(EXAMINERS COPY)

Fathering in current times: A thematic analysis of Botswanan men's fatherhood experiences

BOTHO NANVULA RAMONKGA

(214563359)

Supervisor: Ms Kerry Frizelle

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of:

Master of Social Science (Clinical Psychology)

In the Graduate Programme in the College of Humanities, School of Applied Human Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College, South Africa.

August 2019

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION

I, Botho Nanvula Ramonkga, declare that:

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

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

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

4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
   a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced.
   b. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks, and referenced.

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

This thesis is submitted with my support

Kerry Frizelle

Supervisor Name

Supervisor's Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

There is a clear shortage of studies that explore how fatherhood is constructed and experienced in Botswana. The purpose of this study was, therefore, to explore how Botswanan men construct fatherhood. The philosophical and methodological premise of social constructionism was adopted to frame the study. A thematic analysis of data, collected using qualitative interviews of Botswanan fathers aged between 21- 45 years, identified a number of central themes: "construction of Botswanan fatherhood", "positioning in relation to others", "types of fathering", "doing fathering differently" and "factors influencing fatherhood." This study argues that fatherhood is dependent on prevalent discourses within society and is dynamic. Most men who took part in the study drew on wider cultural discourses such as the provider and disciplinarian roles to construct fatherhood and renegotiate wider historical discourses and incorporated them in new ways. Their roles extended beyond simply being the provider and disciplinarian and included emotional care and good communication. Another argument is that historical cultural views can be reinforced at the very same time that aspects of them are being challenged. This study showed that although most fathers challenged the role of the father as provider and disciplinarian, they reverted very strongly to traditional cultural and religious positions that the father should be heterosexual.

Key words: Fatherhood, social constructionism, culture, hegemonic masculinity

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. 1 Background of the father in the family

According to Hunter (2006) perceptions of a 'successful' African home before and during the colonial period was based on a man's fertility and control over large amounts of agricultural labour. As such, men who had the most children were highly respected because having lots of children implied wealth. Wealth was measured by men's ability to provide for their kin (Hunter, 2006). Over and above this economic aspect of providing for their kin, the father was generally a present figure who was always there (Hunter, 2006). Not only was he physically present he was also there as a disciplinarian who instilled values and guided his children. Historically these were the roles of the father (Hunter, 2006). However, in the twentieth century several factors such as wars, industrialisation and labour migration changed the roles of fathers (Hunter, 2006).

The colonial period in Africa was characterised by multiple conflicts which ensued into wars and forced migration of Bantu communities (Saunders, 1988). For instance, in Botswana men were forced to migrate and work in South African mines as a means of raising capital required for purchasing guns, which were used to protect their tribes during the Boer invasions (Schapera cited in Mookodi, 2000). In addition, during this period, Botswanan families were required to pay taxes. In response to colonial demands increasing numbers of Botswanan men migrated and sought work in mines in South Africa (Mookodi, 2000). Consequently, migrant labour detached many men from their homesteads and they became distant providers, however, this breadwinner role earned them power and respect within the home (Hunter, 2006).

As a result of migration Botswanan men lived away from their families for long periods of time, and visited sporadically (Mookodi, 2000). As such, their fathering roles changed because they were not directly involved in parenting and this left significant gaps in their families (Chereni, 2015). Consequently, collective fatherhood compensated for paternal absence in Botswana. In most instances maternal uncles and grandfathers played an important role in child upbringing, because they made up for the missing father in the traditional family institution (Hunter, 2006; Mkhize, 2006) . Nonetheless, during the colonial period relationship patterns were significantly affected, as such, the practice of collective fatherhood during this period rapidly declined because families transitioned from extended to nuclear families (Hunter, 2006).

Aldous (1998) suggests that nuclear families were strengthened during the European state formation. During this period, rulers were trying to unite their power, and as a result, the government discouraged extended families, because they regarded them as a risk to the growing influence of the centralised colonial government (Aldous, 1998). Consequently, African families were disrupted, such that family practices and norms were "pressed into the western mould of a nuclear family" (Russell, 2003, p. 5). With this in mind, it could be argued that the colonial system disrupted the traditional Botswanan family structure. This historical analysis also highlights the socially constructed nature of fatherhood, which is negotiated and constructed within complex historical, economic and political contexts.

The household survey conducted in 2015/16 reveal that almost 46.5% of households in Botswana are female headed (Statistics Botswana, 2018). Paternal absence in families is mainly attributed to the declining rates of marriages and the increasing proportions of single mothers in Botswana (Mookodi, 2000). The prevalence of absent fathers in Botswana is constructed as a huge challenge in the country's advancement because absent fathers are seen as being linked to increases in rates of poverty, behavioural problems such as youth crimes, drug and alcohol abuse, promiscuity and teenage pregnancies which in turn increases the HIV prevalence rate, and reduces life expectancy due to high mortality rates of young people (Fuh & Mookodi, 2004). These incidences are, in turn, seen as detrimental to Botswana's development (Fuh & Mookodi, 2004; Roy, 2008).

1. 2   Representations and perceptions of Botswanan fathers

The main view constructed by media, research and government sources African countries, such as South Africa, is that men are not playing their role as fathers because they are absent in households (Clowes, Ratele, & Shefer, 2013). Still in South Africa, absent fathers in media and research are often problematically represented as unable to care for their offspring (Marcisz, 2014). Unfortunately, this stereotype of the uncaring father portrayed by the media and research has "served to reproduce an image of men, in particular poor black men, as either not fulfilling their expected roles as fathers, and/or performing these badly" (Ratele, Shefer, & Clowes, 2012, p. 554). In the same vein Botswanan fathers are, therefore, positioned as problematic. This is popular, although problematic, representation of fatherhood is misleading, since very little is known about Botswanan

fathers and how they relate with their children because their experiences are mostly not documented.

Literature suggests that Botswana has strong patriarchal roots (Ramatala, Bloom, & Machao, 2016). Men tend to dominate decision-making in families and communities. Existing policies in Botswana tend to reflect a narrow view of men's contribution to family life as men are mainly portrayed as providers rather than equal partners in child care, in turn, this has resulted in men being excluded from most policy considerations (United Nations, 2011; Ramatala et al., 2016). Research highlights that the provider construct is used as a yardstick to determine "success as fathers and therefore as men" (Ratele et al., 2012, p. 557). However, this construct clashes with prevailing economic contexts such as poverty and unemployment (Mavungu, 2013). By default, these contexts have disqualified many fathers, as they are often perceived as problematic, neglectful, undependable and irresponsible (Richter, 2007). In essence, men are constructed as deficient in discharging their family responsibilities (United Nations, 2011).

In Botswana policy work, men are also represented as shadowy figures in family life, and this representation of men overshadows the reality that there are so many ways in which they have and continue to show up for their families (Fuh & Mookodi, 2004). If policy makers continue to represent and alienate men in this manner, their future advances to increase men's participation in family life will be futile (United Nations, 2011). In essence, researchers need to involve men in policy work and address existing stereotypes and expectations about men's roles and responsibilities because this may contribute towards the transformation of the institution of fatherhood in Botswana (Fuh & Mookodi, 2004; Levtov, Van der Gaag, Greene, Michael, & Barker, 2015).

1.3 Conceptualisation of the study

In 2011 the United Nations launched a report that recommended that new methods are needed to define the constantly changing ways in which men parent their children (Hill, 2011) . This is based on the premise that fatherhood and family dynamics vary for most men (Hill, 2011). As a result, a body of work around the world is emerging in the form of scholarly literature and policy discourse that is redefining fatherhood (Morrell, 2001). However, studies on fathers and fatherhood in Botswana are limited (Fuh & Mookodi, 2004). There is a need to address this gap in fatherhood research in Botswana (Fuh & Mookodi, 2004).

Botswanan fathers' experiences tend to be depicted as unified and singular despite the fact that fathers, father in varied contexts. Botswanan fathers are normally represented as controlling, unsupportive and subordinating women, and this is a popular but problematic construct that prevents alternative understandings and practices of fatherhood from being acknowledged (Fuh & Mookodi, 2004). This highlights the need to research on how Botswanan men construct fatherhood.

This study utilised a social constructionist approach to explore the experiences of five Botswanan fathers between the ages of 21 and 45, living in Gaborone, South East District, Botswana. The social constructionist perspective argues that reality is constructed within a particular historical and social context (Burr, 1995). The view is that "all human experience is mediated by social factors and that our reality is constructed as a result of this" (Wilson & MacLean, 2011, p. 183). Burr (1995) argues that language provides us with a way of structuring and making sense of our experiences of ourselves and the world. Hence, adopting a social constructionist approach in this study allowed for exploring how Botswanan men construct fatherhood.

1. 4 Significance of the study

Research conducted in Botswana suggests that many Botswanan families are navigating the absent father experience. Dominant narrative of the absent father has marginalised and silenced alternative narratives of fatherhood (Fuh & Mookodi, 2004). Essentially the absent father narrative neglects important perspectives and experiences of Botswanan men that are involved in their children's lives. To challenge this dominant narrative, this study aimed to explore fatherhood in the Botswanan context. It is hoped that the findings of this study will add to the small body of current literature on the experience of fatherhood in Botswana.

1. 5 Aim, objectives and research questions of the study

Most research neglects the fact that variations exist in the experiences of fatherhood because it is mediated by factors such as culture, age, social class and other factors. Therefore, the aim of this study was:

1. To explore how Botswanan men, construct fatherhood.

The following research objectives facilitated the achievement of this aim:

1. Analyse themes that Botswanan men draw on to construct fatherhood.
2. Document whether Botswanan men align themselves with traditional constructs of fatherhood or with new emerging constructs of fatherhood.
3. Identify contextual (socio-economic, political, cultural) and interpersonal (gender, age, family, sexuality) factors that impact on the way in which Botswanan men construct fatherhood.

To help understand how Botswanan fathers perceived fatherhood and how discourses informed their experiences of fathering this study was guided by these research questions:

1. How do Botswanan men construct fatherhood?
2. Which fatherhood prevailing themes do Botswanan men draw on to construct fatherhood?
3. Do Botswanan men align themselves with traditional constructs of fatherhood or with new emerging constructs of fatherhood?
4. Which contextual and interpersonal factors impact on the way in which Botswanan men construct fatherhood?

1.6 Summary

This chapter contextualised the study to Botswana and identified the gap in the research literature that this study aims to address. The chapter introduced the theoretical framework, presented the research aim, objectives and questions of the study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will begin by presenting a historical overview of the father role and how it has changed through time. Some of the assumptions produced by research about the psychological impact of effective and ineffective fathering on child development will be discussed, followed by what is considered necessary to facilitate positive child outcomes. In addition, hegemonic masculinity and the way in which various social factors intersect to affect the way men experience fatherhood will be discussed. This chapter will also present the theoretical framework of this study, that is, a social constructionist perspective.

This chapter is an integrated discussion of research on fatherhood, and the theoretical framework of the study serves as an important reference framework for the design, data analysis and interpretation of this study.

While the research in this study was conducted in Botswana much of the literature discussed in this chapter is based on research conducted in the West and in South Africa because there is a significant amount of research that has been conducted on fathers and how they construct fatherhood in these contexts, while there is sparse research focusing specifically on Botswanan fathers.

2. 1   Historical overview of the father role

According to western studies fathers in the colonial period were perceived as "towering authority figures" in their families (Aldous, 1998, p. 5). They were primarily regarded as moral and religious overseers of the family, and this position came from their family responsibility and land ownership (Wurzer, 2005). During this period fathers were constantly involved in their children's lives as "work supervisors, teachers, moral models, property givers and disciplinarians" (Aldous, 1998, p. 8). Fathers were perceived to be superior in relation to mothers in domestic matters. Unlike mothers it was thought that fathers were objective because of their ability to better control their emotions and avoid temptation, and as such, they served as models of approved behaviour and disciplinarians (Waller & McLanahan cited in Marx, 2004).

Colonial fathers were regarded as patriarchs, for example "all property including the children and wife belonged to the father" (Wurzer, 2005, p. 7). Marx (2004), drawing on the work of various authors such as Pleck and Pleck and McPherson, has come up with a list of four primary

responsibilities of colonial fathers which were to: ensure their children had a good moral upbringing by instilling values, teach their children basic reading skills that would enable them to read religious materials, maintain order in their households by punishing disobedient family members and determine when and whom their children got married to.

Western studies relate that towards the end of the eighteenth century there was a growth in population in the farming community (Wurzer, 2005). Fathers started owning less land and as a result they lost their economic means to control their children's behaviour (Aldous, 1998). They were forced to seek employment to sustain their families' livelihood and their role transitioned from that of moral overseers to that of breadwinners (Wurzer, 2005). The breadwinner role earned fathers power and respect within the home and community. As such, most fathers moved away from home to seek work and mothers took on the role of the disciplinarian, because fathers were physically distant and could not control their children's lives (Wurzer, 2005).

In the western countries during World War II, paternal presence and involvement decreased because more men joined the army (Marx, 2004). Women continued to take on roles which were normally played by men (Wurzer, 2005). After the war mothers continued to assume the disciplinarian role, and emphasis was placed on fathers playing a recreational role in their children's lives (Wurzer, 2005). Sideris (2005, p. 123) similarly notes that "the changing family structure saw women increase their responsibility for the provision of the family needs… and encroached on men's power to regulate family affairs". The father's role was portrayed as insignificant in the family (McPherson cited in Marx, 2004). In turn, men felt they were not obliged to be sole breadwinners and stay with their families and this saw an increase in divorce and father absence rates (Wurzer, 2005).

South African research suggests that over time a new fatherhood model known as, "the new father" emerged (Chereni, 2015, p. 3). The model suggests that these 'new fathers' are more nurturing, emotionally closer with their children, and share caregiving with mothers (Wall & Arnold, 2007). Western researchers predict that fathers, due to women's increased participation in employment, are more likely to engage in activities generally regarded as components of mothering and take on more responsibilities in organising and planning their children's lives (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000).

A South African study suggests that 'new fathers' differ from the 'historical fathers' in that they decide to be present at their children's birth, care for their children even at infancy stage, share

domestic chores with mothers, interact with their children and were not limited to playtime and treat their sons and daughters the same without gender stereotypes (Marx, 2004). In addition, the study found that fathers were highly engaged in their children's upbringing (Marx, 2004). The fathers in the study challenged the traditions and ideologies of nurturing which were highly associated with motherhood.

Although there are some studies suggesting that fathers are devoting more time to raising their children than they did before, some studies question the prevalence of this type of father. For instance, a western study on fatherhood (cited in Marx, 2004) showed that some fathers find it difficult to combine work and domestic responsibilities, in a sense, they are unable to integrate the provider and supportive roles. In addition, a western study by McDowell (2003) revealed that many fathers still relate manhood with their ability to be employed and protect the family as opposed to being nurturing. These studies do not infer that men are still preoccupied with the ability to provide, but rather highlight the variability in fatherhood styles and that we should be cautious of assuming all fathers have become nurturing.

2. 2   Types of fathering

In the past western studies assumed that the fathers' involvement in their children's upbringing did not affect their development, as such fathers were side lined (Saracho & Spodek, 2008). However, of recent South African studies suggest that the perceived threat to the family institution (indicated by increases in female headed households and social ills) has prompted studies to focus on fathers, because they are perceived as a protective factor in their child's psychosocial and cognitive development (Richter, 2006; Van den Berg et al., 2013). The following are ways of how various types of fathering are thought to impact the psychological well-being of children.

2. 2. 1 Effective fathering

Western research indicates that effective fathering is constructed as the man's ability to nurture, spend time, discipline and serve as a positive role model for their child (Lamb, 2004). This suggests that an effective father is involved and present. Morman and Floyd (2006, p. 117) argue that an effective father is "a good father".

A good father "is loving, affectionate, involved, nurturing, and consistent in the raising of his children", because it is beneficial to the child's development (Morman & Floyd, 2006, p. 117).

A South African study conducted by Makusha and Richter (2016) reported on widely held research findings that when the father is involved in the first 1000 days of their child's life, it encourages father-child bonding, which is argued to lay good foundations for the child's overall development and enhances a father's emotional availability and long-term involvement in their child's life.

A western study conducted by Schaeffer (2005) discovered that girls with involved fathers were more likely to do well in school, have higher self-esteem and be more autonomous than their fatherless counterparts. From this study it may be suggested that father presence and involvement has an influential role on the child's academic achievement. Furthermore, a South African study reported widely held views by the study participants that father presence in the household gives the child a sense of security and a secure child is more likely to grow with a healthy self-image (Morison & Macleod, 2015).

2. 2. 2 Ineffective fathering

According to western studies, an ineffective father is an indifferent and uninvolved man, who rejects fathering, contributes negatively to their child's development and is perceived as neglectful, abusive, uninvolved and absent (Morman & Floyd, 2006). South African studies also contends that the mere physical presence of the father does not automatically translate to overall wellbeing (Clowes et al., 2013), because some fathers can be quite indifferent and uninvolved in their children's lives despite being physically present (Richter, 2006). An ineffective father is also referred to as a "bad father" (Morman & Floyd, 2006, p. 115).

Researchers in South Africa identify ineffective fathering as a challenge to the socio-political landscape because it is associated with many social ills (Marx, 2004; Mavungu, 2013). In support, Ellis et al. (2003) revealed that paternal absenteeism often leads to early sexual debut which results in unintended teenage pregnancies among girls. From this study it may be inferred that father absence exposes children to risky and harmful behaviours such as having unprotected sex which exposes them to contracting HIV and sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Hoffmann (2002) found that adolescents from single parent homes were more likely to fall victim to substance abuse, suggesting father absence is a risk factor to substance abuse related disorders.

2. 3   Facilitating positive child outcomes

Existing policies in South Africa suggest that the most important things that facilitate positive child outcomes are financial support and frequent contact by fathers in instances where the child's parents are no longer together (Khunou, 2006). However, a meta-analysis of fifty two (52) western studies found that overall child well-being is not significantly related to the frequency of contact by non-residential fathers or the amount of money they give their child (Adamsons & Johnsons, 2013). In addition, a western study conducted by Borst (2015) found that if the child's parents are divorced and their relationship is conflicted and negative it subsequently creates demeaning expectations for the child, and these result in troubled future relationships. This study reveals that overall child wellbeing is based on a working relationship between the child's parents and not by just having a father who keeps contact and pays maintenance regularly (Marsiglio & Day cited in Richter, 2006).

2. 3. 1 Co-Parenting

Western research suggests that father involvement tends to decline significantly after the child's parents' relationship ends (Fagan & Kaufman, 2015). Despite this Fagan and Palkovitz (2011) revealed that a quality co-parenting arrangement could facilitate the fathers' on going engagement with their children. This is primarily based on the assumption that fathers would be more involved in child upbringing if they felt that their input was valued and supported by mothers of their children (Fagan & Palkovitz, 2011).

Co-parenting occurs when the mother and father share the responsibility of raising their child, and each parent's involvement is centred on the best interests of the child (Feinberg, 2003). In other words, co-parenting is primarily central to the child's needs, such that the parents' coordination serves to benefit the child. This could only occur in instances where there is less discord and both participants are engaged and in agreement of what is best for their child (Fagan & Palkovitz, 2011).

According to Feinberg (2003, pp. 98-101), the success of a co-parenting relationship is dependent on the following elements: a) "child rearing agreement which is the extent to which parental figures agree on a range of child related topics to formulate coordinated strategies", b) "division of labour pertaining to daily routines involved in childcare and responsibilities for child related financial, legal and medical issues", c) "support where both partners acknowledge and respect each other's contribution" and, d) "balance of involvement where the partners seek to balance the amount of the time they each engage with the child". This paragraph shows the

guiding principles of a collaborative parenting agreement which is based on the assumption that parental responsibilities should be shared by both parents. If both parents have equal input in child upbringing this would be encouraging to the child and ultimately benefit their overall wellbeing (Feinberg, 2003).

2. 3. 2 Social fathering

In instances where the father is absent, significant male figures in the family and/or community fill the father role and South African research regards these men as 'social fathers' (Clowes et al., 2013). Social fathers are not biological fathers but they assume the role of the father and are involved in the child's life which in turn facilitates positive child outcomes (Clowes et al., 2013). As such, father absence in a family does not necessarily imply that the child will suffer as purported by researchers (Clowes et al., 2013). There are many children from single-female headed households who are well adjusted in all life spheres, because significant male figures such as uncles and grandfather filled the gap of the absent father (Clowes et al., 2013).

2. 4   Masculinity

Whitehead (2002, p. 4) defines masculinity as a "set of activities, practices and ways of being that serve to validate a masculine subject's sense of itself as a male, boy or man". These set of activities are known as gender role norms, they influence individuals to engage in specific social behaviours that are deemed to be congruent with their sex (Mahalik et al., 2003). In other words, for a male to be regarded as successfully masculine they are expected to perform gender appropriate roles (Morison & Macleod, 2015). These expectations are known as gender role expectations, for example in South Africa, a real black African male is expected to be a provider and role model, express himself in a specific manner, refrain from some issues, and take up a position of leadership (Ratele, 2008).

Literature suggests that masculinity is not just a set of practices all men engage in their daily lives, but a set of rules which all men must try to live up to at the expense of alternative ways(Howson, 2006). Morrell (2001) points out that even though masculinity is produced and maintained at a social level, men actually experience their own masculinity at an individual level. Therefore, it would be unrealistic to believe that there is only one type of masculinity (Omar, 2011). There are many forms of masculinity, that is, plural masculinities (Kimmel & Kaufman, 2001). Plural masculinities acknowledge that masculinities are fluid practices and as such masculinity is translated differently by men in general because it differs from one man to

another, and it is highly influenced by sociocultural factors such as culture, social class, age, sexuality, and historical experiences (Morrell, 1998).

Scholars propose that there is a practice of masculinity that controls society, and it is referred to it as 'hegemonic masculinity' (Morrell, 2001, p. 9). In other words, this practice defines what being a man is. It dictates the essence of manhood and, as a result, dominates other masculinities and femininity and justifies their oppression (Ellapen, 2007). This seeks to explain that even though all men are united by the system of patriarchy and enjoy its privileges, they are not equal (Morrell, 2001). In essence there is a "hierarchy within masculinities" (Morrell, Jewkes, Lindegger, & Hamlall, 2013, p. 5). This hierarchy serves to define and control relationships among different groups of men in society (Ellapen, 2007, p. 56).

In Botswana, Tswana masculinity is associated with men who possess all of these qualities: one should be of Tswana origin, married, heterosexual, virile and strong, belong to the upper-middle class, and subjugates other masculinities (Berman, 2015; Mafela, 2007). This form of hegemonic masculinity defines what a man is in Botswana and controls relations among different groups of men in society (Daly, Ashbourne, & Brown, 2013). The Tswana masculinity enjoys what South African researcher describes as "privileged social positions constructed in norms of inequality and controlling relationships" (Du Pisani, 2001, p. 172).

Morrell (2001) points out that although most men maintain and reproduce dominant gender relations, there are some who chose to oppose the prescribed normative masculinity. Meaning there are other masculinities within the hierarchy that are non-hegemonic, which coexist with the hegemonic form of masculinity. Connell (cited in Morrell, 2001) suggests that there are three non-hegemonic categories of masculinities which are complicit masculinity, subordinate masculinity and marginalised masculinity. These masculinities are believed to have been developed outside the "corridors of power" (Morrell, 2001, p. 7).

Firstly, complicit masculinity is comprised of men who share in the advantages gained in the subordination of others even though they do not adopt the full hegemonic masculinity ideal (Morrell, 2001). These men neither question male domination nor detach themselves in any distinguishing manner from the "misogynistic and violent tone adopted by patriarchal culture" (Fernández-Álvarez, 2014, p. 50). For instance, there are unmarried men who engage in heterosexual sex to restore their respectability within the social hierarchy and subordinate women. Unmarried men are applauded for engaging in sex because it symbolises their virility, whilst women are condemned for engaging in sex before marriage because it symbolises their

lack of morals (Fleming, DiClemente, & Barrington, 2016). This unequal treatment of unmarried men and women legitimises the principles of hegemonic Tswana masculinity that maintains a gender order by oppressing women (Fleming et al., 2016; Howson, 2006).

Secondly, subordinate masculinity is comprised of men with alternative sexualities, such as, homosexuals and bisexuals, they do not subscribe to heterosexual practices (Morrell, 2001). For instance, Botswana is based on heteronormative arrangements (Kennedy, 2006). As such, individuals who deviate from the normative heterosexual practice are snubbed in the community (MacDonald, 1996). Society's non-recognition of homosexuality has reaffirmed and validated heterosexual identity as the only acceptable sexuality (Kennedy, 2006).

Lastly, marginalised masculinity is comprised of men who are exempted from hegemony owing to the social class or age they belong to (Morrell, 2001). In Botswana, class influences the way men experience masculinity, for instance, it is a challenge for poor men to financially provide (for their kin) because they are denied access to employment and other institutions (Fleming et al., 2016). Being poor is subordinated by dominant Tswana masculinity (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2008). The survival of the dominant masculinity is based on subordinating other masculinities, by constructing them as deviant, as they do not fit the hegemonic criteria (Van der Walt, 2002).

Literature proposes that there are two approaches to hegemonic masculinity (Morrell, 2001, pp. 9-10). The first approach proposes that hegemonic masculinity, although dominant at one moment in time, does change. For instance, British masculinity enjoyed the privileged social position of being hegemonic while Botswana was still a British protectorate (Selolwane, 2004). However, in 1965 there was a shift in the political landscape, Botswana gained its independence, therefore, the operation of power changed from British to Tswana masculinity (Selolwane, 2004). As a result, Tswana masculinity was positioned as the dominant form of masculinity and British masculinity was subsequently relegated to the 'other' masculinity (Selolwane, 2004). This illustration supports the notion that hegemonic masculinity does change.

The second approach proposes that hegemonic masculinity is centred on a multi-layered model of gender power, where power is not shared equally between men and women (Morrell, 2001). In other words, hegemonic masculinity promotes the domination of men and subjugation of women (Hearn et al., 2012). In support, a South African study on violence by Gibbs, Jewkes, Sikweyiya, and Willan (2015), revealed that men used violence to maintain gender hierarchies.

Hegemonic masculinity normalised and justified violent actions against women (Gibbs et al., 2015). The use of violence by men against their partners was an effective approach by men to attain respect and social standing which they thought they had been deprived of by controlling women (Gibbs et al., 2015).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is credited for assisting researchers worldwide to locate different masculinities, understand how these masculinities were constructed as 'deviant' and understand how these masculinities are reproduced within society (Ellapen, 2007). However, hegemonic masculinity is a queried concept in academia, because it is not every man who practices it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In fact, significant research suggests there are challenges to hegemony, in a sense that, some masculinities are breaking away from the use of violence to promote peace and harmony within society (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). For instance, in South Africa Hemson (1997) found that young black men who were lifesavers in Durban generated a new masculinity by developing a utilitarian form of masculine identity that valued qualities such as patience, dignity, self-respect, endurance and courage to cut loose from the black oppositional masculinity which was hegemonic in their township. In South Africa also Wardrop (2001), found that the Soweto Flying Squad systematically rejected notions of masculinity that were rooted in superficial appearances and developed a utilitarian brand of masculinity that valued maturity, self-discipline, social awareness, restraint and decisiveness.

These studies show that some masculinities can dominate without legitimising gender hierarchies. Fernández-Álvarez (2014) suggests that the challenge to hegemony by these men is fuelled by the realisation that practices based on legitimising gender hierarchies are not compatible with a democratic society. In essence, hegemonic masculinity threatens gender equality because it legitimises oppression and violence against women.

2.4.1 Masculinity and fatherhood

There is little information on the relationship between masculinity and fatherhood (Plantin, Mansson, & Kearney, 2003). However, literature suggests that male identity and fatherhood are intertwined. Fatherhood entails elements that are essential to the production of masculinities (Datta, 2007). Morrell (2006, p. 15) explains that in African societies, "when one is 'a man' one is expected to be able to take on the fatherhood role". In other words, the ability of a father to provide and care for their child is critical to the production of a successful masculinity (Datta, 2007). As such, South African studies suggest the inability to realise these roles may lead men

to abscond from fatherhood, as in the case of absent fathers (Mkhize, 2006; Ramphele & Richter, 2006).

Scholars have aimed to understand the processes through which various men negotiate their status as fathers (Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000). It appears that there are two factions within the fatherhood camp (Marsiglio et al., 2000; Shows & Gerstel, 2009). The first is the hegemonic traditional fatherhood camp, which is based on power and breadwinning. Fathers in this camp hold breadwinning in the highest regard and depend on their partners to handle the daily care of children (Marx, 2004; Shows & Gerstel, 2009). The second camp is the new nurturant fatherhood camp, which entails sharing responsibilities related to the daily care of children with their partners (Shows & Gerstel, 2009).

Research reveals that these two camps are a source of struggle for many men who become fathers (Finn & Henwood, 2009). Dominant traditional fathers see the new nurturant fathers as a threat to patriarchy. They believe that their power over women will deteriorate because having power over others is a manly thing (Fernández-Álvarez, 2014; Kahn, 2009). Furthermore, they view the new fatherhood model as feminising because women are viewed as being responsible for childcare in the gender order (West & Zimmerman, 1987). As such, there is resistance by some men to engage in childcare activities because they run the risk of losing power and being criticised by society.

Despite some fathers holding onto the dominant traditional father model the new father model seems to be influencing change in hegemonic masculinity to encompass other elements such as child-care (Brandth & Kvande, 2002). In support, South African researchers Richter and Morrell (2008) reveal that some men have assumed the nurturing role for their offspring and they undertake domestic chores within households. Western research by Brandth and Kvande (2002) found that men included child minding in their understandings of masculinity. Furthermore, findings of the study revealed that child minding had been identified as an aspect of masculinity and it was recognised by those around the fathers (Brandth & Kvande, 2002). Another western study by Montgomery, Hosegood, Busza, and Timaeus (2006) found that men were playing an active role within their households, such that, some were taking care of invalids and children, and others were supporting their immediate and extended families financially. In addition, the study revealed that married men were constantly present at home, and shared household tasks which were believed to be women's duty.

These studies highlight a continuously changing masculinity (Morrell, 2006). In addition, they highlight that masculinity is a social construct (Morrell, 2001). According to Merriam-Webster (2006) a social construct is "an idea that has been created and accepted by the people in a society". Based on this definition masculinity is a result of interactive social processes, particularly language (Burr, 1995). Masculinity is an idea that is encoded in language, as such, it takes new forms as a result of the contestations that occurs around such an identity over time and in response to changing contexts (Little, 2008; Morrell, 2006).

2. 5   Intersectionality

The UCLA School Public affairs (cited in Wang, 2016, p. 602) defines intersectionality as a "critical theoretical approach that examines how the intersections of social and cultural factors such as race, sex, class, national origin, rurality, and sexual orientation result in varied and different experiences for individuals". Intersectionality proposes there are variations within homogenous groups and these are commonly referred to as intra category diversity (Hancock, 2007). In sum, intersectionality assists in understanding the process through which inequalities, dominance, and oppression are created and reproduced within homogenous groups (Christensen & Jensen, 2014).

There is a universalising trend, amongst researchers, to group individuals using common characteristics (Hancock, 2007). It is clear that this essentialist model of analysis is not sufficient to understand people (Hancock, 2007). Intersectionality cautions against the dangers of generalising individuals without considering other features of their identity (Hancock, 2007). In view of this, intersectionality is important in research because it takes into account the qualitative variances between and within homogenous groups (Shields, 2008).

Despite recognising the importance of intersectionality, the practical use of this perspective is lagging behind in the discipline of psychology (Shields, 2008). With regards to masculinity most often researchers fail to deal with culture, race or class because they do not believe they are relevant to gender. By not recognising intersections these researchers are, however, perpetuating the marginalisation of individuals' problem (Shields, 2008).

Intersectionality is beneficial in exploring fatherhood primarily because it assists researchers in investigating how other social systems influence fathers. The following variations need to be considered when exploring fatherhood:

2. 5. 1 Class

Class revolves "around lifestyles, around occupations, and still in others around income levels" (Wright, 2003, p. 1). When relating class to fatherhood, Morrell (2006) argues that there is an assumption that where material circumstances are secure fathers tend to be more involved and demonstrably loving with their children, whereas the opposite occurs where material circumstances are not secure. For example, western researchers Shows and Gerstel (2009) argued that bourgeois parents were considered to be more likely to take part in planned leisure activities, have more time and meaningful relationships with their children than working-class parents. Therefore, it is assumed that class (categories within a system of economic stratification) influences fatherhood a great deal because the difference in father involvement is determined by men's' ability to sufficiently provide for their families (Wright, 2003). This view on fatherhood problematically assumes that a father without material resources is necessarily a bad father. While access to material resources may make fathering easier, it is problematic to assume that a poorer father is a less effective father than a wealthier father and vice versa.

2. 5. 2 Culture

Harris (cited in Birukou, Blanzieri, Giorgini, & Giunchiglia, 2013, p. 3) refers to culture as "the total socially acquired life-way or lifestyle of a group of people. It consists of the patterned, repetitive ways of thinking, feeling and acting that are characteristic of the members of a particular society or segment of a society". When relating culture to fatherhood, western researchers Hauari and Hollingworth (2009) study revealed that fathering practices and ideals across a number of domains such as discipline, financial provision, and father child relationship are shaped by culture, that is, culture dictates things that one is expected to do as a father (Ratele, 2008). Culture informs the father's choices and practices (Ratele, 2008).

2. 5. 3 Sexuality

Jackson (2006, p. 106) defines sexuality as "all erotically significant aspects of social life and social being, such as desires, practices, relationships and identities". Sexuality is contextually and historically variable, meaning that it is fluid (Jackson, 2006). Heterosexuality is seen as 'normal' by most societies and homosexuality is, therefore, viewed as a rebellious act against society (Jackson, 2006; Reddy, 2006). When linking homosexuality with fatherhood, gay men who decide to have children are often viewed as a disgrace by society because they are invading heterosexual relations (Reddy, 2006). In addition, society is of the view that homosexuality has

harmful consequences on children's lives (Reddy, 2006). It is clear that heterosexual relations are used to marginalise and sanction those outside its boundaries (Jackson, 2006).

2.5.4 Age

The meaning and experience of age and the process of ageing is "subject to historical and cultural processes" (Wyn & White cited in Hopkins & Pain, 2007, p. 289). Age positions males differently in society. Age determines places and events that males can access and take part in (Ratele, 2008). For a male to be considered a man he needs to do certain things that qualify him as a man and these activities are bound by age, for instance "a male cannot do much but wait, until he reaches the age where society permits him to vote, attend initiation school, gain employment, drive or marry" (Ratele, 2008, pp. 524-525). Therefore, age has the potential to limit and privilege men in different ways (Hopkins & Pain, 2007).

Social systems create varying experiences for each father, for instance, the notion of fatherhood for a poor, young, unemployed, homosexual man in the rural area differs from that of a middle-class, old, employed, married man in the urban area. Although these two individuals are men, their environmental realities and social classes vary significantly and they have varying levels of power and privilege (Ponte, Roberts, & Van Sittert, 2007). In essence, the older, middle-class, employed, married man in the urban area has more power and privilege in comparison to the poor young, unemployed, single, homosexual man in the rural area. The poor young man is subordinated on more than one axis of identity, for instance, being poor limits the father's ability to provide for their child, being young excludes them from most social activities, his sexual identity disqualifies him from sociocultural activities, and being from the rural area limits his access to resources. From this example it may be deduced that the married middle-class man dominates and occupies the privileged position of normalcy, whereas the poor, young, unemployed, homosexual man occupies a marginalised status. This illustration goes to show that for some men when the social systems overlap they form a mixture of oppressions and hinder their capacity as fathers (Hancock, 2007).

2.6 South African fatherhood studies

This study was motivated by three South African studies informed by social constructionism, which explored males' narratives of having present or absent fathers and their general understanding of fatherhood. Research by Clowes et al. (2013), Ratele et al. (2012) and Langa (2010) challenge dominant narratives that tend to demonise fathers.

Langa (2010) explores how adolescent boys from Alexandra Township talked about their absent fathers. Some participants managed to create positive male identities by developing positive defensive mechanisms because they wanted to be different from their absent fathers (Langa, 2010). To cope with disappointment brought about by their feelings of rejection and anger towards their fathers the participants developed a fantasy which they believed they would fulfil themselves when they became fathers, by being caring and emotionally available for their children (Langa, 2010). The study revealed that for some participants being a caring and available father was therapeutic, as it healed childhood wounds related to growing up without fathers. The participants' accounts about fatherhood extended beyond meeting their children's physical needs, it also encompassed meeting their emotional needs. This study reveals a major change in the notions of fatherhood. It depicts and promotes narratives of a caring, loving and supportive father (Langa, 2010).

Ratele et al. (2012) explore the manner in which fatherhood was perceived by men in Cape Town. The findings of the study revealed that the participants valued the caring presence from a father more than their physical presence (Ratele et al., 2012). The study participants revealed that fatherhood was not exclusive to biological fathers and they also gave accounts of being raised by other male figures, known as social fathers, and highlighted their importance in their lives (Ratele et al., 2012). In addition, many of the participants in the study foregrounded alternative more nurturing and consultative versions of fatherhood in their experiences of being a father and/or being fathered (Ratele et al., 2012).

Lastly, in the Clowes et al. (2013) study conducted in Cape Town, the participants acknowledged and challenged the normative constructions of fatherhood built around discourses of control, power, and violence. This study foregrounded father accounts that destabilised these stereotypes by constructing alternative understandings and practices of fatherhood. The study revealed alternative discourses that suggested a vast array of positive features of being a father such as demonstrating care and support compassion, showing consideration for others, openness, as opposed to narratives that evoke fear and violence (Clowes et al., 2013). The narratives of the participants constructed fathers as interdependent, that is, they engaged in productive relationships with community and family members (Clowes et al., 2013). These narratives also defied normative understandings that it was men's' responsibility to lead and set rules and women and children's role to abide by men's' rules (Clowes et al., 2013).

2. 7   A social constructionist theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for this study is social constructionism. This framed the exploration of how fathers used language to argue and defend positions they assume in relation to fatherhood (Burr, 1995). Social constructionism focuses on uncovering ways in which individuals and groups contribute in the construction of their perceived social reality (Burr, 1995), thus suggesting reality is socially constructed.

There are four main ideas that Burr (1995, pp. 2-4) sees as common to social constructionist approaches:

1.   *A critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge* (Burr, 1995, p. 2).
      Social constructionists caution against taking our experience of ourselves and the world at face value, because it may be misleading (Burr, 1995). The social constructionist approach challenges the common belief that "knowledge and understanding is based upon objective, unbiased observation of the world" (Burr, 1995, p. 2). It advocates that our way of seeing and perceiving the world, has to be interrogated so that we can gain alternative understandings (Burr, 1995).

2.   *Historical and cultural specificity* (Burr, 1995, p. 3). According to Burr (1995) all ways of understanding are historically and culturally bound. Not only are they relative to certain periods of history and culture, they are reliant on certain prevailing social and economic arrangements at that time (Burr, 2015).

3.   *Knowledge is sustained by social processes* (Burr, 1995, p. 3). A social constructionist perspective argues that how we experience the world and our sense of being are basically the by-products of social processes and interactions among people (Burr, 1995). To emphasise this Nightingale and Cromby (1999, p. 4) suggest that "neither God nor individual consciousness but society itself is the prime mover, the root of experience". Social constructionists are focused on uncovering ways in which individuals and society participate in the construction of knowledge (Burr, 1995), thus suggesting reality is socially constructed.

4.   *Knowledge and social action go together* (Burr, 1995, p. 3). Burr (1995, p. 100) relates that "our experience is potentially open to an infinite number of possible meanings or constructions", as such, each construction also produces varying actions from us (Burr, 2015).

To help understand how Botswanan men construct fatherhood the social constructionist perspective advises that fatherhood is an identity rather than personality and is understood as a social concept. Burr (1995, p. 16) argues that there is "an increasing tendency towards describing human life in terms of psychological qualities as opposed to what an individual is doing with or to other people, 'psychologisation'". However, identity is conferred on an individual based on its purpose as opposed to its nature, as such, the self is constantly changing from one situation to another as opposed to the traditional view of personality that it is fixed (Burr, 1995, p. 21). The social constructionist perspective is anchored on principles of diversity and split identities, fluidity, and its social dependence (Burr, 1995). This implies that fatherhood is a social concept that is fluid, socially dependent and the identity of a 'father' is bestowed on a man who plays a role in his child's upbringing and the meanings may vary from one man to another.

According to Burr (1995, p. 96) identity formation is influenced by positioning a "process by which our identities and ourselves as persons come to be produced by socially and culturally available discourses". Fatherhood is formed by men positioning themselves with other identities in society. Positioning helps to understand how fatherhood is constructed (Burr, 1995). Burr (1995) relates that "people's accounts of themselves, the stories they weave to account for their lives, the things they have done and intend to do and so on, are heavily dependent upon the co-operation of others." (1995, p. 96), implying that fatherhood is a negotiated identity in society. Burr (1995, p. 100) suggests that "some subject positions are more temporary or even fleeting, and thus 'who we are' is constantly in flux, always dependent upon the changing flow of positions we negotiate within social interaction". As such, fatherhood is not static it is context dependent and can change over time.

Language is used to understand which prevailing fatherhood themes Botswanan men draw on to construct fatherhood. Language cannot be simply dismissed as a medium for relaying beliefs and feelings (Burr, 1995). Language itself is a medium that offers fathers a system for constructing their experiences. Burr suggests that "language is indeed the place where identities are built, maintained and challenged, then this also means that language is the crucible of

change, both personal and social" (1995, p. 29). The social constructionist perspective views language as a form of social action, therefore, words become meaningless once a person is removed from their relations with others (Burr, 1995). Burr (2015, p. 34) highlights that "our experience of the world, and perhaps especially of our own internal states, is undifferentiated and intangible without the framework of language to give it structure and meaning".

The social constructionist perspective argues that "the self is constructed when people refer to themselves, speak about each other's selves, and respect each other's right to express themselves" (Soskolne, Stein, & Gibson, 2003, p. 3). These shared discourses help us in constructing the self (Soskolne et al., 2003, pp. 3-4). Burr (1995) posits that identities like fatherhood are constructed from discourses that are culturally available to individuals. A discourse refers to "a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, and statements which when put together produce a particular version of events" (Burr, 1995, p. 32).

Burr (1995) adds that identity formation discourses, in a sense, dictate what individuals are capable of doing and what they should do. "People have an identity investment in drawing on certain discourses, and in incorporating these into their repertoire, particularly discourses that bolster or affirm their self-identity" (Soskolne et al., 2003, p. 4). In this case, fathers receive cultural messages concerning the responsibilities they should take on and how these could be realised. These messages form discourses, which are ways of representing fatherhood experiences in pictorial, spoken, or printed form (Barclay, Lupton, & Barclay, 1997). The discourses represented in society help construct the manner in which its members will think about and respond to fatherhood (Burr, 1995).

Henriques, Hollway, Venn, Walkerdine, and Urwin (1984) argue that the manner in which fathers position themselves within certain discourses helps them to organise and make sense of their beliefs. Willig (1998) argues that some fatherhood practices are connected to certain discourses. These discourses can maintain, empower or challenge particular discursive constructions of fatherhood. Furthermore, discourses legitimise and/or privilege certain fatherhood practices and fathers can be positioned differently by varying discursive constructions (Willig, 1998).

Discourses involve closely examining words and relating them to themes and patterns relevant to how people construct a phenomenon such as fatherhood (Burr, 1995). In other words, a discourse is a particular theme in text that relates to fatherhood. There are many competing discourses that fathers draw upon to construct their realities (Barclay et al., 1997, p. 9). In

support, Clowes et al. (2013) and Ratele et al. (2012) identified four alternative discourses that fathers drew upon when constructing their realities, and they are as follows: the providing protector discourse, the dominance and control discourse, the being there discourse and the talking discourse.

2. 7. 1 Providing protector discourse

The providing protector discourse constructed fathers as primarily responsible for taking care of their families and shielding their family members from financial hardships (Clowes et al., 2013). This discourse reinforces the centrality of breadwinning in signalling successful masculinity, because the father's ability to fulfil economic needs earns them respect from their children (Clowes et al., 2013). Consequently, this produces a powerful sense of protectiveness, and is fulfilling to fathers. In addition, Clowes et al. (2013) argue that breadwinning and protecting the family are simultaneously intertwined and they reproduce the logic of patriarchal power because the goal of men is to be independent, to take care of and defend their family members.

2. 7. 2 Dominance and control discourse

The dominance and control discourse constructs fathers as in control of women and children (Clowes et al., 2013). This discourse positions women and children as needing to be protected, as dependant on the dominant violent masculinity, and for them to be safe they have to do as they are commanded (Clowes et al., 2013). Fathers employ force to assert their authority and it is rationalised as necessary and meaningful, and violence is viewed as way of showing love as opposed to a form of abuse (Clowes et al., 2013). In addition, the discourse denies the vulnerability of men, such that, threats to this particular masculinity are often dealt with through hostility and force (Clowes et al., 2013).

2. 7. 3 Being there discourse

The being there discourse constructed fathers as involved in their children's upbringing (Ratele et al., 2012). This discourse positions having a caring father figure as more important than the physical presence of a father (Clowes et al., 2013). This discourse goes beyond biological fathers, it also includes other exemplary male figures in society and men who take part in children's lives at different times when their biological fathers are absent for whatever reason (Clowes et al., 2013). This discourse highlights the changeability of fatherhood and strengths of social father figures as opposed to depending on biological fathers (Ratele et al., 2012).

2. 7. 4 Talking discourse

The talking discourse constructed fathers as caring and supportive towards their children they demonstrated these by giving advice, showing compassion and respect, and opposed inducing fear and the use of violence (Ratele et al., 2012). The discourse positions these fathers as resistant to the domineering version of fatherhood which is constructed as controlling, strict and aggressive. Rather they demonstrate humility and respect and are deemed as caring, compassionate and protective (Ratele et al., 2012). These fathers often try to solve disputes through discussions and more democratic forms of communication (Ratele et al., 2012). This discourse suggests the fluidity of gender and men's practices (Ratele et al., 2012).

2. 8   Summary

This chapter highlights the fluid nature of fatherhood and that the construction of fatherhood is influenced by social categories and systems which also change over time (Datta, 2007; Morrell, 1998). Lastly, this chapter points out that fatherhood cannot be understood in isolation, a thorough investigation of historical, social structures, social experiences and discourses that produce and maintain identities is needed, to determine how fathers understand and deploy their masculinities in different contexts (Christensen & Jensen, 2014; Ratele, 2014).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology that was used in this study. It also justifies the methodological approach chosen and describes the research paradigm and design, the sampling process, the ethical considerations, the data collection methods and method of data analysis. The chapter introduces the participants and offers my reflections on the interviewing process. In closing, the chapter discusses measures taken to ensure credibility, dependability and transferability of the findings.

3. 1   Research paradigm and design

This study made use of the social constructionist theory. Social constructionism is described as a research approach that seeks to explore how language influences the representation of people and things (Terre Blanche, Kelly, & Durrheim, 2006). Terre Blanche et al. (2006) further highlight that social constructionism reveres language. In other words, social constructionists believe that social meaning is encoded in language and that human interactions are constituted in language (Terre Blanche, Kelly, & Durrheim, 2006). Similarly, Burr (1995) views social constructionism as embedded in language and expounds that language provides us with a way of structuring our experience of ourselves and the world, and that the beliefs humans use to make meaning of their experiences do not precede language but they are made possible by it. As a research paradigm social constructionism perceives the world as socially constructed (Terre Blanche, Kelly, & Durrheim, 2006).

The social constructionist paradigm, informed the need for a qualitative research design. Carcary (2009, p. 12) contends that a "qualitative design offers a deeper understanding of behaviour, meaning and context of complex phenomena and it allows the researcher to engage in dialogue with the participants". This design supported the social constructionism framework and was, therefore, the most appropriate approach for exploring fatherhood. The social constructionist paradigm guided a research design that enabled me to explore ways in which fathers used language to defend, argue and reason for positions they assume with regards to fatherhood.

3. 2 Sampling

3. 2. 1 Population

The inclusion criteria for the participants were men, who were fathers that lived in Gaborone, Botswana (for easy accessibility of the participants and to cut out on transportation costs), between 35-45 years that were willing to participate in the study. I chose this age category because it helped to gain the insights of a group with similar historical, economic and political backgrounds.

3. 2. 2 Sampling method and technique

In this qualitative study purposive sampling was used. According to Teddlie and Yu (2007, p. 77) purposive sampling is described "as selecting units such as individuals, groups of individuals, or institutions based on specific purposes associated with answering a research study's questions". For this study, I specifically chose Botswanan men who were fathers, aged between 35 and 45 who lived in Gaborone because they could give insight into fatherhood from the way they experienced fathering and being fathered.

The snowballing technique was used to find participants. Snowballing is "a technique whereby "a few identified members of a rare population are asked to identify other members of the population, those identified are asked to identify others, and so on, for the purpose of obtaining a nonprobability sample or for constructing a frame from which to sample" (Thompson, cited in Woodley & Lockard, 2016, p. 322). The participants were recruited at the clinic where I worked as a community health worker. I approached two men who had brought their children to the clinic, who later approached other fathers in their communities and invited them to take part in this study.

3. 2. 3 Recruitment

The recruitment process had a good response rate, I approached two men who expressed interest in taking part in the study and urged them to give out my cell phone number to fathers they identified, so that they could send text messages to express their interest in taking part in the study. The two fathers I had recruited identified ten men who expressed interest in taking part in the study. These men identified sent text messages and left their details. I later contacted them to arrange for their interview dates. Even though twelve participants had initially responded, the number of participants plummeted to four. The retraction of the eight participants from the initial twelve participants who had responded was because they could not

avail themselves for the interviews due to time constraints. Despite this setback one of the four fathers recommended another participant. The final sample of the study was, therefore, five participants.

The following table contains the demographics of the five participants for the individual interviews.

Table 2: Individual interview participants' demographics

Pseudonym(*)	Gender	Nationality	First Language	Age	Level of Education	Number of children	Marital Status
*Moga	Male	Botswanan	Setswana	37	Degree	2	Single
*Kao	Male	Botswanan	Setswana	41	Degree	1	Single
*Papi	Male	Botswanan	Setswana	35	Diploma	1	Single
*Reba	Male	Botswanan	Setswana	40	Degree	1	Divorced
*Sala	Male	Botswanan	Setswana	39	Diploma	2	Married

Indicates a pseudonym

3. 2. 3. 1   Participants

All participants who took part in the study were Botswanan fathers and at the time of interviewing them they were aged between 35-41 years (with an average age of 38.4). Of the five participants, three have one child and two have two children. Out of the five participants, three are single, one is married and one is divorced. All of the participants had formal qualifications. Out of the five participants two have diplomas and three have degrees.

*Moga is thirty-seven years old. He lives with his parents (step-father and mother), siblings (two sisters and a brother) and his daughter. *Moga moved in with his parents after he broke up with his girlfriend, *Matla, so they could assist him with his child's upbringing while he is out working. *Moga has two children, a five-year-old daughter, *Loapi, and an eight-year-old son, Kabo. *Moga is not *Kabo's biological father, *Matla had him while dating another man before *Moga. Despite having broken up with *Matla, *Moga still treats and refers to *Kabo as his son. *Moga, himself, only got to meet his biological father when he was ten years old and they never established a father-son relationship. *Moga's step-father came into his life when he was six years old.

*Kao is forty-one years old. He lives with his daughter and fiancée. He has one child; a daughter, *Jang, aged six. *Kao has never separated from his daughter. *Kao was raised by both his parents. The parents often babysit *Jang when he and his fiancée are working late.

*Papi is thirty-five years old. He lives alone in Gaborone. *Papi is single, he has separated from his girlfriend two years ago. He has one daughter, *Same, aged four who lives with her mother and he sees her every day. *Papi was raised by his relatives from his maternal side. His parents did not have much input in the way that he was raised. His parents were only there for him financially. At eighteen years old he moved away from home to live independently.

*Reba is a forty-year-old father to an eight-year-old son, *Katlo. He lives with his girlfriend, Seemo, and son (who has just moved in with them two months ago). Before *Katlo moved in with *Reba and his girlfriend, he lived with his mother, *Bedo. *Bedo and *Reba were traditionally married but they divorced when *Katlo was two years. *Reba is a divorcee. Growing up *Reba was raised by his father with the help of their nanny because his parents divorced when he was four years old and his brother, Kagiso, was a year old. His father was awarded their custody since he was more responsible and financially stable than their mother who was unemployed and an alcoholic.

*Sala is a thirty-nine-year-old. He is married and his wife, *Bontle, lives in Francistown (400kms away from Gaborone). *Bontle moved to Francistown for work reasons eight years ago when their son, *Beng, who is now aged nine, was a year old. When she was transferred they decided that Gaborone would be a good place to raise their children and that is how it has been ever since. The couple also has a daughter, *Gae, aged seven. His wife comes home every weekend to spend time with the family and on school holidays *Sala and the children visited her. Growing up *Sala grew up with both parents in the same household.

3. 3 Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance was sought through acquiring written permission from the Humanities Research Ethics Committee (appendix 4) to conduct the study. Furthermore, certain ethical principles such as autonomy, beneficence and non-maleficence were upheld in this study (Wassenaar, 2006).

3.3.1 Autonomy

It is a principle that requires the researcher to respect the independence of all individuals taking part in the study (Wassenaar, 2006). In this study participants' anonymity was safeguarded through the use of pseudonyms. In addition, the participants were informed that their taking part in the study was voluntary (verbally and in writing, written consent forms were issued). This ensured that they were not coerced to take part in the study (Wassenaar, 2006). The participants were aware that if they decided to take part in the study, they were free to withdraw at any time without giving any explanation if they no longer wanted to take part in the study. This study ensured that the participants' autonomy was upheld at all times (Wassenaar, 2006).

3.3.2 Beneficence

At the beginning of the individual interviews each participant was informed that there were no incentives for taking part in the study and this was also included in the information sheet (Wassenaar, 2006). However, by taking part in this study, the participants may have benefited from sharing their experiences as this enabled them to reflect on how they were practicing fatherhood and if there was anything that they needed to alter as a result of their reflection (Wassenaar, 2006). For example, they may have learned from how similar or differently they are doing fatherhood in comparison to other fathers, which they could have not been aware of prior to the study and this process could assist them in parenting. In addition, participants in this study could have also benefited indirectly, since the study results could be drawn on to inform and design future fatherhood interventions.

3.3.3 Non-maleficence

The principle of non-maleficence means that the research should do no harm to the research participants (Wassenaar, 2006). I considered possible dangers that the research might have caused on the participants (Wassenaar, 2006). This study evoked painful memories relating to how the fathers were raised, therefore, I was sensitive towards the participants' feelings (Wassenaar, 2006). As a result of the sensitive nature of this study, two participants became aware of the significance of their past experiences of being fathered, as a result, they experienced some discomfort. I encouraged each of them to take up a referral at the University of Botswana Psychology clinic, which they took up (prior arrangements had been made, appendix 3).

In addition, the dissemination of results including the information about storage and destruction of data were discussed with the study participants. Participants were told that the collected data

would be stored in a safe place (that is locked) in the psychology department for five years, and only the researcher and her supervisor would have access to it. The collected data would solely be used for the purpose of the research project. The study participants were also informed that the study findings might also be presented at conferences and potentially be used in publications, and to ensure their confidentiality pseudonyms would be used.

3. 4 Data collection

3. 4. 1 Individual interviews

Qualitative interviews are unstandardized, unstructured, unrestricted and non-directive (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). This is to allow participants to express their perspectives on life in their own words (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). Individual interviews were used in this study because they allowed for the enquiry of fatherhood. Since this study was informed by social constructionism, this technique was important for investigating participants' accounts on fatherhood among fathers in Botswana.

The interviews were conducted in various locations in Gaborone, during the afternoons, the time when majority of the study participants availed themselves. The duration of the interviews was between 45-60 minutes. At the beginning of each individual interview, I introduced myself and the research study, and expressed gratitude towards the participant for availing them self. I then gave each participant an information sheet in relation to the study (appendix 1). This information sheet gave details of what the study was about, it also contained the research supervisor and ethics committee's contact details in the event that the participants had questions or concerns regarding the study.

I discussed the research process, issues concerning confidentiality and how the data collected for the study would be used with each participant. In addition, each participant was asked to read and sign an informed consent and an audio consent forms: one to take part in the interview and the other to be audio recorded (appendix 1 and 2).

Each participant was also requested to fill out the demographics section within the information sheet (appendix 1). This section asked for information regarding the participant's age, nationality, level of education, number of children they had and marital status. This information sheet included details of what would happen to the data collected, dissemination of results as well as the storage and destruction of data. Each research participant received a copy of the information sheet to keep for future reference.

Each research participant was told that there were no rewards for taking part in the study, and that their contribution was voluntary (Wassenaar, 2006). Moreover, I assured the participants that their details would not be linked anyhow with the information they had shared.

The semi-structured interview schedule (appendix 5) was formulated in line with the research aims and questions on experiences of fatherhood. Prior to the interviews I asked some of my colleagues (fellow psychology students) to review my questions. Scrutiny of the questions by peers offered a fresh perspective because they challenged assumptions, wording and structuring of the interview questions and this helped in refining the interview schedule I had formulated. After this was done I contacted my supervisor to read and check the questions. The interview questions investigated fathers' understanding on fatherhood, and explored how men navigated their way in society as fathers. The interview schedule enabled me to gather participants' fatherhood experiences.

The interview schedule comprised open ended and probing questions. These types of questions encouraged the interviewees to give accounts of their experiences (Ivey, Ivey & Zalaquett, 2013). In addition, each interview concluded with me asking the participants if they would like to add anything that may have been omitted in the interview process. The premise of this approach was to encourage interviewees to close off the interview for themselves by either providing new information not addressed in the interview or by providing parting remarks (Ivey et al., 2013).

3. 4. 2 The interview process

The interviews were conducted primarily in English, however, the participants were encouraged to respond in Setswana if this felt more comfortable, since all the participants were Tswana speaking. Before the interviews began both the participants and I were anxious, however, as rapport was built, we were both able to relax and able to engage meaningfully throughout the interview sessions (appendix 7). Despite this there were questions in the interview schedule that the participants found threatening such as question 2 and 16 (appendix 5). The question that asked the participants to reflect on the manner in which they were raised by their fathers, seemed to evoke feelings such as anger, and sadness for some participants. On the question that asked the participants if a gay father could be a good father most participants seemed to take offence and as such they seemed to get defensive and angry, this could be because in Botswana homosexuality was viewed as taboo. I contained them and was also

careful to note that they needed to be referred for counselling after the interview. Apart from these questions the interviews went well.

3.5   Data Analysis process

Data analysis is the process of ordering, structuring and interpreting collected data (Shenton, 2004).

3.5.1 Organising data

All the participants' interviews were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed. Silverman and Marvasti (2008) caution that when interviews are audio recorded and transcribed, the trustworthiness of the interpretation of transcripts may be seriously weakened by a failure to transcribe apparently trivial, but often crucial, pauses and overlaps. I was involved in all the steps entailed in transcribing all the data. This gave me assurance that all transcripts used were accurate to their original sources, which assisted with the integrity of the data set. I ensured that the responses were accurately transcribed by using transcription conventions to maintain the tone and pace of the responses (appendix 6). In addition, I translated the transcripts from Tswana to English ensuring the "distance between the meanings as experienced by the participants and the meanings as interpreted in the findings is as close as possible" (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg, 2010, p. 314). Where Tswana language was used by participants, when translating and transcribing I ensured that concepts were captured accurately by obtaining conceptual equivalences. In instances where I was confused about meanings, an accredited linguistics professional at the University of Botswana was consulted to discuss particular sections of the recordings and transcripts to help me arrive at the closest meaning, by understanding the social context within which utterances were made (to ensure that meaning was not lost by translating the text in cultural context). I then analysed these transcripts to explore the manner in which the study participants used language to (de)construct their accounts of fatherhood.

3.5.2 Thematic analysis

According to Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) thematic analysis searches for themes that are significant to the description of a phenomenon. This data analysis technique is mainly used for identifying, analysing and reporting themes within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Although thematic analysis is often framed as an experiential method it can be applied across a range of theoretical approaches and goes well with both essentialist and constructionist

paradigms in psychology (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 5). Thematic analysis can be a constructionist method, which investigates ways in which meanings are constructed within society (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As such, thematic analysis was useful for this social constructionist informed study, because it enabled me to investigate ways in which fathers draw on various discourses (identified in previous studies) operating within their social contexts to discuss fatherhood experiences.

In this study, data analysis kept to Braun and Clarke (2006) six phase guide of undertaking thematic analysis: (1) "familiarising yourself with your data", (2) "generating initial codes", (3) "searching for themes", (4) "reviewing themes", (5) "defining and naming themes", and (6) "producing the report". The analysis of the data addressed these as follows. I listened to the audio recordings repeatedly during the translating and transcribing phase and this exposed me to the data and helped me to familiarise myself with the content of the data.

After I had finished transcribing the data, the transcriptions were read four times. On the first two occasions, I read the transcripts whilst checking them against the original recordings for accuracy, without making any interpretations (Braun & Clarke, 2006). While listening to the recordings and reading through the transcribed interviews I made notes which I would use in the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During the third reading, I began highlighting interesting themes which emerged. I then made a list of all recurring ideas and themes in the data. All the transcriptions were then printed and this enabled me to write down comments, themes, and questions which emerged whilst I went through the transcriptions. I read these transcriptions to assist me to make side notes of themes and ideas that were emerging (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In addition, these noted emerging themes were then compared with the existing ones. I used the two lists to think about the relationship between the themes that had come to light.

I then made a set of competing themes, and began reviewing and refining these main themes until I got a clear pattern. Thereafter, I proceeded to defining and naming themes which were relevant to be presented for the analysis. I then analysed the data within these themes and data excerpts to provide a coherent and interesting account of the story the data tells within and across themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

3. 5. 4 Reflections

During the analysis process I constantly reflected on the opinions I held, my experiences, values and was aware of how these aspects could prejudice or affect my judgement and the data analysis (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). I kept a journal in which I recorded my reactions

during the research process. When I reflected on my experiences of the interviews, I realised that before I began the interview I had a constant worry that I would not be well received by the participants who were men because I was female. I wondered if they would open up to me about fatherhood with the recent #menaretrash trending. I was really sceptical of whether they would allow me into their world. Moreover, I recalled instances where I had seen men snub women because they perceived them as 'inferior' to them.

When I conducted the interviews most of my presumptions about Botswanan men were nullified. As I reflected on the entire process I understood how biased I was regarding the fathers in general. I literally painted all Botswanan men, excluding my father, with one paint brush, I was of the view that they were irresponsible and domineering. I was really surprised to see how progressive and open minded the men were. This reminded me of the relationship I shared with my father and the way in which he raised my siblings (two females and one male) and me (female). My father was an involved parent and his parenting was quiet egalitarian, he never disqualified his daughters because of their sex. He taught my siblings and myself the same things. He treated and raised us equally. I realised that my dialogue with the fathers offered information that would have been difficult to obtain from merely reading scholarly articles and literature, as it is acquired from lived experience.

Going back to the interviews I found that coming from the same culture and speaking the same language with the participants was instrumental in achieving the confidence and rapport this study required. When interviewing participants, I found no difficulty in getting them to talk, however, I had the challenge of keeping introductions brief without foregoing rapport-building process. In addition, I constantly reassured them that what they had shared would remain confidential.

In retrospect, I believe that if I were to interview the same participants again, it would be done differently. I would not necessarily get a better story from the participants, but I would ask fewer leading questions and use more interviewing skills like summarising, reflecting, paraphrasing etcetera. The interviews went more smoothly, as I was a bit more relaxed with each interview.

3. 6   Credibility, dependability and transferability

Qualitative research needs to be credible, dependable and transferable (Shenton, 2004).

3.6.1 Credibility

In qualitative research validity refers to credibility (Shenton, 2004). In other words, there needs to be adequate reporting on the research process. I ensured credibility by using the following strategies: prolonged engagement with participants and data triangulation. Firstly, distinct questions were asked regarding fatherhood and participants were encouraged to support their statements with examples and I followed up with questions. Secondly data triangulation was secured by using various data sets that emerged throughout the analysis: I used raw data, developed codes which helped to examine characteristics of the data, analysed emerging themes, theorized and revised them accordingly. I studied the data until the final theory provided the intended depth of insight.

3.6.2 Dependability

Dependability refers to "the stability of findings over time" (Bitsch cited in Anney, 2014, p. 278). In addition, Shenton (2004) argues that "in order to address the dependability issue more directly, the processes within the study should be reported in detail, thereby enabling a future researcher to repeat the work, if not necessarily to gain the same results" (p. 71). I ensured this by documenting the research process.

I used an audit trail. Records of all field notes and a journal were kept giving a feel of the research process. The journal included thoughts of how I proceeded with the study, sampling and ethical concerns, this was to help me review what was done and consider alternative plans. In addition, to enhance data collection I also used a notepad during individual interviews to take down notes, this was quiet instrumental in understanding the meanings of words used by the study participants without trying to change them to what I thought they meant when analysing the data.

3.6.3 Transferability

A qualitative research study must be replicable and transferable (Shenton, 2004). Transferability has to do with adequate descriptions of process to help readers infer transferability to similar people in similar contexts (Shenton, 2004). I provided a rich account of descriptive data, such as a detailed account of my experiences during data collection, the context in which the study was carried out, setting, sample, sample size, sample strategy, demographic, socio-economic characteristics, inclusion criteria, interview procedure, interview questions and excerpts from the interview guide (Korstjens & Moser, 2018).

3.7   Summary

This chapter discussed the methodology used in the study, highlighted the choice of the paradigm, and the techniques used were motivated. This chapter also highlighted the procedures and inclusion criteria regarding the selection of the participants. Justifications were offered for selecting thematic analysis as the most appropriate method for this study. In addition, the participants were introduced with a short biography and my reflections concerning the interviews were offered. Ethical considerations were discussed. Thereafter, means of ensuring credibility, dependability, transferability was outlined.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

4. 1   Introduction

The main aim of this study was to explore how Botswanan men construct fatherhood. Some of the studies conducted in Botswana suggest that most fathers are absent, unsupportive, neglectful and abusive towards their children (Fuh & Mookodi, 2004). As a result, these narratives have silenced other existing narratives, they tend to neglect important perspectives and experiences of Botswanan men that are involved in their children's lives, thus making it difficult to provide new insights into how fatherhood is being negotiated and (re)constructed.

To explore fatherhood this study adopted a social constructionist perspective, which argues that social and interpersonal factors construct experience (Burr, 1995). The social constructionist approach adopted for this study enabled it to explore how men construct fatherhood and unpack the narratives that men draw on to construct fatherhood in Botswana. Assuming that experience and reality is socially constructed through the influences of culture and language (Burr, 1995), the study also explored some of the cultural factors influencing Botswanan men's understanding and beliefs about fathering.

This chapter presents an analysis and discussion of the individual interviews conducted with the five fathers in Gaborone, Botswana. Even though each participant's experiences represented in this study were different, there were threads of commonality underlying their construction of fatherhood and there were themes that were prominent throughout all the interviews. Five major themes, with sub-themes emerged through the analysis of the participant's experiences. The first theme that emerged was *the construction of Botswanan fatherhood*, along with the following sub-themes: *(a) the provider* and *(b) disciplinarian and figure of moral authority*. This theme explores how men describe traditional fathering roles from their point of view. This theme led to the second theme which was *positioning*, along with the following sub-themes: *(a) participants' fathers as points of reference, (b) other men as points of reference* and *(c) mothers as points of reference*. This theme explored how the participants negotiate their identities as fathers in relation to other people. The third theme that emerged was the *types of fathering*, along with the following sub-themes: *(a) bad fathering* and *(b) good fathering*. This theme explored how the participants understand and classify fathering. The fourth theme that emerged was *doing fatherhood differently*, along with the following sub-themes: *(a) changing fatherhood, (b) communication (c) caring presence* and *(d) fatherhood as an ongoing journey*. This theme explored new emerging constructs of fatherhood. The last

theme is *factors influencing fatherhood,* which included the following sub-themes: *(a) culture, (b) age* and *(c) sexuality.*

I use excerpts from the data (the transcriptions of the individual interviews) to support the themes showing the experiences of the participants and are written in italics. In addition, I will make reference to previous studies and existing literature about the discourses around fatherhood, as outlined in the literature, to discuss the participants' constructions of fatherhood.

4. 2   The Construction of Botswanan fatherhood

According to Morrell (1998) construction of fatherhood can differ in and across historical periods and culture. These constructions have implications on fathering such that they can limit and/or facilitate what can be said and done by fathers (Morrell, 1998). In addition, research indicates that fatherhood is constructed as men develop ideas, meaning of what is appropriate as they become cognisant of and begin to identify with their role as fathers as well as discuss and engage in fathering activities.

Studies on fathers indicate that the construction of fatherhood among men is influenced by their socio-cultural backgrounds among other things (Morrell, 2001). As such, it is not shocking then, that fathers in this study focused on specific aspects of their culture to construct their social reality. At the beginning of the individual interviews each participant was asked about the role of fathers. The findings show that they drew on wider cultural and normative discourses when they answered and they produced socially expected and/or accepted descriptions of the provider and disciplinarian.

4. 2. 1 The provider

Participants in the study established that traditionally, fathering is strongly associated with being a good financial provider. Most of the participants believe that the father has to support their families financially. *Papi explains that a father has to support the family by providing for their basic needs such as *'food, clothing and shelter'*. He further states that it is the father's responsibility to take care of his family as the *'head of the family and he is supposed to support the children or family'*. The use of the word *head* in the extract above reveals cultural views on gendered relationships and roles. It suggests that men are seen as having a prominent position of control and power to make decisions within the family system.

In addition, the usage of the word *supposed to* suggests that *Papi is aware that the financial provider role is a non-negotiable social expectation of Botswanan fathers. Moreover, *Papi's response above reproduces the provider protector discourse by Clowes et al. (2013), as an important way of constituting his father identity. Clowes et al. (2013, p. 259), describe the provider and protector discourse as the "father's ability to provide financially and to undertake the labour involved in protecting family members from economic hardships".

*Reba further argues that it is not sufficient for a father to merely provide for basic needs, as such, fathers need to ensure that medical expenses are also included in the holistic care of the child. For instance, *Reba notes that it is the father's responsibility to *'make sure there is food for the child, nappies, clothing and milk; beyond that medicals'*. In Tswana culture, society at large expects the father to play the breadwinner role to ensure a conducive environment that will enable the child to reach their full potential. *Kao reflects this when he indicates that the father has 'to provide for the family'. Providing for the family means *'taking care of both the mother and the children's welfare to ensure they have a good life or living'*.

The five participants' perceptions of the father's role are primarily centred on his ability to provide material things. For instance, *Reba produces an account that depicts this. He cites that:

> *If say he (child) needs soccer boots the mom would tell the father, that the child does not have shoes and school uniform. Here and then when he is grown that is when you take him to soccer games but on a daily basis the mother is responsible for the everyday care like dropping him at school and doing homework with him. But generally the primary role of the father has to do with financial support.*

This extract highlights the father's position as the provider whilst the mother is perceived as the primary caregiver who sees to the child's every day needs, like ensuring they get to school. This reveals that traditionally the role of the father is primarily perceived as providing financially for the family. It should be noted from this extract that *Reba acknowledges that he may go to soccer games with his child when they are older. He explains that when the child is young the occurrence will only happen *'now and then'* because the child needs a lot of nurturing from the primary caregiver (mother). Historically in Tswana culture fathers are constructed as economic providers (Fuh & Mookodi, 2004). This way of thinking promotes the position and

role of breadwinner, which is reinforced through fathers' daily interactions. This study demonstrates that the bread winner role is a normative social expectation (Morrell, 2001).

For these study participants it appears that the fathers' ability to provide signals successful masculinity because it is more likely to earn them respect in society (Clowes et al., 2013) . Similarly, a study by McDowell (2003) found that many fathers relate manhood with their ability to be providers and protectors of their families. Studies suggest that breadwinning and protecting the family reproduces the logic of patriarchal power for men, which implies that the goal of men is to be independent and to take care of and defend their family members (Clowes et al., 2013).

4. 2. 2 The disciplinarian and figure of moral authority

The participants frame being a disciplinarian as another key expectation for a father by society. They argue that the father holds authority over the family. In Tswana culture, *Kao states that the father plays a leadership role. As such, he is expected to provide guidance *'by instilling values with expectations of building a character from a very young age'*. *Kao said:

> *If they are well mannered and very humble and showing so much respect. Showing so much respect to adults, they really appreciate the role that the father could have played and you know what you should also emphasise is respect as you raise your kid you should teach them. In fact, in terms of our culture respect is very highly regarded such that a very respectable family is considered the family to go to. People would want to marry their kids to such kinds of families and as such there is such. The culture is actually looking at the values [pause] family values that are mostly [pause] you know (.) aspired. Is that even the right word? Aspired to by those that could be standing by the fence. Everybody would actually want that and as a father. [Pause] You know as a father these are the things I would actually achieve in terms of raising my kids and I would consider myself a good father if I would instil certain values and a character that is mostly [pause] you know [pause] aspired to...*

In this extract *Kao suggests fathers take pride in raising children who are well mannered because it earns them respect in society. As a result, fathers *'aspire'* to this role of the disciplinarian and figure of moral authority. *Kao explains that if a father is successful in raising children who are *'well-mannered and very humble and showing so much respect'*, society will in turn hold the father in high esteem to the extent that his family would be regarded

as *'the family to go to'* when people seek advice because of how well cultured and behaved their children are. Moreover, the extract above highlights that if a family succeeds at raising well cultured children other parents in the community would aspire to marry their children into this family so that they could be associated with them.

*Moga argues that the role of the father is to discipline children. *Kao indicates that in Tswana culture, *'discipline is key amongst everything else'*. Discipline is seen as superseding everything, it is the foundation for a responsible and respectful community. As such, fathers *'need to really discipline and to really have a family that would be exemplary to society'*. This accentuates the idea that *'motho ke motho ka batho',* a Tswana proverb that translates to 'I am because you are'. *Moga also indicates that the fathers are there for their children as *'their role models'.* That being the case, fathers have the responsibility *'to share experiences with their children'* and *'guide them',* while the children have the responsibility to learn from their fathers' *'wisdom'.*

The participants establish that historically fathers provided discipline and moral authority in Tswana culture. The father used discipline as a way of retaining control and their identity in the family. *Sala argues that *'culturally as a matter of fact people from the past were raw (harsh). Especially when they wanted to achieve certain things, they would really stamp their authority'.* To emphasise this *Moga produces an account that depicts fathers being used as deterrents for misbehaviour:

> *Growing up our fathers were used as scarecrows, he [father] was likened to a lion. So it was very difficult. Normally family members would say "your dad is coming" when you were wayward or behaved badly. So when you did bad stuff you knew your father could never play games with you he was not emotional. He was like a lighthouse, he would guide without showing emotion and most times you found if you were told he was coming you would start crying when you saw him.*

*Moga indicates that their fathers were *'used as scarecrows, he [father] was likened to a lion'.* This metaphor suggests that *Moga's father was feared, moreover, he was perceived to be void of emotions suggesting his role was to be objective (Wurzer, 2005). From this perspective he had to stay emotionally detached to be able to guide the children. What is also notable from the

extract above is that the participant indicated that they would start crying when they saw their fathers suggesting that the children were fearful of their fathers' discipline.

When asked about the role of fathers the participants in this study seem to establish and construct being a disciplinarian as a social expectation, which can be seen as evidence of the control and dominance discourse identified in research by Clowes et al. (2013). According to Clowes et al. (2013, p. 262) this discourse "positions certain individuals as needing protection, as dependents, and in order to be protected these dependents must do as they are told". The discourse positions women and children as vulnerable and dependent on dominant masculinity for protection (Clowes et al., 2013).

In Tswana culture, household rules are agreed upon by both parents to guide children. *Kao cites that culturally the father plays a leadership role; he holds authority over their family. Meaning fathers have control over households, and as such they are positioned as lawmakers within families (Wurzer, 2005). Therefore, traditionally authority cannot be assumed by any man who is seemingly weak, to assume this role one is culturally expected to be independent and self-sufficient (Clowes et al., 2013).

Two of the fathers in this study endorsed the disciplinarian and figure of moral authority construct as a social reality for fathers, drawn from their socio-cultural backgrounds. The participants believe that they have to instil values and be strict with their children because they feel their children are spoilt and exposed to negative external influence, as such, they need fathers who are firm to guide them. For instance, *Moga notes that *'there is a lot of lawlessness' and often times parents give their children 'too much freedom'*. As a result, he is *'very strict'* with his child. He is of the belief that children *'should know boundaries, you should set boundaries for the kids. You should have rules in the household that the kids should grow with'*.

The ways that these men accounted for their positions and construction of fatherhood, constructs dominance and control as large products of discipline. The language used and the narratives produced by the fathers in this study legitimises and maintains the traditional dominance control narrative. For instance, *Moga establishes that, *'you [a father] should have rules in the household that the kids should grow with. Like I said it's your responsibility to guide that child. In terms of punishment I admit I often use corporal punishment'*. *Sala explains that it is important for the children to know the consequences of misbehaving. He explains that if the child, after communicating and setting boundaries on acceptable behaviour,

defaults from *'acceptable behaviour'* then punishment could come *'as a form of either a spanking, grounding them or denying them certain things that they love most'* to show them that they are wrong. Similarly, a study by Clowes et al. (2013) found that fathers rationalise the use of violence as a necessary and meaningful exercise, especially when their children have gone beyond the limits of acceptable behaviour as stipulated by them.

The dominant cultural discourses of Botswanan fatherhood construct fathers as providers, disciplinarians, figures of moral authority and emotionally detached. These versions of fatherhood have historical roots, as such they seem to be popular and accepted because they are "closely tied to the structures and practices that are lived out in society from day to day" (Burr, 1995, p. 37) . This entire theme on the construction of fatherhood highlights the social constructionist perspective that realities are constructed from discourses that are culturally available and these are specific to the social and historical contexts of fathers (Burr, 1995). The study participants gave representations and statements which when put together produced identity formation discourses of fatherhood (Burr, 1995). These discourses are culturally perceived as guidelines of what Botswanan fathers are capable of doing and what they ought to do. They help construct the manner in which Botswanan men think about and respond to fatherhood (Burr, 1995). In essence the discourses produced indicate that the meaning of fatherhood is dependent on prevailing discourses within society.

4. 3   Positioning in relation to others

According to Burr (1995, p. 96), positioning is a "process by which our identities and ourselves as persons come to be produced by socially and culturally available discourses". In essence, positioning helps to understand how identities are constructed (Burr, 1995). Burr (1995, p. 96) relates that "people's accounts of themselves, the stories they weave to account for their lives, the things they have done and intend to do and so on, are heavily dependent upon the co-operation of others", implying positions in society are negotiated. This being the case, the fathers interviewed for this study seemed to view themselves and make sense of their experiences by drawing comparisons between them and their own fathers, other men and mothers to negotiate their own positioning and identities as fathers.

4. 3. 1 Participants' fathers as points of reference

Five participants in this study define themselves as fathers by drawing similarities and differences between themselves and their own fathers who were crucial in their own construction of fatherhood identities. For instance, *Moga notes that:

> *I only met my biological father when I was 10. So in my early childhood I never had that experience apart from my step-father, who came into my life when I was around five or six years old [laughs]… With that it was very difficult for the both of us. We were struggling with adjusting to each other's presence and we had a hard time connecting. It was very difficult for us to connect because we both knew he was not my father… We were not father and son, and I was not his son and to date we have never openly talked about it. So yah… we had a problem.*

In this extract *Moga gives an account of his relationships with his biological father and step-father. It appears that he did not have a relationship with his biological father and struggled to connect emotionally with his step-father while growing up. Even though this is the case his experiences have influenced the way he fathers. *Moga notes that he uses experiences gathered *'from the mistakes both his father's made'*. He explains that these were learning curves for him on how and how not to father his children, *'it was a bit of me learning from where I felt and thought they did wrong and I incorporated that into how I am raising my child'*. *Moga managed to create a positive father identity because he was intentional about being different from his absent father (Langa, 2010).

In addition to having no bond with his step-father, *Moga indicates that he *'struggled with fitting in or assimilating into a new family… All in all, I wouldn't say the relationship [with the step-father] was great or bad, it was just ok. We managed to find ourselves surviving'*. Despite this lack of bond *Moga took a leaf from his step-father's role. He notes his admiration for his step-father's role as a nurturer, he *'plays a more nurturing role'*. His step-father *'is the one who makes sure that the kids are up in the morning, dressed for school, checks if they have eaten and stuff like that'*. As a result of his experience with his step-father he argues that he has a relationship with his children and he is involved and present in their upbringing.

Another example is *Reba who cites that he was raised by his father. He admires his father's devotion to their (him and his brother) upbringing and his role as breadwinner. He says that *'I had a very positive upbringing by my father as opposed to my mother'*. However, his father

was physically absent most of the times, *'I did not spend much time with my dad as I was growing up. He was a busy man'*. As a result of his experience with his own father being absent *Reba says *'I spend a lot of time with my son'*.

In *Kao's account of being fathered he articulates that growing up, his father never vocalized his love for him. As a result of his experience with his father *Kao indicates that, *'we [fathers] tell our kids how much we love them and miss them when you are not with them, you keep in touch, communicate through the phone and the like'*. He vocalizes his love and tries to be emotionally present when he is not there physically. In addition to this, *Kao states that his father was strict and he appreciates his father's strictness because *'it made us the people that we are today'*. He indicates that when he reflects on how he was raised he looks *'back with admiration as opposed to feeling that we were abused of some sort because we used to be beaten other times'*. As a result of *Kao's experiences of being fathered, he is *'strict in terms of upbringing'* towards his child, physically present and *'always there emotionally all the time'* for his child.

*Sala also articulates his account of being fathered. He relates that his *'upbringing was incredible. My dad played his role well'*. He states that his *'father and other relatives were good teachers'* in a sense that they instilled values in him. Despite his positive upbringing, *Sala notes traditionally the male figures in his life used a lot of violence to get their way *'culturally as a matter of fact people from the past were very raw. Especially when they wanted to achieve certain things, they would really stamp their authority'*. Due to experiencing violence he notes that he would not *'behave much like they did even though they had a positive influence in my upbringing and how I do things'*.

As a result of his experience with his father *Sala indicates that he is physically present, and highlights that the *'most important thing for a child is giving and showing them love'* implying he is also emotionally present. *Sala also notes that as fathers *'we sit, discuss and most of the times try to bring ourselves to the level of our kids so that there is that good relation or interaction between the father and the child'*. This extract suggests that he communicates with his children to understand their needs and concerns to forge a good father-child relationship.

The accounts presented by these four participants depict their fathers as important points of reference in their own construction of fatherhood identities, that is, they position themselves in relation to their own fathers to make sense of their experiences. For instance, *Moga has experienced a caring step-father and tries to emulate him, the others fathers like *Sala have had

disciplinarian or authoritarian fathers and this has also inspired them to be more emotionally present. These are accounts of fathers doing more than being providers and disciplinarians. This goes to show that fatherhood is not a static role, but a contextually and relationally negotiated experience that changes over time.

As it was highlighted earlier when initially asked to describe the role of fathers the participants stated that the roles are being the provider and disciplinarian. The participants provide a response that reflects social expectations and prevalent discourses of fatherhood, however, when they start talking of their own experiences with their own fathers a more caring role emerges. This was common among the participants. While these fathers reproduce the wider historical cultural discourses of the provider and disciplinarian, their own experiences show that they also value the role of emotional caregiver. What stands out most for me is how the fathers are acknowledging a more caring role and how it contradicts with some of what they say about being primarily a provider and disciplinarian devoid of emotion.

4. 3. 2 Other men as points of reference

It is evident that these study participants do not produce their identities in isolation, but rather their experiences with other men they interact with also contribute to the construction of their identities as fathers. Three participants seem to perceive most Botswanan men as *'the other men'* who are unavailable in their children's lives and according to *Kao this is evidenced by a high rate of single mothers. He even includes some married women in the category of single mothers in the sense that *'some would be married but it would appear as if they are just single'*. He further indicates that *'there are men that are married who would appear not married, they do not take any part in their children's lives'*. He estimates that *'only 20% of men are emotionally present and 80% are not'*.

It is worth noting that when talking of absent fathers *Papi distances himself from fathers *'who are not always there. Those who can take the whole year or two without checking on their kids'* because they are no longer with the mothers of their children. In comparison to these fathers, he indicates that *'I don't stay with her (daughter) but I see her every day. I cook for her. I drop her off at school every day, even today I took her from school to the hospital. I am always there for her'*.

*Reba also distances himself from fathers who feel that *'it was the mother's role to be physically present as opposed to them being there'*. He goes on to explain that in their social club *'Sunday soccer'* where some men spend half a Sunday *'you will find 22 players maybe 1*

or 2 fathers inclusive of me would bring their kid to the game then if there is a family function at work you hardly find fathers coming with them'. It is rare for some men playing soccer to bring their children.

*Kao also distances himself from fathers who are not involved in their children's lives and those who were totally absent. He indicates that he is one of the fathers that played a meaningful role in their children's lives, in his words *'I come across as a man who does parenting well and passionately'*. As for emotional involvement, *Kao indicates that he spends quality time with his daughter so that they can bond and that they have a strong relationship.

With regards to children who do not have involved fathers, *Kao expresses that it would be better for an absent father to provide materially if they are not involved so as to shield the child from physical hardships. *Papi differs with this stance because he believes fatherhood should be all rounded. *Papi argues that as a father one should not assume if the financial aspect is fulfilled then everything is okay. *Papi believes that *'as a father you do not say the financial aspect is covered and you neglect the emotional and physical presence for the kids'*. In other words, fathers should be careful not to neglect the importance of emotional and physical presence in their children's lives.

In comparison to unavailable fathers all the five participants in this study reveal that they are involved and played a meaningful role in their children's lives. *Kao highlights that he is a *'man who does parenting well and does it passionately'* and he has *'actually seen some guys who take their kids to school and the like- take them out for plays, swimming and extra-curricular activities outside of school'*. *Reba cites that he helps his son to do his homework on a daily basis. He further argues that by helping his son with his homework he gets to learn a *'lot of things, I wouldn't learn if I was not there physically'*. In addition, *Moga notes that he needs to be there for his children, he indicates that *'I need to be there. Ya, that's the most important thing I learnt. Be there emotionally, be there physically'*.

The accounts presented by four fathers in this study also illustrate the 'other father', that is, the unavailable father as important in the construction of their own fatherhood identities. In developing their personal meanings of fatherhood these participants use their experiences with other men to construct their own father identities as engaged, caring, and present fathers.

4. 3. 3 Mothers as points of reference

All the five participants positioned themselves in relation to the mothers of their children. Literature indicates that mothers and fathers involvement in child upbringing is not similar, because most mothers take on the bulk of child care activities (Wurzer, 2005).

Literature suggests that women have historically been considered responsible for childcare in the gender order (West & Zimmerman, 1987). As such, all the five fathers interviewed acknowledge that it is difficult for them to raise children when compared to mothers. *Kao indicates that *'it is harder for a father to raise a kid than a mother because you do not have mothering instincts, nurturing instincts are not embedded in you. If they were it would be easy'*. This extract reveals, 1) an assumption by fathers that mothers are naturally, rather than socially, engineered to be mothers and, 2) an assumption that fathers do not have these natural instincts. The study participants have no awareness that socially fathers have not been primed to be caregivers in the way that mothers have. As such, raising kids is ultimately seen as the responsibility of the mother who is seen as naturally caring.

In this study four participants establish that the father's role is to play a supporting role to the mother. Their belief is that the father steps in to help when the mother is not available. For instance, *Papi cites that he stayed with his daughter for almost eight months when her mother went abroad to work. It is evident that he had to step in and take a turn, something that he ordinarily did not do (he played a part time role in his child's upbringing). Furthermore, *Kao adds that the fathers' role is to do *'the hard stuff. The soft stuff is actually left to the mothers and with me I have done her diapers at a very young age'*.

*Kao indicates that he thought that taking care of the child was easy until he stayed with his daughter for two months when her mother went abroad for school. It seems as though prior to his experience he played a minor role in his daughter's caregiving until he was compelled to step in. In his words he says *'it was two months she (the child's mother) had gone overseas on training and we managed although it was hard yes. I should admit but it was my kid and I appreciated it'*. It was a difficult time for him because it required him to be hands on, in the child's daily caregiving. At this point he realised that child upbringing was not necessarily as easy as portrayed by society.

*Kao's experience assisted him to gain insight into the role of caring for children and he now has some appreciation for how difficult the experience of caregiving is. To illustrate this, he indicates that the experience helped him *'to really play a role in raising'* his child. In essence

*Kao undertook everyday tasks that were associated with motherhood and he acknowledges that they assisted him with his fathering. He now realises that he plays more of the companion role with his daughter. Their time together is characterised by play and having fun. The extract below indicates that some fathers share activities with their children to enhance their father-child relationship. *Kao says:

> *As it were this morning, I was from gym with my daughter. She has a gym subscription and I have a subscription, we go to gym together. When she gets to the gym she gets to the playroom area where there are games, they do exercises and they do a lot of activities that actually keep them busy.*

In light of this, *Reba also acknowledges that his role is mainly to entertain and play with the child. He spent less time with his child when he was an infant because this period entails so many care giving practices. He deems the infancy stage as a period with more work as opposed to when the child is a toddler. He states that *'given the choice I would change nappies twice a week. So maybe after 3 or 4 years when you know there are no nappies involved then you spend more time with them. Because if say they wet their pants then it's more manageable than diapers'*. This extract suggests that when a child is in their infancy the bulk of the caregiving practices are mostly executed by the mother. Furthermore, *Reba highlights that if the father is to take on the mother role he would not execute it the way a mother would. This is illustrated by the following extract:

> *If I were to babysit them when the mother is out, I would prepare food for them and maybe I would prepare it in abundance and have leftovers in the fridge. As opposed to the mother who would cook breakfast, lunch, supper and still have in between meals. If it is me I would want to cook twice and keep the rest obviously mindful of its freshness. But I would not have the motherly instinct of doing it over and over again.* (*Reba)

*Reba's extract produces accounts of part time fathering alongside full time mothering. It positions the father as someone who steps in only to help the mother who is naturally inclined to do the caregiving, while fathers do it with difficulty only when mothers are not there.

All the participants interviewed indicate the importance of having present fathers in families. For instance, *Kao cites that *'when you become a father and you have been raised by a mother only, you don't know fatherhood because you have never experienced it and a mother cannot be a father naturally'*. The participants reproduce wider social and cultural discourses that

suggest that men and women are very different from one another, and this view reproduces an idea of a binary of gender, where mothers are seen as feminine and fathers as masculine.

*Kao also notes that males who are raised in single female headed households *'find it very hard to really know and appreciate the role a father could play'*, because *'they did not have a male figure to show them how a father treats a child'*. He also mentions that *'by virtue of not experiencing fatherhood it robs you'* and *'families without fathers sometimes are disjointed in a way'* *Kao puts forward that *'it's always nice to bring up your kid in a complete family setup where there is a motherly and fatherly figure because they tend not to miss anything in terms of the guidance and the instincts that would be transferred from having both genders'*. *Kao reproduces a view that fathers are needed to ensure healthy child development.

*Kao further explains that when males are raised in a single female headed household become fathers they find it hard to father because they would *'actually have feminine instincts as opposed to masculine [...] because naturally that would be imposed in your upbringing by your mother and you would have nurturing instincts'*. The belief is that the boy child would develop nurturing instincts as opposed to father instincts. Thus suggesting, mothers and fathers are inherently different and implying that a boy without a father will, therefore, not know how to father. This stresses the importance of having a father present and gives insight into how fatherhood is constructed culturally. This is a problematic construction of fatherhood because father roles are not exclusive. Essentially this representation of fathers assigns a higher value to fatherhood despite others' involvement in child upbringing (Morison & Macleod, 2015).

This entire theme of positioning highlights the social constructionist perspective which posits that identities and ways of knowing are not constructed in isolation but in relation and over time (Nightingale & Cromby, 1999). The accounts of the study participants for instance the narratives they shared about their fatherhood experiences, and fatherhood practices were heavily dependent on their interactions with other people. It could have been impossible for the fathers in this study to produce their identity without positioning themselves against others, because they drew comparisons between themselves and their own fathers, other men and mothers to organise their experiences and position themselves as fathers. Their accounts challenged and facilitated other discursive constructions to construct their identities as fathers. This shows that positions in society are negotiated and are not static, they are context specific and can change over time.

4. 4   Types of fathering

The participants interviewed for this study distinguished between bad and good fathering.

4. 4. 1 Bad fathering

The five study participants have a clear sense of what they consider as *'bad fathering'*. *Papi describes a bad father, as:

> *a man who is working, always physically present at his house with his kids and*
> *wife but practicing wrong things in front of the family like drinking alcohol in*
> *front of kids, smoking cigarettes, speaking vulgar language or even abusing kids*
> *physically or abusing the wife physically in front of them. That person can be*
> *considered a bad father.*

This extract cites abuse, neglect and modelling wrong behaviour as the basic characteristics of a bad father. In addition, the extract produces an account of a father who is physically present but not good for the child's upbringing. While present he is absent because he is uninvolved. Morman and Floyd (2006) support this construction and define this man as a bad father because he rejects fathering and contributes negatively to their children's development. Literature suggests that the presence of the father does not automatically translate to overall wellbeing, as it is often assumed because some present fathers can be quite indifferent and uninvolved in their children's lives (Clowes et al., 2013; Richter, 2006).

In defining bad fathering, *Kao explains it as *'a bad thing we would call a sperm donor, a good for nothing person. Sekopa in Setswana'*. The use of the word s*ekopa,* which translates to a failure in English, in the extract above reveals a lot about prescribed normative masculinity, that is, it suggests there are a set of rules which all men must try to live up to (Howson, 2006). As such, if a man fails to take care of his children he is then disqualified from hegemonic masculinity and relegated to the position of the 'other', in this case *sekopa,* which translates *to the weakling,* because a real man cannot fail to meet his obligations (Morrell, 2001).

*Sala believes that a bad father *'runs away from his responsibilities'*. *Moga further explained that a bad father absconds from his responsibilities, and he gives an example of one of his friends who *'has three kids but plays no part in their lives'*. *Reba defines this type of man as an *'absent father'*. *Reba father suggests that a bad father is a man:

> *Who does not want to be a friend to their child or who does not want to assist*
> *in the upbringing of the child? What do I mean? A mother can be away for the*

weekend on holiday and if you [the father] are there, you can be there but not wanting to see how the child is. You don't want to check on the child if they are playing fair and using good language- that is not foul or the programs and music they listen to, is it appropriate? It's multi-faceted. I could be there physically but if I am not mindful of these things I could be a bad father.

This extract demonstrates that the physical presence of a father does not mean anything if it is not coupled with a quality relationship with the child. Literature suggests that some physically present fathers tend to be uninvolved in their children's lives (Richter, 2006). On this note *Reba suggests that the father has to care for, be interested in and supervise activities their child is engaging in rather than just be physically present.

*Reba argues that often in cases where a man fathers a child before marriage *'there is a lot of control from the mother'* to the extent where some mothers deny fathers access to play any role in their child's lives, and use their children for material gains. As a result of this, some fathers abscond from their roles and responsibilities, and in turn they are seen as bad fathers. Contrary to this belief *Moga suggests that a bad father is a man who makes excuses and is not interested in his child. He says a bad father:

Finds ways that challenges, not really challenges, but barriers of why you can't play a role in your child's life. You find excuses of why you are no playing any role in your child's life. You find excuses of why, because I believe there are excuses […] Botswana is permitting, you can find ways to play an effective role in your child's life.

This extract suggests that fathers who do not find a way to be involved in their children's lives lack interest in fathering. This is mainly because if they were interested in their children's upbringing, they would use the law to gain access to their child especially since the constitution of Botswana has provision for men to play a role in their children's lives. In essence a bad father is constructed as a man who has no interest and does not play any role in his child's overall well-being.

4. 4. 2 Good fathering

The participants in this study produced an account of good fathering. Literature describes a good father as a "loving, affectionate, involved, nurturing, and consistent in the raising of his children" (Morman & Floyd, 2006, p. 117). Five of the study participants believed that a good father is a man who is there for his children emotionally, mentally and physically. For instance,

*Kao explained that a good father is *'a father who is present, present does not only mean physically, present means being there for the upbringing and the support'*. *Sala also highlighted that a good father is *'somebody who is seeing the most important thing for a child is giving and showing them love'*. These extracts are significant because they highlight something that is peculiar. Even though there is a sense that the fathers believe that fathering does not involve the soft stuff (as indicated earlier) the extracts above demonstrate that these fathers see things like showing love and care as important aspects of fathering.

*Kao argues that a father should be physically present, but if he is not *'there should be a reason why you are not there'* such as *'it could be you are not married now you can't stay with them, it could be you are working far away'*. In support, *Papi and *Sala argue that considerations should be made for some fathers in relation to physical presence. They indicate that there are some fathers who are forced to relocate and who work far from their families, but still play an active role in their children's lives. In these instances, these fathers are considered as good fathers because they are involved in their children's lives, since they are offering some form of support despite their perceived physical absence.

The participants believe being a good father entails having a relationship with your child, and they argue that communicating with their children regularly enhances their relationship. *Kao points out that communication is the most essential component in good fathering especially when the father is not there physically on a daily basis. He suggests *'talking to your child so that they know that you are there even when you are not present'*. He recommends using various communication platforms because it reassures the child of their father's love. *Kao indicates that *'you can give them love without being there physically'*.

The five fathers in this study believe that when the father is present he has the responsibility of teaching their children important values. *Reba, however, laments that he came into his child's life a bit late to instil values. He mentions that initially his son lived with his mother and the reason why he had to take him *'was because he is becoming a bit of a nuisance to the mom. The mom is always shouting at him because he is unruly and does not listen'*. *Reba expresses that he wishes that he was more involved in his child's life earlier *'if I knew it would make a difference'*. He indicates *'now I am struggling a lot because he adopted things I don't like at a very young age'*. He cites that it was hard for his child to unlearn his bad behaviour, but feels he intervened before his child's behaviour deteriorated.

*Papi believes that a good father is a person is who is exemplary to the family and society in general. He explains that a good father is a *'role model to growing youngsters'*. As such, being a role model requires fathers with good characters to set a good example for the children. He further describes that the good father tries *'to do things right even though no one is perfect to try do what is right all the time, because you will be aware of people surrounding you'*.

Three of the participants maintain that the father's ability to provide financially is a bonus to being physically and emotionally present and they therefore, rank financial provision low in good fathering. *Reba, for example, establishes that the most important thing for a father, is that he *'needs to be there physically and give emotional support and being able to give monetary support is an added advantage'* since the *'child does not care about the financial aspect to their well-being'*. It is important to note that while the participants say being financially supportive is important in the initial theme, when they really talk about it here they see it as secondary to being a good father and that it is the engaging and emotionally caring father that is important.

As highlighted earlier in the chapter at the start of the interviews the participants were asked about the role of fathers and when answering they drew on wider cultural and normative discourses when they answered and produced the expected descriptions of the disciplinarian and the provider. Yet when I asked them about what good fathering is something else emerges. In essence this indicates that while they reproduce what is socially expected of them, in their actual practice fathers include things that extend over and above disciplinarian and provider. These fathers are saying very clearly that being emotionally present is very important.

4.5 Doing fathering differently

This study sought to find out whether Botswanan men aligned themselves with traditional constructs of fatherhood or with new emerging constructs of fatherhood. As such, this study reveals that fathers nowadays draw from *both* the traditional fatherhood constructs *and* new emerging fatherhood constructs as is evident in the following sub themes.

4.5.1 Changing fatherhood

*Reba relates that nowadays fathers are doing things differently. He says:

> *I am not any less of a man if I raise my kids on my own. Back then the rearing*
> *of kids and wellness of kids was more of a motherly thing also because today's*

society there isn't that much interaction with the community and rearing the child. So the father's role needs to change so he plays that extra role that was played by the uncle, neighbours, pastors etc. The father of today needs to play the spiritual role also, if I don't take my child to church now he would not have that opportunity that I had growing up. Also the role of the father has changed in a sense that if I don't have money for a nanny and there are dirty kids clothes I would do that without blinking, it's no more a motherly role.

In addition, when *Reba uses the words *'back then the rearing of kids and wellness of kids was more of a motherly thing '* he recognises that while caregiving is perceived to be the natural role of the mother it is actually a historical and social construct. The fact that he states that washing kids clothes *'is no more the motherly role '*, shows that he recognises that the care giving role is not a biological role that is inherent to mothers and that the idea was socially constructed in a particular context at a particular time and caring is now` part of what fathers must do.

To further illustrate changing fatherhood *Moga gives an example of when his daughter was sick and he was admitted with her to hospital. He indicates that the people questioned his decision because they are used to women being the ones who are admitted to hospitals with their children. *Moga cites:

I think she [daughter] was three months old. She was admitted because of dehydration. Yes, I spent three days with her in the hospital, and you know how our society is… they kept asking where the mother is. I told them why do you need the mother? What is your problem because the father is here?

*Sala further suggests that most fathers find it exciting to perform roles which were historically associated with motherhood. He says:

You find the dad walking around their kids at the mall. You find a guy posting on Facebook with their kids, feeding them, going shopping with their kids and stuff like that. Even though statistics just like I said does not reflect that. But from the little knowledge I have, I see this on a regular. There are a number of men who are trying their best and they are involved in their children's lives.

This extract produces an account of some fathers who are proud to be involved in and play a meaningful role in their children's daily lives. *Kao highlights that historically men could not

be led by women but that is now changing. He adds that nowadays men are *'having a dialogue as to how we could still do more to change this man [toxic masculinity, which was accepted and overpraised in Tswana culture]'*. Fathers from previous generations were largely absent and not involved in their children's upbringing and this seemed to be acceptable. As a result, they were historically constructed as deficient in discharging their family responsibilities (United Nations, 2011).

*Kao and *Moga point out that what it means to be a man is changing, because some men have since realised that the way they have been relating with women and children has had bad outcomes in society and this is evident in the high numbers of *'gender based violence cases'* and *'single female headed households'* in society.

It is also interesting to find out that when the participants of the study were asked to describe their experiences of fatherhood, they listed tasks they regularly undertake such as bathing, dressing, feeding, playing and taking their children to school and these would be considered atypical to traditional Tswana masculinity. Fathers in this study appear to be stepping forward to assume roles which were traditionally considered as mother roles.

Brandth and Kvande (2002), found that fathers nowadays seem to be influencing change in hegemonic Botswanan traditional masculinity to encompass other elements such as child-care. Moreover, *Moga cites that women and men *'are afforded same opportunities so why should I be having a problem with changing nappies when my woman is at work? When she is trying to provide and we are equally providing for the children?'*

In the above extract *Moga is questioning why society has problems with men changing nappies where both men and women were seen as equals. He cites that if men are questioned on assuming *'womanly'* roles then women should also be questioned on assuming *'manly roles'* such as providing for the family. *Moga seems to imply that Tswana culture is one sided and unfair because it privileges men more than women. These findings suggest society's dynamics of raising a child are changing and are consequently shifting the constructions of masculinity and fatherhood.

*Moga further states that some men are undertaking womanly roles because they are *'standing for their rights'* to reduce the prevailing stereotype of the *'weak man'*. Ironically, it appears that the ideal man nowadays is the father who was deemed weak by traditional Tswana masculinity. This confirms literature that highlights that more men have assumed the nurturing

role for their offspring and undertake domestic chores within households (Richter & Morrell, 2008).

*Papi describes the gendered relations in the following way:

> *Nowadays it is not like before nowadays men do everything that women do, they do cook, bath their kids, change pampers ((nappies)). They do everything, so those things initially were meant to be done by women but nowadays because of this woman rights or what? Men and women are one and the same thing.*

This extract produces an account of egalitarian parenting roles. Feinberg (2003), highlights the importance of parents having equal input in child upbringing is that it would be encouraging the child's development. The participants in this study confirm what Wall and Arnold (2007) argue, that is, 'new fathers' are more nurturing, emotionally closer with their children, and share caregiving with mothers. Marx (2004) research found that 'new fathers' are intentional about care giving in a sense that they decide to be present for their children's birth, care for their children even at infancy stage, share domestic chores and interact with their children and were not limited to playtime. This is confirmed by the participants in this study.

This study reveals that the fathers see the roles of the provider and disciplinarian as secondary to being nurturing. This suggests that there are shifts in what fatherhood means and involves. Fatherhood is not static. In as much as they see themselves as providers and disciplinarians, they do not come across as authoritarian and they almost all challenge their own experiences of harsh fathering. The fathers in this study are renegotiating wider historical discourses and incorporating them in new ways and so being a good father extends beyond the role of provider and disciplinarian and includes emotional care, good communication and healthy bonds.

Below are accounts of fathers acknowledging a more open and caring role, which are the two significant narratives that emerged from the fathers when they started talking of their own experiences.

4.5.2 Communication

Despite the changing roles of fathers, some fathers still integrate the traditional authoritarian notions of fatherhood into their current fathering practices. Two of the study participants believe being strict is necessary. Although this is the case, fathers like *Papi show that some fathers do not believe in this notion, that is, fathers have to be strict. *Papi explains that

'punishment does not solve anything, it is kind of an attack and you should not use it on kids'. He believes in engaging in dialogue with his children and that being strict is unnecessary.

*Papi further explains that he does not believe that *'a person has to be strict to kids to prove he is a father. A father does not mean you are a dictator or the leader'.* *Papi believes that corporal punishment does not solve anything, he describes it as a *'kind of an attack and you should not use it on kids'.* Similarly, *Reba argues that being strict and administering corporal punishment may not necessarily be a good thing as other fathers posit. He reveals that if corporal punishment is administered often it would lose its effectiveness such that *'if you continuously hit a child it doesn't mean anything to them'.* Instead *Reba suggests using positive and negative reinforcement to encourage good behaviour and discourage bad behaviour respectively.

To illustrate what *Reba means he explains that he had to take his *'son's tablet from him the past week to encourage him to read more and do homework on time and get it correct'.* He indicates that he only allowed him *'to use the tablet for a contained period of time'.* *Reba points out that this can only happen when the parent knows what their child treasures because it can be used to reward and deprive them since, it would *'encourage them to somewhat do things correctly as opposed to the use of corporal punishment and the use of harsh words'.* He also argues that if he had administered corporal punishment his son would have been *'more detached'* and would regard him as an *'enemy'.* Furthermore, *Reba believes that the type of punishment used is mainly dependent on one's relationship with their child.

In addition, *Kao also suggests that there should be no *'universal punishment'.* He feels that the most appropriate thing to do would be *'to apply a penalty against your rule that would actually help and it has to be agreed upon by both parties'.* He highlights this would make it easier for the parent and child, because they would be aware of consequences of their actions. The use of the words *agreed upon by both parties* reveals a lot about current parenting practices and highlights that fathers engage in industrious relationships with community and family members (Clowes et al., 2013). Overall the five participants emphasise the centrality of communicating with their children as a way of working, being together and being good role models.

In as much as some fathers claim to be strict, all the participants in this study gave an account of communication that is characterised by demonstrating care and supporting their children, giving advice, showing compassion and respect (Ratele et al., 2012). The narratives offered by

some of the men in this study portray fathers as interdependent. For instance, *Papi and *Reba argue that a father does not have to be strict with their children, they feel it is imperative for the parent to engage their children in dialogue *'no matter the age difference or the amount of money you have and the car you drive or what... it is all about understanding problems, trying to come up with solutions and try to be a mediator'*. This illustrates the 'talking discourse' identified by Ratele et al. (2012), in which fathers are seen as resolving disputes through discussions and democratic forms of communication, rather than through control and aggression. Both *Papi and *Reba encourage fathers to demonstrate humility, compassion and while also being protective over their children (Ratele et al., 2012).

4. 5. 3 Caring presence

Some fathers like *Papi and *Moga cite that they were deserted by their biological fathers and gave accounts of other men such as step-fathers, uncles and grandfather known as social fathers, who were involved in their upbringing (Ratele et al., 2012). In addition, these participants indicate that these male figures (they referred to as fathers) cared and were available for them. Literature verifies that there are other exemplary male figures in the society who take part in children's lives at different times when their biological fathers are absent for whatever reason and these men do better jobs than biological fathers in raising children (Clowes et al., 2013). *Reba explains that some *'step-fathers have done better jobs than biological fathers'* in raising children. He indicates that he knows people who are well adjusted but were raised by their step-fathers as opposed to their biological fathers. *Kao further explains that:

> *If I marry or ... become your boyfriend and I found you have a kid – a one-year-old kid. This kid will only know me as a father figure until such a time we reveal to him or her that you are not the real father and tell you what? If a bond has been created I tell that would not matter and a bond can only be created when you are present and also taking this as your own and you can, it doesn't matter if you are the biological or not. I have actually seen it happening and those people actually do a better job than the biological fathers.*

This extract shows that fatherhood is perceived as the father's ability to establish a bond with their child and it is not determined by sharing DNA. *Papi indicates that the biological father's inability to bond with their child is indicative of father absence. He also stresses that having a bond with a child precedes sharing DNA and any man can assume the social father position.

*Papi illustrates that if he dates *'a lady with two kids – a 3-year-old and a 2-year-old'* and is *'always there for them'*, he would consider him as their father. He further explains that:

> *If I take 20 years with their mother, I am more of their biological father to them because of so many things: what I practice every day, my behaviour and how I treat them. It is a symbiotic relationship- do I give them respect? Do they give me respect? Do I treat them as my kids, have I embraced them? Have I really showed them that I really care about them? It's a two-way street.*

This extract produces an account that shows fatherhood as a relationship that requires a bond to be established, but fatherhood is not exclusive to biological fathers and that a caring presence can be formed by anyone in relation to a child. The caring presence narrative suggests that having a present and involved father, who might or might not be the biological father, is what is important. In addition, this narrative is synonymous with the 'being there' discourse identified by Clowes et al. (2013).

This is similar to the outcomes of the Adamsons and Johnson (2013) study, which revealed that overall child well-being is not significantly related to the frequency of contact by the non-residential father or the amount of money they give their child. This study established that fatherhood requires men to have meaningful emotional relationships with their children.

In line with the social constructionist perspective this study reveals that fathers' identities are not fixed, but they are informed by prevailing discourses in society. Burr (1995, p. 100) suggests that "some subject positions are more temporary or even fleeting, and thus 'who we are' is constantly in flux, always dependent upon the changing flow of positions we negotiate within social interaction". As such Burr argues that "our experience is potentially open to an infinite number of possible meanings or constructions" (1995, p. 100). Discourses are not static they are context dependent and can change over time, and therefore, fatherhood is open to constant renegotiation.

4. 5. 4 Fatherhood as an ongoing journey

The dominant belief among fathers in this study is that the essence of fatherhood is more than just being physically present for their children but being physically and emotionally involved in their children's lives. As a result of this belief all of the participants indicate that fatherhood is a long term commitment. They emphasise that a father should always be there in their children's lives to support them.

*Moga argues that he is seeing a generation of men that *'wants to play an active role in their children's lives'*. In addition, he goes on to explain that he often tells his friends that *'having a child is a long term contract'*. *Sala further likens fatherhood to a journey that one begins when their child is born until they die. Fatherhood basically requires one to be selfless with their time and to put their children first.

*Moga indicates that *'being there'* begins when one impregnates the mother of their child. He indicates that he has always been there for his child. For instance, *Moga cites that he *'was there for the child during the prenatal'* period. He further notes the importance of attending antenatal check-ups with the mother is to *'understand what is needed for the pregnancy prior to the child being born'*, On this point literature highlights the importance of fathers attending ante natal check-ups with the child's mother and reveal that when the father is involved in the first 1000 days of their child's life, it encourages father-child bonding which was argued to lay good foundation for the child's overall development (Makusha & Richter, 2016).

When asked about good fathering all the participants indicated that one does not have to be the biological father to practice good fathering, however, when they talked of fatherhood as an ongoing journey they indicate that the biological father should be always be there. This being the case I recognise that the later finding challenges the earlier finding. This shows that biological ties are considered as very important by these fathers. Moreover, these fathers' accounts reproduce what is socially and/or culturally expected of them.

4. 6   Factors influencing fatherhood

The participants interviewed in this study establish that there are factors that influence fatherhood such as culture, age and sexuality. It is evident that when these factors combine they are more likely to result in "varied and different experiences" for some fathers especially those who are already subordinated in society for instance unmarried, underage (below 18) and homosexual fathers (The UCLA School of Public affairs cited in Wang, 2016, p. 602). As such, I argue that not all fathers are the same and that there are variances between them and that their experiences of fatherhood vary. The constructs of culture, age and sexuality influenced how the participants in this study accounted for fatherhood.

4. 6. 1 Culture

Two participants of this study reveal that married and unmarried fathers are not treated equally in Tswana culture. Traditionally, there were things that one was expected to do as a father

because they were dictated by their culture (Ratele, 2008). This study reveals that unmarried fathers are often marginalised. To a large degree culture makes it difficult for them to access or play a role in their child's life. Tswana culture requires unmarried fathers to pay damages *'tlhagela'* to the child's maternal family. *Moga further explains that:

> There is something called "tlhagela" [literally meaning trespassing, a man would be seen as a trespasser if he impregnates out of wedlock in Setswana culture and would be required to pay for damages for impregnating what is not his]. For instance, if you got someone pregnant after that you are called over for a meeting between families where the guy pays damage for impregnating a woman he did not marry'.

This extract produces an account of the '*tlhagela*' construct. Moreover, *Reba cites that as an unmarried father *'there are certain instances were extended part of the family does not want you to play a role in the child's life they will make it difficult for you'* especially if damages were not paid. Most of these men are denied access to their children because Tswana culture does not acknowledge them as fathers. A man can only be involved in the child's life if they have paid tlhagela. Men that are unable to pay damages are excluded from their children's lives. On this point, *Moga argues that Tswana culture is '*such a big mess!'* He further indicates that most fathers *'are victims of our culture'* because they are stereotyped as *'o gatilwe ke terena'* [literally meaning a man has been hit by a train, implying he is absent in their children's life]. This suggests that Tswana culture is not accommodative.

Over and above this the study participants believe that traditional Tswana culture also plays a big role in how both genders were socialised. In traditional Tswana culture, fathers are positioned as providers and mothers as nurturers as such some men lock *'themselves up in culture'* and use it as an excuse to run away from their responsibilities. Even though this is the case, most of the study participants indicate that they are challenging and renegotiating these traditional cultural beliefs. This highlights that cultural constructs are not fixed, but fluid and often challenged and reconstructed.

Social constructionism views language as the place where identities could can be contested or transformed, because it gives life meaning (Burr, 1995). The theorist suggests that "if language is indeed the place where identities are built, maintained and challenged, then this also means that language is the crucible of change, both personal and social" (Burr, 1995, p. 29) .

4. 6. 2 Age

Ratele (2008) suggests that age positions males in specific bio-psycho-social spaces. Two of the study participants suggest that good fathering goes with maturity. They believe that age has an influence on fatherhood. When asked what the ideal age for one to be a good father is, two of the study participants note that good fathering goes with maturity. Mainly because it takes:

> *A lot to be a good father because you need to have passed through certain stages in life and if you are that young and rush to be a father. Somehow you have skipped the other stages which could have helped you to be a well-seasoned dad in future.* (*Sala)

In support of this, *Papi also notes that *'fatherhood goes hand in hand with power'* and power is enhanced by having money. *Papi says that a 14-year-old boy could:

> *… Never be a father in a sense that he doesn't have a house to stay in, he won't even have a job to work because of age restriction. A man has to be over 18 years and in our society an 18-year-old guy can join the army and have his own house and his own money so he can take care of the family. That does not matter. It is all basically about the stage you are at and all about being able to take responsibility for your actions.*

*Papi is arguing that a 14-year-old boy can never be regarded as a father because he does not have a house to stay in, a job to sustain his livelihood, is inexperienced, and has no understanding of how to be a good father and as a result this would impact on his ability to be involved in his child's life. In addition, the study participants are of the view that to be regarded as a father in Botswana one has to be over 18 years old because they could find a job and earn money, own a house and these would enable him to take care of their family. Age in a sense restricts what one can do, it has the potential to limit or privilege men in different ways (Hopkins & Pain, 2007).

*Reba indicates that he is ambivalent about the influence of age on fatherhood and cites he is still battling with the question himself. He used his experience to explain why he is unsure. He says:

> *I am not too sure why because at age 40 with an 8-year-old I ask myself questions. I have always wanted to have a child at age 25 right now. If I had him at 25 my son could have been 15. What would be happening now is… I would be trying to understand the dynamics of raising a 15-year-old, for a 47-*

year-old to understand the dynamics of a 15-year-old it's a bit tricky. If I had to do things differently I generally feel the younger the parent the better, it is for the both of them in terms of how they relate. They would grow up to be more of friends as opposed to a father- son mother – son. When the gap is too wide the father gets tired he does not have much energy and understanding to be a part of the kid's life.

What is evident from this extract is that age is an important factor that determines whether a father plays an active role in their children's lives or not. The statement *'how they relate'* from the extract above highlights the importance of connection and having a working father-child relationship. *Reba gives an account that one has to be the right age as a father, not too young or too old because when the gap is too wide between the father and child, the father would neither have the energy to engage with the child nor understand the child. Similar to Ratele (2008) the findings of this study reveal that for a male to be considered a father he needs to do certain things that qualify him as a father and these activities are bound by age.

In contrast to the participants that believe age has an influence on fatherhood, *Kao refutes this idea by stating that one could *'be a bad father at a very old age. You can be a good father at a young age'*. He believes there is no age limit to good fathering. In support, *Moga indicates that age has nothing to do with being a good father. He argues that *'a good father is a man who is there for the children'* and *'age has nothing to do with it'*. He also points out that he knows *'young men who are there for their children and old men who are irresponsible'*. As such, he believes that good fathering has *'nothing to do with age'* but one knowing their *'responsibilities as a parent'*.

4. 6. 3 Sexuality

Most of the participants were asked if they thought gay fathers are capable of good fathering and they indicated that homosexuality is taboo in culture. *Moga notes that *'in this country we do not allow gay marriages. They cannot adopt children. Gay people are not allowed to adopt because they do not exist in the constitution- according to our laws'*. As such, individuals who deviate from normative heterosexual practices are not recognised by the law (MacDonald, 1996). In Botswana, Tswana masculinity is associated with married heterosexual Tswana upper-middle class men, who are virile and strong (Berman, 2015; Mafela, 2007). *Papi himself refers to homosexuals as *'barbaric'* and people who are confused about their identities.

*Papi also states that *'a father is a person who sleeps with a woman to have children'*. He believes that most gay men were once in heterosexual relationships and switched to being gay for selfish reasons. He sees being gay as a choice and he likened it to *'being a thief or a prostitute'*. *Papi says:

> *I was born a Motswana traditionalist. I have never seen not even a 60-year-old gay. I know men are there to reproduce children, so I don't know where this is coming from and where it is going. I don't regard a person who says he is gay. I don't think it's just being irresponsible, I think they do it for money and fame-you know there are motives behind everything.*

In support, *Kao adds that homosexuality is a controversial subject because he does *'not believe in gays'*, and it goes against his Christian religion. He says:

> *I would never even accept that as a debate or an argument to be promoted anywhere because it is not even healthy in the society'. *Kao asks 'how then do you become a father? If we promote gays at one point we won't have children. The population would become extinct at one point. Who is going to bear kids? If you are promoting the gays and lesbian, whatever you are trying to kill.*

Some of the fathers such as *Moga and *Reba, showed that they are ambivalent as to whether gay fathers would be good fathers. For instance, *Moga says, *'honestly I am not sure if they would be good fathers. Because being a good father is about being there for the child'*. He questions if a gay father is capable of being present for their child. He goes on to suggest that gay men could only be good fathers if they are educated together with the children they are raising *'because the child needs to understand what is happening because it is outside the norm'*.

*Reba acknowledges his limited knowledge about gays, but indicates that he believes that they *'could be a good father mainly because [...] they are loving people despite the stigma we have against them'*. However, he is unsure as to how they would raise a boy child and questions whether a *'child would turn out to be traditional, orthodox and macho man without that influence due to the fact that he was raised by gay parents'*. Overall he maintains that he believes that gay fathers could *'do better in motherly roles because they would know what is necessary for the child's development as opposed to a straight father'*.

It is interesting that when the participants were asked about the gay father's capacity to be a good father they revert to traditional cultural views. In the earlier themes it is evident that they have been able to work with changing constructs of fatherhood and started engaging willingly with roles that have historically been constructed as female. In addition, they have challenged the role of the father as only provider and disciplinarian, however, when it comes to the matter of sexuality they revert very strongly to traditional cultural and religious positions. This shows how cultural views can be contested and reinforced simultaneously. While certain aspects of fatherhood are being reconstructed, what remains clear from most of the participants' responses is that the father should be heterosexual because Botswana is based on heteronormative arrangements (Kennedy, 2006).

4. 7   Summary

Five main themes relating to fathering were identified from the data and they indicate that most of the participants are challenging and renegotiating their construction of what it is to be a father. The findings also draw attention to the dynamic nature of fatherhood and identifies that there is a difference between historical men and men nowadays.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Little research has been conducted in Botswana to investigate how men experience fatherhood, as such, very little is known about fathers. Fathers are represented as shadowy figures in family life despite the many ways they have, and continue to show up for their families (Fuh & Mookodi, 2004). Moreover, prevailing studies do not account for various courses through which different men negotiate their statuses as fathers since their experiences are mostly not documented. As such, this study helped to fill a gap in father studies that has not yet extensively accounted for the construction of fatherhood in Botswana. It sets the stage for future research that explores how Botswanan men construct fatherhood.

To help understand how Botswanan fathers experienced and perceived fatherhood, this study used a sample of five fathers between the ages of 21-45 from Gaborone, Botswana. Data was collected through individual interviews. The findings of this study were analysed through thematic analysis (which aided the extraction of themes representative of each father's experience). This study laid some groundwork for understanding how fathers conceptualised fatherhood, the prevailing discourses that fathers adopted in framing their experiences and how they influenced and informed their beliefs and perceptions of fatherhood.

This study found that fathers used existing cultural discourses to construct fatherhood. The dominant cultural discourses of Botswana fatherhood constructed fathers as providers, disciplinarians and figures of moral authority. These discourses had historical roots, were culturally available and specific to the study participants' social contexts (Burr, 1995). The fathers reproduced cultural understandings to construct fatherhood and provided responses that reflect normative social expectations by society. This study found that fathers drew from wider cultural discourses of what the role of a father is. For instance, the fathers reproduced the provider protector discourse, which is primarily associated with providing financially for the family (Clowes et al., 2013). Fathers were constructed as breadwinners, which was considered as an important way of constituting father identity. The fathers' ability to provide signalled successful masculinity because it earned them respect in society (Clowes et al., 2013).

In addition, these fathers also reproduced the dominance and control discourse which is primarily associated with providing guidance and acting as a disciplinarian, because women and children are considered as vulnerable and dependent on dominant masculinity for protection (Clowes et al., 2013). Historically in Tswana culture fathers provided discipline and moral authority. The father used discipline as a way of retaining control and their identity in

the family. The disciplinarian role required the father to be objective and emotionally detached to be able to discipline the children.

This study also found that fathers did not produce their identities in isolation. Their experiences with other people they interacted with, also contributed to the construction of their identities as fathers (Soskolne et al., 2003). The narratives the fathers shared about their fatherhood experiences, and fatherhood practices were heavily dependent on their interactions with their own fathers, other men and mothers. It could have been impossible for the fathers to produce their identity without positioning themselves against others, because they drew similarities and differences between themselves and others to organise their experiences and position themselves as fathers.

The fathers' used their relational experiences to challenge and facilitate other discursive constructions, to develop their personal meanings of fatherhood and construct their own identities as fathers. For instance, this study found that fathers defined themselves by comparing themselves with their own fathers, who were crucial in their own construction of fatherhood identities. This study found that the participants own fathers were important points of reference in their own construction of fatherhood identities, that is, they positioned themselves in relation to their own fathers to make sense of their experiences.

In addition, this study found that the way fathers viewed the 'other father', that is, the unavailable father was important in the construction of their own fatherhood identities. In developing their personal meanings of fatherhood these participants used their experiences with other men to construct their own father identities as engaged, caring, and present fathers. Furthermore, in comparison to the 'other father' this study found that the fathers in the study were involved and played a meaningful role in their children's upbringing.

This study found that the fathers acknowledged that it was difficult for them to raise children like mothers. This study found that fathers reproduced wider social and cultural discourses that suggested that men and women are very different from each other, and this view reproduces an idea of a binary of gender, where mothers are seen as feminine and fathers as masculine. This study revealed an assumption by fathers that mothers are naturally, rather than socially, engineered to be mothers and, an assumption that fathers do not have these natural instincts, and they had no awareness that socially fathers had not been primed to be caregivers in the way that mothers have.

This study found that when the fathers started talking of their own experiences as fathers, a more caring role emerged. While these fathers reproduced the wider historical cultural discourses of the provider and disciplinarian, their own experiences showed that they also valued the role of emotional caregiver. What stood out most for me was how the fathers acknowledged a more caring role and how it contradicted some of what they said about primarily being a provider and disciplinarian devoid of emotions.

The fathers in this study challenged traditional Tswana hegemonic masculinity, they rejected male-controlled social relations. For instance, there were fathers who challenged the dominance and control discourse. Although there were two fathers who rationalised the use of violence as a necessary and meaningful exercise, especially when their children went beyond the limits of acceptable behaviour. The other fathers did not believe that a father had to be strict. They advocated for the 'talking discourse', which is characterised by resolving disputes through discussions and democratic forms of communication, rather than through control and aggression (Ratele et al., 2012). This study found that fathers gave an account of communication that was characterised by demonstrating care and supporting their children, giving advice, showing compassion and respect (Ratele et al., 2012). The fathers felt that it was imperative for them to engage their children in dialogue demonstrate humility and compassion while also being protective over them (Ratele et al., 2012).

In addition, the fathers in this study promoted an alternative masculinity to the existing traditional Tswana masculinity. They endorsed a masculinity that upheld gender equality, communication, involvement and peaceful relationships with mothers of their children despite issues of separation. This study also found that the fathers constructed 'a bad father' as a man who had no interest in and did not play any role in their child's overall well-being. In addition, this study established that a good father was a man who was engaged physically and emotionally caring towards their child.

The fathers in this study emphasised the importance of communicating and caring presence with their children as a way of working, being together and being good role models. The fathers demonstrated care, gave advice, supported and respected their children. Although the fathers believed financial provision was important, when it was compared to involvement and emotional care it ranked low in good fathering, it was perceived as secondary to good fathering. This study found that biological ties were very important to the fathers even though they indicated that one did not have to be the biological father to practice good fathering. The fathers

highlighted this importance when they talked of fatherhood as an ongoing journey they revealed that the biological father should always be there.

This study found that the fathers challenged pervasive and problematic constructs of fatherhood that suggest they were not available and involved and this drew attention to the dynamic nature of fatherhood. The men in this study were nurturing and engaged, they played a significant role in their children's lives and were more invested in their families' welfare and their children's care in comparison to historical fathers. They had also accepted childcare as part of their masculinity (they undertook the role with pride and it was not shunned as it was the case in the past). In essence these fathers challenged the traditional Tswana hegemony, they rejected male-controlled social relations and promoted an alternative masculinity to the existing traditional Tswana masculinity. They endorsed a masculinity that upheld communication, involvement and peaceful relationships with mothers of their children. This challenged the idea of the problematic father that has been prevalent.

This study found that there were factors that influenced fatherhood such as culture, age and sexuality. When these factors combined they were more likely to result in different experiences for some fathers. For instance, In Tswana culture married and unmarried fathers are not treated equally. This study reveals that unmarried fathers are often marginalised, to a large degree culture makes it difficult for them to access or play a part in their child's upbringing. Tswana culture requires unmarried fathers to pay damages 'tlhagela' to the child's maternal family. Most of these men are denied access to their children because Tswana culture does not acknowledge them as fathers. A man could only be involved in the child's life if they had paid tlhagela. Men that are unable to pay damages are excluded from their children's lives. Here we see an intersection of how culture (as an unmarried father) and class disadvantaged a father to play a role in their child's life.

This study also found that age has an influence on fatherhood. Age in a sense restricts what one can do, it has the capacity to limit or privilege men in varying ways (Hopkins & Pain, 2007). Age also was viewed as an important factor that determined whether a father played an active role in their child's upbringing or not. For a male to be considered a father he needed to do certain things that qualified him as a father and these activities are bound by age (Ratele, 2008).

The study found that cultural views could be contested and reinforced simultaneously, while certain aspects of fatherhood were being reconstructed, what remains clear from most of the

participants' responses is that the father should be heterosexual. It was evident that while the fathers had been able to work with changing constructs of fatherhood and started engaging willingly with roles that have historically been constructed as female as well as challenging the role of the father as only being the provider and disciplinarian, however, when it came to the matter of sexuality they reverted very strongly to traditional cultural and religious positions.

Overall in line with the social constructionist perspective this study revealed that fathers' identities were not fixed. The discourses in this study were not static, they were context dependent and changed over time, thus implying, fatherhood was and/or is open to constant renegotiation. In support, Burr suggests that "some subject positions are more temporary or even fleeting, and thus 'who we are' is constantly in flux, always dependent upon the changing flow of positions we negotiate within social interaction", as such, "our experience is potentially open to an infinite number of possible meanings or constructions" (1995, p. 100). This study reveals that fatherhood is a social construct that is constantly being negotiated in society and that father identities were being, built, maintained, contested and reinforced simultaneously. In addition, the discourses that were produced by the participants indicated that the meaning of fatherhood was dependent on prevalent discourses within society, but that these discourses could be challenged.

5.1 Strengths

The qualitative design used in this study allowed for exploring views of a similar group of fathers to help unpack their perspectives. Participants of this study were asked to respond to questions and this helped yield information that was more nuanced and this helped the study to provide detailed accounts of how fathers construct and experience fatherhood.

Overall this study's data collection was cost effective.

5. 2 Limitations

The study timeframe was restricted by university deadlines and late receipt of the amended ethics approval. Logistical arrangements were also affected by the need to consider the availability of the participants. These three elements had an effect on the implementation of the study. As such, individual interviews were conducted late, and this restricted the number of participants recruited which could have allowed for a larger sample.

As a new researcher I was not experienced in interviews and I imposed structure to the interview, and as a result this approach narrowed the data. In retrospect I see the importance of being more flexible in the interview process.

Being a Botswanan female from the same city as the study participants helped in building rapport and understanding their fatherhood experiences. However, this affected the way I engaged and analysed the dataset because I looked at it as an insider. I suggest that another researcher with a different background and life experiences from mine could have contributed a different perspective as to how to interpret the study participants' experiences and data.

5. 3   Further research

The majority of studies on fatherhood in Botswana seem to be quantitative. Even though these studies have been beneficial in giving statistics of absent fathers they have not assisted in uncovering the meanings ascribed to the fatherhood experience. This being the case, future research and programming could benefit from further qualitative studies to understand how men conceptualise and experience their world as fathers.

REFERENCE LIST

Adamsons, K., & Johnson, S. K. (2013). An updated and expanded meta-analysis of non-resident fathering and child well-being. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *27*(4), 589.

Aldous, J. (1998). The changing concept of fatherhood. *The family contemporary perspectives and challenges*, 3-18.

Anney, V. N. (2014). Ensuring the quality of the findings of qualitative research: Looking at trustworthiness criteria. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies*, *5*(2), 272-281.

Barclay, D. L. L., Lupton, D., & Barclay, L. (1997). *Constructing fatherhood: discourses and experiences*. SAGE.

Berman, S. K. (2015). Of God's image, violence against women and feminist reflections. *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae, 41*(1), 122-137.

Birukou, A., Blanzieri, E., Giorgini, P., & Giunchiglia, F. (2013). *A formal definition of culture Models for intercultural collaboration and negotiation*. Springer.

Borst, J. B. (2015). *A systematic review of the effects of family conflict: Focusing on divorce, infidelity, and attachment style*. Routledge.

Statistics Botswana. (2018). *Botswana multi-topic household survey (2015/16)*. Gaborone.

Brandth, B., & Kvande, E. (2002). Reflexive fathers: Negotiating parental leave and working life. *Gender, Work & Organization, 9*(2), 186-203.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology, 3*(2), 77-101.

Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism*. Routlegde.

Burr, V. (2015). *Social constructionism*. Routledge.

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

Carcary, M. (2009). The research audit trail: enhancing trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry. *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods, 7*(1).

Chereni, A. (2015). Fathering and gender transformation in Zimbabwean transnational families. *Qualitative Social Research, 16*(2), 1-21.

Cho, J., & Trent, A. (2006). Validity in qualitative research revisited. *Qualitative research, 6*(3), 319-340.

Christensen, A.-D., & Jensen, S. Q. (2014). Combining hegemonic masculinity and intersectionality. *International Journal for Masculinity Studies, 9*(1), 60-75.

Clowes, L., Ratele, K., & Shefer, T. (2013). Who needs a father? South African men reflect on being fathered. *Journal of gender studies, 22*(3), 255-267.

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & society, 19*(6), 829-859.

Daly, K. J., Ashbourne, L., & Brown, J. L. (2013). A reorientation of worldview: Children's influence on fathers. *Journal of Family Issues, 34*(10), 1401-1424.

Datta, K. (2007). "In the eyes of a child, a father is everything": Changing constructions of fatherhood in urban Botswana?. *Women's Studies International Forum, 30*(2), 97-113.

De Vos, A. (2005). Qualitative data analysis and interpretation. In A.S De Vos, H. Strydom, C.B Fouché & C.S.L Delport (Eds.), *Research at Grass roots for the social sciences and human service professions.* Van Schaik Publishers.

Du Pisani, K. (2001). Puritanism transformed: Afrikaner masculinities in the apartheid and post-apartheid period. *Changing men in southern Africa*, 157-175.

Ellapen, J. (2007). *Locating Blackness: The 'Township Aesthetic' and representations of black identity in contemporary South African Cinema* (Accession No. 9900639H [Masters research report, Wits University, Johannesburg]. Wits Institutional Repository on DSpace.

Ellis, B. J., Bates, J. E., Dodge, K. A., Fergusson, D. M., John Horwood, L., Pettit, G. S., & Woodward, L. (2003). Does father absence place daughters at special risk for early sexual activity and teenage pregnancy? *Child development, 74*(3), 801-821.

Fagan, J., & Kaufman, R. (2015). Reflections on theory and outcome measures for fatherhood programs. *Families in Society, 96*(2), 133-140.

Fagan, J., & Palkovitz, R. (2011). Co-parenting and relationship quality effects on father engagement: Variations by residence, romance. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 73*(3), 637-653.

Feinberg, M. E. (2003). The internal structure and ecological context of co-parenting: A framework for research and intervention. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 3*(2), 95-131.

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International journal of qualitative methods, 5*(1), 80-92.

Fernández-Álvarez, Ó. (2014). Non-hegemonic masculinity against gender violence. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences, 161*, 48-55.

Finn, M., & Henwood, K. (2009). Exploring masculinities within men's identificatory imaginings of first-time fatherhood. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 48*(3), 547-562.

Fleming, P. J., DiClemente, R. J., & Barrington, C. (2016). Masculinity and HIV: Dimensions of masculine norms that contribute to men's HIV-related sexual behaviors. *AIDS and Behaviour, 20*(4), 788-798.

Fuh, D., & Mookodi, G. (2004). Finding the 'missing 'male in gender discourses in Botswana. *Journal of African Studies, 18*(1), 31-42.

Gibbs, A., Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., & Willan, S. (2015). Reconstructing masculinity? A qualitative evaluation of the Stepping Stones and Creating Futures interventions in urban informal settlements in South Africa. *Culture, health & sexuality, 17*(2), 208-222.

Hancock, A.-M. (2007). When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition: Examining intersectionality as a research paradigm. *Perspectives on politics, 5*(1), 63-79.

Hauari, H., & Hollingworth, K. (2009). *Understanding fathering: Masculinity, diversity and change*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation. https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/10005675

Hearn, J., Nordberg, M., Andersson, K., Balkmar, D., Gottzén, L., Klinth, R., Sandberg, L. (2012). Hegemonic masculinity and beyond: 40 years of research in Sweden. *Men and masculinities, 15*(1), 31-55.

Hemson, C. (1997). *Ukubekezela or ukuzithema: African Lifesavers in Durban*. University of Natal.

Urwin, C. (1984). Theorizing subjectivity. In J. Henriques, W. Hollway, C. Venn, V. Walkerdine, & C. Urwin, C. (Eds.), *Changing the subject: Psychology, social regulation and subjectivity*. London: Methuen.

Hill, A. (2011). Fatherhood needs redefining, says UN report. Retrieved 10, January, 2019 from http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2011/feb/18/fatherhood-needs-redefining-un-study (дата обращения: 22.05. 2012).

Hoffmann, J. P. (2002). The community context of family structure and adolescent drug use. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 64*(2), 314-330.

Hopkins, P., & Pain, R. (2007). Geographies of age: thinking relationally. *Area, 39*(3), 287-294.

Howson, R. (2006). *Challenging hegemonic masculinity*. Routledge.

Hunter, M. (2006). Fathers without amandla: Zulu-speaking men and fatherhood. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*, (pp. 99-107). HSRC Press.

Ivey, A. E., Ivey, M. B., & Zalaquett, C. P. (2013). *Intentional interviewing and counselling: Facilitating client development in a multicultural society*. Nelson Education.

Jackson, S. (2006). Interchanges: Gender, sexuality and heterosexuality: The complexity (and limits) of heteronormativity. *Feminist theory, 7*(1), 105-121.

Kahn, J. S. (2009). *An introduction to masculinities*. John Wiley & Sons.

Kennedy, B. (2006). Homosexuals in the periphery: Gay and lesbian rights in developing Africa. *Nebraska Anthropologist, 21*, 59-68.

Khunou, G. (2006). Fathers don't stand a chance: Experiences of custody, access, and maintenance. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*, (pp. 265-277). HSRC Press.

Kimmel, M. S., & Kaufman, M. (2001). Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, shame, and silence in the construction of gender identity. In. S. Whitehead (Ed.), *The Masculinities Reader*. New York: Polity Press.

Korstjens, I., & Moser, A. (2018). Series: Practical guidance to qualitative research. Part 4: trustworthiness and publishing. *European Journal of General Practice, 24*(1), 120-124.

Lamb, M. E. (2004). *The role of the father in child development*. John Wiley & Sons.

Langa, M. (2010). Adolescent boys' talk about absent fathers. *Journal of Psychology in Africa, 20*(4), 519-526.

Levtov, R., Van der Gaag, N., Greene, M., Michael, K., & Barker, G. (2015). *State of the World's Fathers 2015*. Men Care Advocacy. Promundo.

Little, D. (2008). Social construction?, Retrieved 15, January, 2019 from https://understandingsociety.blogspot.com/2008/01/social construction.html.

MacDonald, D. S. (1996). Notes on the socio-economic and cultural factors influencing the transmission of HIV in Botswana. *Social science & medicine, 42*(9), 1325-1333.

Mafela, L. (2007). Batswana Women and Law. Society, Education and Migration (c. 1840-c. 1980). *Cahiers d'études africaines, 47*(187-188), 523-566.

Mahalik, J. R., Locke, B. D., Ludlow, L. H., Diemer, M. A., Scott, R. P., Gottfried, M., & Freitas, G. (2003). Development of the conformity to masculine norms inventory. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 4*(1), 3.

Makusha, T., & Richter, L. (2016). Gatekeeping and its impact on father involvement among black South Africans in rural KwaZulu-Natal. *Culture, health & sexuality, 18*(3), 308-320.

Marcisz, K. (2014). *Perspectives on 'new generation' Black South African fathers on fatherhood*. University of Witwatersrand.

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

Marx, Y. (2004). *Exploring the experiences of first-time fatherhood: A social constructionist study*. Citeseer.

Mauthner, N. S., & Doucet, A. (2003). Reflexive accounts and accounts of reflexivity in qualitative data analysis. *Sociology, 37*(3), 413-431.

Mavungu, E. M. (2013). Provider expectations and father involvement: learning from experiences of poor "absent fathers" in Gauteng, South Africa. *African Sociological Review, 17*(1), 65-78.

McDowell, L. (2003). Masculine identities and low-paid work: young men in urban labour markets. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 27*(4), 828-848.

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).

Montgomery, C. M., Hosegood, V., Busza, J., & Timaeus, I. M. (2006). Men's involvement in the South African family: Engendering change in the AIDS era. *Social science & medicine, 62*(10), 2411-2419.

Mookodi, G. B. (2000). The complexities of female-headed households in Botswana. *Botswana Journal of African Studies, 14*(2), 148-164.

Morison, T., & Macleod, C. (2015). *Men's pathways to parenthood: silences and heterosexual gender norms*. HSRC Press.

Morman, M. T., & Floyd, K. (2006). Good Fathering: Father and son perceptions of what it means to be a good father. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research & Practice about Men as Fathers, 4*(2).

Morrell, R. (1998). Of boys and men: masculinity and gender in Southern African studies. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 24*(4), 605-630.

Morrell, R. (2001). *Changing men in southern Africa*. Zed books.

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). HSRC Press.

Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., Lindegger, G., & Hamlall, V. (2013). Hegemonic masculinity: reviewing the gendered analysis of men's power in South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology, 44*(1), 3-21.

Nations, U. (2011). *Men in families and family policy in a changing world: United nations (UN)*. Department of economic and social affairs.

Nightingale, D., & Cromby, J. (1999). *Social constructionist psychology: A critical analysis of theory and practice.* McGraw-Hill Education.

Nyati-Ramahobo, L. (2008). *Minority tribes in Botswana: The politics of recognition*. Minority Rights Group International: London.

Omar, A. R. (2011). *Masculinity and the acceptance of violence: a study of social construction.* Masters thesis, University of Iowa.

Plantin, L., Mansson, S., & Kearney, J. (2003). Talking and doing fatherhood: On fatherhood and masculinity in Sweden and England. *Fathering-Harriman, 1*(1), 3.

Ponte, S., Roberts, S., & Van Sittert, L. (2007). 'Black economic empowerment', business and the state in South Africa. *Development and Change, 38*(5), 933-955.

Ramatala, I., Bloom, S., & Machao, G. (2016). *Botswana PEPFAR gender analysis*. North Carolina: Carolina Population Center.

Ramphele, M., & Richter, L. (2006). Migrancy, family dissolution and fatherhood. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*, (pp.73-81). HSRC Press.

Ratele, K. (2008). Masculinity and male mortality in South Africa. *African Safety Promotion, 6*(2), 19-41.

Ratele, K. (2014). Currents against gender transformation of South African men: Relocating marginality to the centre of research and theory of masculinities. *International Journal for Masculinity Studies, 9*(1), 30-44.

Ratele, K., Shefer, T., & Clowes, L. (2012). Talking South African fathers: a critical examination of men's constructions and experiences of fatherhood and fatherlessness. *South African Journal of Psychology, 42*(4), 553-563.

Reddy, V. (2006). Decriminalisation of homosexuality in post-apartheid South Africa: A brief legal case history review from sodomy to marriage. *Agenda, 20*(67), 146-157.

Richter, L. (2006). The importance of fathering for children. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 53–69). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Richter, L. (2007). *"He is my hero"*. South African Labour Bulletin.

Richter, L., & Morrell, R. (2008). *Fathering: the role of men in raising children in Africa-holding up the other half of the sky*. The World Bank.

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 & Practice about Men as Fathers, 6*(2).

Russell, M. (2003). Are urban black families nuclear? A comparative study of black and white South African family norms. *Social Dynamics, 29*(2), 153-176.

Saracho, O. N., & Spodek, B. (2008). Demythologizing the Mexican American father. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 7*(2), 79-96.

Saunders, C. C. (1988). *The making of the South African past: major historians on race and class*. David Philip Publishers.

Schaeffer, A. (2005). Effects of absent fathers on daughters. Retrieved February 22, 2019, from http://www.ehow.com/info8413463-effects-absent-fathers-daughters.htmlixzz26NF

Selolwane, O. D. (2004). *Ethnic structure, inequality and governance of the public sector in Botswana*. UNRISD Project on Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for information, 22*(2), 63-75.

Shields, S. A. (2008). Gender: An intersectionality perspective. *Sex roles, 59*(5-6), 301-311.

Shows, C., & Gerstel, N. (2009). Fathering, class, and gender: A comparison of physicians and emergency medical technicians. *Gender & society, 23*(2), 161-187.

Sideris, T. (2005). "You Have to Change and You Don't Know How!': Contesting what it Means to be a Man in a Rural Area of South Africa". In G. Reid & L. Walker (Eds.) *Men Behaving Differently: Men in South Africa Since 1994*, (pp. 111–38). Double Storey Books.

Silverman, D., & Marvasti, A. (2008). *Doing qualitative research: A comprehensive guide*. Sage.

Soskolne, T., Stein, J., & Gibson, K. (2003). *Working with Ambivalence: Finding a Positive Identity for HIV/AIDS in South Africa*. University of Cape Town, Faculty of

Humanities, Centre for Social Science Research. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/11427/19726

Taylor, S. J., & Bogdan, R. (1984). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: The search for meaning*. Wiley Publishers.

Teddlie, C., & Yu, F. (2007). Mixed methods sampling: A typology with examples. *Journal of mixed methods research, 1*(1), 77-100.

Terre Blanche, M., Kelly, K., & Durrheim, K. (2006). Why qualitative research. *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences, 2*, 271-284.

Van den Berg, W., Hendricks, L., Hatcher, A., Peacock, D., Godana, P., & Dworkin, S. (2013). 'One Man Can': shifts in fatherhood beliefs and parenting practices following a gender-transformative programme in Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Gender & Development, 21*(1), 111-125.

Van der Walt, M. (2002). *South African men and their construction of masculinities in relation to women and homosexual men: A thematic analysis*. Honours dissertation, University of Cape Town.

Van Nes, F., Abma, T., Jonsson, H., & Deeg, D. (2010). Language differences in qualitative research: is meaning lost in translation?. *European journal of ageing, 7*(4), 313-316.

Wall, G., & Arnold, S. (2007). How involved is involved fathering? An exploration of the contemporary culture of fatherhood. *Gender & society, 21*(4), 508-527.

Wang, V. C. (2016). *Encyclopedia of strategic leadership and management*. IGI Global.

Wardrop. J. (2001). "Simply the Best": The Soweto Flying Squad, Professional Masculinities and the Rejection of Machismo. In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing Men in Southern Africa* (pp. 255-270). Zed Books.

Wassenaar, D. R. (2006). Ethical issues in social science research. *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences, 2*, 60-79.

Merriam-Webster. (2006). Social construct. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. Retrieved March 4, 2019, from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/socialconstruct

West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & society, 1*(2), 125-151.

Whitehead, S. M. (2002). *Men and masculinities: Key themes and new directions*. Polity.

Willig, C. (1998). Constructions of sexual activity and their implications for sexual practice: Lessons for sex education. *Journal of Health Psychology, 3*(3), 383-392.

Wilson, S., & MacLean, R. (2011). *Research methods and data analysis for psychology*. McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Woodley, X. M., & Lockard, M. (2016). Womanism and snowball sampling: Engaging marginalized populations in holistic research. *The Qualitative Report, 21*(2), 321-329.

Wright, E. O. (2003). Social class. Retrieved from Department of Sociology University of Wisconsin: website https://www. ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/Social% 20Class

Wurzer, R. (2005). The changing roles and expectations of fathers through three generations. Retrieved March 18, 2019, from https://minds.wisconsin.edu/bitstream/handle/1793/41869/2005wurzerr.pdf?sequence

APPENDIX 1: PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET

Individual interview

Date:

Dear Participant,

My name is Botho Nanvula Ramonkga I am a Clinical Psychology Masters student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa. I can be contacted on (+267) 74 347 867 or (+27) 72 475 6660. The supervisor of this research is Ms. Kerry Frizelle. She is based at UKZN in Durban and can be contacted on (+27) 31 260 2261 or frizellek1@ukzn.ac.za. You are being invited to participate in a study that involves research about fatherhood and fathering.

Before agreeing to take part in this research study, please read the information below so that you understand what the study will involve. Please read this carefully and feel free to ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you have any questions about your participation.

What is the purpose of this study?

The aim of this research study is to explore how Botswanan men construct fatherhood, so as to reduce the gap of our knowledge and understanding of fatherhood.

Who are we asking to participate?

We are looking for participants between the ages of 21 and 45, who are fathers and planning to stay in the Gaborone area for the next month to take part in the study.

What will participation in the study involve?

If you decide to participate in this study and agree to be a part of the individual interviews, the interviewer will ask to spend some time with you and to explore how you construct fatherhood. The individual interview process will take approximately one hour. The researcher will be asking you a few questions and request that you are as open and honest as possible in answering these questions. Some questions may be of a personal and/or sensitive nature. *You may choose not to answer these questions.*

Will my information remain confidential?

Confidentiality will be assured during this process as the individual interview will only be addressed by the researcher. In other words, your participation in the process and your identity will not be known by anyone other than the researcher. The researcher is not looking for what you think the appropriate response might be, but rather your own opinion and values on the subject.

Although the interviews will be audio recorded, **t**he names of the individuals being interviewed will not be recorded nor will they appear in any written record of the discussion. Furthermore, if you agree to participate in the discussion selected quotations from your interviews will not remain confidential. Excerpts from this discussion may appear in the final research report and other publications but your name will not be included in either. *Your identities will be protected*

with the use of pseudonyms, meaning that your name will not appear in any report or publication connected with this project.

What are the possible benefits of participating in this study?

There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study. You will be asked to spend time with the interviewer and receive no remuneration for your time. We hope that the study results will help people understand the positive factors and challenges which you experience in your daily life as a father. The information from this study will help us to gain access to and explore the conceptual world of fathers.

What are the possible drawbacks or discomforts of participating in this study?

Apart from the time taken to participate in this study, quotations from the individual interviews will also be included. If you experience any discomfort or distress during the course of this individual interviews, related to fatherhood you can contact *The University of Botswana Psychology Clinic* to speak about your concerns.

What happens to the information and how will the information be disseminated?

The information that is gained during the project will be stored in a locked cabinet in my supervisor's office for five (5) years; only my supervisor and I will be able to access it. After the study has been completed any information that links your identity to the data will be destroyed.

The results of the study will be presented in a report that will be assessed by my supervisor and two external examiners and presented at the Discipline of Psychology Postgraduate conference. The findings may also form the basis of future journal articles. Please know that no details signalling your personal identity will be released.

Do I have to participate in this study?

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw from the study at any time and without giving a reason. Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to sign the attached consent form.

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the Ms Kerry Frizelle on (+27) 31 260 2261 or the UKZN Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

Ms Phumelele Ximba
UKZN RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
Tel: (+27 31 260 4769) - Fax: (+27) 31 260 4609
Email: *ximbap@ukzn.ac.za*

Please complete this form after you have been through the information sheet and understand what your participation in this study entails.

Please tick
or initial

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

☐

I have been given an opportunity to ask questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

☐

I understand that if I decide at any time during the study that I no longer want to take part, I can notify the researcher and withdraw without having to give a reason.

☐

I agree to quotations from the interviews conducted with me being used in the final research report and other publications.

☐

I agree that the researcher may use my information for future research and understand that such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report.

☐

Demographic Information

Age

21-28	29-36	37-45

Nationality

Motswana	Non-Motswana

Level of Education

Primary	Secondary	Diploma	Degree	Postgraduate Degree	No Education

Number of Children

1	2	3	4	5 and more

Marital Status

Single	Married	Divorced	Widower

APPENDIX 2: CONSENT FOR AUDIO RECORDING

Audio recording

Please complete this form after you have been through the information sheet and understand what your participation in this study entails.

Thank you for considering taking part in this study. If you have any questions arising from the information sheet, please ask before you decide whether to take part. You will be given a copy of the information sheet and consent form.

In addition to the above mentioned, I (initials here) _____ have been informed about the study exploring fathers' experiences of fatherhood.

	Please tick or initial
I give consent to be audio recorded.	☐
I agree that the audio recording of this interview will be used for the purpose of data capture.	☐
I agree to quotations from the interview conducted with me being used in the research.	☐
I understand that no personally identifying information or recording concerning me will be released in any form.	☐
I understand that these recordings will be kept safely in a locked facility for a period of five (5) years before they are destroyed or erased.	☐
I agree that the researcher may use my data (information) for future research and understand that any use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a Research Ethics Committee. In such cases, as with this research, data would not be identifiable in any report.	☐

_____   _____

Signature   **Date**

APPENDIX 3: MEASURE TO SECURE PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT

College of Applied Human Sciences
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Howard College
Durban 4001
South Africa

30 June 2018

The Psychology Clinic Coordinator
University of Botswana
Gaborone
Botswana

Dear Sir/ Madam

Re: Measures to secure psychological support for participants in research study

This letter concerns the notification of a Psychology Masters research project regarding fatherhood experiences of fathers in Botswana. It is a qualitative study which will involve individual interviews.

Fatherhood is a sensitive topic as it is an identity project. It is intertwined with the process by means of which men come to an understanding of who they are; their sense of identity-in society, as such it has implications of one's gender and dignity. There is the possibility of social and or psychological risk to the participants, even though this is unlikely. Even though very unlikely, after the interview participants may develop negative feelings such as anger, guilt or shame for their responses.

In an effort to minimise these risks arrangements have been requested for the counselling services that this institution provides should participants develop these feelings. Participants in the study will be made aware that they will be able to make an appointment and seek counselling from a psychologist at your institution. This is a precautionary measure taken in the event of such an outcome during the research study.

A reply to the request may be communicated via email (ramonkgab@yahoo.com). I humbly await your response.

Yours Sincerely

Botho Nanvula Ramonkga

APPENDIX 4: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

Approval

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

23 June 2016

Ms Botho Nanvula Ramonkga 214563359
School of Applied Human Sciences
Howard Campus

Dear Ms Ramonkga

Protocol reference number: HSS/0474/016M
New Project Title: Fathering in current times: A voice centered analysis of Black South African men's fatherhood experiences

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 28 April 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted FULL APPROVAL.

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

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

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

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

Yours faithfully

Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)
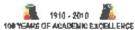Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Ms K Frizelle
Cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Jean Steyr
Cc School Administrator: Ms Ayanda Ntuli

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

1910 - 2010
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE
Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

Amended Approval

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

23 June 2016

Ms Botho Nanvula Ramonkga 214563359
School of Applied Human Sciences
Howard Campus

Dear Ms Ramonkga

Protocol reference number: HSS/0474/016M
Project Title: Fathering in current times: A voice centered analysis of Black South African men's fatherhood experiences

Approval Notification – Amendment Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application and request for an amendment received on 25 April 2018 has now been approved as follows:

• Change in Research Site

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

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

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

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

Professor Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisor: Ms Kerry Frizelle
Cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Mauc Mthembu
Cc School Administrator: Ms Ayanda Ntuli

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Thank you for meeting with me today. My name is Botho Nanvula Ramonkga. I am a Clinical Psychology Masters student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa. I am conducting a study on fatherhood and fathering. Before we can get started I need to inform you what I will be doing and how I will do it. This project is exploring how Botswanan men construct fatherhood, which I hope will benefit fatherhood interventions in Botswana. This means that a few sensitive topics and questions about fatherhood will be addressed during the process. When it comes to answering these questions, there are no right and wrong answers.

Please understand that your participation in this study is completely anonymous. Participation is completely voluntary and you are not being forced to take part in this study, meaning that you may leave at any time, for any reason if you choose to do so. Choosing not to participate will not lead to any form of harm or disadvantage, penalties and you will not be prejudiced in any way. You do not have to take part in the study or answer any interview question if you are not completely comfortable with what is required. Should you feel distress as a result of completing the interview you are encouraged to contact the project supervisor, myself or approach the University of Botswana Psychology Clinic for psychological assistance. Arrangements for these have been made. If you choose to participate in this study you will receive an informed consent declaration form, which I ask you to read and understand.

Furthermore, I am going to ask you a few questions about your experiences of fatherhood and fathering. If you are unsure of any of the questions, please do not hesitate to ask me to clarify. If there are any questions that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and we will move on. We will start by asking a few questions about your experiences of fatherhood. As you know this interview is aimed at understanding your fatherhood experiences. The following questions will help to establish and explore a few things about fatherhood.

Guiding questions

As you know this interview is aimed at understanding your fatherhood experiences. The following questions will help to establish and explore a few things about fatherhood.

1. What is the primary role of a father in your culture?
2. When you think about your own life how would you describe the way you were raised by your father?
     a. Where your experiences primarily negative or positive?
     b. Was your father emotional present or physically present?
3. Do you parent differently in comparison to your own father and their fathers?
     a. If yes, in what ways and why?
4. Are fathers physically present in your communities?
5. Are fathers emotionally present in your communities?
6. In your community are men as involved in parenting children as mothers?
7. Do fathers and mothers play different roles
     a. If yes, what are these roles and why do they play these different roles?
8. Are fathers generally involved with the daily care giving practices (feeding, changing nappies, play, supervision)?
9. When do you think fathers should be the most available for their children, when they are younger or older or always?
     a. Why?
10. Are fathers equally involved in the lives of their sons and daughters and why?
11. What prevents a father from being involved with parenting?
12. Does a father have to be physically present to be considered a good father?
13. How would you describe a 'good father'?
14. How would you describe a 'bad father'?
15. Do you think that what it means to be a man is changing?
     a. How do you think these changes might be influencing how men father?
16. Do you think a gay father can be a good father?
17. Do you have to be a certain age to be a good father? Explain.
18. Do you think a father should be strict with their children and what kinds of punishment should they use?
19. Do you think only biological fathers can father or can other men be involved in fathering?

Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX 6: TRANSCRIPTION

Conventions

Adapted from Men's pathways to parenthood [see Morison & Macleod (2015) for details]

Transcription	Meaning
End of line =	Shows that the next person started talking over the first speaker/or interjected a comment
(.)	In middle of speaking indicates a speaker's brief space between spoken words
[pause]	Indicates a space longer than the brief space of a (.)
[laughs]	A short burst of laughter from the speaker
[laughter]	General laughter
(Word?)	Indicates that the word or phrase in parenthesis sounds like what was heard, but not certain
…	In the middle and at the end of a line means the person trailed off
[ ]	Indicate editing – clarification (what the speaker probably meant) or translation from Setswana to English
[…]	Part of conversation omitted from transcript
((TEXT))	Additional comments from transcriber, e.g., context or intonation.
CAPITALS	Capital mark speech that is obviously louder than surrounding speech (contrastive emphasis)
Jo: …end line [Sam:]begin line	Indicates overlapping speech

APPENDIX 7: PARTICIPANTS

Presented here are my brief introductions, perceptions of the impression and my reflections of the interviews of the five (5) participants.

*Moga

*Moga was recommended to me by one of the fathers identified at the clinic. He made the initial contact with him. I later called *Moga to introduce myself, and to explain further what the study was about. When I called, he sounded flat and bored, however he indicated his willingness to take part in the study. An appointment was set for the interview. He asked that the interview be conducted during office hours at his work place. After a week I called his office to confirm the appointment.

The interview took place at 12h00 and took about 55 minutes. I arrived 5 minutes early for the interview at *Moga's office, he was still busy with clients. I felt very anxious before the interview started. Perhaps this was due to the fact that when I was talking to him over the phone setting the appointment he seemed aloof. I felt intimidated and at some point I got to wonder if he would be an easy participant to deal with. *Moga then came out of his office to see his clients off, he was very chatty and bubbly. He seemed delighted and at the same time anxious to meet me. He then led me into his office. I could not help but think maybe he was having a bad day when I called to appoint with him, I eased up a bit but was still anxious. We sat at a smaller table at the corner of his office which seemed to be the one he used when having meetings with clients. He introduced himself as *Moga. Before the interview started *Moga appeared to be anxious. I suppose his anxiousness was mirroring my own state of anxiety. As soon as the interview started and I relaxed, he also appeared more relaxed. He spoke freely about his experiences and he kept on talking even after the audio tape was switched off at the end of the interview.

*Moga's response to the summaries

*Moga indicated that the summaries were a reflection of what he said in the interview. He was impressed to see how engaged he was as a father but said he was not aware of the extent to which he was involved until reading the summary. He admired how he seemed to have built a relationship with his children.

Researcher's reflections *Moga's interview

Before the interview started I felt anxious. Generally, I anticipated that I would have some difficulty with getting *Moga to talk about his fatherhood experiences and also the fact that he was the first participant I interviewed for this study. I think I was most uncomfortable about the fact that fatherhood is hardly interrogated in our culture and I was there doing the opposite, interrogating fatherhood with a seemingly difficult man. Furthermore, I was conscious of how I was likely to be received by the

participants more so that I was female. Some Botswanan men tend to look down on females especially that our culture is patriarchal in its nature. However, this issue did not seem to concern *Moga at all. I think this may be attributed to him being raised in a woman only household while during his childhood. I left the interview feeling lighter and having direction. For him being a father means being physically and emotionally present for his children and building a relationship with them.

*Kao

*Kao was recommended to me by one of the fathers identified at the clinic. He made initial contact. He then asked *Kao to send me a text message, to express his interest. I called *Kao to introduce myself and explained the nature of the study. He responded slowly and his voice was very soft. *Kao also indicated his willingness to take part in the study and suggested that the interview be conducted at his office. The appointment was made for the next week at his after work.

The interview took place at his house in the late afternoon at 15h00 for 60 minutes. I was anxious when I got to the interview. *Kao seemed very relaxed and delighted to see me. I found him packing up and wrapping up his day while his daughter was sitting at a table by the corner eating what seemed like lunch. He asked me to take a seat at the other end of his office whilst he was ensuring his child had an activity that would occupy her during the interview. He made me feel comfortable from the onset, and my anxiety about the interview was immediately dispelled. The interview with *Kao was relaxed. During the interview he would constantly check whether his daughter was ok and I could sense how much he cared for his daughter. He was quiet engaging, he would check with me and ask for my input in turn I would ask him what he thought. Our interview went very well to an extent where our conversation carried on even after the audio recording device was off.

*Kao's response to the summaries

*Kao indicated that the summaries were a reflection of what he had said during the interview. He welcomed the opportunity to see his experiences recorded.

Researcher's reflections on *Kao's interview

Interviewing *Kao was relaxed, rapport was easily established and maintained. It almost felt as though I had known him for a long time. This was evidenced by his ability to open up to me about his life story and experiences as a father. Often times during the session he would offer elderly advice. Initially when we began he asked me if I was a parent. This was the millionth time I was asked this question. Honestly it really annoyed me. No, I answered no, with expectation that he would ask me what I was waiting for. He advised me to defer child bearing as most women are left by their partners. This was one of the rare occasions I met someone that felt that being my age did not necessarily mean I had to have a child. Most society members do not understand that it was a choice and it would happen on my clock. I often

find myself defending my position in my community. Throughout the interview *Kao was engaged and made sure he left no stone unturned. I left the interview feeling lighter and a step closer to finishing the data collection process.

*Papi

*Papi was recommended to me by Kao. He made the initial telephone contact. He indicated that *Papi was quiet keen to be a part of this study. I called *Papi to introduce myself and explain the nature of the study. He spoke softly however our telephonic conversation was quiet lively. *Papi asked questions and shared a few jokes and it felt like I had known him for the longest time. He indicated that he was willing to take part in the study and would be comfortable to have the interview done at his house. The appointment was made for the next week at his home, after work.

The interview took place at his house in the late afternoon at 17h00 for 60 minutes. *Papi made me feel comfortable from the onset, and my anxiety about the interview was immediately dispelled. The house was clean and had a masculine touch to it. He led me into the lounge where we sat for the interview. The audio recording device was placed on the table and we sat facing each other on separate couches. The interview with *Papi was relaxed, he also seemed to be highly opinionated with him there appeared to be no grey, things were either black or white. During the interview I could sense some vulnerability about him that he seemed to brush off. He seemed to use his optimistic perspective and humour to justify his beliefs. Even though *Papi was very calm when relating his story about how he was raised, there were times when there seemed to be so much sadness and anger in his voice. He would speak softer or louder and the pain almost seemed tangible. The change in his mood appeared to be indicative of the process he was going through at the time. It seemed as if he could not allow himself to feel for long, as such he would quickly redirect the conversation to become less serious.

Researcher's reflections on *Papi's interview

Interviewing *Papi was comfortable and it almost felt as though I had known him for a long time. This came about when he opened up to me about his life story. In the interview *Papi seemed so confident, however, when he shared his story there were parts of the story that he avoided because they seemed to bring him pain and anger. I could relate to his pain and anger and got to understand why he made a choice to be involved in his child's life. At some point he would ask me to switch off the audio recording device because he was overwhelmed. When he requested for this I felt it would be the end of our session. I had thought that he would feel uncomfortable to tell a stranger about his struggles growing up. Sooner than expected he managed to compose himself and asked that we continue. It appears that the questions asked evoked unpleasant feelings that he had been avoiding to confront. Overall, *Papi is a gentle man. My choice to use the word 'gentle' does not imply his lack of strength, but rather it is indicative of his

sensitivity. *Papi believes he has to be exemplary and always has to be there for his child, his family and society.

*Papi's response to the summaries

*Papi made two editorial corrections, I had written 'her' instead of 'his' and 'she' instead of 'he'. Overall, he indicated that the summary represented what he had said in the interview.

*Reba

*Reba was recommended by *Moga. He made the initial contact with him. I later called *Reba to introduce myself, and to explain further what the study was about. When I called he sounded energetic and enthusiastic. *Reba indicated that he had been anticipating the call since his mother told him. He further indicated his willingness to take part in the study. An appointment was set for the interview. He asked that the interview be conducted after hours at his home. After a week I called his office to confirm the appointment.

The interview took place at *Reba's home at 21h00 and took 45 minutes. He came out to meet me. The house was very welcoming and felt homely. He was warm and welcoming. He was alone at home and he offered me something to drink. *Reba and I were relaxed during the interview. Talking about fatherhood seemed comfortable for him. He expressed his regrets for not being physically present for his son. He reflected on how he was a father and appreciated his ex-wife's input in raising their son without him being physically present. He also highlighted his difficulties of trying to groom a child who has not been living with him. The interview seemed to continue even after the audio recorder was switched off.

*Reba's response to the summaries

*Reba said that the summaries captured what was said in the interview accurately. He was surprised at how accurate I was in identifying his regrets at the time of the interview. He said he was feeling really frustrated at the time because the past two months have been hard for him especially that he had realized that his son was not well groomed and had to start the grooming process from scratch. In addition, he related how he was impatient about the whole process.

Researcher's reflections on *Reba's interview

Interviewing *Reba was comfortable and it almost felt as though I had known him for a long time. Judging from his lifestyle you could sense that he is an individual who takes himself seriously. I could relate with his frustrations of his child being spoilt, coy and having no sense of responsibility. His regrets seemed reasonable more so that children are said to be a reflection of our lived values. On the same vein growing up my father always emphasized that when we go out in the world we are

representatives of where we come from; our family and parents. So for *Reba as an esteemed and affluent man it seemed as if he could not afford to be misrepresented by his child because it would reflect poorly on his role as a father despite his accomplishments. As composed as he was I had thought that he would feel uncomfortable to be vulnerable to a stranger but it appears that I had built rapport with him, hence his ability to be vulnerable in my presence. *Reba believes being a father is all about instilling values in a child and being there for them to guide them. When I left the interview session I reassured him that he was on the right track and that it took time and patience to build a solid relationship with his son.

*Sala

*Sala was recommended by *Reba. *Reba made the initial contact. After our interview *Reba he called *Sala informing him that we were driving to his house because he felt that he deserved to be interviewed also. The appointment was on the spot and I had no prior communication with him.

The interview took place at 22h00 and took about 45 minutes. The interview was conducted were *Sala lives. When we got to his house we found him folding laundry. His house was quiet clean, warm and welcoming; there were colouring books and pencils on the coffee table and smell of fresh baked bread which he had just baked, and he offered us each a slice of it. I proceeded to brief him about the study after *Reba's formal introduction and he indicated his willingness to take part in the study. We asked *Reba to excuse us, which he did. The interview started and it seemed we were both relaxed until the end of the interview.

Researcher's reflections on *Sala's interview

My interview with *Sala was unconventional in a sense that the way I met him was unusual, I had no prior communication with him. During my discussion with *Reba he could not stop to talk about this one friend that was so different from all his friends. It appeared that this friend was *Sala. From the onset I was uncomfortable with the fact that I was meeting him so late at night. Most people were asleep at this hour. However, I obliged not wanting to disappoint *Reba and having more participants to interview. I was slightly uncomfortable to meet him at this hour because it seemed to reflect badly on me. That I did not take other people' schedules into consideration. Despite this feeling I went ahead and met *Sala. Meeting him and finding him busy settled the negative feelings I had. I now got to understand what *Reba meant when he said *Sala was quiet hands on because he spent a lot of time with his kids. *Sala was receptive and welcoming, our conversation flowed despite me being a complete stranger but he trusted me enough to tell me about his fatherhood experiences. When we ended the interview I told him that I was fascinated to find him hands on in his household and he simply laughed it off primarily because he was accustomed to people saying this to him. *Sala believed that demonstrating love to the child as father is the most important thing in raising a well-adjusted individual.

*Sala's response to the summaries

*Sala indicated that the summaries were a reflection of what he said during the interview. He said that the reason why he was comfortable to share his experiences was because for the first time he felt someone was genuinely interested in his story as a father; "most people tend to find involvement in my children's lives as weird" however he noted that he was "comfortable" with that title anyways.