compare the role of social and biological fathers in supporting children.

The socio-cultural and economic contexts in South Africa act as a barrier to father-mother-child co-habitation (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010; Makusha et al., 2012; Richter et al., 2010). Due to the high unemployment and poverty rates in the area of study, poor men may not be able to co-reside and have contact with their partners and children because they cannot meet *lobola* and other marriage requirements (Hosegood & Madhavan, 2010; Posel et al., 2011). This study reveals that most co-resident fathers are married, employed and older. These results suggest that co-resident fatherhood is an attained status, achieved by men with greater life skills who are better-off economically.

Previous studies have focused mostly on mothers as the main sources of social support for fathers (Belsky, 1984; Doherty et al., 1998). However, this study shows that in this context fathers receive social support from a range of sources which include their paternal families, friends, traditional and spiritual leaders and the community at large. Also, NGOs and government departments are promoting good fathering practices by advocating against domestic violence and encouraging the notion of engaged fatherhood by endorsing positive messages of men taking responsibility and accepting paternity, providing care and support for their partners from conception, delivery, post-delivery, early childhood and the later years in a child's life.

8.2.3. The three dimensional model of father involvement

Lamb and colleagues' (1985) three dimensional model of father involvement, which emphasizes the importance of father availability, engagement and responsibility, generally applies to co-resident biological fathers in two-parent families (Lamb & Lewis, 2010). However, as mentioned in Chapter 3, in South Africa like in some African countries, not all children live in the same households with their biological fathers. This study reveals that residential fatherhood is a hard-won status in KwaZulu-Natal, as in the rest of the country, with only a third of children co-resident with their biological fathers (Statistics South Africa, 2011). While some children may live with their biological fathers in two-parent families, the majority of children do not reside with their biological fathers but may co-reside with other men who assume fathering roles. Results from this study indicate that there are some households which do not have men. In these households, women assume both mothering and fathering roles for children. These children in female only households may also receive support from non co-resident biological fathers or from their maternal or paternal uncles living elsewhere. Children receive support from multiple adults, with some providing financial support, while others provide social and emotional support for the child.

8.3. The methodological strengths of the study

This study has two general strengths. The study improves methodologies used in exploring the various determinants of father involvement in children's lives by using both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Participants in both the quantitative and qualitative samples were randomly selected to ensure that, on average, all participants had an equal chance of being

selected to participate in the study. The quantitative data provides a general picture of households with men, their relationship to the focal child and their roles in supporting children. The qualitative data provides an in-depth account of the different roles men play in children's lives and the various influences on fatherhood. The second strength is that the study explores and discusses unique features of fathering among Zulu cultural and family systems using a fairly homogeneous sample of participants in rural KwaZulu-Natal. This provides an opportunity for a comparative analysis of the results with those of other studies in different contexts.

The quantitative data provided a general overview and explored the various determinants of father-child involvement, in particular, the effects of father residence or survival status and the presence of other men in households of which the focal child is a member using SIZE baseline data.

The first qualitative study (results chapter 6) addresses the validity, reliability and interrelations of children, men and women's reports of men's involvement in providing support to children in a South African context. The proactive inclusion of men, women and children in research on support that children receive from men has the potential to inform new understanding and the development of new programmatic approaches and services which may more appropriately engage children's concerns and needs and better fit the capacity of both female caregivers and fathers or father-figures.

The qualitative data in the study made it possible to discern the informal, local systems of family support and the variety of contributions made by men in ways that less-intensive research methods cannot provide. The reports obtained from each household can be developed to provide good contextual information and also provide a perspective on the different support dynamics for children. Therefore, this study provides some baseline level understanding for local father involvement research and for future comparison.

The open-ended nature of the data collection also made it possible for the participants to report on the different kinds of support children are receiving from men and from their own perspective. In addition, the subjective nature of qualitative interviewing provided a platform to access individuals' personal interpretations of experiences and activities that are not apparent from structured questions or observations. Participants were able to present their own social

reality with respect to fatherhood issues rather than an interpreted reality, which is likely to be biased towards a researcher's socio-cultural background.

The second qualitative study (results chapter 7) has three methodological strengths. A major strength of this study is the measurement of both fathers' experiences and women's expectations of fathering. Both fathers' experiences and women's expectations of fathering were assessed nine to ten years after the birth of the focal child. This is enough time for both the fathers and the women to clearly and objectively reflect on their fathering experience.

Previous studies have used data from either males or females on their retrospective understanding of fathering (Dalton et al., 2006; Finley & Schwartz, 2004; Guzzo, 2011; Krampe, 2009; Krampe & Newton, 2006; 2012). This thesis acknowledged that paternal involvement is influenced by men's and women's attitudes towards, as well as experienced behaviours of fatherhood. Therefore, this study explored the views of both males and females on how they perceive their relationships with their fathers and how their childhood experiences of fathering have influenced their father-child involvement and expectations. This goes a step further than previous studies, which focused on father's attitudes toward father involvement (Dalton et al., 2006; Finley & Schwartz, 2004; Guzzo, 2011) without exploring men's experience of fathering relative to women's expectations of fathering.

A final strength of this study is that it explored the importance of other childhood role models, both male and female, these female and male participants had in the absence of their biological fathers. This thesis notes that although some men and women may rely on their experiences with their biological fathers, others depend on social fathers and female parental role models to provide essential alternative role modelling.

Having discussed the various strengths of the study, it is also important to acknowledge the limitations of the study. These limitations are discussed in the following section.

8.4. Methodological limitations

One limitation that should be considered in this study is that the sample is not representative of the current South African population. Therefore, generalizations about the various determinants of father involvement and the role of men in supporting children cannot be made for the entire

population of South Africa. However, this study is one of the few studies that have counted and described men and fathers in representative households. It provides a general picture of how many households have men, how many of these men are fathers, how many non co-resident fathers have contact with and provide financial support to their children, and the role of other men in supporting children in households.

Another limitation of the study is that the quantitative results suggest that social fathers play a less important role in supporting children than sometimes assumed, while qualitative data indicates that social fathers are important in children's lives. This inconsistency might be because quantitative data on the role of social fathers was only collected from children, while qualitative data was collected from children, women and father-figures nominated by the focal child. This study therefore might under-represent the role of social fathers in the quantitative data as it did not include views from women and men. Also, one cannot over-interpret the importance of social fathers based on the qualitative data because the sample is too small for generalization. Clearly more research, both quantitative and qualitative, is needed to examine the several determinants of biological father's residency – including socio-cultural expectations, reasons for absence and involvement in children's lives in other cultures and backgrounds, such as urban, middle and high income households. This will also provide more appropriate conclusions about the role of social fathers in children's lives.

This thesis' quantitative data is limited with respect to the different roles that social fathers play in children's lives, mainly because data on this issue was only collected from child participants. Future quantitative research should include data from children, women and men on the various determinants of social father involvement and their roles in supporting children. Understanding these fundamentals of fatherhood is crucial for the improvement of family policies already in place to better support and enable men to be more involved in the well-being of children. The roles of men in supporting children need to be valued and recognised, whether or not they are a child's biological father, and whether or not they are co-resident with their child over long periods of time.

8.5. Directions for future research

Determining father involvement in South Africa is complex. Given that work on fatherhood on the continent is still in an early phase, the suggestions for future research that this thesis makes below are neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. There is still need for a lot more research and debate on fatherhood in South Africa and the continent at large.

While research on father involvement has largely been guided by the two-parent dyadic model, within the South African context father-mother relationship and co-residence may be less important in determining father-child involvement than in some American and European societies. Future research on fatherhood in South Africa should consider the involvement of non co-resident fathers in children's lives that goes beyond financial support. It is already known that most non co-resident biological fathers mostly provide financial support to their children. However, the other kinds of father-child involvement in this context remain very much underexplored.

The involvement of extended family and broader kin network in the support of children is well known in this context. However, very little research has been conducted on the extent to which other members of the family other than the child's biological parents are involved in the children's life. More insightful research on the role of kin network in providing social capital for children is critical considering the fact that a huge numbers of children in South Africa do not reside with their parents.

Typically, researchers and policymakers have focused solely on mothers and children's reports of the involvement of non co-resident biological fathers. Not underestimating the difficulties of gathering information on non co-resident biological fathers' whereabouts and locating them, future research with large representative samples should focus on the involvement of non co-resident biological fathers in children's lives from children, women and the non co-resident fathers themselves. This will go a long way to address issues of validity of the data collected.

In this South African context, future in-depth studies should focus on the role of social fathers where biological fathers are alive but not co-resident with their children. There is need to link children's support from social fathers to that from biological fathers. It is important to establish whether these two support mechanisms (biological and social father support) complement each

other or conflict. Answers are needed for important questions such as: Do non co-resident biological fathers continue to be involved in their children's lives if other men assume the father-figure role in the households in which their children belong to or they withdraw their involvement?

In the context of poverty, future research should also consider the role of social capital in promoting involved fatherhood. It is essential to examine the impact of quality of father-mother relationships, society in which one lives, and how living arrangements impact on fathering roles.

8.6. Policy and practice suggestions

The way men behave in South Africa is strongly influenced by dominant ideals of masculinity, including norms related to binge drinking and being strong and tough, which often translates into being insensitive and unemotional. However, it is possible to engage dynamically with negative and harmful forms of masculine identities, and to work on nurturing and promoting alternative images of men, some of which are becoming more visible. Both formal education, as it is provided in schools, training institutions and places of higher education, and informal education through media channels and in the work of Government, NGOs and community based organisations (CBOs), are key areas in which to display, model and communicate representations of positive fatherhood and masculinity.

Local leaders, church elders and influential men in communities should also be encouraged to stand up and promote good fathering practices. Establishment of men's forums that share knowledge and skills important to fatherhood in communities is also an important intervention for men. This helps to reduce the pressures on men to conform to rigid and dangerous forms of masculinity, while focusing on the positive experiences that men generally report as they become more involved in caregiving and family relationships. There is also a need to work with traditional leaders to address the prohibitive and sometimes exploitative *lobola* charges to enable couples to live together and raise their children as a family.

Several South African government policies and programmes run by civil society organisations (CSOs) are aimed at assisting men to become and stay engaged with their children over the life course (e.g. the Brothers for Life campaign www.brothersforlife.org). However, while stable father-mother relationships, father-child co-residency and well-functioning marriages are

considered to be important for good fathering and fatherhood, in this South African context, where marriage rates are low and with many families separated, efforts should also be made to promote healthy father-child relationships that allow fathers more paternity rights that will enable them to be more involved economically and socially in their children's lives regardless of quality of parents' relationship or co-residency status. This can be made possible by improved registration of births which facilitates the establishment of legal ties of children to their fathers in non-marital relationships.

This thesis revealed that most co-resident biological fathers were employed, older and married. It is therefore important to recommend structural interventions that enable more fathers to be co-resident with their children and make positive contributions towards their well-being, including in the context of poverty. Given the socio-economic and cultural expectations of fatherhood in the area of study, where fathers are expected to be breadwinners, it is important that fathers are educated, trained and employed so they can secure livelihood, as well as retain jobs. The increase in earning ability, especially in low socio-economic settings will open doors for fathers to be involved in their children's lives. Fathers will be able to pay *lobola*, co-reside with their partners and children and provide financially for their children and families. Opportunities for father-child contact and communication, as well as activities together, are important in addition to financial support.

Government and CSOs should introduce programmes that encourage men to be more involved in their children's lives during the first important 1000 days of life by supporting women during pregnancy, at birth, in the early childhood years, and staying involved with children over the life course. This will assist new fathers to learn more about child care, increase and solidify their father-child attachment bond. Information needs to be made available to men about child care, hygiene, disease prevention, recognition, and treatment of child illness, nutrition and access to health services. Although, the proportion of biological fathers who co-reside with their children, in the absence of the children's biological mothers is very small, support also needs to be directed at those men who are taking care of children as single parents, due to divorce, non-marriage, or mothers' death. Therefore, there is need for policy changes and modifications to services to make them more inclusive of men and the important roles men play in the lives of children.

Relatives, friends, and even mothers need to support father-child involvement, as their lack of support may prevent men who want to be involved in child care because of norms endorsing male disengagement. Fathers need to be socialized on the importance of their engagement and availability in their children's lives regardless of their financial status. Men can be encouraged by insights from this study that children feel that fathers' love, affection, and father presence are equally important to them as financial support. Despite men being unable to afford to provide financially, children still need their fathers to be involved and to be their role models.

8.7. Summary of main conclusions

This thesis started with the premise that biological father-child residency is uncommon in South Africa. Nonetheless, most children do have contact with and receive support from their biological fathers regardless of their residential status. Where biological fathers are uninvolved or absent, social fathers and female parental role models assume the fatherhood role in supporting and guiding children. The findings of this thesis confirm that fatherhood is influenced by a host of factors, in which men and female role models may play significant roles in parenting – providing and caregiving – including for children who are not biologically their own.

These findings specifically show that households with fathers have a higher socioeconomic status compared to households without men. Thus, it confirms what has been documented in the literature, that households with men are likely to be better off economically, while households without men are worse off. This study also fills the gap in the literature about the determinants of residential fatherhood. Findings show that the odds of being married, older and employed are higher for fathers than other men in households, suggesting that residential fatherhood is achieved by men with substantially higher parental capacity – economically and socially – than other men.

Children who co-reside with their father are therefore likely to get better support and have greater parental involvement from both parents than children in households without fathers. Despite low levels of father-child co-residency, the majority of fathers do have contact with their children. However, only a third of non co-resident biological fathers provide financial support to their children. Policies and programmes need to be strengthened to ensure that non co-resident

biological fathers spend more quality time with and provide financially for their children as best they can.

This thesis confirms that the family of origin is not the only important determinant of father involvement. While it acknowledges that men usually use their experiences with their own fathers to model their involvement with their children, there are also a number of other factors that influence father-child involvement. This study reveals that women's experiences with their fathers and their expectations of fathering influence father-child involvement directly and indirectly. Contextual and environmental factors also play an important role in shaping fatherhood roles. Lastly, in support of the compensatory hypothesis, individual characteristics of a father are very crucial in influencing his involvement in his child's life regardless of the history of his family. This explains why some fathers who had adverse childhood experiences become good fathers, while those who had positive childhood experiences become bad fathers.

8.9. Last words

Despite high levels of father absence, reported violence and neglect by men, the role of caring fathers in the lives of children and families is undisputed. This research examined the various determinants of father involvement and how children, women and men experience the support children receive from men. With this information about the various influences and perceptions of father-child involvement, future research on fatherhood in this context needs to focus on how to improve men's involvement in supporting children and their families, building on existing knowledge of men's involvement in children's lives. Children, women and men want greater male involvement in children's lives. Policies and programmes aimed at promoting men's awareness of the emotional and economic support they need to provide to their partners during pregnancy, at birth and in early childhood, while addressing intimate partner violence and establishing legal paternity regardless of residence or relationship status with the child's mother would greatly increase the well-being of South African children.

REFERENCES

- Adomako Ampofo, A., & Boateng, J. (2007). Multiple meanings of manhood among boys in Ghana. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strelbel, N. Shabalala & R. Buikema (Eds.), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society*. Lansdowne: UCT Press.
- Allen, W., & Doherty, W. (1996). The responsibilities of fatherhood as perceived by African American teenage fathers. *Families in Society*, 77(3), 142-155.
- Ball, J., & Moselle, K. (2007). *Fathers' contributions to children's well-being: Father Involvement Initiative-Ontario Network*.
- Barclay, L., & Lupton, D. (1999). The experiences of new fatherhood: a socio-cultural analysis. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 29(4), 1013-1020. doi: 10.1046/j.1365-2648.1999.00978.x
- Beaton, J., & Doherty, W. (2007). Fathers' family of origin relationships and attitudes about father involvement from pregnancy through first year postpartum. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers*, 5, 236-245. doi: 10.3149/fth.0503.236
- Beaton, J., Doherty, W., & Rueter, M. (2003). Family of Origin Processes and Attitudes of Expectant Fathers. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers*, 1, 149-168. doi: 10.3149/fth.0102.149
- Belsky, J. (1999). Interactional and contextual determinants of attachment security. In J. Cassidy & P. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications* (pp. 249-263). New York: Guilford Press.
- Belsky, J., & Volling, B. (1987). Mothering, fathering, and marital interaction in the family triad during infancy: Exploring family system's processes. In P. Berman & F. Pedersen (Eds.), *Men's transitions to parenthood: Longitudinal studies of early family experience* (pp. 37-63). Hillsdale, NJ, England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Bhana, D. (2007a). Childhood sexuality and rights in the context of HIV/AIDS. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 9, 309-324. doi: 10.1080/13691050601116686
- Bhana, D. (2007b). The price of innocence: teachers, gender, childhood sexuality, HIV and AIDS in early schooling. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 11, 431-444. doi: 10.1080/13603110701391394
- Bhana, D. (2008). Beyond stigma? Young children's responses to HIV and AIDS. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 10, 725-738. doi: 10.1080/13691050802265183
- Bock, J., & Johnson, S. (2002). Male migration remittances and child outcome among the Okavango delta peoples of Botswana. In C. Tamis-Le-Monda & N. Cabrera (Eds.), *Handbook of father involvement: Multidisciplinary approach* (pp. 309-324). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

- Bowlby, J. (1988). *A secure base: Clinical applications of attachment theory*. London: Routledge.
- Braver, S. L., & Griffin, W. A. (2000). Engaging fathers in the post-divorce family. *Marriage & Family Review*, 29, 247-267. doi: 10.1300/J002v29n04_02
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (2005). *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Bronte-Tinkew, J., Moore, K., & Cabrera, N. (2001). *The developing a daddy survey (DADS) project: Framework paper*. Washington, DC: Child Trends.
- Burawoy, M. (1976). The functions and reproduction of migrant labor: Comparative material from southern Africa and the United States. *American Journal of Sociology*, 81(5), 1050-1087. doi: 10.2307/2777555
- Bzostek, S. (2008). Social fathers and child well-being. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 70, 950-961.
- Cabrera, N., Tamis-LeMonda, C., Lamb, M., & Boller, K., paper. (1999). *Measuring father involvement in the Early Head Start evaluation: a multidimensional conceptualization*. Paper presented at the The National Conferences on Health Statistics, Washington, DC.
- Carlson, M., & McLanahan, S. (2004). Fathers in Fragile Families. In M. Lamb (Ed.), *The Role of the Father in Child Development* (5th ed., pp. 241-269). New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Carlson, M., McLanahan, S., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2008). Coparenting and nonresident fathers' involvement with young children after a nonmarital birth. *Demography*, 45, 461-488. doi: 10.1353/dem.0.0007
- Carlson, M. J. (2006). Family Structure, Father Involvement, and Adolescent Behavioral Outcomes. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68, 137-154. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00239.
- Case, A., & Wilson, F. (2000). *Health and well-being in South Africa: Evidence from the Langebery survey*. Princeton University.
- Casey Foundation. (2009). *Responsible government: Investing in the well-being of black fathers, families and communities: Julia Carson responsible fatherhood and healthy families Act of 2009: Position Paper on HR 2979*. Seattle: Casey Foundation.
- Chikovore, J., Richter, L., & Makusha, T. (2013). Father Involvement in young children's care and education in southern Africa. In J. Pattnaik (Ed.), *Father involvement in young children's lives* (Vol. 6, pp. 261-278). Netherlands: Springer.

- Chirwa, W. (2002). Social exclusion and inclusion: Challenges to orphan care in Malawi. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 11, 93-113.
- Christensen, P., & James, A. (2008). *Research with children: Perspectives and practices*. New York: Routledge.
- Coley, R. L., & Hernandez, D. C. (2006). Predictors of paternal involvement for resident and nonresident low-income fathers. *Developmental psychology*, 42(6), 1041.
- Connell, R. (1995). *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cox, M. J., Owen, M. T., Lewis, J. M., & Henderson, V. K. (1989). Marriage, adult adjustment, and early parenting. *Child Development*, 60(5), 1015-1024. doi: 10.2307/1130775
- Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory Into Practice*, 39(3), 124-130. doi: 10.1207/s15430421tip3903_2
- Dalton, W. T., Frick-Horbury, D., & Kitzmann, K. M. (2006). Young adults' retrospective reports of parenting by mothers and fathers: associations with current relationship quality. *The Journal of general psychology*, 133, 5-18.
- Daly, K. (1993). Reshaping fatherhood: Finding the models. *Journal of Family Issues*, 14, 431-440.
- Danziger, S. K., & Radin, N. (1990). Absent does not equal uninvolved: Predictors of fathering in teen mother families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 52(3), 636-642. doi: 10.2307/352930
- Denis, P., & Ntsimane, R. (2006). Absent fathers: why do men not feature in stories of families affected by HIV/AIDS in KwaZulu-Natal? In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 237-249). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). The discipline and practice of qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2, 1-28.
- Department of Health. (2011). The 2010 national antenatal sentinel HIV and syphilis prevalence survey in South Africa. Pretoria: Department of Health.
- Desmond, C., & Desmond, C. (2006). HIV/AIDS and the crisis of care for children. In L. Richter & R. Morell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 226-236). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Desmond, C., & Hosegood, V. (2011). Men, families and HIV and AIDS. In Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Ed.), *Men in families and family policy in a changing world* (pp. 165-201). New York: United Nations.
- Doherty, W. J., Kouneski, E. F., & Erickson, M. F. (1998). Responsible fathering: An overview and conceptual framework. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 60, 277-292.

- Drew, R., Foster, G., & Chitima, J. (1996). Cultural practices associated with death in the North Nyanga District of Zimbabwe and their impact on widows and orphans. *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 11, 79-86.
- Epprecht, M. (2007). Review of Ouzgane, L & Morrell, R. (Eds). African masculinities: Men in Africa from the late nineteenth century to the present. *Postcolonial Text*, 3, 2-6.
- Ezzy, D. (2002). *Qualitative Analysis: Practice and Innovation*. London: Routledge.
- Fagan, J., & Barnett, M. (2003). The Relationship between Maternal Gatekeeping, Paternal Competence, Mothers' Attitudes about the Father Role, and Father Involvement. *Journal of Family Issues*, 24, 1020-1043. doi: 10.1177/0192513x03256397
- Finley, G. E., & Schwartz, S. J. (2004). The Father Involvement and Nurturant Fathering Scales: Retrospective Measures for Adolescent and Adult Children. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 64, 143-164. doi: 10.1177/0013164403258453
- Flouri, E., & Buchanan, A. (2003). The role of father involvement in children's later mental health. *Journal of adolescence*, 26, 63-78.
- Floyd, K., & Morman, M. (2000). Affection received from fathers as a predictor of men's affection with their own sons: Tests of the modeling and compensation hypotheses. *Communication Monographs*, 67, 347-361.
- Forste, R., Bartkowski, J., & Jackson, R. (2009). "Just Be There For Them": Perceptions of Fathering among Single, Low-income Men. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers*, 7, 49-69. doi: 10.3149/fth.0701.49
- Furstenberg, F., & Hughes, M. (1997). The influence of neighborhoods on children's development: A theoretical perspective and a research agenda. In R. Hauser, B. Brown & W. Prosser (Eds.), *Indicators of children's well-being* (pp. 346-371). Washington DC: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Glaser, B. (1965). The constant comparative method of qualitative analysis. *Social problems*, 12(4), 436-445.
- Green, J., & Thorogood, N. (2004). *Qualitative Methods for Health Research*. London: Sage.
- Grubb, L. (2010). Fathers ruling the roost. *Mamas and Papas*, 2, 137-140.
- Guma, M., & Henda, N. (2004). The socio-cultural context of child abuse. A betrayal of trust. In L. Richter, A. Dawes & C. Higson-Smith (Eds.), *Sexual abuse of young children in southern Africa* (pp. 95-109). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Guzzo, K. (2011). New Fathers' Experiences with Their Own Fathers and Attitudes Toward Fathering. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers*, 9, 268-290. doi: 10.3149/fth.0903.268

- Hauari, H., & Hollingworth, K. (2009). Understanding fathering: masculinity, diversity and change. London: Josephine Rowntree Foundation.
- Hawkins, D. N., Amato, P. R., & King, V. (2007). Nonresident Father Involvement and Adolescent Well-Being: Father Effects or Child Effects? *American Sociological Review*, 72, 990-1010. doi: 10.1177/000312240707200607
- Henwood, K., & Procter, J. (2003). The 'good father': Reading men's accounts of paternal involvement during the transition to first-time fatherhood. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 42, 337-355. doi: 10.1348/014466603322438198
- Holborn, L., & Eddy, G. (2011). *First steps to healing the South African family*. Johannesburg: African Institute of Race Relations.
- Hosegood, V., & Madhavan, S. (2010). Data availability on men's involvement in families in sub-Saharan Africa to inform family-centred programmes for children affected by HIV and AIDS. *Journal of the International AIDS Society*, 13, S5.
- Hosegood, V., & Madhavan, S. (2012). Understanding Fatherhood and Father Involvement in South Africa: Insights from Surveys and Population Cohorts. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers*, 10(3), 257-273. doi: 10.3149/ft.1003.257
- Hosegood, V., McGrath, N., & Moultrie, T. (2009). Dispensing with marriage: marital and partnership trends in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa 2000-2006. *Demographic Research*, 20, 279-312.
- Hosegood, V., & Timæus, I. M. (2006). Household composition and dynamics in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa: Mirroring social reality in longitudinal data collection. In E. van de Walle (Ed.), *African households: Censuses and Surveys*. Armonk, NY: M.E Sharpe.
- Human Sciences Research Council. (2006) The Fatherhood Project Newsletter, No 24.
- Hunter, M. (2006). Father without amandla. Zulu-speaking men and fatherhood. In L. Richter & R. Morell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 99-107). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Husserl, E. (1965). *Phenomenology and the crisis of philosophy*. New York: Harper Torchbooks.
- Hussey, J., & Hussey, R. (1997). *Business Research: A practical guide for undergraduate and post-graduate students*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd.
- International Encyclopedia of Marriage and Family. (2003). Fatherhood. *Encyclopedia.com*.
- Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2011). The relationship between intimate partner violence, rape and HIV amongst South African men: a cross-sectional study. *PloS one*, 6, e24256.

- Jick, T. D. (1979). Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24, 602-611. doi: 10.2307/2392366
- Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come. *Educational Researcher*, 33, 14-26. doi: 10.3102/0013189x033007014
- Kaufman, C., Maharaj, P., & Richter, L. (1998). *Children's schooling in South Africa: Transitions and tensions in households and communities*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Chicago.
- Kisoon, C., Caesar, M., & Jithoo, T. (2002). Whose Right. *AIDS Review* 162.
- Knight, L. (2011). Social networks and state grants: sustaining the livelihoods of households affected by HIV and AIDS in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Doctor of Philosophy, University of London, London.
- Krampe, E. (2009). When Is the Father Really There?: A Conceptual Reformulation of Father Presence. *Journal of Family Issues*, 30, 875-897. doi: 10.1177/0192513x08331008
- Krampe, E., & Newton, R. (2006). The Father Presence Questionnaire: A New Measure of the Subjective Experience of Being Fathered. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers*, 4, 159-190. doi: 10.3149/fth.0402.159
- Krampe, E., & Newton, R. (2012). Reflecting on the Father: Childhood Family Structure and Women's Paternal Relationships. *Journal of Family Issues*, 33, 773-800. doi: 10.1177/0192513x11425778
- Lamb, M. (1986). The changing roles of fathers. In M. Lamb (Ed.), *The father's role: Applied perspectives* (pp. 3-27). New York: Wiley.
- Lamb, M. (1997). *The role of the father in child development* (3rd ed.). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Lamb, M., & Day, R. (2003). *Conceptualizing and measuring father involvement*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Lamb, M., & Lewis, C. (2010). The development and significance of father-child relationships in two parent families. In M. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (5th ed., pp. 94-153). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Lamb, M., Pleck, J., Charnov, E., & Levine, J. (1985). Paternal behavior in humans. *American Zoologist*, 25, 883-894.
- LaRossa, R. (1988). Fatherhood and social change. *Family Relations*, 37, 451-457. doi: 10.2307/584119
- Lesejane, D. (2006). Fatherhood from an African cultural perspective. In L. Richter & R. Morell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 173-182). Cape Town HSRC Press.

- Lindegger, G. (2006). The father in the mind. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 121-131). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Lloyd, C., & Blanc, A. (1996). Children's schooling in sub-Saharan Africa: The role of fathers, mothers, and others. *Population and Development Review*, 22, 265-298.
- Madhavan, S., Gross, M., Richter, L., Norris, S., & Hosegood, V. (2012). *Fathering across the early life course in urban South Africa*. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Population Association of America, San Francisco, CA.
- Madhavan, S., & Roy, K. (2011). Securing fatherhood through kinwork: A comparison of black fathers and families in South Africa and the U.S. *Journal of Family Issues*, 33, 801-822.
- Madhavan, S., & Townsend, N. (2007). The social context of children's nutritional status in rural South Africa. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 35, 107-117.
- Madhavan, S., Townsend, N., & Garey, A. (2008). 'Absent breadwinners': Father-child connections and paternal support in rural South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34, 647-663.
- Makusha, T., Richter, L., & Bhana, D. (2012). Children's experiences of support they receive from men in the context of HIV/AIDS and poverty in rural KwaZulu-Natal as reported by men, women and children. *Africa Development, Special Issue on Parent's Involvement in Children's Lives in Africa XXXVII*, 129-154.
- Makusha, T., Richter, L., & Chikovore, J. (in press, 2013). Fatherhood and masculinities in South Africa. In PACSA (Ed.), *What is means to be a man*. Pietermaritzburg: PACSA, Sonke Gender Justice, UJAMAA, the Cente for Justice and Contemplation.
- Marsiglio, W. (1991). Paternal engagement activities with minor children. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 53(4), 973-986. doi: 10.2307/353001
- Marsiglio, W. (1995). *Fatherhood: contemporary theory, research, and social policy: Research on men and masculinities, Series 7*.
- Marsiglio, W., & Cohan, M. (2000). Contextualizing father involvement and paternal influence: Sociological and qualitative themes. *Marriage & Family Review*, 29(2-3), 75-95. doi: 10.1300/J002v29n02_06
- Marsiglio, W., Day, R. D., & Lamb, M. E. (2000). Exploring Fatherhood Diversity. *Marriage & Family Review*, 29, 269-293. doi: 10.1300/J002v29n04_03
- Martin, A., Ryan, R. M., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2010). When fathers' supportiveness matters most: Maternal and paternal parenting and children's school readiness. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 24, 145-155.

- Masciadrelli, B., Pleck, J., & Stueve, J. (2006). Fathers' role model perceptions. *Men and Masculinities*, 9, 23-34.
- Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative researching*. London: Sage.
- Mathambo, V., & Gibbs, A. (2009). Extended family childcare arrangements in a context of AIDS: collapse or adaptation? *AIDS care*, 21, 22-27.
- Mathews, S., Jewkes, R., & Abrahams, N. (2011). 'I had a Hard Life': Exploring Childhood Adversity in the Shaping of Masculinities among Men Who Killed an Intimate Partner in South Africa. *British Journal of Criminology*, 51, 960-977. doi: 10.1093/bjc/azr051
- Maurer, T. W., Pleck, J. H., & Rane, T. R. (2001). Parental Identity and Reflected-Appraisals: Measurement and Gender Dynamics. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63, 309-321. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00309.x
- McBride, B. A., Brown, G. L., Bost, K. K., Shin, N., Vaughn, B., & Korth, B. (2005). Paternal identity, maternal gatekeeping, and father involvement. *Family Relations*, 54, 360-372. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3729.2005.00323.x
- Mkhize, N. (2004). Who is a father? *ChildrenFirst*, 56(July/Aug), 3-8.
- Mkhize, N. (2006). African traditions and the social, economic and moral dimensions of fatherhood. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 183-198). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Montgomery, C. M., Hosegood, V., Busza, J., & Timæus, I. M. (2006). Men's involvement in the South African family: Engendering change in the AIDS era. *Social Science & Medicine*, 62, 2411-2419. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.10.026>
- Morrell, R. (2006). Fathers, fatherhood and masculinity in South Africa. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 13-25). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Morrell, R., & Jewkes, R. (2011). Carework and caring: A path to gender equitable practices among men in South Africa? *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 10, 17.
- Morrell, R., Posel, D., & Devey, R. (2003). Counting Fathers in South Africa: Issues of Definition, Methodology and Policy. *Social Dynamics*, 29, 73-94. doi: 10.1080/02533950308628676
- Mott, F. L. (1990). When is a father really gone? Paternal--child contact in father-absent homes. *Demography*, 27, 499-517.
- Msunduzi Municipality. (2011). Integrated development plan 2011-2016 and beyond. Pietermaritzburg: Msunduzi Municipality.
- Myers, M. (1997). Qualitative research in information systems. *MIS Quarterly*, 21, 241-242.

- Nduna, M., & Jewkes, R. (2011). Undisclosed Paternal Identity in Narratives of Distress Among Young People in Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 20, 303-310. doi: 10.1007/s10826-010-9393-4
- Nicholson, J., Howard, K., & Borkowski, J. (2008). Mental Models for Parenting: Correlates of Metaparenting among Fathers of Young Children. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers*, 6, 39-61. doi: 10.3149/fth.0601.39
- Nsamenang, A. (1987). A West African perspective. In M. Lamb (Ed.), *The Father's Role: Cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 273-293). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Nsamenang, A. (1989). *The social ecology of Cameroonian childhood*. Paper presented at the The Tenth Biennial Meetings of the International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development, Jyväskylä, Finland.
- Nsamenang, A. (2000). Fathers, families, & child well-being: A review of the literature. Philadelphia, PA: National Center on Fathers and Families.
- Nsamenang, A. B., & Lamb, M. E. (1995). The force of beliefs: How the parental values of the Nso of Northwest Cameroon shape children's progress toward adult models. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 16, 613-627. doi: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0193-3973\(95\)90007-1](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0193-3973(95)90007-1)
- Patton, M. Q. (1980). *Qualitative evaluation methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Pleck, J. (1997). Paternal involvement: Levels, sources, and consequences. In M. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (3rd ed., pp. 66-103). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Pleck, J. H. (2007). Why could father involvement benefit children? Theoretical perspectives. *Applied Developmental Science*, 11, 196-202. doi: 10.1080/10888690701762068
- Plomin, R. (1989). Environment and genes. Determinants of behavior. *The American psychologist*, 44, 105.
- Polela, M. (2012). *My father, my monster*. Johannesburg: Jacana.
- Posel, D., & Devey, R. (2006). The demographics of fatherhood in South Africa: An analysis of survey data, 1993-2002. In L. Richter & R. Morell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 38-52). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Posel, D., Rudwick, S., & Casale, D. (2011). Is marriage a dying institution in South Africa? Exploring changes in marriage in the context of ilobolo payments. *Agenda*, 25(1), 102-111. doi: 10.1080/10130950.2011.575589
- Prout, A. (2005). *The future of childhood: Toward the interdisciplinary study of children*. London: Routledge Falmer Press.

- Rabe, M. (2006). Being a father in a man's world: The experiences of goldmine workers. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Fathers and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 250-264). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Rabe, M. (2007). My children, your children, our children. Fathers, female partners and household structures. *South African Review of Sociology*, 38, 161-175.
- Ramphele, M. (1993). *A Bed Called Home: Life in the Migrant Labour Hostels of Cape Town*. Cape Town & Johannesburg: David Phillip.
- Ramphele, M. (2002). *Steering by the Stars: Being young in South Africa*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Ramphele, M., & Richter, L. (2006). Migrancy, family dissolution and fatherhood. In L. Richter & R. Morell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 73-81). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Rane, T., & McBride, B. (2000). Identity theory as a guide to understanding fathers' involvement with their children. *Journal of Family Issues*, 21, 347-366. doi: 10.1177/019251300021003004
- Richards, L. (2005). *Handling qualitative data: a practical guide: Part 1*. London: Sage.
- Richter, L., Chikovore, J., & Makusha, T. (2010). The status of fatherhood and fathering in South Africa. *Childhood Education*, 86, 360-365.
- Richter, L., Chikovore, J., Makusha, T., Bhana, A., Mokomane, Z., Swartz, S., & Makiwane, M. (2011). Fatherhood and families. In Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Ed.), *Men in families and family policy in a changing world* (pp. 49-84). New York: United Nations.
- Richter, L., Desmond, C., Hosegood, V., Madhavan, S., Makiwane, M., Makusha, T., Morrell, R., & Swartz, S. (2012). *Fathers and other men in the lives of children and families*. Paper presented at the Strategies to overcome poverty and inequality: Towards Carnegie III, University of Cape Town, South Africa.
- Richter, L., Foster, G., & Sherr, L. (2006). *Where the heart is: Meeting the psychosocial needs of young children in the context of HIV/AIDS*. The Hague: Bernard van Leer Foundation.
- Richter, L., Manegold, J., Pather, R., & Mason, A. (2004). Harnessing our manpower. *ChildrenFIRST*, 8, 16-20.
- Richter, L., & Morrell, R. (2006). Introduction. In L. Richter & R. Morell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 1-12). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Richter, L., & Morrell, R. (2008). Fathering: The role of men in raising children in Africa—Holding up the other half of the sky. In M. Garcia, A. Pence & J. Evans (Eds.), *Africa's future, Africa's challenge: Early childhood care and development in sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, D. C.: World Bank.

- Richter, L., Sherr, L., Adato, M., Belsey, M., Chandan, U., Desmond, C., Drimie, S., Haour-Knipe, M., Hosegood, V., Kimou, J., Madhavan, S., Mathambo, V., & Wakhweya, A. (2009). Strengthening families to support children affected by HIV and AIDS. *AIDS Care*, *21*, 3-12. doi: 10.1080/09540120902923121
- Richter, L., & Smith, W. (2006). Children's views of fathers. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 155-172). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Ritchie, J., & Spencer, L. (1994). Qualitative data analysis for applied policy research. In A. Bryman & R. Burgess (Eds.), *Analyzing qualitative data*. London: Routledge.
- Roggman, L., Fitzgerald, H., Bradley, R., & Raikes, H. (2002). Methodological, measurement, and design issues in studying fathers: an interdisciplinary perspective. In C. Tamis-LeMonda & N. Cabrera (Eds.), *Handbook of father involvement: interdisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 1-30). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum & Associates.
- Roy, K. (2008). A life course perspective on fatherhood and family policies in the United States and South Africa. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers*, *6*, 92-112.
- Russell, M. (2003). Understanding black households: the problem. *Social Dynamics*, *29*, 5-47.
- Schacht, P., Cummings, E., & Davies, P. (2009). Fathering in family context and child adjustment: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *23*, 790.
- Seale, C., & Silverman, D. (1997). Ensuring rigour in qualitative research. *European Journal of Public Health*, *7*, 379-384.
- Shisana, O., Rehle, T., Simbayi, L., Parker, W., Bhana, K. A., Connolly, C., . . . Pillay, V. (2005). South African National HIV Prevalence, HIV Incidence, Behaviour and Communication Survey, 2005. Technical Report. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Silverman, D. (1998). The quality of qualitative health research: The open-ended interview and its alternatives. *Social Sciences in Health*, *4*, 104-118.
- Silverman, D. (2010). *Doing Qualitative Research* (Third ed.). London: Sage.
- Smith, C. A., Krohn, M. D., Chu, R., & Best, O. (2005). African American Fathers: Myths and Realities About Their Involvement With Their Firstborn Children. *Journal of Family Issues*, *26*, 975-1001. doi: 10.1177/0192513x05275421
- Spiegel, A. (1987). Dispersing dependents: a response to the exigencies of labour migration in rural Transkei. In J. Eades (Ed.), *Migrants, Workers and the Social Order* (pp. 113-129). London: Tavistock.
- Spiegel, A., & Mehlwana, A. (1997). Family as social network: Kinship and sporadic migrancy in the Western Cape's Khayelitsha. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council.

- Spiegel, A., Watson, V., & Wilkinson, P. (1996). Domestic diversity and fluidity among some African households in Greater Cape Town. *Social Dynamics*, 22, 7-30. doi: 10.1080/02533959608458599
- Stake, R. (2000). Case studies. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 435–454). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Statistics South Africa. (2007). Community Survey, 2007: Basic Results: Municipalities: Statistical release P0301.1. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.
- Statistics South Africa. (2011). General Household Survey 2010: Statistical release P0318. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.
- Sullivan, R. (2000). *Fathering and children - the contemporary context*. Paper presented at the The focus on fathering symposium at the 7th AIFS Conference, Sydney.
- Swartz, S., & Bhana, A. (2009). *Teenage Tata: Voices of young fathers in South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Tach, L., Mincy, R., & Edin, K. (2010). Parenting as A “package deal”: Relationships, fertility, and nonresident father involvement among unmarried parents. *Demography*, 47, 181-204. doi: 10.1353/dem.0.0096
- Tamis-LeMonda, C., & Cabrera, N. (1999). Perspectives on father involvement: Research and policy. *Society for Research in Child Development*, XIII, 1-32.
- Temple, B. (1997). Watch your tongue: Issues in translation and cross-cultural research. *Sociology*, 31, 607-618.
- Thorn, B., & Gilbert, L. (1998). Antecedents of work and family role expectations of college men. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 12, 259-267.
- Townsend, N. (2002a). Cultural contexts of father involvement. In C. Tamis-LeMonda & N. Cabrera (Eds.), *Handbook of father involvement multidisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 249-277). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Townsend, N. (2002b). *The package deal: Marriage, work and fatherhood in men's lives*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Townsend, N., Madhavan, S., & Garey, A. (2006). Father presence in rural South Africa: historical changes and life-course patterns. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 32, 173-190.
- UNAIDS. (2011). HIV and AIDS estimates (2011). Pretoria: UNAIDS.
- van Onselen, C. (1976). *Chibaro: African mine labour in Southern Rhodesia 1910-1933*. London: Pluto Press.

Verhoef, H. (2005). A child has many mothers': Views of child fostering in northwestern Cameroon. *Childhood, 12*, 369-390.

Wattenberg, E. (1993). Paternity actions and young fathers. In R. Lerman & T. Ooms (Eds.), *Young unwed fathers: Changing roles and emerging policies*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Wilson, F. (2006). On being a father and poor in southern Africa today. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 26-37). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Zwang, J., & Garenne, M. (2009). Social context of premarital fertility in rural South-Africa. *African Journal of Reproductive Health, 12*, 98-110.