

The effects of father absenteeism on the development of
a masculine identity of young Xhosa men in an Urban
Township

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The effects of father absenteeism on the development of a masculine
identity of young Xhosa men in an Urban Township

By

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DECLARATION

I, Aluta Kibi (215314360), hereby declare that the treatise for Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology to be awarded is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment or completion of any postgraduate qualification to another University or for another qualification.

.....aKibi.....

Aluta

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...Ingumnqa le ntoyabantwana bokhula ngaphandle kootata,

Yincindiyekhala, yinkunziyezithuko... (Nqontsonqa - Ndimindoda).

ABSTRACT

The absence of a biological father in a family system is associated with a myriad of familial and societal problems. Although father absenteeism affects the entire family system, boys raised in the absence of a paternal figure appear to be the most affected especially when they belong to patriarchal cultures. Among the many important roles played by a father in his son's development he plays a significant role in modelling a culture specific masculinity. This masculinity enables him to effectively navigate the social spaces to acceptance from others within his culture. In his absence, boys look elsewhere for masculinity models some of which may be damaging to the males identity. Although there is substantial research on masculinity there is however paucity of research on how young Xhosa men develop a masculine identity in the absence of a paternal figure. This study sought to elucidate common themes through semi-structured interviews with young Xhosa men in navigating a masculine identity for themselves in the absence of a biological father. A purposive sampling technique was used to recruit participants for this study. Thematic content analysis was used to analyse the data, using Tesch's method. The results of the study are beneficial to absent fathers, single mothers raising boy children and cultural leaders.

Key words: Father absenteeism, Gender Schema Theory, Masculinity, South Africa, Township, Young Xhosa men

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1. INTRODUCTION

The absence of a biological father has been noted as a factor that may contribute to maladaptive forms of masculinity, especially for boys. Boys, who are not socialised with their fathers, may not develop the appropriate masculine identity (Ratele, Shefer & Clowes, 2012). Furthermore, boys and men who feel inadequate about their masculinity as a result of not living up fully to hegemonic masculinity within their contexts, in one way or another (i.e. being strong, aggressive, providers and leaders) experience emotional distress and may resort to risk-taking behaviour like substance misuse and violence against weaker individuals (Ratele, Shefer & Clowes, 2012).

In most cultures, young boys are expected to develop masculine ideals that are passed on generationally and through certain rituals like *ulwaluko* (ritual circumcision), to ‘become’ men. Ampofo and Boateng (2007) suggest that cultural traditions which are passed down generationally often perpetuate and maintain the process of classifying people to gender roles.

For boys, adolescence is understood as a period in which they seek to forge a masculine identity for themselves, that is, transitioning from boyhood to manhood (Ratele, Fouten, Shefer, Strebel, Shabalala, & Buikema, 2007). In the South African context it is common practice for Basotho, amaNdebele, and amaXhosa boys who have come of age to undergo traditional circumcision ceremonies that culminate in their status turning from boys to men. In the Xhosa culture for example, boys who have come of age are expected to undergo *ulwaluko* which symbolizes a transition from boyhood to manhood. Ritual circumcision in the Xhosa culture is a rite of passage for boy children into manhood or adulthood (Kepe, 2010; Venter, 2011). During this process *abakhwetha* (initiates) are taught about manhood. The idea is, by the time they return back to society they will understand what

manhood is and what is expected of them as new men or *amakrwala* as they are known within the Xhosa culture (Adams & Govender, 2008).

Douglas (2013) states that “during traditional circumcision, *amakhankatha* (traditional nurses) teach initiates the cultural values of amaXhosa and reinforce the meaning of male circumcision which is mainly the transition from boyhood to a real man” (p. 114). In Douglas’s (2013) study, the participants expressed that ikhankatha, the male traditional nurse chosen to look after initiates should be someone who is dignified, well behaved, sober minded and a good teacher. Douglas (2013) found that initiates who had responsible traditional nurses were often well behaved than initiates who had seemingly irresponsible traditional nurses. There is a social expectation for circumcised men to model responsible behaviour within their communities (Douglas, 2013). They are expected to be visible in community and societal affairs as they were prepared for this work by their traditional nurses during initiation (Douglas, 2013).

Those who study men and masculinity suggest that boys need to identify with their fathers to acquire a masculine identity and if they do not the assumption is that they will experience personality and gender difficulties (Pease, 2000). Whereas, other scholars in the field of masculinity claim that there is a positive relationship between a father’s physical and emotional absence from his son’s life and a boy’s personal and social behaviour (Pease, 2000). According to Pease (2000) “fathers are expected to be the main transmitters of culturally approved forms of masculinity to their sons” (p. 57). Similarly, Christian (1994, cited in, Evans, Frank, Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011) suggests that identifying with one’s father results in the transmission of a hegemonic masculinity.

According to Nduna (2014) in the Xhosa culture the presence of a paternal father and the use of his clan name are important for the success of traditional rituals and ceremonies. For example, *imbeleko* is a traditional ritual that is performed on the father’s side to introduce

the child to his paternal ancestry, so that, the child can legitimately claim his paternal ancestry and also receive ancestral protection and guidance from them. When this ritual is not done for a boy child by his biological father or paternal family, the belief is that misfortune and sickness will come his way until this ritual is performed.

In light of the patriarchal underpinnings of the Xhosa culture, which is essentially imbued with the need to develop a very specific masculine identity, it becomes important to understand how young boys navigate their masculine identity transition in the absence of a biological paternal figure.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Father absenteeism is not a pattern that is unique to the South African context only; but is a global phenomenon. South Africa however has more father absent households than any other country in the world (Richter et al., 2012). In a report released by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA, 2013) about 36% of children are raised in dual headed families, that is, both biological parents present in the household. It is estimated that in South Africa one father out of two is absent from his child's life (Eddy, Thomson-de Boor & Mphaka, 2013). Richter and Morrell (2006) purport that over 50% of men aged 15-49 are fathers, but only half of these men had daily contact with their children in 2004. Holborn and Eddy (2011, cited in, Ratele et al., 2012) provide several reasons for their absence. According to them, men have a higher mortality rate and proneness to premature death compared to women. Women are thus left to assume the parental duties alone. Other reasons given by Holborn and Eddy (2011) for limited paternal involvement are unemployment, poverty, income inequality, gender power, consequences of intimate partner violence, masculinity ideologies, and migration and abandonment. Morrell, Posel and Devey (2003) further cite abandonment, flight, and denial as other reasons responsible for father absenteeism.

Clark (2013) cites HIV/AIDS as another factor contributing to high levels of father absenteeism. In South Africa high divorce rates and the HIV/AIDS pandemic are some of the social challenges responsible for a majority of black children growing up in fatherless families. The UNAIDS HIV data base suggests that in 2016 there were about 36, 7 million people globally living with HIV with 20, 9 million of them on antiretroviral therapy.

Within the South African context Ramaphele and Richter (2006) suggest that three factors namely, historical-political, cultural, and social factors can be held responsible for perpetuating the social issue of father absenteeism. Firstly, according to Ramaphele and Richter (2006), during apartheid, vast numbers of men left rural areas and migrated to cities where they sought work in mines. This exodus meant that a high percentage of rural women were left to perform parental duties alone for the greater part of the year, as men only came back in December. Another group of men started an urban family once they got to cities, subsequently forsaking their rural families. Secondly, the cultural obligations that have to be fulfilled by African men in the form of paying ‘damage costs’ once they have impregnated a woman out of wedlock are barriers that prevent fathers from having direct access to their children. Payment in the form of *ilobola* (dowry) for marriage is another cultural barrier (Ramaphele & Richter, 2006). Such obligations also contribute to the high rates of father absenteeism. Sidimba (2011) suggests that fathers from low socio-economic status environments are hit the hardest, as only a handful of them are able to afford paying the costs. As a result, Hunters (2007, cited in, Decoteau, 2013) suggests that marriage is becoming a middle-class institution. Lastly, social factors such as intimate partner violence, the single mother’s new partner, and high numbers of women who choose to remain single all contribute to father absenteeism both globally and in the South African context (Lamanna & Riedmann, 2012).

In the literature, it has been shown that father absenteeism is associated with negative effects on the entire family system (Carlson, 2006; Allen & Daly, 2007; Makofane, 2015). Kimmel, (1995, cited in Richter and Morrell, 2006) purports that absent fathers are to an extent responsible for a crisis of masculinity. Implicit in the authors' statement is the difficulty of children with absent fathers to have a conceptual understanding of a healthy masculine ideology which may influence risk taking behaviour. According to Uchendu (2008) when men in general and young men in particular have a poor understanding of masculinity their quality of life is affected. For instance, Flouri and Buchanan (2002) recruited 1344 Britain adolescent boys from father absent families to participate in their study. The researchers found that minimal father involvement correlated with low levels of life satisfaction in adolescent boys. The presence of a father figure also played as a protective factor against extreme victimization or bullying on children in general and boy children in particular. In other instances, boys with absent fathers have been found to resort to aggression or hyper-masculine behaviour more frequently than boys with present fathers (Holborn & Eddy, 2011).

Hegemonic masculinity does not only affect women in a negative way but men as well (Dworkin, Hatcher, Colvin & Peacock, 2013). Men who identify with dominant masculine norms suffer greater psychological and physical distress than men who hold flexible masculine ideals (Dworkin, Hatcher, Colvin & Peacock, 2013). They tend to be controlling in romantic relationships, engage in high-risk sex, and may have poor health seeking behaviour (Dworkin, Hatcher, Colvin & Peacock, 2013). They are also prone to assaulting their female partners physically and sexually (Dworkin, Hatcher, Colvin & Peacock, 2013). Luyt (2012, cited in, Dworkin, Hatcher, Colvin and Peacock, 2013) purports that in South Africa the idealised masculinity is controlling, unemotional, physically tough, competitive, successful, heterosexual, and responsible.

The masculine ideology which dominated the 1970s proposed that “men portray and maintain a specific persona which reflects toughness, emotional invulnerability, heterosexual dominance and success, as well as an avoidance of anything deemed feminine” (Adams and Govender, 2008, p. 552).

Heterosexual men can however display other emotions which are not aggressive and violent despite their socialisation which tends to steer them in most cases towards a hegemonic construction of masculinity (Hearn, 1993, cited in, Holmes, 2015). They can also assume feminised roles and be willing to be emotionally vulnerable by talking about their experiences in these roles (Campbell and Carroll, 2007, cited in, Holmes, 2015). Recent research on masculinity seems to suggest that heterosexual young men are flexible in their expression of gender by being both masculine and emotionally sensitive within intimate relationships (Allen, 2007, cited in, Holmes, 2015).

A growing body of literature in international studies shows that men are adopting caring masculinities (Scambor et al., 2014, cited in, Elliott, 2016). Caring masculinities emphasize care, positive emotions, interdependence, and relationality, into masculine identities. Elliott (2016) suggests that caring masculinities benefits men, while solely associating with traditional masculinity may be costly to men. Men who are involved in child care and families have better physical and psychological health, decreased substance use, longer life span, and enjoy deep meaningful relationships with their children (Elliott, 2016). Caring masculinities therefore benefit the overall well-being of men (emotionally, psychologically, and physically).

The high percentage of children raised in father absent households in South Africa has resulted in what is now known as ‘crisis of fatherhood’ (Malherbe, 2015). In 2008 about 40% of children between 0-17 years were raised by single mothers in the absence of a biological father (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). Between 1996 and 2009 the percentage of black children

raised in father absent households rose from 45% to 52%. For coloured and white children these figures rose from 34% to 41% and 13% to 15% respectively. Father absenteeism seemed to decrease among Indians by dropping from 17% to 12% (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). Demographically, in South Africa as of 2011, Black South African households reported higher rates of father absenteeism when compared to other ethnic groups. The Coloureds, Indians and Whites followed respectively (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). In a post-apartheid era one would expect a decline of this social problem, however, it has subsequently increased for most ethnic groups with the Indians being the only exception (Holborn & Eddy, 2011).

Conversely, Bozalek (2010, cited in, Ratele et al., 2012) challenges the dominant narrative in fatherhood studies that father absenteeism post-apartheid is increasing in particular within black African families. According to him the nuclear family structure has not been the dominant model of child rearing for many Black communities in the past and presently. In fact, according to Ratele et al. (2012) the role of social fathers or non-biological father figures like male relatives play an important role in the fathering of South African black boys and men and that their role is frequently overlooked in the fatherhood discourse and research. Men become social fathers by formal adoption, being in a relationship with the mother of the children or being an extended family member (Morrell, Posel & Devey, 2013).

Social fathers play a paternal role to children they have not fathered (Morrell, Posel & Devey, 2013). Responsible male figures in the community like coaches, and teachers can have a healthy influence on fatherless boys (Kevorkian, 2010). In addition, older male siblings can also be sources of positive influence on younger siblings “responsibility, care, and consistency are present, just as with any adult in a child's life” (Kevorkian, 2010, p. 23).

Literature on positive fathering is often at a crossroads. On the one side, a child's biological father is deemed to play a unique and essential role in the development of a child

which a social father cannot (Popenoe, 1996, cited in, Malherbe, 2015). Whereas, on the other side literature suggests that the quality of fathering is important to children than the father per se (Morrell & Richter, 2004, cited in, Malherbe, 2015).

There is little research on men and masculinities within the South African context. Research into men and masculinities in South Africa spans a period just over two decades (Ratele, 2016). South Africa's constitution is regarded as one of the most progressive constitutions in the world because it advocates for equal rights and non-discrimination or prejudice across sex, race, age, disability, sexual orientation, and religious preference (Walker, 2005). As a result, many young men grow up exposed to multiple masculinity models and are therefore challenged to navigate a masculine identity between contemporary and traditional masculinity models or ideologies (Toerien & Durrheim, 2001).

Masculinity in part is shaped by factors such as class, ethnicity, age, sexuality, body composition, religion, world views, parental/marital status, occupation, and propensity for violence. Kenway et al., (2006, cited in Pease, 2000) suggests that spatial structures may have an influence on the development of a particular masculinity. According to Morrell (1994, cited in, Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012) within South Africa there exists at least three masculinities or masculine models. The first model he refers to as a white masculinity. This model is represented in the political and economic dominance of the white ruling class. The second model refers to an African masculinity which was rurally based and passed on to men through indigenous institutions such as chiefship, communal land tenure, and customary law. Rural masculinity is expressed through toughness, resilience, bravery, and controlling the land (Creighton, Brussoni, Oliffe & Olsen, 2014). The last model refers to black masculinity. This form emerged as a result of urbanisation and the geographical displacement of Black people during apartheid resulting in geographically separate and culturally distinct African townships.

The socio-political and economic differences caused by the apartheid system resulted in multiple masculine ideals in the South African context (Khundu, 2006). Apartheid was a system that racially segregated individuals based on their race and class. This racial segregation process according to Morrell (2011, cited in, Molongoana, 2016) had adverse consequences on one's gender identity and development. For instance, the 'black masculinity' was subjugated by the 'Afrikaner (white) masculinity' through social and political dominance and thus emasculated black men (Spjeldnaes, Moland, Harris, & Sam, 2011).

According to Kenway et al., 2006 different spatial structures produce different expressions of masculinity and therefore masculinity is not only historically and culturally constructed but is also spatially produced. In a study on masculinity conducted on boys from Alexandra Township, the researcher found that the process of acquiring a masculine identity 'township masculinity' was dynamic and involved continuous acceptance and rejection of certain practices of township masculinity (Langa, 2016). Boys who held less hegemonic masculine ideals, that is, not conforming to the hegemonic masculinity ideals of Alexandra Township experienced greater anxiety, hesitation, and ambivalence (Langa, 2016).

1.2 DEFINITIONS

1.2.1 FATHER ABSENTEEISM

Literature defines father absenteeism in two broad ways; firstly, absent fathers are defined as physically present paternal figures but emotionally unavailable to their children. The second definition defines them as emotionally available but physically absent or unavailable (Lamanna & Riedmann, 2012). These definitions however provide a narrow explanation of father absenteeism and subsequently are not considered in this study. Fathers can be absent fully, partially, economically and emotionally from their children's lives (Sikweyiya, Nduna, Khuzwayo, Mthombeni, & Mashaba-Thompson, 2016). In the proposed study, father absenteeism refers to biological fathers who have considerably been absent in

their sons lives physically, economically, emotionally and culturally. They may have been present briefly at some point in the children's life, but now are fully absent.

1.2.2 PATRIARCHY

A closely related concept that is worth defining as it cannot be separated from men and the Xhosa culture in particular, is patriarchy. Gender cannot be discussed outside culture (Simani, 2002). Masculinity is to a greater extent tied to patriarchy and its rules (Khundu, 2006). In a patriarchal society men assume a dominant role or position over women (Lindegger, & Maxwell, 2007).

1.2.3 MASCULINITY

Patriarchy is interrelated with masculinity (Lamanna & Riedmann, 2012). A masculine ideology is defined as internalised cultural standards and beliefs that guide men's behaviour (Walker, 2005). "Some of the characteristics thought by many males, and females, as defining an adult man include responsibility for a family, heading a household, the privilege of a social life outside the house, heterosexual orientation, breadwinning for the family, and a need for sex" (Ratele et al., 2007, p. 114). In this study masculinity will refer to Xhosa cultural expectations of men being providers, self-reliant, protectors, and emotionally strong.

1.3 MOTIVATION AND RATIONALE

Research conducted on this topic indicates that father absenteeism is associated with a myriad of negative effects on the family system regardless of their race, education, or mothers' remarriage (Carlson, 2006; Allen & Daly, 2007; Makofane, 2015). In Carlson's (2006) study, the researcher found behavioural differences between children raised with both biological parents and those from father absent family systems. Chiles (2013) indicates that black boys and girls raised in father absent households have a greater chance of using substances such as drugs and alcohol, developing a mental illness, becoming suicidal,

performing poorly academically, falling pregnant earlier and getting incarcerated than peers from father present households. Psychologists who write on the topic of masculinity are especially interested in the way in which particularly young men develop a viable masculine identity for themselves in relation to other young men and women (Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger, 2012). “A majority of boys attempt to position themselves relationally, consciously, or unconsciously, in alignment with hegemonic standards as a central mechanism for establishing and maintaining an effective masculine identity” (p. 23). According to gender role theorists, males and females are socialised to be masculine or feminine from important individuals and to also adopt traditional gender role attitudes (Mahalik, & Cournoyer, 2000). Commenting on how boys and men develop a masculine identity, Ratele (2016) suggests that “men learn about masculinity by being addressed by others, by comparing themselves with others and by comparing themselves with an image of themselves at an earlier point in their lives” (p. 102).

Uchendu (2008) purports that in Africa there is paucity of research on the study of father absenteeism and its effect on a masculine development of young men. The study therefore seeks to fill this gap by critically studying the 18 years to 21 years cohort of young Xhosa males who grew up without biological fathers. This is the age group that is expected to undergo traditional circumcision and in the process transition from boyhood to manhood according to the Xhosa culture.

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Father absenteeism is shown by a vast body of research to be associated with negative effects, as a result much is known about its myriad of effects on the family system. Conversely, when one seeks to understand empirically how fatherless young Xhosa men develop a masculine identity in the absence of a paternal figure there is a lack of empirical data, which is crucial both for traditional leaders and single mothers raising boy children.

Furthermore, in a country where crime, substance abuse, and violence abound, it becomes important to understand the socio-cultural experiences that may be influencing the development of certain masculine identities.

1.5 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The overall objective of the study is to describe the experiences of young Xhosa men who grew up without a father in navigating a masculine identity in the absence of a paternal figure. The research study seeks to achieve the following aims:

1. Understand how father absence affects the way young Xhosa men formulate a masculine identity.
2. Understand the difficulties faced by young Xhosa men from absent father families when developing a masculine identity.
3. Explore the experiences of young Xhosa men regarding the impact of fatherlessness on their masculinity.

1.6 CONCLUSION

In this section we learnt that adolescence is an important time for Xhosa boys as they transition into manhood through traditional circumcision. Fathers play a significant role in this process as they are the main transmitters of culturally approved forms of masculinity to their sons. In the absence of biological fathers it may be difficult for boys to develop an appropriate masculine identity. Masculinity in part is also shaped by class, ethnicity, age, sexuality and spatial structures. The hegemonic masculinity in South Africa is stoic, heterosexual and responsible, which is similar to what African boys are taught about manhood. In South Africa father absenteeism is more prevalent amongst black African families than other races. Historical-political, cultural, and social factors have directly and indirectly contributed to the high percentage of father absenteeism particularly amongst black

African families. The main purpose of the paper is to describe the experiences of young Xhosa men without biological fathers when developing a masculine identity.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The researcher consulted books, dissertations/thesis, and published academic journals which some were available in print and some online to source information for the literature review chapter. The basic structure of this section is as follows; the theoretical framework informing this study is discussed first. Then the approaches that are used in masculine studies to define and conceptualise masculinity are discussed next. After that section, fatherhood is discussed. In this section, the researcher discusses the effects of an absent father on the entire family system, how fatherhood is conceptualised in men's studies and the common contributors of father absenteeism particularly among black South African fathers. Factors such as work, body composition, disability, prison life, and ageing all affect masculinity and are discussed after the fatherhood literature. The last section discusses the presentation of masculine depression which is often 'undetected' by diagnostic and screening tools.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The researcher used the Gender Schema Theory as an evaluative lens for this research study. The main tenet of this theory is that everyone has a gender schema, or a basic template for gender that they use to make sense or understand themselves and the world (Kahn, 2009). According to the theory children learn what it means to be 'male' or 'female' within the context of their culture, a phenomenon referred to as sex typing (Bem, 1983). Hence, boy children are likely to gravitate towards 'male' attributes and girls towards 'female' attributes. This behaviour is further reinforced by adults in the children's lives as they will be less likely to notice or remark "upon how strong a little girl is becoming or how nurturant a little boy is becoming, despite their readiness to note precisely these attributes in the 'appropriate' sex" (Bem, 1983, p. 604).

Information for our gender schemas comes from our socio-cultural interactions (Bem, 1981, cited in, Kahn, 2009). Culture plays a significant role in the development of gender

schemas (Kahn, 2009). Similarly, our gender schemas are affected by observing how others make sense of gender and gendered behaviours (Kahn, 2009). Although culture gives meaning to the schemas, how we internalize this information is what affects our self-worth (Kahn, 2009).

Children judge their worth as individuals based on the ability to live up to masculine or feminine schemas through preferences, attitudes, behaviours, and personal attributes that are consistent with a schema of that particular gender (Bem, 1983). Kahn (2009) mentions that “our self-worth as individuals can be strongly affected by the ways in which we evaluate how we meet the expectations of our gender schemas” (p. 134). Additionally, gender schemas are also used as templates to evaluate ourselves as well (Kahn, 2009). People differ in their reliance to gender schemas. Some rely more heavily to it than others and this variance is attributed to what Bem calls gender-schematic processing (Kahn, 2009).

2.2.1 GENDER SCHEMATIC (SEX TYPED)

Individuals who are gender schematic can be categorised as masculine, feminine, cross-sexed (transgendered) or undifferentiated (Kahn, 2009). Bem’s Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) is used to classify individuals into these four categories based on their responses to a 34-item Likert-type scale (Mueller, & Dato-On, 2008). According to the BSRI masculine traits contains qualities stereotypically associated with men such as being assertive, independent, and ambitious (Donnelly & Twenge, 2017). Whereas feminine traits are qualities stereotypically associated with women such as being gentle, gullible, and warm (Donnelly & Twenge, 2017). In the past, individuals who were male but utilized the gender schema of the ‘opposite’ sex or vice versa to interpret the world were deemed as cross-sexed (Frable, 1989, cited in, Kahn, 2009). Today, such individuals are referred to as transgendered (Olson, Durwood, DeMeules & McLaughlin, 2016). Undifferentiated individuals may not have a specific sex typed gender schema, but may use some gendered information to function

within society (Lobel et al., 1999, cited in, Kahn, 2009). When assessed on the BSRI undifferentiated individuals score low on masculinity and femininity (Mueller, & Dato-On, 2008).

2.2.2 GENDER ASCHEMATIC (NON-SEX TYPED)

Individuals considered aschematic in their processing do not rely on what is considered gender specific behaviour to function within society. On the BSRI these individuals may be classified as androgynous as they score high both on masculinity and femininity (Stoltzfus, Nibbelink, Vredenburg, & Hyrum, 2011). They are viewed as people who have incorporated manly and feminine attributes into their overall wellbeing (Bem, 1981, cited in, Kahn, 2009). These individuals, who are referred to as androgynous, are not genderless; it means that they adopt a more flexible approach to gender processing and expression (Khan, 2009). In contrast, the terms androgyne and queer/genderqueer are terms used today to refer to people who do not identify with gender at all or do so in a more fluid and variable manner (Mayo, 2007, cited in, Kahn, 2009). In this study the researcher did not administer the BSRI to determine how gender schematic or aschematic the participants were. The researcher utilised the stereotypical gender role descriptions of masculinity, femininity, and androgyny.

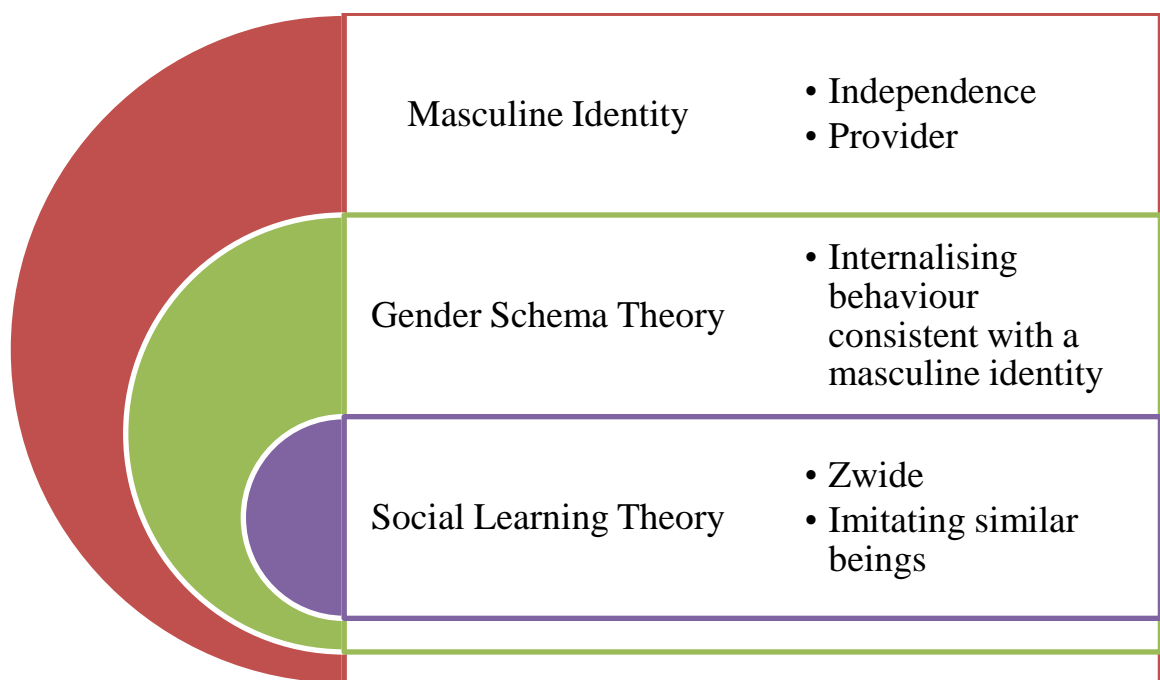
According to Kahn (2009), Albert Bandura's concept of social learning is at the centre of gender schema formation. The social learning theory is worth explaining as it often is at play in the formation or development of gender schemas.

2.2.3 SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY

Bandura's model of social learning proposes that people learn behaviour through observing others and themselves in social spaces (Kahn, 2009). In the context of this study it would mean, boys and men learn masculine attributes what is considered male gender schemas by observing how other boys and men in Zwide behave. One of the assumptions of

this model is that people are able to learn behaviours although they are not directly rewarded or punished for such behaviours (Bandura & Bussey, 2004, cited in, Kahn, 2009). According to Bandura people are likely to imitate the behaviour of those they consider similar and desirable to them especially when the person acting out the behaviour is rewarded for their behaviour (Bandura & Bussey, 2004, cited in, Kahn, 2009). This phenomenon is referred to as modelling.

By modelling the behaviour of their fathers or individuals they deem similar to themselves, boys may therefore develop a particular masculine ideology or gender schema about manhood. The diagram below explains how this process may evolve.



In this study, social learning which is represented by the innermost circle in the diagram occurs within a social context of Zwide. The Xhosa young men learn about masculinity and manhood by observing how older men in Zwide conduct themselves as men. The young men are likely to imitate this ‘manly’ behaviour if they deem themselves similar in one way or another to the older men within their community. That is, if the older men from

Zwide were raised by single parents in the absence of paternal figures and behave in a particular way it is likely for boys raised in single parent households to behave in the same way as well.

In the next level, young men develop gender schemas as a result of sociocultural interactions that take place within their contexts and in this context Zwide. By observing how men from Zwide behave young men internalise and seek to emulate a masculine gender schema that is consistent with this context.

After social learning and the gender schematic process, the young men then develop a masculine identity. In many contexts a masculine identity is seen through being a provider, independent or self-reliant, and emotionally strong.

The next section explains in brief some of the views used by researchers when defining masculinity and which view the researcher considered while attempting to understand masculinity for purposes of this study. However, before discussing the various models used to conceptualise masculinity it is noteworthy to provide a succinct history of this concept.

Masculinity as a scientific field of study is relatively young as it was conceived and given much attention in the 1970s and 1980s (Pease, 2000). In the early years of its conception, masculinity was narrowly understood as the 'male sex role' (Connell, 2001). The feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s sought to deconstruct gender roles and rules which were maintaining and perpetuating male dominance what in this study is referred to as hegemonic masculinity (Levant and Richmond, 2008). Manly attributes or qualities that seek to establish and perpetuate male dominance over women reflect a hegemonic masculinity ideology (Schippers, 2007). Hadebe (2010) suggests that it was unfair discrimination on grounds of gender and sex in the private and public spheres that motivated women to assert themselves and defend women's interests. In the Western intellectual tradition these concerns

included equality of treatment and opportunities, sexual division of labour, sexual politics, oppression, and patriarchy. These activities culminated in a theoretical revolution in the social sciences, which resulted in masculinity studies.

By the 1980s researchers in this field challenged the idea of a singular form of masculinity but rather proposed masculinities. According to Connell (1995, cited in Hadebe, 2010) men present themselves in everyday situations in various forms of masculinities such as hegemonic, subordinate, complicit, and marginal masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form in that particular society or community (Hadebe, 2010). Subordinate masculinity is 'failure' to live up fully to the dominant masculine form or hegemonic masculinity (Hadebe, 2010). Subordinate masculinity is defined and controlled by dominant understandings of masculinity. Complicit masculinity accepts the status quo and benefits arising with aligning with a hegemonic masculine identity without seeking to challenge its oppressive and suppressive nature against women and some men (Hadebe, 2010). Marginal masculinity is often seen in the exploited and oppressed groups in society subsequent to not conforming to hegemonic masculinity standards (Hadebe, 2010).

Men who do not conform to hegemonic masculine ideals because of their sexual orientation (GBTQ) may be predisposed to psychological problems and engage in self destructive behaviour including self-injury (Inckle, 2014). Self-injury which is often called self-harm refers to behaviour where the intention is to cause direct and immediate pain and or damage to oneself without suicidal intent (Inckle, 2014). Individuals may engage in self-harm as a way of gaining psychological control, relief or comfort from distressing feelings, memories and experiences (Inckle, 2014).

2.3 APPROACHES TO DEFINING MASCULINITY

Masculinity can be defined from three popular models which are the social, psychological, and interactive models (Kahn, 2009).

2.3.1 SOCIAL VIEW OF MASCULINITY

Under the social model is an important social view of understanding masculinity, the gender role theory. According to this view, the process of socialisation results in individuals being fixated in specific gender roles. Gender socialisation which is the transformation of sex into gender is an ongoing process that is not only limited to the early years of life (Lott & Maluso, 1993). Sex refers to the biological way of differentiating between human beings while gender develops or is acquired from particular conditions, experiences, and “contingencies that a culture systematically, and differentially, pairs with human femaleness and maleness” (Franklin, 1988; Lott & Maluso, 1993, p. 99). These social and cultural beliefs about gender determine societal expectations about people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviour which are otherwise known as gender roles (Franklin, 1988).

The researcher in this study was not interested in understanding the gender roles Xhosa men from Zwile fulfilled in their community hence this approach to understanding masculinity was not considered in this study. The following section introduces us to psychological models of understanding masculinity.

2.3.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL VIEW OF MASCULINITY

Under the psychological model is the trait approach to masculinity (Kahn, 2009).

2.3.2.1 THE TRAIT APPROACH

The concept of gender identity is important to the understanding of masculinity in the trait approach (Kahn, 2009). Unlike gender role, gender identity refers to the subjective way in which individuals make sense of their own way of being gendered (Franklin, 1988). A person's gender identity reflects his expectations and beliefs about his gendered behaviour in society (Franklin, 1988). That is, Xhosa men from Zwile will behave in ways that they feel is expected of them as Xhosa men or reflective of a Xhosa male gender identity. There are three categories for studying trait models of masculinity, unifactor, two-factor, and three-factor models (Spence & Buckner, 2005, cited in, Kahn, 2009).

2.3.2.1.1 UNIFACTOR MODEL

The unifactor model was a popular view to understanding gender and masculinity in the early years of men's research (Hoffman, 2001, cited in, Kahn, 2009). Gender in this model is viewed as existing on a continuum with masculinity on the one end of the spectrum and femininity on the other. A person's gender is considered to fall somewhere along the spectrum (Kahn, 2009). According to this model, if a person is biologically male but psychologically 'feminine' he may be considered to be presenting with some pathology (Spence & Buckner, 1995, cited in, Kahn, 2009). This model has come under criticism from masculinity scholars with researchers preferring a two-factor approach to studying gender and masculinity (Kahn, 2009).

2.3.2.1.2 TWO-FACTOR MODELS

A two-factor models approach to masculinity and femininity views these constructs as two separate constructs rather than existing on a single gender continuum (Kahn, 2009). According to this model while men will generally possess masculine traits and women female traits, both genders can still possess a few traits of the other (Kahn, 2009).

2.3.2.1.3 THE ANDROGYNY MODEL

The androgynous model proposes that masculinity and femininity are not mutually exclusive but that it is possible for males and females to incorporate aspects of masculinity and femininity within themselves. Being androgynous is described as being able to be free to make human choices, without being restricted by the gender roles of one's community (Kahn, 2009).

While the trait models are useful in the study of gender and masculinity, the researcher is not solely interested in the subjective process of acquiring a gender identity in general and masculine identity in particular. The researcher is also interested in social factors like father absenteeism which may affect boys' acquisition of a masculine identity. This study

requires a broader understanding or definition of masculinity which is found in interactive models of masculinity.

2.3.3 INTERACTIVE VIEW OF MASCULINITY

Interactive models suggest that there are a myriad of ways of understanding gender and what it means to be a gendered person (Kahn, 2009). This model explores the interaction between social context, role expectations and stereotypes in the culture and people's own development and unique experiences (Lucke, 2003, cited in, Kahn, 2009). The concept of masculinity according to this model is not seen as a phenomenon that is located within a person, but rather seen as a process of grappling with one's own current views of expected cultural norms (Lucke, 2003, cited in, Kahn, 2009). There are two interactive models under this model, the Masculine Ideology and Social Constructionist View of Gender.

2.3.3.1 MASCULINE IDEOLOGY

Masculinity according to this model refers to an ideology or attitude about gender (Addis & Mahalik, 2003, cited in, Kahn, 2009). "Masculinity ideology focuses on attitudes towards the ways men are, attitudes about the way men should be, and the unique internalizations of those norms" (Chu, Porche, & Tolman, 2005, cited in, Kahn, 2009, p. 84). This model emphasizes attitudes about gender without much attention to social factors as the social constructionist model does.

2.3.3.2 THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST MODEL

The social construction perspective on masculinity emphasizes the influence of social interactions, social structures, and social contexts in producing and reinforcing a hegemonic masculine identity (Kimmel & Messner, 2013). Social constructionists seek to explore all the factors which affect the way in which gender is investigated, categorized, and discussed (Kahn, 2009). This perspective proposes that masculinity is not singular but rather plural or multiple masculinities which are located in sociocultural contexts (Kimmel, & Messner, 2013). According to Richter and Morrell (2006) the understanding of masculinity within this

model is that masculinity is neither automatic nor biologically determined but socially constructed and is plural and can change over time.

For purposes of this study the researcher adopted the social constructionist understanding of masculinity which suggests that masculinity is socially constructed. Because this is a treatise, the researcher did not exhaust all the factors that could affect the construction of a masculine identity hence the focus was on father absenteeism and how it affects young Xhosa men when developing a masculine identity.

The following section is a literature review on the role played by a biological father within a familial system and the effects of his absence on the members of the family system.

2.4 FATHER'S ROLE IN THE HOME

The age of the father, his socio-economic status, and living arrangements are important predictors of father involvement. Father's with a high internal locus of control are more likely to be involved fathers to their children than fathers with an external locus of control (Grimm-Thomas & Perry-Jenkins, 1994, cited in, Cubbins, Sepavich, Killpack & Hill, 2016).

According to Chiles (2013), fathers are disciplinarians in nature and therefore are responsible for instilling discipline in the home environment. As children in general and boys in particular, advance in years the presence of a father is much needed. Fathers are able to contain negative adolescent behaviour that usually becomes problematic in boys during teenage years (Chiles, 2013). In addition East, Jackson and O'Brien (2007) purport that the presence of a father in the home environment has both emotional and social benefits on children. That is because fathers interact differently with their children and subsequently that relationship aids in promoting healthy emotional regulation and increased intelligence (Popenoe, 1997). This interaction in most instances is in the form of play and it is through such engagements where boys are taught to be in control of their emotions and behaviour, a

skill that is useful for academic achievement and managing stress (Rosenberg & Wilcox, 2006).

According to Fatman (1988) as boys play with their fathers they become exposed to masculinity models. A present father also serves as a protector and role model to his family; hence children with absent fathers may be prone to presenting with maladaptive behavioural patterns (Pepeno, 1997). Linda Richter one of the leading fatherhood researchers in South Africa suggests that father's play both a direct and indirect role in a children's overall well-being (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). Directly, fathers may encourage school attendance which may translate into better educational outcome and advancement in children.

Indirectly, fathers may provide physical, emotional, and financial support to their partners. They may also influence decision making within the household regarding health, well-being and education of children i.e. encouraging health seeking behaviour or a healthy lifestyle.

In a study conducted in the United Kingdom by the London-based Social Policy Justice Group the researchers found that single-parent headed families were more likely to be poorer than dual headed households (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). In an ethnographic study conducted in Botswana the researchers found that, children are not necessarily disadvantaged by the absence of a biological paternal figure, but are disadvantaged when they belong to a household without access to the social position, labour, and financial support that is usually provided by men (Holborn & Eddy, 2011).

When fathers lead their families in spiritual activities, more family members are likely to follow than when this role is undertaken by the mother as suggested by Kwant (2011, cited in, Clark, 2013).

Perceived work, parenting and general life stressors can contribute to lower father involvement (Cubbins, Sepavich, Killpack & Hill, 2016). A father's social support system

like friends and relatives can motivate him to be more involved in his children's upbringing (Perry, Harmon, & Leeper, 2012, cited in, Cubbins, Sepavich, Killpack & Hill, 2016). Lamb et al. (1987, cited in, Reimer, 2017) proposed a father involvement model which suggests that fathers are likely to be involved when they are (1) motivated, (2) feel competent (skills and self-confidence), (3) feel supported with minimal stressors, and (4) favourable institutional and workplace factors and practices.

2.5 FATHER ABSENCE EFFECTS ON CHILDREN

Literature on father absenteeism shows that this phenomenon is associated with a myriad of behavioural and emotional problems on children with absent fathers. These behavioural problems manifest as poor emotional regulation, distorted self-concept, high risk-taking and academic underachievement (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). In a study by Luo, Wang & Gao (2011), the anxiety levels and self-esteem of children with present fathers was measured and compared against that of children with absent fathers. The researchers found that anxiety levels of children with absent fathers were higher than those of children with present fathers. Again, the self-esteem index of children with present fathers was higher when compared to that of children with absent fathers.

McLanahan, Tach and Schneider (2013) identified six studies that looked at the relationship between parental divorce and adult mental health. Out of the six studies, four showed a strong negative effect of parental divorce on adult mental health.

Father absenteeism according to Richter, Chikovore, and Makusha (2010) affects cognitive development which may result in decreased levels of self-worth and poor self-esteem. In contrast, McLanahan, Tach and Schneider (2013) found that the relationship between father absence and cognitive ability on young children at elementary school was weak. In the intermediate and senior phase the effect of father absenteeism was more evident. However, McLanahan, Tach and Schneider (2013) suggest that the poor educational

outcomes seen could be as a result of problematic behaviour ‘father hunger’ rather than impaired cognitive functioning.

Children whose fathers are absent experience more schooling disturbances than children from intact dual families (Kalil & Ziol-Guest, 2005). Present fathers play an important role in reducing the negative effects of peer pressure on boys that may lead to incarceration or school dropout (Makofane, 2015).

Father absent children were likely to repeat classes when compared to children with a relationship with their biological fathers (Kalil & Ziol-Guest, 2005). Martin, Ryan and Brooks-Gunn (2010) research hypothesis was to test whether a father’s supportiveness mattered most in families where the level of mother’s supportiveness was relatively low. The results confirmed their hypothesis, in that, boy children whose fathers were more supportive than biological mothers in their upbringing were school ready.

During adolescence, children whose fathers are absent have higher chances of running away from home than their counterparts (Harper & McLanahan, 2004). Mendle, Harden, Turkheimer, Van Hulle, D’onofrio, and Brooks-Gunn et al. (2009) found that children with absent fathers were more likely to engage in sexual activities earlier than children from father present households. Their findings were consistent with the results of Richter et al. (2012) research study. Children with absent fathers may engage in high risk behaviour because they are prone to impulsivity and are less likely to delay immediate gratification than children residing with their biological fathers (Richter et al., 2012).

However, it is worth noting that a number of other factors may be responsible for high risk taking behaviour as well i.e. societal, biological and environmental factors (Ramphela & Richter, 2006).

2.6 FATHER ABSENCE EFFECTS ON PARENTING

According to Lamanna and Riedmann (2009) single parent mothers are prone to using poor parenting skills such as a permissive parenting style when raising children. This style involves low parental guidance and emotional support (Lamanna & Riedmann, 2009). Children of permissive parents are usually associated with low self-esteem, mental illnesses such as depression and anxiety, poor scholastic and academic performance at school, sexual and behavioural issues that result in teenage pregnancy and incarceration (Lamanna & Riedmann, 2009).

Researchers have found that self-esteem to a greater degree affects overall happiness (Baumeister, Campbell, Kruger & Vohs, 2003, cited in Kevorkian, 2010). Individuals with high self-esteem take responsibility over their actions, are independent, have an internal locus of control, deal with peer pressure accordingly, are attracted to novelty, and are altruistic (U.S. Dept of Health and Human Services, 2002, cited in, Kevorkian, 2010). Feelings of low self-esteem may be linked to the development of depressive symptoms over time (Robert, Gotlib & Kassel, 1996, cited in Kevorkian, 2010). Individuals with a lowered self-esteem may have an external locus of control and thus blame others for their trajectory in life. This may result in feelings of resentment towards the individual they feel is responsible for the outcome like an absent father (Donnellan, Trzesniewski, Robins, Moffitt & Caspi, 2005, as cited in Kevorkian, 2010). Early life experiences of rejection and humiliation can contribute to lowered self-esteem, anger, and anti-social behaviour (Kevorkian, 2010).

Single mothers who adopt an authoritative parenting style which is characterized by nurturance, support and consistent discipline for inappropriate behaviour raise children with healthy self-concepts that last into adulthood (Papalia, Olds & Feldman, 2009).

Children who experience multiple parenting transitions as a result of divorce or separation are likely to display disruptive behaviour and poor scholastic performance (Papalia, et al., 2009).

In parenting children with absent fathers, Lamanna and Riedmann (2009) suggest that, the parenting style adopted by the single parent mother is the most important parenting tool she can use in instilling values and principles necessary for positive child development rather than the child's family structure. One caring and conscientious parent is all that is needed to raising a resilient child (Lamanna & Riedmann, 2009).

Silverstein and Auerbach (1999, cited in Kevorkian, 2010) suggest that the family structure a child is born into, is less of a significant factor when child rearing. In black families child rearing often involves members of the extended family and a bulk of this work falls on the maternal grandmother (Kevorkian, 2010). The presence of a safety net in the form of human capital in father absent families goes a long way in mitigating negative effects associated with father absenteeism (Kevorkian, 2010). "Neither a mother nor the father is essential as long as children have at least one responsible, dependable, caring guardian who has a positive emotional connection and a consistent relationship" (Kevorkian, 2010, p. 22).

Children raised within a homosexual relationship are just as well adjusted socially and emotionally as children raised within a heterosexual context (Kevorkian, 2010). Females raised by lesbian couples may navigate towards professional careers like doctors or lawyers, compared to girls raised in typical nuclear families consisting of a mother and father who may gravitate towards being teachers or stay at home mothers (Belkin 2009; Grohol, 2009, cited in Kevorkian, 2010). Males reared by lesbian couples are likely to be less aggressive and more nurturing than males raised by heterosexual partners (Kevorkian, 2010). The positive outcomes of these children raised in postmodern family structures like same sex couples, demonstrates that children are able to be better adjusted even in the absence of a paternal figure (Kevorkian, 2010). The following section explores the effects of father absenteeism on boy children.

2.7 FATHER ABSENCE EFFECT ON BOYS

The presence of a father in a boy's life is beneficial to his cognitive and social development (Richter et al., 2012). Male children from father absent households may interpret requests and instructions from others as challenging their masculinity or manhood (Chiles, 2013). When boys grow up in a household without a biological paternal figure they are most likely to challenge those in authority, especially those in female led positions; have exaggerated ideas of masculinity; avoid behaviour deemed 'feminine'; experience greater interpersonal aggressiveness; have an increased probability of incarceration; and develop anti-social attitudes towards females, with sexual contact appearing important as conquest and as a means of validating masculinity (Draper & Harpending, 1982, p. 257; Adams & Govender, 2008). Research shows that individuals who engage in criminal activities draw on idealized understandings of what constitutes a real man and what 'normal men' do (Bengtsson, 2016). Children presenting with emotional and behavioural symptoms as a result of longing to have a relationship with their absent fathers are said to be experiencing 'father hunger' (Kevorkian, 2010).

In a study conducted by Dornbush et al. (1985) in which they sought to determine the strongest predictor of deviance on boys with absent fathers, the researchers recruited over 7000 fatherless boys to participate in their study. The researchers found living in a single parent household was the strongest predictor of deviant behaviour in boys with absent fathers.

Children whose fathers were absent at age 14 seemed to reach puberty earlier than their counter parts (Bogaert, 2005). Fatherless girls were likely to reach menarche earlier while fatherless boys were likely to have a deeper voice before their peers. Chisholm (1999, as cited in, Bogaert, 2005) suggests that stress associated with a father's absence alters hormones like cortisol which may in turn precipitate an earlier onset of puberty. In adulthood boys raised in the absence of a biological father figure are likely to abscond from paternal responsibility, be unemployed, and incarcerated (Wineburgh, 2000).

McLanahan, Tach and Schneider (2013) reviewed 47 articles on father absenteeism and concluded that father absenteeism strongly affects children's social-emotional development, particularly by increasing externalising behaviour. The earlier a father forsakes his paternal obligation the more pronounced the effects will be on children. Father absence seems to affect boy children the most when compared to girl children (McLanahan, Tach & Schneider, 2013). Jewkes et al. (2010, cited in, Nduna & Jewkes, 2011) suggests that between 16% and 7% of Eastern Cape girls and boys respectively present with depressive symptoms which are severe enough to warrant treatment and management at psychiatric institutions. Because diagnostic and screening tools for depression may be 'biased' against boys and men and the tendency for boys to underreport symptoms the percentage of depressed boys could be much higher. The next section discusses the three common models used by researchers to conceptualise fathers or fatherhood.

2.8 FATHERHOOD MODELS

Fatherhood can be understood from multiple perspectives namely a biological, social or cultural role. "While biology defines the role men play in the reproduction of a child, the role of the man as a father changes with cultural, historical and socio-economic condition" (Ball & Wahedi, 2010, p. 1, cited in, Marcisz, 2013). Traditional and androgynous fathers are used as examples to explain the aforementioned thought.

2.8.1 TRADITIONAL FATHERS

Traditional fathers view their paternal responsibilities in families as co-existing independently to that of mothers (Khundu, 2006). They may adopt the stereotypical 'head of the home' parenting style which is characterised by leading the family in decision making, disciplining children and managing finances (Marcisz, 2013). Within a familial system traditional fathers also assume the role of a protector and provider (Khundu, 2006). In addition, he also serves as a masculine template for both the boy and girl child in his family

(Khundu, 2006). “He trains the male child for masculine role in the community and sets a pattern of masculinity in relation to femininity for the female child” (Khundu, 2006, p. 42).

Traditional fathers may find it difficult to display ‘feminine’ behaviour such as being gentle, and a caring parent while being masculine at the same time (Farrell, 2001, cited in, Khundu, 2006). Because they want to present themselves tough, and emotionally strong it may be the reason they avoid qualities which may be deemed ‘feminine’ (Adams & Govender, 2008, cited in Marcisz, 2013).

Researchers on masculinity for a long time have presented African men as patriarchal and misogynistic (Groes-Green, 2012). However, in recent times research suggests that African men can be philogynistic as well. That is, showing ‘feminine’ masculinity which is nonviolent, loving, and caring for female partners (Groes-Green, 2012).

2.8.2 ANDROGYNOUS FATHERS

These fathers do not conform to stereotypical gender-roles and vicariously their children may adopt this behaviour (Khundu, 2006). The ‘family man’ father is involved in family life without discriminating between feminine and masculine work (Marcisz, 2013). According to Edwards et al. (2001, as cited in, Marcisz, 2013) they prioritize their responsibilities as parents, husbands, educators and emotional supporters more than their financial or disciplinary role. These fathers are involved in parenting from day one (Khundu, 2006). They are involved as fathers before pregnancy, during, and after the child is born. According to Morrell and Richter (2006, as cited in, Marcisz, 2013) South African men appear apathetic in their paternal duties. A small number is present during childbirth, a considerable number does not acknowledge their children as their own, and may be emotionally or physically absent from their children’s lives. Traditional and androgynous fathers represent the extremes of fatherhood (Khundu, 2006). A typical father may somewhat fall in the middle (Khundu, 2006).

There are numerous ways in which father's abscond fatherhood or playing a fatherly role. Ferrara (2009, cited in, Clark, 2013) identifies ten types of fathers, the dead beat dad, the part time dad, the military dad, the incarcerated dad, the illegal immigrant dad, the workaholic dad, the inability to be a primary dad, the migrant dad, the divorced dad and the father who lacks capacity. These types of absent fathers are discussed next.

2.9 TYPES OF ABSENT FATHERS

2.9.1 THE DEAD-BEAT DAD

This father is physically, emotionally, and financially uninvolved in his children's upbringing (Clark, 2013). He forsakes his paternal responsibility and does not support his children and neither is he a part of their life. This father is fully absent. This term of referring to fully absent fathers is commonly used in the United States of America and Canada (Deadbeat Dads Exposed, 2012, as cited in, Clark, 2013). In Kevorkian's study (2010) the researcher found that over half of children in their sample who were coming from low socio economic households were residing with their fathers. This finding challenges the perverse idea in fatherhood literature that father's from low socio economic backgrounds 'dead-beat dads' abandon their paternal duties (Kevorkian, 2010).

2.9.2 THE PART-TIME DAD

'Part-Time Dads' assume paternal responsibility out of obligation from the court system and not voluntarily (Clark, 2013). The Child Maintenance Law (Act no 99 of 1998) makes it compulsory for fathers to support their own children (Phaswana, 2013). Fathers who pay child maintenance see their children frequently than their counter parts (Nepomnyaschy, 2007, cited in, Maslauskaitė & Tereskinas, 2017). At times women use diplomatic strategies to get fathers of their children to pay maintenance (Armstrong, 1992, cited in, Khundu, 2006). Some of these strategies include relying on the assistance of other family members, faith and community based organisations that deal with these matters (Khundu, 2006). If

these structures prove to be less successful, women may approach the maintenance court for legal assistance (Khundu, 2006). Ideally, the process of claiming maintenance should be straightforward but usually is not the case (Khundu, 2006).

In the event where parents have joint custody of children, mothers are likely to spend more time with the children compared to dads (Clark, 2013). According to Gobopamang (2000, cited in, Phaswana, 2003) a non-residential, unmarried biological father is only seen as a provider of children and not necessarily a father figure. Fathers who become part-time dads because of separation or divorce may experience psychological and emotional distress like anxiety and loneliness as a result of no longer being a fulltime member of the family system (Clark, 2013).

2.9.3 THE MILITARY DAD

As a result of military deployment which is more common in America than in South Africa a significant number of children are growing up in fatherless families (Clark, 2013). “In 2007 there were over 700,000 children under five, in military families in America, who were separated from either one or both their parents” (Ferrar, 2009, cited in, Clark, 2013). Military dads and their children rely on digital telecommunication methods such as web cams, e-mails and cell phones to communicating and staying in touch with each other. Children of military dads may see their father’s as patriotic rather than absent paternal figures (Clark, 2013).

2.9.4 THE INCARCERATED DAD

A vast number of men are incarcerated which results in paternal deprivation for children (Clark, 2013). Fathers who are incarcerated depending on the jail term may temporarily be absent from their children’s lives while they are in jail (Padi, Nduna, Khunou & Kholopane, 2014). Their children may still have access to them by visiting them in prison or when released. Therefore separation due to incarceration can be termed temporary father

absence (Padi, Nduna, Khunou & Kholopane, 2014). About less than one third of father's in prison see their children frequently (Geller, Carey & Cooper, 2012). Some families have logistical challenges getting to prison when visiting the incarcerated father. In other instances, mothers may deliberately limit contact between the incarcerated father and children (Geller, Carey & Cooper, 2012).

Out of the many factors responsible for parent-child separation, parental incarceration seems to be the most detrimental to a child's well-being (Geller, Carey & Cooper, 2012). In the findings of a study conducted by Geller, Carey and Cooper (2012) they found a strong relationship between paternal incarceration and child aggression. The researchers also found that paternal incarceration was associated with increased attentional challenges on children.

2.9.5 THE ILLEGAL IMMIGRANT

Individuals from neighbouring countries come to South Africa in search of work opportunities and better living conditions. According to Global (2012, cited in, Clark, 2013) in Gauteng alone, it was estimated that there were about three million illegal immigrants residing in the province (Clark, 2013). Children become fatherless in this instance when illegal immigrants impregnate local women and abandon their children, are incarcerated, or deported to their countries for being illegal immigrants (Clark, 2013).

2.9.6 THE WORKAHOLIC DAD

This type of father absenteeism goes back as far as the pre-historic era (Clark, 2013). For example, hunter gatherer fathers would be away from their families for weeks on end in an attempt to secure food for their families. Women and children were often left behind. The industrial era seemed to maintain this phenomenon as well as scores of men often had to work two shifts to provide for their families (Clark, 2013). This meant that although men were physically present, they were emotionally absent from their families (Clark, 2013).

Today, with more women going into the workplace, fathers are encouraged to be more involved in parenting (Clark, 2013).

2.9.7 INABILITY TO BE A PRIMARY PROVIDER DAD

Inadequate education and low socio-economic status are some of the factors which may prevent fathers from taking responsibility for their children (Clark, 2013). Being unemployed or retrenched can have an adverse effect on men and may thus challenge their masculinity. In patriarchal cultures where men are valued as providers and protectors, men who are unable to measure up to this status because of being poor or unemployed may feel emasculated (Trenholm, Olsson, Blomqvist & Ahlberg, 2013). Unemployed men may be unable to pay ilobola or 'damage cost', which may subsequently prevent them from marrying and having full paternal and traditional control of their children (Hunter's, 2006, cited in, Khundu, 2006).

2.9.8 THE MIGRANT DAD

These fathers often live and work in cities far away from their families which they have left behind in small towns and rural areas (Clark, 2013). They occasionally visit their families and some abandon their families and start a new family in the city (Clark, 2013).

Men who migrate tend to lose status in the new surroundings, where they are compared unfavourably to the local masculinities (Donaldson & Howson, 2009, cited in, Ingvars & Gislason, 2018). Migrant men may therefore (re)construct and (re)negotiate their masculinity to be similar to the dominant or hegemonic masculinity in that country but on their own terms (Mac anGhaill & Haywood, 2016, cited in, Ingvars & Gislason, 2018).

2.9.9 THE DIVORCED DAD

Divorce is the most common way in which fathers become absent fathers to their children, (Clark, 2013). After divorce, the mother is likely to retain custodianship of the children and some fathers may feel aggrieved by this outcome and as a result may forsake

their paternal duties (Clark, 2013). Consequently, divorced parents are less likely to provide gifts and monetary assistance to their children for many years after the divorce (Clark, 2013, p. 22). High interpersonal conflicts between non-residential fathers and mothers can affect the child-father relationship (Carlson, McLanahan & Brooks-Gunn, 2008, cited in, Maslauskaitė & Tereskinas, 2017).

Children of divorced parents benefit from having meaningful and regular contact with their fathers (Amato & Gilbreth, 1999, cited in, Maslauskaitė & Tereskinas, 2017). Amato (2005, cited in, Maslauskaitė & Tereskinas, 2017) notes that children who are supported financially by their fathers enjoy a better quality of life. Factors such as new intimate relationships or children acquired out of new relationships may affect a father's involvement with 'old' children (Maslauskaitė & Tereskinas, 2017). Research shows that fathers are more likely to be present or involved when they father children in marriage rather than out of wedlock (Aquilino, 2006, cited in, Maslauskaitė & Tereskinas, 2017).

2.9.10 THE DAD WHO LACKS CAPACITY

According Holland (2008, as cited in, Clark, 2013) men who have grown up in fatherless families may prematurely start families as a result of inadequate or absent guidance from their fathers. As adults, Swartz and Bhana (2009, cited in, Marcisz, 2013) suggests that they may turn the 'father wound' pain into responsible behaviour by being present fathers for their children.

2.9.11 PATERNITY LEAVE

More and more countries are introducing parental leave for fathers (Moss, 2013, cited in, Brandth & Kvande, 2016). Parental leave allows fathers to spend time alone with their children. Researchers cited in Brandth and Kvande (2016) study found that the interaction between fathers and children was qualitatively different to the interaction they had when the mother was also present.

However, the lack of financial security can prevent fathers from taking up paternity leave, parental leave, and reduced working hours (Fatherhood Institute 2010, cited in, Gregory & Milner, 2011). Philpott (2014) suggests that paternity leave for fathers with young children was partially to blame for the number of absent fathers in South African households. High rates of unemployment, poverty and financial constraints contribute to large numbers of fathers failing to take leave from employment in order to assist with childcare (Philpott, 2014). The Basic Conditions of Employment Act failed to provide equal parental leave for fathers (Philpott, 2014). Recently, the Labour Laws Amendment Bill was passed in the South African parliament that will give fathers the right to 10 days' paid paternity leave. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act currently states that an employee is eligible to take four months of paid maternity leave. In contrast, according to the act fathers are only allowed three days family responsibility leave per year.

2.9.12 UNDISCLOSED-PATERNAL IDENTITY

Within absent fathers and masculine studies, researchers have also explored the impact of undisclosed-paternal identity on children. Nduna and Jewkes (2011) define this phenomenon 'undisclosed paternal identity' as a biological father who is fully absent and unknown to the child. In Nduna et al's. (2011, cited by, Manyatshe, 2013) about 30% of children were affected by this phenomenon. These children may experience cognitive dissonance as a result of wanting to know the identity of their biological father's but are also apprehensive about approaching their mother's or caregivers for such information (Nduna & Jewkes, 2011). Terwogt and colleagues (2002, cited in, Manyatshe, 2013) suggest that out of fear of being victimised and not wanting to disrupt familial cohesion, children may suppress the need to pursue the paternal identity of their biological fathers.

Mother's may choose to withhold the paternal identity of the father when a child's father is a family member, a married man, denying being the paternal father, or when the

mother does not intend to having a relationship with the child's father (Padi, Nduna, Khunou & Kholopane, 2014). Children who are not introduced to their paternal family may experience emotional distress which may be outside their awareness (Padi, Nduna, Khunou & Kholopane, 2014).

In a study conducted by Phaswana (2003) which explored experiences of rural black South African adolescents raised in father absent households, the researcher found that the participants blamed their mothers more than anyone else for not disclosing their fathers' identity and whereabouts. The participants also expressed longing for their fathers as they felt that life would be better if their fathers were present.

There are multiple reasons why children may seek to know the identity of their fathers. Nduna and Jewkes (2011) postulate that financial difficulties, hunger or scarcity of food and in other instances less than ideal conditions or treatment in maternal homes are the reasons why children attempt to reach out to their fathers.

In this section we discussed the factors contributing to father absenteeism both globally and in the South African context. Being a provider is an integral part of a masculine identity. The next section discusses the effects of certain working environment on men's masculinity.

2.10 WORK AND MASCULINITY

A significant proportion of men who enter 'feminised' jobs like domestic work may feel that their masculinity is challenged especially when the employer is female (Sarti & Scrinzi, 2010). Again, with the increase of women entering the workplace the breadwinner status of men or masculinity may be challenged (Khundu, 2006). Men who experience domestic work as a threat to their masculinity likely hold dogmatic views on gender roles, whereas those whose masculinity is less threatened by the 'feminine' work they do likely hold egalitarian views about men and women's roles (Sarti & Scrinzi, 2010).

Men who follow ‘feminine’ careers open up their masculinity and sexuality to being questioned by the general public (Lupton, 2000, cited in Robinson, Hall & Hockey, 2011). The feminized working environment makes it difficult for men to practise hegemonic masculinity, and a direct consequence of this may result in these men being feminised and stigmatised (Lupton, 2000, cited in, Robinson, Hall & Hockey, 2011).

Interestingly, in a study by Bartolomei’s (2010) the researcher found that men who worked as domestic workers saw themselves as responsible husbands and fathers who were merely providing for their families. They perceived domestic work to be better to ‘masculine’ work that often was heavy and dangerous. The men in Bartolomei’s study did not consider themselves less manly because of the nature of the work they did. Bartolomei (2010) posits that because these men worked as domestic workers, they did not necessarily assume domestic duties at home as well. At home these men tried to preserve their position as heads of the households and thus maintain a hegemonic patriarchal system. Based on Bartolomei’s study, it seems like paid work that is deemed ‘feminine’ is not a threat to men’s masculinity. However, men may be less likely to participate in unpaid ‘feminine’ work at home as it may be interpreted as a threat to their masculinity.

The type of paid work men do plays a significant role in how they shape a masculine identity for themselves (Khundu, 2006). Although a vast number of men are out of the workplace, it does not necessarily mean that unemployment will affect their behaviour and masculinity (Williams, Popay & Oakley, 1999, cited in, Khundu, 2006). However, some men who have been recently laid off from work experience increased frustration, interpersonal challenges with their partners, and some display hyper-masculine forms of masculinity expressed through violence (Khundu, 2006).

In South Africa, the rate of unemployment is higher among black African men than white African men. This means that many African men are struggling to provide for their

families or to assume the social responsibilities associated with fatherhood (Khundu, 2006). Mkhize (2006, as cited in, Khundu, 2006) recommends a meso and macro approach (historical, cultural, and class) to looking at factors which make it difficult for fathers to provide for their families rather than a micro approach which solely places blame on the father who cannot provide financially for his family and children (Khundu, 2006).

The following section discusses how the body, disability, prison and age influences masculine constructions in men.

2.11 BODY AND MASCULINITY

In western cultures where strength and fitness are emphasised, men who are classified as 'fat' or overweight may feel emasculated as they present with a physically 'soft' masculinity (Carr, Murphy, Batson & Springer (2013). The mesomorphic athletic body which typically is muscular, broad shoulders and well defined chests and arms is valued in Western culture circles as the ideal hegemonic masculinity (Rouseeau, Aubrey & Eggermont, 2018).

Fatness is usually equated with femininity for men (Trautner, Kwan & Savage, 2013). As a result on the masculine hierarchy obese men may fall much lower (Trautner, Kwan & Savage, 2013). In a study conducted by Trautner, Kwan and Savage (2013) on masculinity and muscularity they found that overweight white men were judged more negatively than overweight black men. The difference could be in that overweight black men are perceived as less threatening compared to slim black men and overweight white men (Trautner, Kwan & Savage, 2013). Additionally, white men may be seen as having resources which black men may not possess to maintain an ideal weight (Trautner, Kwan & Savage, 2013).

2.12 DISABLED MASCULINITY

Those who research gender and disability suggest that masculinity and disability are in conflict with each other (Shuttleworth, Wedgwood & Wilson, 2012). According to Asch and Fine (1988, cited in, Shuttleworth, Wedgwood & Wilson, 2012) disability is associated

with physical weakness and often encompasses dependency or reliance which is an exact opposite of hegemonic masculinity that is associated with physical strength and emphasises autonomy and independence.

Disabled men may face intra and interpersonal challenges. Although they may identify with hegemonic masculinity their disability may be restrictive and thus prevent them from ‘acquiring’ it fully (Shuttleworth, Wedgwood & Wilson, 2012). They are likely to be excluded in labour and ostracised by society (Shuttleworth, Wedgwood & Wilson, 2012). In their romantic relationships, disabled men may alienate women and thus remain unfulfilled even if they have a stable job or career (Shuttleworth, Wedgwood & Wilson, 2012).

Gerschick and Miller (1994, cited in, Shuttleworth, Wedgwood & Wilson, 2012) conducted research on disabled men to determine how they responded to hegemonic masculinity after an acquired injury. Gerschick and Miller found three responses-reliance, reformulation, and rejection which they term ‘Three R Framework’. Some of the participants post-injury continued to rely on hegemonic masculinity for their sense of self, others reformulate hegemonic masculine ideals to be in line with their limitations, and others reject hegemonic masculinity and thus adopt an alternative masculinity for themselves.

2.13 PRISON MASCULINITY

In a prison setting which is often violent and power driven, individuals may have to adopt an alternative or prison identity for survival in this environment (De Viggiani, 2012). Prison settings may see hyper-masculine expressions of masculinity which offenders may seek to re-enact on the outside as well (Bengtsson, 2016). In prison as well as in other contexts like school, work, the military, nightclubs, and the street to name but a few, masculinity is re(constructed), undermined and (re)affirmed (Curtis, 2014). Male inmates in particular may reconfigure their public identity or persona and learn to “integrate socially with what can be perceived as an excessively performance-orientated masculine culture” (De

Viggiani, 2012, p.272). This is because of the interplay between dominance and subordination in prison life which results in the construction of multiple masculinities that are produced by this environment (De Viggiani, 2012).

Patriarchy and heterosexuality are often the root cause for dominance over other prisoners (Sabo, Kupers, and London, 2001, cited in, De Viggiani, 2012). Aggression and violence may be used to establish social order and to instil fear amongst ‘weaker’ prisoners (De Viggiani, 2012). Those prisoners who fall at the bottom of the pecking order may be bullied and victimised and subsequently become easy targets for prisoners falling much higher on the prison hierarchy (De Viggiani, 2012).

Prison life brings about heterosexual deprivation, loss of autonomy and independence, and submissiveness to formal and informal authority (Newton, 1994, cited in, De Viggiani, 2012). These factors according to Jewkes (2002, cited in, De Viggiani, 2012) can erode a male prisoner’s sense of manhood, which is as integral part of his identity.

2.14 BOYS AND MASCULINITY IN YOUTH

There seems to be a close relationship between age and how masculinity is constructed (Slevin & Linneman, 2010). Most boys are raised to reflect a hegemonic masculine identity from a young age (Evans, Frank, Oliffe & Gregory, 2011). From an early age boys are often discouraged from showing feelings considered ‘feminine’ i.e. being vulnerable and weak (Evans, Frank, Oliffe & Gregory, 2011). Boys and young men may be socialised to display ‘masculine’ traits i.e. being aggressive, and physically strong (Evans, Frank, Oliffe & Gregory, 2011).

Masculinity studies done on pre-teenage and teenage boys are often criticised for using hegemonic masculinity standards which are both adult-centric and elusive (Renold, 2005, cited in, Bartholmaeus & Tarrant, 2016). As men age they are compelled to reconstruct and renegotiate masculinity (Slevin & Linneman, 2010). This process is not without

challenges because the hegemonic masculine identity referred to in men's studies is often youthful (Slevin & Linneman, 2010).

2.15 MEN AND MASCULINITY IN THE MIDDLE YEARS

In this phase of development men construct their masculinity in relation to the physicality of their work and/or the level of income their labour produces (Evans, Frank, Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011). The type of work or career men go into plays a significant role in shaping a particular masculine identity and also positioning men in the masculine hierarchy (Evans, Frank, Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011). Work that requires physical or manual labour often requires men to present themselves as macho and to deny experiencing any somatic symptoms arising from physical labour (Evans, Frank, Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011). It is no wonder why men are prone to be victims of work-related fatalities more than women (Evans, Frank, Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011). Masculinity is noted as one of the factors behind serious injuries and fatalities (Evans, Frank, Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011). Men in white-collar professions are often pressured to present a masculine model that is seen to be hard-working and achievement-oriented (Evans, Frank, Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011). These men may be predisposed to health conditions such as coronary artery disease as a result of conforming to this white-collar masculine ideology (Evans, Frank, Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011). In young adulthood, men are not disadvantaged by their bodies and health as a result of not participating in the economy. They are athletic and sexual, but when they transmission as a result of aging and enter old adulthood, their productivity within these spheres decreases substantially (Slevin & Linneman, 2010).

2.16 MEN AND MASCULINITY IN LATER LIFE

As men advance in years quality of life and health begins to decline as a result of the ageing process. They may be diagnosed with medical conditions such as prostate cancer and heart disease which may in turn challenge their self-perceptions of masculinity (Evans, Frank,

Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011). These health challenges can force them to seek health care services. McVittie and Willock (2006, cited in, Slevin & Linneman, 2010) suggest that health seeking behaviour is usually inconsistent with hegemonic masculinity.

According to Evans, Frank, Oliffe, and Gregory (2011) “as men’s bodies change with age their location in the gender hierarchy is altered” (p. 13). Furthermore, transitioning from career and work life to retirement can be stressful and have an impact on the masculine ideals of older men (Evans, Frank, Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011).

Meadows and Davidson (2006, cited in, Slevin & Linneman, 2010) suggest that when men retire and move away from the workplace they move from a ‘masculine’ environment to a feminised environment of home life. In old age or later life, men perform masculinity away from public spaces which may result in limited recognition from others (Thompson Jr & Langendoerfer, 2016). To a greater degree the masculinities they perform may go unnoticed or acknowledged (Thompson Jr & Langendoerfer, 2016).

In young adulthood an athlete’s body is often a sign of strength and power and is idealized on the playing field, billboards and other advertisement platforms. As an athletes’ physique declines because of ageing and becomes susceptible to injuries the athlete is moved to the side-lines and eventually to retirement (Slevin & Linneman, 2010).

Sexuality in old adulthood also suffers as the body and reproductive functions decline as a result of the ageing process (Slevin & Linneman, 2010). Men may therefore turn to Viagra and other similar drugs in an attempt to mitigate the effects of ageing on the body and sex life (Loe, 2003, cited in, Slevin & Linneman, 2010).

Age can be a powerful stripping agent of hegemonic masculinity in old men which may push them to complicit or subordinate forms of masculinity (Bartholmaeus & Tarrant, 2016). In some non-Western cultures old men may be held in high regard and valued for the wisdom they have amassed in life. However, this reverence may be limited to the micro or

familial contexts rather than existing also at a macro level as well (Powell & Cook, 2006, cited in, Bartholmaeus & Tarrant, 2016).

Elderly men are prone to depression as they experience frequent health and physical impairments, loss of social relationships and loved ones, and of identity markers (de Medeiros & Rubinstein, 2016). Depression is the most common psychological disorder in the old age population (de Medeiros & Rubinstein, 2016). Untreated depression may lead to chronic tension headaches, increased mortality as a result of cardiovascular disease, decreased memory and cognitive functioning (de Medeiros & Rubinstein, 2016). Holwerda et al. (2012, cited in, Medeiros & Rubinstein, 2015) postulate that depressed old men experience worse outcomes (e.g., functional disability, cognitive decline, and death) overall than depressed older women.

Depressive symptoms increase the risk of suicide in people between sixty-five and over (de Medeiros & Rubinstein, 2016). Suicide rates amongst the elderly are higher than younger populations in almost all regions of the world (Canetto, 2017). The suicide rate for men over the age of seventy-five is fifteen times higher than women of the same age (de Medeiros & Rubinstein, 2016). Suicide could be a response to the many challenges brought on by ageing (Canetto, 2017). In the U.S. the suicide rate of white old men was nearly three times higher than the suicide rate of ethnic-minority old men (Canetto, 2017).

It is easy to overlook depressive symptoms in men as they often do not present in the conventional clinical picture commonly associated with depression (See Appendix A).

Researchers suggest that masculinity in part is to blame and is discussed next.

2.17 EFFECT OF MASCULINITY IN THE EXPRESSION OF MASCULINE DEPRESSION

Although masculinity limits the direct expression of feelings, these emotions are still expressed in one of three ways (Lynch & Kilmartin, 2013). The first expression is direct and a conscious expression in relation to the source of the feeling. The last two expressions are

indirect, and may present themselves as either behavioural changes or physical symptoms (Lynch & Kilmartin, 2013). Feminine depression typically presents with symptoms that are typical of a mood disorder like depression (crying, loss of pleasure, insomnia). However, the symptoms of masculine depression (dissociation from feelings and destruction to self, others, and relationships) are likely to be seen in men and are destructive (Lynch & Kilmartin, 2013). The masculine and feminine depressive styles described are both expressions of depression (Lynch & Kilmartin, 2013).

Researchers and those who work in clinical settings speculate about the possibility of a masculine type of depression (Magovcevic & Addis, 2008).

2.18 MASCULINE DEPRESSION

Men in general and young men in particular may experience personal insecurities when they deem to have failed to meet societal expectations or the masculine grade or hierarchy through the male socialisation process (Buscher, 2005). The thought alone of failing to meet this masculine grade is enough to generate feelings of emotional distress and internal conflict that is expressed through fear, isolation, anger, self-punishment, self-hatred and aggression in many men, particularly young men (Buscher, 2005).

Once men and young men in particular doubt their masculine identity their self-esteem is negatively affected (Buscher, 2005). They may feel that they have not lived up fully to the hegemonic masculinity within their society or context (Buscher, 2005). In most cultures the masculine role is mostly defined by economic success among other things and as a result losing the breadwinner status can significantly damage a male's ego (Buscher, 2005). In less developed countries, large numbers of youth are now growing up without any expectation of stable employment, around which familiar models of masculinity are defined; there, marginalised and disaffected youth are resorting to violence, vandalism, terrorism and drugs to lash out or cope with this loss of male role status (Buscher, 2005).

When assessed on the Masculine Depression Scale, Genuchi and Mitsunaga (2015) found that men scored higher on externalized depressive symptoms than women. These symptoms include aggressive behaviour, anger, irritability, alcohol and drug abuse, interpersonal withdrawal, and increased sexual behaviours.

The criteria used to assess depression reflect ‘feminine’, but not ‘masculine’ expressions of distress: crying, talking about unhappiness, eating disorders, expressing misery, and feeling sad (Wood, 1993, cited in, Khundu, 2006). While the men sampled in Genuchi and Mitsunaga (2015) study scored higher on externalized depressive symptoms, the researchers concluded that men may simultaneously present with both internalized and externalized depressive symptoms. The high suicide rate among men warrants researchers to study masculine depression (Valkonen & Hanninen, 2012). One of the reasons why masculine depression is under researched is because most diagnostic and screening tools are not sensitive enough to measure masculine depression.

2.19 CRITICISM OF DIAGNOSTIC CRITERIA IN SCREENING FORMASCULINE DEPRESSION

Current diagnostic criteria do not fully capture men’s experience with depression (Ulbricht, Dumenci, Rothschild & Lapane, 2015). Diagnostic criteria and psychometric tools which screen for depression are often criticised for not being sensitive enough upon diagnosing depression in men, hence men with depression are often under diagnosed in clinical settings (Oliffe & Phillips, 2008). For instance, one diagnostic criterion for major depression emphasizes the expression of feelings and internal judgements of one’s own inadequacies. This symptom represents a ‘feminine’ pattern of behaviour that has limited applicability to men, who are socialised to act out (Oliffe & Phillips, 2008). The symptoms men present with may then be attributed to a personality disorder (conduct disorder in children and antisocial personality disorder in adults) or substance use disorders, although the

behaviour may be stemming from an underlying mood disorder like depression (Olliffe & Phillips, 2008).

By avoiding to be seen less masculine, men may underreport or deny experiencing depressive symptoms and thus may not seek psychological services to alleviate emotional pain and distress (Ulbricht, Dumenci, Rothschild & Lapane, 2015). As a coping mechanism to emotional pain men may engage in risky behaviour such as drinking, self-destruction, and aggression (Lynch & Kilmartin, 2013). Many depressed men have poor insight of the depressive symptoms they are experiencing as a result of being out of touch with their feelings and because their maladaptive behaviour does not fit the 'typical' presentation of depression it is missed (Lynch & Kilmartin, 2013).

The symptoms of depression between men and women may vary as a result of gender socialisation, a process that encourages individuals to operate in the world according to explicit or implicit rules of a particular gender (Lynch & Kilmartin, 2013). Men through the masculine socialisation process and challenging family dynamics may find themselves having to dissociate from their feelings (Lynch & Kilmartin, 2013). In many cultures across the world, females are raised to be comfortable with the process of reflecting and expressing their feelings, engaging in introspection, being non-competitive, and focused on helping others whereas, males may be raised to be self-focused, task oriented, active, and self-reliant (Lynch & Kilmartin, 2013). As a result, women may look within themselves to make sense of life events and express their feelings freely as a result of how they were raised or socialised. In contrast, men may look outside themselves for explanations and solutions for depression (Lynch & Kilmartin, 2013). Usually men are socialised not to express their feelings but rather to be in control over them which may explain why they are prone to engaging in high risk and self-harming behaviour (Lynch & Kilmartin, 2013).

2.20 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we discussed gender schema which is the theoretical framework for analysis in this study. Individuals may fall into two broad categories, gender schematic (sex typed) and gender aschematic (non-sex typed). The concept of masculinity can be defined from the social, psychological, and interactive perspectives. In this study masculinity was defined from a social constructionist model which falls under the interactive perspective. The role of fathers within a familial system was discussed and the effects of absenteeism on the family in general and boy child in particular. Within African families the presence of extended family members plays a pivotal role in minimising the effects of a father's absence which otherwise leads to problematic behaviour most of the time. Masculine ideals are not static but fluid and as a result are challenged by work, body composition, disability, prison setting and ageing. Depression in men is likely to be misdiagnosed for personality and substance use disorders due to the 'feminine' diagnostic criteria. Men are likely to act out or externalise their feelings which may be a masculine way of dealing with emotional distress.

Based on the literature that has been reviewed, further studies are required to enhance the understanding of the effects of absent fathers. Specifically, the influence this may have on the masculine identity formation of boys who are not exposed to a father figure is important. In light of this, the current study aims to add to this growing body of literature by focusing on the effects of an absent father on young Xhosa men when developing a masculine identity.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The qualitative research methodology was used by the researcher in this study.

Qualitative research is concerned with words than numbers (Bryman, 2012). This approach has, as its central tenet, a focus on the understanding of the meaning of experience (Krauss, 2005). Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) suggest that this methodology is underpinned by a constructivist paradigm; which means both the researcher and research participants are active agents in the research process by co-constructing reality. In addition, constructivists maintain that there is no single reality as positivists hold, but rather multiple realities. Commenting on this, Merriam (2002) purports that “there are multiple constructions and interpretations of reality that are in flux and that change over time” (p. 4).

Although father absenteeism is ubiquitous affecting all racial groups globally, some a lot more than others, it is experienced differently from one context to the next and from one culture to the other. Defining masculinity is another complex challenge. There are multiple ways of understanding masculinity which is influenced by historical, social, and cultural factors. These factors produce diverse understandings of masculinity, with masculinity scholars proposing masculinities rather than masculinity. What white South Africans understand as masculine may be different to how black or coloured South Africans understand to be masculine behaviour. It is for that reason the researcher immersed himself in the world of the research participants through thematic content analysis. The researchers’ intentions were getting a rich description of the experiences of young Xhosa men raised in father absent households when developing a masculine identity (Wagner, 2012). After analysing the data the researcher inductively developed themes which answered the research question which will be discussed more in depth in the results and discussion chapter.

Dwyer and Buckle (2009) cautions qualitative researchers to be aware of insider-outsider status as it allows researchers to situate themselves in the research. Being an insider

means sharing similarities with the community under study, through experiences, opinions, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race and perspectives with your participants (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). The researcher in this study is an insider because he is a heterosexual Xhosa male who has gone through *ulwaluko*. I, however, have been raised Christian in a nuclear family that does not practise rituals like *imbeleko* which makes me an outsider. My insider-outsider status did not seem to affect the interviews or research process negatively.

3.2 SAMPLE

The sample consisted of five research participants who were between ages 18 years and 21 years. Participants were recruited until data saturation was reached. No participant withdrew from the study and therefore there is no data omitted from the study. A purposive sampling strategy was used because the researcher required specific participants who were, fatherless, young Xhosa men and grown up in an urban township for most or all one's life. Bryman (2012) mentions that one of the goals of this sampling technique is to strategically sample participants who will be relevant in answering the research question. According to Merriam (2002) it is important to select a sample from which the most can be learned. This sampling technique is a non-probability form of sampling, that is, the findings of this study cannot be generalised but rather transferred (Bryman, 2012). This means, fatherless Xhosa boys from a different urban township or context should relate with some of the experiences of the research participants when developing a masculine identity.

3.3 INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION CRITERIA

Research participants recruited for this study had to meet the following inclusion criteria; firstly, be Xhosa male and between 18 and 21 years old. Secondly, is raised by a single parent without a biological father. Lastly, must have grown up in an urban township for most or all his life.

Participants who did not meet the inclusion criteria were not selected for the study. The exclusion criteria used was, being younger than 18 years or older than 21 years. Research participants were not considered if they had not performed ulwaluko. Participants were also not considered if they were residing with their biological fathers or currently had an active relationship with them.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The researcher used semi-structured interviews to gather the research data (Creswell, 2007). The research data was gathered over a four week period. According to Scott and Garner (2013), a researcher should rely on an interview guide, which is a set of prepared questions that cover the basic topics and themes to be answered by research participants. The interview guide for this study can be seen in Appendix B. The interviews were limited to one hour fifteen minutes each. This allowed the researcher enough time to go through the consent form (Appendix C) and to explain the risk and benefits of the study to the participants.

3.5 RESEARCH PROCESS

Research participants were recruited from Doxa, in Zwide, Port Elizabeth. This organisation provides mentorship services to fatherless boys and men in and around the community of Zwide. After the researcher made contact with the relevant authorities within the organisation, he explained to the gatekeepers from Doxa the nature of the research inquiry and the intention of using the organisation as a recruitment centre. Once permission was granted to the researcher, he scheduled a meeting with potential research participants. The researcher explained the purpose of the study and benefits of taking part in this study for research participants, single mothers raising boy children, and cultural leaders (Appendix D). The researcher left his contact details with the potential research participants, and those participants who were interested in taking part in the study contacted him.

When using interviews during data collection, a researcher needs to guard against what Patton (2002) coins a ‘client-therapeutic’ relationship. The researcher’s primary aim was to collect data and therefore was mindful against being drawn into a ‘therapeutic’ session. To guard against offering psychological intervention in the form of therapy, the researcher compiled a list of readily available referrals in which participants had easy access to within their community. The referral lists were given to each participant at the end of each interview session. A copy of this referral list can be seen in Appendix E.

3.6 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Thematic content analysis was used as a means of data analysis in this study. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) this method of data analysis helps identify, analyse, and report emergent themes in the data. Braun and Clarke (2006) six stages of thematic analysis were used. Firstly, researchers are encouraged to familiarise themselves with the data. I did this by transcribing and following an iterative reading process. Secondly, I began generating preliminary codes. That is, grouping together related data under one code. Thirdly, the researcher started searching for themes. This procedure involved analysing the grouped codes and therefore providing the theme for each code. In the fourth and fifth stage, the themes were reviewed by the researcher and his supervisor to determine whether the themes were suitable for the coded extracts and entire data set. This process resulted in an ongoing process of defining and renaming themes. In the sixth and last stage, a report was produced by the researcher in which extract examples from the data were provided for each theme with the intention of answering the research question.

3.7 VERIFICATION OF DATA

To verify research data the researcher was guided by Lincoln and Guba’s model of trustworthiness. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), qualitative research should be credible, transferable, dependable and confirmable. To ensure that credibility was met, the

researcher used the member checking technique at the end of each interview. This technique allows the researcher to clarify his interpretation of the gathered data. Harper and Cole (2012) define it as the process of restating and summarizing information gathered from participants by questioning participants in order to determine the accuracy of the researcher's interpretation. The researcher will also utilize the research supervisors' expertise through debriefing sessions to further make sense of the data. Loh (2013) asserts that academics who are familiar "with the relevant research literature, research methods, and would have engaged in similar research work; provide some sort of corroboration with regard to the interpretation of the data" (p. 6).

Qualitative data is transferable when the research provides a thick description of it by adequately discussing the original context of the study such that readers are able to make a judgement of transferability (Koch, 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Transferability in the study will be achieved when other young fatherless Xhosa men from outside Zwile Township view the findings as meaningful and applicable to their own experiences.

Dependable research findings according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) are consistent and can be repeated. In the intended study dependability was ensured by the researcher using an audit trail technique. Houghton, Casey, Shaw and Murphy (2013) state that an audit trail is when researchers are transparent with their thoughts and decision making processes, by providing the rationale behind their methodological and interpretative judgements. Throughout this study the researcher was transparent in his decision making process by providing the rationale behind his thoughts and decision making.

Finally, conformability of the study was ensured through the reflexivity technique. Due to the internal or subjective nature of qualitative research, the researcher was cautious of his subjective influence on research participants and study. To mitigate it from contaminating

the data, he kept a reflective diary on which he reflected “instincts and personal challenges that the researcher experienced during research” (Houghton, et al., p. 15).

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is always incumbent on researchers to conduct ethical research. According to Tracy (2010), research is ethical when procedural, situational, relational and exiting ethics are maintained pre, during and post the research study. The following section succinctly discusses the four levels of ethics and how they were applied in the study.

Tracy (2010) defines procedural ethics as “ethical actions dictated as universally necessary by larger organisations, institutions or governing bodies” (p. 847). To ensure that the study complied with procedural ethics, the researcher presented the proposed study at a departmental proposal meeting where feedback was provided to the researcher. After rectifying the concerns raised at the proposal meeting the researcher submitted the final research proposal to the Psychology Research Committee based at the Nelson Mandela University for ethical clearance.

Included in the treatise is a copy of the informed consent form that was given to research participants which explicitly stated their rights to withdraw from the study and subsequently have their data removed from the study. It was also stated in the consent form that participation in the study was solely voluntary therefore no remuneration was given to participants. Due to the sensitivity of the topic under investigation participants were informed about the potential risks which could have arisen as a result of taking part in the study, for example becoming emotionally distressed by talk about their past. In the event whereby participants become distressed they were going to be given a list with contact details of mental health care professionals around Zwide and also referred to the Intern Counselling Psychologist based at the Missionvale campus for psychological intervention. There were no

participants in this study who required psychological intervention because of emotional distress triggered by the interview questions.

The informed consent form was presented to the participant's prior to data collection. Consent to record the interview session was requested from each participant. After each interview the researcher transcribed verbatim the interview which he used during data analysis. All the interview records and signed informed consent forms were stored safely in the researchers' office. All audio recordings were downloaded onto the researchers' computer, which were kept in an encrypted folder. Tracy (2010) warns researchers against what she refers to as deductive disclosure. To guard against any identifying information that may identify the participants in this study, the researcher assigned numbers to the five participants i.e. participant 1 in the treatise write up to protect the identity of research participants.

Situational ethics refers to the sensitivity shown by the researcher in the context where he or she is to gather data (Tracy, 2010). The researcher was simple in his dress and speech by not presenting himself in a manner that may create a divide or power imbalance between him and the research participants because of his overt and covert conduct.

Tracy (2010) defines relational ethics as the level of self-awareness of the researcher throughout the study. Who the researcher is has a direct bearing both directly and indirectly on research participants. The researcher did not coerce participants to disclose any information that participants were not willing to share. Soon after the research study has been completed, the researcher has an ethical obligation to return to the community, to share the findings and recommendations of his study in a manner which the research participants can understand.

Finally, Tracy (2010) calls on researchers to practice exiting ethics. That is, ensuring that the findings of their studies are not misrepresented, even after they have been published.

Therefore to avoid doing injustice to the participants, the researcher presented findings in a sensitive manner that will not perpetuate the deep held stereotypes prevalent in many societies regarding children from father absent families.

3.9 DISSEMINATION OF FINDINGS

The findings of the study will be shared both at a local and national conferences. A copy of the treatise will be made available to the Nelson Mandela University Library. An article will be submitted for publication purposes and lastly, the findings will be shared by the researcher in a public forum that will be held for participants and community members willing to attend at Doxa, in Zwide, Port Elizabeth.

3.10 CONCLUSION

A qualitative research methodology was used in this study. The sample size consisted of five participants who were sampled through a purposive sampling technique. An inclusion and exclusion criteria was used. Semi structured interviews were used as a method of data collection. The participants were all recruited from Doxa, in Zwide. Thematic content data analysis was used to identify and analyse the themes. Throughout the research process the researcher kept all ethical considerations in mind.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This study sought to gain a deeper understanding into how father absenteeism affects the development of a masculine identity, and to explore some of the challenges young Xhosa men faced while developing a masculine identity in the absence of a father. Three main themes emerged from this study: (1) father absenteeism obstructs cultural rites of passage to manhood; (2) father absenteeism leads to a lack of guidance; and (3) father absenteeism leads to emotional pain and emotional neglect (see Figure 1 below).

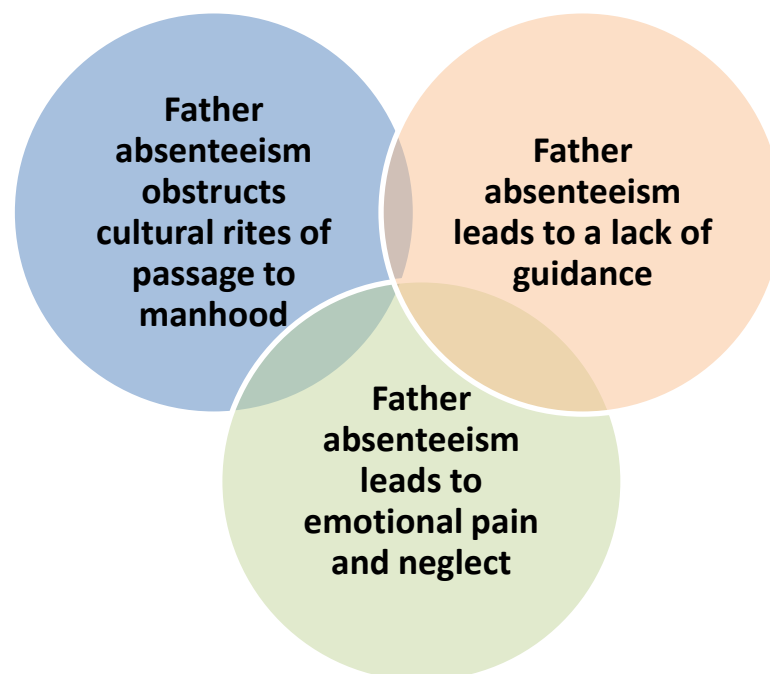


Figure 1: Illustration of the main themes

Although these are written as three themes, they are interrelated. For example, father absenteeism often meant that young men had no financial means of completing cultural rites of passage. However, father absenteeism also meant that there was no paternal figure to provide guidance and advice to the young men while attending initiation school, and as a role model to teach them how to behave as men in the lives overall. This also led to emotional pain and rejection experienced by the participants in this study, especially when observing

how other fathers in their community and family treated their sons, particularly during cultural rites of passage and homecoming ceremonies.

In the findings, we first discuss the understandings of these young Xhosa men about manhood, followed by a discussion of the three themes in Figure 1.

4.2 YOUNG XHOSA MEN'S UNDERSTANDING OF MANHOOD

Participants defined manhood mostly in terms of their views on how men should behave in society and this included the typical universal gender role of a provider of basic needs for their families and being independent (Ratele, Shefer & Clowes, 2012).

“Its actions such as waking up in the morning and being exemplary; to wake up and do the gardening. Thereafter, I'll maybe go and do a gardening job at another house and return home with money. From that money, I do not use it as a child would, but as an adult should, in that I will give it my mother to buy food. Things like that are the actions I do” (Participant 3)

“Yes, when you are a man you must help, there must have something you contribute at home to assist your mother. Like, things like food, buying food and bringing it home. Buying electricity for the house” (Participant 5)

“Yeah, maybe in instances where you live with people like, you are the only man you must be the one who works more than the others like, you work, like, get maybe a piece job that you can get and work towards ensuring electricity does not run out, that there is food in the house and people go to bed on a full stomach all of that Okay even when you are independent it's the same; you have to work you see, yeah, something like that” (Participant 1)

“Ok, a man is one who stands his own. When you are a man, you must be independent Ok and know that now you are no longer a child. Now I must do things that are direct ok and stop sulking for old people and know at home I am now a man. I have been taken out of boyhood at home. They say I must do meaningful things in the house” (Participant 2)

“To me, my brother... in my experience, a man must do that. I see nothing wrong in a man working in a kitchen because it forms part of manhood; for the home to be clean it is dependent on the man. Even though as men we see that as work done by women, we also have a role to play. For example, if my mother, given that I grew up without a father (unclear) if my mother returns from work tired, having worked night (shift) and must wake up in the morning, then, for example, I am the only boy child and she has no other child, she has to wake up in the morning again and clean while I sit around because I have the mentality that a man does not clean inside the house, he only cleans outside. So, that's why I say a man also has duties inside the house because in helping inside the house he shows that he participates in what is being done because I want to see progress in the home and all that” (Participant 3)

Being a provider was a fundamental aspect of a masculine identity for these research participants. A provider according to the participants takes care of the family's needs by buying food, electricity, and other essential items at home. Not having a father at home to model this behaviour, children from absent father families may learn by observing other men within the family or society how to perform the provider role or gendered behaviour which is consistent with a masculine ideology (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009).

In cases of permanent father absenteeism as a result of death or desertion sibling caregiving can be an important protective factor (Werner, 2000). Amongst siblings older male siblings may play the provider and fatherly role in the absence of a father in many households in general and African families in particular (Stoneman, Brody & MacKinnon, 1986; Brandel-Syrier, 1979). Feinberg, Solmeyer & McHale (2012) suggest that older siblings are more likely to serve as models, sources of advice, and caregivers for their younger siblings than vice versa. The gender of a sibling may play an important role in the modelling of behaviour (Feinberg, Solmeyer & McHale, 2012). Younger male siblings may seek to emulate the older male siblings' behaviour in the development of a masculine identity and constructions of masculine gender schemas. Additionally, because boy children are raised in what today is still a patriarchal culture by single mothers or maternal grandmothers they may be directly and indirectly socialised into the provider role.

The participants were flexible in how they thought about masculine and feminine gender schemas. That is, although they held masculine traits, they were not confined to them alone, but also used feminine gender schemas without feeling that it was a threat to their masculinity. The participants reported that there was nothing wrong with men helping out in the kitchen whether it is through cleaning or cooking. This type of thinking may suggest an androgynous masculinity which is comfortable with both masculine and feminine behaviour.

Although the participants displayed flexible gender schemas which may be interrupted as androgynous gender schemas, they may be contextual and limited to a particular context i.e. home environment rather than reflective of a global or pervasive thinking.

The young men also mentioned that being a man means behaving in mature ways and actively steering away from negative or harmful behaviours such as substance abuse and criminal activities such as theft.

“[I was] Addicted to tik(*crystal meth*). Okay, but then before I went last year, I saw that, no, this thing, I know how it is. I have read about it. I even searched it on Google and saw that there is nothing I do not know about this thing. I understand that, okay, now that I am still a boy, okay at that time I was still a boy. I understand okay I still have a chance to quit this thing because I know how to quit it. Okay, I thought to myself what kind of man will I be if I smoke tik(*crystal meth*), because this thing requires you to sacrifice. Sure so that you can get it. Okay, so now when I become a man and get money it will be difficult to buy anything. I will buy tik(*crystal meth*) maybe because of addiction or cravings. So I thought, no, let me quit this thing but I survived and I quit it. (Participant 5)

“Yeah I see it there in my community. I don’t smoke these things. I don’t smoke marijuana. No, I don’t smoke marijuana and other things. I only smoke a cigarette. I used to smoke marijuana when I was a boy, Ok but I learnt that, no, it is a boy who smokes marijuana. Ok, I don’t get high. It is a boy who gets high. I don’t get high. Yeah I am a man now. Yeah A man doesn’t get high. As a man I saw that and decided to quit marijuana” (Participant 4)

At some point in their development, the young men in the study experimented with harmful substances like crystal methamphetamine and cannabis, a finding which is consistent with many teenage boys from father absent families (Meghdadpour, Curtis, Pettifor & MacPhail, 2012). The research participants could have turned to these substances as a way of ascending the masculine hierarchy and fitting in within the hegemonic masculine identity in their environment. The behavioural effects of these drugs may resemble masculine behaviour i.e. aggressiveness and risk taking which in a way serves as a confirmation and reaffirmation of ones masculinity.

4.2.1 CHANGE IN MANHOOD PERSPECTIVE AFTER RITUAL CIRCUMCISSION

It is interesting to note that before and after undergoing traditional circumcision the young men's perceptions about substance use changed. For one participant he could not imagine himself using crystal methamphetamine as a man hence he decided to stop. Another participant reported that he stopped using cannabis because he did not want to be a man who gets intoxicated to cannabis. The gender schemas on substances they held as boys seem to be challenged during the initiation process. That is because boys within the Xhosa culture are usually expected to present with deviant behaviour because they are boys. During initiation, initiates receive counsel and teachings from other initiates, wound caregivers, and or social fathers on responsible behaviour expected of initiates and young men. As a result after initiation men are expected to adhere to gender schemas which are consistent with Xhosa men.

In summary, how the participants defined manhood was mostly in terms of being an independent person who provides for his family in financial and practical ways (i.e., sharing household responsibilities), and as someone who sets an example for others by actively steering away from negative or disruptive behaviours and conducting himself in mature ways. The following section discusses the three themes captured in figure 1.

4.3 FATHER ABSENTEEISM OBSTRUCTS CULTURAL RITES OF PASSAGE TO MANHOOD

Each of the young men who participated in this study expressed similar views and explained how father absenteeism constrained their cultural rites of passage towards manhood. When the young men explained their views of what it means to be a man, all participants referred to cultural rites of passage as significant in the transition from boyhood to manhood. When the participants did not have the financial means to attend to all cultural rites of passage, they remarked that they felt incomplete. When the participants did not have

access to their fathers or paternal family in order to perform cultural practices like imbeleko, they felt incomplete.

Throughout the interviews, young men expressed that they felt they were ‘men’ and had actively chosen to behave in mature ways, as is expected of men in their community. However, they did express that they did not feel ‘complete’ because they had not concluded cultural rituals like imbeleko. Imbeleko, as already defined in previous chapters is a traditional ritual that is performed on the boys’ father’s side to introduce the child to his paternal ancestry so that the child can legitimately claim his paternal ancestry and also to receive ancestral protection and guidance (Nduna, 2014). Ideally, the ritual should be done in childhood or before circumcision as it would ensure that an initiate is ‘fully covered’ i.e. protected and guided by his ancestors before, during, and after initiation. All five participants in this study referred to the importance of imbeleko prior undergoing traditional circumcision to be considered men by other members of their community. Father absenteeism resulted in all five participants not having the financial means and involvement of the paternal family to complete imbeleko. Incomplete cultural practices or traditions had a significant impact on their development of a masculine identity, as the young men felt they had not fully completed the transition to manhood which impacted their overall psychological wellbeing. The quotes below emphasise the importance the participants place on traditional rituals like imbeleko.

“I didn’t face any challenges like feeling the need for a father... there is none, *grootman*, except for one: imbeleko. *Cultural rituals only*” (Participant 1)

“Imbeleko... I can see that when I am asleep, I do not sleep well. I don’t sleep well, I am not feeling myself. Even when I walk in the street, I don’t feel myself. When I am walking in the street, it’s as if it’s not me who’s walking. When I walk in the streets, I can tell that there is something that I have to do. Even now as I am talking to you, it’s as if there is something that is ...(unclear)... Now I can tell that there is something that I have to do. I am not complete. I am not complete if I have not done *Imbeleko*. If you have not done imbeleko...If I have not done imbeleko. It is needed” (Participant 4)

“You see, for example. I, my elder, went through initiation in 2014 whereas I was meant to go in 2013, you see that thing, elder? When you’re about to go to the bush and you find

that you all in that stage of going through initiation as guys, but then you get confronted with family issues, you see? As a result, you are unable to go through with initiation, but your friends go through with it. That is defeating because now you'll experience a tension when they return because they are people you are used to going with. So, now you need to call them *bhuti*, you see those things. Or, now you stop going with them and all those things. So, it is those things that make you [think], you see now if my father was around he would wrap it up quickly" (Participant 3)

"People say things people say that if *intambo* was not done for you, you will end up sick as time goes by. Maybe, ok ...you will wet your bed as an adult because I have not done *intambo*, there is just something that will catch up with me as I age that may happen even now that I am a man. I don't feel good. Even my grandmother at home, I also tell her and she says maybe next year she will make means and perform *intambo* and look for people of the {name of clan} clan so that she does *intambo* herself there at home" (Participant 2)

"Like, my brother, I still want to do *imbeleko*. Even now that I am back from the bush, my brother, I still want to have *imbeleko* done for me. However, there is no money. The way I feel now, my brother, I feel like I am a person whose things are not going well, you see, my brother? My things are not going well, it is hard to even get a job, you see? It's things like that, I can say now it's things like that... I went to initiation school without a goat, *imbeleko* was not done for me, you see? It was not done for me, you see? I went, I went to the bush without, without being strengthened. I was not strengthened, you see those things? I simply went. You see things like that? but I managed to survive there, you see, my brother? I came back because I was praying." (Participant 5)

Participants reported experiencing a myriad of symptoms which they ascribe to the absence of *imbeleko*. From a clinical perspective the symptoms resemble depressive symptoms i.e. insomnia, dissociation, excessive guilt feelings, feelings of worthlessness and inadequacy (Fried, Nesse, Zivin, Guille & Sen, 2014). According to these participants the symptoms they are experiencing will only get better once they are introduced to their paternal family through *imbeleko*. Because there is a lack of studies which have distinguished between depression and *imbeleko* symptoms it becomes difficult to ascertain whether these are actual depressive symptoms or merely somatic and physiological symptoms as a result of not doing *imbeleko*.

One of the participants experienced pervasive fear or anxiety as a result of not having done the ceremony. Luo, Wang & Gao (2011) found anxiety levels of fatherless children to be higher than their counterparts. The participant mentions that he was scared throughout the

period as an initiate because he felt vulnerable as he was not strengthened through the process of imbeleko. He stated that he relied on prayer which means that he was extremely worried about his well-being during the time he was an initiate. Even now as a man or adult he still feels that something bad may happen because he has not performed the ritual. Therefore, the participant must perform the ritual to prevent any misfortune from happening in the future.

The young men did not have the financial means to pay for imbeleko or intambo and this impacted their development of a masculine identity as they felt 'incomplete'. Not having imbeleko done for them also resulted in their exclusion from taking part in some cultural practices that only 'men' who have had imbeleko done are allowed to participate in. This exclusion is visible to others in their community and possibly elicits feelings of shame in the participants. For example, the quotation below emphasises how men who are yet to do imbeleko/intambo are not allowed to eat meat alongside those who have done it.

"Just a little bit, here and there it crosses my mind and I would think about. It's worse now that people are getting initiated it happens then that maybe, ok, people are feasting on a goat in the process of *intambo* being performed, I must not feast on the goat because *intambo* has never been done performed for me. I cannot feast on a goat of another person dedicated to their *intambo*. So, they miss me in that way as I cannot eat such meat" (Participant 2)

By not partaking in this ritual because he has not performed the ritual intambo/imbeleko the young man may feel that he does not meet the full requirements of manhood or hegemonic masculinity within the Xhosa culture. He may therefore feel displaced and marginalised that is fitting into subordinate or marginalised masculinities against his will. The second theme is discussed next.

4.4 FATHER ABSENTEEISM LEADS TO A LACK OF GUIDANCE

The participants reported the need for guidance in terms of how to be a man, and how to behave as a man in culturally appropriate ways within their community. When there is no guidance from a father figure, participants believe that young men can then easily be led astray.

“It is difficult, grootman Mmh because, like, you have to, like, you, like, like you are a man, right... with, maybe you stay with your father Mmh so now you won’t go astray, like, and be confused on things that you have to, like, okay, follow. Mmh Your father will support you. Maybe he will strengthen you in suggesting you do this, do that Mmh now do this, like, he will guide you from time to time Okay yeah, so it’s like that, grootman. Like, I would have experienced other things at least, grootman. Like, my father has long been a man so he will keep on telling me things that I need to do and will challenges I will come across with the passing of time. Like this and like that. So, it will be easy if there is a father present. Was it going to be easy? Yeah, it would be easy because he would show me, like, when you are a man you must do like this and like that, so yeah” (Participant 1)

The participant expressed that if his father was present in his life he would have been guided appropriately. Subsequently, that would make transitioning into manhood easier. According to Sarkadi, Kristiansson, Oberklaid & Bremberg (2008) a healthy father-son engagement or relationship reduces the frequency of problematic behaviour in boys. The task of guiding boy children may be difficult for mothers as boys may not easily open up to their mothers as they would to their fathers. This may then make it difficult for their mothers to reach out to them as they may not want to be emotionally vulnerable but want to project toughness which is a characteristic of a traditional masculine identity.

Moreover, in the initiation ritual the mother is not allowed to interfere in the ceremony, and so cannot intervene and provide sound advice to young men in the absence of fathers. When fathers are absent, young men lack the role model and counsellor they feel they need to guide them into becoming men within their community and culture. This is demonstrated in the quote below:

“You see? So where is the problem? It is when {ikrwala} is given counsel – the counsel of other people. They know that this child has no father, so they don’t give him counsel that builds him. Okay you find that a child thinks he’s a man - I have the right to drink, to smoke... and all of that. So, it’s things like that. And you think to yourself what are they teaching this child? You see? That’s why I say, even to my friends, when I speak, that: guys, when we see {amakrwala} passing by and not adhering to the law/rules/code... I tell them that, no guys, it is not their (amakrwala) problem. It is our problem as older men. It starts when we are at the traditional ceremony with him (ikrwala). Us, older men, what do we do? What do we say to them? Say to them. You see? They remember what is said to them. This guy and that guy... I also sat {ekhukhwini}. The person speaking there is an elder. That means he knows what he is

talking about. What he is talking about. So, let me also do it. The mother has no right to go in there. She has no idea what is being conversed with her child. You see? All of that. It is unfortunate in that sense. And you know what else is painful? It's these kids of today. Like, these {izikhothane} kids, some who are like that who are still growing up. What's painful about them is that no one tells them, like, listen, man. Stop what you are doing" (Participant 3)

There seems to be a discrepancy in the values and teachings of young men and elderly men when it comes to teaching initiates about manhood. Young men who teach fatherless initiates about manhood may emphasis hyper-masculine or other maladaptive forms of masculinity which may result in 'dangerous' expressions of manhood. When the father is present, the initiate may receive appropriate counsel and guidance on masculinity and manhood. This thought is captured in the quote below:

"The misfortune experienced a child raised by a mother without the father, who is about to become a man, are teachings. Like, your father will never be envious of you. He will teach properly that no, man, my son, you are going to be a man now. Do like this. What he wants is that when he passes on, he leaves behind someone like him. ^{Like him} You see? So where is the problem? It is when ikrwala is given counsel – the counsel of other people. They know that this child has no father, so they don't give him counsel that builds him" (Participant 3)

Despite guidance from elders in the community and male friends that support and encourage one another, the participants emphasised the lack of guidance and counsel from a father as significant. The participants in this study also mentioned how fathers discipline and teach them respect, and guide them towards constructive behaviours, like attending and progressing at school, playing sports, obeying cultural rules, finding employment, and becoming independent.

"Maybe I would even be working if my father was still around, you see, because I was going to study [and not] drop out of school, you see? I wouldn't have been delayed maybe by drugs, you see, my brother, because my father was strict. Because of how strict his strictness, I would have been disciplined" (Participant 5)

"Maybe the things, grootman. Like, maybe, I will get up and play sport you see? I am not active now, I play nothing. I don't have the energy, grootman. I had the energy when my father used to be close to me" (Participant 1)

"It is my father who has long been a man. I am new to manhood. So, there are things that I do that I think are right, but he will know that they are wrong. But there is no one

to tell me. You find that I do things like this and my mother reprimands me, not understanding why I am doing them. But he would understand and correct me in a better way. So, that is how it has affected me. That's why I lose interest in other things, and all of that. For example, it is said that {ikrwala} cannot leave the house at night. I dodge my mother and deceive her, saying no, {ikrwala} can leave the house at night. He must just wear a beanie. And all of that. She is easily deceived, but if my father was around, I would comply with the rule that {ikrwala} cannot leave the house at night" (Participant 3)

Some of the participants were unmotivated to attend school and commit to scholastic, recreational and other activities. This finding confirms what has already been researched and found in fatherhood literature. Boys reared in fatherless families are likely to be truant at school and have poorer educational outcomes than their counterparts (Chiles, 2013).

Although some participants alluded to being empathetic coupled with the desire of playing a meaningful role in their children's lives when they become fathers, the overall sense was that they felt they had to navigate towards manhood without someone to guide them. Almost all of the participants mentioned how they had engaged in negative or destructive behaviour and were fully aware that they could engage in those behaviours in the absence of a strict father to enforce discipline and cultural rules to guide their behaviour. The following section discusses the third and last theme.

4.5 FATHER ABSENTEEISM LEADS TO EMOTIONAL PAIN AND EMOTIONAL NEGLECT

The participants mentioned many of the challenges they face as a result of not having a present father in their lives, such as: lack of financial support; not knowing the father's family and clan name of where they come from (which is important for young men as they take on the father's traditions); not having the financial means for celebrations after attending initiation school; and they missed the physical protection that a father could offer.

What stood out most about the impact father absenteeism had on the young men in this study was the emotional pain of feeling lonely and feeling rejected and not supported financially or emotionally by their fathers. The emotional pain they experienced taught them to appreciate their mothers at times, and also at times inspired them to become independent. However, this was borne from feelings of loneliness and isolation, which resulted from rejection by their fathers and/or their father's families, and not having other adults they could rely on.

“What example will I set, you see, when I am not learning anything as to what you have to do when you are a father? Those things I learn from other households when I go to them. All of that (I learn) not from home, you see. So, things like that. We saw that all his children from his marriage attend urban schools. We never attended urban schools. We went to the schools here (in the township), of which we have no problem. We have no problem, we don't mind that but what we do mind is that given that he takes out a lot of money in town, he shouldn't only contribute R1000, because there are two of us in that R1000 and my mother doesn't work, you see. So, it's things like that that made me unable to focus at school, because – for example – because I have a heart; even when I see someone eat out of a trash can, that disturbs me. It eats away at me, so things like that affected me badly, all those things that I saw. And I saw a lot of things at my father's home, all of that, you see? They affected me badly and I couldn't focus at all” (Participant 3)

“Okay, like, I grew up with my mother, right? It was very difficult because I had to follow the path my father, like, had to follow. Like, things, for example, at my mother's home... it is as if I was not taken care of after my mother passed away. They [relatives] took care of me as in taking care of me, but they don't pay any mind to the things I do. So I feel like I live alone. I feel alone although there are people, like, I have to be the one who speaks to them. Okay and will have something that I want to talk to them about, but I am unable to and I end up leaving it as is” (Participant 1)

“Now, there is my mother's brother's son who is behind me... like, he's younger than me but he recently went through initiation last year. When we went to East London, if only you could see how packed it was with family. Now, as packed as it was, people were bringing gifts sent from Cape Town by those who could not come. A wardrobe, plasmas, like they even bought him normal clothes he will change into after his period as {Ikrwala} even though it was only his first day out. Now, as a family member, you are not jealous. But, what happened there does something to a person. Because, you will think to yourself that there are those who are important and those who are not, because at least even if they didn't go, they could have gifts the same way they did so here. But, I thought let me leave it. But, as time goes it is things that make me wonder what if mother, who watches over me, passes away. What will I be? Like, what will I be because my father does not care for me. Even my mother's family does not care for me. So, what would I be? That makes you learn manhood for real. How? It makes you care for your mother, you see? To learn from her what manhood is like by doing things for her, you see? When you see that she appreciates the things you do for her, you think

to yourself that it is clear now that you are in a stage of manhood. Things like that” (Participant 3)

“My father doesn’t care about me. I know my mother. My father denies me, but when I am there I am able to meet with him and have a fine conversation, but then come back and be lied to by the woman who stays there with him, ok you see? When I get there again, they say I must come back later. When I am back again, I am lied to and they say whatever they say and I would hear that this is right” (Participant 4)

Participants whom all of them were conceived out of wedlock expressed that they were not treated equally with half siblings or children whom are products of a marital relationship or new relationship. This experience is consistent with the findings of Aquilino, 2006, cited in, Maslauskaitė and Tereskinas, 2017). Fathers are likely to be disengaged from their paternal duty when the children are conceived out of wedlock or cohabitation. They may not be given financial and emotional attention as children with present fathers. It is a painful experience for the participants because they grew up witnessing such ‘favouritism’ but could not address it with their elders because they are young or not culturally recognised by the paternal family. Conforming to masculine ideals may result in the participants not addressing the preferential treatment that children from marriage or stable relationships experience. This might be because men are discouraged from showing their emotions or vulnerability and therefore by complaining they would be showing weakness which subsequently challenges or raises doubt on their masculinity. Pollack (2000, cited in, Harris & Harper, 2008) states that boys live by a boy code, which involves restricting emotional expression. For boys being called names like a ‘girl,’ ‘sissy,’ or ‘fag’ is highly insulting (Harris & Harper, 2008).

The emotional pain and neglect experienced by the participants could stem from maternal and paternal family displacement. One of the participants expressed that his maternal family where he was raised is Christian and therefore is against traditional practices like imbeleko. His father who is traditional and practices cultural rituals like imbeleko wants to be involved in the participant’s life, but only when the participant

agrees to performing the traditional ritual. This may result in cognitive dissonance i.e. wanting to please the Christian maternal family and also wanting to have a relationship with a traditional father. He is likely to be seen as unappreciative by his maternal family if he does imbeleko or could be seen as 'not serious' by his father who is willing to do the ritual for him.

The interplay between social learning, gender schema, and masculine identity development is evident in this chapter. The participants were raised in Zwide. In this context there was an expectation for men to fulfil cultural rituals like imbeleko and ritual circumcision. Participants who were yet to perform imbeleko experienced somatic symptoms and feelings of inadequacy because they were not introduced to their paternal lineage which would oversee their personal well-being. Through social learning, Xhosa boys raised in Zwide felt a strong need to undergo these cultural rituals as a means of fully attaining the hegemonic masculinity. During initiation, the initiates were taught about manhood by traditional nurses, male relatives/siblings, and other men within their township. This process resulted in the development of masculine gender schemas that a man is a provider, role model, self-reliant.

4.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the researcher started off by discussing what manhood is to Xhosa young men. After this section, the three themes which summarise how father absenteeism affects the development of a masculine identity were discussed. It was found that, father absenteeism obstructs cultural rites of passage to manhood; leads to a lack of guidance; and also leads to emotional pain and emotional neglect. Although men are socialised to be emotionally tough or strong, it appears that the participants in this study were affected by a father's absence. In the next chapter we discuss the limitations of this study and possible

recommendations for the participants and future research in the field of fatherhood and masculinity.

5. CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 CONCLUSION

The objective of this study was to explore and describe the effects of father absenteeism on the development of a masculine identity of young Xhosa men in an urban township. To meet the objective of the study the researcher identified three aims which were to:

1. Understand how father absence affects the way young Xhosa men formulate a masculine identity.
2. Understand the difficulties faced by young Xhosa men from absent father families when developing a masculine identity.
3. Explore the experiences of young Xhosa men regarding the impact of fatherlessness on their masculinity.

In the first aim, the researcher found that while father absenteeism made it difficult for the participants to navigate a masculine identity they conceptualised manhood in terms of the stereotypical cultural understanding that a man is a provider to his family and is independent.

In the second aim, the researcher found that in developing a masculine identity paternal absence affected the participants in this study in three ways: (1) father absenteeism obstructed cultural rites of passage to manhood; (2) father absenteeism lead to a lack of guidance; and (3) father absenteeism lead to emotional pain and emotional neglect.

The last aim, which sought to ascertain the experiences of the young Xhosa men regarding the impact of father absenteeism on their masculinity, the researcher found that the absence of imbeleko which makes the participants feel vulnerable to misfortune and bad luck was a significant and common experience for all participants.

5.2 LIMITATIONS

Ideally, the researcher wanted to use young Xhosa men from fully father absent families. In the study, some participants reported that their fathers were present at some point during their development but are not involved anymore. Other participants, their fathers were not involved in any way during development. Therefore father absenteeism is likely to affect them differently.

Some of the participants were raised by step-fathers, or had social fathers like uncles or older male siblings who played a fatherly role to them. This means, although these participants all came from biological father absent families their family structures were different which may contribute to differences in how they perceive father absenteeism.

The researcher is aware that the sample size is small, but participants who were sampled provided rich descriptions of data until data saturation was reached.

Some of the participants were still at school and others were not in education, employment, or training (NEET's). Therefore, the participants are likely to perceive the effects of father absenteeism on their masculine development differently because of the differences in the level of education.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

A lot of work still needs to be done in this field of masculinity more in particular within cultures which emphasis various rituals to attaining a culture specific masculine identity. For boy children who are yet to perform these rituals the uncertainty of performing these rituals as a result of father absenteeism may create emotional distress which may affect their performance in important areas of functioning. Boy children with absent fathers may benefit from individual or family counselling sessions to address emotional and psychological distress as a result of the family dynamics that arise as a result of the father's absence.

Cultural leaders need to be more involved by suggesting alternative or flexible ways for rituals like imbeleko to be performed for boys in the absence of biological paternal figures. Again, cultural leaders need to review customs like ‘damage’ payment and ilobola as they become barriers to paternal involvement for fathers who are unemployed or who do not earn much. They struggle to raise the amount required of them by the child’s maternal family and failure to do so leads to paternal depravation which has adverse consequences on the whole family system in general and boy children in particular.

5.4 FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research can look into distinguishing between depressive and imbeleko symptoms. At this point, it is unclear whether children who are raised in the absence of paternal figures are experiencing depression or symptoms associated with not having done imbeleko earlier in life and subsequently are experiencing bad luck or misfortune.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: MAJOR DEPRESSIVE DISORDER: DSM V DIAGNOSTIC CRITERIA

A. Five (or more) of the following symptoms have been present during the same 2-week period and represent a change from previous functioning; at least one of the symptoms is either (1) depressed mood or (2) loss of interest or pleasure.

Note: Do not include symptoms that are clearly attributable to another medical condition.

1. Depressed mood most of the day, nearly every day, as indicated by either subjective report (e.g., feels sad, empty, hopeless) or observation made by others (e.g., appears tearful). (Note: In children and adolescents, can be irritable mood.)
2. Markedly diminished interest or pleasure in all, or almost all, activities most of the day, nearly every day (as indicated by either subjective account or observation.)
3. Significant weight loss when not dieting or weight gain (e.g., a change of more than 5% of body weight in a month), or decrease or increase in appetite nearly every day. (Note: In children, consider failure to make expected weight gain.)
4. Insomnia or hypersomnia nearly every day.
5. Psychomotor agitation or retardation nearly every day (observable by others, not merely subjective feelings of restlessness or being slowed down).
6. Fatigue or loss of energy nearly every day.
7. Feelings of worthlessness or excessive or inappropriate guilt (which may be delusional) nearly every day (not merely self-reproach or guilt about being sick).
8. Diminished ability to think or concentrate, or indecisiveness, nearly every day (either by subjective account or as observed by others).
9. Recurrent thoughts of death (not just fear of dying), recurrent suicidal ideation without a specific plan, or a suicide attempt or a specific plan for committing suicide.

B. The symptoms cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.

C. The episode is not attributable to the physiological effects of a substance or to another medical condition.

Note: Criteria A-C represent a major depressive episode.

Note: Responses to a significant loss (e.g., bereavement, financial ruin, losses from a natural disaster, a serious medical illness or disability) may include the feelings of intense sadness, rumination about the loss, insomnia, poor appetite, and weight loss noted in Criterion A, which may resemble a depressive episode. Although such symptoms may be understandable

or considered appropriate to the loss, the presence of a major depressive episode in addition to the normal response to a significant loss should also be carefully considered. This decision inevitably requires the exercise of clinical judgment based on the individual's history and the cultural norms for the expression of distress in the context of loss.

D. The occurrence of the major depressive episode is not better explained by schizoaffective disorder, schizophrenia, schizophreniform disorder, delusional disorder, or other specified and unspecified schizophrenia spectrum and other psychotic disorders.

E. There has never been a manic episode or a hypomanic episode.

Note: This exclusion does not apply if all of the manic-like or hypomanic-like episodes are substance induced or are attributable to the physiological effects of another medical condition.

Specify:

With anxious distress

With mixed features

With melancholic features

With atypical features

With mood-congruent psychotic features

With mood-incongruent psychotic features

With catatonia. Coding note: Use additional code 293.89 (F06.1).

With peripartum onset

With seasonal pattern (recurrent episode only)

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What does it mean to you, to be a man?
2. When do you think, one becomes a man?
3. What are the difficulties that you have encountered on your way to becoming a man?
4. How difficult is it for fatherless men to become men?
5. How has your manhood been affected by not having your father around?
6. Would you have seen manhood differently if your father was present?

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT FORM**NELSON MANDELA METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY****INFORMATION AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

<u>RESEARCHER'S DETAILS</u>	
Title of the research project	The effects of father absenteeism on the development of a masculine identity of young Xhosa men in an Urban Township.
Reference number	H16-HEA-PSY-030
Principal investigator	Aluta Kibi
Address	Postgraduate Student Village Village 2/11A
Postal code	
Contact telephone number	041 504 2570

<u>A. DECLARATION BY OR ON BEHALF OF PARTICIPANT</u>	
I, the participant and the undersigned (full names)	
ID number	
<u>OR</u>	
I, in my capacity as (parent or guardian)	
of the participant (full names)	
ID number	
Address (of participant)	

A.1 HEREBY CONFIRM AS FOLLOWS	
I, the participant, was invited to participate in the above mentioned research project	
that is being undertaken by	Aluta Kibi
From	Department of Psychology
of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.	

THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS HAVE BEEN EXPLAINED TO ME, THE PARTICIPANT:		
2.1	Aim:	<p>The information will be used to/for</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Understand how father absence affects the way young Xhosa men formulate a masculine identity. 2. Understand the difficulties faced by young Xhosa men from

		father absent families when developing a masculine identity. 3. Explore the experiences of young Xhosa men regarding the impact of fatherlessness on their masculinity.		
2.2	Procedures:	I understand that: 1. Participation involves an interview that will be approximately 1 hour 30 minutes 2. Participation is voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any point		
2.3	Risks:	There are no anticipated risks involved.		
2.4	Possible benefits:	There are no benefits attached.		
2.5	Confidentiality:	My identity will not be revealed in any discussion, description or scientific publications by the investigators		
2.6	Access to findings:	Any new information or benefit that develops during the course of the study will be shared as follows:		
2.7	Voluntary participation/ refusal/ discontinuation	My participation is voluntary	YES	NO
		My decision whether or not to participate will in no way affect my present or future care/ employment/ lifestyle	TRUE	FALSE

3. THE INFORMATION ABOVE WAS EXPLAINED TO ME/THE PARTICIPATN BY:								
AlutaKibi								
In	Afrikaans		English		isiXhosa	X	Other	
and I am in command of this language.								
I was given the opportunity to ask questions and all these questions were answered satisfactorily.								

4.	No pressure was exerted on me to consent to participation and I understand that I may withdraw at any stage without penalisation.
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5.	Participation in this study will not result in any additional cost to myself.
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<u>B. STATEMENT BY OR ON BEHALF OF INVESTIGATOR(S)</u>									
I,	Aluta Kibi						declare that:		
1.	I have explained the information given in this document to								
	and / or his / her representative								
2.	He was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions;								
3.	This conversation was conducted in	Afrikaans		English		isiXhosa	X	Other	
	And no translator was used OR this conversation was translated into								
	(language)			by		(name of translator)			
4.	I have detached Section D and handed it to the participant								

<u>C. DECLARATION BY TRANSLATOR</u>		
I,		
ID number		
Qualifications and/or		
Current employment		
Confirm that I:		
1.	Translated the contents of this document from isiXhosa into English.	
2.	Conveyed a factually correct version of what was related to me.	
Signed/confirmed at _____ on _____ 20__		
I hereby declare that all information acquired by me for the purpose of this study will be kept confidential.		
Signature of translator		Signature of witness:
		Full name of witness:

D. IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO PATIENT/ REPRESENTATIVE OF PARTICIPANT

Dear participant

Thank you for your participation in this study. Should, at any time during the study:

- An emergency arise as a result of the research, or
- You require any further information with regard to the study, or
- The following occur

(indicate any circumstances which should be reported to the investigator)

Kindly contact	
At telephone number	
Email Address	S215314360@nmmu.ac.za

APPENDIX D: INFORMATION SHEET

REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

The effects of father absenteeism on the development of a masculine identity of young Xhosa men in an Urban Township

Dear participant

My name is Aluta Kibi, a student psychologist at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. As per the requirements for the completion of my qualification I am expected to complete a research treatise. The study I am conducting will aim to understand how young Xhosa men from fatherless families navigate a masculine identity in the absence of a biological father figure. This study will contribute towards the scientific understanding of the effects of father absenteeism on the masculinity development of young Xhosa men. Also, the results of this research can be utilized by cultural leaders who require a specific masculinity and single mother's raising boy children.

If you choose to take part in this study you will be required to sit and have an interview with me involving mainly questions pertaining to the purpose of the research. The criteria according to which participants will be selected being part of this

The interview will take place at a time and place you and I will agree on beforehand and is not expected to take more than an hour and a half to complete.

The information shared during this interview will be treated with utmost confidentiality that will be maintained throughout the collection, analysis, completion and publication process of this treatise. I wish to also make you aware that you may change your mind about participating in this study.

As such you will be required to sign a written informed consent form to indicate that your participation was fully voluntary. The researcher will also ask for your written informed consent to allow for electronic audio recording of the interview for the purpose of accurate analysis and verification of data. Free psychological debriefing will be made available to you should you need it after having participated in this study.

Should you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me. My number is 073 078 1893.

Your consideration will be appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Aluta Kibi
Primary Investigator
kibialuta@gmail.com

Dr Yaseen Ally
Research Supervisor
yaseen.ally@mandela.ac.za

APPENDIX E: REFERRAL LIST

Nelson Mandela University (South Campus Psychology Clinic)

- Tel: 041 504 2330 (Clinical Psychologist intern)

Missionvale Psychology Clinic

- Tel: 041 504 1353 (Counselling Psychologist intern)

Lifeline

- Crisis: 041 373 8666
- Office: 041 373 8882

Services: Depression, Trauma & Support, Family matters.

SADAG (South African Depression & Anxiety Group)

- Tel: 0800 567 567

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