

**PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT AND FATHERING PRACTICES AMONG
AFRICAN MEN**

by

Mandisa Vallentia Malinga

submitted in accordance with the requirements for
the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the subject

PSYCHOLOGY

at the

University of South Africa

Supervisor: Professor Kopano Ratele

Co-supervisor: Professor Stevi Jackson

November 2015

Student number: 53623673

I declare that '*Precarious employment and fathering practices among African men*' is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

.....
Signature
(Ms MV Malinga)

.....
Date

Abstract

This thesis explored the fathering practices of precariously employed African men with the study objectives including understanding: (1) how precariously employed men construct fatherhood; (2) the fathering practices considered important to them; (3) in what way precarious employment impacts on their fathering practices; and (4) how precariously employed men negotiate between their children's economic as well as socio-emotional needs.

This research focused particularly on the experiences of roadside work-seekers in Parow, Cape Town, seeking to understand how they construct fatherhood within their precarious working conditions. What these men think about fatherhood is important particularly in South Africa where not only unemployment is high, but also the rates of children growing up without their fathers.

An ethnographic study was conducted during which data was collected using both participant observation and semi-structured interview methods. This thesis reports on interviews conducted with 46 men over a period of seventeen weeks.

The findings reveal that the majority of roadside work-seekers are migrants (both internal and cross border) who have families to provide for. This study also revealed having children as one of the main reasons men engage in precarious work activities. Also highlighted is the extent to which precarious work impact the lives of those involved to the extent that it affects their relationships with their children, families and intimate partners. The majority of day labourers, due to being unemployed also do not live with their children, with many being denied access as a result of a breakdown in their relationship with the mother of the child, but also as a result of being unable to fulfil certain traditional requirements expected of men who impregnate women out of wedlock in some African cultures. Finally, this study confirmed the various ways in which men engaged in precarious employment are exposed to high levels of

poverty, homelessness, substance abuse, violence and crime, and racism, discrimination and exploitation.

Keywords: Precarious employment, fatherhood, fathering practices, day labour work, masculinities, African men, South Africa, ethnography, grounded theory analysis, qualitative research, roadside work-seeking.

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge and thank the following individuals and organisations for their assistance and contributions. Without them, this study could not have been possible:

- First and foremost, my supervisors Professor Kopano Ratele and Professor Stevi Jackson for their continued guidance. Thank you for your patience and valued feedback and support.
- The men at *Emdeni* who made this study possible, your experiences will forever be valued.
- The National Research Foundation for funding part of my studies.
- The Commonwealth Scholarship Commission for making it possible for me to spend 12 months (six months in 2014 and six months in 2015) during the course of this research at the Centre for Women Studies at the University of York, England.
- The ‘Engaging South African and Finnish youth towards new traditions of non-violence, equality and social well-being’ project for funding part of this research and the colleagues who have continued to support me throughout this journey.
- The South African Medical Research Council-University of South Africa’s Institute for Social and Health Sciences for hosting me as an intern during the first two years of this study and the colleagues and friends there who provided critical feedback and support.
- Siyabulela Baliso for his assistance with the translation of the interview data.
- My family and friends for always listening to my ideas and their continued support and love when I needed it most.
- I would like to dedicate this work to my grandmother, who passed on too soon. Her dream was to see me off to university, and she departed two weeks after she put me on a bus to Cape Town to start my first year. Here I am today, writing a doctoral thesis. Thank you for always believing in me.

- To my unborn baby uSimamkele, you are one tough boy. Thank you for ‘staying up’ with me throughout those long nights. You wrote this thesis with me and gave me the push I needed. I felt every kick and turn.
- Last but not least, to God. Only you know what it took for me to be where I am and the difficulties I went through during the course of my studies, yet I made it through. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction and background	1
Aim and objectives of the study.....	4
Structure of the thesis.....	8
Chapter 2: Literature Review	11
Introduction.....	11
The social construction of fatherhood.....	11
Discourse and self-construction.....	12
Changes in the conception of fatherhood.....	14
The culture versus the conduct of fatherhood.....	16
The practice of fatherhood	18
Factors that influence the practise of fatherhood	21
Employment in the practice of fathering	21
Contexts of fathering.....	24
Gender and care work	27
Importance of fathering for men.....	27
Construction of masculinities and fatherhood	29
The African cultural perspectives on fatherhood.....	32
Changes in employment patterns	38
The rise of precarious employment.....	40
Roadside work-seeking.....	43
Labour migration in South	45
Policy development in fatherhood and unemployment	49
Conclusion	52
Chapter 3: Methodology	54

Research design	54
The research process	59
Research setting	59
Data collection	61
Data analysis	65
Ethical considerations	68
Reflections on the research process	71
Conclusion	77
Chapter 4: ‘ <i>Abomavumbuka</i> ’: Men on the side of the road	79
Introduction	79
Age	81
Children	84
Nationality	85
Reasons for migration	88
Skill-set	94
Education	98
Conclusion	104
Chapter 5: The nature of (precarious) work at <i>Emdeni</i>	108
Introduction	108
<i>Emdeni</i> : The street corner as ‘job-seeking site’	109
Geographic location	109
Social organisation	114
Job-seeking behaviour: How men find work at <i>Emdeni</i>	123
Job-searching strategies	123
Frequency and duration of jobs	127

Worker-employer relationships.	130
Conclusion	137
Chapter 6: Constructions of fatherhood and fathering.....	139
Introduction.....	139
The meaning of fatherhood.....	140
‘Fathering’: The responsibilities of a father.....	142
Father as economic provider.....	142
Nurturing fatherhood: ‘To love, be there and to care’.....	144
‘Good’ and ‘bad’ fatherhood	151
Motivation for being at <i>Emdeni</i>	156
Having children as motivation for being at <i>Emdeni</i>	157
The importance of self-dependence and socialisation.	160
Conclusion	162
Chapter 7: The impact of precarious work on fathering.....	165
Introduction.....	165
Father-child co-residence.....	166
Relationship breakdown.....	166
Traditional practices and gate-keeping.	169
‘Poor’ living conditions.	172
Unacknowledged paternity.	173
Father-child activities.....	176
Child-bearing intentions of precariously employed men.....	180
Planned-unplanned parenthood.....	180
Precarious work and child-bearing.	185
Being fathered: Men’s experience of their own fathers.....	189

An ‘absent’ father.	190
A ‘present’ father.	193
Conclusion	195
Chapter 8: Precarious work and constructions of masculinities	197
Introduction.....	197
The impact of precarious work on the lives of street corner men (SCM).....	197
Relationships with children.....	198
Relationships with intimate partners.....	200
‘Dysfunction’ in the lives of street corner men (SCM)	205
Alcohol consumption, drug abuse and gambling.....	206
Violence and crime.	210
Homelessness, begging, shame and lying.....	213
‘ <i>Not really men</i> ’: Constructions of masculinity among SCM	216
Conclusion	218
Chapter 9: Conclusion and Recommendations	220
Introduction.....	220
Precarious work and fathering: The nature of this relationship.....	221
The research process: Strengths and limitations	224
Recommendations.....	225
Conclusion	231
References.....	233
Appendices.....	264

List of tables

Table 1: Participants' age groupings	81
Table 2: Participants' Nationality	85
Table 3: Participants' Skill-set	95

List of figures

Figure 1: Creswell's visualization of data collection processes	62
Figure 2: Education levels of participants	98

Chapter 1: Introduction and background

Studies on fatherhood have increased over the past few decades in response to an increasing demand for South African and international policy to focus on promoting the involvement of fathers in their children and families' lives (Morrell & Richter, 2006). According to Naomi White (1994), women's increased participation in the labour force has put pressure on gendered roles within the home, contributing to the increased attention on fathering. The subsequent growth in such studies has facilitated changes in the definition of fatherhood over the years. What it means to be a father or the roles associated with fatherhood have changed and differ according to the contexts within which it occurs.

Some studies have defined fatherhood as a fixed status that can be achieved through the biological contribution to the conception of a child (Tanfer & Mott, 1997). This view has however received considerable criticism from scholars who argue that it is the active participation in the child's life through protecting, supporting and providing for the child that makes a man a father (Lesejane, 2006). The view of biological contribution as constituting fatherhood can be further challenged using the case of sperm donors, who while contributing to the conception of a child, often have no interest in assuming the role and identity of a father. The question about who can lay claim to fatherhood remains ambiguous, and Marsiglio, Day and Lamb (2000) attribute this to a range of biological, social, as well as legal considerations that shape the definition of fatherhood.

The term 'fatherhood' itself has also presented some ambiguities which are evident in the differences between the everyday use of the word and the way in which it is used in academic literature. Scholars have sought to address this ambiguity through a distinction between the terms father, fatherhood and fathering which are often used in a way that suggests little difference in meaning. Hobson and Morgan (2002) defined the term 'father' as being

concerned with processes of identification by self or others based on social or biological attachments to a child; 'fatherhood' as being concerned with the public meanings attached to fathers, their rights, duties and responsibilities; and 'fathering' (which can be used interchangeably with parenting) as referring to the actual practices associated with fatherhood.

Scholars have also taken a step further to distinguish between various types of fathers. Among these are biological, social, as well as economic fathers. Dermott (2008) defined biological fathers as men who are genetically connected to the child and have directly contributed to the child's conception. This in everyday talk is referred to as 'to father' and confers a certain status upon men. Social fathers on the other hand are defined as men who despite not being genetically linked to the child, form social relationships with them and engage in parenting practices such as caring, protecting and providing for the child (Dermott, 2008). In some cases, men (biological or social fathers) may avoid being actively involved in the upbringing of the child and choose to only provide for their financial needs. An economic father is thus a man whose role as a father is constructed exclusively around being a breadwinner (Dowd, 2000), and often these are men who do not share residence with their children.

Despite a growth in global research on fathers, fatherhood and fathering, little is known about how men construct fatherhood from different racial, economic and socio-cultural contexts. In *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa*, Linda Richter and Robert Morrell (2006) highlight a paucity of literature on what men think about fatherhood in South Africa. It is only recently that studies are shifting focus towards understanding what fatherhood, being a father and fathering means to men and the findings indicate men's desire to be part of their children's lives (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2013). However, this 'shift in focus' is happening at a slower rate than desired as many studies have and continue to take a child-centred perspective, focussing on how fathers influence child development, mothers' views of the role of fathers, as well as the pathologising of fatherhood.

Father absence or fatherlessness is one topic that has taken centre stage in international research due to its perceived detrimental social, psychological, emotional and cognitive effects on children and families, as well as the higher numbers of children growing up without their fathers (Passmark, 2001; Richter et al, 2012). Fatherlessness is considered problematic, particularly in countries such as South Africa, where in 2011 about nine million children were reported to have been growing up without their fathers (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). At the same time, the increase in studies on father absence has also revealed different meanings of ‘absence’ (see Padi, Nduna, Khunou, & Kholopane, 2014). While clearly important, the focus on father absence only provides a limited understanding of fatherhood, neglecting its diversity and resulting in somewhat distorted ideas about what fatherhood and father absence mean. Furthermore, the belief that fatherhood is in a state of crisis and needs to be ‘fixed’ has led to a narrow understanding of the ways in which men define what it means to be a father, what a ‘good’ father ‘looks’ like to them, and what practices are associated with ‘good’ fathering in diverse backgrounds.

The child-centred literature on engaged fathering often recommends a type of fatherhood that is nurturing, involved and caring. However, this literature inconsistently accounts for factors such as employment and social relationships which may provide a conducive environment for ‘positive’ and nurturing fatherhood, or serve as a hindrance to it. The present study does not suggest that we abandon child-focused research. But it argues that the meanings men attach to their constructions of fatherhood influences how they practice such roles, especially within their own social, cultural and economic contexts, hence its focus on the *views* and *experiences* of fathers.

It is the perspectives of precariously employed men (for example, those in short-term jobs without any or with minimal security) that I focus on in this study. These are men often seen standing on street corners looking for work and popularly referred to as ‘day labourers’.

'Day labourers' is indicative of a phenomenon not only seen in South Africa but also in other parts of the world such as Japan (Gill, 2001), Italy (Perrota, 2015), and the USA (Turnovsky, 2006; Valenzuela, 2003). These men are part of a population often labelled as dead-beat or irresponsible men who do not take responsibility for their children.

It is contended that a study of this nature is particularly important in South Africa where unemployment and the numbers of men engaging in precarious work are high, yet little is understood about how these men make sense of their own lives as fathers. While there are some studies that explore the nature of 'day labour' work in South Africa, none have investigated the impact of this type of precarious work on men's constructions of fatherhood. The ways in which men define themselves as fathers under precarious working conditions is important as it may help us understand how men 'do' fatherhood and the processes underlying such practices.

Aim and objectives of the study

This study sought to understand how men construct fatherhood and its associated practices in a society that in the main defines poor, 'absent', fathers as irresponsible. Its aim, therefore, was to understand the fathering practices of precariously employed African¹ men. As already indicated, the group of interest is composed of men who sit on the side of the road and on street corners looking for work, often referred to as 'day labourers'. The objectives of the study included answering questions relating to:

1. How these precariously employed men construct fatherhood?
2. What fathering practices are considered important by these men?
3. In what way precarious employment impacts on fathering practices?

¹ African men in this study are defined as those individuals who "by birth or ancestry belong to the geographical location of the continent of Africa" (Nwanegbo-Ben & Uzorma, 2014, p. 123) and those who identify themselves (and is identified by others) as African and excludes those of other ancestry who reside in Africa (Agyemang, Bhopal, & Bruijnzeels, 2005).

4. How precariously employed men negotiate between their children's economic and socio-emotional needs?

The study takes into account the fact that being a father/fatherhood/fathering are often taken to primarily mean the biological act of begetting a child. However, as mentioned earlier, studies show that fatherhood and fathering are also understood as a social role that men play in their children's lives, although this is a role not always accepted by men. According to Morrell, Posey and Devey (2003), men can avoid fatherhood by abandoning their children, fleeing from their families, as well as denying paternity.

Several studies have indicated the role of poverty and unemployment in men abandoning their children. For example, Richter, Chikovore and Makusha (2010) suggested poverty and the inability to successfully provide as one of the reasons men become disengaged from their children. In a South African context with high unemployment and poverty rates, this inability to provide may very well explain the high numbers of especially black² children growing up without their fathers. For example, it is indicated that by 2002, a total of 50.2% black children had 'absent but living' fathers (Posel & Devey, 2006, p. 47). The Quarterly Labour Force Survey (Quarter 2 of 2015) indicates that unemployment is higher among the Black³ population (27.9%) as compared to the Coloured (24.40%), Indian/Asian (13.4%), and White (7.0%) populations. Furthermore, the Labour Force Survey indicates that while the absorption rate is higher for men than it is for women, it remains lower among black men as compared to men of other population groups. In addition to the high unemployment rates

² 'Black' is used in this study as a racial category that includes South Africans "on the receiving end of historical discrimination grounded in race" (Gqola, 2001, p. 132) and includes those who in apartheid terminology were called Coloureds and Indians.

³ It is also important to note that unlike the definition of Black adopted for this study², the Quarterly Labour Force Survey does not include a collective category of Black as including Coloureds and Indians, but counts these as separate groups as according to the apartheid laws which separated the South African population into the four categories as Black, Coloured, Indian and White.

(25.0%), research indicates an increase in non-standard, short-term, insecure, or unregulated work, that is to say precarious employment (Statistics South Africa, 2015). The high numbers of fatherless children together with the high rates of unemployment or increasing insecure employment warrants continued investigation in order to understand the nuanced ways in which men make sense of their experiences and roles as fathers within a precarious existence.

The lack of adequate employment often means that men have to move away from their homes to look for work, spending less time with their children. While this does not necessarily constitute abandonment, it may still have a similar psychological, cognitive and social impact on children, families and the men themselves. According to Engle, Beardshaw and Loftin (2006), children who share residence with their fathers are more likely to benefit from this relationship and are often healthier and do better at school than those who do not reside in the same house as their fathers. Wilson (2006) also suggests that children who do not reside with their biological fathers may be at increased risk of suffering violence from a mother's current partner.

While many studies highlight the significance of biological fathers, there are also others that emphasise the importance of positive father figures in children's lives (Clowes, Ratele & Shefer, 2013). This can either be an uncle, step-father or even grandfather. Engle (1997) suggests the use of 'men in families' or, as mentioned earlier, 'social fathers' to include men who take social responsibility for children other than their biological children. These are men who provide for the economic needs of the child, establish a relationship with them, and serve as a moral guide and protector.

This study has therefore sought to capture the experiences of men who often have to neglect their children's emotional needs in order to provide for them financially. An underlying assumption of the study was that some men often endure unsatisfactory or exploitative employment conditions when they have children and families to provide for. Among other

motivations, the study was prompted by the desire to understand the intentions to beget a child among precariously employed men as well as whether and how having children puts pressure on them to endure such conditions. According to Maldonado (2006), poor fathers may be involved in their children's lives in various ways such as by making alternative significant, non-financial contributions. Thus this study was expected to find examples of alternative ways of 'doing' fatherhood within a group of men involved in precarious employment and living conditions.

While taking into consideration the distinction between different types of fatherhood (i.e. social, economic and biological), this study adopted an open approach so as to allow participants to define the concept of fatherhood for themselves, what it means and what it involves. A dense or thick descriptive and interpretative approach to research was drawn on in order to understand the practices, values, interactions and meanings that make up the reality of precariously employed men and the impact posed on their construction of fathering (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Such an approach to research implies one that seeks to describe, interpret and contextualise specific characteristics of individuals, communities or events (Cresswell, 2007), and more specifically to provide dense descriptions and interpretations of participants' lived experiences in context. Dense or 'thick descriptions' thus involve close observation and reading of the phenomena as well as the context of phenomena under study. Commonly associated with Geertz (1973), who drew on Gilbert Ryle's work (1949, 2009), the notion of thick description is in fact used to refer to the description and interpretation of the phenomenon and context within which the particular phenomenon occurs. This in effect means that one does not only consider important the actual behaviours or activities but also the contextual factors influencing or influenced by the activity studied. According to Ponterotto (2006), thick descriptions result in thick interpretations which result in meaningful research findings.

To produce thick descriptions therefore requires extended periods of engagement with the populations under study and is, according to Lietz and Zaya (2010), considered important in constructivist research and ethnographic studies. Even though this is located within psychology which tends to prefer other methods, ethnography was one of the tools used in this study, which involved collecting data through field observation and interviews with participants. Thus, the nature of the data collected in this study makes it fitting for ‘thick descriptions’ of participants’ experiences as the process of participant observation allows for the documentation of unspoken responses such as body language, emotive responses, as well as other activities that occurs in the research environment. The study also used Charmaz’s constructivist grounded theory analysis in exploring the meanings embedded in participants’ discussion of their experiences of precarious employment and fathering.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 of the thesis provides an overview and discussion of existing literature on fatherhood and precarious employment as well as explores the ways in which it has been constructed over the years. Furthermore, this chapter explores the ways in which the actual practice of fatherhood has changed and whether the changes discussed in literature are universal or contextual. Also discussed in this chapter are (i) the factors that influence the practice of fatherhood such as employment and the context within which it occurs; (ii) gender and care work; (iii) the changes in employment patterns including the rise of precarious work and labour migration; and (iv) policy development in fatherhood and employment.

In chapter 3 I discuss the research design and ethnographic approach to this study, the various methods employed in the data collection and analysis process. I start the section on methods used with a description of the research setting. This is followed by the data collection methods, which include participant observation and semi-structured interviews, how the

participants were recruited, the use of grounded theory in the analysis process, the ethical requirements considered important to this study, as well as a reflection on my role and influence as researcher in the process.

Chapter 4 provides a thick description of the research participants, who they are, their age, number of children, nationality (and migration status and reasons for migrating), skill-set and preferred job types, and their educational levels. The objective of the chapter is to provide information about the participants. Such information plays an important role in the analysis and interpretation of the findings.

The report and discussion on findings which relate to the aim and objectives of this study starts in chapter 5. The chapter focuses on the nature of roadside work-seeking by investigating the various aspects of this environment. It includes the geographic location of the study site, the social organisation of men on the street corner (their relationships with each other and 'boundary work'), and their job-seeking behaviour (which includes the job-seeking strategies they employ, the frequency and duration of jobs, as well as the worker-employer relationships).

In chapter 6 I discuss the constructions of fatherhood and fathering, focussing on the meaning men attach to their roles as fathers and the practices they associate with fatherhood. Furthermore, I explore whether having children serve as motivation for men to engage in this type of precarious work, and whether there are other factors that encourage men to engage in roadside work-seeking.

Chapter 7 focuses on the impact of precarious work on fathering and highlights the ways in which engagement in precarious work affects the participants' relationships with their children and families; the ways in which (African) traditional practices may sometimes serve as a site of gate-keeping that bars men from being actively involved with their children; the ways in which precarious work contribute to further distancing men from their children through

poor living conditions that result in men leaving their children with their mothers and other family members; unacknowledged paternity; and, for those men who do get to see their children, the activities they share. Furthermore, I discuss in the chapter the child-bearing intentions of precariously employed men and finally, the participants' experiences of being fathered.

Precarious work impacts not only on fathering, but also on constructions of masculinities. In chapter 8 I discuss the ways in which seeking work on the side of the road impact on the way men define and make sense of their manhood within a marginalised existence. This is followed by a discussion on the 'dysfunction' in the lives of participants caused by precarious work, and finally, their construction of masculinity in relation to other men around them.

In conclusion, chapter 9 provides a summary of the findings in relation to the aim and objectives of the study. This chapter also explores the implications of the study findings for the participants and other men in similar positions. I also provide recommendations for future research that focuses specifically on influencing policy and interventions on fatherhood and roadside work-seeking, as well as discuss the limitations of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In this chapter I provide a critical, selective, review of existing literature on fatherhood and precarious employment. The aim is to identify gaps and provide some arguments for the necessity of such a study. This chapter includes sections that explore the social construction of fatherhood (how fathers are defined and define themselves, the changes in conceptions of fatherhood, as well as the relationship between the culture and conduct of fatherhood); the practice of fatherhood (which looks at how fathers 'do' fathering, and the contributions they make to their children's lives); factors influencing fatherhood (employment and the various contexts within which men 'father'); gender and care work (which discusses the importance of fathering for men, constructions of masculinities and fatherhood, as well as the influence of culture in constructions of fatherhood); and finally, changes in employment patterns, including the rise of precarious employment, labour migration in South Africa, the importance of paid work for men, as well as policy development in the areas of fatherhood and employment.

The social construction of fatherhood

Berger and Luckman (1966) defined social construction as the notion that reality makes sense only because society attaches meaning to it. The literature on social construction has become extensive since the 1960s, influencing studies such as those focusing on identity and fatherhood. Concepts like fatherhood and motherhood would not make sense nor exist without the process of social construction which is shaped by culture, history, politics, which in turn, shapes the way we think about life (Gergen, 1985). Social constructionism does not deny the existence and importance of natural 'fixed' factors (such as biology), but it does indicate that even those very biological factors are given names and meanings through social interaction.

Social construction therefore becomes a process of differentiation and the creation of categories such as motherhood and fatherhood.

Social life and experiences are not fixed, they constantly change along with other aspects of human life. For example, what it means to be a father today in South Africa is different from what fatherhood entailed centuries ago, with different aspects of fatherhood taking priority in different periods/epochs and societies. The following section focuses on the use of discourse in constructions of the self, the changes in the construction of fatherhood and how these have shaped how men 'do' fatherhood and whether there are consistencies between existing discourses on fatherhood and the actual fathering practices of men.

Discourse and self-construction. 'Discourse' refers to the "social construction of reality through talk and text" (Garrety et al, 2002, p. 75), and is interested in how people use language to communicate knowledge, experiences and reality. Deborah Lupton and Lesley Barclay (1997, p. 9) suggest that people use "pre-established" discourses to talk about themselves and others. Human communication thus serves the purposes of establishing and recreating existing discourses that allow us to talk about ourselves as subjective beings, share information with others and construct ourselves in relation to others. Discourses may also be used to share information about the kind of people we should be as well as the kind of things we should and should not do. According to De Fina (2011, p. 263), the use of language is not only limited to sharing self-representations, but can also be used to "classify and judge" others as well as "signalling our similarities or distancing ourselves". Discourse and language therefore helps us to construct our identities and to negotiate our standing in relation to others.

Popular discourse therefore suggests how people should act and what the common way of living is. As such, it can be used to distinguish mothering from fathering and to construct standards of fathering that men are expected (by themselves or others) to live up to. Many

competing discourses exist around the concept of fatherhood, some being more dominant than others (Lamb, 2000). Discourses around fatherhood change according to the existing cultural, economic, historical, political and social climate (Hauari & Hollingworth, 2009). Discourse may therefore shape the way we identify ourselves as either mothers or fathers, as well as the type of fathering considered acceptable in society (Lupton & Barclay, 1997). Discourses are, however, always contested. Pitsoe and Letseka (2013) suggest that discourses are often decided upon by those with authority, which they use to decide who we are, what we do, and what it is we get to talk about. Where unequal power relations exist, discourse is often used to construct ideas and perspectives about others, with 'others' being those marginalised minority groups within society. In the same way, language can be used to construct and maintain ideas about poor men as 'bad' and dead-beat fathers who fail at fulfilling their roles in their children's lives. Such ideas are often created by those who hold the power, although these ideas are to a greater or lesser degree contested. The same could be said for the ways in which Western, middle-class ideas about a 'nurturant' fatherhood permeate different racial, class and national boundaries and have come to be applied and expected of all men. Discourse becomes particularly harmful when it is used to perpetuate negative stereotypes about certain groups. Coming from 'authoritative figures', it may also influence the behaviours of the targeted group. Yongtao (2010, p. 89) accurately captures the role of discourse by stating that "the social implications of language consist in its influence, persuasion and even alteration of others' ideas, beliefs, and behaviours". Existing discourse about fathers may therefore impact how men define themselves as fathers and how they practice fathering.

Discourses are not fixed, but are constantly changing as economic, social, cultural and political 'climates' change. Discourse also does not only influence and shape social practices such as fathering, but draw on these (Morgan, 2011). The following section discusses the changes in the meaning of fatherhood and the aspects of fatherhood considered important.

Changes in the conception of fatherhood. Fatherhood is sensitive to context, thus constantly changing according to the cultural, social, and economic contexts within which it exists (Hauari & Hollingworth, 2009). According to Lamb (2000) who describes paternal roles in America, fatherhood has gone through the following four phases:

- *Father as moral caregiver (moral figure):* The father's responsibility centred around being a model for moral behaviour.
- *Father as breadwinner:* The importance of fatherhood was based on his ability to provide economically for his children and family.
- *Father as the gender role model:* While mostly focused on male children, this phase focused on the father's function as a 'sex-role model' for his children.
- *Father as active, nurturant, caretaking parent:* During this phase, fathers became more involved in the daily caring and rearing responsibilities for their children.

While Lamb's typology of fatherhood may help us understand fatherhood and its practices particularly within the American context, it should not be assumed that this is the pattern in different national, cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Fatherhood has and continues to be shaped by the context within which it occurs, and this is important especially in a multicultural nation like South Africa.

Over the last three decades, global as well as South African research has suggested an increase in men's involvement in their children's lives (Viljoen, 2011). This according to Hauari and Hollingworth (2009) is consistent with the changing social expectation for men to be actively engaged in their children's lives. This is also evident in the increasing reference to a 'new fatherhood'. The 'new fatherhood' discourse emerged around the mid-1970s and is said to have seen fathers becoming involved in the daily care of their children, playing with, and teaching their children (Lamb, 2000). Nurturant fathering therefore set the benchmark for

measuring 'good fatherhood'. Throughout these changes, economic provision has remained an important signifier of good fatherhood and successful masculinity within many traditional societies in South Africa, particularly the rural parts of South Africa such as the rural KwaZulu-Natal (Hunter, 2005), and many other parts of the world (Tölke & Diewald, 2003). According to Enderstein and Boonzaier (2013, p. 9), this is indicative of an integration of roles (care-giving, emotional support and provision) rather than a shift in perspective as economic provision still remains "the most frequently drawn upon cultural resource" for most fathers.

These two models of fatherhood (the breadwinner and nurturant father model) are often in conflict with one another. According to Smit (2004, p. 102), "men are still confronted with the inconsistency between society's idolisation of the family and involved parenting on the one hand, (and) on the other hand, an amplified emphasis on work commitment". While fathers are expected to spend time nurturing their children, they also need to spend time working to fulfil their families' economic needs, or spend time searching for employment if they are not employed (Castillo, Welch & Sarver, 2012). This raises questions about whether the 'nurturing' father ideal is real or imagined, and whether it is a class-specific view of fatherhood. This discrepancy between ideal and imagined fatherhood suggests a disconnect between what fathers are expected to do and how they are expected to father (by themselves and others), as well as how they actually 'do' fatherhood within certain socio-cultural, emotional and economic contexts. This is not to say that fathers do not get involved in the daily caring for their children. However, precarious work and the lack of adequate work opportunities affect the extent of men's involvement as they strive to provide for their children's material needs. When faced with the decision between whether to provide physical care or economic support, poor men may choose to focus on economic provision rather than to stay at home and 'look' after their children. The 'decision' to work or look for work over physical presence and nurturing among poor men is echoed in Alexander and Wale's (2013, p. 127) notion of being

“too poor to be unemployed”, which suggests that the poor cannot afford to be unemployed, and thus find themselves engaged in precarious work, or as understood by these authors, ‘underemployment’.

The culture versus the conduct of fatherhood. Consistent with the growth in studies on fatherhood have been developments in the definition of practices that constitute fatherhood (what fathers ought to do). Some of these ‘prescriptive’ notions of fatherhood include Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine’s (1987) view of father involvement; Doherty, Kouneski and Erickson (1996) on responsible fathering; and Dollahite, Hawkins and Brotherson (1997) on generative fathering. Other scholars suggest that the ways in which these theories (father involvement, generative fathering and responsible fathering) construct the practice of fatherhood is inconsistent with the way men actually conduct themselves as fathers. It is also the case that these notions of fatherhood and its associated practices may not be applicable to a variety of contexts, and should therefore be applied with caution.

LaRossa (1988) suggested a distinction between the *culture* and *conduct* of fatherhood. According to LaRossa (1988), the culture of fatherhood includes the norms, values and beliefs about fathering within society, while the conduct of fatherhood refers to the actual practice of fathering among men. These two notions are often assumed to be changing at the same rate. However, LaRossa (1988) suggests that in most cases the culture and conduct of fatherhood are not synchronized at all. As far back as the 1970s and the 1980s, Joseph Pleck and Anthony Rotundo acknowledged that the ‘new father’ ideal was more imagined than real. For example, Naomi White (1994) conducted a study with men on their definitions of fatherhood. Using the men’s diaries documenting their daily activities, the study found that men still spent very little time with their children despite the current developments in research about the emergence of a ‘nurturing’ involved father. Consistent with what Brid Featherstone (2009, p. 33) called “cherry

picking”, White (1994) found that men’s contribution to childcare often revolved around the fun activities such as play, rather than actual child-care within the home (see also Gatrell, 2007). While pervasive in media messages (television, newspapers, and magazines), the ‘new father’ concept is reported by some scholars to be more of an ideology than an actual occurrence. For example, Drakich (1989) indicated that the popularization of nurturing and involved fatherhood misrepresents the actual reality of fathers. However, this author does indicate the importance of such an ideology in providing fathers with positive models of fatherhood and also not denying the existence of men who are actively involved fathers. The popularity of the ‘new father’ ideology is according to Drakich (1989, p. 70) being “socially rather than empirically constructed”.

The expectation to be a good father is, according to Šmídová (2007, p. 2), not just a result of men wanting to be good fathers, but of the structures that exist within society and “its processes for social reproduction”. Bryan (2013) stated that when the social expectations of fatherhood are not met by fathers, men may be negatively evaluated by themselves or others. This is evident in current literature that portrays poor fathers as ‘deadbeat’, uninvolved fathers (Maldonado, 2006). Existing literature also indicates that the ideas about fatherhood change with each generation and cannot be defined in isolation from societal expectations (Doherty, Kouneski & Erickson, 1996). Therefore, when addressing these changes in the definition of fatherhood, researchers need to take into consideration the social, historical, political, as well as economic context within which they occur and how they can be influenced by these contextual factors. Also, the lack of empirical evidence that supports the popularity of a ‘nurturant’ fatherhood suggests that more studies should be conducted with different groups of men from diverse social backgrounds. This is not to imply that there are no nurturing and involved fathers, but that this perspective of fatherhood might not represent a society wide change. We therefore need to further investigate how men actually ‘do’ fatherhood within their

various socio-economic contexts, such as that explored in this study among precariously employed men.

The practice of fatherhood

Various styles of fathering exist and may be employed by fathers in different contexts and circumstances (Baxter & Smart, 2011). Studies indicate that only certain types of fathering may be beneficial to children and families, while others may be detrimental to the physical, socio-emotional, as well as cognitive development of children (Lamb & Lewis, 2004; Scott & De La Hunt, 2011). It is also important to note that while many studies on parenting focus on child outcomes, parenting may also have positive consequences for men themselves. According to Palkovitz (2002), men who are actively engaged in their children's lives are more likely to have better mental, physical, and relational experiences.

Marsiglio, Day and Lamb (2000) discuss three dimensions of the practice of fatherhood as *motivation*, *influence*, and *involvement*. Paternal motivation refers to factors that contribute to men's desire/interest in becoming a responsible and engaged parent. According to these authors, the emotional connection to a child, religious and cultural incentives, early experiences of being fathered, as well as the perception of fathering as a social and capital investment are some of the motivations for involved parenting among men (Marsiglio et al., 2000). Paternal influence refers to the potential impact a man may have in his child's life. Marsiglio et al. (2000) identified four main aspects of influence namely (1) nurturance and provision of care, (2) moral and ethical guidance, (3) emotional, practical and social support for their female partners, and (4) economic provision. The third dimension of the practice of fatherhood, paternal involvement refers to the extent to which a man actively takes part in the day-to-day responsibilities of caring for their children. Paternal involvement is often used as a proxy for 'good' fathering, with those men who choose to spend their time looking for work or working

in order to provide for their children often being constructed as ‘bad’ fathers. Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1987) distinguished between three dimensions of father involvement as accessibility, engagement and responsibility. Accessibility refers to a father’s availability to his children; engagement refers to a father’s direct contact with his children; and responsibility refers to a father’s involvement in decision making about the child’s life and well-being (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hoffert & Lamb, 2000; Sarkandi, Kristiansson, Oberklaid & Bremberg, 2008).

Pleck (1997) however, indicated that these content-free measures of father involvement only focus on the ‘quantity’ of involvement, while the quality of the relationship between father and child is not considered. Palkovitz (2002) went on to address this deficiency by adding communication, monitoring, cognitive process, errands, care-giving, shared interests, availability, planning, shared activities, providing, affection, protection and emotional support in his expansion of Lamb and his colleagues’ conceptualisation of father involvement.

The above-mentioned dimensions in the practice of fatherhood, namely motivation, influence and involvement can to some extent be applied to various societies. For example, a study conducted in Limpopo, South Africa on the perceptions and experiences of reproduction and parenthood among young people found that parenthood, and thus fathering was defined as ‘taking responsibility’ which involved (1) being present, involved, and available, (2) economic provision, and (3) offering guidance to the young (Spjeldnæs, 2007)

There have also been developments in how the ‘correct’ way of fathering has been defined. Scholars have used various terms to refer to the practice of ‘good’ fathering which include ‘responsible fathering’ (Doherty, Kouneski & Erickson, 1996) and ‘generative fathering’ (Dollahite, Hawkins & Brotherson, 1997). According to Doherty et al. (1996, p. 4), ‘responsible fathering’ reflects an explicit approach towards the evaluation of fathers. In this case, fathers are to be judged as either ‘responsible’ or ‘non-responsible’. A responsible father

would then be defined as “a man who waits until he is prepared emotionally and financially to support his child before making a baby; establishes paternity if and when he makes a baby; actively participates in the emotional and physical caring for the child; and continues to support the mother and child financially from pregnancy” (Levine & Pitt, 1995, p. 5). While the meaning of responsible fathering offered by Doherty et al. (1996) may seem most sensible, it does not take into consideration certain contexts. For example, in South Africa this would mean that Black men should not have children at all as they continue to be poor as a result of the apartheid social engineering which institutionalised the marginalisation of this group particularly in the workplace. Furthermore, by suggesting that responsible fathers are those who establish paternity, Doherty and colleagues seem to be suggesting that like maternity, paternity is obvious. Another problematic and this conceptualisation of responsible fathering is the assumption that all men are in a position to be physically present in their children’s lives. In South Africa, labour migration (as institutionalized under apartheid) continues to define the lives of Black men (Madhavan, Richter & Norris, 2016). This means that most men are often separated from their families and children and can therefore not participate in physically caring for their children.

Dollahite et al. (1997) proposed ‘generative fathering’ as another non-deficit perspective on fatherhood and they define it as fathering with the purpose of meeting the needs of future generations by developing healthy relationships with one’s children. This framework assumes that fathers have an obligation to care for their children, and to see to the healthy development of children in order to ensure the success of the next generation. While making an important contribution to our understanding of fatherhood, these theories neglect the influence and importance of work in creating an environment where fathers can participate in the physical care of their children without being concerned about providing for them, an existence more accessible to middle class men in secure working positions. This study therefore

seeks to explore the nuanced meanings of fatherhood and fathering practices within insecure living conditions. In the following section, I discuss the importance of employment and the various contexts within which fatherhood occurs, as factors that influence how men practice fatherhood.

Factors that influence the practise of fatherhood

Several factors influence and shape the practice of fatherhood within any given context. In this section, I focus on the role and impact of employment and the different contexts within which fatherhood exists such as married/unmarried, biological/non-biological and residential/non-residential fatherhood, as well as lone and shared parenting.

Employment in the practice of fathering. Global literature suggests an intersection between employment, race and class and Tina Miller (2012) who added gender to the list, suggested these as important dimensions to be ‘vigilant’ about when seeking to understand fatherhood.

Studies suggest strong links between unemployment/a lack of adequate employment and low levels of father involvement with their children (Wilson, 2006). Paid employment - an important signifier of masculinity - helps ensure that men can fulfil their roles as fathers. The ability of men to care for and support their children emotionally is by and large influenced by their ability to provide for them financially. Labour market changes therefore influence the involvement of fathers in their children’s lives, as economic provision remains a significant aspect of successful masculinity for men over and above the dominant discourse of nurturing fatherhood (Williams, 2009). Morrell (2006) suggested that is often fathers who have difficulty providing for their children due to poverty who draw on provider discourses on fatherhood. The importance placed on economic provision thus makes the acquisition of paid work an

important step in a man's life. This also calls into question the adoption of the 'nurturing' fatherhood discourse in South Africa and whether this in fact represents changes in the conception of fatherhood among this population, the majority of which are poor. It is important that I not be understood as suggesting that we should not expect precariously employed and poor men to be involved in the day-to-day caring for their children, but that we take into consideration the ways in which their precarious economic conditions might impact on their involvement with their children.

Class differences have also been observed in the practice of fatherhood, with educated and financially stable fathers reportedly more likely to be involved in their children's lives than poor, uneducated fathers (Dermott, 2008). Despite this, many studies have continued to focus on middle-class employed fathers (Lamb & Tamis-LeMonda, 2004; Waller, 2010), their employment status and how it affects fathering while very few have focused on fathers who are either unemployed, or in insecure, short-term work. Those that do look at this group of men often do so from a role inadequacy perspective, constructing poor fathers as irresponsible, without exploring the extent to which factors such as employment type and quality can impact on how they 'do' fatherhood (Smit, 2004).

According to Doherty, Kouneski and Erickson (1996, p. 1), fathers who lack 'adequate' employment are at risk of becoming 'nonresponsible' fathers. Furthermore, fathers who can successfully fulfil their economic responsibilities to their children are reportedly more likely to be engaged with their children (Halle & LeMenstral, 1999). The quality of the father-child relationship is said to be often positive even when fathers live apart from their children (Halle & LeMenstral, 1999). However, when fathers are expected to fulfil an active fathering role due to a lack of employment, they tend to parent more harshly with negative child outcomes (Cabrera et al., 2000).

Many other studies have documented the adverse effects of father unemployment/lack of 'adequate' employment on fathering practices (for example see Khunou, 2006; Ortiz, 1988; Wilson, 2006; & Girard, 2010). Some of these studies indicate that the loss of employment among men changes family roles, placing men in difficult positions (Hofferth & Goldscheider, 2010). In addition to the stress posed by unemployment and low-income on fathering, the spousal relationship also suffers within families. According to Zvonkovic, Guss, and Ladd (1988), when a man/father/husband is unemployed a few problems may arise such as a break in communication, which in itself may lead to relationship and family dissatisfaction and unstable relationships. This is also often the case with men who have to travel far and wide in search of employment. In most cases due to the cost of travelling, these men do not go home often, thus not being able to make direct physical and emotional contributions in the rearing of their children.

The issue of unemployment is also linked to race. Studies indicate racial differences in health, education and employment rates, with some studies suggesting that black men are the ones most often unemployed, and when they are employed, are on the lower end of the occupational hierarchy as found in a study by McAdoo and McAdoo (1997) on African American fathers' family roles. These observations are consistent with those found in South Africa where unemployment is higher among the Black population than it is among the Coloured, Indian/Asian, and White population (see chapter 1).

Because of poverty and lack of job opportunities, many Black fathers have to spend time away from their children in order to find work and to provide for them (Wilson, 2006). Spending time away from home in order to provide for a family may impact negatively on men's parenting practices, often creating an emotional distance between father and child. In addition to socio-economic status, Hofferth (2000) indicates culture, gender role attitudes, as well as child characteristics as having an influence on parenting across racial groups. In most

of South Africa, cultural ideals define the ‘appropriate’ gender roles, thus defining the role of the father which is often to provide for economic needs, and that of the mother which is to nurture and take care of the children (Taylor et al., 2013). Children growing up in poor households with limited resources may also contribute to parenting difficulties as some men have indicated in previous South African studies that they felt that they were no longer respected by their children and that their roles as head of households were threatened by their inability to provide (Hunter, 2006).

Studies that suggest the growth in nurturing fatherhood often impose this definition on all fathers without taking into account the economic struggle of poorer men and fathers and how this impacts on their fathering activities. These studies often do so without considering the ways in which different groups of men define fatherhood for themselves and the value they place on fathering practices. What these studies lack is what Miller (2012, p. 194) refers to as “self-narratives”, a process through which men tell their stories of fatherhood through their own gendered, racial, and socio-economic lenses. Several types of father-child relationships also exist and shape the way in which men engage with their children. Some of these are discussed in the section that follows.

Contexts of fathering. Fatherhood is socially determined by the prevailing social standards, practices and expectations. The circumstances within which men have to father are also different and constantly changing. For example, there are married/unmarried, biological/non-biological, residential/non-residential fathers, as well as lone fathers and those who share parenting with their partners/spouses.

Differences have been reported in parenting between biological and non-biological fathers (Hofferth & Anderson, 2003), residential and non-residential fathers, and married and unmarried fathers (Hofferth, 2006). While there may be differences in how married/unmarried

and residential/non-residential men father due to physical and social distance created by absence from the household and access to children after separation or when fathers leave the home to work, studies that emphasize differences in parenting between biological and non-biological fathers do not take into account the point at which a man enters a non-biological child's life and how long he remains in the child's life (see also Klaus, Nauck & Steinbach, 2012). While policy places legal obligations on men to take responsibility for their children's financial needs, social obligations are not as easily enforced.

Evolutionary perspectives suggest that biological fathers are more likely to invest time, care and resources in their children due to strong genetic links (Berger, Carlson, Bzostek & Osborne, 2008). They also suggest that the quality of fathering is often better among biological fathers than social fathers (Hofferth & Anderson, 2003) while not considering that the physical distance between biological father and child may hinder involvement, while a child may receive more support from a residential non-biological father. For example, Berger et al. (2008) suggests that residential social fathers are more likely to be involved in the child's life than non-resident biological fathers.

Father-child co-residence is also considered to play a significant role in shaping the practice of fatherhood. According to Sarkandi et al. (2008), biological father-child co-residence is important for positive development. This is however a rare occurrence in South Africa as the majority of the children do not share residence with their biological fathers due to among other things, the migrant labour system that separates men from their families (Nduna & Khunou, 2014). Evident in the literature are the financial, academic, as well as social difficulties of children who do not reside with their fathers (Hofferth, 2006). According to Hofferth (2006), the involvement of non-residential fathers will be lower because of the frequency of contact with the child. However, this view does not take into consideration the fact that in some cases, resident biological fathers may have frequent contact but may also be a negative influence on

the child, such as the case of abusive fathers, whether towards the child or mother. Townsend and Garey (2008) also argue that the use of co-residence as a ‘proxy’ for father involvement is not an adequate measure of father participation, as it focuses on the physical presence of the father and not so much on the actual relationship between father and child.

In addition, studies also suggest that marital status influences fathering practices. For example, Lerman (2010) suggests that unwed fathers are less likely to be involved with their children, especially when they do not share residence with them. In a study with divorced fathers, Neale and Smart (2002) found changes in parenting post-divorce, with parents seeking new ways to approach family life. Furthermore, fathers are said to be the ones to be more disconnected and less committed to parenting after a divorce. According to Hofferth and Anderson (2003), cohabitating fathers unlike married fathers have less legitimacy and rights in the child’s life. This is true in many countries including South Africa where men are barred from seeing their children because they have not married the mother, have no interest in doing so or cannot afford to do so. For example, in many South African cultures men are expected to pay *ilobolo* (bridal price) along with *inhlawulo*⁴. This means that many men who cannot afford it would rather not get married, and thus lower their chances of being involved in their child’s life. Or alternatively, some men would rather not acknowledge paternity if they cannot afford to pay the damages and *ilobolo* (Richter, Chikovore & Makusha, 2010), and thus end up abandoning their children. However, the inability to pay *ilobolo* and *inhlawulo* are not the only reasons men remain unmarried or have limited access to their children.

Lone fatherhood, while not explored in great detail in this study is also an important factor to consider as studies are limited in this field, with little being known about these men’s fathering practices (see Greif, 1992). This comes as no surprise as gender role stereotypes have

⁴ *Inhlawulo*, also referred to as ‘damages’ is an amount paid to a maiden’s family if she is impregnated outside of marriage.

maintained the role of the mother as primary caregiver who often takes the responsibility of taking care of children even after a marriage or relationship falls out, and thus becomes the focus of research on single parenthood.

Gender and care work

Gender role discourse on parenting often suggests that parenting comes more naturally to women than it does to men. Gender role stereotypes therefore construct men as breadwinners and women as care-takers. These roles also define masculinity as involving 'out of home' work for men (Slavkin & Stright, 2000) and domestic 'within the home' work for women. Such constructions, while often based on social evidence, drives focus away from the importance of fathering for men and the possible benefits, often resulting in the exclusion of men from studies on parenting.

The importance of fathering and its associated benefits for men is discussed in the following section. This discussion is followed by a review of literature that focuses on the construction of masculinities and fatherhood (looking at the relationship between the two), and the influence of culture in the construction of ideas and practices around fatherhood.

Importance of fathering for men. Many studies focus on the benefits of father involvement for children's cognitive, emotional and social well-being while neglecting the importance of fathering for men (Hawkins, Christiansen, Sargent & Hill, 1993). It is however important that we also acknowledge the extent to which men benefit from their active involvement in their children's lives. According to Pleck and Masciadrelli (2004), a strong relationship between fathers, their children and families can provide warm and supportive environments for men. In a study to examine the association between the marital-role and distress among men who were fathers, Barnett, Marshall and Pleck (1992) found that the

emotional involvement of men with their children acted as a protective factor against work-related stress. Men pride themselves on their ability to provide for their children. So, the finding by Barnett, Marshall and Pleck (1992) may suggest that knowing that their work allows them to take care of and provide for their children might serve as a buffer against work-related stress. Magruder (2010) also indicated that men who accept their responsibility as fathers are less likely to engage in risky behaviour and more likely to be employed, suggesting that having children might put more pressure on men to work hard, or to seek work if unemployed. Glen Palm (1993, pp. 144-147) has suggested several areas of growth among men who are involved fathers including the “(1) regulation and expression of emotion; (2) the expansion of caring and nurturance; (3) a new understanding of empathy; (4) the delay of gratification of own needs; (5) an expanded sense of self; (6) self-scrutiny; (7) understanding sexism and its impact on children; (8) emotional intensity; (9) as well as feeling of connection being irreplaceable”. One ‘down side’ of studies on father involvement is that they often assume that most men ‘choose’ to not be around. This is not the case for many Black men in South Africa where labour migration was institutionalised, and therefore not a choice to be accepted or rejected.

In a study on the father-child relationship in different household structures among mine workers, Rabe (2007) found that men highly valued their status as fathers and would often endure the toughest labour conditions in order to be able to provide for their children. Given the significance of fathering to men, it is important that we understand how men define fathering for themselves, what activities they associate with fathering and how they practice fatherhood in relation to the changing social standards. For example, a study conducted by Enderstein and Boonzaier (2013, p. 6) with young South African fathers found that having children and taking the responsibility to care for their emotional, but most importantly financial needs was seen as characteristic of a “higher masculine status”. For many of these men, fatherhood had become an identity associated with practices such as financial provision,

protection, guidance and emotional support. Such studies provide information that had been unknown for many decades as studies focused on mothers' and children's views of fatherhood. In fact, very few studies relied on the perspectives of fathers alone (Makusha, Richter & Bhana, 2012; Tanfer & Mott, 1997), questioning the reliability of self-reports from fathers on their involvement. Studies such as the current one are expected to shed more light on the importance of fathering for men, whether men believe that it is important to be in their children's lives and whether they see this as benefitting them in any way and how. This is not to suggest that fathers only become actively involved in their children's lives when they believe there are certain benefits for them, but that how men understand fathering and its importance can help us identify suitable interventions that will encourage active fathering and grow the work of initiatives such as MenCare⁵ who have already started with such work.

Construction of masculinities and fatherhood. The concept of masculinity is socially constructed and changes constantly based on where men are, their cultural norms and practices, as well as economic, historical and social conditions (Messerchmidt, 1993). It has become common practice for scholars to use 'masculinities' rather than masculinity as an indication of the multiplicity and variation of masculinity (Lupton & Barclay, 1997). There is not one form of masculinity, masculinities are constantly created and recreated based on various circumstances and social changes. According to Hearn (1996, 2007), a man may experience shifting masculinities within the course of his life as they are not fixed within any one individual.

The competing nature of masculinities suggests that some are more dominant than others. This view is expressed in the work of Connell (1993, 1995) who conceptualised this

⁵According to the Sonke Gender Justice website, MenCare is a "multi-pronged initiative and global campaign, run in partnership by Sonke and Promundo which works to promote men's equal involvement in caregiving and the universal uptake of equitable, nonviolent parenting practices". <http://www.genderjustice.org.za/child-rights-and-positive-parenting/mencare/>.

hierarchy within masculinities as 'hegemonic masculinity'. According to Connell (1993), hegemonic masculinity is the configuration of practices that construct men as superior and embodies the subordination of women and the marginalisation of gay men. Connell (1995, pp. 77-80) also uses the concepts subordination, complicity and marginalisation to refer to "specific gender relations of dominance and subordination" among men themselves. These concepts may be used to refer to the dominance of certain cultures of masculinity (subordination); men's benefitting from patriarchal practices while not being actively engaged in the 'domination' of others (complicity); and the marginalisation of some men on the basis of race, class and sexual orientation (marginalisation). Ratele (2014, p. 31) writes of a "hegemony within marginality" to indicate the existence of hierarchies even within groups of marginalised men. He further suggests that in order to understand the construction of masculinities within a "marginalised South African society", we need to move away from notions of masculinity that are based on wealthier, Western societies and towards a "traditionally-sensitive and culturally intelligent" approach to studies of masculinity.

As mentioned earlier, notions of masculinities are changing, and so are constructions and practices of fatherhood. Scholars suggest that there is evidence of a 'new man' as well as a 'new fatherhood' (Lamb, 2000; Morrell, 2001). According to Morrell (2001), the 'new man' phenomenon is widespread among the middle-class and mostly White professionals. Problematic in the emergence of discourse on the 'new man' is that the practices associated with this form of masculinity/fatherhood have been used as a benchmark in the evaluation of fathering practices among all men with little regard for the different social and economic conditions that exists for different groups of men. Since the emergence of the 'new man/fatherhood', all men White and Black, poor and wealthy have been expected to 'do' fatherhood in the same way (by being actively involved in child-rearing practices), as a failure to do so is often constructed as 'irresponsible' fathering. An important point to make here is

that noted by Morrell (2001) who explains that even though change is viewed as a collective process, it may happen individually. Thus, even lower-working class men may be transitioning towards being involved, nurturing fathers as characteristic of the ‘new’ man/father. However, this does not necessarily suggest a society wide change in how men approach fathering. In South Africa for example, this may not so much be the case as studies have shown how jobs are still limited and labour migration rates remain high (Clark, Cotton & Marteleto, 2015; Roy, 2008).

The connection between fatherhood and masculinity, as well as the synchronicity of changes occurring between these concepts suggest that they are interconnected. The ways in which men view themselves as men and/or fathers thus influences the way in which they carry out their fathering responsibilities as well as the aspects they consider to be important to fathering (such as economic provision and the provision of emotional and child care support). In essence, fatherhood is important to constructions of masculinity, and so is masculinity to constructions of fatherhood. However, fatherhood may also impede the attainment of dominant constructions of masculinity. Often, men may have to reconsider their ‘manly’ practices when they become fathers or when they take on a fathering role. For example, Enderstein and Boonzaier (2013) indicated that in most cases where a child is unplanned, men often have to change behaviour such as having multiple women and their spending as they focus on being there for the child and thus spending less or no money in bars in order to take care of their children’s needs. This spending behaviour and having multiple women, according to these authors, are behaviours often integrated into constructions of dominant masculinities among South African men. Ratele (2006) refers to a “historically ruling masculinity” that supports male promiscuity and reckless (economic) behaviour, which is often challenged by the birth of a child and the expectation of men to take responsibility. In some cases, begetting a child may be a source of pride among men and may mean enhanced respect and status within their

communities. This is particularly but not exclusively true among the Zulu ethnic group in South Africa. The sense of pride and privilege among men who become fathers (biologically) is common within the African cultures and is often seen as a form of social wealth. In the following section I discuss the African cultural perspective in South Africa on fatherhood and how it has shaped how men conceive of themselves as fathers over the years.

The African cultural perspectives on fatherhood. In order to understand the concept of fatherhood Day, Lewis, O'Brien, and Lamb (2005) suggest exploring the diverse cultural, historical, economic, and social contexts within which men are expected to father. In this section, I discuss the role of African culture, particularly relating to the concept of *ubuntu* about which I say more below, in shaping African men's practices of fathering. Furthermore, I will explore the importance of cultural practices as social capital and a form of support for African men. The 'African cultural perspective' spoken of here should be understood as the view or rather an expression of fatherhood that is based on the cultural beliefs and practices of African communities. While I speak here of an African cultural perspective, it is important to note that there are different cultures even within this context and that the aim of this writing is to illustrate the importance of culture rather than a homogenising assumption that suggests that this is how all cultural groups live in Africa.

Foley and Lahr (2011, p.1080) define culture as "a particular set of behaviours, mostly homogenous within populations, and different between them". The differences between groups thus produce 'cultures'. African culture is not homogenous, there exist a diversity of cultures within different communities and in some cases the sharing of common values, norms, and practices. Cultural practices, as a way of living are socially transmitted from one generation to the next. As such, family practices are also learned throughout life and are constantly

reproduced and evolving. Culture thus influences the roles men take on within their families and communities.

Historically, some African cultures were characterised by a collective view of the self and others (family and society). This collective identity is expressed in the concept of *ubuntu* (a Nguni concept connoting a connectedness to others, compassion, caring and commitment to collective prosperity) which represents the notion of togetherness (Lesejane, 2006). This means that the relationship between an individual and his/her community was based on the notion of mutual support, and thus encouraging individuals within such communities to care for each other's well being (Nyaumwe & Mkabela, 2007). This notion of a collective existence is also well expressed in the common saying that 'it takes a village to raise a child' where the upbringing of a child is not only the responsibility of the biological mother and father, but also that of extended family and community members (Buntu, 2011). According to Nyaumwe and Mkabela (2007, p. 154), collective child-rearing practices also served to "nurture conformity to social rules and customs". In addition, raising children as a community also served to benefit those children whose biological parents were not around or had died. This belief suggests that even without biological parents, a child may still flourish. Each parent thus also plays the role of moral teacher and guide to every child in the community. According to Mkhize (2006, p. 183), the African cultural perspective defines fatherhood as "a collective social responsibility of the community", and thus also acknowledges the roles played by uncles, aunts and grandparents in the child's life and in supporting a man fulfil his role as father.

In addition to parenting, fathers had a specific role within their families and communities. This role, often informed by patriarchal family systems, was that of an authoritative figure who was responsible for the final decisions regarding the family, being a protector, provider and leader. However, the decisions made by men on behalf of the family were often finalised through processes of consultation with elders in the family (mostly men)

who served as advisors and thus ensured that men were not merely operating on their own, but were leading as part of a larger body that upheld the values and norms of the group (Lesejane, 2006; Mkhize, 2006). Men who were afforded this role were not only considered fathers to their own families, but to the community as a whole. According to Lesejane (2006, p. 176), the position of the father carried along the responsibility of “custodian of moral authority; primary provider; leader who took responsibility for the family; protector; and role model particularly to young men”. In order to fulfil this role, a father had to be present in the family and community and be the first to be informed of all decisions that affected the family, including child care. Men who succeeded in fulfilling these roles were generally afforded respect and higher status within the community. Marriage also played a significant role in the position of men within the community. For men to be married they had to pay *ilobolo*⁶ (bride price) which is considered a signifier of his financial and moral responsibility and also an indication that he would be able to take care of his family and that he respects tradition. Thus, if a man could not fulfil these roles, his position in the community would be undermined. Poverty played (as is today) a significant role in disempowering men (Hunter, 2006). Men who were financially stable could marry and start families. Children were considered ‘ancestral’ gifts and were therefore protected, loved, and taken care of by the broader community (Mkhize, 2006). Men also placed high importance on (biological) fatherhood as it served as a sign of their manhood, virility (that they can actually ‘make’ children).

Strassmann (2011) argued that the belief that it takes a village to raise a child is naïve and that it is usually the child’s family and most often the mother who takes responsibility for the child’s well-being. Strassmann’s argument may be due to the changes that have occurred in community settings with more urban communities no longer living according to the

⁶ It is important to note here that *Ilobolo* remains commonly practiced in South Africa today, particularly among the Black population.

principles of shared parenting, each parent looking after their own child with no social contribution to the upbringing of other children in the community. One example that supports Strassmann's views can be drawn from interviews conducted with young girls and boys (14-16) during a photo-voice project on young people's perceptions of fathers in Strand, Western Cape where one of the participant photographed boys fighting in the street and a man (perceived as a father) walking past and not interfering, to show that parents no longer become involved unless it is their own children that are in trouble (Institute for Social and Health Sciences, 2013). According to Nkosi (2010), it is within rural areas where some people still live according to communal principles.

Several factors have led to the erosion of the African cultural values of collective existence and have challenged the role of men in society. Lesejane (2006) lists colonisation, migration, urbanisation, and the struggle for women's liberation as among these factors. The integration of Western culture within African communities, industrialisation (which saw men moving to the cities for jobs particularly in gold mines), the move from rural to urban township life, as well as women's entry into the work force, challenged men's patriarchal position in the family.

Despite its role in perpetuating the superiority of men and the subordination of women, the notion of an authoritative, patriarchal father in African cultures had some positive impact on fatherhood as it provided men with the support they needed for fathering through initiation (which served to prepare men for both manhood and fatherhood) and counselling (Lesejane, 2006). According to Nkosi (2010, p. 355), there are specific structures from which children can benefit and these are "born from the principle of collective solidarity". Collective parenting practices also ensured that a child was never considered fatherless and was taken care of even in the absence of their biological parents (Mkhize, 2006). This is not common practice today and is evident in the rise in child-headed households where children receive no support from

extended family or community members (Meintjies, Hall, Marera & Boulle, 2009)⁷. While the changes from the patriarchal family system which facilitated the subordination of women, children and marginalized men were positive, there are some structures within it that fathers today can learn from which can positively enhance their parenting practices. It is important to note once again that not all African communities operate according to the principles of *ubuntu* in the same way. It is therefore necessary that I also discuss the ways in which various cultural and ethnic groups understand the family life and fatherhood particularly within the context of South Africa.

Fatherhood in South Africa. With a population estimated at 54.96 million in 2015 (Statistics South Africa, 2015), South Africa is characterised by cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity to name a few. The Black population in South Africa alone comprises of various ethnic groups, with different languages being dominant in various parts of the country (Mubangizi, 2012). For example, isiXhosa in the Eastern Cape, isiZulu in KwaZulu-Natal, Tswana, Sotho and isiPedi in Gauteng and the North West, and Tsonga and isiSwati in Mpumalanga. South Africa as a country has also faced political, socio-economic and cultural challenges (Mubangizi, 2012). Specifically, it has been characterised by a history of “social oppression, economic subordination, and racial conflict” (Roy, 2008, p. 94).

Fatherhood as it is understood in the South African context, has been shaped by the country’s political, social and economic history. The country’s apartheid laws which restricted hiring practices to benefit the White population forced Black and Coloured men to move away from their families through labour migration (Roy, 2008). Black men in particular sought work in gold mines far away from their rural homes, thus limiting opportunities for them to live with

⁷Meintjies, Hall, Marera and Boulle (2009) indicated that in 2006 roughly 122000 out of 18.2 million children were living in child-headed households.

their children and families. Despite this, and as a result of ubuntu (the spirit of connectedness), children who did not share residence with their biological fathers did not necessarily grow up without a father figure within the household (Makusha, et al., 2013). An important note to make here is that the nuclear family as seen in Western cultures, was not the norm among South African families (Holborn & Eddy, 2011; Roy, 2008). This could also be seen in the understanding of marriages, which were not seen to be between two individuals, but between two families (Roy, 2008).

As mentioned earlier, before a marriage could be finalised, a man was expected to pay *ilobolo* (bride price) to the woman's family. Traditionally, *ilobolo* was seen as an exchange of property in the form of cows between families (Mubangizi, 2012). This has since changed and people are tending to use cash rather than actual cows. According to Mubangizi (2012), such changes have led to a change in the meaning of *ilobolo*. In South Africa today, this practice has become commercialised with parents attaching monetary values to their children based on social and personal characteristics including education, whether or not they have conceived out of marriage etc.

For marriages to happen, many men had to find work in the gold mines so as to be able to afford to pay *ilobolo*. Those men who could afford to get married and build a home for their families were respected and afforded the status as 'heads of households' (Hunter, 2010). Furthermore, those men who could not pay *ilobolo* and *inhlawulo* ('damages' paid to a woman's family when impregnated outside of marriage) would not be recognised as a child's 'legitimate' father and was therefore denied access and visiting rights (Makusha, et al., 2013). The extended maternal family, therefore also played the role of gate-keeper, denying men the opportunity to see their children. This is especially true in Zulu culture where a child born out of wedlock was considered to belong to the mother's family, and the only way a man could see his child would be through paying *inhlawulo*.

The traditional requirements of paying *ilobolo* and *inhlawulo* continue to be practiced in South Africa. However, very few men can afford to fulfil these requirements, and therefore results in lower chances of father-child co-residence, and lower rates of marriage among Blacks. The focus on men's role as economic provider and the increasing poverty among men also contribute to the production and maintenance of negative stereotypes targeted at particularly Black men who are often considered to be irresponsible and absent fathers. According to Mincy (2006), these 'deadbeat' fathers are actually 'deadbroke'. The emphasis on the provider role as defining fatherhood means that poor men will continue to be viewed in a negative way. It is therefore important that – as is the focus of this study – we dedicate future studies on fatherhood towards understanding how poor men, and particularly those in precarious work conditions define themselves as fathers and what they understand their role to be. As mentioned above, poverty and unemployment play a significant role in men abandoning their children, as well as their being denied access to their children. It is particularly with the role of (un)employment and its implications on fathering that the next section is concerned.

Changes in employment patterns

Inequalities in South Africa are, among other things, a result of the unequal distribution of work. While some people are well employed and paid, the majority of South Africans are not, with race and education level being among some of the distinguishing factors (e.g. see Statistics South Africa, 2015). Educational attainment has long been established as one of the major contributing factors to (un)employment. This suggests that lower levels of education are associated with a high likelihood of being unemployed, particularly over long periods (Riddell & Song, 2011). The Quarterly Labour Force Survey also suggests gender and race-related disparities in levels of education, resulting in similar disparities in employment patterns (Statistics South Africa, 2015). According to this survey report, lower levels of education were

observed among Black Africans then among other racial groups in South Africa. Furthermore, it is reported within the same document that 59.9% of all unemployed Black Africans had a 'below matric' educational level (Statistics South Africa, 2015). This according to Dias and Posel (2007, p. 6) can be attributed to the role of Apartheid in limiting access to education according to race and thus "entrenching large inter-racial differences in economic status". Groups such as women and Black people are often at the receiving end of labour inequalities and this according to Lonsdale (1985) has implications for both individuals and policy. These groups are often the ones who suffer as a result of the growing unemployment and decrease in permanent work opportunities. The growth in unemployment, increase in insecure job opportunities and decrease in permanent jobs is not only a South African phenomenon. Data suggests that this is a global trend affecting both developing and developed countries (Castillo, 2009; Singh, 1998). High unemployment rates also increase social inequality affecting different racial and gendered groups in different ways. For example, in South Africa, most of the informal jobs are occupied by Black men who are also commonly represented in the group of unemployed people (e.g. see Statistics South Africa, 2014).

There are several factors that contribute to the issue of unemployment particularly among men and one of the earliest changes is women's entrance into the labour force. According to Featherstone (2009), while attempting to create a balance and ensure equitable gender relations in the workplace, women's participation in the labour market has destabilized men's position and increased competition. Now men not only have to compete with men (of any other race including their own) for work, but also with their female counterparts⁸. Crompton (2006, pp. 4-6) has suggested several other factors that have influenced the changes in employment patterns. These factors include technological innovation (which had reduced

⁸ It is important to note that while women's participation in the workforce has increased competition for men, employment rates still remain lower among women than men. Furthermore, the type of jobs women have access to are fewer than those available to men.

the number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs); deregulation (which means that the number of required employees and the amount of labour time varies and companies can have the same person moving between tasks); neoliberal economies (which encourage competition and increased the “speed of transactions and information processing” particularly in the US and Britain); layoffs (which increases employment insecurity and unemployment as many find themselves out of work as they are retrenched or paid out); as well as the outsourcing of services (paying consultant companies to provide a service from time-to-time or regularly rather than having an in-house person on a full-time basis). These long-running changes are indicative of a ‘new economy’ that is characterised by job insecurity, flexible low-paying jobs, as well as long working hours for some men, and unemployment for others (Featherstone, 2009). These changes result in increased numbers of men taking up precarious employment and they not only have adverse effects on men themselves, but also on their ability to fulfil their roles and responsibilities as fathers.

The rise of precarious employment. The steady decline in standardised employment has resulted in an increased number of people in informal employment, and has forced people to adapt to ‘fluid’ living conditions (Madhavan, Townsend & Garey, 2008), leaving them with very few options of earning a decent income and higher possibilities of living in poverty (Statistics South Africa, 2014). Guy Standing (2011) refers to individuals who are in such conditions as the ‘precariat’, emphasising the rise of such individuals in many societies over the past few decades. The precariat is described as a class of people living insecure precarious livelihoods as a result of precarious employment. Precarious employment refers to a type of work involving casual, short-term, or seasonal employment (Modena & Sabatini, 2012). It is associated with a lack of security, little formality, low-income, lack of control, and limited access to regulatory protections (Vosko, 2006).

The South African Quarterly Labour Force Survey Report uses the concept ‘precarious employment’ interchangeably with ‘informal employment’. Such employment is defined as:

Involving persons who are in precarious employment situations irrespective of whether or not the entity for which they work is in the formal or informal sector. Individuals in informal employment therefore consist of all persons in the informal sector, employees in the formal sector, and persons working in private households who are not entitled to basic benefits such as pension or medical aid contributions from their employer, and who do not have a written contract of employment (Statistics South Africa, 2014, p. xxii).

Examples of precariously employed individuals include professional as well as non-professional contract staff (lecturing staff, interns and construction workers), the self-employed (car guards), part-time workers (casual retail staff, bartenders), low-income jobs (waiters/waitresses, taxi drivers, retail workers), workers who are not part of any workers’ unions, who are not protected by law nor have any access to employment benefits (such as medical aid and UIF), as well as those who work for a limited number of hours a week (Standing, 2011) such as roadside work-seekers.

Guy Standing (2011) suggested that precarious employment is ‘instrumental’ (required for survival), ‘opportunistic’ (have to take what comes) and ‘precarious’ (insecure). Such examples are evident among South African men who work as car guards, car wash personnel, and those who sit on street corners looking for employment and taking on ‘odd’ jobs by the day or hour. These are also men who will take any opportunity of employment in order to survive and take care of their children financially (for those with children), while missing out on the benefits of being a ‘hands-on’ father. Precarious employment is reported to often result in destitution, which implies a level of insecurity to the point where one is uncertain about

where the next meal will come from (Wilson, 2006), a psychologically distressing situation for fathers with children who need to be provided for.

While the concept of precarity is most often used in reference to employment conditions, Standing (2011, 2012) states that there is now a precariatized existence. People's minds have been precariatized, having an impact on how people think, as well as their capacity to think, which is aligned to the precarious way of living. He further states that people have become accustomed to short-term thinking which he suggests is "induced by the low probability of personal progress or career building" (Standing, 2011, p. 18). The 'precariat' suffers from what Standing calls the four As: *anger* which is as a result of a lack of opportunities that allow one to improve life; *anomie* which results from being passive or despondent; *anxiety* resulting from the 'chronic' insecurity in all areas of life; and *alienation* which results from the feeling of doing things that are not for one's own benefit, but for the benefit of others (Standing 2011, 2012). Standing (2011) further states that the precariat lacks self-esteem and social worth, which may be reinforced through the social conditions that confirm these negative states. Other studies have also observed the relationship between poverty (unemployment/under-employment) and self-esteem (Batty & Flint, 2010; Prause & Dooley, 1997). These studies suggest a lower self-esteem among poorer, unemployed and under-employed individuals than those who are in full-time secure employment. Such issues of self-esteem and self-worth may interfere with men's role as fathers and how they parent their children. The rise in precarious employment not only impacts on men's ability to fulfil their fatherly roles, but is also reported to influence the decision to bring off-spring into the world or not.

In a study on the childbearing intentions of precariously employed couples, Modena and Sabatini (2012) found that precarious employment negatively affected couples' intentions to have children. While precarious living conditions among this group have deterred them from

having children, we can assume that these living conditions may also be a motivational factor that encourages men to work harder to take care of their children once they are born.

When studying the practice of fatherhood, one has to take into consideration the context within which it occurs as in the case of precariously employed fathers, who not only have insecure jobs, but whose lives are also affected. Researchers have found evidence of the negative impact of this type of employment on family life and the resultant consequences include marital conflict, child-father disconnections, as well as social withdrawal among men (Girard, 2010). The research conducted by Girard (2010) clearly indicates that precarious employment may have a negative influence on family relationships and may affect fathering among men. However, we are yet to understand how men articulate this impact for themselves and the current study seeks to contribute to this understanding through describing men's construction of fatherhood within precarious living and employment conditions.

Roadside work-seeking. Standing's (2011) definition of precarious work and his description of the precariat existence adequately characterise the experience of men seeking work on the side of the road in South Africa. A survey study conducted by Blaauw, Louw, and Schenck (2006) suggested that there are nearly 1000 places in South Africa where men look for work on the side of the road/street corners, with an estimated minimum of about 45000 African men occupying these sites. Several terms have been used in local South African and international literature to refer to such men and the spaces they occupy. For example, *day labourers* (who occupy the day labour markets known as *la parada* which is Spanish for open air day labour sites) which is used in the United States (Turnovsky, 2006), *street unemployed* in Namibia, those who do 'piece jobs' in South Africa (Schenck & Blaauw, 2008), *jornaleros* or *esquineros* in Spanish (Purser, 2009) and *hiyatoi rōdōsha* which literally translates into "a

worker employed by the day” (who occupy open air urban labour markets known as *yoseba*) in Japan (Gill, 2001, p. 2).

Valenzuela (2003, p. 309) distinguished between formal and informal day labour markets and defined the informal day labour market as involving men who gather on street corners and pavements in industrial areas and low-income neighbourhoods waiting to be picked up for a job; and the formal day labour industry as including “for-profit” labour centres that operate as agencies for day labourers. A literature search on day labour work suggests a growth in studies that seek to understand this industry in many parts of the world such as Japan, Italy and the USA (see Aoki, 2003; Gill, 2001; Perrota, 2015; Purser, 2009; Valenzuela, 2003). In South Africa, however, are fewer studies that explore the nature of the day labour market. Existing publications in this area focus on survey research data that provides estimates of the size of this market, but much remains unknown about how men who seek work on the side of the road make sense of and give meaning to this type of work. Sharp (2013) also suggests several shortfalls in studies on day labourers in South Africa and they include the assumption that day labourers only seek short-term ‘day’ jobs, which is the opposite of what he found in his study. According to Sharp (2013, p. 256), the men he interviewed were drawn to this market by the prospect of finding long-term work and he thus suggests the use of ‘roadside job-seeking’ and ‘job-seekers’ instead of the terms ‘day labourer’ or ‘day labour work’. Purser (2009, p. 118) argued that very little is known about the “cultural meanings that day labourers assign to their work” and how these might influence their job search activities. Furthermore, much less is known about how such work influences family life. In the current study, I seek to address the gap identified by Purser (2009) particularly in relation to men’s fathering practices, investigating the ways in which roadside job-seeking affect how men define themselves as fathers and the roles they associate with this identity.

The decrease in (secure) employment opportunities often means that men have to travel far, migrating to other places (nationally or abroad) in search for better work, or sometimes, just work. In her dissertation titled '*Boundary work in the process of informal job seeking: An ethnographic study of Cape Town roadside workseekers*', Hanneke Sterken (2010) found that day labourers in Cape Town were not only South African men, but also included migrant men, Zimbabweans in particular. Similar findings were reported by Pretorius and Blaauw (2015) who reported high numbers of Zimbabwean migrants engaging in roadside work-seeking in South Africa.

Labour migration in South Africa. Labour migration (which involves individuals leaving their home towns or even countries for the purposes of work) occurs across the gender spectrum, with both men and women affected. However, migration has been found to be more prevalent among men than it is among women (Blinder, 2015; Donaldson, Hibbins, Howson, & Pease, 2009). The current study focuses particularly on men's construction of fatherhood within precarious working environments. Therefore, it is specifically migration among men that I discuss in this section.

Labour migration is influenced by political, historical, and economic factors. According to Adepoju (1998, p. 387), migration in Africa can be best understood "within the context of political and historical evolution of African societies" with the colonisation and the gaining of independence of African countries having a significant impact on the economy. Various political, social and economic reasons can be cited for both national and international migration. It is migration for the purposes of paid work that I am concerned with here.

Destitution (not knowing where one's next meal will come from) is reported among the reasons why men have to move away from their families to find employment in the city. According to Wilson (2006), destitution plays a significant role in labour migration which often

leads to the disintegration of families and the erosion of communal support systems as families struggle to survive. The lack of employment means that migration is often expected and thus becomes a normal part of life. When migration becomes the norm, it is likely to evolve, with different patterns emerging within different geographical spaces (Maphosa & Morojele, 2013).

While not all poor families in South Africa have migrant men or fathers, Wilson (2006) suggests that it is safe to assume that most if not all men who are migrants are from poor households with a majority of them being Black. Due to the cost of travel, most migrant men only return home during 'special' holidays such as Easter and Christmas, while others do not return at all but continue to send money to their families. Poverty, being away from home, and the lack of familial support may increase psychological stress among migrant men who often end up being unfaithful to their rural wives by finding a partner in the city they work in. Infidelity has several negative implications for migrant men. First, some end up starting new families with their 'city' partners, increasing their financial burden as they struggle to provide for both families, and secondly, it places them at higher risk of contracting HIV/AIDS as they are reported to engage in multiple sexual relationships when away from home (Wilson, 2006). It is often suggested that migrant men transmit HIV to their rural wives when they return home during holidays. However, a study conducted by Lurie et al. (2003) found that migration was a risk in both directions in that while migrant men could contract HIV from their 'city' partners, their wives could also contract the virus from outside of their marital relationships as they seek comfort in other men in the community.

In addition to HIV/AIDS-related deaths which often leave children from poorer families orphaned, migration also plays a significant role in the deterioration of family relationships where men no longer understand their position within the family, children who grow up without a father figure in the home will also suffer. Poverty, which contributed significantly to labour migration, has also had an impact on the family resulting in a permanent absence of men from

the household. According to Wilson (2006), the absence of fathers (as protectors) within the home often meant that family members (women and children) were no longer shielded from abuses such as sexual and physical violence, abduction and exploitation. He also suggests that without a father figure or positive role model, boy children were also likely to adopt negative behaviour observed in the streets such as drunkenness and violence.

While labour migration has become a global trend that affects people of all races, Black men particularly in South Africa still constitute among the highest numbers of migrant men, the unemployed, and poor (Leibbrandt, et al., 2010). Up-to-date statistics on labour migration in South Africa are hard to come by particularly because of the decrease of legal migration, making it hard to register and keep track of everyone entering the country especially for purposes of work (Republic of South Africa, 2007). The South African Census (2001) reported that 1 025 077 people counted were born outside South Africa (which constituted 2.3% of the total population). Of these, 67% were born in neighbouring SADC countries, 22% in Europe, 4% in other African countries, 4% in Asia, 1.2% in Central and South America, 0.9% in North America, and another 0.4% in Australia and New Zealand. While providing information about migration in South Africa, these statistics do not provide information specific to labour migration. This was also worsened by the removal of the question that sought information on the country of citizenship in the Census 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2012). The extent of labour migration in South Africa therefore remains unclear.

Migration rates, as mentioned above are associated with levels of unemployment. According to Dobson, Lathan, and Salt (2009), high unemployment rates positively correlate with low levels of immigration, while low levels of unemployment are associated with higher levels of immigration. This is particularly interesting within the South African context where unemployment is high, yet so are immigration levels. This according to Schachter (2009) is because of South Africa's strong economic and political stability compared to other African

countries. This explains the higher levels of migration into South Africa from SADC countries, 67% of all migrants in 2001 (Statistics South Africa, 2001).

Migration, however, does not only occur across national boundaries, but also within countries. In South Africa, labour migration also involves the move from rural to urban areas within the country. While this might result in actual employment for those who migrate, Stark (1991, p. 14) suggests that many migrants who move from rural- to urban areas often join the 'urban unemployed'. Stark (1991) distinguishes clearly between those who migrate to look for work and rural workers who migrate in response to job availability, suggesting that migrants who migrate in search of work are often the once who become unemployed urban dwellers. In addition to not being guaranteed a job, migrants may also suffer as a result of family breakdown.

While being a plausible solution to the issue of unemployment and poverty, migration may also have a permanent negative impact on the family, particularly men's relationship with their children. Studies suggest that men often make reference to their relationship with their own fathers when asked about their fathering practices (Clowes, Ratele & Shefer, 2013). The absence of migrant men in their families takes away models of masculinity and fatherhood for men and boys. According to Swartz and Bhana (2009), young men/fathers are often saddened by their own lack of guidance on fathering and thus place emphasis on 'being fathered' as a determinant of their own fathering practices.

Despite its role on helping families survive, labour migration has also contributed to the erosion of African cultural principles of communal living. With the father no longer in the home, and often not being involved in decisions made regarding the upbringing of the child, men's position as head of household may be challenged as their marital relationship, as well as their relationship with their children suffers. Migration therefore may contribute to more suffering for some men than the 'promise' of a better life.

Policy development in fatherhood and unemployment

For some men, providing for their children's needs is an important aspect of how they construct themselves as fathers, while for others, providing for their children is taken to be a burden. It is for such men, who abandon their children along with the responsibilities associated with fathering, that policies have been introduced to ensure that men are held (financially) responsible. These policies, however, make provision only for fathers as breadwinners rather than providers of emotional and physical support and care (Featherstone, 2009). Grace Khunou (2006) suggests a need for policy makers to take into consideration the needs of men to be involved in the actual parenting (decision-making and access).

The South African Maintenance Act of 1998 states that it is the duty of parents to support their children who are unable to support themselves. The Act further indicates that parents are to support their children according to the child(ren)'s needs for proper living and upbringing, making provision for food, clothing, accommodation, medical care and education (Republic of South Africa, 1998). Legally, this act does not make any demands on parents to be involved in their children's lives in ways other than financial support. Plantin and Wisso (2014) shared similar findings within the European context where they indicated that welfare states did not provide sufficient support for families in terms of social parenting practices.

Globally, steps have been taken to involve fathers in their children's lives from birth and one major development was the introduction of paternity leave. To date, South Africa does not explicitly recognise what is commonly known as 'paternity leave'. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (No. 75 of 1997) as amended by the Basic Conditions of Employment Amendment Act (No. 11 of 2002) makes provision for *maternity leave* (at least four months) as well as *family responsibility leave* (three days). No reference is made to 'paternity leave'. Instead, what is commonly known as paternity leave in South Africa is the family responsibility

leave which can be used for family emergencies by both men and women, and mothers and fathers. Such incidents include death or a funeral of a close family relative, when a child is born or when there is serious illness in the family.

One of the major implications of family responsibility leave for fathers is that if they have taken up all three days within one twelve-month cycle for an incident such as a death in the family or illness, they no longer have remaining days for ‘paternity leave’ should they have a child born within the same cycle. Some of the issues inherent in the allocation of family responsibility leave in South Africa have been noted by the late Dr. Manto Tshabalala-Msimang⁹ who clearly stated that the three days allocated to men was insufficient and she called for a review of the labour law regarding paternity leave. Among the issues listed, she highlighted the importance of sufficient paternity leave for the enhancement of equal sharing of responsibilities within the family between men and women, as well as the opportunity for men to ‘bond’ with their children and learn how to care for them (Mbanjwa, 2009; News24, 2009). While South Africa has a “very forward-looking Labour Relations Act” (Tshabalala-Msimang, 2009), there are still some major developments to be made in order to ensure that fathers are eventually allocated sufficient paternity leave. The European countries present an example of advances in parental leave allocation for both mothers and fathers (Reich, Ball & Leppin, 2012).¹⁰ Norway, Sweden, and Iceland are some of the European countries with the most generous non-transferable leave allocations for fathers and reportedly among the countries with the highest levels of paternal involvement (Marshall, 2008). Despite these major developments within the European countries, scholars continue to report a lack of sufficient (psycho-social) parental support and preparation for men (Plantin & Wisso, 2014). It is also

⁹Dr. MantoTshabalala Msimang was Deputy Minister of Justice between 1996 and 1999 and thereafter went on to serve as the Minister of Health from 1999 till 2008. She passed on in 2009, December 16.

¹⁰ The issue of parental leave is not discussed in detail here as the study is interested in men who often, if not always, are not even eligible for such leave. For further reading please consult <http://econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/55511/1/685566692.pdf>

important that while I state that we should look to these European countries as examples in increasing paternal involvement, it remains important that we take into consideration the historical, social and economic factors that shape our own society as South Africans.

The issue of psycho-social parental support for fathers is important as it relates to Lesejane's (2006) perception of parental support as a moral challenge that requires men to actually want to be involved in their children and families' lives rather than it being enforced through policy. Several organisations in South Africa have taken the responsibility of engaging men on fatherhood and encouraging them to actively participate in their children's lives. One such organisation is Sonke Gender Justice through their global campaign on fatherhood called MenCare, which seeks to promote the participation of men in care-giving and other related parenting practices. MenCare's mission is to "promote men's involvement as equitable, non-violent fathers and caregivers in order to achieve family well-being and gender equality" (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014). Such programmes model the intervention needed in addition to policy to promote and support paternal involvement within families.

Despite its importance, father involvement still remains secondary to financial provision particularly in South Africa where many men struggle to find decent employment. Richter, Chikovore and Makusha (2010) indicated that a father's involvement with his children is to a great extent determined by his ability to provide for them financially. Thus, instead of a shift in perspective from economic fatherhood to nurturing fatherhood, men's active involvement with their children should be viewed as an integration of roles such as care-giving, emotional support, provider and protector (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2013). The reality that men abandon their children even when clear paternity is established further suggests that paternal involvement is harder to enforce through policy than financial provision.

Conclusion

This chapter situated the current study within the context of existing literature. Among the issues explored in this chapter was the construction of fatherhood. How men define themselves influences how they channel their behaviour in relation to fatherhood. The ways in which fatherhood is talked about also changes over time, with different aspects of fatherhood being important at different times. In addition to changing discourses of fatherhood there are also discrepancies between how people talk about fatherhood and how they actually engage in fathering practices, suggesting a need to involve men in research on fatherhood so as to establish how they define themselves as fathers as well as the associated activities. The second section of this chapter focused on the practices of fatherhood, looking at how men actually father based on existing evidence (which is not necessarily gathered from studies with men themselves). These studies suggest motivation, influence, and involvement as the major dimensions of the practices of fatherhood (Marsiglio, Day & Lamb, 2000). The third section of this chapter discussed the factors that influence the practice of fatherhood, suggesting employment as one of the major factors as well the contexts within which men father. Such contexts include married/unmarried, biological/non-biological, and residential/non-residential fatherhood. Another context that requires further discussion is that of lone fatherhood, especially in South Africa where such cases are rarely documented, suggesting that they are not common. Studies often suggest that men are less likely to take on the active parenting role as mothers would. In the fourth section of this chapter I discussed the extent to which gender impacts fathering, the ways in which masculinities are influenced by or influence constructions of fatherhood. Employment plays a significant role in how fathers define themselves with the changes in employment patterns resulting in fewer opportunities for permanent work. The role of employment and migration were discussed in the fifth section of this chapter. The sixth and final section explored the role and development of policy in the areas of employment and

fathering. It is particularly the extent to which policy allows or creates opportunities for men to participate in caring for their children that this was considered important. In an attempt to address some of the gaps highlighted in the literature explored above, this study used the methods explained in the following chapter in order to understand the fathering practices of precariously employed African men.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research design

The aim of this study was to understand the fathering practices of precariously employed African men through asking questions that relate to: (1) how men define fatherhood, (2) their practices and experience of fatherhood, (3) the ways in which precarious employment impacts on fathering, and (4) how men negotiate between their children's economic and socio-emotional needs. A qualitative approach (which allows for in-depth exploration and understanding of experiences) was adopted for this study. Qualitative research focuses on how individuals give meaning to social life and allows for the study of people, things and phenomena in their natural settings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Willig, 2008). Another important aspect of qualitative research is that it allows us to study behaviour, cultures and ways of life from the perspective of those who live and experience them and does not treat each person's experience and meaning as testable, objective sets of statements. According to Creswell (2007, p. 41), "qualitative inquiry is for the researcher who is willing to commit to extensive time in the field, engage in the complex and time consuming process of data analysis, write long passages to substantiate and show various perspectives, and to participate in a form of social and human science research that is constantly evolving and changing".

Qualitative research may serve one or more of the following purposes: to explore (when studying under-researched aspects of human/social life), to describe (give descriptions of human/social life), and to explain (to explain certain aspects including the why and how of social life) (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). The current study seeks to describe the ways in which men define fathering within their precarious living conditions. Descriptive research, as discussed in chapter one, seeks to provide 'thick descriptions' of events by integrating into the analysis and interpretation of the context within which phenomena takes place. Contextual

data therefore forms an important part of the analysis process. In his work titled '*The concept of mind*' Gilbert Ryle (1949) presents examples of contextual information as including emotions and specific details about the physical environment which can only be obtained through intensive engagement with the study setting/population. Extended periods of engagement with the population under study is therefore required in order to produce 'thick descriptions' of human/social life and it is the significance of obtaining such descriptions that informed the design of this study.

Creswell (2007) suggested five approaches to qualitative research and they are: narrative research (which focuses 'chronologically connected' series of events and actions presented as stories on the life of single individuals), phenomenology (describes the shared experiences of a particular phenomenon among a group of individuals), grounded theory (seeks to move beyond description towards generating theory), case study (involves exploring a single or multiple cases over time using different sources of information to provide in-depth case descriptions), and ethnography (which examines shared patterns of entire cultural groups).

The current study adopted an ethnographic approach to understand how a group of men describe their experiences of fathering within the context of precarious employment. Ethnography has its roots in anthropology and sociology and is defined by Creswell (2007, p. 68) as a qualitative approach that allows the researcher to "describe and interpret the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviours, beliefs, and language of a culture-sharing group". This approach allows one to describe participants' experiences and meanings from their own perspectives through extended observations. According to Creswell (2007), ethnography often requires the researcher to be immersed in the daily activities of those being studied. Ethnography has long been considered a tool for investigating and studying culture, which refers to a way of life, thus "composed of knowledge, beliefs and customs" (Lamphere, Ragoné, & Zavella, 1997, p. 1), which ethnography helps us understand through participation

in the activities of those being studied. An ethnographic approach to research is relevant for the current study in that it allows the researcher first-hand experience (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland & Lofland, 2001) of the daily activities of those being studied and requires the researcher to immerse themselves in the daily activities of the study population through observations and interviews with participants.

Participant observation refers to the researcher's entry into a field or 'natural setting' over a long period of time in order to observe but also participate in the social processes that take place in the setting they seek to study (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2001). The researcher therefore keeps written descriptions of what they observe as meaningful in answering the study questions. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) proposed four levels of participation in research involving participant observation. These include: the complete observer (where the researcher's identity is hidden, he/she does not engage the setting directly but makes observations through the use of devices), observer-as-participant (the researcher reveals their identity but are limited in the extent to which they participate), participant-as-observer (the researcher's identity is known and he/she can participate fully in the activities at the setting), and complete participation (when the researcher fully participates in the activities at the setting, but their identity is hidden from the community under study).

Interviews are often used to supplement observational data in ethnographic research. The semi-structured interview is based on a set of predetermined questions that serve as a guide for the study which allows both the researcher and participant to not move 'far' from the research topic, thus 'guiding' them back (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). The interview takes the form of a conversation that allows the participant more freedom to respond in a way they see fit for the question without having to adhere to strict response options. Participants can thus include more information than is asked by the researcher, which often allows for rich context. According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011), this method also allows more opportunity for

‘unexpected’ data. The semi-structured interview allows the researcher seeking ‘rich descriptions’ to gain more detailed responses from participants, making it an important tool for a study such as this that seeks to understand complex individual and group experiences.

Grounded theory, defined as a qualitative technique through which researchers seek to generate theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), is often suggested in the analysis of ethnographic studies which seek to gather rich data. According to Kathy Charmaz (2006), grounded theory allows researchers to compare data sets from the beginning of the research, compare data with categories as they emerge, and to reveal relationships between categories and the concepts embedded in the data. This process allows the researcher to balance between their roles as an inquirer and that of participant. The grounded theory approach can be applied alongside various forms of data collection (Charmaz, 2000). Grounded theory analysis requires the researcher to take into consideration the issue of *theoretical sensitivity* before data collection is initiated. According to Charmaz (2008), this is the starting point that guides the initial interview questions for researchers. Theoretical sensitivity requires the researcher to keep an open mind, by going into the field without any preconceived ideas about what they may find (Weed, 2009). This allows the researcher to identify sources of information, and thus, the type of information they want to gather, a decision-making process that is most likely to take place during the initial observations. As a result, wider meanings are explored from the perspective of participants without the data being ‘boxed’ into a set of pre-conceived themes.

Creswell (2007) suggests two types of grounded theory, the systematic (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and the constructivist approach (Charmaz, 2000). This study adopts Charmaz’ (2000) conception of grounded theory as constructivist which suggests flexibility in process, diversity in the studied worlds, as well as multiple and complex realities. This approach privileges the “views, values, beliefs, feelings, assumptions, and ideologies” of those studied rather than an emphasis on the research methods (Creswell, 2007, p. 65). Hood (2007, p. 154)

summarises the main components of grounded theory as involving: (1) continuous and simultaneous data collection and analysis, (2) constant comparison across data sets, (3) theoretical sampling and saturation, (4) a theory grounded in the data (5) the emergence rather than imposition of codes on data, (6) and analytical rather than purely descriptive accounts of social life. While researchers are expected to know about existing theory and literature on their research topic, grounded theory scholars emphasise that researchers should not ‘force’ data into preconceived ideas of the phenomenon they want to study or existing theories (Flick, 2014), so as to allow the data to ‘speak for itself’. Grounded theory is well-suited with research studies that involve large amounts of data and ‘thick descriptions’ such as those sought in ethnographic studies, thus making it a useful analytical tool for this study.

Constant comparison, which involves the continuous comparison of codes and categories is central to grounded theory. The process of coding involves the grouping of data into categories according to their similarity or connectedness, and the name given for each category then becomes the code (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). As grounded theory evolved (from Glaser, Strauss and Corbin to Charmaz), so has the approaches to comparing data during analysis. Charmaz (2000) suggests a more flexible ‘guideline’ rather than a set of prescriptions for this process. This study applied Charmaz’s approach to coding. The first step in the constructivist grounded theory analysis involves *initial coding* (often called open coding and involves line-by-line coding processes). The second phase is *focused coding* (like axial coding, involves the deeper exploration of codes from the first process). During the coding process, data is constantly compared for similarities and contradictions. The relationships among data sets are noted in memos, an important process in grounded theory analysis (Bernard & Ryan, 2010). Memoing, the process of linking concepts, forms part of the theorising process and according to Flick (2014, p. 402), helps make the analysis “more explicit and transparent”. In

facilitating the memo writing process, a diary is kept which includes field notes and linkages between the data and references to literature.

The research process

The decision to use the methods explained in this section was informed by the research design elaborated on in the previous section. The methods discussed here will include those used for the purposes of recruiting participants, and collecting and analysing data. This is followed by a discussion of the ethical issues relevant to this study, as well as a reflection on the role of the researcher. To make sense of the of data collection, participant recruitment and data analysis processes applied in this study it is important that a description of the study setting is provided so as to provide a contextual 'image' of the physical and social setting within which this study was conducted.

Research setting. Participants in this study were recruited from a street corner in Parow, a Cape Town residential area where they sought work. What attracted these men to this corner is a big hardware store which sells a wide range of building material to contractors and private individuals. The targeted employers were people who would come to the warehouse to buy building (or other related) material, and who may need someone to do the work for them. The type of jobs participants were looking for included but were not limited to construction (building, painting, tiling, general labour etc.) and household (electrical plumbing, and gardening) work. In addition to these job categories were a few drivers and current or former business owners. The men wait on the pavement for potential employers to drive by and then they run towards the car, each person trying to be the first to speak to what they called

'umlungu'.¹¹ Consisting of the hardware store on the one side and a supermarket on the other, this setting provided no access to facilities such as water or a toilet to the participants. This also means that on rainy days participants had no shelter especially because they were not allowed to seek shelter in front of the business buildings as they were considered a threat to customers. This also meant that during my fieldwork, I would have to walk home whenever I needed to use any of the above mentioned facilities, an option many of these participants did not have as they travel from various areas of Cape Town to seek work.

While providing an opportunity to observe participants in an uncontrolled space where I could move freely between them, this also meant that the interviews took place in the open air where often the quality of the interview recordings was slightly affected by wind or the noise from passing cars and delivery trucks. It is important to note however that none of the interviews were distorted to the extent that they could not be used, and were therefore all included in this discussion. Being an open space also meant that the issue of privacy during individual interviews had to be negotiated with everyone present at any given time as some of the men would try to get close enough so they could listen in on the interviews. I had to ensure that we were far enough from others to ensure confidentiality, yet at the same time ensure that the participant does not move too far away so as to risk missing out on a job opportunity. Being a public space open to all, I did not have to deal with gate-keepers whose approval is often required before one can access a study field. According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011, p. 201), public settings like these are often not difficult to access unless there is strong motivation by participants to keep their activities 'under cover' and hidden specifically from those who may be considered a threat in exposing any illegal activity. Another disadvantage with a setting like this is that chances of pre-arranging interviews are non-existent. According to Flick (2014),

¹¹ Participants used the word *umlungu*, which literally translates into 'Whites' in English, to refer to any **potential employer** regardless of their race. It is important to note that this term is often applied to those individuals who are thought of as being in a position to provide employment.

a distinguishing characteristic of the ethnographic interview is that unlike other interviews, time and place is often not pre-arranged with participants and it takes place spontaneously, often depending on the participant's presence in the field at that particular time. This was the case for this study and it also meant that participants would get up and approach an employer during the process of the interview, resulting in either incomplete interviews (for one participant who never came back to the field again) or follow-up interviews which were also conducted over several 'meetings' when time allowed. One would expect that those who had to leave mid-interview would 'prepare' themselves for the follow-up interviews and thus provide more information on issues they could not comment on in the initial interview. However, I found that some of the participants seemed not to think about these issues outside of this interview space and this can be attributed to the fact that their stresses (which relate to their daily struggles of finding work) are many. These are just some of the contextual difficulties that help explain the nature of the data collected.

Data collection. Creswell (2007, p. 118) describes data collection as 'a series of interrelated activities' used to collect information for particular research purposes. He also suggests the following process for data collection in qualitative research:

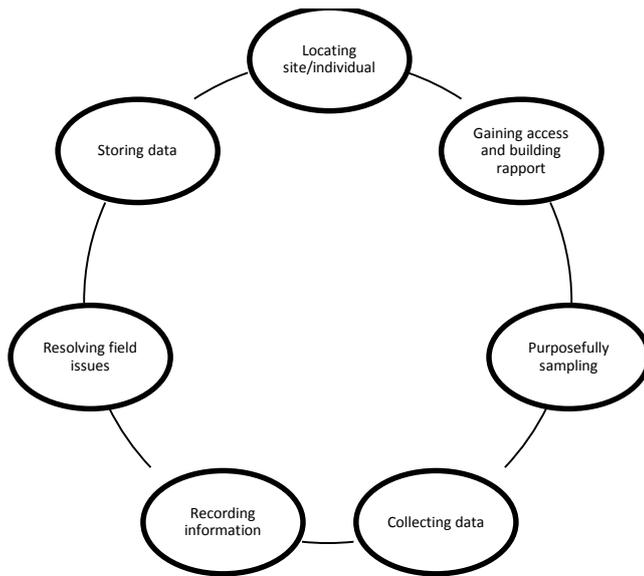


Figure 1: Creswell’s visualization of data collection processes

There are several data collection methods to choose from when conducting a qualitative inquiry. In this study, two methods of data collection were used, participant observation and the semi-structured interview.

Participant observation. Observing participants in their natural environment was the initial method of data collection in this study. It is during this period that I began to understand how interactions worked, who talked to whom, who the key players were, as well as getting to know participants and building rapport. My role as observer-as-participant was established from the beginning and my identity was fully disclosed to participants. While I could interact with participants directly and listen to their conversations, I was limited in the sense that I could not go to any of the work sites with them. The initial steps involved me introducing myself to all participants, moving from each group or individual to the next. Once participants knew who I was and why I was there, they were curious about what stimulated my interest in this research and I spent a reasonable amount of time answering questions relating to my role. Introductions took place every day as the setting for this study was characterised by a constant influx of men

looking for work, which meant that there were always ‘new’ people to whom I had to introduce myself and the study. I would therefore arrive every morning at 09:00 and walk around talking to men and asking for their permission to sit and observe which included listening to their conversations. Over time, participants had become familiar with me and the study which meant that I could start introducing interviews.

Sampling. The sampling process involves selecting and recruiting participants who will be able to answer questions on a particular phenomenon, and there are several techniques that researchers can use. This study focuses on the fathering practices of precariously employed African men. As defined in chapter 1, precarious employment refers to a type of work characterised by a lack of security, little formality, often short-term or seasonal, low-income, and limited access to regulatory protections (Modena & Sabatini, 2012; Vosko, 2006). The South African Quarterly Labour Force Survey Report (2013) further suggests that persons can be in precarious employment situations irrespective of whether the entity they work for is in the formal or informal sector. And these are individuals who often do not have a written contract of employment.

This study focuses specifically on men who gather on the side of the road and on street corners looking for work, what Sharp (2013) referred to as roadside job-seeking. The decision to use the term precarious employment is based on Guy Standing’s (2011) definition of precarious employment which posits that precariously employed individuals include professional and non-professional contract staff, the self-employed, as well as **those who work for a limited number of hours per week**. He further suggests that this kind of work is both instrumental (required for survival), opportunistic (having to take what comes), and precarious (insecure). These were the characteristics of the lives of the participants in this study whose lack of adequate work often resulted in a precarious livelihood which seems to have an impact

on how people think and their capacity to think, which is said to be aligned with a precarious way of living.

Potential interview participants were identified during participant observation. Both purposive and theoretical sampling methods were used to recruit participants. Purposive sampling involves selecting participants based on the purpose of the study. For example, this study sought to investigate the fathering practices of precariously employed men, and it is therefore only those men who indicated that they were fathers that were initially recruited. Theoretical sampling is defined as the process of recruiting participants in order to further explore and examine emerging theories and concepts (Marshall, 1996), and therefore followed purposive sampling in this study. Despite the distinction made between various types of fatherhood in literature such as economic, social and biological fatherhood (Dermott, 2008; Dowd, 2000), participants in this study generally understood fatherhood to refer to men who had biologically fathered children. Theoretical sampling was used to further identify individuals who could give more information on questions that emerged in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Men who agreed to participate were presented with consent forms through which they formalised their involvement in the study. A total of 54 participants were recruited for this study and 46 had indicated that they were fathers. The other 8 participants who reported that they were not fathers were recruited as part of the theoretical sampling process that allowed me to probe for issues that could also be explained by those who were not fathers, the majority of whom were referred to me by other participants. Once recruited, participants were interviewed at a time that was convenient for them, taking into consideration their need to be actively involved in searching for work during that time.

Semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews are based on an initial set of questions that are meant to guide the conversation, yet still allowing participants enough

freedom in answering questions (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). This allows the conversation between participant and researcher to flow more naturally and to yield information that was not initially sought. A semi-structured interview guide was used to maintain direction within the interviews. The initial questions in this guide sought demographic information and included open-ended questions about what fatherhood meant to participants and how they described their working conditions. The questions in this guide were reviewed several times based on the responses from participants and more probing questions were included each time a 'new' theme emerged in order to explore it further. Participants were interviewed in three different languages, isiXhosa, English and some with a mixture of English and Afrikaans. This choice was based on the participant's preferred language. Each individual interview was audio-recorded and lasted between 10 minutes and an hour and a half. The length of time spent in the field was seventeen weeks with the field exit facilitated by the saturation of themes. Theoretical saturation refers to when no new or relevant data emerges during interviews, when the category is well developed and when the relationships among categories are well established (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this study, saturation was understood to have been reached when participants (even those who were interviewed for the first time) only revealed information that was already known to the researcher, when no new themes were shared by participants. Saturation was also clear when the last few interviews seemed in some way to be a repetition of the earlier interviews.

Data analysis. Data for this study consisted of both audio-recorded semi-structured interviews and field notes taken during participant observation. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and field notes typed throughout the analysis process. LeCompte and Schensul (1999) define data analysis as the process through which data is reduced to manageable chunks that allow the researcher to present the data in a coherent story form. This process also involves

the interpretation of data which is the process through which meaning is constructed and described (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). A constructivist grounded theory approach to data analysis was adopted for this study. According to Charmaz and Mitchell (2001, p. 160), grounded theory methods “can help ethnographers to conduct efficient fieldwork and create astute analyses...Ethnographers can adopt and adapt grounded theory to increase the analytic incisiveness of their studies”. Through its influence in the data collection process, grounded theory assists ethnographers in gaining a ‘whole’ picture from various (often scattered) data sets by making connections between events (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001). Grounded theory allows researchers to compare data from the early stages of data collection through to the analysis process, allowing researchers to explore relationships between emerging categories (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001). Though allowing for flexibility in the kinds of data analysed, a set of specific principles apply in the grounded theory analysis.

This study applied the constant comparison method explained earlier in this chapter. The initial step in the data analysis involved line-by-line coding of each interview transcript which was re-read a few times (alongside listening to the interviews several times). To assist in the process of cross-comparison, the various codes were tabled alongside the data they described, making it easy to identify similarities and contradictions within the data set. These codes were examined and similar ones were colour coded and grouped together to form the themes according to which the findings in this study have been organised (chapters 4-8). The data was further organised onto A3 sized colour charts according to the themes that emerged, and kept on display throughout the analysis process. This ensured the ease of analysis as it allowed for all categories and codes to be displayed and visible on big charts at all times, allowing for easier comparison and analysis.

Translation. Language plays an important role in constructing and describing the world we live in (Temple & Young, 2004). Having conducted interviews in three different languages (English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa) meant that translation had to take place from both Afrikaans and isiXhosa to English, a process that involves interpretation and may present with it various challenges including the loss of meaning (van Nes, Abma, Jonnson, & Deeg, 2010). It is important to note however that the analysis of data was conducted in the original language in which it was collected, with translation only taking place during the write up of data. This process allowed for the preservation of meaning that is important for the analysis and interpretation process. Birbili (2000) suggested several factors which affect the quality of translation and they include the translator's 'linguistic competence' and the translator's knowledge of the culture of those under study. As the researcher who conducted the data collection for this study, I am fluent in all three of the languages used. I have also lived for most of my life (5-18 years) among first language Afrikaans speakers, from 2007 until now among first language isiXhosa speakers, and have studied English for most of my primary, secondary and tertiary life. Having lived among the cultural groups interviewed in this study helped me understand some of the cultural meanings attached to participants' responses. I did however enlist the assistance of a first language isiXhosa speaker, specifically for their understanding of the deep-rooted cultural and social meanings embedded in everyday talk. Birbili (2000) encourages consultation and collaboration with others who can assist during the process of translation. The first step of the analysis process involved both of us (individually) translating the selected data sets. This step was followed by us comparing and discussing our separate translations and those that were closest in meaning to the original language were selected for presentation, thus maintaining a level of accuracy in the representation of participants' stories. The focus was on obtaining conceptual rather than lexical equivalence, as some words in the Xhosa and Afrikaans languages may not have a direct lexical equivalence

in English. Smith, Chen and Liu (2008) defined conceptual equivalence as the extent to which words used in one language have comparable meaning in the language they are being translated to. The aim in the current study was therefore to reduce the 'distance' between the meaning shared by participants and the interpreted meaning, thus representing their views as truthfully as possible. The translations, analyses and interpretations were also read and examined by my supervisor.

It is important to note here that member validation of the findings did not occur as the majority of the participants were not found on this specific work site, and due to the language used in the final report as well as the participants' poor command of English, I was given the permission by them to go ahead and present my findings.

Ethical considerations. Ethical research practice requires the researcher to take into consideration the rights of those being studied by following a set of standards prescribed by the various institutional bodies that govern social research. According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011), ethical considerations should be a part of the subculture of the research from its conception right through to the publishing of research findings. The ethical concerns relevant to the current study are discussed in this section.

Permission to conduct this study was granted by the University of South Africa's Ethical Review Committee. The purpose and aim of the study was explained to each participant. The university's standards for ethical research practice require the researcher to protect the rights and safety of the participants involved. In this study we adhered to standards of informed consent, voluntary participation, anonymity, confidentiality, right to withdraw participation, as well as the disclosure of any incentives (or compensation) given in return for participation.

Participants in this study were provided with all necessary information prior to agreeing to participate. My identity as researcher was also fully disclosed. Included in the information given to participants was that relating to their right to voluntary participation. Participants were made aware that they could choose whether to participate in this study or not without any negative consequences or discrimination against them. Consent was sought in two different ways from participants, written consent from those who agreed to be interviewed, and verbal consent from all participants present in the field during and throughout the duration of this study for the purpose of observations. In instances where conversations among participants were recorded, consent was also sought and captured as part of the recordings. This means that the audio recorder could only be used when participants gave permission. Initially, 'announcing' to participants that I would be recording their conversations altered the dynamics within the group, however, this changed after a few weeks as participants seemed more comfortable with being recorded. In his study with 'transgendered prostitutes', Don Kulick (1998) stated that he did not make such an announcement to his participants and considered his practice to not be unethical as his identity as researcher was known to participants, who were also aware of his compulsive recording.

Participants were also informed that they could withdraw participation after they had signed consent forms for whatever reason without any negative consequences. It is quite fortunate that other than one participant who had left mid-interview because he had been offered a job (and was never able to complete the interview), no one had expressed the desire to withdraw from the study.

Confidentiality and anonymity were agreed upon between participants and the researcher. It is therefore my role as researcher to ensure that conversations between myself and participants remain confidential and that any consent form or identifying information be

stored securely. In adherence to this condition, all consent forms were sealed into an envelope and safely stored in a lockable compartment.

In adherence to participants' wishes to remain anonymous, an agreement was made to remove any information that could make participants identifiable by others. Details such as participants' real names and surnames would not be included in any reports published from this study. Participants are therefore given pseudonyms (chosen by the researcher) in order to conceal their identities.

Ethical research practice also considers it important to ensure that participants are not harmed physically or psychologically during or as a result of this study. Participants in this study were therefore informed that they would be provided with counselling should they need it as a result of this study. Of all participants, only one was offered such a service. The participant became emotional during the interview and clearly stated that this was an issue he had been struggling with for a while. However, when made the offer for such services, he indicated that he was already receiving help from the church and he felt it was sufficient for him. Other participants indicated that they were quite comfortable with the questions when asked how they felt about answering them at the end of the interviews.

There is uncertainty around the appropriateness of providing participants with an incentive for their participation in a research project. While supported by some, this practice is said to exert pressure (and influence) on individuals to participate in research they would otherwise have opted not to (Grant & Sugarman, 2004; Singer & Couper, 2008). Incentives serve various purposes and can be both in the form of money or what is referred to as non-monetary incentives (for examples see Dickert & Grady, 2008). While reported to increase participation, the use of incentives is more common in larger quantitative surveys than in smaller (often) qualitative research studies. In the current study, no incentive was provided for participation for several reasons including the lack of a budget to do so. Instead, I would

contribute to a shared lunch with participants. This often included not only those who were being interviewed, but all those present in the field at the time who form part of the observations. The decision to provide lunch was influenced by my observation of the men, who, would go the whole day without having anything to eat. Participants also made specific requests for help with tasks such as typing their CVs, finding information on the internet on adult education, health-related information, as well as reading and explaining to them job- and business-related application documents. Being asked to help with such tasks as typing CVs allowed me to contribute in a way that could possibly improve their job search activities, as well as save them whatever little money they have, as often, such a service is paid.

Reflections on the research process. The ‘reflexive turn’ in social science has transformed the way in which the process of knowledge production is understood. According to Mauthner and Doucet (2003), researchers are encouraged to reflect on their own analyses of social reality and what it means to those being studied. Culture, social life, and history shape the ways in which theory and knowledge is produced, resulting in what is referred to as ‘situated knowledges’ (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003, p. 416). Reflecting on the research process, activities and experiences is therefore considered an important part of the research and involves the researcher constantly examining their role and its influence on participants and the research setting. Creswell (2007) suggests that this influence extends to the reader and not just the participant. He suggests that “how we write is a reflection of our own interpretation based on the cultural, social, gender, class, and personal politics that we bring to research” (Creswell, 2007, p. 179).

As an important part of the research process, I reflect in this section on my own identity as a researcher, a young woman of African descent who is also a university student, and its influence on the research process, environment, and participants. This discussion takes the form

of what van Maanen (2011) referred to as a *confessional tale* which involves a researcher's discussion on their experiences of research rather than the phenomenon or culture being studied. Being a woman in an environment predominantly occupied by men meant that among other things, my presence was often met with suspicion as participants could not understand why I would be interested in their lives and their work-seeking activities. There was no way, according to them, I could genuinely be interested in their lives and was initially suspected of working as a 'spy' for the police or local newspaper. It was based on such suspicions that my initial requests for interviews were declined. Interestingly, permission to participate as an observer was granted from the first instance of contact with participants. It was the actual interviews that participants were uncomfortable with. Rapport building has been considered one of the main strategies through which the researcher makes a connection with participants. Dundon and Ryan (2010) define rapport as the process through which participants become familiar with the researcher and display a level of acceptance and cooperation, involving meaning exchanges between researcher and participants that seek to shed light on the phenomenon through the sharing of their own experiences. It was only in my third week of being on the site that I was granted the first interview, after which other participants started asking questions about what the interview entailed, they wanted to know the kind of questions I would be asking them, some even wanted to 'prepare' themselves for the interview. According to Duneier (1999), researchers can never know when they have gained trust from participants, and therefore suggest that we remain humble in our writing about the level of trust and rapport we achieve with participants as we can never really know for sure.

As soon as suspicion around my presence among participants subsided, it was my gender that became the main focus for these men. During this time, I also realised that the way I dressed was not appropriate for the environment I was studying. I had to then change my dress style in order to 'fit in', which involved wearing sneakers and loose fitting jeans as I

could see the glances and stares when I wore skinny tight-fitting jeans. Changing the way one dresses to fit more comfortably into the community to be studied is typical of ethnographic research. According to Letherby (2003), 'dressing up or down' is sometimes necessary for the researcher and participants to feel comfortable, and can enhance the data collected. It was therefore important that I 'desexualise' myself in order to feel less objectified, as some of the participants, particularly the younger ones would make sexual advances and would comment about the shape of my body, which I found to be a distraction. The concept of de-sexualisation refers to the one's efforts to expel sexuality from an individual (Sullivan, 2014). According to Sullivan (2014, p. 347), "desexualisation which comes from the sexualisation of women's bodies tends to create rather than mitigate gendered problems". Despite this, I found it to be necessary to 'dress down' in order to redirect some of the participants' attention away from my body, as being approached by them in a sexual way made me feel uncomfortable. One particular participant once asked whether I did not feel sorry for him that he had to go home by himself without having a woman to "take care of his needs", and whether I did not want to be the woman in question. After several turned down requests and several interviews, it became easier to feel as though I was no longer the object of some of the men's sexual desire. I also no longer had to explain to participants that I was not interested in their pursuit of a romantic or sexual relationship, as the other men who were there and who better understood my role there would tell the others to 'back off'. Eventually, I could continue with the interviews without participants worrying about being judged. Similarly, Kulick (1998) found that once it was established that he was not interested in his study participants as sexual partners, they could converse without having to worry about him finding the topics they discussed uninteresting or offensive. Participants started seeing me as a student who was there to conduct fieldwork, and the girl who occasionally bought and shared lunch with them.

Another role imposed upon me was that of therapist and moral ‘sound board’. Participants took the opportunity to share issues that troubled them such as the state of their intimate relationships, and would sometimes seek advice from me regarding what they should do. At times, others would also ask me for small change either for their travel fare or to buy cigarettes. While I did this once having felt sorry for a participant who had to walk home, it was a decision I came to regret as it became a regular request that he made to me and seemed to also invite other participants to ask the same of me. I had to then stop obliging such requests as it was also clear that many other participants could also not afford to travel and had to walk, and it would therefore be perceived as unfair to provide only one person with travel fare especially when all other participants were facing similar difficulties. Similar to Duneier’s (1999) study of sidewalk life in Greenwich Avenue, my designation changed from time to time, based on what participants thought I could do for them at each given time.

Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) suggests that age, gender, social class, and racial/ethnic background can often serve as a barrier to gaining access in a research setting. In this study, it seemed being female was more of a ‘magnet’ for participants rather than a barrier as they often would indicate that the presence of a female in their midst was a form of motivation for them, my interests in their lives made them feel hopeful and indicated to them that someone cared. Gender also played an important role in what participants chose to disclose as it was evident (as will be discussed in a later chapter) that participants would share information with me that they would not share with one another, or even an outsider of their gender. Letherby (2003) suggests an ‘invisibility’ among women who interview men that allows them to obtain rich data. It was important that I am aware of the ‘burden’ of implicit biases such as age, ethnicity, education, cultural background and personal style on the responses participants gave (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). It was, therefore, my responsibility as researcher to contain views that placed value judgements on participants based on my personal background. While

challenging participants on their views may seem like the right thing to do particularly when they share views that are against our own, Letherby (2003) argues that allowing participants to continue may reveal insights of the extent of their views and how they come to hold such views.

After many interviews, participants started approaching me with “new” information they felt I needed to know about what was happening in this setting, which suggests that though resistant at first, participants tend to open up to researchers over time. The relationship between myself and the participants varied, while some behaved as though I was their younger sister, an educated young girl, a relationship counsellor, others thought of me as being bored and having nothing to do hence my interest in their lives. There were also others who thought of me as the young university girl who needed help so she can complete her degree. Some even went to the extent of telling me how proud they were of me and that I was studying for a PhD and how they wanted to help me (by agreeing to be interviewed) so I could finish, and ultimately, improve my life. This means that participants could also have agreed to participate simply because they thought it would help me with my studies and may have presented responses that they thought would help me ‘pass’.

This study characterised the relationship between researcher and participants as one based on reciprocation, where I was expected to share information about myself I would otherwise not share, as one participant in particular felt that it was unfair that I expected him to share information about his life yet I was not open to sharing the same about my own life. I was mostly cautious about not sharing too much about myself to the extent that participants’ perception of me alters their responses. However, it became clear that one cannot control how we are viewed by participants and how much or what they choose to share. Often, participants only share what they believe is relevant and according to Grenz (2010, p. 57), “can alter their stories according to what they think the interviewer expects or can bear to hear; how they believe it will be interpreted, and how what they say will be perceived by the wider public”.

While the participants had the authority to control the direction the interview would take, as a researcher, I am the one with the power to choose which data to select or reject. I was also engaged in what Phoenix (2010) described as a struggle for interview space which is when the participant is more 'powerful' than the interviewer and wants to take the discussion in a certain direction regardless of the topic around which the interview is centred. With some participants for example, I struggled to interrupt them in order to bring them back to focus as they went into details about parts of their lives that were not related to the focus of the study. I later learnt that listening to participants even when they 'dwell' or went 'off-track' and allowing them to finish without interrupting was less awkward than trying to direct participants back while they were sharing.

Culture (and socialisation) played a significant role in the ways in which I interacted with participants and the level of comfort with which I could ask certain questions. For example, I found it harder to ask questions regarding sexual and reproductive decision making to the older participants. My upbringing as a black woman dictated to me which questions I could pose to 'elders' and how I could go about asking these questions.

Duneier (1999) suggests that to understand the lives of others, we need to bridge gaps between ourselves and 'them'. This also means overcoming certain prejudices. As indicated earlier, I had contributed to a shared lunch with participants which consisted of what they would usually eat, bread and sometimes juice. The bread was bought from the store as uncut/unsliced loaves which we had to break by hand. Initially, I had chosen not to eat of this bread as I had judged participants based on how 'dirty' their nails were and how blackened their hands had become from construction work. We had no access to a tap from which we could wash our hands. I also refused to share the drink with them which was sipped by each person (with their own straw) from the same two litre bottle. Initially, participants accepted my excuses which included that I was not hungry or that I did not want to take in any liquids considering that

there were no toilet facilities. However, I could tell that they were becoming suspicious and I eventually joined in. While difficult at first, I eventually became more comfortable with eating with participants, which also seemed to strengthen our group interaction and enhance conversation. It is also important to note that none of the ‘issues’ I was concerned about had changed, but that I had chosen to become less judgemental towards participants, a ‘move’ which proved beneficial to the data collection process as I felt even more accepted as one of them, though I remained an ‘outsider’ to their experiences.

In order to maintain a ‘healthy’ relationship with participants, it is important that one is honest with them at all times including when you will be ‘spending time’ with them and not. This was evident to me during one particular week when I was not feeling well and chose to stay away from conducting fieldwork. When I returned the following week participants told me how disappointed they were as they expected to see me and I was “dishonest” by not showing up. This prepared me for the end of my fieldwork in that I was able to not only prepare myself, but also the participants for my official exit. I had to do this by announcing to each one of them when I had realised that I had reached saturation. I then had to spend an extra week there in order to ensure that all necessary ‘preparations’ were made for me to leave, on the side of the participants too. It was clear towards the end that they had learnt to appreciate my time there with them as they often felt nobody was really interested in their lives, and I was “the first” for them. This information, though not focusing on the actual data for this study, provides important contextual information for the analysis.

Conclusion

The research process involves continuous decision making, where the researcher has to choose between the various methods available to them based on the purpose of their study. In this chapter, I discussed the use of ethnography as an approach to the research study and the

methods I found suitable for such an approach. I further discussed the processes of both data collection and analysis. The description of the setting within which the research took place is important, and is included in this chapter. This description is important both for the analysis process as well as helping the reader understand and make their own analysis and interpretations of the data. The aim was therefore to provide as much contextual information as possible.

The translation of data collected in one language to another is a challenging process that not only has practical and financial implications, but can also be time-consuming. I discussed in this chapter the process through which the data was translated from both isiXhosa and Afrikaans to English. The aim here was to maintain as much of the original meaning as possible and to present participants' meanings as truthful as can be achieved. Following this, I discussed the ethical considerations which were considered important to this study such as ensuring the anonymity of participants and explaining the study and its purpose to them. Consent forms were also collected and stored safely.

Finally, I reflected on the research process. It was particularly my identity as a young woman and its potential impact on the research process and participants that I considered important. While there are some aspects of our identities that enhance the research process, there are some aspects that may affect it and it is therefore important that as researchers we acknowledge the ways in which our sex, race, educational levels and other such aspects can affect the data we seek from participants.

Chapter 4: 'Abomavumbuka': Men on the side of the road

Introduction

As discussed in chapter two, 'day' labour work is not only a South African phenomenon, with various terms being used in both international and national literature to describe both the men involved in this type of work as well as the spaces they occupy. Examples of such terms include 'day' labourers or 'day' labour work, *hiyatoi rōdōsha*, and *jornaleros* or *esquiñeros* (Gill, 2001; Purser, 2009; Turnovsky, 2006; Valenzuela, 2003). The terms used are not always accepted by those they seek to describe. For example, Gill (2001) found that day labourers preferred to be referred to as 'daily workers' as they found 'labourer' to be undermining as it implied menial work that required no skills. Sharp (2013) also argued that the popular term 'day labour' is misleading in that it suggests that men engaged in this type of work do not look out for opportunities for long term work, and proposed the use of 'roadside job-seeking' and those involved in this type of work as 'roadside job-seekers'.

In this study, some of the participants referred to themselves as '*umavumbuka*'. This term according to those who used it refers to individuals who come and go while occupying a certain social space. This means that they will disappear from time to time but always return to this place, hence, *bayavumbuka*. This also means that they can show up (re-surface) at any given time to any such space as the street corner. It is also interesting to note that *umavumbuka* is also the isiZulu and isiXhosa term for a plant called *Hydnora Africana* that is known to develop underground and eventually emerge only in bloom (Hutchings, 1989; Olajuyigbe & Afolayan, 2012).¹² This term is used by the participants as a metaphor that describes their unstable and unpredictable behaviour and livelihoods on the side of the road. For this study, '*precarious employment*' is used as an umbrella term to describe the nature of the work

¹² *Hydnora Africana* is used in the treatment of diarrhoea (Hutchings, 1989; Olajuyigbe & Afolayan, 2012).

participants engage in. 'Precariously employed' in this study is not only used in reference to the nature of work the participants do, but also because it characterises their lives as shaped by their employment conditions. Precarious employment according to Guy Standing (2011) results in insecure precarious livelihoods and can affect the way people think about themselves and their own lives. The 'precariousness' refers to the conditions under which life then becomes liveable/unliveable (Butler, 2009). The way in which these authors define precarious employment and the subsequent precarious livelihoods, as I will show in the chapters that follow, is characteristic of the lives of the men interviewed in this study. With specific reference to the type of precarious work participants engaged in, I use both 'street corner men' (SCM) and similar to Sharp (2013) 'roadside work-seekers' to refer to the participants particularly because the street corner not only represented a place of work for them, but also a place where the social activities that shaped their lives took place. Though distinctions have been made in academic literature between various types of fatherhood such as biological, social and economic (Dermott, 2008), fatherhood was not defined for participants in order to allow them to construct their own ideas of what it means to be a father.

Interviews were conducted in three different languages, isiXhosa and English, with some participants who asked to be interviewed in English using a few Afrikaans words throughout the interview. While the concept 'fatherhood' seemed straightforward as denoting biological fatherhood to participants interviewed in English, those participants interviewed in isiXhosa used the word *utata* to not only refer to biological fatherhood, but also as a way of showing respect to all elderly males. This is consistent with the use of the word *utata* in Swartz and Bhana's (2009, p. xiii) *Teenage tata: Voices of young South African fathers* which suggested that the term *tata* (much like *baba* in isiZulu) "is a polite form of address to an older African man, whether or not there is a blood relationship".

Participants were therefore not recruited on the basis of having biologically fathered a child. However, seeking to understand the ways in which men within precarious living and working conditions ‘father’, it is only interviews with those men who indicated that they had at some point in their lives fathered a child or children that are included in this discussion. Information about where participants come from, their history and where they are (or where they perceive themselves to be) is an important part of the interpretation and analysis process. In this descriptive chapter, I discuss participants’ demographic information as organised according to their age, the number of children they have, nationality, their skill-set (type of work they do), and their education level.

It is important to note that in discussing the descriptive material, I raise several issues of concern to participants such as the violence that occurred between groups, constructions of masculinities and fatherhood, and the importance of home, family, and social relationships. While discussed briefly in this chapter, these issues are discussed in detail in the chapters that follow.

Age

The age of participants in this study ranged between 25 and 65 years. The following table indicates the age of participants as broken down into four groups with the majority of the men being between the ages of 25-35.

Number of participants:	Age group:
14	25-35
8	36-45
1	46-55
4	56-65
19	Not stated ¹³

Table 1: Participant’s age groupings

¹³ This is the number of participants who did not indicate their age for undisclosed reasons, with some stating that they felt uncomfortable sharing their age with the researcher.

These findings correspond with data from the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (Q2 of 2015) which suggests that the majority of those unemployed are between the ages of 25-34 at 2 109 000 compared to the age groups 15-24 (1 346 000), 35-44 (1 144 000), 45-54 (512 000) and those between the ages of 55-64 (120 000) (Statistics South Africa, 2015). It is therefore not surprising that this group is forced into the precarious labour market in larger numbers. These findings are also consistent with that of a survey research project focusing on day labourers in Pretoria. The study by Blaauw, Louw and Schenck (2006) found that day labourers were mainly 'fairly young males'.

It is also important to note that out of the 4 participants in the age group of 56-65, one participant indicated that he was 'a pensioner' and was in receipt of the older persons' (pension) grant. This indicates that the pension grant received by the participant is not sufficient and he thus has to continue working beyond the employment age limit. The pension grant in South Africa is a monthly income for citizens and permanent residents 60 years or older who have no other means of income and is currently set at R1350.¹⁴ In 2006, the National Treasury estimates put the poverty line at R430 per person per month (Statistics South Africa, 2007). Considering that the majority of participants in this study indicated being the only breadwinners in their current households, as well as the findings from the study conducted with day labourers in Pretoria which suggests that each of them supported on average four people on their income (Blaauw & Pretorius, 2007), it becomes clear that the pension grant alone may not be sufficient. Having men within the pensioner's age group looking for work on the streets is also indicative of the impact of long periods of precarious employment where there are no contributions to any employment benefits such as UIF and pension fund (Standing, 2011). Also, the harsh

¹⁴ This information can be accessed on the South African Government website on the following link: <http://www.gov.za/services/social-benefits-retirement-and-old-age/old-age-pension>

conditions within which precariously employed men often work suggests that at their age, these men may be placing their health at higher risk than those who are younger.

It is also important to note that a high number of participants refused to reveal their age to the researcher with no reasons stated. It is often expected that participants will have difficulty or feel uncomfortable disclosing sensitive information to researchers. However, in this case it was their age that some participants would not reveal. Several possible explanations can be given. For example, John¹⁵ a 24 year old single man with three children who first made romantic advances towards me had not initially indicated his age during the research process as he indicated that he “didn’t want” to reveal his age, but did so weeks later in a follow-up interview. Thus, the participants’ decision not to reveal their age might have been due to the fact that the majority of these participants had been part of the first set of interviews that I conducted. While I may have thought that I had reached a sufficient level of rapport with these participants before interviewing them, it seems that they may still have had their own suspicions. Mitchell Duneier suggests in *Sidewalk* (2000) that even though the researcher-participant relationship requires trust, it is often hard to tell when one has gained such trust. It is also for such reasons that Duneier (2000) suggests that as participant observers, we must be “humble in our writing about rapport and how we are seen by the people we write about” (p. 14). Also, for those who revealed their age later in follow-up interviews, we can assume that this may have been after they had realised that there was no opportunity for romance. This reasoning is supported by Don Kulick (1998, p. 15) who writes in his work with ‘transgender prostitutes’ that after he had made clear that he was not interested in his participants as sexual partners, he was treated as ‘one of the girls’. This relationship has a positive impact on the research relationship as participants can often go on with their usual activities and interactions without the fear of being judged when such “preliminaries are out of the way” (Kulick, 1998,

¹⁵ In order to ensure anonymity, pseudonyms are used in this study for all participants.

p. 15). One other possible explanation could also be the fact that while considered an ‘outsider’ of their gender and thus trusted with some information, participants could also have viewed me as an ‘insider’ on the basis of us being of the same racial group (as the majority of the especially younger participants were Black). As a young woman of their age who has a university degree, participants might have felt that revealing that we were more or less of the same age could have resulted in me judging them on the basis of my own achievements as many of them had not completed their primary or high school education. Furthermore, participants’ perception of my achievements might have resulted in their exaggeration of their own struggles in order to not come across as being responsible for not having completed their studies for example.

Children

The number of children per participant ranged from 1 to 25, with most participants having between one and three children. Similarly, in a study conducted by Blaauw and Pretorius (2007), ‘day labourers’ reported having an average between one or two children. However, in the same study, these authors reported that the majority (33.6%) of participants stated that they had no children. The results of the current study shows that the majority of the participants (46 out of the total of 54 men interviewed) stated that they had children with only 8 (14.8 percent) of the total population indicating that they did not have children. These differences could be attributed to the higher numbers of participants surveyed in the study by Blaauw and Pretorius (2007) particularly within the younger population.

According to Blaauw, Louw and Schenck (2006), while ‘day labour’ work can provide a way for men to survive, the income received from it is often insufficient to provide for a family (or dependants). Furthermore, these authors found that participants in the study conducted in Pretoria supported an average of four people on their income. While not being the only or main reason cited during the interviews, having children served as a motivating

factor for being on the side of the road for many of the participants, a point I elaborate on in chapter 6.

Nationality

Participants consisted of South African and Zimbabwean nationals with one participant who indicated that he was from Lesotho. The table below indicates the distribution of participants according to their nationality.

Nationality:	Participants:	%:
South African	37	80.4
Zimbabwean	8	17.4
Lesotho	1	2.2

Table 2: Participants according to nationality

Of the 37 participants who indicated that they were South African citizens, 29 had moved to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape for various reasons including looking for work and completing their high school, while the remaining 8 had been born and lived in Cape Town all their lives. These findings are consistent with those in a survey conducted with day labourers in Pretoria which found that 88.8 percent of those interviewed had come from outside Gauteng to look for work in the city (Schenck & Blaauw, 2008), thus suggesting high levels of rural to urban migration among precariously employed men in South Africa.

Spatial and geographical disparities in levels of unemployment within countries (Harmse, Blaauw & Schenck, 2009) can be cited among the reasons for high levels of internal migration. Harmse, Blaauw and Schenck (2009) have reported the Western Cape as having the lowest unemployment rate in 2004 at 18.6%. Furthermore, these authors indicate that in the same year, the highest level of per capita GDP was achieved in Gauteng (R36 078) and the second highest in the Western Cape (R29725) which corresponds with the highest numbers of

day labourers found in these provinces. The lowest per capita GDP was found in the Eastern Cape (R10926) (Harmse, Blaauw & Schenck, 2009), which could partly explain the number of men in my sample who migrated from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town. Harmse, Blaauw & Schenck (2009) suggested that the high numbers of men in this type of precarious employment in urban areas can be considered more of an indication of the availability of job opportunities (as compared to rural areas) than an indication of high levels of unemployment in these areas. Though true to some extent, the visibility of men searching for work on the side of the road in urban areas could also be an indication of the lack of adequate, full-time work opportunities that drive men to engage in precarious work activities. This is especially true in the current study where some of the participants had been retrenched from their jobs in these urban areas because of among other things, the technological developments that reduced the need for unskilled and semi-skilled labour and neoliberal economic practices that support workforce reduction and an increase in capital gains for companies.

The high number of Zimbabwean migrants sampled in this study is not surprising. South Africa has among the largest economies in Africa (Chamunorwa & Mlambo, 2014), thus attracting large numbers of immigrants from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. There are several reasons why people migrate and these include unemployment, and political conflict and oppression (Chamunorwa & Mlambo, 2014). Economic opportunities and the prospect of finding employment (Idemudia, Williams & Wyatt, 2013), and political and social pressures (Hungwe, 2012) are among those reasons many Zimbabweans migrate to South Africa. The reality of illegal migration means that one cannot accurately estimate the number of migrants in South Africa as many remain undocumented. However, even the number of registered migrants in South Africa indicates a higher influx of Zimbabwean migrants than those of other countries (Chamunorwa & Mlambo, 2014). Some

estimates suggest that there could be around 2 million illegal Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa (Trimikliniotis, Gordon & Zondo, 2008).¹⁶

While the large number of Zimbabwean migrants could suggest that South Africa possibly provides a better life for migrants, others suggest that the move could create other problems for those involved. According to Idemudia, Williams and Wyatt (2013), Zimbabwean migrants coming to South Africa face a number of challenges and trauma in their home country before their arrival, during the process of migration, as well as after they enter the country. Some of the post-arrival challenges cited by Idemudia, Williams and Wyatt (2013, pp. 22-23) include “limited opportunities for obtaining resources and the experiences of exploitation and coercion”.

Violent attacks (often described as xenophobic attacks) are also among the traumatic experiences of migrants in South Africa. The perception of migrants as ‘stealing’ jobs from local South Africans are stated as some of the reasons for such attacks (Chamunorwa & Mlambo, 2014). Migrant labour has, as far back as the 1880s (with the discovery of gold in Johannesburg), been considered cheap and therefore often preferred (Trimikliniotis, Gordon & Zondo, 2008). While not explicitly making reference to violence, participants in this study shared similar sentiments towards the Zimbabwean men who were also looking for work among them suggesting that they work for lower wages.

In a study evaluating the impact of migration in the USA, Friedburg and Hunt (1995) found that higher levels of immigration positively correlated with reduced wages among unskilled labourers, supporting some of the views held by participants in the current study. However, this view was contradicted by the findings in a survey of day labourers in South Africa in 2007 which found that the income received by Zimbabwean day labourers in South

¹⁶ However, others suggest that these are only guesses (or ‘guestimates’) and the numbers could be much lower (Trimikliniotis, Gordon & Zondo, 2008).

Africa exceeded that of South African day labourers (Blaauw, Pretorius, Schoeman, & Schenck, 2012). This study suggested that the reason for higher income among Zimbabwean day labourers was that they had “higher levels of schooling, language proficiency, and their completion of vocational training courses” (Blaauw, Pretorius, Schoeman, & Schenck, 2012, p. 1333).

The migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa (mostly for purposes of work) does not necessarily result in a better life and according to Idemudia, Williams and Wyatt (2013, p. 17), “newly arrived Zimbabweans in South Africa may be exchanging old struggles for a new array of foreign and traumatic challenges” in their search for a ‘better’ life. The need for more skilled than unskilled labour in South Africa (Chamunorwa & Mlambo, 2014) also suggests that many unskilled labour migrants often enter the precarious labour market which is insecure and does not always guarantee an income.

Reasons for migration. As noted above, several reasons are given for migrating to Cape Town (by South African citizens) and to South Africa (by citizens of other African countries). While the majority of the participants cited looking for work as the main reason for moving from their home country or hometown to Cape Town, several other reasons were also stated and they include being on holiday and never returning; to complete their high school; responding to a call for a job offer; and one participant in particular ended up in Cape Town through prison transfers. I present below some of these men’s stories that illustrate some of the reasons for migrating to Cape Town presented above.

For example, Steve a 57-year-old man who left his wife and five children in Zimbabwe in response to a call from a friend who had a job for him shares his story as follows:

...I come here in South Africa in 2002, I was stay in Goodwood 2002, 2003 at the hotel because another white man was doing tiling here so he phone me at our...my country there, so I come especially for that to come here.

Steve, unlike many other men on this street corner moved in response to a job that was already reserved for him, eliminating the risk of being unemployed upon his arrival in South Africa. This however, is not the case for many migrants who often end up unemployed in the city they move to, as they were in their home town or country.

Another example would be that of John, a 24-year-old father of two, who had been living in the rural Eastern Cape. Throughout his high school years, he would visit some of his family members in Cape Town during the school holidays. It continued and as he states, ‘until he got older’ and decided not to return to the Eastern Cape to complete his high school, but to stay in Cape Town and look for work and ended up engaging in roadside job-seeking ever since.

I had come, the problem you see, I’ll make you an example. I used to live in the rural areas, you see...I used to come on holiday...I was studying, and then coming [to Cape Town] on holiday. During my travels, I grew and became older, and didn’t go back home. I found a job you see in Cape Town and worked, then the job ended. At the end [of the job], I kept doing this foolishness of looking for work here.

For John, while leaving school early to look for work seemed attractive at the time, his words suggests that he may be regretting his decision as he ended up looking for work on the side of the road. This (regret) can be read in his use of words such as “*obububhanxa*” which is isiXhosa for foolishness. John suggests that looking for work on the street corner is foolish particularly

because it provides no guarantee that he will find a job or be able to securely provide for himself and his two children.

A particularly interesting story is that of Star, who had moved from the Eastern Cape through prison transfers. His final transfer was to Pollsmoor Prison, a maximum security prison in Cape Town where he was kept until his release. Upon his release, he had no family in Cape Town and had to find a way to survive. Star tells his story of ‘migrating’ through the prison system as follows:

I come from eMthatha, where the Xhosa people are. I left there through the draft¹⁷, a draft is when you are transferred from prison to prison, you see. Then I arrived here at Pollsmoor, in Cape Town, so there was no one from my home here. So I arrived here and stayed here in Cape Town, and after I arrived here in Cape Town my sentence ended. So I said, it is fine, you can leave me here, but there was no one from my home here, you see. I was alone, I started doing what, I also started sleeping in Bellville. I became like the others, I learnt that this is how it is done. So it went on and I got to know the people, from seeing them all the time. I found my own place, you see.

Star explains how after his release, not having anyone to help him in Cape Town meant he had to find ways to survive and he ended up living on the streets, where he also looked for work. It is important to note though that during the interview, Star was no longer living on the streets, but was looking for work there.

It is also important to note that the majority of participants had not planned on moving to Cape Town (or South Africa) permanently, as most stated that they had plans to return

¹⁷ Prisoners and correctional officers refer to the transfer of prisoners from one prison to another as going “on the draft” (O’Connell, 2015).

'home' and live with their families. For example, Peter a 45-year-old father of three from Zimbabwe has even set himself a target for how long he had planned to stay in South Africa, and is clear about his intentions to return to his family in Zimbabwe:

I am here for temporary [in] South Africa, I [am] focussing on being here for two years buying something. I just have some targets. If I can buy my things which I want here then I go back home.

However, while many other men have set themselves targets to return home, some stated that it has been 'impossible' to return home because they have no money for travelling as they send most of their wages home to support their families, as suggested by Steve below:

If I get more money, uhm...if I get four thousand, three thousand I'm going back home and then I come back again, you see. But sometimes you can't get that money.

Similarly, Jacob, a father of two and driver by profession from Zimbabwe had plans to go home at the end of the year (2014), but could no longer go home as he had been 'laid off' from his most recent job and they had refused to pay him his salary, blaming him for an accident which took place while he was driving a work vehicle. Jacob clearly states that he had no intentions of coming back to Cape Town after going home as he had planned on staying with his family.

I was supposed to go and I was not thinking that I was going to come back because I was thinking now to stay with my family. Jacob

The above statements are just examples of how many of the participants who had migrated to Cape Town had not planned on living and working there permanently, but wanted to make enough money to take back home and look after their families. Posel (2003, p. 17) suggests several reasons for temporary migration indicating that those who do express the desire to 'retain membership' in their home countries and households do so because "the household of origin may provide 'insurance' for work-seekers, care of children, and a preferred place of retirement". This view is consistent with that found in the current study where participants highlighted mostly their desire to live with and be there for their families as one of the reasons they would like to return home. In addition, one participant also stated that his desire to return home was based on the fact that it would be much easier to share his income within one household rather than having to spread it across two households (between himself and his family back in Zimbabwe), as he finds himself making much less money than he thought he would make. These findings highlight the importance of 'home' for participants, and suggest a connection between unemployment/precarious employment, migration, and family. As mentioned earlier, the lack of adequate employment opportunities is among the reasons why men (and women) migrate, with those who migrate finding themselves far away from their families, and therefore, with no support system.

Whether temporary or permanent, migration may seem a plausible solution for those looking for work, but this is not always the case. While (internal or cross border) migration may actually result in employment, it is suggested that many rural-to-urban migrants join the 'urban unemployed' (Stark, 1991). Also evident in this study was that of the participants who indicated moving to Cape Town to complete their high school education, none of them actually did, citing various reasons including poverty. This was also the case for some of those who moved to Cape Town to look for work, but ended up unemployed, and eventually, looking for work on the side of the road. In addition to not guaranteeing employment opportunities, rural

to urban internal migration, according to Themba a father of four who has been living and ‘working’ in Cape Town for over ten years, may impact negatively on the lives of those involved. Themba suggests that the move from rural to urban areas is more harmful to younger ‘farm boys’ who have no experience of city life and may become corrupted on exposure to ‘life in the city’.

Just because this person comes from the dusty rural areas of Transkei you see, he travelled with only R50 to town, just to town, then he gets to Cape Town, Cape Town is so very confusing to him, it is so big you see, he knows nothing and has no education, he comes from herding cattle you see. Then, the things he sees like drinking [alcohol] he thinks they are cool because he sees that the people who drink drive nice cars, then he ends up not being able to control himself because he has no schooling and his upbringing...he was brought up in just another life, then alcohol things become just another...it really kills him, you see in life sister. Themba

This statement by Themba is consistent with Idemudia, Williams and Wyatt’s (2013) view that migration (internal or cross border) may not necessarily result in a better life, but may present its own challenges. However, besides the challenges involved in the actual process of migration, Themba refers to the experience of drugs and alcohol that a young man ‘who is only used to herding cattle in the rural areas’ may not have been exposed to before, which may in turn destroy his life. This concern is valid in the sense that during my time in the field, many of the young men would come to look for work under the influence of substances and were often avoided by the other much older men who were also looking for work.

Participants recruited in this study were not only of different nationalities, but also different ethnic and cultural groups. For example, 31 (83%) out of 37 participants who

indicated that they were South African were also Xhosa, with only 5 being coloured, 1 being Zulu, and 1 Sotho. The remaining 8 participants from Zimbabwe were Shona as expressed in the languages they indicated to be speaking. While there weren't any significant differences in participants' construction of fatherhood on the basis of their ethnic or cultural affiliation, there were practices particularly those relating to masculinity that were drawn on by the Xhosa participants but not the others. It is particularly in the ways in which families were constituted that differed among participants. For example, while the majority of the Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and Shona participants indicated that their children were being raised by their (extended) families 'back at home', the Afrikaans speaking Coloured participants most of whom remained married raised their children in what would be considered to be a nuclear family setup. One possible reason could be that while also on the receiving end of marginalisation and forced migration enforced through apartheid laws in South Africa, coloured men's experiences do not match those of Black men, the majority of whom were separated from their families.

Skill-set

Participants varied according to the type of jobs they could do, with very few having received any formal training. Many indicated that they were self-trained in their trades which included painting, general labour, paving, plumbing, carpentry, tiling, welding, brick laying, and plastering. In addition to these, some participants also indicated that they did other work on the side and this included being car guards, making leather bags, hairdressing, running their own businesses, and being security guards. Most participants moved across trades, depending on which job was available at the time. Table 3 presents the type of work participants did, with some jobs being more 'popular' than others with painting being at the top, followed by general labour work, tiling, and cement/plastering.

Participants:	Skill-set
12	General labourer
22	Painting
2	Paving
8	Tiling
2	Businessmen
7	Cement/Plaster
2	Driver/Delivery
2	Welding
3	Carpentry
1	Security
4	Brick layer/Building
1	Art
2	Plumbing
4	Gardening/Cleaning
1	Waterproofing

Table 3: Various skill-sets

Blaauw and Pretorius (2007, p. 65) suggest that some of the day labour market activities (e.g. car guarding) are ‘survivalist’ in that the income from such work is often low, meaning that these men often cannot provide for their families and dependants. Similar to some of those found in the current study, Blaauw and Pretorius (2007, p. 66) reported day labour activities as including “street vending, gardening, bricklaying, painting, sewing, driving, operating a shop or spaza, hairdressing, welding, managing, and practising traditional medicine”.

The lack of formal training suggests low levels of skills among participants particularly those who were ‘general labourers’, which was considered the lowest form of work among this group and yielding the lowest income. The low levels of skill among ‘day labourers’ is according to Blaauw and Pretorius (2007) among the reasons why it is often difficult for them to enter the formal job market especially in a country such as South Africa with a decline in the demand for low-skilled labour.

It is important to note in table 3 (above) that some of the skills which could have been grouped together such as bricklayer, cement/plastering and building have been used in this study as separate categories to indicate the distinctions participants made within their groups

based on the type of work they do, also suggesting that certain jobs were considered ‘better’ than others. Similar trends were observed by Sterken (2010) who found that roadside work-seekers used categories to distinguish themselves from others on the basis of assumptions about others’ behaviour and attitudes towards work, and I add here also skills, thus creating ‘boundaries’¹⁸ between themselves and others. Among such boundaries found in the current study were those between tilers, welders, carpenters, painters and plumbers (who were considered by themselves and others as the more skilled group) and those who were general labourers, bricklayers and gardeners (who were considered among the low-skilled). Those who were considered among the ‘skilled’ could be seen through their carrying of the various tools required for their work such as tile cutting machinery, and paint brushes as well as the way in which they were dressed for ‘work’. There were also unspoken rules about who could take jobs requiring certain skills and these are discussed in a later chapter.

It is important to note that the majority of the participants had been self-trained in their skills, through experience on different jobs, while others (mostly general labourers) had done no specific jobs, but would take any job that presented itself. The lack of specificity of the work done by general labourers was often a cause of conflict among the men in this study as some of the general labourers would claim to be experienced in jobs they had no experience in such as painting. One such fight broke out while I was there when one general labourer had claimed to his potential employer that he was a painter. After he had been offered the job and after having gotten into the employer’s vehicle, the other men were mumbling about how he was not really a painter and they were heard by the employer who then instructed to young general labourer to get out of his car. Following this, the young man verbally and physically attacked one of the men he had heard mumbling about his lack of painting skills to the employer.

¹⁸ See chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of the boundaries men constructed among themselves at *Emdeni*.

This, however, was said to be common practice and was the reason some employers no longer approached men at this specific site as they had become known as ‘not knowing how to do their work’ as a result of some general labourers who had taken on jobs they did not really know how to do and subsequently ‘wasted’ the employer’s material, and ‘tarnished’ the other work-seekers’ reputation. One participant in particular explained to me how he himself had been a culprit and took a painting job when he had never painted in his life before. Siya, a Cape Town born father of one, who is also a general labourer, explains his story as follows:

So I figured okay, I am just working you see...Because he had taken me and put me at the back and told me that ‘okay look, what will happen now is that we will work together, but I will not tell umlungu¹⁹ that you do not know this work’. So I also continued that way for three days, umlungu would just tell us that he will leave and let us continue with the work. So we also continued with the work.

Siya’s co-worker, after discovering that he was not much of a painter, agreed to do the work without their employer knowing that Siya was not skilled in the job he was expected to do. This also speaks to the relationship and understanding among some of the men on the street corner, where they are also aware of the extent of poverty and the ways in which it can ‘drive’ some of them to take just about any job in order to make money.

This further illustrates the level of desperation and destitution that is accompanied by precarious employment. When men’s lives are insecure to the point where they are uncertain about where the next meal will come from (Wilson, 2006), they are likely to do just about anything for work, including lying about their skills. Schenck and Louw (2005) in their study with day labourers in Pretoria also noted that the relationship between a day labourer and their

¹⁹ The term *umlungu* is used to refer to an employer.

employer is often a risky one as the potential employer cannot ‘verify’ the skills of those they employ. They also found that some men would claim to do jobs they had no experience in (Schenck & Louw, 2005). Guy Standing’s (2011) description of precarious employment as ‘instrumental’ (thus required for survival) and ‘opportunistic’ in that you have to take what comes, is a plausible explanation for these men’s deceiving their potential employers. This is especially the case when the demand for work does not match the number of men looking for work at any particular street corner.

Education

Of the 46 participants in this study, only 7 had completed their high school education (matric), 22 dropped out of school, and 17 chose not to say.

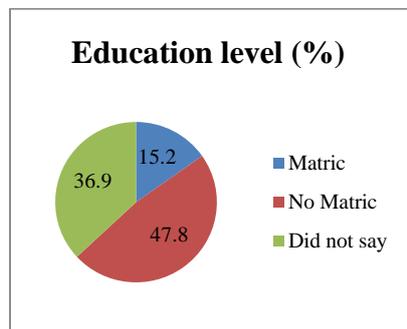


Figure 2: Education levels of participants

The above findings suggesting low levels of schooling among participants are consistent with the ‘disappointing’ levels of education found in the study conducted by Blaauw and Pretorius (2007). Race plays a significant role in education and unemployment inequality particularly in South Africa. According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (Q4 of 2014), large disparities in unemployment rates can be observed according to levels of education and population groups. This survey reports higher rates of unemployment among Black men across education groups.

Levels of education were found to be lower among a large proportion of unemployed Black Africans (Statistics South Africa, 2015).

Several reasons were stated by participants in this study for not completing their high school education and these include having to work to take care of their family when there was no one else who could fulfil this role. For example, Qhawe a 38-year-old father of two from the Eastern Cape indicated that he had to leave school after his mother passed on while he was younger and there was no one to take care of him and his siblings, so he had to leave high school in standard 3 (which is currently known as grade 5). Qhawe explains his reason for leaving school below:

It was hard for us to complete school because of our mother's passing. Our mother passed away while we were young and just starting school. I went to school until I got to [standard] three, then we found that there was no one who...who was taking care of things at home so I left and went to look for work in Port Elizabeth²⁰. I found a job in Port Elizabeth at a construction site and started pushing the wheel barrow and mixing concrete. From there I...I have been on my feet since.

Qhawe's experience is common among men in precarious working conditions as found by Schenck and Louw (2005) in their study on day labourers in Pretoria. Due to poor economic conditions, young men (in particular) are expected to leave home at a young age to look for work either as the primary provider if there is no older male in the household, or "to supplement family income" (Schenck & Louw, 2005, p. 5). Similar sentiments were shared by two other participants who are noted here specifically for the connection their stories make between employment and masculinity. Jabu (37-year-old father of three from the Eastern Cape) and

²⁰ Xhosa speaking people refer to Port Elizabeth which is in the Eastern Cape as *eBhayi*.

Sthe (father of two also from the Eastern Cape) both speak about having to leave school at a young age in search for work, not specifically to take care of their families, but in order to be able to pay for their 'initiation' ceremonies. In the Xhosa culture, young men are expected to undergo circumcision as part of their passage into 'manhood'. This takes place at what is known as a 'mountain school' where these young men go through a process, after which a big celebration must be held to signify their success at their initiation. In many families, this ritual is often paid for by the family, however, as Jabu states below, this is something that only happens in the current day, as when he was younger, men had to pay for their own ceremonies. Jabu and Sthe both make the following statements:

No I left in standard nine. The thing is when you are older, you see, us male children we have other things we want. So I wanted to go to the bush²¹, we go to the bush as Xhosa people. Back then we used to do it like that not these days, these days it is the parents [who pay] you see. Jabu

So it happened that I was about to go to the bush but I did not have clothes to wear²². So it happened that I had to go and try and look [for a job/money]. Sthe

Both these comments confirm the importance of employment and financial stability in facilitating the processes through which boys are said to become man in certain cultures. Having paid work therefore becomes an important aspect in the process of constructing 'successful' masculinities. Participants therefore wanted to 'ukoluka'²³ so they could become

²¹ The 'bush' refers to mountain school where circumcision and other processes take place that facilitate young men's transition to manhood among the amaXhosa, an ethnic group in South Africa.

²² After a young man has completed his initiation process, a huge celebration is held and the new man is clad in a new attire that signifies his transition.

²³ *Ulwaluko* is the initiation process that men undergo, with 'ukoluka' being the noun, for example, 'circumcision' and getting 'circumcised'.

men. And while this practice is important for young men (particularly Xhosa young men in this study), it is also important to note that some of them do regret not completing school, with some acknowledging the importance of education as well as their desire to return to school. For example, John, whom I have introduced earlier had indicated during our interview that he would like to return to school and had asked me to help him find information on adult education. John stated that while he desired to go back to school, it would be hard for him to attend day-time classes as he has children to take care of. John goes through a process during the interview where he contemplates whether it would be possible for him to go back:

In my thoughts, I am just saying, in my thoughts you see, maybe if I can go back to school, maybe some things, there's just one thing that hinders me you see...I can't go back [to school] while I have children. I'm just saying it could happen you see...If I have that time to go to school, and also time to go to work you see. When I find a chance and have the time to go to school. Like I could go to night school, then during the day I work if I can get a job but not to come look for work here.

Here John goes back and forth about whether he could go back to school, how he would do it, whether he would have to attend evening classes and then work during the day. He notes that going back to school would be hard especially because he has children that need to be provided for. John raises the issue of fatherhood, suggesting that being in precarious employment, and having children to provide for might prevent him from going back to day time schooling. It is important to note here the importance of the actual interview process in bringing to the fore issues participants may not have thought or spoken about, or may have dismissed as impossible. As in the case of John, I provided him with the information he had requested for the Adult

Education classes that were taking place at a school closer to where he lives and few weeks later he came back saying he had gone to register and had received his first homework.

The importance of education is further noted by Themba who had completed his high school education but never went beyond that. According to Themba, not having completed school is one of the reasons why many of the men looking for work with him struggle to get jobs as they have lower levels of education and as a result, cannot communicate well. Themba puts it as follows:

...And school sister, somewhere somehow you can't run away from the fact that school does help you see, here and there school can change your character you see. Here and there you should not only look at the fact that you have to work so that...you see, so that I can become a person in this life. Sometimes when you cannot find a job, you know you can do other things.

Here Themba explains the importance of education as allowing for other opportunities such as business, which he himself is involved in, in the absence of work. He states that education helps you become “*umntu*” which is a person, which could refer to the ways in which not having an education often means not having access to decent jobs and therefore, living under dehumanising conditions. Furthermore, Themba’s use of the word ‘*umntu*’ could also allude to a sense of dignity which he associates with higher levels of education, and thus, better employment opportunities.

One participant in particular spoke about how he regrets not completing high school education. Siseko – a 30 year old father of one who left school early²⁴ in high school – shares his pain:

²⁴When asked at which level he left school, Siseko refused to say, stating that he left ‘early’ in high school.

You see those kinds of things. Not being educated is painful I tell you. We really regret...We really thought we were being clever...I have accepted this problem I have gotten myself into, I will get myself out of it, I am the one who got myself into it.

Siseko speaks here about how ‘painful’ it is to not have completed his high school education and how he has come to accept the ‘problem’ he has put himself in that only he can get himself out of. It is particularly important to note how he speaks about how he thought he was being ‘smart’ when he left school, as he realises now that he had made a bad decision. It is not surprising that participants come to regret decisions they made thinking they were the right thing to do at the time, when they realise how disadvantaged they are due to their lack of education which limits their access to jobs, business opportunities as well as their ability to communicate as stated by Themba earlier.

These findings show that the majority of these men had come from low-income, poor households and were forced by various ‘circumstances’ to look for work at an early age. Thomas (1996) who studied education levels across generations in South Africa suggests that parental resources as one factor influencing educational attainment. This supports findings in the current study which suggests as mentioned above that the majority of the participants had come from poor households, and therefore could not be in school long enough to complete their schooling. Dieltiens and Meny-Gibert (2008/2009) however suggest that we not only highlight poverty as an explanation for school drop-out rates, but that we also look at factors such as poor quality education and high inequalities.²⁵

²⁵Studies suggest teenage pregnancy as another major reason for school drop-out among women. In this study, many of the men dropped out because they had to look for work to take care of their families and children. This suggests that in some cases, we can have both a young mother and father dropping out of school, with major implications for education and inequality in South Africa.

The age of participants in this study suggests that many of them started school during the apartheid rule when a majority of particularly black men (and women) only had access to certain (most often poorer quality) schooling systems which were thought to be 'suitable' for blacks. Systematically poor schooling systems for blacks sought to further the apartheid agenda of maintaining high levels of inequality between different racial groups, ensuring lower levels of education and subsequent unemployment among the black population. This also partly explains the participants' poor employment history, where the majority of them have never had a full-time or permanent job before.

Among the majority of the participants who had never had a full-time or permanent job before, many had been self-employed (running their own businesses) while others have always been seeking jobs on the side of the road, many of which were short-lived day or hourly jobs. One of the participants who had a full-time job before is Jason, who had worked for a company for six years until the company started retrenching. This was also the case for Tshepo, who had been in a full-time job since 2011 until July 2014 when his company also started retrenching. Retrenchments have become central to the process of work restructuring in South Africa and across the world as a result of the social and economic changes and challenges that companies face (Kalleberg, 2003; Webster & Omar, 2003). As a result, many particularly unskilled men find themselves out of work and in the precarious labour market, with very little if any chance of them getting back into the formal labour market.

Conclusion

This chapter provided a descriptive analysis of the context and circumstances of participants interviewed in this study. It is important that such (contextual) information is incorporated into the analysis and interpretation process so as to clearly understand the lives of those being studied. This study found similarities between those sampled in studies on roadside work-

seeking in South Africa (Schenck & Louw, 2005) and other parts of the world (Gill, 2001), suggesting similarities in the circumstances of those engaged in this type of precarious work, regardless of whether they are in developing or developed countries.

The material discussed in this chapter brings to our attention several issues. First, this study confirms what many others have documented, the extent to which unemployment forces large numbers of young men into the precarious labour market. As shown in table 1, the majority of the participants in this study were between the ages of 25-35, which constitutes the largest group of unemployed men in South Africa. This also means that many families and children who depend on these men to provide are often left to live in high levels of poverty.

Second, it is often assumed that day labourers (who are often local or cross-border migrants) all migrate for the specific purpose of looking for work. As this study revealed, this is not always the case as some participants (most local migrants) had 'ended up' in Cape Town and decided to look for work there, while the majority if not all of the cross-border migrants in this study had actually moved for the specific purpose of looking for work. It is also important to note that according to this study, the majority of the migrants indicated a desire to return to their families, suggesting that many of these men compromise their own psycho-emotional needs in their quest to provide for themselves and their families. This is similar to findings in a study by Chereni (2015) on transnational migration. Chereni (2015) reports that transnational split families often have to negotiate between their needs for emotional and financial support.

Third, this study further shows that one's skill does not necessarily determine the work you end up doing. As shown by the study participants, 'any job is a job' even if it is just for an hour, as long as it guarantees an income. Even high levels of education and training (particularly among cross-border migrants) does not guarantee a job to match one's skills as many painters, carpenters, plumbers, and welders often ended up doing general labour work and gardening. This can also result in conflict among men looking for work on the side of the

road as this study found that when jobs are hard to come by, everyone is a general labourer, making it even more competitive to find a job.

Fourth, poor education levels often mean that participants have limited job options and may have difficulty entering the formal job market. This means that they are often most likely to remain on the street corner for long as indicated by some participants in this study who had been looking for work on the side of the road for over five years, living on hourly or daily wages, or at times, could get jobs that last up to a few years. These jobs, however, resulted in full-time employment for only few of the participants, who eventually, find themselves back on the side of the road again.

Fifth, this study brings to our attention the role of the researcher in making decisions about which data to include or exclude. In the case of the current study, this decision was guided mainly by how participants defined fatherhood, and whether they in fact considered themselves to have experienced the phenomenon of interest in this study which is fathering within precarious working conditions. This point also extends to the issue of language as an important consideration when conducting interviews in more than one language. Having conducted interviews in both isiXhosa and English for this study, I became aware of the differences in meaning of certain words when used in different languages. It is therefore important to consider this carefully in order to ensure that all participants understand exactly what the researcher is asking. It is also important that researchers can speak the languages of a particular area as shown in the current study that despite having introduced the study in English and isiXhosa, some participants who had asked to be interviewed in English would switch to Afrikaans mid-sentence. This can to some extent affect the quality of the interaction (and the data) if the researcher does not understand the language a participant chooses to bring into the conversation.

Finally, another consideration here is the extent to which participants have control over which information they discuss with the researcher and which they do not disclose. This study shows that participants can choose to not disclose something as seemingly innocuous as their age should they feel (for whatever reason) that they may be judged. In this case, it is participants' perception of the researcher that played a significant role. How they viewed me in the beginning of my fieldwork (lack of trust and the perceived possibility of a romantic connection) and how they viewed me in the weeks that followed determined what they revealed to me by the end of the interviews. Another influencing factor in participants' decision not to disclose their age might be my own identity as a woman, who is relatively young compared to the older looking men.

The information discussed in this chapter such as participants' age, the number of children they have, their nationality, skill-set, and education levels provide an important background against which the information presented in the chapters that follow should be analysed. Following this, I now turn to a discussion of the nature of precarious employment and the activities that take place on the street corner.

Chapter 5: The nature of (precarious) work at *Emdeni*²⁶

Introduction

Changes in the global economy have led to a restructuring of the workplace in South Africa, just as in other parts of the world, in an effort to remain competitive in the global neoliberal economy (Webster & Omar, 2003). The changes within the local and transnational neoliberal economic systems have been accompanied and influenced by technological innovation, deregulation, employment flexibility and insecurity, and the outsourcing of services (Crompton, 2006). The restructuring of the workforce has resulted in among other things, an expansion of the precarious labour market and a decline in formal work contracts. An increase in informal employment or precarious work also means that there are more men and women engaging in short-term, low paying, and unregulated jobs that can last as short as an hour, a day or a few hours in a day (Barchiesi, 2011). ‘Day’ labour work typifies the precarity of the South African labour market, with an apparently increasing number of men seeking work on the side of the road as formal employment options decline. The growth in informal and precarious employment in South Africa is evident in the number of men seen waiting on the street corners of neighbourhoods and industrial areas daily in their search for work.

Despite the visibility of this type of precarious work, very little research has been conducted that focuses on the socio-psychological impact of precarious work, qualitative accounts of the activities at such labour sites, as well as the interactive processes among job-seekers. Instead, surveys are conducted which provide estimates of the size of this market but

²⁶ The Department of Agriculture’s (Provincial Government of the Western Cape) trilingual dictionary defines ‘*Umda*’ as a boundary or an ambit which is also defined as “the area or range that someone controls or affects. The origins of the word are traced back to the Latin word *ambitus* which means going about and going around. The word ambit therefore refers to an area surrounding a building”. Thus the space that participants in this study occupy is called *Emdeni* which means being within the boundaries of *Umda*, in this case being the space men occupy when looking for work. <http://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/ambit>

do not offer much in-depth information on how these sites are organized and how such activities impact on opportunities for work (Schenck, Xipu, & Blaauw, 2012; Sharp, 2013).

In this chapter I provide a description and examination of the day labour site that was the location for this study in Parow, Cape Town. I focus specifically on the activities that take place at this labour site by exploring the nature of this environment (geographic location, why this specific area is chosen by job-seekers, how long they have been gathering at this site, and social organization), and participants' job searching activities (job search strategies, frequency and duration of jobs, who the employers are, and the relationship between employers and 'workers'). The ways in which men organise themselves around this place plays an important role in defining themselves as job-seeking men, and it is thus important to understand how they make sense of and give meaning to this space (Ramphela, 1993).

Emdeni: The street corner as 'job-seeking site'

Geographic location. Approaching a group of men may be a daunting task for a young woman, or perhaps for any other stranger to the 'day' labouring site. Having 'unofficially' observed and spoken to the men a few months before the actual data collection process did not make it any easier. The picture one sees when approaching is of groups of men (in varying numbers) standing on a street corner, further along the street and around one of the large building and hardware franchise stores in South Africa. This building and hardware warehouse sells everything from building material (bricks, sand, cement etc.) to finishing materials (taps, tiles, wood, electronics etc.). This particular warehouse is the oldest existing of the franchise stores in the Western Cape.

Across the street from the warehouse is a supermarket. Houses are further along the street. This setting is a residential rather than industrial area. The men who participated in this

study 'gather' on the pavement of the warehouse and that of the supermarket, and further towards the back of the warehouse where fewer men wait. It is important to note here that there were no women present at this site (specifically for the purposes of looking for work) during the duration of the data collection. Women would only be passing on their way to the hardware store, the supermarket or when going about their own business. There was, however, interest from one woman in particular who wanted to know if I was looking for work there. While she didn't specifically say this (and I did not ask), I assume that she may have been interested in pursuing roadside work-seeking and may have been intimidated by the absence of women in this male dominated space.

In this rather busy street, one can see many cars either passing, parking at the supermarket and warehouse, or just stopping in the middle of the road to speak to the workers. This site is known for the presence of job-seekers, and because many individuals and construction companies buy their material from the warehouse, it offers opportunities for short-to-long term employment. As indicated in other studies (Harmse, Blaauw & Schenck, 2009; Schenck & Louw, 2005), as soon as a vehicle stops, the men approach in their numbers to 'sell' their skills in the hope for a job opportunity. What transpires can be mortifying for the men who are desperate for employment; however, it can also be flattering or intimidating for the potential employer as anything from three to fifteen men approach a single vehicle at a time. Other job-seekers choose not to run to vehicles that stop at the site, and instead advertise their skills through placards that indicate the type of work they do and their telephone numbers. Depending on the type of work they do, men may be seen carrying tools such as paintbrushes, tile-cutting equipment etc. Some also wear overalls and safety boots, while others are dressed casually.

Parow, the area where this site is located, is a northern suburb in Cape Town founded in 1865²⁷. While its total population was estimated at 119,462 in 2011, none of the men interviewed in this study were actually from Parow. The furthest distance travelled to *Emdeni* by a participant was from Embekweni, a township in Paarl (which is approximately 47km from Parow). The majority of the participants travel from Khayelitsha (about 20 km) and other townships around Cape Town. This is not to say that this is the only or nearest site to participants, but it was strategically selected for the increased opportunities it provided for jobs. Being situated near one of the “*biggest construction warehouses in the Western Cape*” meant that those who came to purchase building material were also likely to seek labourers at this site. According to Themba²⁸, people drive far to come to this warehouse which sells “*everything you cannot find elsewhere*”.

This one [pointing at the building] is the biggest warehouse around the Western Cape...Yes, that's why people come here in numbers. Everything you cannot find anywhere else even coming from places as far as Ceres. I often meet clients from Ceres here you see, they come here because they know that certain things can only be found here you see. Otherwise this is the biggest [warehouse], there are other places. I am just saying this is the place where I know that I can market [my business] and hand out my business cards so I can find clients you see.

The majority of the participants agreed with Themba, stating that the size of the warehouse means that it also has a bigger parking area, allowing for men to ‘park cars’ as a means of making extra ‘change’ in the absence of work. Helping drivers to park and guarding cars is an

²⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parow,_Cape_Town

²⁸ Participants introduced in previous chapters will not be introduced again in this chapter and those that follow.

informal type of job that has seen a rapid increase in South Africa in the last few years. There were also opportunities for smaller ‘tipping’ jobs such as helping customers load and/or offload material from their vehicles and delivery trucks as indicated by Patrick:

At least here I know when that chance comes up I can park cars you see...And those small jobs...small jobs like loading bricks, and offloading them on the other side.

The decision on which day labour site to choose is also influenced by the type of work one does. For example, Jason (a tiler) and Qhawe (a painter) indicated that the labouring sites closest to their places of residence were along main roads where there were no businesses around, particularly those that sell paint or tiles as could be found in Parow. These areas were therefore considered more suitable for ‘general labourers’ who could take what was considered menial jobs such as gardening and mixing concrete. Being frequented by “*abelungu*”²⁹, this site was also said to offer opportunities for men to ‘ask’ for small change or bread money from customers, an activity that was not encouraged by some work-seekers.

While this was the most popular and preferred site among participants, it was not the only they frequented. Charlie for example, moves across a few sites depending on the perceived demand for work in that area during a specific period. In the following statement, Charlie notes how he comes to Parow when there are too many men at the other sites, or when he is told by the other men that an employer had asked for him specifically, which is common among those who have an ‘established client base’.

I don’t come to Parow every day, yesterday I was in Athlone. When I see that there are too many people that side, I come here. There are also people who know me here

²⁹ *Abelungu* is plural for *umlungu* which has been explained earlier.

already so when they get here they pick me. Here I have people who know me, they call me and tell me to come this side for example if there is an employer who is looking for me.

Due to the increased work opportunities at the Parow site, men are often willing to travel from the early hours (around 05:30am) each morning and travel back home late in the evening (around 19:00pm). Often when participants have no money for travelling to the site, they have to walk great distances to *Emdeni*. In the evening, some will wait till the train ticket collectors ‘knock off’ as they do not have to pay for a train ticket for the homeward trip. If they are ‘lucky’ enough to get a job that day, they might be offered a ride to a spot close to home by their employers. Those who have their work tools also have to carry these back and forth each day no matter how they get home, as these tools, as I will discuss later, do not only serve a practical purpose, but also as a ‘qualification’ of the men’s skills.

Of all participants, only Jason had his own car which he used to travel to *Emdeni* every day. This for Jason made financial sense as he had to fetch his children from school afterwards, and then his wife from work. Manne, who walked from Elsie's River to Parow, also indicated that he sometimes cycled to *Emdeni*.

It is important to note that the impact of precarious work is long-term, meaning that once they have entered this market, men may find it difficult if not impossible to transition into the formal labour market. The low possibility of transitioning into the formal labour market is indicated in this study by the number of years men were said to have been seeking work at *Emdeni*. Some of the men indicated to have been searching for work for up to 6 years. That said, the periods of unemployment or precarious work ranged from a day (for Jacob who was there for the first time the day I spoke to him and had indicated that he would not return as he is a driver and this site does not provide much job opportunities for drivers) to 6 years. During

these periods, the men come and go, which means that they are not at the site each day in that six years. At times they can be 'gone' for as long as six months to a year.

Social organisation. While the activities around this site centred mainly on the men's job-seeking, thus serving an economic purpose, cognisance ought to be taken of the social activities that shape and determine how men go about looking for work around this area. The material explored in this study highlights the importance of social relationships and interactions among men at job-seeking sites as well as revealing the construction of what Lamont (2000) called 'boundary work'.

Relationships among job-seekers. The relationships among men at labour sites are in themselves precarious, fluid and complicated. For some, the competition for work strains their relationship with other work-seekers. For others, relationships with other men are seen as an opportunity to create networks that could increase opportunities for work.

When asked about their relationships and interaction with other men, participants gave varying and often contradicting accounts of their experiences, with some seemingly 'romanticising' these relationships. According to Demaine, things were not as they seemed at *Emdeni* as he stated "*it is not fun here at Emdeni, do not see us laughing and think things are well, it is not fun here*". Some participants, however, maintained that they were "*getting along with and chatting to other men without any problems*" (Patrick). The benefits of 'getting along' included being able to share food, drinks and cigarettes, have conversations, provide and/or receive advice and support, and referring each other for work.

During my fieldwork I observed how many men would go for the whole day without eating anything. Although others might quibble about the ethics of it, witnessing how some of the men would go the whole day without food led me to begin providing lunch (several loaves

of bread each day) for the men at *Emdeni* as my contribution to this environment. There were however others who would buy bread and as I often observed, they would not eat it on their own, but would share with those around them. This sharing also extended beyond bread to include cold drinks (often ‘cool aid’), cigarettes, and sometimes marijuana as indicated in the following by Jabu:

Even when you see one person buying bread there, we share. No one buys bread and eats it on their own, we just live in a way [inaudible segment: 0:19:46.3]. You can see that we even smoke, we smoke cigarettes, there are also others who smoke marijuana, because we are different you see. You know that if you smoke, someone will be smoking and come and look for someone else who he can share the cigarette with...a person will not just smoke a cigarette alone because he knows that the other person does not have one you see...such things.

This sharing is also not determined by whether you know another man or communicate with him regularly or not. Bread is shared even among men who do not really know each other. For example, Jacob, who as indicated earlier had been at *Emdeni* for the first time on the day I spoke to him, spoke about how “*they* (a group of men he had just met on the day) *even buy a loaf of bread and even share with them*”. According to Moses, you ‘break bread’ with “*whoever is sitting next to you at the time*”.

Providing and receiving support, encouragement and advice was also valued by participants. Most often, men were advising each other about financial decisions and also encouraged each other to ‘hang in there’ when their conditions became unbearable. It is particularly the spending on alcohol that men were advised on as suggested by Siseko:

We chat, we advice each other. It is not important that when you come here in this way, when you get money and then spend all of it on alcohol...so much that it is even hard to buy yourself a t-shirt, you understand...When you cannot even buy soap to wash yourself and your clothes when you wake up. We advise each other about such things.

Participants also indicated that they referred each other for jobs. Senzo for example, who was often offered 'big' painting jobs always took at least one other person to work with him.

Like, I can get a painting job now...Knowing that I cannot do it on my own, I can take someone here...I do not take someone from the township, I come here and take someone who is looking for work who I can see is struggling and is hungry and we go and help each other, that is how we do it. We work together, we can even organise work for each other. Senzo

This was often true as on many occasions during my fieldwork, and specifically during interviews, I had men who were fetched from where we were seated whenever there was an employer looking for that individual's skill. One such participant was Steve, a tiler who I had to schedule a second interview with, after the first was interrupted by another participant who invited Steve to go work with him.

It is clear from the above statements that some participants believed that there were 'no bad feelings' among men at *Emdeni*. Songezo (a Zimbabwean national) for example, stated that the only reason he limited his communication with other men was because he could not speak isiXhosa, the language spoken by the majority of the participants at this site. There were, however, concerns about trust among participants and this affected the extent to which men

shared their personal problems. Many participants indicated that they limited their 'sharing' to work-related issues.

Okay no, we talk about things like finding permanent work so that he can...when he passes here he can throw something, so that he can know that 'I used to struggle with these people'. We only talk about work, so your household matters remain your secret, you do not want to talk about it to others because maybe they can laugh about it you understand. Sphiwe

The concern here is how other men might react when you tell them about your problems. According to Sphiwe above, sharing your problems means running the risk of becoming the 'laughing stock' among men at *Emdeni*. Thus, not sharing your problems with other men tended to be seen as an effective strategy for avoiding being 'shamed'³⁰. In a study asking men and women about their fears, Noble (cited in Kimmel, 2004) found that while women stated that they were most afraid of being raped and murdered, men reported being most afraid of being laughed at. The fear of being laughed at speaks to men's general fear of being emasculated, thus resulting in an enactment of masculinity that is 'not real'.

Another way in which men avoided shame was by lying to each other about what they could and could not do, especially financially. The following extract from the interview with Moses suggests competitiveness among men at *Emdeni*. The extract can also be understood as a display of a dominant yet fragile masculinity that requires men to fulfil certain expectations, specifically economic provision. In this case, how other men perceive you is important.

³⁰ See chapter 8 for a detailed discussion on shame and its connection to poverty and masculinities.

Like sister you see when you are here, I will not tell you everything that happens at home, because I can even lie to you and say I can do certain things at home, even when I cannot do those things you see. Just because we met here, maybe you don't even know where I live you see. I can lie to you and say I had worked and did this and that. [laughing] Like, you see, another person will say 'no this person, there's nothing to him', while he is telling you about the things he had done you see. Then you feel that if he did that, and I cannot do the same, I can just say to him that I had also done it.

This statement further suggests that men do not want to be perceived by others (especially other men) as failing. According to Kimmel (2004, p. 186), “men need other men’s approval”, and thus demonstrate to each other ‘marketplace’³¹ masculinities which are characterised by competition, success, and being strong. The challenge (as shown by Moses above) is when those men compare themselves to others who seem to be succeeding at fulfilling certain masculine expectations. Moses’ views also raise an interesting methodological point: the apparent advantages of being a woman interviewing men. This study suggests that men were more open to sharing stories with me they would normally not share with other men (particularly ‘insiders’), out of fear of being judged. As a stranger and female researcher, I therefore seemed to have the advantage of outsider and invisibility, encouraging participants to ‘open up’ more.

While reportedly ‘getting along’, there were also many incidents of violence and tension reported to be taking place among men at *Emdeni*. In addition to fighting over food and cigarettes, participants indicated competition for work as the major cause of conflict among themselves. These arguments often led to physical attacks or strong feelings of hate towards each other. For example, Demaine indicated that he often felt like stabbing some of the men he

³¹ Kimmel (2004) defines marketplace as the site where men act out or demonstrate masculinity to each other.

argued with as he stated “*Mama there are people here at this place that I feel like stabbing with a knife...for work, there are people that I hate with my whole heart here at this place*”.

Participants in this study distinguished themselves from other work-seekers using various ‘boundaries’ which when crossed were also a cause of major conflict.

‘Boundary work’ at Emdeni. The men interviewed in this study distinguished themselves from other workers through the creation of boundaries. Lamont and Molnár (2002) distinguished between symbolic and social boundaries. According to these authors, symbolic boundaries are “conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorise objects, people, practices, and even time and space”, while social boundaries are “objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources and social opportunities” (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, pp. 168-169). Symbolic boundaries, which were used by the participants I interviewed in constructing and maintaining similarities and differences between themselves and other men, are therefore necessary for social boundaries to prevail. The concept ‘boundary work’, the process (or practices) through which individuals attribute certain qualities to one group or entity over another, is important for the establishment of “epistemic authority” (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 179).

Several boundaries were created by participants in their construction of their own ‘worker’ identities. These boundaries were based on their set of skills and qualifications, work ethic, and nationality, ethnicity and language. As indicated in chapter 4, some jobs were considered better than others. For example, painters, welders, carpenters, tilers, and plumbers made a point of distinguishing themselves from ‘general labourers’. This was done through ‘dress code’ and the carrying of the tools required for their work, while general labourers often did not carry any tools as they were not particular in the jobs they sought. These skill-related boundaries often caused conflict among men at *Emdeni*. When there were no offers for

‘specialised’ jobs, everyone would go for general labour work, increasing competition among men. For example, Demaine explains how some labourers take ‘their’ jobs, but resort to violence when the same is done to them.

For example, I am a brick-layer, these people who mix concrete do not want me to take their work, but they take my building work you see. So they do not want me to take...If I take their work they will hate me, they will shout and insult me.

This statement by Demaine suggests that some men consider themselves ‘the authority’ that gets to decide who takes which job. The ways in which men conducted themselves on the job, their attitudes towards work, and overall behaviour on the street corner were also important factors in creating and maintaining boundaries. For example, Katlego, like many other men, indicated differences in men’s ‘seriousness’ about work. He stated that those who worked for lower rates, came to *Emdeni* under the influence of alcohol or drugs, and those who were younger and unmarried were less serious about work than others.

Finally, nationality and ethnicity were also used by participants to separate themselves from others. Zimbabwean participants in particular were separated from other men and kept to themselves as some of the South African men would often accuse them of ‘stealing’ their jobs and offering to work for lower wages. These boundaries were however based on stigmatised perceptions of others and were often unsubstantiated. For example, Zimbabwean men were of the opinion that Xhosa men only worked so they can have money to spend on their girlfriends and ‘waste’ on alcohol. These perceptions were not true for all Xhosa men. In the same way, not all Zimbabwean men worked for lower wages, which is what some participants claimed. In fact, during really ‘dry’ periods, even the Xhosa men would settle for less than the ‘standard’

rate for their work. There was however, a strong view among Zimbabwean men that they were more professional, hardworking and skilled than all the other men at *Emdeni*.

We Zimbabwe's have gone through a lot of harsh economic conditions and we starved a lot, I can tell you coming to South Africa some of us we walked for more than fifty kilometres, hundred kilometres we are boss and we've gone for some days without food...And now you can see it from even the way we work, should you be given the same work you know as South African...So you will find even South Africans they won't like you because I'm always trying to please, I'm too hungry. Sicelo

In this statement, Sicelo suggests that the harsh conditions associated with the process of cross border migration often mean that Zimbabwean men will be more hardworking than their South African counterparts.

The (symbolic) boundaries mentioned above resulted in social (and spatial) boundaries among men at *Emdeni*, where certain groups are often physically separated from others on the street corner, also limiting their ability to move around freely. On this particular site, 'foreigners' could be seen occupying only one side of the street corner, which was towards the back of the hardware store, further from where most vehicles made their first stop to pick up workers. The older men on the site also separated themselves from the younger 'unruly' work-seekers and I often observed them moving away when such men came to stand alongside them.

These boundaries were not the only reason why some men chose their groups. Some men deliberately chose their 'spot' on the street corner based on the language spoken by the others, as well as their familiarity with each other. For example, on many mornings, particularly on Mondays, I would join one group of men who always stood together as they shared stories about their drinking experiences over the past weekend. These men socialised together at a bar

called Codessa. This was said to be a popular bar among some day labourers, strategically located next to the train station, making it easy for them to stop by on their way home. During these Monday morning ‘catch up’ sessions, participants showed me pictures taken on their phones of other men who had passed out due to intoxication at Codessa over the weekend. These men were mocked for their inability to ‘handle’ alcohol, indicative of a dominant construction of masculinity. Being a ‘competent’ drinker was therefore considered a marker of a hegemonic masculine identity (De Visser & Smith, 2007, p. 601). Those who went to Codessa were closer to each other as they also sometimes bought and shared beers with one another. While seemingly enhancing social connections among men, Codessa was also the place where those who harboured negative feelings towards one another from *Emdeni*, ‘settled’ their conflict. Codessa can therefore be considered the ‘marketplace’ where dominant masculinities are demonstrated for approval by others (Kimmel, 2004, p. 183). Demaine describes this experience as follows:

There is a place called Codessa here, you know here in Parow a bar called Codessa? These people start [conflict] at Codessa even from here. So when they get a job here...let me say they make bets to spite each other, the one will say ‘I will catch you at Codessa’. When he gets a job, he knows they will meet at Codessa, he keeps some money, he chooses to keep some money...because he hopes that when he gets to Codessa he will buy his bottles, and those who don’t have money will stand out. Demaine

Those men who did not go to Codessa often considered those who did to be irresponsible for spending the little money they make on alcohol rather than spending it on taking care of themselves and their families. It is clear that while some men were ‘forced’ into certain groups and spaces on the street corner through discriminatory practices, others made this decision for

their own comfort. It is also important to note that these boundaries favoured some men over others in terms of work opportunities.

Job-seeking behaviour: How men find work at *Emdeni*

The main purpose of men gathering at *Emdeni* each day is to look for work. It is also true that opportunities for work do not always present themselves. Men often have to be creative in how they 'sell' themselves as 'the desirable worker' to potential employers (Turnovsky, 2004). In this section, I discuss the strategies men use to find and secure jobs, the frequency and durations of jobs, as well as the nature of their relationships with their employers (who they are, how much they pay them, and how they treat them).

Job-searching strategies. In their study exploring job searching dynamics, Duff and Fyers (2004) mention three forms of job search. These are formal (through newspapers and employment agencies), word-of-mouth (through conversations with friends, relatives, social networks and other job seekers), and place-to-place (which involved going to companies and factories or knocking on people's doors). The success of each of these strategies is determined by several factors such as education and qualification levels of those seeking work, the sector within which they seek work, access to information etc. In their study located in Duncan Village, East London, Duff and Fyers (2004) found that formal methods were more often used by the well-educated. Many factors such as low levels of education, limited access to information and financial resources therefore mean that the unemployed may be limited to word-of-mouth and place-to-place methods of finding work. In the failure of such strategies to yield employment, men and women may opt for roadside work-seeking, where they physically present themselves at a specific 'work' site and wait for work opportunities. Within these sites,

where competition for work is high, participants may also employ a variety of methods in attempts to increase their 'employability'.

In the current study, day labourers were found to use more obvious methods to increase their visibility, such as placards with their skills and contact details written on for employers to see. Some approached vehicles that parked or pass on this street, while others used what could be perceived as more 'organised' methods by handing out their business cards to customers outside the warehouse. Men such as Patrick also used the spatial organisation of *Emdeni* to their advantage. For example, he felt that by moving away from the 'crowds' which he felt often intimidated potential employers, he increased his chances of being employed. Similarly, Jason stated that instead of running towards the vehicles, he stands alone and hands out business cards to potential clients.

Ja, I gave him my business card...So he likes my prices and everything, because someone else give his card inside for tiling something like that, but he took that card as well but he told me no, he'd rather phone me because I explained to him now everything about his stoep...because he was asking about his stoep. What must he do to prevent water, so I explained to him he must buy certain stuff, yeah it went extra well. Jason

In this extract, Jason explains to me (after leaving mid-interview to hand out a business card) his experiences with a potential client. He presents himself (to the client) as more experienced than the other tiler by explaining to the potential client the specifics of the job he enquires about.

A similar strategy was also used by Themba who has his own registered construction company. Themba comes to *Emdeni* only when he has no jobs and uses it as a marketing place for his company. In addition to business cards, Themba stated that he finds projects for his

company by taking on jobs at *Emdeni*, however, when he arrives on the site, he tries to convince the client to offer him the contract to complete the job by highlighting the mistakes already made by the sub-contractor that picked him up on the side of the road. In his statement below, Themba describes his way of ‘poaching’ (see Clemons & Hitt, 2004) clients from the same man that offered him a job. While one might describe Themba’s ways as ‘unethical’, for him, it is necessary in order to ensure the survival and growth of his business.

Recently I think last of last week³² I had found a job, I was hired here. I like to find a job and take it if I can find one and go to see on-site then I look on-site to see what is happening, maybe I can take the client from this contractor if he does not know what he is doing. Then I just look [around]...I go on-site because I know how to do the work you see.

Once men at *Emdeni* have found a job, they also continue to employ various other strategies to stay on the job for longer, or to make sure the employer picks them again should there be another job that needs to be done. Among these, the most important one is ‘proving yourself’ on the job. According to Peter, “*when you get a job, you should have to do it right way so that if somebody come and see that job they gonna say ‘who did this’? You get the job from another job you did it already, so if I can get a job, I should make sure I did it the right way*”. It is not only employers that participants have to ‘prove’ themselves to, but also their colleagues, to ensure that they ‘pick’ each other when they are offered the opportunity to bring along a work partner as explained by Lukhanyo:

³² Many South Africans use the phrase ‘last of last week’ to refer to the week before last.

We choose each other like that, because so and so works [hard], like that. You do it so that if I am the one who got you a job, I must show to you that I got you a job and work [hard] so that tomorrow you must not leave me behind.

What Lukhanyo explains above is typical of word-of-mouth job searching, where men inform each other when there are jobs available, and in this case even pick each other as work partners. While effective in helping some men find and maintain their jobs, these strategies do not work for all men, as some state that finding a job at *Emdeni* is a matter of one's 'luck' on that particular day.

There are several factors that either hinder or promote participants' chances of getting a job at *Emdeni*. Those that lower their chances for work include poor communication skills, lack of own transportation, lack of access to information sources (newspaper, internet etc.), and not being able to document each job through a referencing system that would provide a record of the jobs done as a way of verifying to potential employers one's experience in any specific job. Those factors that were said to promote participants' chances of getting a job included a good command of the employer's language (communication), having established clients (networking and connections), as well as physical presentation (with those who wore 'work clothes' being considered more 'ready' to work than those dressed casually). All these factors together, can determine whether those seeking work are offered a job or not.

It is important to note that being at *Emdeni* was not considered the only and last option for participants. Some men indicated that after having tried place-to-place job seeking and having submitted their CVs to companies, they would rather wait at *Emdeni* for responses while doing 'small' jobs rather than waiting at home doing nothing. According to Siseko, being at *Emdeni* for him was also a way of earning some money that he could use to travel to the

companies he submitted his job applications to. *Emdeni* is therefore not only a place where men seek work, but also a place where opportunities are created for 'better' work.

Frequency and duration of jobs. While used in many studies on the type of precarious work described here, the term 'day labourer' does not adequately characterise the experiences of men at *Emdeni* as it suggests that men are only searching for short-term jobs (Sharp, 2013). This study suggests that this is in fact not true, as the frequency and duration of jobs at *Emdeni* varied, with some jobs lasting anything from a few hours to five years. According to participants in this study, they could go for periods that lasted between a day and several weeks without a job. However, the majority indicated that they would never go for more than a week without a job, even if it is for only a few hours. For example, Songezo indicated that he would get a job "*maybe two days a week*", but not less. All participants interviewed in this study were asked when their last job had been at the time the interviews took place and each of them indicated that they had worked within the past seven days.

Several factors were cited by participants as determining their likelihood of getting a job and they include the time of arrival at *Emdeni*, the days in a week, and seasonal changes. According to Qhawe, "*you have to be early, wake up early and be here before 8am...that is when we are hired, around 8am*". Certain days are also considered to be better than others. For example, Moses thought Mondays and Tuesdays were the 'best' days for finding work. This view is supported by my observations during fieldwork where there were fewer men after midday each day, and a reduction in the number of men gathering at this site from Wednesday through to Friday. This was said to be because most men had been hired early in the morning, and also because men hired on Mondays or Tuesdays were more likely to work for the rest of the week, depending on the job.

Construction work, which is the work sought by most men at *Emdeni*, depending on the stage of the project, often involves working outdoors, making seasonal (climate) changes an important factor for participants. According to Themba who is a painter, the best season for paint work is in the summer. This also means that the type of work one does is also important as some jobs may be unaffected by seasonal changes. This view was also supported by Senzo:

Like [for] me, I only get better when the season comes in...Like now you see the rain is gone, painting jobs will come up. At least I can start now till December, you understand, if I get like a house [to paint] whatsoever you see, that is how it goes.

While Themba and Senzo's statements both suggest that seasonal climate changes affect opportunities for work, this was not supported by the men's activities. My data collection started in July (which falls in winter in Cape Town), a period of heavy rains. During this period, the number of men at *Emdeni* remained high. What I did observe however towards the end of my data collection which was in sunny and dry November, was that the number of men at *Emdeni* had declined. According to Senzo, this was because some men had given up on the job search for the year, retreated to their rural homesteads and would return at the beginning of the new year.

As indicated earlier, men did not present themselves as searching only for 'day' jobs at *Emdeni*. If anything, this is where they hoped they would find long-term jobs having failed in other ways of finding full-time work. The duration of jobs at *Emdeni* lasted anything from an hour, a few months, to five years, and for Jabu, a permanent job which he later left due to what he considered to be unfair treatment. As to why a man without great prospects might leave a permanent job, Jabu used the word "*apartheid*" in his description of the events that led to him leaving the job he had found. In using the word apartheid, Jabu was suggesting that he had

suffered from racially motivated forms of discrimination. Racial discrimination appeared to be a factor in the nature of precarious work and I return to it below under the section on worker-employer relationships.

During my four months in the field, I observed many job-seekers come and go as they found jobs and then had to return to look for another job when that job ended. One such participant was Admire, a 28-year-old Zimbabwean painter who had been living in Cape Town for about five years. Early in my second month of fieldwork, Admire was offered a job which lasted for three months, and he only returned when I was about to exit the site, stating that the job had ended.

A particularly interesting case was that of 'Mr L', the manager at the hardware store outside which the men in this study were looking for work. Mr L, as he introduced himself, was once himself looking for work like all other men at *Emdeni*. On his first day at *Emdeni* "as a young man", Mr L was asked by the store manager at the time to help carry bags of cement into a customer's vehicle. When he had completed this task, Mr L was then called in by the manager and told to return to the store the following day. On his return the next day, he was told he could start work immediately as a 'packer' who helped carry customers' purchases to their vehicles, and three days later, he was made permanent. Twenty-two years later (in 2014), Mr L had become the manager of the store.

These stories (Admire and Mr L) capture the possibilities of life at *Emdeni* in providing not only short-term 'day' jobs but also long-term to permanent employment. Furthermore, these stories suggest that participants may be right in their arguing that 'luck' plays a role in whether one is offered a job or not. For example, while some men who had been looking for work at *Emdeni* for over six years had still not been offered full-time positions, some men like Mr L, can get permanent jobs on their first day, before they have even had to 'prove' themselves worthy of such jobs. The perceived possibility of finding a full-time job at *Emdeni* also explains

why some men continue to frequent this site each day even during the ‘not so promising’ periods.

Worker-employer relationships. Understanding the relationship between employers and workers is particularly important in the case of roadside work-seekers whose relationship with those who hire them is characterised by instability. In order to understand the nature of this relationship, participants in this study were asked about their employers, who they are (demographic profile), how they would characterise the relationship with employers (freedom to negotiate), as well as to describe how they were treated by those who employed them at *Emdeni*. The hardware store had a variety of customers ranging from private home owners and local residents, to sub-contractors and established construction companies. So, on any given day the men in this study could be hired by a house owner or local resident for a small job such as gardening, plastering, fixing electricals and sometimes for renovation projects as large as extending, painting and tiling a house; or they could be hired by a sub-contractor looking for men to work on a building project.

Participants indicated differences between employers. They stated that the criteria used by private individuals to seek out employees differed from that used by construction companies or sub-contractors. Furthermore, participants also suggested racial differences in treatment from these various employers. For example, Themba indicated that local residents or home owners were much “*nicer*” to them than sub-contractors. This according to many participants was because local residents were more likely to offer them lunch, and also allowed for more frequent breaks in between work. Race was particularly considered important as it was said to determine how men were treated by their employers, based on both the employer and work-seekers’ race as well as nationality. In the following extracts, Themba and Jabu explain the racial differences between employers.

Yes, there is a big difference, like with employers there are...you find that when you are hired by a black person they might not pay and a black person's money is not sufficient like that of a white person, like that. Themba

They are not the same my sister, some of them come here with ethnocentrism you see. Most of them are respectful, black people are the ones who have no respect [inaudible segment: 0:23:56.3]. You know a dog? Jabu

These statements both echo sentiments shared by many other participants by suggesting that Black employers showed no respect to workers from *Emdeni*. Black employers were also said to pay lower wages compared to White employers. This, according to Spikiri, was the reason he chose Parow as his 'site' as there were fewer Black people seeking workers in this area.

At least here we meet white people...and people who are honest. What I also hear from people who look for work at Side C³³, there are places where people look for work but people say they meet crooks there. A black person will not even want to give you the amount of money you charge them, instead they will tell you they picked you up at the robots³⁴ and tell you that you are struggling and what not. Here we can meet whites who are good...once a black person just sees you just sitting here and they will not even think that maybe that person is struggling you see. A black person can be employed by a black person. I'm just saying, black people do take us sometimes and you find that they even lie to you about the time you will finish work whereas a white person knows that at work there is a break at ten, at one there is a break, and at five it's home time,

³³ Side C is a section in a township called Khayelitsha, in Cape Town.

³⁴ 'Robots' is commonly used in South Africa to refer to traffic lights.

he understands that you stay in Khayelitsha which is far and is concerned about safety and what not. Spikiri

According to Spikiri, Black employers are not only disrespectful but they also tend to downplay the amount of work and time it will take in order to negotiate for lower rates. The impact of race on the relationship between employer and worker was also found by Harmse, Blaauw and Schenk (2009). In their study on day labourers in Durban, South Africa, these authors also found that black employers were perceived as paying the lowest wages, while English speaking White employers were considered “snobs” (Harmse, Blaauw & Schenck, 2009, p. 4). The nationality of workers was also considered by employers who often picked foreign nationals over South African men for work. This decision was based on a commonly held perception of particularly Zimbabwean men as ‘desperate hard workers’ who could be exploited.

While some participants reported to have never been mistreated by employers, the majority had many negative stories to tell. Irrespective of race, this study found that men at *Emdeni* were generally treated badly. Some examples of such negative treatment included being disrespected (being shouted at and treated as not having ‘worker’ rights), poor pay (employers not adhering to the amount agreed on during negotiation), no pay (employers ‘disappearing’ with the workers’ wages), being treated like criminals, and employers not taking into consideration the safety requirements of construction work. Siya for example, left one such job where an employer spoke ‘down’ to him and would not let him take a lunch and tea break as one would expect for anyone doing a full day’s work. In some cases, such an experience could even lead to violence, where the disrespected worker would physically attack their employer. This was the case for Mzo, who stated that after several occasions of being shouted at and insulted by his employer, he attacked him. According to Mzo, “*I found myself no longer being able to ‘get hold’ of myself*”. Mzo can be seen here as using violence to ‘reclaim’ his

place as a man worthy of respect, highlighting the relationship between violence and constructions of dominant masculinities (Kimmel, 2004).

Participants also reported being deceived by employers who would not pay them the amount they had agreed on before they left *Emdeni*. This means that even when workers are in a position to negotiate their rate with the potential employer, they might still end up being paid much less after they had completed the job.

Some cases were, however, more extreme than others. Some participants indicated that they would sometimes not be paid at all. Some employers found different ways of robbing workers of their pay and gave reasons such as the job not being done well. According to Steve, he never accepted a job that had already been started by someone else as it often meant that the employer refused to pay the person who had started the work by claiming that it is not done well. In his experience, Steve states, he found nothing wrong with the work, but it was just the employer's way of paying only for some of the work done but not all of it. Katlego for example, had a similar experience where his employer 'disappeared' with his wages for work done over a period of two weeks. He explains his story as follows:

The issue of running away with wages has happened to me, it happened to me three years back or four years back. A white person who employed me here, he was actually coloured [inaudible segment: 0:12:11.3] ...he left with two weeks worth of my wages.

Another way in which workers are often robbed by their employers is through the theft of their work tools. When asked how this happens, Jabu explained:

Yes some of them...others can hire you here and ask you for tools, he hires you here and then take your tools. He will ask you 'you got a lunch?' You say 'I don't have lunch',

and he says 'okay there is a shop, go there and buy yourself lunch because there is no lunch where we are going'. So in your mind you have one thing, that you are going to work 'so let me just go buy lunch'. While you go inside the shop to buy lunch...you used your last money and bought lunch only to find that you are not even going to work he has already driven off with your tools. He drove off with your tools, because when you got into the car you put your tools down, then he says 'go buy lunch', so your mind is on the fact that you have to go and buy lunch you see. Those are the kinds of things people of this area do to us, yho³⁵ my sister.

I then asked Katlego, Jabu and other participants whether they reported such cases of being robbed to the police. The responses to this question suggest that participants have no faith in the criminal-justice system. Themba explains in the following statement how, when attempting to open criminal cases against their employers, they are often dismissed by police who refer them to the labour department.

Take for example, when they are not paid, they go to the police station to report that 'boss so and so did not pay us', the police will say 'no go to the labour department with work related matters', this is not a work related matter, they cannot go to the labour department because...the labour department takes 15 days to get started on a case and where do they travel from...they come from Stikland to the labour department in Bellville, how do they get there because they have no train [ticket] they have nothing. Whereas police could react at that time you see, and arrest this person at that time you understand.

³⁵ 'Yho' is an exclamation.

The precarious nature of work at *Emdeni* also means that employers and workers need not exchange any personal information such as real names, addresses and contact numbers. This also makes it hard to open a criminal case against an employer when you do not have any information about them.

Another way in which participants felt mistreated was when they were often accused of stealing material from their employers. Even when nothing was stolen, some workers would be subjected to a bag search at the end of each work day. This was reported to have been caused by other workers who had stolen from the employers before, therefore creating the perception that all men from *Emdeni* were thieves. Such a perception had negative implications for workers as employers would avoid picking up workers from this site, opting to find men elsewhere. This was a major obstacle for workers as they state that such perceptions would spread as employers (particularly sub-contractors who are connected to one another) would warn others about the men at *Emdeni*.

Construction work often involves activities that could be dangerous. As such, construction companies require their employees to wear suitable protective clothing, safety boots and helmets. I did observe during my fieldwork however that the majority of the participants did not wear protective clothing or even safety boots. When asked, a few indicated that they had protective clothing referred to as 'overalls' in their backpacks and only changed when they arrived on the work site. Others however indicated that they could not afford such clothing, especially the safety boots, even though they were concerned about their own safety. I then further asked whether employers took such safety concerns into consideration when they picked men up for work. Participants' responses to this question suggest that individuals or local residents who hired them were not really bothered by such, whereas sub-contractors were likely to hire only men who were equipped with their own safety gear, or provide them with such.

While Themba believes that employers should be the ones providing safety clothing for workers, Sicelo (below) suggests that it is the worker's responsibility to ensure that they provide for themselves all the tools and safety gear for their trade.

It's my own responsibility, I say I'm a lap or I'm a builder... If I am a builder I should be having my own tools, my own protectives because this person maybe he can hire just a company as it is. He is not the one who's responsible for supplying them with the helmet and everything you see. Sicelo

Sicelo's view was also shared by other participants, who indicated that being equipped for your job suggests that you are a 'professional', and as commonly thought, well experienced. Themba, who considered himself to be better off than the other men because he was better educated, communicated well and had his own construction company, made interesting observations during his time at *Emdeni*. According to Themba, construction companies only approached men at *Emdeni* when they had 'dangerous' jobs that needed to be completed. This means that even when they had full-time employees, such companies would rather pick up men from *Emdeni* to avoid the responsibility associated with having an employee injured on the job.

You find that all the other people who work for the company are here on the ground, they work on the ground, it is only the people who were desperately looking for work who are put at the top, to do the difficult work at the top [of a building or scaffold]. Most of the time that is what happens here, the people employed here are employed by companies for work that chase deadlines...they want to meet a deadline for tomorrow and rush and exhaust a person and then fire them, they lay them off...or the work is dangerous you understand. Themba

For registered employees, the companies would be required to take responsibility by either compensating workers or paying for their medical treatment, while, if they hire men from *Emdeni*, these companies cannot be held responsible as such a relationship involves contract-free, unregulated working conditions. These findings are consistent with other studies that reported high rates of non-fatal occupational injuries among day labourers (Fernández-Esquer et al, 2015), with fewer of these injuries also reported to result in death.

The material discussed in this section suggests that while often the only option left for some men, looking for work at *Emdeni* may put their lives at risk, while at the same time not even fulfilling the purpose it is expected to, such as providing sufficient job opportunities. Participants interviewed in this study suggested several ways in which they felt their working conditions could be improved, however, each of these suggestions involved ‘outsiders’ coming in rather than relying on their own efforts to make things better. The recommendations made by participants on improving life at *Emdeni* are discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to discuss the experiences of men at *Emdeni*. Furthermore, I sought to show through their stories, the ways in which this type of work and the environment within which it occurs is characterised by insecurity, unstable relationships and dangerous working conditions.

This study found the experience of roadside work-seekers at *Emdeni* to be a precarious and often unpleasant one. While seemingly straightforward, being at *Emdeni* involves making several strategic decisions not only about where you place yourself on the street corner, but also who you associate with and the extent of such associations. The competition for work

among men at *Emdeni* often results in conflict among men, reducing the possibility of forming constructive, work-enhancing relationships.

The formation of boundaries among men at *Emdeni* also suggests the existence of hierarchies, where some men claim an authoritative place for themselves on the street corner that thrives on the discrimination and disadvantaging of other work-seekers.

In an environment where competition for work is high, men are often required to be creative in their job-searching strategies. As found in this study, some of these strategies rely on a compromise of moral values, where one gets a job through 'knocking down' another in the quest for survival.

Finally, the fact that roadside work-seeking can provide more than just a 'day' job, and can sometimes provide opportunities for long-term full-time work, makes it a viable option for seeking work. The opportunities this type of work provides for men warrants further investigation into roadside work-seeking, so as to better understand how this market works and how it can be improved for those involved.

Chapter 6: Constructions of fatherhood and fathering

Introduction

Fatherhood and the roles associated with it differ according to the context within which it is defined, as well as the people defining it. Constructions of fatherhood change over time, and according to the socio-economic and cultural changes within society (Morman & Floyd, 2002). The ways in which men practice fatherhood is shaped by many factors including their employment status, the ways in which they have been socialised and family context (Yoshida, 2012). Different aspects of fatherhood are therefore considered important by individuals at different stages in their lives. Of interest to this study is the ways in which precarious employment (particularly roadside work-seeking) impacts on men's fathering practices. It is important, however, that we understand exactly what the concepts 'father', 'fatherhood' and 'fathering' means to men, who for many years have been excluded in studies on parenting. As a result, little is known about how men define and practice fatherhood (Richter & Morrell, 2006).

Literature suggests that fatherhood is important and matters to men (Dowd, 2000; Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001), and it is on this premise that this study is based, arguing that fatherhood may impact on the way men think about work, or conversely, that precarious work may impact the ways in which men define and practice fatherhood. As a starting point, I asked participants how they understood the term 'father'. Participants in this study were found to draw on existing models of fatherhood such as biological, economic, and nurturing fatherhood.

This chapter focuses on the participants' definitions of fatherhood, the roles and responsibilities associated with fatherhood, and the ways in which men distinguish 'good' from 'bad' fatherhood. Furthermore, I discuss participants' motivation for looking for work on the side of the road, arguing based on the findings, that children play an important role in

motivating men to seek work. It is important to note however that having a child(ren) was not the only reason men engaged in this type of work. I discuss the importance of self-dependence and socialisation as other factors that drive men to seek work.

The meaning of fatherhood

Clear distinctions have been made between the terms ‘father’ and ‘fatherhood’ (Hobson & Morgan, 2002). In this study, however, participants used these terms in ways that suggested little difference in meaning. A father was considered to be someone who had biologically contributed to the conception of a child, and was expected to fulfil certain duties and responsibilities. The latter part being conceptualised as fatherhood (public discourse and roles and responsibilities) and fathering (the actual fulfilment of these responsibilities).

The significance of biological connections in men’s definitions of the term father is not surprising, as many South African and international studies have reported similar findings (e.g. see Richter & Morrell, 2006). The findings in this study therefore suggest that participants consider fatherhood and fathering to only apply to men who had biologically fathered children. The definition of fatherhood as relating to biology has been criticized for various reasons. First, men who are not biological fathers have and continue to take on the role of fathering children within and outside of their own households (Morrell, 2006). Second, as mentioned in chapter one, technological developments in the form of artificial insemination have shown that some men, while having contributed to the biological conception of a child, may have no interest in actually fulfilling any of the roles associated with fatherhood, or even identifying as a father. This may also apply to men who have biologically ‘fathered’ a child, but take no interest in being an actual father to the child. According to Hobson and Morgan (2002), the understanding of the term ‘father’ as meaning biological contribution to conception speaks to how society privileges biological fathers over social fathers. This also means that while there

are men who take on the role of fathering children they are not biologically connected to, these men 'cannot' identify themselves as fathers, despite the range of social and legal factors that have shaped the definition of fatherhood over the years (Marsiglio, Day & Lamb, 2000). Fathering, the way in which men 'do' fatherhood, was considered particularly important by participants. Being a father therefore meant doing certain things, with most of their definitions starting with 'a father is someone who does...' as shown in the statement by Moses (a father of one from the Eastern Cape) below:

Being a father is being able to do things when you want to, being able to do it. You can feel yourself, that you are now a certain somebody now you see. If I can do something that I want. Like, to be able to feel like a father, like when you are like this, you just see yourself standing here, you stand here the whole day and go home with nothing. You don't feel right you see.

According to Moses, being a father means being able to do the things that you want to do, which may be hard if you are in precarious employment. In the following extract, Bheki suggests that being a father is hard especially if you cannot do the things that are expected of you.

You see if you are a father of someone it's very hard sometimes, like good example to us as foreigners because to my country they have belief of saying if you are daddy you are the head of the house. So all of the people they look to you sometimes... You must have something to give your children all the time, so that is what I think about a father.

According to Bheki, being head of the household means that you are expected to be in a position to provide for your children at all times. The view of men as heads of households is associated with patriarchal family structures, where men are expected to be the leaders within the home and are most often considered the decision-makers. Hunter (2006) uses the Zulu word ‘*umnumzana*’ to describe the role of men as heads of *umuzi* (homestead/household) who are expected to protect and provide for their families. Participants in this study associated certain responsibilities with the role as head of household and father, and these are discussed next.

‘Fathering’: The responsibilities of a father

Participants associated fatherhood with a list of responsibilities which centred particularly on both economic provision and nurturing. Participants not only spoke about the responsibilities that they were fulfilling within their children’s lives, but also those they thought were generally expected of fathers. In doing this, they constantly evaluate themselves based on how much of the ‘expected’ they could fulfil.

Father as economic provider. The findings in this study suggest that economic provision remains an important signifier of good fatherhood and successful masculinity (Hunter, 2005; Tölke & Diewald, 2003). According to Morrell (2006), it is often those men who struggle to provide for their families due to unemployment and poverty who draw on provider discourses of fatherhood. This is true in the current study, where the need to provide was emphasised and considered important by all participants, as shown in the following quotes.

Other responsibilities of a father are to provide them. You know these children they are at school they need support. So...they need food, clothing, they need like laptops to upgrade themselves. That's my responsibility as a father. Peter

Then things like those, like doing groceries for the children, paying school fees, I do it in full when I have money, I do all of that then I know that I will be able to survive because the children do not understand not having food to eat you see, then I do groceries. Themba

Uhm, like now maybe if I had a job I would support the children with [school] uniform, support them with everything and be able to save money for each one of them. Like opening a [bank] card for each one of them and maybe for example we can say per month it is R50, R50, and R50. Qhawe

For the children? They should have clothes to wear and not walk around bare feet. Plus I cannot say I have things here while they need something and I cannot give it to them. I should give them whatever they need if I have it. Mzo

The above statements describe the father's responsibility to provide for his children's various needs including food, clothing, school requirements (such as paying for school fees and buying uniform, laptops, and stationery), and saving money for them. This according to Siseko also means ensuring that your child also goes to 'a good school' so they can succeed. The construction of fathers as economic providers reflects participants' subscription to dominant masculine ideals that situate men's work outside of the home and values paid work (Miller, 2011). Mzo above (a father of one from the Eastern Cape) speaks of the importance of sacrifice, suggesting that fathers should put their children's needs before their own. The importance of providing is also highlighted by Manne (who has to provide for six of his children while on pension) who speaks about how he is 'skarreling' for his children. Ross (2010, p. 108) defined

skarreling as “to rummage or scramble” which suggests a “frantic search for life’s basic needs”. This can involve asking for jobs, selling items, and begging for money or food. *Skarreling*, as found in this study, is also distinguished from ‘serious’ work, where those who *skarrel* were thought of as not being serious about work and instead asking for handouts. *Skarreling* was therefore considered as the last option when all else fails.

Economic provision was however not the only responsibility cited, as participants also made reference to a ‘nurturing’ fatherhood that requires men to engage their children emotionally, to ‘be there’ physically, and to participate in care work, which while reportedly something they did, was also rejected by some participants who consider care work to be women’s task.

Nurturing fatherhood: ‘To love, be there and to care’. In addition to providing for their families, participants also indicated the importance of loving their children, being there for them (physical presence and emotional support), and engaging in care work when they had to.

Sicelo (father of one from Zimbabwe) for example, is among those who highlighted the importance of loving one’s children as he stated that “*the first responsibility of a father is to love the children, be there for the children*”. The importance of love was supported by several others.

Loving them is the most important thing. Because if you don’t wanna give them love, they gonna feel that there’s no love. That’s why most of the kids turn out... changing their lives to drugs, doing this, doing that, getting into gangs and all that. It is very important for a father to love his kids. Jason

Jason speaks about the psychological impact of not showing children love. The importance of a loving and caring father or father figure in children's lives has been noted in previous studies, which also suggest that children who do not experience such warmth may present with psychological and behavioural problems such as alcohol and drug abuse (Edin, Tach & Mincy, 2009; Timaus & Boler, 2007). These developmental and behavioural problems are said to be similar to those of children whose fathers are 'absent' (Padi, Nduna, Khunou, Kholopane, 2014). While acknowledging the detrimental effects of father absence on children, Smit (2004) also suggests that these effects may be overemphasised by scholars who approach studies of fatherhood from a deficit perspective.

In addition to being a loving father, Themba (below) highlights the importance of defending and fighting for one's family. Once again, hegemonic and patriarchal constructions of masculinities are drawn upon. Men and fathers are therefore expected to protect their families at all costs, including being violent. Violence is associated with displays of masculinity. According to Kimmel (2001), it is a willingness and a desire to fight that signifies dominant masculinities, which according to Themba, is important to ensure the protection of his family.

I think maybe as a father it is love, love...just love...like love you see, and also defending your family. To them even if you have nothing, you say 'hey hey hey that's my family!'. I have to fight for them, to defend whatsoever. It gives you something to...even if you are going through rough patches in life where you have nothing like money you understand, not much, they look at you and say 'eish that guy you understand has...has love for us and he [inaudible segment: 0:19:27.9] he knows how to defend his family you understand', yeah I think that the one thing that is important to me is love, being able to protect them as a father. Themba

'Being there' for one's family was also considered important. For example, Jacob indicated that he wanted to stay with his children so as to provide them with a sense of security:

...And I want them to stay with with me, I want to stay with my children. I want them to feel that their father is here even when I have even when I don't have. Jacob

Migrant labour occurs as a result of many factors including the lack of job opportunities. Often men and women have to move away from their families in search for work (Wilson, 2006). Jacob, a Zimbabwean national, is one such man who had to leave his family back in Zimbabwe to come and look for work in South Africa. While he desires to 'be there' with his children, Jacob has to continue his search for work in order to ensure that his children are provided for. In relation to one of the objectives of this study which was to understand how men negotiate between their children's emotional and economic needs, it is clear that economic provision comes first.

While highlighting the importance of 'fatherly love', Spikiri suggests in the following extract that a father's primary role is to 'feed' and provide for his family and then thereafter, ensure that they receive his love. Similar findings were reported by Roy (2004) who found that while nurturing was considered important, participants maintained that one cannot 'eat love'. This expression is particularly interesting when applied in a context where men may have nothing else to offer their families, when they cannot provide for them. More specifically, this view might create tensions in men who might even feel that being a caring and loving father is not worth it when you cannot provide your family with what is most urgent such as economic resources. It is important to note that most of the participants admitted (to me) that they were struggling to fulfil their roles as economic provider, which can be viewed (particularly by other

men) as having failed to fulfil one's role, and therefore lacking their manhood. Kimmel (2004) argues that driven by the fear of shame and humiliation, men often 'perform' dominant (yet fragile) versions of masculinity. In this study, participants were found to misrepresent themselves to other men as being able to fulfil their economic responsibilities.

You must first make sure that children eat [my] sister, you must make sure that you provide them with clothes to wear and [only] then you have to make sure that they get a father's love at all times. Spikiri

The above statements about love particularly that by Spikiri, suggest that being present alone is not enough. Fathers have to love their children and not just be there physically. This view is supported by East, Jackson, and O'Brien (2006) who argue that the importance of 'father love' is not well articulated in existing literature. In addition to being important for child well-being, loving one's children and family was also reported by participants in this study to be important in creating a supportive environment whereby even when they could not afford to take care of their families, they would still be appreciated for 'being loving' and 'being there' as stated by Jacob and Themba above. It is Christopher (a 32-year-old father of one from the Eastern Cape), however, who takes the concept of loving one's children a step further by stating that his role as a father is to ensure that his children never get to witness any form of violence within the home:

The first thing I think should not happen is for the child to see me and the mother fighting, yes even when we fight they should not be there. We can fight when we are alone, no matter how angry I am they should not see me beating her in front of them, I must leave her or send the child away. Christopher

While commendable, this statement by Christopher contains contradictions in that while he feels that his child should not be exposed to violence at home, he seems to think being violent towards his intimate partner is acceptable, as long as the child does not get to see it. This (openly speaking about violence and abuse within the home as though it is acceptable) was unfortunately common during the interviews as many other participants made reference to being violent towards their intimate partners, though many of them did not mention their children as in Christopher's case. Intimate partner violence is prevalent in South Africa and is often normalised through various cultural practices and social norms (Kim & Motsei, 2002) that make it okay for men to (physically, verbally, emotionally and sexually) abuse their partners and turn around and talk about it without any feelings of guilt. Such statements, while disturbing, are particularly important for the ways in which they reveal shared patterns of thinking among close-knit communities, and in this case, a group of men who spend most of their time together either while working or during their search for work, thus sharing similar ideas about what is 'normal' and 'acceptable' practice and what is not.

While challenging statements participants make about their violent behaviour might seem like the 'right' thing to do, Bell (1993) suggests that it is important to allow participants to continue as they may provide insight to the influences that shape the way they think and the roots of these.

Finally, participants also spoke about their roles as fathers as involving caring for their children. Two of the participants spoke particularly about their active role in looking after their children, an activity which involved changing diapers, bathing and feeding the children as indicated by Jabu:

There is nothing I can say I am not doing because whenever I am off [work] and just relaxing in the township all my children come to me if they did not go to school, and even on weekends if I come back early from my jobs because I finish work around three, I can get home and find that they have not washed and my children have been dirty all day, I put water there and clean them up and dress them you see, such things.

While Jabu states that he looks after his children whenever he is not working, it is what he says next that is particularly interesting. Following the above statement, Jabu goes on to say that according to him, a father's job is to provide, while the mother is the one who cares for the children. He further suggests (below) that him caring for his children is as a result of an uncaring mother:

There is only one thing I see for a father is to provide for his children. Anything else must be [done by] the mother. Yes...that my children must be clean and stuff, but you find that some parents do not care about children. You find that the children have not washed all day. You get home late and find the children dirty, such things. Jabu

Like Jabu, Katlego (a 28 year old father of one from the Eastern Cape) also stated that he 'nurses'³⁶ the child by changing diapers and feeding them. However, he similarly continues to state that he only 'nurses' when he wants to, as it is primarily the role of the mother to do so. Katlego's sentiments are well captured in the following statement:

³⁶ By 'nursing', participants refer to their role in caring for the child that involved washing, feeding and changing diapers.

No, his/her mother is there. If I want to nurse³⁷ I nurse, and if I don't want to nurse I don't nurse. If I don't want to I just sleep, when I am sitting at home I know that I don't want to be bothered...I stay in my house, close my gate and listen to music or watch tv. She will nurse...she is the mother.

The quotes by Jabu and Katlego reflect a view similar to what Featherstone (2009, p. 33) called “cherry picking” which describe men’s contribution to childcare as often revolving around fun activities rather than actual ‘nursing’. In Jabu’s case, he does it because he has to when the mother of his children does not care for them. These statements also draw on a popular understanding of mothers as having no choice but to care for the children, while the father can do so only when he desires (see also Phoenix, Woollett, and Lloyd, 1991). Motherhood is therefore seen as “a societal duty” while fatherhood is seen as “personal and elective” (Vuori, 2009, p. 45). In a study on the factors affecting fathers’ involvement in physically caring for their children, Yoshida (2012, pp. 453-458) examines socialisation, socio-economic status, and household characteristics or the family context. These three factors noted by Yoshida (2012) are important in that they address the ways in which being socialised into a patriarchal home where the father as head of household is the economic provider who does not engage his children emotionally, can shape the ways in which men father. Socio-economic status is an important factor in the current study where men often go for weeks or even months without jobs, making it hard for them to fulfil their roles as economic providers, and possibly harder to assert themselves as ‘head of household’. This also means that for men who spend a lot of time on the street corner looking for work, there may be little opportunity for engaging in child-care activities.

³⁷ The participant uses the word ‘nurse’ to refer to physically caring for the children which includes changing diapers, feeding and washing them.

Dominant constructions of masculinities are also evident in the above statements where ‘successful manhood’ is constructed as centred on providing for and protecting one’s family (Miller, 2011; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011). Such (hegemonic) constructions of masculinities prevent men from engaging in care work, which is often associated with femininity (Agadjanian, 2005; Dowd, 2000). While participants in this study clearly state what they perceive their roles and responsibilities to be, many also indicated that they struggle to fulfil these and as a result feel like they are ‘bad’ fathers. A distinction is therefore made between those men who can provide and are thus ‘good’ fathers, and those who struggle, the ‘bad’ fathers.

‘Good’ and ‘bad’ fatherhood

In their definitions of fatherhood and fathering, participants also distinguished between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ fathers. ‘Good’ fathers were described as those who were able to provide for their families and children, those who cared for their families, those who showed love towards others, and those who visited their families regularly, as shown by Sphiwe, Moses, Peter and Mike:

Oh what makes a man a good father is when he can provide for his family’s needs you see. So when he cannot [provide] then he is not a good father sometimes. Sphiwe

Showing humanity towards others, you see...At home it shouldn’t be that when you walk in the children run to their mother. Even at home when you walk in and they were talking and then you see they talk here and there, they don’t talk the way they did when you were not there. You see when it is like that, you cannot say you are a good person, especially when things aren’t going well at home, more than out there you see. Moses

Yeah, they are good people...some of them they are good people ofcourse some of them they are not good as such because if I interviewed some of my guys here standing with me some they have got a lot of years staying in South Africa without going home, that's bad...that's bad. You could find some of them they've got 15 or so years without going back home so yes. Peter

What makes you a good person is the love that you give to others. If you can love people, and the community, then you are a good person. You should even give your family life, love and all that. Mike

The above statements by Sphiwe, Moses, Peter and Mike not only refer to fatherhood, but also the ways in which 'good' men are constructed in society. Moses speaks about having 'ubuntu' which means treating others with love and respect. Peter on the other hand refers to those (migrant) men who do not return 'home' to their families as not being 'good' men and fathers. This contradicts Peter's earlier statement (and that of many others) where he had spoken about the difficulty of going back to Zimbabwe due to the costs involved. It can be said that in one sense, all these men are being 'good' fathers in that they would rather stay in South Africa and be able to send some money home instead of just giving up and going back home to be with their families while not being able to provide for them. Love comes up again as an important feature in men's lives as Mike (above) states that being a 'good' man and father means that you show love not only towards your family, but also towards others around you in the community. It is interesting to note that even though men have been constructed as emotionally inexpressive and 'untrained', participants in this study spoke openly about their emotions (both

positive and negative), thus resisting the dominant discourses (Allen, 2003; Cancian, 1986; Schoenfeld, Bredow & Huston, 2012).

These statements particularly that by Peter suggest that precariously employed men in this study may be dealing with internal conflicts that result from their evaluations of their own abilities, what they think they should be doing, and what they struggle with. For Peter, while attempting to be a ‘good’ man and father by taking on whichever job he can find and being away from his family for long periods, he also sees himself and others as being ‘bad’ men by being away from his family for long. This view of the ‘bad’ man and father who cannot live up to his (masculine) expectations is harmful to participants and may result in psychological distress, low self-esteem and insecurity (Liu, Rochlen & Mohr, 2005).

While the majority of the participants indicated being the primary provider in their families, and others stating that they would not seek help from family and friends as it is their responsibility to provide, some men did acknowledge and were accepting the help offered to them. A few such men include Sicelo, Spikiri, and Mzo whose views are captured in the statements that follow. ‘Kin work’, which refers to the ways in which families support each other to ensure that the family survives over time, is considered important in helping men fulfil their roles as fathers (Madhavan & Roy, 2012). While Sicelo and Spikiri speak about family as playing an important role in assisting them to provide for their families, Mzo highlights the extent of his desperation where his mother, who is receiving the pension grant, has to help him provide. As indicated earlier (chapter 4), this grant is often not sufficient in most families as the recipients tend to be the primary providers.

Family plays a big role in my life. I don't think I would be able to take care of my child, but now my child is with family, my mother loves her grandchild so much. He is more of his [her] child than mine. Sicelo

Eish I am just saying sister that I am receiving some support from my family, I understand that I am struggling on my side but at least I have my family's back-up because they know that I am not working, when I work like this I am not working. So I can talk to my bothers and sisters and say 'I need this and that' because it is the same as not working when you work like this. Spikiri

No my mother and them try to help me with the 'pay'³⁸ money...I do try when I get the opportunity...I try so that there is something coming from my side. Mzo

It is also important to note that some men indicated that they were not the only ones responsible for providing for their children, with the mother of the child often assisting, or even being the only provider at times. In Themba's case (below), the mothers of his four children all assist him in taking care of his children. Siseko (also below) on the other hand, states that he assists where he can, with the mother of his child being the primary provider as she is employed.

...but I do not support all of them, like they do not depend on me everyday, fortunately their parents are able to meet me [halfway] and they understand when I say I do not have money you see. Themba

With his/her mother, no it is the mother...I don't get paid, I just help sometimes, whenever I am able to. Siseko

³⁸ 'Pay' money refers to the older person's pension grant.

As mentioned earlier, participants like Themba and Siseko who admit that they cannot provide for their children are often thought of as at risk of psychological stress that results from the conflict between what is expected of them as men (by themselves or others), and what they are able to achieve (Liu, Rochlen & Mohr, 2005). Others, however, seem to deal with such tensions by justifying to themselves why they should be accepting help from family. For example, Spikiri (page 154) states that “*when I work like this I am not working*”, suggesting that he is unemployed, and therefore can rely on the help from his brothers and sisters. Referring to himself as unemployed reveals to us again that while some participants consider themselves to be in some kind of employment when coming to *Emdeni*, others do not consider ‘day labour’ work as a form of employment. Spikiri’s view of his own working conditions can therefore be better understood using Alexander and Wale’s (2013) notion of underemployment.

Finally, one participant made reference to the social grant which he stated helps him ‘cover’ certain expenses. The child support grant is paid by the (South African) government to the primary caregivers of children under the age of 18 years. The caregivers in receipt of a child support grant are those who are considered in need, which is assessed through a means test³⁹. In 2015, the child support grant was set at R330 a month per child (South African Government, 2015). This amount, as indicated by Lukhanyo below, is not sufficient to cover all the necessary expenses, as it only covers a child’s school-related needs. While primarily meant for the needs of children, the child support grant is often used for expenses other than that of the child. It is also important to note that children’s needs go beyond just school expenses as they also need to eat, they need clothes and toiletries, which clearly, the child support grant might not cover.

You can help along with the [social] grant you see, the grant helps...I am just saying here and there where you struggle, the grant money is not always there around the

³⁹ The caregiver should not earn more than R39600 per year if single and 79200 if on a combined income.

house, it runs out. When it runs out then you can help, you have to buy food here at home. The grant money is to be used for school expenses then it is up. Lukhanyo

While providing for their children may be a struggle, the statements in this section indicate that men often do not have to do it on their own. These statements also highlight the importance of a supportive family, which unfortunately, not all the men in this study had access to. It is also important to note that while men who struggle to provide were often considered ‘bad’ men and fathers, it is their willingness to wait for days, weeks and months on the side of the road for work opportunities that defined the lives of many of the participants. Even when not guaranteed a job, participants would wake up from their ‘homes’ to go and search for work every day, showing a certain level of dedication towards their children and families.

Motivation for being at *Emdeni*

In order to establish whether having children was an encouraging factor for men seeking work on the side of the road, participants were asked about what it is that motivated them to continue to look for work when their chances often seemed bleak. While the majority of the men indicated that they had to work so they can provide for their families and children, others felt that they would still be on the side of the road even if they did not have children. I first explore some of the responses from the men who indicated having children as their main motivation for looking for work on the side of the road, followed by the responses from men who indicated reasons other than having children as their motivation, suggesting that they would still be engaging in such job-seeking activities even if they had no children to provide for. It is important to note here that some of the men who indicated having children as their main motivation for looking for work on the side of the road also stated that they would still continue

looking for work this way even if they did not have children, while others stated that they would not bother at all.

Having children as motivation for being at *Emdeni*. Participants in this study indicated that their children were the main reason they were driven to wake up each day, travel distances, in order to look for work at this particular job-seeking site. Steve is among the men who felt strongly about this, indicating that he would see no need to be on the street corner if he did not have children. Steve narrates his struggle with providing for his children as follows:

No, if I don't have children I can't be here, if I don't have any children I suppose not be here I'm gonna be there and then I do what I see, because if you are one you gonna survive there and then you make plan, you gonna sleeping on the tree if [laughing] you are one. But if you are there now you can't sleeping on the outside you supposed to be there with your children, 'daddy, daddy can I have the drink' but then [inaudible segment 21:41]. I'm just so sorry because another children was eating now from the school, this one now is stubborn because he doesn't have things for school.

Steve also speaks about the difficulty in having children of school-going age. Not being able to provide sufficiently means that often, his children will go to school without a decent lunch or any other school requirements. One other participant spoke about how it would be easy for him to 'bunk' looking for work if he did not have children. Similar to Steve, Moses (below) refers to the importance of being able to provide school requirements for his child and responds as follows when asked if he would still engage in roadside work-seeking if he did not have any children.

I don't think so, because when I leave...I would have days where I feel like no, but you see sometimes the child comes home from school and they want something, and I don't have what they want...there will be a time when they don't want what you have here at home, and I am thinking that I have nothing in my pocket you see, I would get lazy on some days, and think no there is food at home, no one will bother me, my mother will not want anything from me, I have cigarettes you see. Now, I would feel like I can't wake up today, let me rest. Moses

For Moses, having a child means that there is no 'free' day. Even if he has what he needs, he still needs to ensure that his children are well provided for. This was the case for most of the participants who indicated that it was important that their children were taken care of. Sphiwe (a father of two and painter from the Eastern Cape) states his desire to ensure that his children are well provided for as follows:

Yes that is what makes me wake up and come here everyday, I would like to be able to provide for them so my children can have something to eat before they go to bed.

While emphasising the importance of ensuring that his children do not go to bed on an empty stomach, Sphiwe also states that it would however be easier for him to take a day off if he did not have children:

Yes, I would still wake up and come [here], but when I didn't feel like it on another day I would rest and not come, but now I can't stay at home. Sphiwe

It is Lukhanyo (28) and Jabu (37) (below) however, who were explicit in their lack of interest in being at *Emdeni*, stating that they would be ‘hanging’ around in the township if they did not have children. While Lukhanyo stated that he would probably have been smoking marijuana in the township instead of looking for work, Jabu would rather be selling fruit and vegetables for himself. For Jabu, it is the insecure nature of precarious work that would prevent him from coming to *Emdeni* if he did not have children as he is never guaranteed a job, and even if he does work, he might not be paid a decent wage.

Yho! I would have been smoking in the township, I probably would have been smoking marijuana in the township, because people who do not have children they do not come here because they tell you that they have nothing like ‘I don’t have nothing, I don’t have a dog or cat so what am I doing there’ you see, and I’d just go and smoke marijuana.

Lukhanyo

No I would not be sitting here, yho! I would not be sitting here I would be sitting in the township, I would just stay in the township even if I sold them fruits and vegetables, or so just anything you see, not to come sit here my sister because the thing here [inaudible segment: 0:18:01.7]...because even the money here I do not see it like today you do a labour job, tomorrow it is...the work changes so the money you get...you can work all week only to find out that you have not even made six hundred rands sometimes, sometimes you can work for two days and have...and make a thousand rands because you work for this person and tomorrow you work for another person. Jabu

Lukhanyo and Jabu (above) suggest having children as a consideration in whether to look for work or not. Men who have children are therefore expected to work and not just sit around.

This means that despite what has been known about poor, low-paid, unemployed fathers being ‘dead-beat’ fathers who neglect their responsibilities (Maldonado, 2006), statements made by participants in this study suggest that they want to take care of their children’s needs for food, clothing and school requirements.

The importance of self-dependence and socialisation. Besides having children, participants cited other reasons for looking for work on the side of the road. It is mostly their desire to be self-dependent that motivated them to get up and look for work each day. Jason (a 37-year-old father of three from Cape Town) eagerly responded to whether he would still be on the side of the road looking for work if he did not have children:

Of course! Who’s gonna give me money [laughing], who’s gonna give you money if you don’t have kids, you don’t have a wife? Actually who are you gonna depend [on], are you gonna depend on your mother for supporting you? As a grown up you must support yourself. You can’t wait for someone to support you, you have to do something, you have to work.

For Jason, a ‘grown up’ should not have to depend on others to take care of him and he therefore has to work. These views were also shared by Spikiri who stated his case as follows:

Yes sister I would do that because I live alone you see, in living alone I don’t want to be dependent, if only I could not want anything from anyone, at least here I get this and that and not have to ask everything from someone else. Eish the problem sister let me not say [inaudible segment: 0:07:23.9]...you see when you are used to working, so now I don’t want there to be any change like not having a job. At least I would like to be

able to do things for myself because now I can't...even if my brothers can give me that support there are things you find that that person cannot do for you because from their age, maybe I wanted something useless you see like maybe wanting a sneaker that maybe costs a thousand rand from him, so to him that might not make sense.

While acknowledging the support he receives from his brothers and sisters, Spikiri also highlights the importance of being able to provide certain things for himself that could be considered 'useless' or luxury items by others such as expensive shoes. Having money to spend on the things he likes is therefore important to him. Spending and consumption are connected to constructions and the display of dominant masculinities. Luxury items and expensive shoes as mentioned by Spikiri, are among the symbols men use in their portrayals of status and accomplishment (Watson & Helou, 2006). Furthermore, it is the ability to provide these for themselves without having to rely on others that men find most fulfilling. Spikiri also further draws on his 'being used to work' as a motivating factor. This is similar to the view shared by two other participants who suggested being socialised into a 'culture of work' as motivation for actively looking for work at *Emdeni*. Peter and Qhawe share their experiences as follows:

No, it depends [laughs], it depends but you see, we are used to work. In Zimbabwe we are taught to work for ourselves, so it depends by that person but me I used to work even if I don't have children I got to depend on myself, so I have to work for myself. I was to come if there's no children. Peter

Yes I would have been looking for work even if I did not have children because of the way I grew up, you have to get up and look after yourself and not wake up and hang about the streets, I never started doing that. Qhawe

In these quotes, Peter and Qhawe draw on cultural constructions of manhood where young men are often encouraged to leave the family home to go look for work in order to take care of themselves so as to be able to start their own families. The sentiments echoed by Peter who states that men in Zimbabwe are expected to work, have also been expressed by other men in this study and can also be found in other studies such as those exploring the constructions of fatherhood among various cultural/ethnic groups in South Africa (for example see Hunter, 2005). The findings discussed in this section suggests that having children, while being the main motivating factor for looking for work on the side of the road, is not the only reason men are driven to wake up every day even when they know they are not guaranteed a job. This suggests having paid work as not only important to men who are fathers, but to other men as well who would rather not depend on others for their own needs. While seeking work on the side of the road sometimes provides opportunities for men to fulfil their own needs and those of their families, not being guaranteed an income can at times affect the ways in which men are said to father their children, impacting on whether they get to live with their children, or even if they don't, whether they have access to them.

Conclusion

While distinctions have been made in academic literature between the terms father, fatherhood, and fathering, this study found that men used these words in a way that suggest that they mean the same thing. A father was therefore found to be someone who had biologically contributed to the conception of a child. Furthermore, fathers were said to fulfil certain roles and

responsibilities. The primary function of fathers as revealed in this study was to provide for their children and family's economic needs. After ensuring that their families were provided for, men were then expected to love, be there, and care for their children. An interesting point to note here is that there were no notable differences in how participants from various cultural/ethnic groups defined fatherhood in this study. For example, South African and Zimbabwean; Xhosa, Zulu, Shona, Sotho and Coloured participants highlighted economic provision as the most primary but not only role that fathers were expected to fulfil.

This study also found that nurturing fatherhood was a desired rather than practiced ideal. While men talked about the importance of being there and caring for their children, very few could actually fulfil this ideal due to various constraints including physical distance and their own psychological stresses relating to roadside work-seeking. Unlike in other studies that suggest that men have become more involved in their children's lives, this study found that though aware of the importance of nurturing and involved fathering, many participants could not fulfil this role. Even when they did engage in care work, it was only because they felt the mothers of their children were not looking after the children well, and they therefore had no choice but to do it. These men's responses suggest that they continue to consider care work as women's terrain, something they only do when they want to (elective) while women had no choice in the matter.

This study also revealed troubling notions of fatherhood, where men who struggled to provide for their children are labelled as 'bad' fathers and those who could fulfil this (economic) and other responsibilities as 'good' fathers. This is particularly concerning as the majority of the participants in this study indicated that they were struggling financially and could therefore not provide for their children. The inability to provide, or admission, therefore places these men at risk of being shamed and humiliated by others.

Finally, I also discussed in this chapter participants' motivation for seeking work at *Emdeni* on a daily basis even when the opportunities are sparse. Participants suggested both having children and the desire to be self-dependant as factors that motivated them.

Chapter 7: The impact of precarious work on fathering

Introduction

Changes in men's employment not only affect their ability to provide for their children's economic needs, but also the nature and quality of the father-child relationship (Shirani, Henwood & Coltart, 2012). Strong links have been suggested between unemployment/a lack of adequate work opportunities and low levels of involvement (Wilson, 2006). In this chapter, I discuss the various ways in which precarious work impacts on fathering. First, I discuss the impact of precarious work on father-child co-residence, exploring the ways in which a breakdown in the relationship between men and their partners affects their residence with their children; the role of traditional and cultural practices as gate-keepers; poor living conditions; and finally, the ways in which unacknowledged paternity influences father-child co-residence.

Father-child co-residence does not guarantee a man's involvement in his children's life (Madhavan, Townsend & Garey, 2008). Similarly, not sharing residence with their children does not necessarily mean that men are not involved with or do not engage their children. I therefore follow with a discussion on the father-child activities cited by participants who, despite not living with them, had access to their children.

In the third section, I discuss the impact of precarious employment on participants' child-bearing intentions. I focus here on the ways in which participants talk about planned and unplanned parenthood as well as their decisions on whether to have children or not within the context of precarious work.

Finally, I explore the ways in which participants' experiences of their own fathers impact on their parenting practices. While not directly linked to precarious work, the ways in which men perceived their own fathers plays an important role in how they 'do' fatherhood. It

is therefore important that we understand men's perception of their own fathers and whether they adopt or resist these practises.

Father-child co-residence

As indicated in the previous section, unemployment and engagement in precarious work affects father-child co-residence and access. In most cases, men have to move away from their children and families in search for better opportunities (Madhavan, Townsend & Garey, 2008). This relationship is clearly highlighted in the current study where only 15 (32.61 percent) out of 46 participants indicated sharing residence with either all or some of their children. It is important to note here that of these 15 men, only five were still in a relationship with the mother of child. The remaining 31 (67.39 percent) participants who indicated that they did not live with their children stated that they had left them back in their hometown or country either with the child's mother or their own families, more often their own mothers (child's paternal grandmother). The majority of the cross-border migrants in this study shared residence with their children when back at home.

Participants cited various reasons for not living with their children including: a breakdown in their relationship with the mother of child; the ways in which traditional practices served as gate-keepers; poor living conditions; and unacknowledged paternity.

Relationship breakdown. A particularly interesting example of how relationship breakdown impacts on father-child co-residence is that of Patrick (25) who has a child back in the rural Eastern Cape. According to Patrick, after his failed relationship with the child's mother, she left him and took the child with her. He further states that he has not seen the child since he was ten months old, and has no idea where they went and he does not know where the child's mother's family lives.

My child is back at home, his mother took him back home with her. He left...I think he was ten months old when they left me, he was ten months you see. No I never saw them again, we came from different home towns you see, she is in her home town and I am in mine, like mine is Nqamakwe and hers is Cala you see. The problem is I don't even know her family home, she never gave me even...even when she left she never gave me direction you see. Patrick

When asked if he made any attempts to track his child down and find out where they are Patrick responded by stating that he never tried to contact or even find the mother and child since their departure, nor did he try to find out if they had arrived safely where they were going. At the time of the interview (2014), he had no idea where they were or what had happened to them. While he never made any attempts to find his child, Patrick indicated how he remains concerned about the child's well-being.

I don't...I don't feel right because I don't see him, I think about whether he is doing well or not you see. I don't feel uhm...that thing condemns my mind and I become stressed, or I become someone who drinks a lot you see. Because it is like, or maybe I think about it, how is the child doing you see, how the person he lives with or the man he lives with treats him you see, maybe they will say 'he is not my child, and because he is not my child I can do whatever, I don't have time for that'. They have that thing, there are some parents. Patrick

Patrick is not only concerned about how the child is doing, but also how those who are looking after the child might treat him. He further suggests that people (particularly a man in this case)

often mistreat children to whom they are not biologically connected. While Patrick's concern may be valid, studies suggest that not all social fathers (men in families) mistreat children they have not biologically fathered. Studies however do suggest that violence and abuse against children in families is more often perpetrated by step-fathers than biological fathers (Hofferth & Anderson, 2003). Patrick's case also raises questions regarding whether he is genuinely concerned about the child as he has not attempted to find them, and also whether there are underlying (possibly financial) factors that prevent him from looking for his child. According to Richter, Chikovore and Makusha (2010), the inability to provide is one of the reasons men are disengaged from their families. Men like Patrick are therefore likely to stay away for various reasons including the fear of being shamed and humiliated for 'failing' to fulfil their roles as men. As a Xhosa man, Patrick is expected to take pride in his ability to provide, and may therefore be faced with internal conflicts that not only question his role as a father, but also as a man.

A case similar to Patrick's is that of Mike who lost contact with his children after his wife left him. After discovering that his wife was cheating on him, Mike attacked (and murdered) his wife's lover for which he served time in jail. Since his arrest and even after his release, Mike has never heard of his wife or children's whereabouts and according to his statement below, it breaks his heart that his children had to grow up without a father while he was alive.

No, you see they are grown and are now working for themselves, I don't care because they also ran away and left with their mother. What does that mean, sister I am saying that...you know these are the things of this world, they happen. It mean...it affects me that my children grew up without a father, while I am here. Mike

Mike's statement suggests mixed feelings; while hurt that he was not around to raise his children, he still resents them for leaving with their mother and not contacting him or looking for him even now that they are older. Similar to Patrick (above), Mike had not made any attempts to find his children even though he expressed some concern about them. These statements highlight the ways in which a father's relationship with the mother of child may impact on their relationship and engagement with the child, as well as producing contradicting feelings in men who while concerned about their children, might not attempt to find them. Depending on the nature of the relationships between the child's mother and father, mothers might also serve as gate-keepers who prevent men from accessing and seeing their children (Marsiglio & Cohan, 2000). It is however not only a break-down in such relationships that determine father-child co-residence and access, but also whether the father fulfils certain traditional requirements to the woman's family.

Traditional practices and gate-keeping. In many African societies, men who impregnate women outside of marriage are expected to pay 'damages' to her family (Hunter, 2006). The amount of damages owed to a woman's family is determined by each family, and thus varies often based on the woman or her family's social standing within their community or society. This – often in the form of cash or a cow – can be used by the woman's family to determine whether the man has access to his child or not should they remain unmarried. This is particularly the case in Black families in South Africa where a child born out of wedlock is often considered to belong to the mother's family. One participant in particular indicated his inability to pay for damages as a factor affecting his relationship with and access to his children. John (24) has three children from three different women:

I love my children, I'm just saying I can uhm...the problem is there is just one thing I am thinking about you see, in my thoughts I am thinking I should just pay ilobolo for the children. I should take them to my family home, uhm...I should pay damages for all three of them...

John indicates (above) that he would like to pay damages for all three of his children so he can take them and be able to live with them. Unlike many men who are denied any form of contact with children until they have paid damages (as practiced in the Xhosa culture), John is 'lucky' in that he still communicates with them and is able to visit them. It is important to note here also that many cultural groups in South Africa are no longer as strict in adhering to such practices as they have been in the past. John also mentions *ilobolo*, which as mentioned earlier, is the 'bride price' which is paid to a woman's family as a 'thank you' gift by the man who intends to marry her. While still considered important, current literature suggests that *ilobolo* rates have declined, with fewer men being able to afford to pay such a price as a result of declining work opportunities (Richter, Chikovore & Makusha, 2010). Such literature was supported in the current study by Sthe who indicated unemployment as the reason why he was not married, stating that he does not have sufficient money to pay for a wedding.

I am supposed to be living with them and their mother, but now I am what you call...not married, I have not yet had enough money to get married because of work, I don't work.

Sthe

The inability to pay *ilobolo* or afford to get married challenges the role of men in society, which is often constructed around being able to build their own homes and start their own families, with a certain status conferred upon men who succeed at getting married and starting a family

(Hunter, 2006). Similar to John's case, Siseko (30) indicated that he had "no rights" to take his child to live with him as he is not married to the mother even though they were still in a relationship. As mentioned earlier, children born out of wedlock often remain in the care of their maternal families, and therefore men who remain unmarried like Siseko may be denied access to their children. Demaine's case below is particularly interesting because it went as far as the courts when his children's uncle (their mother's brother) refused to give him access to the children when their mother passed away.

It is a big problem, we went to court with her uncle over these children, the court found that he had no rights to my children, the only person with rights is me, the father. If their mother was around she would have the right to them, but because their mother passed away, the person left is their father, so I am the one who has a right to these children. But they also know being where they are, that I am the one who has a right to the children, but I am not taking care of them.

Demaine states that even though he had been given rights to access his children through the courts, they continue to live with their uncle (mother's brother). This highlights the importance placed on culture over the law among Black South Africans. He also further states that he does not provide for them, which could also explain why, even after fighting for them in court, he has not taken them to live with him. The same argument can be used for Patrick's case (discussed earlier) where he remains concerned about his child's well-being after the mother left with them, but will not attempt to find them. Again, we can assume the inability to provide as one of the reasons men often 'abandon' their families and children (Richter, Chikovore & Mkusha, 2010).

‘Poor’ living conditions. Poor living conditions were another reason stated by some of the participants for not living with their children. Charlie, who has four children, currently lives with his oldest two children whose mother had passed away. He left the youngest two children with their mother (with whom he still has a relationship) in Johannesburg stating that because the eldest two no longer had a mother, it was important that they live with him. While he wishes that he could live with all four of his children, Charlie’s living conditions do not allow for this and he also felt that having different mothers, it would be hard for the children to live together especially when the house he currently lives in with the two older children belonged to their deceased mother.

Yes here I live with two of my children, their mother passed away. At least they [two other children] should also come to Cape Town, but here in Cape Town I don’t have a place to stay, so I also don’t think they will be able to live [here] because this two’s mother passed away while the other two’s mother is still alive. So I don’t want them to all live together here, it is better if they are all together back at home, because these ones it is their mother’s house.

While Charlie does not specifically (or directly) refer to ‘poor’ living conditions, he does refer to a lack of a suitable living place with sufficient space, suggesting that the place he currently lives in might not be big enough to accommodate all his children. Jabu (below) however, speaks directly about the condition of the place he lives in where they often experienced flooding, sewage problems, and sometimes collapsing of their homes.

You see the kind of place we live in, yho if you could see it my sister you wouldn't say there are people that live there, it's just another...what do you call a shack? Yes, we live in shacks, so people in squatter areas do not use a [sewage] drain even if there is one they will never take their waste such as urine and dispose it in the drain you see, it is just dirty you see, it is not a place suitable for people to live in.

Jabu's statement suggests that the place he lives in might be a health and physical hazard and is thus not a suitable place for children (or even adults) to live in. These views were also shared by other participants who felt that they had made a good decision by leaving their children with family back in their home town or country as they could not provide safe living spaces for them. These findings are consistent with those in other studies that suggest that roadside workers are more likely to live under poor conditions and unsafe housing, and be homeless (Aoki, 2003; Gill, 2012)

Unacknowledged paternity. Some men, even when they know they have (biologically) fathered a child, may choose to remain silent about it while their partners who are also aware, lead their new partners to believe that they are the child's (biological) father. Siya, a Cape Town born father of one, spoke about how he had impregnated his then girlfriend who refused to have an abortion when he suggested it to her. As a result of their many fights, some of which led to him physically abusing her, Siya's girlfriend left him early in her pregnancy and met another man who without knowing, was 'given' the responsibility of fathering a child he was not biologically connected to. While Siya knew this was in fact his child, he kept quiet and let his ex's new partner believe that he was the father of her child. Siya explains this story as follows:

I have a child but what is happening is that, my child...his mother was from the rural areas, she was from the rural areas but we fell in love, I think in the end of the year, we dated, dated, dated. We started disagreeing as time passed, because she became pregnant, in our disagreeing we fought, we were not getting along, and that is how we broke up. So I told her I had good advice for her pregnancy, she must have an abortion. Two months into the pregnancy with my child she started dating another boyfriend and they were in a relationship. So when the pregnancy came out she said it was his, and he also accepted. But I knew that it was my child you see, but I was...I am a quiet person, and that guy does not know and she is now his wife.

Termination of pregnancy (abortion) has been legal in South Africa since 1996 (Jewkes, Rees, Dickson, Brown & Levin, 2005). According to this law, women and girls can have an abortion without consulting their families and partners. For men, this also means that they have no right or say in the decision made by their partners regarding an abortion. Being the carrier, women also have the right to refuse having an abortion if suggested by their partners, and this is what happened in Siya's case where he would have preferred to have the pregnancy terminated while his partner chose otherwise. In their report on two studies that explored college students' attitudes toward men's rights, responsibilities and involvement in abortion, Rosenwasser, Wright and Barber (1987) argued for a model that included both the man and woman in the decision-making process. While such arguments might be thought of as working against the feminist project, they do allow men a say in whether they become parents or not. Siya's case also reveals the complexities in deciding whether or not to have a child, as in some cases even when men would rather have their children aborted, they could still be expected to actively father children they did not want. For a Xhosa man like Siya, it is his actions that informs

others' perceptions of him as a man. Whether he chooses to take responsibility or not will determine whether he is considered 'indoda' among his people.

Siya also stated that since birth he had never seen the child. His reasons include the fact that the child's mother is now married to the man she met after their break up, who apparently is under the impression that the baby is his. Siya's argument for not making attempts to see the child is that he does not want to disrupt this new family by showing up and demanding to see his child as it will destroy his ex girlfriend's life. The second reason he states for not having seen his child is his own unemployment. He also suggests in the statement below that the mother and child are better off being supported by the other man, who is employed. Men in Siya's predicament are often tempted to act out and pretend as though they can do better. Siya openly admits to not being able to provide, defying dominant constructions of masculinities. Kimmel (2004) suggests that men who like Siya admit weakness and failure risk being seen as lacking their manhood.

No, it becomes difficult because that person is married now you see. So if I go there to go see the child I will be starting something else, and second, I am also unemployed. What will I do if that girl gets into trouble? Yes what she did was wrong, but because I know how to think, since it is not known, I will not make it known. I will not get that girl into trouble you see, so she must stay like that, and be supported by that guy. Siya

In the following statement, however, Siya acts quickly to 'save himself' from being perceived as relinquishing his responsibilities. He states that the reason he would rather leave things as they are is because he fears for his own life and that of the mother and child should the new father find out. With three years having passed, Siya also feels that he has accepted and moved on from it all.

Let it be that way, it is not that I am evil or I want someone else to provide for my child you see, I just think about that situation. It has been a long time since 2011 till now, I dated that girl in 2010, so 2011 until now that guy paid ilobolo and did everything you see. He buys them clothes and supports the children so I can't just show up and say I am the child's father, how will that guy feel? He can do just about anything that comes to his mind. I would be jeopardising my own life, or I would be jeopardising that girl's life. Siya

In his use of the words “because I know how to think” (above), Siya could also be seen as trying to position himself as the thoughtful man who prioritises the well-being of the mother and child over his own desires to see the child. It is interesting to note that nowhere in his statement does he express any interest in actually seeing his child (regardless of the implications of such an action). Instead, he gives reasons for why he has and will continue to stay away from his ex and their baby. Having parted with the mother of his child while she was early in her pregnancy, we can assume that Siya had not yet established any emotional connection to the unborn baby, and therefore shows no signs of having any connection to the child two years after he/she was born.

Father-child activities

This study shows that some men, though not in full-time employment and not in a relationship with the mother of child, may still be granted access and visitation rights to their children. During these visits, participants engaged in several activities with their children including helping them with their homework, fetching them from school, playing, watching movies at home, going to the beach, taking them to get their hair cut and playing tennis and soccer. These

activities do however depend on the age and sex of the child as shown by Themba and Bheki below who both have boy children:

It is not like they live very far, no. Like I am a father, when they go and get their hair cut on weekends we go out you see like the normal love of people with children. I know that on weekends if I am free I tell them 'boys where are you, let's go and grill some meat' you see wherever or 'let us go to the beach'. Themba

Oh, like me we like soccer too much, so we used to go to the [sports] ground with my children because I have two boys. That young one and the older one, and me too I was a player, so that's my favourite sport with my children. Bheki

These comments by Themba and Bheki suggest that men are more likely to engage in 'fun' activities with their children when they are older and particularly when they are the same sex as the parent. This finding is consistent with literature that suggests gender as a factor influencing paternal involvement and the nature of parenting (McBride, Schoppe & Rane, 2002), with fathers being more involved with their sons than they are with daughters (Harris & Morgan, 1991). This is particularly the case among very traditional communities where gender roles are considered important, with girls being expected to spend time learning how to cook from their mothers, and boys will be out learning how to play soccer or learning other skills that are expected to enable them to provide for their future families from their fathers. Such practices are common among rural communities such as the Xhosa in the rural Eastern Cape. In a study on paternal involvement with adolescents in intact families, Harris, Furstenberg, & Marmar (1998) found that while gender influenced paternal involvement, there was no evidence to support differences in paternal involvement by child's age. Harrison and Morgan's

(1991) view above supports the findings in this study; Themba takes his sons to go get their hair-cut on weekends, they go out and *braai*⁴⁰ or they go to the beach, while Bheki (who also has a girl child whom he leaves at home) on the other hand takes his sons to the soccer field where they play together.

There were however, other participants who indicated not having enough time to spend with their children as they spend most of their time looking for work as suggested by Sphiwe and Moses below:

Oh, I spend very little time with them, I wake up in the morning and come here, and return home late. Sphiwe

The time, no it is not enough...Like I could say maybe when it is like this you see, I could say yes, he will be at school you see, but when he comes back from school I spend time with him you see. Moses

These statements reveal the men's desire to spend more time with their children. Spending time with their children is difficult due to their working conditions or lack thereof, as they have to be on the road looking for work so they can provide for their children. According to Lukhanyo's statement below, even when he wants to make time for his children, he cannot do so because he feels there is no point in him staying at home when there is no money and children need to be provided for:

⁴⁰ Braai is an Afrikaans word used to refer to what is known in other countries as a 'barbeque' which involves grilling meat outdoors and socialising.

Yes I can spend time with them, like sometimes on weekends, or on some weekends you will see me here, it is when I do not have money, so I come and look for a job. I am also not used to working on weekends, if only I could just stay home, but how can I stay at home when I do not have money. You can't stay home as a father, how do you stay home when the children look to you.

Lukhanyo's statement addresses one of the objectives of this study, which is to understand how men negotiate between their children's economic and socio-emotional needs. According to his response, economic provision remains the main priority, after which everything else follows.

The desire to do certain things (that they often can't do) and spend time with their children affects some men emotionally. Sicelo, for example, shares in the comments below on how he is saddened by seeing other men do with their children what he cannot do with his own.

I see people all around, other fathers they take their children to school in cars and you can see them and you can see love. But it's not like that with my child.

While wishing he could also 'drive' his children to school, Sicelo cannot do so because his children and family are back in Zimbabwe as he had come to South Africa to look for work in order to be able to provide for them. Seeing other men engage their children in ways that he cannot with his own seems to negatively affect Sicelo and such feelings might result in frustration and insecurity. His perception of himself as not fulfilling his ideal role as father may also lead to depression (Liu, Rochlen, & Mohr, 2005), which may negatively affect his relationship with his children and family.

Child-bearing intentions of precariously employed men

Studies suggest that precarious employment may have an impact on men's desire to become fathers (Modena & Sabatini, 2012), and if they already are, to have more children. In order to establish the extent to which precarious employment impacts the 'child-bearing' intentions of participants in the current study, the men were asked if they had planned to have children, whether they were in full-time employment when their children were conceived/born, and finally, whether they would want to have more children considering their current precarious working conditions.

Planned-unplanned parenthood. While a majority of the participants indicated not having planned to have children when they did, three participants indicated that they had actually planned for it. For example, Qhawe (below) stated that he had planned to have a child as he had a full-time job, while Jabu indicated that he had only planned his first two children, but not the third.

Yes we had planned it, uhm...we had been doing really well my sister, I was working in fishing in Port Elizabeth. Qhawe

It is interesting to note the statement by Katlego who indicated that he had planned his child, even though he and his partner did not have money at the time.

I had planned him/her with their mother, but we did not have money you see, I can't say I had not planned it, I had planned him/her, I will still have money and take care of my child anyway. Katlego

Katlego's comment suggests that some men (and women) may plan to have children despite unfavourable socio-economic conditions. One possible explanation can be given for this. Katlego is a Xhosa man from the rural Eastern Cape where in some communities, 'becoming a father' is considered a sign of one's virility, and thus, masculinity. In the context of poverty, men like Katlego may find alternative ways of 'displaying' their masculinity such as by having children.

For those participants who stated that their children were not planned (citing unemployment and marital status as some of the reasons for not being ready at the time), the question was posed as to whether they had made any attempts to prevent an unplanned pregnancy with their partners. For the majority of the participants, this question seemed to startle them as was observed in their facial expressions. They seemed to believe that having children was beyond their control and that there was nothing they could do to prevent this from happening as suggested in their use of words such as '*kuzenzekele*', '*kuvele kwenzeka*' and '*ayiplanwa lonto*' which suggests that babies are not planned, 'they just happen'. These comments are further elaborated on:

The second one just happened and I wasn't that into her, but it just happened that she became pregnant, I knew that I couldn't distance myself like when it happens, it happens. Donald

No you do not plan that it just happens, but for now I do not want one as it is still a bit difficult. Once the mother has a child she will have to leave the job she has been doing. But if he/she comes there will be a plan to ensure that he/she has something to eat before going to bed, he/she will have something to eat before going to bed everyday.
Christopher

This view expressed by Donald (36-year-old father of two from the Eastern Cape) and Christopher (32) above, that children ‘just happen’ and are not planned was taken a step further by Jabu in his discussion with the researcher (below) when he stated that God ‘gave’ him his children, thus suggesting that he had no role in the decision making and planning of the child.

Mandisa: Did you plan to have children?

Jabu: Yho God...They were a gift from God.

Studies suggest that men have for long been excluded in family planning programmes and interventions, particularly because they have been thought of as not taking responsibility for reproductive decision-making within their relationships (Greene & Biddlecom, 2000). This view is evident in the comments by Donald and Christopher who seem not to consider themselves as in a position to negotiate parenthood. This disengagement from family planning decisions should however not be interpreted as indicating a lack of knowledge about family planning among men.

Studies conducted in Sudan (Khalifa, 1988), Ghana (Akafuah & Sossou, 2008), and Zimbabwe (Mbizvo & Adamchak, 1991) on men’s attitudes and knowledge of family planning methods found high degrees of knowledge of the available family planning options. In Sudan, this knowledge was however accompanied by low levels of contraception use (Khalifa, 1988). In another study on the knowledge and use of family planning among men in KwaZulu-Natal, Maharaj (2001) found that men supported the use of family planning for fertility regulation, suggesting that not all men share views such as those by Donald and Christopher above.

In the following detailed statement, Lukhanyo’s views bring to our attention the way in which some men think about abortion as a solution to an unwanted pregnancy, rather than

engaging in preventative practices. Lukhanyo states that a man cannot say he does not want a child and then turn around and tell his partner not to have an abortion.

You find that sometimes you had planned, sometimes you didn't plan but the children are there. When you say you want to delay having a child, you also have to show and not be that person that says 'no baby do not go and terminate the pregnancy'. You find that maybe she wants to have an abortion, then you say 'no baby don't go, let the child be' because maybe eventually things might get better. Lukhanyo

In a study exploring the use of contraception and abortion interchangeably, Moore, Singh and Bankole (2011) found that American men and women agreed that abortion could not be used as a contraceptive method. However, they also found that poor communication, lack of planning, lack of acceptable contraceptive methods, and the perceived pleasure of unprotected sex encouraged low levels of contraceptive use, thus creating the perception that abortion was commonly used as another form of contraception. While conducted in an American context, this study might help explain the ways in which Lukhanyo speaks about abortion rather than contraception in responding to questions about his intentions to have children.

In the statement that follows, Lukhanyo continues to speak about condom use as an unlikely option of family planning for him as sometimes his partner does not like it. He also further states that it could also be that he himself does not believe in using a condom as he feels that by disposing of the condom (in the toilet) he would be 'dumping a soldier'⁴¹. His comment regarding condom use explains why Lukhanyo speaks about abortion in his statement above as

⁴¹ The phrase 'dumping a soldier' can be interpreted as meaning that he would be disposing of healthy sperm that could lead to the conception of his offspring.

a possible way of preventing the birth of a child, as he knows that he is likely to impregnate his partner considering his lack of interest in condom use.

You also find that maybe sometimes the one person does not like using a condom, the other person does, or you find that I don't believe that I like...that I like using a condom you see. Like for example I could dispose of a soldier in the toilet, like I could be disposing of my children in the toilet you see. Lukhanyo

Lukhanyo echoes sentiments found in other South African studies about condom use, which is often rejected by men. In the study by Maharaj (2001, p. 252), it was found that men had negative feelings towards the use of condoms, associating them with “interrupted sexual activity, discomfort, and ruining the excitement of flesh-to-flesh contact”. Being a young (28) Xhosa man, Lukhanyo’s attitude towards condom use could also be understood as another way through which he seeks to assert his masculinity. For example, at university I used to listen to young Xhosa men brag to each other about ‘*ukutowna*’ which means ‘going to town’ and is used among Xhosa men from the Eastern Cape in reference to having sex without a condom. In the context of the men I studied with, those who could convince a girl to have sex without a condom were therefore ‘respected’ and considered to have a skill that others lacked, and could therefore feel good about himself.

Of all participants who were open to discussing their reproductive (or child-bearing) decisions, only one stated that he was aware that his girlfriend was taking contraceptives to ensure that they do not have an unplanned baby. Musa (a father of two from the Eastern Cape) stated that it was difficult raising children while in precarious work and was therefore glad that “*ne grilfriend iya preventa*”, which as mentioned above, means that she is on contraceptive.

One participant in particular made interesting comments when he stated that he had tried by all means to ensure that his partners did not conceive, but he did not succeed as both partners seem to have wanted the children. Demaine's statement is interesting because he states that in both cases he 'tried' to prevent the pregnancies but he was reluctant to discuss how he went about doing this. He explains his case as follows:

No, children for me, even with the first one I had not decided to have a child but it was the mother who...I tried in all ways to make sure that she did not fall pregnant, but she made sure that she had a child. Even the third and last one, even with that one I tried in all ways to make sure she doesn't have a child. I didn't like that I was just making children just like that...Demaine

The above statements suggest that while men know the responsibilities that come with (biologically) fathering a child, they often feel that they are not in a position to prevent this from happening, citing divine intervention and partners (or themselves) being reluctant to use condoms or consider other methods of family planning.

Precarious work and child-bearing. Some participants, while not stating how they were going about preventing having more children in the future, clearly stated that they do not want to have any more children specifically due to their working conditions, while others indicated that they would still have children despite not having a secure, full-time job. It is important to note that the majority of those who indicated that they would not have more children while still looking for work on the side of the road were men who were either in permanent jobs (and got retrenched) or in contractual full-time jobs when their existing children were born. One such man is Bheki (father of three) who stated that he had a full-time job when

his first two children were born and it was much easier with them than it has been with the last born. He continues to discuss his reluctance to have another child, stating that he had had enough of hardship.

Those two in fact, those two big ones, yeah I was on a full time job by that time because I was employed by the companies of...security companies. It was so nice but when this young one now, that's the time now the economy of my country was bad you see, it's very hard. Yho, like now enough is enough [laughing]! It's like hard to be a father of three like to my country is very hard, because you want to buy food, school, clinics what what, it's a lot of things that needed a father to do to his childrens...So it's not easy to have ten childrens like nowadays ha, I think it's enough, three is ok to have. Bheki

Bheki's views (above) were shared by Sthe (father of two) who when asked if he would like to have any more children, responded with the following:

No! I have struggled too much, I don't feel happy because...because I am struggling. It would've been better if I was working you see, I would feel happy that way. Sthe

In his response, Sthe exclaimed 'no' to the question. This emphasis, and also the comments he continues to make, suggests that Sthe has struggled enough and is unhappy about being an unemployed/precariously employed father. There was also one participant who indicated that his experience (of having a child while unemployed) was the reason he would not want to have a child. Mzo discusses in the following statement that he would only consider having another child once he has a job.

I was not working but my parents were helping me while I wasn't working. Now that I am still not working I do not think that I would have a baby, I would rather get a job first and then have one if that opportunity presents itself for me to have one. Mzo

While precarious work seems to be a barrier to future child-bearing (Modena & Sabatini, 2012) for some participants, others stated that their working conditions would not deter them. Patrick is among such men who stated that he would have more children if he had still been in a relationship with the mother of his first child despite looking for work on the side of the road. He continues to refer to the support he could elicit from his brothers and sisters in caring and providing for the child.

Like if I was still in a relationship with the mother of my child, if we were still together, while I am in this situation, I would try for another child [laughter] you see. Because I have hope that if I cannot take care of him my parents would be able to take care of him you see, like my brothers and things like that, just because I am not working. Patrick

Patrick is somewhat being irresponsible by basing his decision to have more children on the help others can provide, rather than waiting until he is in a position to be able to care for the child himself. While it is common practice (particularly among Black South Africans) that kin assist in providing for one's children, it would be inconsiderate to base a decision to have a child on the expectation of such help. One would expect that such families would be more willing to help if a child was not planned or if the child was planned but the mother and/or father lost their jobs thereafter, than when a couple who can clearly not afford to provide for a child make the conscious decision to have a child on the basis that family will assist. Patrick also contradicts earlier comments by participants who indicated that they would want to be

fully responsible for their own children and not rely on others to help. His views also shows a resistance of popular discourse that defines successful masculinity as being centred around ‘successful’ economic provision (Hunter, 2005; Tölke & Diewald, 2003), where men pride themselves in their ability to provide for themselves without seeking help from their families. Other participants also indicated that they would have children under their current circumstances, if they were married. These views are observed in the following comments by Siseko, Donald, and Jabu:

Yes...I am just saying that because I actually want a child from my wife, when I am married you see, I would like to have a child, not to have a wife and not have a child, that is bad luck. That is how I have planned things. Siseko

No I will see when I am married now, I am supposed to have been married now but it's just that there is no money, I was not hoping to have another child from just anyone, if only it could be from my wife. Donald

Yes there's still a few missing my sister, there's still at least one or two missing you see because I am not married so I have to get married. I still have to have other children with my wife you see, as Xhosa people [inaudible segment: 0:17:16.2]. Jabu

In the above statement, Donald suggests a link between having money, being married and having children. While he would like to have another child, he would like to get married first, which he clearly can't yet afford. The emphasis Donald and others place on marriage can be thought of as an expression of the desire to fulfil the cultural expectation for a man to marry and build a home for his family. Donald's statement is important particularly in South Africa

today where the high unemployment rates have been associated with lower marriage rates particularly among the Black population. This means that men like Donald (as a result of unemployment/precarious employment) may find themselves unmarried and without children. This is concerning because both marriage and having children play a significant role in how men define themselves, with those who cannot fulfil such expectations being afforded less respect than those who can.

Precarious employment, as suggested in the findings of this study shapes not only the way men think about fatherhood, but also how and whether they engage in childcare activities. Another such factor is socialisation and men's own experiences of being fathered, which is discussed in the following section.

Being fathered: Men's experience of their own fathers

South African and international studies suggest that men's experiences of being fathered shape the way they think about fatherhood and the activities involved (Ratele, Shefer & Clowes, 2012). Studies also report large numbers of children growing up without their fathers, citing reasons including (local and cross border) labour migration, undisclosed paternity, rejected paternity, and being denied access (Padi, Nduna, Khunou & Kholopane, 2014), most of which are as a result of a separation between parents. Taking the reported influence of fathers on their son's fathering practices into consideration, participants in the current study were asked whether they grew up with their own fathers, and if so, whether their experience of their own fathers influenced in any way how they see themselves as fathers and the responsibilities involved. While most men indicated growing up without their fathers, others indicated having their fathers around.

An ‘absent’ father. The material explored in this study suggests high numbers of men who grew up without their fathers, all of whom were raised by single mothers, grandmothers, aunts, uncles and sometimes, siblings. Grandmothers were considered particularly important in that not only were most of the men in the study raised by them, but their own children were also being raised by their mothers (child’s paternal grandmothers). Patrick, in his statement below speaks of his experience of being raised by his grandmother, who raised him ‘well’ and made sure he had everything he needed. When asked about his father’s whereabouts, Patrick indicated that his father had separated from his mother when he was younger, and his mother also left the rural Eastern Cape to go look for work in the city.

I grew up with my grandmother in the rural areas you see, I grew up with my grandmother living in the rural areas. But my grandmother did not give birth to me, my mother did. But she raised me well, she gave me all the things I needed in the right way. Even when my mother went to fetch me from there I had been well taken care of, there was nothing that, that bothered me. I was living right, receiving everything [I need].

Patrick

While studies continue to highlight the importance of biological fathers in children’s lives, the comments by Patrick above suggests that some children who grow up in healthy homes where they are well-taken care of, might not consider themselves to be any more disadvantaged than those who grow up with their fathers around, thus highlighting the importance of ‘healthy parenting’ rather than just the presence of a biological parent (Ratele, Shefer & Clowes, 2012). Many of the participants who grew up without their fathers reported being separated from them at a young age, and often had no memory of what it was like when their fathers were around. These participants also speak of themselves as ‘fatherless’, suggesting that they do not have

fathers, rather than stating that they have fathers who left them. An example of the way in which participants use language to share their 'fatherlessness' is that used by Lukhanyo who stated that his father had 'wandered into the world'.

No I grew up without a father. [inaudible segment: 0:13:24.4] My father wandered into the world. Lukhanyo

One particular participant who lost his father at a young age is Katlego (28) whose father passed away while he was only six years old. When asked if he remembered anything about his father, Katlego responded that he could not have remembered much as he was only six at the time.

There is only one, my mother. My father passed on in 1993. No in 1993 I was six years old and doing around [grade] one. Katlego

Cases such as Katlego's further the argument for the relevance and importance of social fathers (or 'men in families'), as his experience indicates that not all children who grow up without their fathers have been abandoned, thus completely eliminating or to some extent reducing the possible negative psychological experience of feeling abandoned and therefore unwanted. Two participants in this study indicated that even though their fathers were not around, they had men who fulfilled the role of a father in their lives. Spikiri (27, whose father passed away when he was much younger in 1995) and Patrick (whose father left after separation from his mother) stated their stories as follows:

No, my father is no longer around only my mother. My father passed away in 1995, I was not very much aware, I was still young. Oh no sister maybe I was lucky or

something because my older brother, my parents' first-born, I took him as my father because I grew up under his guidance, I learnt from him and even when I arrived in Cape Town I stayed with him. So in everything I was under his guidance as my parent, so maybe they would know about my father but I don't...I know just a little. Spikiri

The thing is my father never came, never came even when I was on the mountain⁴², uhm...he never came down so it was my what you call, my uncle who took care of everything there, so that we could go you see, we could go, we could go and come back from the mountain you see. He was the one who took care of everything you see, so when we came back from the...the mountain, I came back and I had the urge to come back [to Cape Town]...My father did nothing, there is nothing he did, he did nothing.

Patrick

Spikiri (above) speaks of his brother being his 'parent' who raised him and taught him everything he knows. According to Spikiri, his older siblings might know about his father, but he was too young to remember. Patrick on the other hand speaks of his uncle who took over the role of ensuring that he went through the traditional practice of *ulwaluko* (defined in chapter 4), while his father did not show up or even contribute. Looking at these two statements, it is important to note the different ways in which participants talk about their fathers and father figures. Spikiri, who does not remember much about his father focuses more on the role his brother played in his life, while Patrick mentions the role his uncle played, but emphasises (through repetition) his father's absence and lack of involvement in his life. This difference refers back to the importance of defining the different types of father absence (Padi, Nduna, Khunou & Kholopane, 2014), where children who consider themselves to have been

⁴² The mountain is where young Xhosa boys are taken for initiation and to complete their passage into manhood.

abandoned might be more affected by their father's absence than those children whose fathers have passed on. In the section that follows, I explore the ways in which those men who grew up with their fathers talk about them in comparison to those who did not have their fathers around.

A 'present' father. It is interesting to start by noting that of all four participants who indicated living with their fathers till they were much older, two had been raised by lone fathers, after their mothers had left them. John and Star share their stories of being left with their fathers:

I was raised by my father, I didn't know my mother, I only got to know her after I became a man, I just got to know her after I had gone through initiation and stuff, now that I'm this big, because I didn't know my mother. I still have not believed that she is my mother because she cannot see me now that I am this big and say to herself 'this is my child'. Up until I was this big I was raised and taken through initiation by my father, and only now that I am this big and am a man this big I was told this is my mother, you see. I still have not believed that...I still refer to my grandmother who passed away as 'mama', I still say mama to my grandmother. John

Even my father was left by my mother you see, he was left by my mother, like, how do you leave me? My old lady, my mother, left me when I was still crawling, she didn't die you see, she left you see, she even let down my father, my father had a shop you see, so she left and stayed with a wambo⁴³ you see, she left with him and went to Jozi⁴⁴, she never came back till now, you hear me? Star

⁴³ Some isiXhosa speakers use the word 'wambo' to refer to a 'foreign' person of Indian or Pakistani origin.

⁴⁴ 'Jozi' is short for Johannesburg.

Both John and Star (above) share their experiences of being raised by a lone father and both seem to have some feelings of anger towards their mothers as shown in the questions they ask about their mothers. However, their stories differ in that while John did not know his mother while younger and was only introduced to her when he was much older, Star's mother left him and never came back. Also interesting is the point raised by Star above in the statement "*she left me when I was still crawling, she didn't die you see, she left*". This comment by Star shows as discussed earlier, how children who are left by their parents tend to be worse-off emotionally than those whose parents had died, as he states that his mother left him, she didn't die, which suggests that he might have felt differently had she died.

These statements also challenge the ways in which motherhood has been constructed in popular discourse where mothers are said to 'never' leave their children and only fathers do. While being abandoned by a mother occurs less frequently than being abandoned by fathers (Dowd, 2000), it is still a reality that affects the lives of some young people, as shown by the participants in this study.

One other participant who indicated growing up with his father was Mzo, who grew up with both his parents. Like the other participants who indicated that the only thing they learnt from their fathers was to be 'a good father' who fulfilled his responsibility as provider and protector, Mzo states that his father made sure he had everything he needed, which is also why he wants to show that he can do the same for his child.

Yes...There is a lot because he used to try and give me everything I needed, in the same way I want to show that I can try and do for this child. Mzo

These statements highlight yet again the importance of economic provision, where men evaluate their role as fathers based on how well they provide for their children. Furthermore,

these statements show how this view has, and continues to be passed on from one generation to the next. While previous discussions with participants in this study have also highlighted the importance of being there, loving and caring for one's children (which was also found to be important in a study by Ratele, Shefer and Clowes, 2012), they do show that none of these matter more than being able to provide. This view suggests that while desired by most men, the 'nurturing' father ideal can only be achieved by men who are in full-time, well-paid, and secure employment that guarantees an income. This also shows how poverty shapes discussions on fatherhood around the world, where more developed countries have progressed from arguments on father absence or economic provision, to advanced discussions about paternity leave, which is only relevant in a country where most men are employed, while research on fatherhood in poorer developing countries with high levels of unemployment continues to focus on issues such as unemployment and its impact on fathering.

Conclusion

The reality of men in precarious work is bleak, as their involvement in their children's lives continues to be determined by their socio-economic circumstances. The importance of maintaining a relationship with the mother of the child, fulfilling the traditional requirements to a woman's family, poor living conditions and unacknowledged paternity continue to prevent men from engaging with their children. The level of financial security required for men to be able to fulfil all these requirements make it almost impossible for precariously employed men to enjoy their journey through fatherhood and thus denying them an opportunity to form emotional bonds with their children.

Interventions that seek to engage men in decisions regarding the use of family planning methods are important. As shown in this study, while children are often not planned, and even when men clearly indicate that they would not like to have more children, their lack of active

participation in methods that prevent such pregnancies raises questions about their awareness of the available methods and their risks and benefits. This also suggests that a majority of men still consider family planning to be a women's responsibility.

Finally, this study revealed that while very few men grow up with their fathers, those who do tend to value their relationships and the contributions their fathers make in their lives, as well as acknowledge their father's role in shaping their own ideas of fathering. It is also important to highlight the differences in which men speak about father absence, where being abandoned by a parent may result in a higher risk of psychological distress, than when a parent dies.

Chapter 8: Precarious work and constructions of masculinities

Introduction

The findings discussed in the previous chapters illustrate how being at *Emdeni* can be a painful but unavoidable experience for some men. Interview data collected with men who indicated that they were not fathers (not included in this thesis) suggests being at *Emdeni* as not only unavoidable for fathers but for all men. These findings, consistent with existing literature, indicate the importance of paid work in constructions of masculinity (White, 1994), where having paid work provides access to constructions of ‘successful’ manhood among men. How, then, do men construct and maintain their ‘masculine’ identities when the resources necessary for facilitating this process are not available to them? How does precarious employment affect the lives of men as gendered subjects? In this chapter I discuss the ways in which roadside work-seeking impacts the lives of those involved and how they cope with the difficulties they face not so much as fathers but as men. I explore the ways in which men’s lives and relationships (including relationships with intimate partners, families, but also children) are affected; the unviable masculine lives of roadside work-seekers (alcohol consumption and abuse, gambling, drug abuse, and homelessness and shame); and finally, how participants define themselves as men within the context of poverty and precarious employment.

The impact of precarious work on the lives of street corner men (SCM)

Precarious work has a negative impact on family life, often leaving men to cope with their difficulties on their own. Similar to the findings by Schenck and Blaauw (2008), this study suggests that roadside work-seeking is often dominated by migrant men who leave their families in their home towns/countries, often finding themselves alone. Of the 46 participants included in this study, 39 had migrated to Cape Town either from within the borders of South

Africa (30) or from outside of the South African borders (9). Star for example, is one of the men who found themselves alone. According to Star, he had no one in Cape Town and had to live on the streets, with no one to help him in any way, other than the men who were living on the street alongside him. Even when close to their families, their inability to fulfil the dominant masculine ideals of economic provision might also influence the nature of such relationships, often resulting in conflict, and subsequently, men's isolation from those for whom they care. Sylvester (33) for example, spoke about his wife leaving him for long periods due to their fights which often were about him not bringing enough money into the home. Of primary importance in this study are the ways in which roadside work-seeking affects men's relationships with their children. The relationship between men and their intimate partners is central to the father-child relationship (Marsiglio & Cohan, 2000). As indicated in chapter 7, some mothers can deny men the right to access and engage with their children. These father-child and men-partner relationships are explored in this section in relation to constructions of masculinities, that is to say, how the nature of these relationships impact on definitions of manhood.

Relationships with children. Precarious work affects men's relationships with their children in different ways, often determining the level of economic provision, access to and emotional engagement with their children, and co-residence. In South Africa for example, and specifically among some of the Zulu and Swati cultural groups (as I have observed), men who do not fulfil the requirements such as *inhlawulo* might not be granted access to see their child, thus limiting their chances of forming emotional bonds with them. Another important aspect of this father-child relationship is that of respect, power and authority. In this study some men felt that their children no longer showed them any respect because they were not able to provide for them financially. Demaine, for example, spoke about how he had distanced himself from

his children who no longer showed any respect towards him because he could not provide for each and every one of their demands:

...They have disrespected me a lot because they can see that I am someone who...who often does not have money, so they like it when you always have money...when you are full of money, pockets full of money. So that is why I find that it annoys me that they cannot be patient when I say I don't have money, when they want money and do not get it they cannot be patient you see. If they want something right now, they want you to give it to them right now. So I am like no fuck!

Demaine's statement reveals his frustration with not only his children, but also his working conditions which make it hard for him to provide for their every need and want. A loss of respect in the family is often associated with men's challenged roles as heads of households. According to Silberschmidt (2005, p. 195), the lack of job opportunities and income destabilises the role of men as heads of households, reducing them to "figure-heads" whose authority, identity, and self-esteem becomes threatened. Hunter (2006, p. 99) writes about 'fathers without *amandla*' in his study with Zulu men who perceived themselves as having lost their 'power' and respect within the household. Men however not only lose respect within their homes, but consider themselves to have a weakened social 'standing' in society when they cannot fulfil the roles expected of them (Lesejane, 2006).

Admire (28) alludes specifically to a loss of respect within the precarious labour market, where poor men are not respected by those who employ them. According to Admire, standing on the side of the road in itself is a threat to a man's dignity as it creates the perception of desperation.

Like when you...especially when somebody takes you from the street looking for a job, you... they think that you are desperate or you've got nothing. Yeah sometimes I could be desperate, but, the fact that he picked you up in the street, he won't respect you.

Admire

Consistent with findings in previous studies, these stories by Demaine and Admire confirm the role of precarious work in changing men's social status in society, and affecting their relationships with their children and families (Williams, 2009). While it was once a means of attaining a certain status in society (Hunter, 2006; White, 1994), becoming a father has also become the process through which the very same social status of men is threatened. Men feeling as though they have lost their place in society is concerning particularly in South Africa where, in the face of poverty, men may find other unproductive ways through which to assert their masculinity and gain respect particularly among their peers.

Relationships with intimate partners. The socio-cultural, political and economic changes that have influenced constructions of masculinities and fatherhood over the years have not only affected and altered the relationship between fathers and their children, but have also contributed to a breakdown in relationships between men and women (Lesejane, 2006). These particular relationships of interest in this study are those between men and their intimate partners. Having a job, as shown by Lukhanyo, is important in both securing and maintaining intimate relationships:

To work so that you can have money in your pocket that you can use. There is a lot, but it is difficult to look for work because when you see even out there with the girls you need to have a date, so that what happens, so that she knows when you get paid...I will

come back and bring money. Sometimes you come back with money, sometimes you come back without it. I will get there late and find her unhappy you see, especially because it is a Friday.

According to Lukhanyo, his partner's mood changes when he has not made any money. This view was supported by Sylvester (a 33-year-old father of two from Cape Town) and Senzo (54) who also felt that things were different in their homes when they had not made any money at *Emdeni*. According to Sylvester;

If I can't give her money there's no smile, there's no happiness in the house...you see. If there's no money in the house, she's always by someone, by her sisters or some friends or always busy with the church stuff.

Sylvester's experience also highlights the ways in which romantic relationships as can be observed in South Africa have come to be associated with spending money. As a result of poverty, relationships have become a source of financial security for both men and women, but more especially so, for women who often expect their partners to take care of them financially. In most such cases, men who are not able to provide such security are often ridiculed and left for 'greener pastures'.

In some cases, precarious work resulted in the separation between participants and their partners. This was the case for Jabu (37), who was separated from his partner due to his unemployment:

No, we broke up last year. The thing is when you are not working we as Xhosa people, the wife leaves you see... There is conflict at home and things are not right man. Because

the money you get here you only show up with money for one or two days, when there is money you do everything for them and be there...but when there is no money, there is conflict at home there is no happiness you see. I get frustrated, I have many issues, I am [a] 'no-nonsense' [person]. I tell them that 'hey look here you better pack sister and go'...

According to Jabu, conflict ensues at home when the Xhosa man cannot provide. This breakdown in relationship due to precarious work is true not only for Xhosa men, but also those of other ethnicities. It is not only the actual breakdown in the relationships that concerns men, but also the perceived threat and fear of being left by a partner, as shown by Christopher (32):

Yes it does affect it, between the two of us...the thing is there are these words that you curse with, that because I am not working now you will probably do this to me, maybe you are angry that no man just because I am not working fuck off you can go and look for others who are working.

Christopher's statement suggests insecurity (often accompanied by low self-esteem), which is common among men who perceive themselves as failing to fulfil 'successful' masculine ideals. According to Standing (2011), precarious employment is associated with a lack of self-esteem and social worth. A lower self-esteem is observed among those who are poorer, unemployed and underemployed than those who are in formal and secure full-time employment (Batty & Flint, 2010; Prause & Dooley, 1997). The breakdown in the intimate relationships of precariously employed men has implications for constructions of masculinity. According to Spencer (2009), a threat to a man's intimate relationship is a threat to his masculinity, thus highlighting the role of intimate relationships in validating masculinity. Hunter (2005) also

highlights the role of intimate relationships in constructions of masculinity, with men often engaging in multiple sexual relationships as a demonstration of their manliness.

The breakdown in intimate relationships, in addition to the stressors of precarious employment, may cause psychological distress among men. This is of concern particularly because - as shown by Sylvester below - men need psycho-emotional support from their children, families and their wives/partners.

Most of these guys that is here don't get support from the wives, don't get support from most of these ladies, they don't get support of the children, they don't get support of the family, you see. Even to talk about support I'm talking about confident words, support doesn't mean money, support doesn't mean you have to buy something. Uhm, a confident word for man is making every muscles turn, you see, to say to him 'at least you try but thanks'. You know how that man will feel...

According to Sylvester, the reason why men are not supported by their partners is because they are often perceived as not trying hard enough. Sylvester also makes a suggestion directed to women to help them understand the experiences of men seeking work on the side of the road:

So these women they think this man is not going out. I want even some of the woman that's collecting on this man to come here and stand with them and see how the challenge works. I think they don't understand, they don't have a picture of it. That's why I say to the guys 'if your wife don't believe in you, bring her here and she stand with you and see the challenge.'

The perception of men as ‘just hanging out’ at *Emdeni* was not a view held only by their intimate partners, but also the general public and potential employers. For some men, being thought of as failing and not trying hard enough was unbearable and resulted in them refraining from engaging in intimate relationships. For Jabu, after his break-up with his partner, he wanted nothing to do with intimate relationships and felt he was better off being single.

A particularly interesting case was that of Demaine who had asked me to be his girlfriend. After I had turned down his advances, Demaine asked if I did not feel sorry for him especially because it was hard for him to find a suitable partner due to his ‘unemployment’. It became even more interesting however when Demaine became angry when I spoke to other participants in the field. Demaine’s actions can be interpreted as an attempt at displaying a competitive and dominant masculinity by wanting to be seen (by the other men) talking to me (a woman) at all times and by stating that he could ‘protect’ me from them. Demaine draws on the discourse of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995), which suggests a deep rooted desire to fulfil dominant masculine ideals (such as protecting) that are associated with patriarchal values. As seen here, men like Demaine who might not be in a position to provide financially might want to take on the role as a protector, which is another way through which men impose their ‘dominance’.

These findings highlight the importance of socio-emotional connections in constructions of masculinity, where men’s relationships with their children, families and intimate partners impact on how they define themselves within the gender hierarchy. In the absence of adequate decent job opportunities and a lack of regular income ‘economically unviable’ (Cornwall, cited in Barker & Ricardo, 2005) men turn to intimate relationships as a site where they can create dominant versions of their male selves (Hunter, 2005). In South Africa in particular, men have been found to engage in multiple sexual relationships as another way of constructing dominant masculinities for themselves especially in the context of poverty.

There is also the resort to violence, alcohol and other substance to which I turn to below. In sum, in this study relationships are therefore shown to be a site where, against the backcloth of precarious employment, dominant constructions of masculinity can be both encouraged and challenged.

‘Dysfunction’ in the lives of street corner men (SCM)

So far, this study has shown roadside work-seeking as impacting on the lives of men and fathers. Besides the disruption of family life and relationships, ‘dysfunctional’ livelihoods are also a feature of precarious work. Guy Standing (2011, 2012) refers to this state of being as a ‘precaritised existence’, which also has an impact on how people think, as well as their capacity to think. Precarious existence, according to Standing (2011), is associated with short-term thinking which is induced by a lack of progress in one’s life. In this study short-term thinking associated with a precaritised existence manifested itself in the ways in which men thought about work, where few of the participants indicated that they were not so much interested in long-term work, citing various reasons for this. First, being paid on the spot after each job meant that men were accustomed to having cash in hand at all times and could no longer tolerate jobs that promised to pay them weekly, fortnightly, or monthly. Being cheated of their wages, SCM had also become suspicious of individuals and companies promising to pay them at the end of the week or month, and therefore demanded their money on a daily basis. Star shares his view below:

Other people do not like fortnightly [paying] jobs you see...Like I had a problem when I got into a fortnightly job, the employer left with my money you see, I did not get paid to this day. So a lot of people you see, if they get a job that pays fortnightly they become aware of such things...employers run away you see.

Second, the rate charged by men at *Emdeni* for a day's work was much higher than the wages paid by companies on a fortnight or monthly basis. For example, both Themba and Zweli (father of one from Lesotho) preferred the short-term jobs they could get at *Emdeni* specifically because of the amount they received from these jobs as compared to what they would be paid in a full-time job:

To find a job it wasn't difficult for me, you see finding a job, but the only thing that was difficult was the rate. The [pay] rate in a permanent job is less, far lesser than the money I get here on a daily basis you understand. Themba

It's better to get work at Emdeni than to work for someone because here I can get a thousand five hundred rands in three days. Zweli

While these participants (Themba and Zweli) cited valid reasons for their preference for short-lived jobs at *Emdeni*, they also did indicate that the security associated with full-time work was much better, as they are not always guaranteed a job on the street corner. There were some men who preferred short-term jobs for the 'quick' access they could have to their wages, which they often used to engage in harmful activities that led to self-defeating behaviours or dysfunction in their lives, such as drug and alcohol abuse as well as gambling. Other forms of dysfunction in the lives of SCM included involvement in violence, crime, and homelessness.

Alcohol consumption, drug abuse and gambling. During the interviews, many participants had admitted to consuming alcohol on a regular basis when not at *Emdeni* looking for work. Others, however, consumed alcohol at *Emdeni* and often approached clients while

under the influence of alcohol. The site chosen by participants in Parow is located a short walking distance from a bar, bottle store, and horse betting establishment. This made it easy for men to just take a walk during their 'breaks' at *Emdeni* and go drink at the bar. On several occasions, I had observed some of the participants in this study drinking as early as 8am outside the bottle store before going to start their search for work. This was particularly common on Mondays, when men were said to be 'babelaased'⁴⁵ after the weekend's binge drinking. The drinking done at *Emdeni* did however get out of hand, as on two occasions I observed men who had passed out on the pavement (due to intoxication) next to others who were looking for work at *Emdeni*, creating a bad reputation for all work-seekers. When I asked participants about their alcohol consumption (particularly those I had observed drinking all the time), they explained their drinking as a way of coping with their stresses. According to John (24), he drinks alcohol to "cool off" so he does not have to think about the difficulties in his life. Others, however, will stay at home drinking everyday once they are paid, and only come back to *Emdeni* when they have spent all their wages as stated by Senzo:

Some people work so they can drink because the rest of the people here...let me say that happens among the unmarried the most. A person will tell themselves that 'I am not married and my parents provide for themselves so there is nothing they need from me', he works today tomorrow he stays in the township and if he still has money when he wakes up, he goes back to the tavern the whole day, he will only come back when the money is finished.

According to Senzo, 'disappearing' after being paid and drinking their wages was common among young unmarried men who have no dependants. Senzo's view was supported by my

⁴⁵ Babelaased is past tense of babelaas, Afrikaans for hangover.

observations, as the men I often observed drinking outside the bar and sometimes at *Emdeni* were young, and were avoided by the older men. Similarly, Turnovsky (2006) found that men who displayed unacceptable behaviour were often avoided by others out of concern of losing jobs.

Alcohol abuse not only has a negative impact on men's job-seeking activities, but also on their safety. For example, Sipehelele (36) was knocked over by a car on his way home from *Emdeni* after he had stopped over at Codessa (a popular bar among work-seekers). According to Sipehelele, he was drunk on the day and ended up in hospital with a few stitches.

It is important to note here that alcohol consumption did not only provide temporary relief from their daily stresses, but was also another way in which men enacted dominant models of masculinity. Consistent with existing literature, this study found that alcohol consumption was considered as a marker of a hegemonic masculine identity (De Visser & Smith, 2007). The activities that took place at Codessa, as described in chapter 5, also suggest alcohol consumption as one way in which men could show that they could both 'afford' to drink and that they were 'competent' drinkers (De Visser & Smith, 2007). A place like Codessa is therefore a site where hegemonic masculinities are reproduced (Campbell, 2000). The problem with this type of drinking, as stated by Themba, was that many men spent money they could have contributed towards their families in attempts to prove their manhood to their peers.

Alcohol use and abuse was however not the only concern among men at *Emdeni*. Some were also said to be using drugs. While I was not aware of any specific individual's drug related activities, I was told it was common at *Emdeni*. What I did however observe was one man who sold marijuana to the other participants. On one occasion, I walked up to a group of men and found that the man selling 'dagga' to the others was in the process of rolling a 'joint', which he put away when I arrived. Drug related activity at *Emdeni* was also confirmed by Mr L, the manager of the hardware store, who indicated that they had caught some of the men using

drugs, unaware that they were captured on the store's surveillance cameras. Mr L stated that they had contacted police on several occasions when they saw men using drugs outside their premises.

Finally, I found that many men at *Emdeni* were involved in horse-betting at Marshalls, a nearby establishment. This gambling, while legal, had negative consequences for men as they often lost their bets. I specifically asked whether participants were actually gambling the wages they earned at *Emdeni*, and according to Jabu, horse-betting was an attempt to make more money from what they had already earned from their work.

It's the money we work for, the thing is my sister you can't be trying and only be looking on one side, it is necessary that at a certain time you go and gamble you see. Sometimes you win, sometimes you lose. Even better you are a Rasta so you must've heard Rufaro when he sings, he says 'sometimes you win sometimes you lose'. It depends you see.

According to Jabu, one cannot only rely on work for money, and gambling is a way of 'multiplying' their wages. Jabu does state however, that he is not always guaranteed to win his wages back, as seen in his use of a song to illustrate the risks associated with gambling. There was however a reason men kept going back to gamble, as some indicated that when they did win, it would be a significant amount of money, much more than the money they had 'invested' in the bet. For men who perceive themselves as not having an alternative to their life at *Emdeni*, gambling as shown in this study, was an attractive option. For others though, the urge to gamble seemed to result from desperation for 'quick' cash, as they went through great lengths to find money to gamble, even begging. One particular example was that of Sphiwe (a father of two who shares residence with his children) who was given a packet of meat and soup by one of the local residents he knew. Instead of taking the sealed meat and soup packets home for his

family, he attempted to sell it to me and the other men for R30 so he could go gamble. In a study examining the demographic and social variables associated with problem gambling, Afifi et al. (2010) found that being single (separated or widowed), having negative coping abilities, and poor levels of social support increased the likelihood of gambling among men. The findings by Afifi et al. (2010) are particularly important for this study as the majority of the participants reported being single and receiving little or no support from their families. One particular concern raised by Jabu who also gambles, was that men often lost out on job opportunities while on their gambling breaks. This was especially true for those men whose established clients would come looking for them, only to find that they were out gambling. In his study on day labourers in Japan, Gill (2001), found that men engaged in similar ‘non-work’ activities as those cited by the men I interviewed. In addition to alcohol consumption, drug abuse and gambling, Gill (2001) found that men visited brothels, in search for ‘prostitutes’. While SCM spoke openly about intimate relationships, they rarely discussed their sexual activities, at least not when I was around.

Violence and crime. While considered a place where work-seekers engaged in criminal activities and violence, *Emdeni* was also the place where many men thought they were safe from such activities. The public’s view of criminal activity taking place at *Emdeni* often led to unwarranted arrests of work-seekers, who were the first suspects in the crimes that took place at *Emdeni* and the surrounding area. According to Themba, SCM were negatively affected by the abuse they suffered from the police:

Even the police you find that when a crime takes place around here, the first place they look, they look here among these people and these people also get affected you see, they

are abused themselves, even the business people chase them away, others get beaten up. I think one guy died here, he was beaten.

Such abuse, according to Themba, once led to the death of a work-seeker who was falsely accused of stealing from the nearby bottle store. The man was badly beaten up. He died a few days later. Themba further stated that the attacked victim had no family in Cape Town. A case was never opened against his attackers, who included police officers. The lack of investigation into the man's death speaks to the ways in which some men become completely disconnected from their families back at home, where, even a lack of communication does not seem suspicious to their families. Ramphele (1993, p. 58) uses the term *ukutshipha* which is a Xhosa term used in reference to men and women who move to the city to look for work and often find themselves "totally lost to the city", and therefore "*be tshiphile*".

Samara (2011, p. 2) describes the demonisation of the homeless and those working on the streets as "a manifestation of the urban blight and threats to urban revitalization, primarily because of the crimes they allegedly commit and the fear they induce in the more affluent". According to Samara (2011), and as found in this study, the criminalisation of those living and working in the streets such as SCM is a way of removing them from this space, as they are seen as a threat to the commercial activities that take place. But the threat is not only about commercial interest, it is also due to the view that SCM and those living on the streets are seen as lowering the tone of a neighbourhood. Of particular interest at *Emdeni* was the use of a 'police' dog (German Shepherds that are trained to assist police with their work in South Africa)⁴⁶ which was walked around the hardware store by security personnel in attempts to

⁴⁶ Also known as K9s (as in canine: referring to the tooth characteristics of dogs) in the United States and other parts of the world.

keep SCM off their premises, which can be described as the hardware store owners' attempt to protect their neoliberal interests.

The violence referred to in this study often occurred between participants as a result of conflict caused by the competition for work. As indicated in an earlier chapter, one such fight broke out while I was conducting fieldwork, where a young man lost his job after other men revealed that he had no experience in the work he claimed. As a result of his job loss, the young man became physically violent towards another man he overheard talking about his lack of experience. While I was told of many other stories involving the carrying and use of firearms and machetes, I did not observe any such case during my time at *Emdeni*, which suggests that even when it did happen, such violent 'episodes' did not occur regularly.

As indicated earlier, while perceived as the 'breeding ground' for criminal activities and violence, *Emdeni* was also a place that kept some men from engaging in such activities in the township. According to Spikiri (27) and Mzo, being at *Emdeni* is not good for men, but it is better than 'hanging around' in the township where they could potentially get involved in "*the wrong things*". These 'wrong things' stated by participants included stealing, robbing, and 'smoking'. Smoking is used here by the participants to refer to the use and abuse of drugs, which is said to lead to engagement in criminal activity. Spikiri and Mzo's view was also supported by Lukhanyo (28) who stated the following:

Now I can be safe, I am safe from a lot of things like sometimes I get busy and be at work so that I can get money while I work. I am safe from other things because if I am in the township smoking, I will mess up, and be corrupt you see. You will carry other people's crime and they will say you stole because of the children because the children cannot go without eating you see, you want to make a plan. So even if I do not have children [here] let me go and find work.

According to Lukhanyo, it is particularly the need to provide for one's children that is likely to lead to stealing among men who 'hang around' in the township instead of looking for work. This statement by Lukhanyo is evidence of men's desire to provide for their families. This is particularly an important finding in a context where poor and unemployed men are often considered 'deadbeat' fathers who neglect their responsibilities. Men's failure to care for and provide for their children can therefore in some cases be seen as determined by their socio-economic circumstances, rather than their unwillingness to do so.

Homelessness, begging, shame and lying. According to participants in this study, life at *Emdeni* could lead to homelessness. While the excessive use of alcohol and drugs was cited as one cause of homelessness among men, it was particularly a sense of shame and feelings of humiliation that led them to abandon their families and homes for the street life. In his study on homelessness among 'day' labourers in Osaka, Aoki (2003) reported what he called 'deyosebisation' (see chapter 4) and 'disemployment' of unskilled labourers from the day labour market as a result of economic globalisation (see Aoki (2003) and Gill (2001, 2012) for a definition and description of the *yoseba*). According to Aoki (2003), both these processes (deyosebisation and disemployment) result in increased numbers of homeless people, where in Osaka, day labourers accounted for 60% of the homeless population.

According to the participants I interviewed, shame associated with the inability to provide was the main reason men ended up abandoning their families and living on the street. Themba and Fezile (a 26-year-old father of one from the Eastern Cape) share their perceptions of homelessness among men at *Emdeni*:

Others...only to find out that others look for work here they no longer have...they no longer live in their homes they live under bridges...there are many, there are many people I know who live under a bridge. They pretend towards others [inaudible segment: 0:30:57.9] just because they had their own problems and cannot support their families they figure 'okay what will I do, it is better that I run away'. The last time you checked the person lived in Khayelitsha only to find that no he left a long time ago from Khayelitsha, that person no longer lives in Khayelitsha he lives under a bridge and no one here knows that you see. Themba

It changes people's lives a lot, you find that another one now sleeps outside, he is a beggar now you see such things. He just wakes up outside and come back here...without washing or anything, he doesn't go home anymore. What does he leave behind...he no longer looks after his children, he is no longer looking after his household because he has given up, he has given up on life. Fezile

According to Themba and Fezile, men end up living under bridges, where their families cannot find them when they have given up on life. Being homeless, men are often then subjected to begging, as shown in Fezile's use of the word '*bergie*', which is Afrikaans for beggar. According to Gill (2012, no page number) however, begging was not acceptable among homeless men in Japan as it was seen as the "most abject abandonment of masculinity". Begging was therefore also seen as open admission of inferiority towards the man one begs from (Gill, 2012). Gill's (2010) findings are consistent with the experiences of some of the participants I interviewed, who distanced themselves from men they considered to be begging rather than looking for work. It is interesting however that the same men accepted food offered to them by the local shop owners who often brought them bread. Similarly, Gill (2012) found

that the homeless in Japan, even though they did not beg, did not hesitate accepting handouts from those who offered to help. One man I interviewed was particularly resistant towards accepting such handouts, stating that he could not eat food offered to him at *Emdeni* when his children at home had nothing to eat. Mondlane, the 56-year-old father, further stated that he would not take food offered to him at *Emdeni* to feed his children as he does not know if it could have been poisoned or not. Mondlane's view is not unwarranted, as I found out during my time at *Emdeni* that these shop owners would sometimes donate bread and food that was past its 'sell-by' and often 'use-by' date, food they could no longer sell. While it could be viewed as an attempt to help the men, the shop owners' donations of 'expired' foods allude to the ways in which men on the street corner are viewed as desperate, and are therefore expected to take and eat just about anything offered to them, even those foods considered unsuitable for consumption.

In addition to avoiding going home by staying at *Emdeni* till late and the resultant homelessness among men, lying was also used to cope with their shame and avoid humiliation. Participants lied to each other and to their families about having a full-time job. Siseko (30), for example, had to make sure he leaves his house every morning as the people around him in the township were under the impression that he had a full-time job. According to Siseko, this also meant that he had to learn to budget and use the money he earned at *Emdeni* in ways that suggest that he is in full-time employment. For Siphellele, lying was a way of ensuring that his partner does not leave him:

The thing is you get annoyed by the fact that you might be left by the woman of the house you see because you are not working. But you find that even if it is like that the week goes by and you find that you get paid weekly or monthly, at the end of the week

[when there is no pay to show for the week's labour] you say 'no the employer said this and that'. Sipehele

Sipehele further suggests that men who lie about having a full-time job often have to make up excuses about employers not paying them when they have not had a job in a while. These men therefore use one lie to cover up another. Lying, as suggested by Jappie (a 60-year-old father of 25 children - 12 daughters and 13 sons) meant that even on 'bad' rainy days when he felt like staying at home, he could not do so as his wife and children were also under the impression that he was in full-time employment. The views of shame and the resultant homelessness shared by participants in this study are supported by both studies on masculinity (Lindifarne, 1994) and poverty (Batty & Flint, 2010) which suggest a connection between poverty, self-esteem, shame, and powerlessness. Being poor, participants in this study embody a marginalised or subordinate masculinity (Connell, 1995) in relation to men of hegemonic, higher socio-economic and class status. According to Lindifarne (1994), displays of marginalised or subordinated masculinities such as those observed among poor men are therefore 'shamed', while hegemonic displays of masculinities associated with economic stability are 'honoured'.

'Not really men': Constructions of masculinity among SCM

The stories of roadside work-seekers discussed above all suggest desperate attempts by men to create and maintain a place for themselves within the hierarchy of masculinities. Whether through providing for their children; engaging in and avoiding intimate relationships; involvement in alcohol and drug abuse; engagement in crime and violence; as well as abandoning their families and becoming homeless; this study shows that all men are engaged in processes of defining an 'acceptable' masculinity for themselves within the context of poverty and precarious employment.

According to Lynch (1997), men in the construction industry embody what Raewyn Connell referred to as ‘protest’ masculinities. Connell (1995, p. 111) defined protest masculinities as “a collective practice that also appears among the working-class, especially ethnic minority, street gangs in the United States”. Connell (1995) also argued that protest masculinities were marginalised masculinities that adapted the practices of hegemonic masculinity within the context of poverty. In his study with men in the construction industry, Iacuone (2005) found that a hierarchy of masculinities existed within this marginalised group of men, with some more dominant than others. According to Ratele (2014, p. 31), such a hierarchical organisation within marginalised groups of men should be approached as a ‘hegemony within marginality’. Similarly, Williams (2009) suggested that while men’s stories reveal hegemonic notions of masculinity, none of the men in his study held such positions in society.

The material I explore in this study suggests that similar to those found by Iacuone (2005), roadside work-seekers are also engaged in a process of constructing and negotiating dominant notions of manhood for themselves through their behaviour at the site of work, as well as through the ways in which they talk about themselves as men. For example, Sylvester spoke about how he had prepared himself for the difficulties of roadside work-seeking, constructing men who show signs of weakness and struggle as ‘not real men’:

...Because I prepared also for this type of life. Some men can't take it because they are not really men and then they hang themselves, some shoot themselves in the head. You see what he has in life does not make him the man, what he does in life does not make him a man, but where he is standing on his grounds and his protecting that is the man. That's why I say...when you go to the culture of African they say when you go to the bush you a man, but give him a challenge to face and then you will see he's a man.

Because a man is someone who can face a challenge, he's not going around it, he's not going on top of it, he's going through it.

Sylvester draws on hegemonic patriarchal constructions of masculinities, where men are expected to be strong and ready to take on any challenge. A failure to 'face' and successfully conquer such challenges is therefore seen as a 'lack in manhood' and often regarded as shameful. According to hooks (2004, p. 6), by encouraging men to deny their feelings of pain and struggle, we "construct a culture where male pain can have no voice", and therefore, an environment where men do not seek nor are offered help when they need it. In his reference to "*the culture of African*", Sylvester speaks from his position as a Coloured man who unlike many other cultural groups in South Africa, does not have to go to the bush (*ukwaluka*) which is considered the process through which particularly Xhosa boys become men, and therefore defines his manhood through his ability to face challenges.

Sylvester also mentions suicide among men who struggle to cope with the challenges of roadside work-seeking. Bryant and Garnham (2015) suggest strong links between shame and suicide. Looking particularly at the case of farmers in Australia, these authors found an association between suicide and the inability to enact successful 'farmer masculinities' as a result of poor weather conditions that affected farming, and thus worsened their economic conditions.

Conclusion

Interviews with participants in this study place unemployment and poverty at the centre of roadside work-seekers' discourses of masculinity. Unemployment and poverty are therefore found to disempower men by threatening their status in society and as heads of households within their families. It is particularly men's relationships with themselves as men, their families, intimate partners and children that are affected. The destruction of these relationships

has negative implications for men at *Emdeni*, who face various stresses, as it takes away the sense of belonging and support that family can provide. In the absence of decent employment opportunities and psycho-social support, men are likely to turn to alcohol consumption and drug use and abuse, violence and crime. Moreover, as found in this study, homelessness results from attempts to either suppress or even avoid feelings of shame and humiliation at home. It is clear from this study that unemployment and poverty influence the process through which men define their manhood. Even within the context of unemployment and poverty, men therefore continue to try to construct, find their place, and negotiate the hierarchy of masculinities.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and Recommendations

Introduction

A constructivist grounded theory analysis requires the researcher not to force or expect the data to fit into existing theories and frameworks (Charmaz, 2006). This approach to analysis allows a comparison of data, and the revelation of relationships between categories and concepts embedded in the data. In this study, a constructivist grounded theory approach to analysis allowed for the collection and organisation of participants' stories according to several main themes that were constructed throughout the study. These themes are those according to which the results chapters in this thesis have been organised and they focussed on: (1) the difficult but unavoidable nature of precarious work; (2) the perceived importance of biological connections in definitions of fatherhood, the construction of fathering as relating to economic provision and nurturing, and having children as primary but not the only reason men seek work at *Emdeni*; (3) the various ways in which precarious work impacts on fathering which include father-child co-residence and men's child-bearing intentions; and (4) precarious work and constructions of masculinities and the participants' self-defeating behaviours.

This chapter therefore summarises the findings according to both the constructed themes and the aim and objectives of this study. It is particularly the implications of the above findings that I discuss below, followed by a discussion on the ways in which the methodological approaches to this study enhanced or limited the nature of data collected. In conclusion, I examine existing policy measures and interventions that are directed at roadside work-seekers in South Africa and I recommend ways in which these could be improved.

Precarious work and fathering: The nature of this relationship

Precarious work such as roadside work-seeking as shown in this study is characterised by insecurity, unstable relationships and dangerous working conditions. At the same time, this type of work-seeking has also been found in this study and others to be a viable alternative to unemployment for some. Jobs among men at *Emdeni* could last up to five years or even result in a permanent job for men like Jabu and Mr L. However, there are several factors that make this work difficult for men. First, the negative perception of day labourers by the public and their criminalisation (Samara, 2011) often means that these men are not treated justly. They are constantly harassed by police, and also mistreated by those who employ them. Second, the street corner environment creates the perception of desperation and therefore deserving of low pay. Even when men at *Emdeni* are hired to do jobs for which employers would be willing to pay more, they are not likely to pay the ‘reasonable’ amount as many of the employers do not consider roadside work-seekers as having the same worker rights as any other employees.

There are several factors that contribute to men’s tolerance for this type of work. As found in this study, having children is one of them. This study shows that men define fatherhood as relating to biological connection. This is interesting particularly from an African cultural perspective where through observing my own family and those around me growing up, biological connections did not define fatherhood. In fact, I found that in my own family when a man married a woman who already had children from a previous relationship, he would be offered the option of choosing to pay *ilobolo* for both mother and child, or just the mother. If he chose to ‘pay’ for both, he would then resume full responsibility as the child’s father and provide for them in all ways a father is expected to. It was therefore interesting that none of the participants in this study indicated being fathers to children other than those they were genetically linked to.

Those men who considered themselves to be (biological) fathers were therefore willing and often ready to engage in dangerous and unpleasant work in order to be able to provide for their families and children.

Another reason indicated as motivation for being at *Emdeni* was men's need for self-dependence. Participants did not want to find themselves depending on others for their personal needs and were therefore driven to work even when they made no contributions to their children. This is common of hegemonic masculinities that require of men to be strong, have paid work, and be the providers (Connell, 1995; Hunter, 2005) rather than being provided for.

The association of fatherhood with economic provision came as no surprise as a vast amount of literature already makes this connection (e.g. see Hunter, 2005). This study confirms Morrell's (2006) argument that it is particularly men who struggle financially that are likely to draw on the economic provider discourse. Men who are in full-time financially stable work positions are less likely to be anxious about being able to provide.

It was however, the construction of fathers as nurturers that was interesting in this study. While men defined their roles as including nurturing their children by being there, being loving and caring, the majority of the participants could not fulfil such roles due to various reasons including the prioritising of work. This suggests that while men consider their roles as nurturing fathers to be important, they considered financial provision to take precedence and therefore prioritised this role. This means that as found in the literature, the 'nurturing fatherhood' discourse is welcomed by most fathers. However, due to their socio-economic conditions, some men are only limited to talking about such a fatherhood than actually engaging in nurturing practices. Furthermore, in relation to one of the objectives of this study which was to understand how men negotiate between their children's economic and emotional needs, this study shows that men prioritise financial provision over nurturing. The stressful conditions of their working environments do not allow for men to be hands-on fathers as they often spend

most of their time outside of the home. While I support the call for fathers to be involved in the daily caring for their children, I can appreciate how providing seems more important for participants. The needs of children are many (for clothes, food, school etc.). It would therefore be unreasonable for men to watch their children suffer, especially in the case of the participants in this study whose partners or ex-partners (mothers of their children) were also mostly reported to be unemployed.

Precarious employment has been found in this study to negatively impact the lives of men. Most of the participants for example did not share residence with their children. Among the factors influencing men's co-residence status with their children included a break-down in their relationships with their intimate partners who would often deny them access to the child. In most cases, it was often men's inability to provide financially for the child that fuelled their being denied access from their children. This therefore means that men have to live with not knowing how or where their children are, as well as coping with being considered a bad father. Such labels do not make it any easier for men.

Given the difficulties to provide and be there for their children cited by participants in this study, one cannot help but think of the possibilities of these men opting not to have any children. Interestingly, the majority of the participants had not planned their children, as they thought of themselves as not having any role in reproductive decisions, placing the responsibility on mothers, or God. There were still however some men who indicated that they would have more children despite their working conditions. While this could be considered as being irresponsible, being a (biological) father might carry certain cultural meaning and significance (as shown by Hunter, 2006). This relationship is complicated. While men could be 'congratulated' and honoured for their display of masculinity or virility by having children, they could also be shamed for not being able to provide for them. Yet it remains unclear why

men continue to want to have children despite the risks to their own masculine identities, which literature has shown to be valued.

As shown in Connell's (1995) conception of marginalised and subordinated masculinities (which are said to adapt aspects of hegemonic masculinities within the context of poverty), this study shows that the construction and negotiation of masculinities is an ongoing project for men. Even within their marginalised positions, men display what Kimmel (2004) phrased as dominant yet fragile masculinities. This is however not a pleasant position to be in particularly among men who lack the tools required for 'dominant' masculinities such as economic stability, thus rendering these men 'economically unviable' (Cornwall, cited in Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

The research process: Strengths and limitations

Several issues relating to the research process are important for the ways in which they enhanced or limited the findings in this study. The location of the research site is important. Being in an open air street environment, this study lends itself to several challenges. First, it was difficult to keep other men far away from where the interviews took place as participants still had to be close enough to ensure that they did not lose out on any job opportunities. Second, the quality of the audio-recorded interviews was affected as there were always cars and trucks passing. And because the data collection commenced in winter, there were also heavy rains and winds which interrupted the observations. It is therefore important that the data collection time frame be thoroughly considered during the planning of studies of this kind.

While challenging in the ways already mentioned, this environment was also beneficial in several ways. First, as mentioned earlier, being open to everyone, I did not have to seek permission from a gate-keeper to conduct the study. I had direct access to participants. Also, being predominantly occupied by men, I was the only woman on this street corner. This meant

that many of the men gathered around me (for various reasons) and therefore learnt about the study, which also made it easier to ensure that all were aware of my presence and reason for being there.

Finally, considering that men on the side of the road often do not have money, it would have helped them to have provided monetary incentives for the time they took to participate. It was clear from my time there that participants sometimes struggled to buy food for themselves or to provide for their own transport and therefore had to walk. Even if it is in the most insignificant way, an incentive would have assisted participants in some way with their travel and food.

Recommendations

(1) **On roadside work-seeking.** Based on what I have found in both existing literature and in the current study, I provide several recommendations for policy and interventions directed at roadside work-seekers. Some of these recommendations are based on what participants told me they felt were the ways in which their work-seeking environment could be improved. It is also important to note that these recommendations are not solutions. Instead, they suggest ways in which we can think about the possibilities of improving roadside work-seeking for those who engage in it.

(1. a) First, there are no policies that focus directly on roadside work-seekers. Unions and policies that focus on workers' rights are targeted specifically towards those individuals and groups who are in full-time (or sometimes even part-time) contractual employment. A contract therefore needs to exist between an employer and employee before any work-related disputes are addressed. Further research is required that focuses on identifying ways in which policy can be drafted that is targeted at protecting the rights of roadside work-seekers. This is however a challenging task, as the roadside work-seeking environment has been found to be

challenging or even impossible to regulate. It is therefore recommended that legislators, nongovernmental organisations and researchers contribute towards policy development and regulations around day labour. An example of how this could be done exists in the regulation of domestic labour in South Africa.

(1. b) Second, the lack of a referencing system means that men have no way of proving or verifying to potential employers that they have experience in a specific job even if they may have been doing that same job for over three years. According to Themba, even when applying for a trade test⁴⁷ that qualifies them for a certain skill, men are required among other things, to have worked at least four years in a specific field accompanied by a certificate of service letter. I found information confirming these claims on the South African Qualifications Authority website. This means that even if men had worked for a total of four full years for the different employers at *Emdeni* doing the same job, they would still not be eligible to write a trade test. It would therefore be useful to consider ways in which a system could be implemented that allows men and especially their employers to provide references. Whilst aware of the challenge that some men do not work long enough for employers to want to provide them with a reference, it is recommended that a formal system is put in place that allows employers to serve as references to employees in the form of a signed sheet that the workers can present at each work site and that these sheets be recognised by the qualifications authority.

(1. c) Other challenges participants faced during their work-seeking activities included theft of their wages. Due to the fact that workers and employers exchange very little information, the employers become hard to track when such cases of wage theft occur. There are however, some organisations that were put in place to combat such challenges within the

⁴⁷ “The Section 28 trade test (named after the relevant section in the Manpower Training Act) is a way of recognising the prior learning and experience of a person who has been working for some years in a particular trade but has not passed a trade test and is therefore not recognised as a qualified artisan. After the applicant’s suitability for a trade test is determined, the applicant will then undergo a trade test at a merSETA accredited trade test centre.” <http://www.merseta.org.za/SkillsDevelopment/LearningProgrammes/Section28.aspx>

precarious labour market. These are often referred to as worker centres and are more popular in countries such as the USA than they are in South Africa. I discuss in the following section the existence and functioning of such worker centers. Even then, the general recommendation is that more work centres should be designed, with some of them dedicated to addressing challenges specific to precarious work.

(1. d) Finally, it would be useful for the South African and other governments to think creatively about how the issue of job creation can be addressed as there is a clear need for specifically full-time jobs.

(2) On research on worker centres: Learning from the example of *Men on the side of the Road (MSR)*. Studies that seek to provide in-depth, qualitative accounts on the lives and experiences of roadside work-seekers in South Africa are hard to come by. This suggests that very little research as well as policy interventions are being undertaken by researchers and government to understand, influence and develop plans and programmes that could change the lives of men at places like *Emdeni* for the better.

According to Purser (2009, p. 118), “an increasingly common, if not contentious, policy response has been to establish an alternative to curbside hiring in the form of quasi-regulated but nonetheless informal day labour worker centres”. While it is suggested that there is an increase in worker centres in other countries such as the USA (Purser, 2009), I could only find evidence of one such centre in Cape Town. According to existing documents, Men on the Side of the Road (MSR), now Fundi, was established in 2001 “to address the plight of unemployed men who congregate daily on the side of the road, through placement in work and also through skills development and training” (MSR Funding Proposal, no date). The funding proposal, which is readily available online⁴⁸, suggests that the organization has had much success in its

⁴⁸ The funding proposal can be accessed from: <https://www.globalgiving.org/pfil/640/projdoc.pdf>

operations, claiming to have increased placement days from 16 000 (with 6500 men) in 2006 to 120 000 workdays in 2008. It is also important to note that according to this proposal, MSR has active sites in several cities in South Africa (Johannesburg, Pretoria, Nelspruit, Durban, George and Port Elizabeth).

Having learnt about the existence of MSR only through this research project, I asked all of my study participants whether they had heard of such an organisation. None of them had heard of it at the time (2014). I then contacted the MSR offices to find out if I could meet with any one of its representatives to find out more about the project. I was able to have an appointment scheduled with the national director, Mr Peter Kratz. Through my conversation with Mr Kratz, I was made aware that MSR was no longer what it was initially established to be. From what I could gather, it operated more as a labour broking agency than a charity organisation that helps men on the side of the road.

Several reasons were cited by the director for having evolved MSR into what seemed like a labour broking agency and they include being poorly resourced (financially), as an NPO, MSR initially relied on government and corporate funding. Mr Kratz summarised the ways in which they operate and how MSR had evolved over time:

The name of our organisation is Men on the Side of the Road and we started out essentially working with the people that you are talking about, that you see them on the side of the road looking for work. Uhm...for the first probably...seven years of our existence, we did a lot of what you are doing, we had people in the streets talking to those guys, recruiting them, understanding what they have done, what their objectives are, interacting with the social challenges that they have, and really trying to be part of that network. But, we found it to be particularly unproductive, okay, because it didn't create something...We as an organisation took the view that we would try to intervene

or try and add value to the employment process. We wanted to see if we can make a system or a process that will make that work experience more viable, more productive...It helps when your focus is to say let's help them to get jobs. It helps when you try and create a vehicle for getting more people to work. So that's what we kind of evolved...Historically, we started with...we made a conversion, we had our people that we had recruited from the side of the road who have proven themselves to be all those things, skilled, reliable and trustworthy, and those are the people we work with. New people can join, they come in here and they sign up. But, the reality is that there is nothing we can do. The reality is we don't have...we've got thousands more people on our books than we need because there's just not enough customers out there. There are not enough people who consistently hire people all the time...We now have a much smaller group of people that we work with, but we are more relevant to them because we can put them into work. Essentially, we just make connections. Customers phone us and they say they want a, b, and c and we find the appropriate person and connect them. There is no money in the process. When we place a person to work our fee is R40 on the first day and R10 everyday afterwards and ofcourse the customer pays us not the worker.

This detailed statement by Mr Kratz clearly describes MSR as it is now as a labour broker. This material also suggests that the South African government does not consider roadside work-seeking as a productive practice, and thus has not prioritised this as an area that needs intervention. Furthermore, the nature of this environment and the size of this market as indicated by Mr Kratz makes it almost impossible to intervene effectively. Studies on work centres in the USA suggest that these centres are often successful but rely on the work-seekers' involvement in ensuring that such centres operate efficiently (Schenck, Xipu, & Blaauw, 2012;

Turnovsky, 2006). It is therefore crucial and recommended that further research is conducted on worker centres (particularly in the areas where they have proven to be successful) so as to establish why and how these centres are struggling in South Africa, as compared to those in other countries such as the USA. The lack of intervention strategies and policies that focus on roadside work-seeking suggests that even while common, this phenomenon is not well understood and is still considered a 'problem' to society, rather than a solution for some men that makes it possible for them to provide for themselves and their families.

(3) **On other ways of encouraging involved fatherhood.** Unlike the case of roadside work-seeking, studies on fatherhood and fathering are many. These studies have contributed significantly to the ways in which we understand fatherhood as it is and continues to be constructed. Certain policies have been introduced over the years to encourage the involvement of fathers. In South Africa, these policies (such as the Child Maintenance Act of 1998) unfortunately only make provision for fathers as economic providers, with little or no suggestions on men's nurturing and parenting practices. In most European countries, men's involvement has been encouraged through the introduction of sufficient parental leave for both men and women. It is therefore useful that a country such as South Africa looks at such examples and examine whether they actually succeed at achieving the goal, which is to increase men's participation. This is particularly important for a place such as South Africa where 'paternity leave' (compared to other countries, and compared with maternity leave) is minimal. It seems time is overdue for the issue of paternity leave to be re-tabled and brought back into discussions in order to find ways in which it can be drafted into policy, as suggested by the late Dr Manto Tshabalala-Msimang. However, it should be cautioned that these policies might yet again only benefit those men in full-time contractual employment. 'Paternity leave' as a strategy to involve men in the lives of their offspring does not quite address the realities of

precariously employed men. It is therefore necessary that we turn to organisations such as MenCare, Men for Gender Equality Now, Promundo, Sonke Gender Justice, and others that seek to encourage men's involvement with their children (see chapter 2), but also go beyond them to find new ways of encouraging involved fatherhood. It is also essential for government to continue investing funding into such efforts to ensure that they reach a wider group of people. Finally, as shown in this study, men do not seem to be taking responsibility for their reproductive and child-bearing choices. It is therefore important that they are included and should be persuaded to participate in programs and interventions focusing on reproductive choices. By inviting men to participate in discussions on such interventions, we (as researchers, government departments and institutions, and non-profit organisations and activists) might be able to design interventions that appeal to them, and potentially lower the rates of unplanned parenthood, and also relieving women of the burden of being solely responsible for family planning.

Conclusion

This study has shown that fatherhood matters to most if not all men. Similarly, it confirmed the importance of paid work in constructions of masculinity and the practice of fatherhood. While work remains important to all men, those who are fathers are more likely to endure harsher working conditions than those who are not fathers.

Economic provision was also found to precede nurturing, where men prioritise financial provision over physically caring for their children. This however does not imply that men do not consider a loving father-child relationship to be important, what it means is that men feel that their ability to provide allows them to be better fathers.

Finally, this study has contributed to our understanding of the ways in which precarious employment impacts on fatherhood. Having children, was therefore as initially assumed, found to be not the only, but main reason men endured work at *Emdeni*.

References

- Adepoju, A. (1998). Linkages between internal and international migration: The African situation. *International Social Science Journal*, 50(156). Accessed on 16 May 2014 from <http://www.iupui.edu/~anthkb/a104/kenya/african%20migration.htm>.
- Afifi, T. O., Cox, B. J., Martens, P. J., Sareen, J., & Enns, M. W. (2010). Demographic and social variables associated with problem gambling among men and women in Canada. *Psychiatry Research*, 178, 395-400.
- Agadjanian, V. (2005). Men doing “women’s work”: Masculinity and gender relations among street vendors in Maputo, Mozambique. In L. Ouzgane & R. Morrell (Eds.), *African masculinities: Men in Africa from the late nineteenth century to the present* (pp. 257-269). South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Agyemang, C., Bhopal, R., & Bruijnzeels, M. (2005). Negro, Black, Black African, African Caribbean, African American or what? Labelling African origin populations in the health arena in the 21st century. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health*, 59, 1014-1018.
- Akafuah, R. A., & Sossou, M. (2008). Attitudes toward use and knowledge about family planning among Ghanaian men. *International Journal of Men’s Health*, 7(2), 109-120.
- Alexander, N. (2006). Racial identity, citizenship and nation building in post-apartheid South Africa. Paper presented at the East London Campus University of Fort Hare.
Retrieved online on 22 March 2015 from:
<http://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/2006-racial-identity-citizenship-and-nation-building.pdf>

- Alexander, P., & Wale, K. (2013). Underemployment: Too poor to be unemployed. In P. Alexander, C. Ceruti, K. Motseke, M. Phadi, & Wale, K. (Eds.), *Class in Soweto* (pp. 127-141). KwaZulu-Natal, SA: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Allen, L. (2003). Girls want sex, boys want love: Resisting dominant discourses of (hetero) sexuality. *Sexualities*, 6(2), 215-236.
- Altman, M. (2005). Research gaps: Labour market function and policy in South Africa. A final report to Sida. Retrieved online on 17 March 2015 from: <http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/research-outputs/mtree-doc/1300>
- Aoki, H. (2003). Homelessness in Osaka: Globalisation, *yoseba* and disemployment. *Urban Studies*, 40(2), 361-378.
- Asante, M. K. (2005). Black Consciousness Movement. In M. K. Asante & Mazama, A. (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Black Studies* (pp. 122-124). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications. Accessed online on 23 March 2015 from: <http://www.sage-reference.com/view/blackstudies/n65.xml>
- Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. (Eds.). (2001). Editorial introduction. In *Handbook of ethnography* (pp. 1-7). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Barchiesi, F. (2011). *Precarious liberation: Workers, the state, and contested social citizenship in postapartheid South Africa*. Scottsville, SA: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Barker, G., & Ricardo, C. (2005). Young men and the constructions of masculinity in sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, conflict, and violence. Social Development Papers: Conflict Prevention & Reconstruction Working Paper No. 26.

- Barnett, R. C., Marshall, N. L., & Pleck, J. H. (1992). Men's multiple roles and their relationship to men's psychological distress. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 54(2), 358-367.
- Batty, E., & Flint, J. (2010). Self-esteem, comparative poverty and neighbourhoods: Research paper no. 7. *Living through change in challenging neighbourhoods: A research project funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation*. Retrieved on the 4th of March 2015 from http://research.shu.ac.uk/cresr/living-through-change/documents/RP7_SelfEsteem.pdf.
- Bell, R. (1993). Pride and prejudice and participant observation. *Praxis*, 35-38.
- Berger, L. M., Carlson, M. J., Bzostek, S. H., & Osborne, C. (2008). Parenting practices of resident fathers: The role of marital and biological ties. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 70, 625-639.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckman, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. London: Penguin Books.
- Bernard, H. R., & Ryan, G. W. (2010). *Analyzing qualitative data: Systematic approaches*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Birbili, M. (2000). Translating from one language to another. *Social Research Update*, 31, 1-5. Accessed on 2 November 2014 from <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU31.html>.
- Blaauw, P. F., Louw, H. & Schenck, R. (2006). The unemployment history of day labourers in South Africa and the income they earn: A case study of day labourers in Pretoria. *South African Journal of Economic and Management Sciences*, 9(4), 458-471.
- Blaauw, P. F., & Pretorius, A. M. (2007). Day labourers in Pretoria: Entrepreneurial spirit in action or survivors in a cul de sac? *South African Journal of Human Resource Management*, 5(1), 65-70.

- Blaauw, P. F., Pretorius, A., Schoeman, C., & Schenck, R. (2012). Explaining migrant wages: The case of Zimbabwean day labourers in South Africa. *International Business & Economics Research Journal*, 11(12), 1333-1346.
- Blinder, S. (2015). *Briefing: Non-EU labour migration to the UK*. The Migration Observatory: University of Oxford. Retrieved on 5 March 2015 from <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/migobs/Briefing%20-%20Non-European%20Labour%20Migration.pdf>.
- Brandth, B., & Kvande, E. (1998). Masculinity and childcare: The reconstruction of fathering. *The Editorial Board of the Sociological Review*. USA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Bryan, D. M. (2013). To parent or provide? The effect of the provider role on low-income men's decisions about fatherhood and paternal engagement. *Fathering*, 11(1), 71-89.
- Bryant, L., & Garnham, B. (2015). The fallen hero: Masculinity, shame and farmer suicide in Australia. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 22(1), 67-82.
- Buntu, B. (2011). It takes a village to raise a child. Accessed on 11 October 2013 from <http://www.news24.com/Archives/City-Press/It-takes-a-village-to-raise-a-child-20150429>.
- Butler, J. (2009). *Frames of war: When is life grievable?* London: Verso.
- Cabrera, N. J., Tamis-Le Monda, C. S., Bradley, R. H., Hoffert, S. & Lamb, M. E. (2000). Fatherhood in the twenty-first century. *Child Development*, 1, 127-136.
- Campbell, H. (2000). The glass-phallus: Pub(lic) masculinity and drinking in rural New Zealand. *Rural Sociology*, 65(4), 562-581.
- Cancian, F. M. (1986). The feminization of love. *Signs*, 11(4), 692-709.
- Castillo, P. J. (2009). Unemployment threat of the financial crisis. *Asia-Pacific Social Sciences Review*, 9(1), 41-46.

- Castillo, J. T., Welch, G. W., & Sarver, C. M. (2012). Walking a high beam: The balance between employment stability, workplace flexibility, and non-resident father involvement. *American Journal of Men's Health*, 6(2), 120-131.
- Chamunorwa, W., & Mlambo, C. (2014). The unemployment impact of immigration in South Africa. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(20), 2631-2640.
- Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 509-536). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Charmaz, K. (2008). Grounded theory as an emergent method. In S. N. Hess-Biber & P. Leavy (Eds.), *Handbook of Emergent Methods* (pp. 155-170). New York: Guilford Press.
- Charmaz, K. & Mitchell, R. G. (2001). Grounded theory in ethnography. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delmont, J. Lofland, & L. Lofland (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnography* (pp. 160-174). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Chereni, A. (2015). Fathering and gender transformation in Zimbabwean transnational families. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 16(2), Art. 20.
- Clark, S., Cotton, C., & Marteleto, L. (2015). Family ties and young fathers' engagement in Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 575-589.
- Clemons, E. K., & Hitt, L. M. (2004). Paoching and the misappropriation of information: Transaction risks of information exchange. *Journal of Management Information Systems*, 21(2), 87-107.
- Clowes, L., Ratele, K., & Shefer, T. (2013). Who needs a father? South African men reflect on being fathered. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 22(3), 255-267.

- Connell, R. W. (1993). The big picture: Masculinities in recent world history. *Theory and Society*, 22, 597-623.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Crompton, R. (2006). *Employment and the family: The reconfiguration of work and family life in contemporary societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Day, R. D., Lewis, C., O'Brien, M., & Lamb, M. E. (2005). Fatherhood and father involvement: Emerging constructs and theoretical orientations. In V. L. Bengston, A. C. Acock, K. R. Allen, P. Dillworth-Anderson, & D. M. Klein (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theory and research* (pp. 341-366). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- De Fina, A. (2011). Discourse and identity. In Van Dijk, T. A. (Ed.), *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- De Visser, R. O., & Smith, J. A. (2007). Alcohol consumption and masculine identity among young men. *Psychology & Health*, 22(5), 595-614.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 1-28). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Department of Agriculture (2011). *Trilingual dictionary for agriculture: Afrikaans, IsiXhosa, English*. Provincial Government of the Western Cape. Retrieved online on 01 September 2015 from:
http://www.elsenburg.com/sites/default/files/agri_brochure/2015-04-29/trilingual-agricultural-dictionary2012.pdf
- Dermott, E. (2008). *Intimate fatherhood: A sociological analysis*. London: Routledge.

- Dias, R., & Posel, D. (2007). *Unemployment, education and skills constraints in post-apartheid South Africa*. Development Policy Research Unit: Working Paper 07/120. Accessed on the 4th of March 2015 from https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/7262/DPRU_WP07-120.pdf?sequence=1.
- Dickert, N., & Grady, C. (2008). Incentives for research participants. In E. J. Emanuel, C. Grady, R. A. Crouch, R. K. Lie, F. G. Miller, & D. Wendler (Eds.), *The Oxford textbook of clinical research ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dobson, J., Lathan, A., & Salt, J. (2009). On the move? Labour migration in times of recession: What can we learn from the past? *Managing migration in times of economic turbulence*. Policy Network Paper. Retrieved online on 5 March 2015 from: <http://www.policy-network.net/uploadedFiles/Publications/Publications/On%20the%20move%20-%20Labour%20migration%20in%20times%20of%20recession.pdf>.
- Doherty, W. J., Kouneski, E. F., & Erickson, M. F. (1996). *Responsible fathering: An overview and conceptual framework*. Report prepared for the Administration for Children and Families, Department of Health & Human Services, Washington DC. Retrieved from <http://fatherhood.hhs.gov/concept.htm>.
- Dollahite, D. C., Hawkins, A. J., & Brotherson, S. E. (1997). Fatherwork: A conceptual ethic of fathering as generative work. In A. J. Hawkins & D. C. Dollahite (Eds.), *Generative fathering: Beyond deficit perspectives* (pp. 17-35). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dowd, N. (2000). *Redefining fatherhood*. New York: New York University Press.
- Drakich, J. (1989). In search of the better parent: The social construction of ideologies of fatherhood. *Canadian Journal of Women & the Law*, 3(1), 69-87.

- Duff, P., & Fryer, D. (2004). The dynamics of job search and the microfoundations of unemployment: Evidence from Duncan Village. Paper presented at the DPRU conference 'African development and poverty reduction: The micro-macro linkage'. Cape Town: Development Policy Research Unit, University of Cape Town. Accessed online on 16 September 2015 from:
http://www.tips.org.za/files/The_Dynamics_of_Job_Search_Fryer.pdf
- Dundon, T., & Ryan, P. (2010). Interviewing reluctant respondents: Strikes, henchmen and gaelic games. *Organizational Research Methods*, 13(3), 562-581.
- Duneier, M. (1999). *Sidewalk*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
- East, L., Jackson, D., & O'Brien, L. (2006). Father absence and adolescent development: A review of literature. *Journal of Child Health Care*, 10(4), 283-295.
- Edin, K., Tach, L., & Mincy, R. (2009). Claiming fatherhood: Race and the dynamics of paternal involvement among unmarried men. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 621, 149-177.
- Eggebeen, D. J., & Knoester, C. (2001). Does fatherhood matter for men? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63(2), 381-393.
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2001). Participant observation and field notes. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland, & L. Lofland (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnography* (pp. 353-368). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Enderstein, A. M., & Boonzaier, F. (2013). Narratives of young South African fathers: Redefining masculinity through fatherhood. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 24(5), 512-527.
- Engle, P. L. (1997). The role of men in families: Achieving gender equity and supporting children. *Gender and Development*, 5(2), 31-40.

- Engle, P., Beardshaw, T., & Loftin, C. (2006). The child's right to shared parenting. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 293-305). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Featherstone, B. (2009). *Contemporary fathering: Theory, policy and practice*. United Kingdom: The Policy Press.
- Fernández-Esquer, M. E., Fernández-Espada, N., Atkinson, J. A., & Montano, C. F. (2015). The influence of demographics and working conditions on self-reported injuries among Latino day labourers. *International Journal of Occupational and Environmental Health*, 21(1), 5-13.
- Flick, U. (2014). *An introduction to qualitative research*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Foley, R. A., & Lahr, M. M. (2011). The evolution of the diversity of cultures. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society Biological Sciences*, 366, 1080-1089.
- Foucault, M. (1998). *The history of Sexuality Volume 1: The will to knowledge*. London: Penguin Books.
- Friedburg, R., & Hunt, J. (1995). The impact of immigration on the host country's wages, employment and growth. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 9, 23-44.
- Gatrell, C. (2007). 'Whose child is it anyway'? The negotiation of paternal entitlements within marriage. *The Sociological Review*, 55(2), 219-146.
- Garrety, K., Badham, R., Geyer, P., Zanko, M., & Knights, D. (2002). A discourse of classification: What type of "thing" is the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator and what makes it "work"? *Organisational discourse: From micro-utterances to macro-inferences* (pp. 74-76). London, UK: KMPC.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Gergen, K. J. (1985). The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. *American*

- Psychologist*, 40(3), 266-275.
- Gill, T. (2001). *Men of uncertainty: The social organisation of day laborers in contemporary Japan*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Gill, T. (2012). Failed manhood on the streets of urban Japan: The meanings of self-reliance for homeless men. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 10(2).
- Girard, M. (2010). Effects of non-standard work on the work-family balance: A literature review. *McGill Sociological Review*, 1, 46-58.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Gqola, P. D. (2001). Contradictory locations: Black women and the discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South Africa. *Meridians*, 2(1), 130-152.
- Grant, R. W., & Sugarman, J. (2004). Ethics in human subjects research: Do incentives matter? *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy*, 29(6), 717-738.
- Greene, M. E., & Biddlecom, A. E. (2000). Absent and problematic men: Demographic accounts of male reproductive roles. *Population and Development Review*, 26(1), 81-115.
- Greif, G. L. (1992). Lone Fathers: A review of the literature and implications for practice. *British Journal of Social Work*, 22, 565-574.
- Grenz, S. (2010). The desire to talk and sex/gender related silences with male heterosexual clients of prostitutes. In R. Ryan-Flood & R. Gill (Eds.), *Secrecy and silence in the research process: Feminist reflections* (pp. 54-66). London: Routledge.
- Halle, T. & LeMenstral, S. (1999). How do social, economic and cultural factors influence fathers' involvement with their children? *Child Trends Research Brief*. Available from: <http://www.childtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/dadinfluence.pdf>.

- Harmse, A. C., Blaauw, P. F., & Schenck, C. J. (2009). Day labourers, unemployment and socio-economic development in South Africa. *Urban Forum, 20*, 363-377.
- Harris, K. M., & Morgan, S. P. (1991). Fathers, sons and daughters: Differential paternal involvement in parenting. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 53*(3), 531-544.
- Harris, K. M., Furstenberg, F. F., & Marmer, J. K. (1998). Paternal involvement with adolescents in intact families: The influence of fathers over the life course. *Demography, 35*(2), 201-316.
- Hauari, H., & Hollingworth, K. (2009). *Understanding fatherhood: Masculinity, diversity and change*. York, United Kingdom: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Retrieved from <https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/understanding-fathering-masculinity-diversity-and-change>.
- Hawkins, A. J., Christiansen, S. L., Sargent, K. P., & Hill, E. J. (1993). Rethinking fathers' involvement in child care: A developmental perspective. *Journal of Family Issues, 14*(4), 531-549.
- Hearn, J. (2007). The problems boys and men create, the problems boys and men experience. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, N. Shabalala, & R. Buikema (Eds.), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 13-33). Lansdowne: UCT Press.
- Hearn, J. (1996). 'Is masculinity dead? A critique of the concept masculinity/masculinities. In M. Mac an Ghail (Ed.), *Understanding masculinities* (pp. 202-217). Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2011). *The practice of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

- Hobson, B., & Morgan, D. (2002). Introduction. In B. Hobson (Ed.), *Making men into fathers: Men masculinities and the social politics of fatherhood* (pp. 1-21). United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Hofferth, S. L. (2000). Race/ethnic differences in father involvement in two-parent families: Culture, context, or economy. Retrieved on 11 October 2013 from <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/urbanpoverty/Urban%20Seminars/May1999/Hoffertpaper.pdf>.
- Hofferth, S. L. (2006). Residential father family type and child well-being: Investment versus selection. *Demography*, 43(1), 53-77.
- Hofferth, S. L., & Anderson, K. G. (2003). Are all dads equal? Biology versus marriage as a basis for paternal investment. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65, 213-232.
- Hofferth, S. L., & Goldscheider, F. (2010). Does change in young men's employment influence fathering? *Family Relations*, 59(4), 493-497.
- Holborn, L. & Eddy, G. (2011). *First steps to healing the South African family*. Johannesburg, South Africa: African Institute of Race Relations. Accessed from <http://irr.org.za/reports-and-publications/occasional-reports/files/first-steps-to-healing-the-south-african-family-final-report-mar-2011.pdf>.
- Hood, J. C. (2007). Orthodoxy versus power: The defining traits of Grounded theory. In A. Bryant & Charmaz, K. (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of Grounded Theory* (pp. 151-162). London: SAGE Publications.
- hooks, b. (2004). *The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love*. New York: Washington Square Press.
- Hungwe, C. (2012). The migration experience and multiple identities of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. *Online Journal of Social Sciences Research*, 1(5), 132-138.

Retrieved online on 25 March 2015 from:

<http://onlineresearchjournals.org/JSS/pdf/2012/aug/Hungwe.pdf>

- Hunter, M. (2005). Cultural politics and masculinities: Multiple –partners in historical perspective in KwaZulu-Natal. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 7(3), 209-223.
- Hunter, M. (2006). Fathers without *amandla*: Zulu-speaking men and fatherhood. In L. Richter & R. Morell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 99-107). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Hutchings, A. (1989). Observations on plant usage in Xhosa and Zulu medicine. *Bothalia*, 19(2), 225-235.
- Iacuone, D. (2005). “Real men are tough guys”: Hegemonic masculinity and safety in the construction industry. *Journal of Men’s Studies*, 13(2), 247-266.
- Idemudia, E. S., Williams, J. K., & Wyatt, G. E. (2013). Migration challenges among Zimbabwean refugees before, during and post arrival in South Africa. *Journal of Injury and Violence Research*, 5(1), 17-22.
- Institute for Social and Health Sciences (2013). Safety and Peace Promotion Research Unit- Programme on Traditions and Transformation: Annual Report. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Jewkes, R., Rees, H., Dickson, K., Brown, H., & Levin, J. (2005). The impact of age on the epidemiology of incomplete abortions in South Africa after legislative change. *BJOG: An International Journal of Obstetrics & Gynaecology*, 112(3), 3550359.
- Kalleberg, A. L. (2003). Flexible firms and labour market segments: Effects of workplace restructuring on jobs and workers. *Work and Occupations*, 30(2), 154-175.
- Keswell, M. (2004). Education and racial inequality in post-apartheid South Africa. Working Paper No 200402-008, Santa Fe Institute, NM. Retrieved online on 24 March 2015 from: <http://www.santafe.edu/media/workingpapers/04-02-008.pdf>

- Khalifa, M. A. (1988). Attitudes of urban Sudanese men toward family planning. *Studies in Family Planning*, 19(4), 236-243.
- Khunou, G. (2006). Fathers don't stand a chance: Experiences of custody, access and maintenance. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 265-277). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Kim, J., & Motsei, M. (2002). "Women enjoy punishment": Attitudes and experiences of gender-based violence among PHC nurses in rural South Africa. *Social Science & Medicine*, 54(8), 1243-1254.
- Kimmel, M. S. (2004). Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame, and silence in the construction of gender identity. In P. F. Murphy (Ed.), *Feminism and masculinities* (pp. 182-199). United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Klaus, D., Nauck, B., & Steinbach, A. (2012). Relationships to stepfathers and biological fathers in adulthood: Complementary, substitutional, or neglected? *Advances in Life Course Research*, 17, 156-167.
- Kulick, D. (1998). *Travesti: Sex, gender and culture among Brazilian transgender prostitutes*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Lamb, M. E. (2000). The history of research on father involvement. *Marriage & Family Review*, 29(2-3), 23-42.
- Lamb, M.E., & Lewis, C. (2004). The development and significance of father-child relationships in two-parent families. In M.E. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development, 4th Edition* (pp. 272–306). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Lamb, M. E., Pleck, J. H., Charnov, E. & Levine, J. A. (1985). Paternal behaviour in humans. *American Zoologist*, 25(3), 883-894.

- Lamb, M.E., & Tamis-LeMonda, C.S. (2004). The role of the father: An introduction. In M.E. Lamb (Ed.), *The Role of the Father in Child Development, 4th Edition* (pp. 1–31). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Lamont, M. (2000). *The dignity of working men: Morality and the boundaries of race, class and immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lamont, M., & Molnár, V. (2002). The study of boundaries in the social sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28, 167-195.
- Lamphere, L., Ragoné, H., & Zavella, P. (1997). *Situated lives: Gender and culture in everyday life*. New York: Routledge.
- LaRossa, R. (1988). Fatherhood and social change. *Family Relations (The contemporary family: Consequences of change)*, 37(4), 451-457.
- LeCompte, M. D., & Schensul, J. J. (1999). *Analyzing and interpreting ethnographic data. Ethnographer's toolkit book 5*. California, USA: AltaMira Press.
- Leibbrandt, M. et al. (2010). Trends in South African income distribution and poverty since the fall of Apartheid. OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers, No. 101, OECD Publishing, © OECD.
- Lerman, R. I. (2010). Capabilities and contributions of unwed fathers. *The Future of Children*, 20(2), 63-85.
- Lesejane, D. (2006). Fatherhood from an African cultural perspective. In Richter, L. & Morrell, R. (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press (pp. 173-182).
- Levine, J. A. & Pitt, E. W. (1995). *New expectations: Community strategies for responsible fatherhood*. Family and Work Institute, United States of America. Accessed on 12 August 2013 from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=175434>.

- Levinsohn, J. (2008). Two policies to alleviate unemployment in South Africa. Harvard University Centre for International Development, *CID Working Paper No. 166*. Retrieved online on 24 March 2015 from:
http://levinsohn.commons.yale.edu/files/2010/10/Policies_SA.pdf
- Lietz, C. A., Zayas, L. E. (2010). Evaluating qualitative research for Social Work practitioners. *Advances in Social Work, 11*(2), 188-202.
- Lindifarne, N. (1994). Variant masculinities, variant virginites: Rethinking 'honour and shame'. In A. Cornwall & N. Lindisfarne (Eds), *Dislocating masculinity: Comparative ethnographies* (pp. 82-96). London: Routledge.
- Liu, W. M., Rochlen, A., & Mohr, J. J. (2005). Real and ideal gender role conflict: Exploring psychological distress among men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 6*(2), 137-148.
- Lonsdale, S. (1985). *Work and Inequality: Social policy in modern Britain*. London: Longman Group Ltd.
- Lupton, D., & Barclay, L. (1997). *Constructing fatherhood: Discourses and experiences*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Lurie, M. N., Williams, B. G., Zuma, K., Mkaya-Mwamburi, D., Garnett, G. P., Sweat, M. D., Gittelsohn, J., & Abdool Karim, S. (2003). Who infects whom? HIV-1 concordance among migrants and non-migrant couples in South Africa. *AIDS, 17*(5), 2245-2252.
- Lynch, C. (1997). Larrikins in the labour market: Masculinity, class struggle and union leadership in the NSW building industry. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Gender Studies, 2*(2), 75-88.
- Madhavan, S., Richter, L., & Norris, S. (2016). Father contact following union dissolution for low-income children in urban South Africa. *Journal of Family Issues, 37*(5), 622-644.

- Madhavan, S., & Roy, K. (2012). Securing fatherhood through kin work: A comparison of Black low-income fathers and families in South Africa and the United States. *Journal of Family Issues*, 33(6), 801-822.
- Madhavan, S., Townsend, N. W., & Garey, A. I. (2008). Absent breadwinners: Father-child connections and paternal support in rural South Africa. *Journal of South African Studies*, 34(3), 647-663.
- Magruder, J. (2010). Intergenerational networks, unemployment and persistent inequality in South Africa. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 2(1), 62-85.
- Maharaj, P. (2001). Male attitudes to family planning in the era of HIV/AIDS: Evidence from KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27(2), 245-257.
- Makusha, T., Richter, L., & Bhana, D. (2012). Children's experiences of support received from men in rural KwaZulu-Natal. *Africa Development*, 37(3), 127-152.
- Makusha, T., Richter, L., Knight, L., van Rooyen, H., & Bhana, D. (2013). "The good and the bad": Childhood experiences with fathers and their influences on women's expectations and men's experiences of fathering in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Fathering*, 11(2), 138-158.
- Maldonado, S. (2006). Deadbeat or dead broke: Redefining child support for poor fathers. *University of California*, 36, 991-1023. Accessed from http://lawreview.law.ucdavis.edu/issues/39/3/color-feminism-state/DavisVol39No3_MALDONADO.pdf.
- Maphosa, F., & Morojele, R. N. (2013). Changing the culture of migration? Attitudes toward education among former Basotho labour migrants to South African mines. *Africa Development*, 38(1-2), 151-170.
- Marshall, M. N. (1996). Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice*, 13(6), 522-525.

- Marshall, K. (2008). Fathers' use of paid parental leave. *Perspectives on Labour and Income*. Statistics Canada. Accessed on 15 May 2014 from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-001-x/75-001-x2008106-eng.pdf>.
- Marsiglio, W., & Cohan, M. (2000). Contextualising father involvement and paternal influence. *Marriage & Family Review*, 29(2-3), 75-95.
- Marsiglio, W., Day, R. D., & Lamb, E. (2000). Exploring fatherhood diversity. *Marriage & Family Review*, 29(4), 269-293.
- Mauthner, N. S., & Doucet, A. (2003). Reflexive accounts of reflexivity in qualitative data analysis. *Sociology*, 37(3), 413-431.
- Mbanjwa, X. (2009). Give dads 2 weeks' paternity leave- Manto. Published online on 17 February 2009 by IOL News. Accessed on 15 May 2014 from http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/give-dads-2-weeks-paternity-leave-manto-1.434785#.U3TulfmSz_E.
- Mbizvo, M. T., & Adamchak, D. J. (1991). Family planning knowledge, attitudes and practices of men in Zimbabwe. *Studies in Family Planning*, 22(1), 31-38.
- McAdoo, H. P., & McAdoo, J. L. (1997). The dynamics of African American fathers' family roles. *Michigan Family Review*, 3(1). Accessed from <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mfr/4919087.0003.102?view=text;rgn=main>.
- McBride, B. A., Schoppe, S. J., & Rane, T. R. (2002). Child characteristics, parenting stress, and parental involvement: Fathers versus mothers. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 64, 998-1011.
- Meintjes, H., Hall, K., Marera, D., & Boulle, A. (2009). Child-headed households in South Africa: A statistical brief. Cape Town: Children's Institute, University of Cape Town. Retrieved on 15 May 2014 from http://www.childrencount.ci.org.za/uploads/brief_child_headed_households.pdf.

- Messerschmidt, J. (1993). *Masculinities and crime: Critique and reconceptualization of theory*. Landham, M. D.: Roman & Littlefield.
- Miller, T. (2011). *Making sense of fatherhood: Gender, caring and work*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, T. (2012). Men, fatherhood and work: Theorising and researching selves, narratives and family lives. In Scabini, E., & Rossi, G. (Eds.), *Family transitions and family in transition* (pp. 189-200). Milano, Italy: Vita e Pensiero.
- Mincy, R. (2006). *Black males left behind*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.
- Mkhize, N. (2006). African tradition and the social, economic and moral dimensions of fatherhood. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 183-198). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Modena, F. & Sabatini, F. (2012). "I would if I could": Precarious employment and childbearing intentions in Italy. *Review of Economics of the Household*, 10(1), 77-97.
- Morgan, D. (2011). *Rethinking family practices*. United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moore, A. M., Singh, S., & Bankole, A. (2011). Do women and men consider abortion as an alternative to contraception in the United States? An exploratory Study. *Global Public Health: An International Journal for Research, Policy & Practice*, 6(1), 25-37.
- Morman, M. T., & Floyd, K. (2002). A "changing culture of fatherhood": Closeness and satisfaction in men's relationships with their fathers and their sons. *Western Journal of Communications*, 66(4), 395-411.
- Morrell, R. (2001). *Changing men in Southern Africa*. KwaZulu-Natal: University of Natal Press.
- Morrell, R. (2006). Fathers, fatherhood and masculinity in South Africa. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 13-25). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

- Morrell, R., Jewkes, R. (2011). Carework and caring: A path to gender equitable practices among men in South Africa? *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 10(17), 1-10.
- Morrell, R., Posel, D., & Devey, R. (2003). Counting fathers in South Africa: Issues of definition, methodology and policy. *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies*, 29(2), 73-94.
- Mubangizi, J. C. (2012). A South African perspective on the clash between culture and human rights, with a particular reference to gender-related cultural practices and traditions. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 13(3), 33-48.
- Nduna, M., & Khunou, G. (2014). Editorial: Father Connections. *The Open Family Studies Journal*, 6(1), 17.
- Neale, B., & Smart, C. (2002). Caring, earning and changing: Parenthood and employment after divorce. Centre for Research on Family, Kinship, and Childhood Working Paper No. 24.
- News24 Archives (2009). Manto: more paternity leave. Published by News24 on 16 February 2009. Accessed on 15 May 2015 from <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Manto-More-paternity-leave-20090216>.
- Nkosi, G. (2010). 'It takes a village to raise a child': Accessibility of social assistance benefits in indigenous African Communities. *South African Mercantile Law Journal*, 22(3), 346-359.
- Nwanegbo-Ben, J., & Uzorma, P. N. (2014). The paradox of Black Consciousness in South Africa: Gleaning issues from Steve Biko. *IMPACT: International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Literature*, 2(6), 123-130.
- Nyaumwe, L. J., & Mkabela, Q. (2007). Revisiting the traditional African cultural framework of Ubuntuism: A theoretical perspective. *Indilinga-African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 6(2), 152-163.

- Olajuyigbe, O. O., Afolayan, A. J. (2012). Ethnobotanical survey of medicinal plants used in the treatment of gastrointestinal disorders in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. *Journal of Medicinal Plants Research*, 6(18), 3415-3424.
- Ortis, L. P. (1988). *Father's unemployment: Its impact on parent-adolescent relations and adolescent self-concept*. Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services: A Bell & Howell Company.
- Padi, T., Nduna, M., Khunou, G., & Kholopane, P. (2014). Defining absent, unknown and undisclosed fathers in South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology*, 54(2), 44-59.
- Palkovitz, R. (2002). Involved fathering and child development: Advancing our understanding of good fathering. In C.S. Tamis-LeMonda & N. Cabrera (Eds.), *Handbook of Father Involvement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (pp. 119–140). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Palm, G. F. (1993). Involved fatherhood: A second chance. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 2(2), 139-156.
- Passmark, L. C. (2001). Fathers are critical to child well-being. *The Journal of the Oklahoma State Medical Association*, 94(4), 195-196.
- Phoenix, A. (2010). Suppressing intertextual understandings: Negotiating interviews and analysis. In R. Ryan-Flood & R. Gill (Eds.), *Secrecy and silence in the research process: Feminist reflections* (pp. 161-176). London: Routledge.
- Phoenix, A., Woollett, A., & Lloyd, E. (1991). *Motherhood: Meanings, practices and ideologies*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Pitsoe, V., & Letseka, M. (2013). Foucault's discourse and power: Implications for instructionist classroom management. *Open Journal of Philosophy*, 3(1), 23-28.
- Plantin, L., & Wisso, T. (2014). Reflections from Sweden. Paper presented at the international seminar on 'Changing fathers identity and practices? Reflections across

Europe'. Family Studies and Research University Centre, Catholic University of Milan, Italy, 20th March 2014.

- Pleck, J. H. (1997). Paternal involvement: Levels, sources, and consequences. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), *The Role of the Father in Child Development, 4th Edition* (pp. 222–271). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Pleck, J.H., & Masciadrelli, B.P. (2004). Paternal involvement by U.S. residential fathers: Levels, sources and consequences. In M.E. Lamb (Ed.), *The Role of the Father in Child Development, 4th Edition* (pp. 222–271). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2006). Brief notes on the origins, evolution, and meaning of the qualitative research concept of “think description”. *The Qualitative Report, 11*(3), 538-549.
- Posel, D. (2003). Have migration patterns in post-Apartheid South Africa changed? Paper prepared for conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, South Africa, 4-7 June 2003.
- Posel, D., & Devey, R. (2006). The demographics of fathers in South Africa: An analysis of survey data, 1993-2002). In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 38-55). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Prause, J., & Dooley, D. (1997). Effect of underemployment on school-leavers' self-esteem. *Journal of Adolescent, 20*, 243-260.
- Purser, G. (2009). The dignity of job-seeking men: Boundary work among immigrant day labourers. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 38*(1), 117-139.
- Rabe, M. (2007). My children, your children, our children. *South African Review of Sociology, 38*(2), 161-175.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (2006). On social structure. In H. L. Moore & T. Sanders (Eds.), *Anthropology in theory: Issues in epistemology* (pp. 123-127). USA: Blackwell Publishing.

- Ramphele, M. (1993). *A bed called home: Life in the migrant labour hostels of Cape Town*. Cape Town, SA: David Phillips Publishers (PTY) Ltd.
- Ratele, K. (2006). Racially motivated attacks. In K. Ratele (Ed.), *Intergroup relations: South African perspectives* (pp. 274-299). Cape Town: Juta.
- Ratele, K. (2014). Currents against gender transformation of South African men: Relocating marginality to the centre of research and theory of masculinities. *NORMA: Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 9(1), 30-44.
- Ratele, K., Shefer, T., & Clowes, L. (2012). Talking South African fathers: A critical examination of men's constructions and experiences of fatherhood and fatherlessness. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 42(4), 553-563.
- Reich, N., Boll, C., & Lappin, J. S. (2012). *Fathers' childcare and parental leave policies: Evidence from Western European countries and Canada*. Hamburg Institute of International Economics Research Paper No. 115. Accessed on 15 May 2014 from <http://econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/55511/1/685566692.pdf>.
- Republic of South Africa (1998). *Maintenance Act 99 of 1998*. Retrieved on 25 April 2014 from <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/1998-099.pdf>.
- Republic of South Africa (2004). Basic Conditions of Employment Amendment Act No. 11 of 2002. *The South African Department of Labour*. Accessed on 15 May 2014 from <http://www.labour.gov.za/DOL/legislation/acts/basic-conditions-of-employment/read-online/amended-basic-conditions-of-employment-act-21>.
- Republic of South Africa (2007). Labour migration in South Africa: Towards a fairer deal for migrants in the South African economy. *Labour Market Review 2007: Department of Labour*. Retrieved on 5 March 2015 from <http://www.labour.gov.za/DOL/downloads/documents/annual-reports/labour-market-review-report/2007/labourmigration2007part1.pdf>.

- Richter, L., & Morrell, R. (2006). *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Richter, L., Chikovore, J., & Makusha, T. (2010). The status of fatherhood and fathering in South Africa. *Childhood Education*, 86(6), 360-365.
- Richter, L., Desmond, C., Hosegood, V., Madhavan, S., Makiwane, M., Makusha, T., Morrell, R., & Swartz, S. (2012). *Fathers and other men in the lives of children and families*. Paper submitted to 'Strategies to overcome poverty and inequality: Towards Carnegie III. Cape Town, 3-7 September 2012. Retrieved on 25 June 2014 from http://www.carnegie3.org.za/docs/papers/231_Richter_Fathers%20and%20other%20men%20in%20the%20lives%20of%20children%20and%20families.pdf.
- Riddel, W. C., & Song, X. (2011). The impact of education on unemployment incidence and re-employment success: Evidence from the U.S. Labour Market. *Labour Economics*, 18(4), 453-463.
- Rosenwasser, S. M., Wright, L. S., & Barber, B. R. (1987). The rights and responsibilities of men in abortion situations. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 23(1), 97-105.
- Ross, F. C (2010). *Raw life, new hope: Decency, housing and everyday life in a post-apartheid community*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Roy, K. M. (2004). You can't eat love: Constructing provider role expectations for low-income and working-class fathers. *Fathering*, 2(3), 1-21.
- Roy, K. M. (2008). A life course perspective on fatherhood and family policies in the United States and South Africa. *Fathering*, 6(2), 92-112.
- Ryle, G. (1949). *The concept of mind*. London: Hutchinson and Company.
- Ryle, G. (2009). *The concept of mind: 60th Anniversary Edition*. Canada: Routledge.
- Samara, T. R. (2011). *Cape Town after Apartheid: Crime and governance in the divided city*. London: University of Minnesota Press.

- Sarkandi, A., Kristiansson, R. Oberklaid, F., Bremberg, S. (2008). Fathers' involvement and children's developmental outcomes: A systematic review of longitudinal studies. *Acta Pædiatrica*, 97, 153-158.
- Schachter, J. P. (2009). *Data assessment of labour migration statistics in the SADC region: South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe*. Prepared for the International Organization for Migration. Retrieved on 5 March 2015 from <http://southafrica.iom.int/publication/data-assessment-of-labour-migration-statistics-in-the-sadc-region-south-africa-zambia-and-zimbabwe/>.
- Schenck, C. J., & Blaauw, P. F. (2008). Day labourers in Pretoria, Windhoek and the United States – A comparison of two capitals and a different world. *Acta Commercii*, 8(1), 90-102.
- Schenck, C. J., & Louw, H. (2005). An exploratory study on day labourers in Elardus Park, Pretoria. *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 41(1), 84-95.
- Schenck, R., Xipu, L., & Blaauw, D. (2012). What happens during those long hours next to the road? An exploratory study of three informal day labour hiring sites in Tshwane. *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 48(1), 35-46.
- Schoenfeld, E. A., Bredow, C. A., & Huston, T. L. (2012). Do men and women show love differently in marriage? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38(11), 1396-1409.
- Scott, W. & De La Hunt, A. (2011). The important role of fathers in the lives of young children. *Parents as Teachers*. Accessed on 20 June 2013 from http://www.parentsasteachers.org/images/stories/documents/Fatherhood_Resources/ImportantRoleofFathers.pdf.
- Sharp, M. (2013). 'Day labour' and 'xenophobia' in South Africa: The need for mixed methods approaches in policy-oriented research. *Urban Forum*, 24(2), 251-268.

- Shirani, F., Henwood, K., Coltart, C. (2012). "Why aren't you at work?": Negotiating economic models of masculinity. *Fathering*, 10(3), 274-290.
- Silberschmidt, M. (2005). Poverty, male disempowerment and male sexuality: Rethinking men and masculinities in rural and urban East Africa. In L. Ouzgane & R. Morrell (Eds.), *African masculinities: Men in Africa from the late nineteenth century to the present* (pp. 189-203). South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Singer, E., & Couper, M. P. (2008). Do incentives exert undue influences on survey participation? Experimental evidence. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics*, 3(3), 49-56.
- Singh, A. (1998). *Global unemployment, long run economic growth and labour market rigidities: A commentary*. Munich Personal RePEc Archive. Retrieved on 24 April 2014 from https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/24285/1/MPRA_paper_24285.pdf.
- Slavkin, M., & Stright, A. (2000). Gender role differences in college students from one- and two-parent families. *Sex Roles*, 42(1), 23-37.
- Šmídová, I. (2007). Fatherhood as a social construction: Mapping the challenges to promoting good fatherhood. Accessed from <http://www.european-fatherhood.com/knowledge.php?id=70&mode=view>.
- Smit, R. (2004). Involved fathering: Expanding conceptualisations of men's paternal caring. *Koers*, 69(1), 101-120.
- Smith, H. J., Chen, J., & Liu, X. (2008). Language and rigour in qualitative research: Problems and principles in analyzing data collected in Mandarin. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 8(44).
- South African Government (2015). Child support grant. *Republic of South Africa*. Accessed on 27 August 2015 from: <http://www.gov.za/services/child-care-social-benefits/child-support-grant>.

- Spencer, A. D. (2009). Chaucer and love: The role of heterosexual relationships in verifying masculinity. Published online at <http://voices.yahoo.com/chaucer-love-role-heterosexual-relationships-4006589.html?cat=38>.
- Spjeldnæs, I. O. (2007). Family values of young people in Limpopo, South Africa: A sociocultural psychological study on perceptions and experiences of reproduction and parenthood. Unpublished Thesis: University of Bergen, Norway.
- Standing, G. (2011). *The precariat: The new dangerous class*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Standing, G. (2012). The precariat: From Denizens to citizens? *Polity*, 44(4), 588-608.
- Stark, O. (1991). *The immigration of labour*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.
- Statistics South Africa (2001). *Primary tables South Africa: Census 1996 and 2001 compared*. Retrieved on 5 March 2015 from <http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/html/RSAPrimary.pdf>.
- Statistics South Africa (2007). A national poverty line for South Africa. National Treasury. Accessed on 04 March 2015 from: <http://www.treasury.gov.za/publications/other/povertyline/Treasury%20StatsSA%20poverty%20line%20discussion%20paper.pdf>
- Statistics South Africa (2012). *Census 2011: Statistical Release P0301.4*. Retrieved on 5 March 2015 from <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/p03014/p030142011.pdf>.
- Statistics South Africa (2014). Quarterly Labour Force Survey: Quarter 4 of 2013. Retrieved on 23 April 2014 from: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02114thQuarter2013.pdf>.
- Statistics South Africa (2015). Quarterly Labour Force Survey: Quarter 4 of 2014. Retrieved on 26 February 2015 from: <http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02114thQuarter2014.pdf>

Statistics South Africa (2015). Quarterly Labour Force Survey: Quarter 2 of 2015. Retrieved on 10 October 2015 from:

<http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02112ndQuarter2015.pdf>.

Statistics South Africa (2015). Mid-year population estimates. Retrieved on 19 March 2016 from: www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022014.pdf.

Sterken, H. (2010). *Boundary work in the process of informal job seeking: An ethnographic study of Cape Town roadside workseekers*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Cape Town, South Africa.

Strassmann, B. I. (2011). Cooperating and competition in a cliff-dwelling people.

Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 108(2). Retrieved from

http://www.pnas.org/content/108/Supplement_2/10894.full.pdf.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

Sullivan, K. R. (2014). With(out) pleasure: Desexualization, gender and sexuality at work. *Organization*, 21(3), 346-364.

Swartz, S., & Bhana, A. (2009). *Teenage tata: Voices of young fathers in South Africa*.

HRSC Press: Cape Town.

Tanfer, K. & Mott, F. (1997). The meaning of fatherhood for men. Prepared for NICHD Workshop "Improving data on male fertility and family formation" at the Urban Institute, Washington D.C., January 16-17.

Taylor, T. N., Mantell, J. E., Nywagi, N., Cishe, N., & Cooper, D. (2013). 'He lacks his fatherhood': Safer conception technologies and the biological imperative for fatherhood among recently-diagnosed Xhosa speaking men living with HIV in South Africa. *Culture, Health & Sexuality: An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care*, 15(9), 1101-1114.

- Tedlock, B. (2000). Ethnography and ethnographic representation. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Ed.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 455-486). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Temple, G., & Young, A. (2004). Qualitative research and translation dilemmas. *Qualitative Research*, 4(2), 161-178.
- Thomas, D. (1996). Education across generations in South Africa. *The American Economic review*, 86(2), 330-334.
- Timaeus, I. M., & Boler, T. (2007). Father figures: The progress at school of orphans in South Africa. *AIDS*, 21(7), 83-93.
- Tölke, A. & Diewald, M. (2003). *Insecurities in employment and occupational careers and their impact on the transition to fatherhood in Western Germany*. Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research Working Paper 2003-016. Retrieved from <http://www.demogr.mpg.de/papers/working/wp-2003-016.pdf> .
- Trimikliniotis, N., Gordon, S., & Zondo, B. (2008). Globalisation and migrant labour in a 'rainbow nation': A fortress South Africa? *Third World Quarterly*, 29(7), 1323-1339.
- Turnovsky, P. C. (2004). Making the queue: Latino day laborers in New York's street corner labor markets. Working Paper No. 98. Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies.
- Turnovsky, C. P. (2006). *A la parada*: The social practices of men on a street corner. *Social Text*, 24(3), 55-72.
- UNICEF (2012). UNICEF Annual Report: South Africa 2012. Accessed on 15 May 2014 from http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/SAF_resources_annual2012.pdf.
- Valenzuela, A. (2003). Day labor work. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29,307-333.
- van Maanen, J. (2011). *Tales of the field: On writing ethnography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- van Nes, F., Abma, T., Jonsson, H., & Deeg, D. (2010). Language differences in qualitative research: Is meaning lost in translation? *European Journal of Ageing*, 7, 313-316.
- Viljoen, S. (2011). "Papa don't preach": Fatherhood in a South African Christian men's magazine. *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, 37(2), 308-331.
- Vosko, L. (2006). *Precarious employment: Understanding labour market insecurity in Canada*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queens.
- Vuori, J. (2009). Men's choices and masculine duties: Fathers in expert discussions. *Men and Masculinities*, 12(1), 45-72.
- Waller, M. R. (2010). Viewing low-income fathers' ties to families through a cultural lens: Insights for research and policy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 629(1), 102-124.
- Watson, J., & Helou, M. (2006). Men's consumption fears and spoiled identity: The role of cultural models of masculinity in the construction of men's ideals. *GCB- Gender and Consumer Behaviour*, 8, 229-250.
- Webster, E., & Omar, R. (2003). Work restructuring in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Work and Occupations*, 30(2), 194-213.
- Weed, M. (2009). Research quality considerations for grounded theory research in sport and exercise psychology. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 10, 502-510.
- White, N. R. (1994). About fathers: Masculinity and the social construction of fatherhood. *Journal of Sociology*, 30(2), 119-131.
- Williams, R. A. (2009). Masculinities and fathering. *Community, Work & Family*, 12(1), 57-73.
- Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in Psychology: Adventures in theory and method*. New York: McGraw Hill, Open University Press.

- Wilson, F. (2006). On being a father and poor in Southern Africa today. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 26-37). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Yongtao, L. (2010). Discourse, meanings and IR studies: Taking the rhetoric of “axis of evil” as a case. *CONfines*, 6(11), 85-107.
- Yoshida, A. (2012). Dads who do diapers: Factors affecting care of young children by fathers. *Journal of Family Issues*, 33(4), 451-477.
- Wilson, F. (2006). On being a father and poor in Southern Africa today. In L. Richter & R. Morrell (Eds.), *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 26-37). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Zvonkovic, A. M., Guss, T., & Ladd, L. (1988). Making the most of job loss: Individual and marital features of underemployment. *Family Relations*, 37, 56-61.

Appendices

MRC-UNISA SAFETY & PEACE PROMOTION *Research Unit*

PO Box 19070, Tygerberg, 7505.
Francie van Zyl Drive, cnr Duiker Street, Parow Valley
Medical Research Council
<http://www.mrc.ac.za/crime/crime.htm>
Tel: +27 21 938 0441/0216/ Fax: +27 21 938 0381



Invitation to participate in a study being conducted as part of the PhD project of Ms Mandisa Malinga

Dear Sir

I am currently doing my PhD at the University of South Africa and my research focuses on the fathering practices of precariously employed Black men in South Africa.

Research has shown that the conduct of fatherhood is changing and men are becoming more involved in their children's lives. While being a father requires that men be emotionally and physically involved in their children's lives, they still have to provide for their children's economic needs. The high unemployment rates and increase in informal employment opportunities in South Africa means that men have to spend more time away from their children in order to successfully provide for them, making it difficult for them to form emotional bonds with their children.

Very few studies focus on the perspectives of men on fatherhood. More specifically, very few if any South African studies focus on the impact of precarious employment on society and family life. The current study seeks to understand how Black precariously employed men define fatherhood, what practices they believe are central to being a father, and how they negotiate between the socio-emotional and economic needs of their children.

I will be conducting audio-recorder interviews with individual men and I invite you to participate in this study as you represent the participants that this study focuses on which is being a father who is in a precarious work environment.

Participation in the study is voluntary, confidential and anonymous. The interviews are expected to be an hour and a half long and you will be offered an incentive for your time.

Please note that the interviews will be transcribed and written as a report which will be submitted to the University for Examination

I hope that you will take interest in the study and allocate your time to participate.

Mandisa Malinga

Tel: 021 938 0535

Cell: 0732005136

Email: 53623673@mylife.unisa.ac.za

MRC-UNISA
SAFETY & PEACE PROMOTION
Research Unit

PO Box 19070, Tygerberg, 7505.
Francie van Zyl Drive, cnr Duiker Street, Parow Valley
Medical Research Council
<http://www.mrc.ac.za/crime/crime.htm>
Tel: +27 21 938 0441/0216/ Fax: +27 21 938 0381



CONSENT FORM

This letter seeks your consent to participate in a PhD research project on the fathering practices of precariously employed men in South Africa. This study is conducted by Ms Mandisa Malinga who is supervised by Professor Kopano Ratele.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to understand the fathering practices of precariously employed black men in South Africa using individual face-to-face interviews. A few questions will be asked which focus on what fatherhood means to you, what practices are central to your role as a father, and how you negotiate between the emotional and economic needs of your child/ren.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The information obtained from this study will be kept confidential and all participation is anonymous and this declares you unidentifiable by any person from the information you give. You have the right to not participate and withdraw from this study without penalty or prejudice should you no longer wish to participate.

BENEFITS AND RISKS

The interviews are expected to take at least an hour-and-a-half of your time and you will therefore receive an incentive for allocating your time to participate. There are minimal psychological (emotional) risks anticipated during this study. Therefore, should you encounter any unpleasant emotional experiences, please feel free to contact the researcher on the contact information given in the information sheet to arrange for you to get professional assistance.

EXPECTATIONS

- The interviews will be recorded using a voice recorder.
- The transcribed interviews will be analyzed and written in a report which will be submitted to the University for examination and may be submitted for publication in the future.

CONSENT

I [Name and Surname] confirm that the above study has been explained to me and all questions have been answered by the researcher. I fully understand the implications of my participation and agree to answer the questions as honestly as possible. I also give my consent for the information I give to be used in any publication for this project without the disclosure of any information that will make me identifiable by others.

Signature.....

Date.....

MRC-UNISA
SAFETY & PEACE PROMOTION
Research Unit

PO Box 19070, Tygerberg, 7505.
Francie van Zyl Drive, cnr Duiker Street, Parow Valley
Medical Research Council
<http://www.mrc.ac.za/crime/crime.htm>
Tel: +27 21 938 0441/0216/ Fax: +27 21 938 0381



INITIAL SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Demographic Information:

- Age
- Home Town
- Home language
- Relationship status
- Number of children and their ages?

Questions relating to fathering and precarious employment:

- Please describe your line of work/skill (eg. Painting/carpentry?)
- Were you previously permanently employed?
- When was your last full-time job?
- How often do you get work opportunities?
- Would you say you are a father?
- What does being a father mean to you?
- Please describe your relationship with your children.
- What is it that makes a man a good father?
- Had you been in this employment situation before you had children, would you have considered having children?
- In which way if any, does your employment impact on your relationship with your children?
- How much time do you spend with your children?
- Which activities do you share with your children?
- What are the things that you would like to do with your children that your employment situation does not allow you to?
- Would you say having children is what makes you tolerant to this line of work?
- Would you be doing this work if you did not have children?

Ethical Clearance for M/D students: Research on human participants

The Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Unisa have evaluated this research proposal for a Higher Degree in Psychology in light of appropriate ethical requirements, with special reference to the requirements of the Code of Conduct for Psychologists of the HPCSA.

Student Name: Mandisa Malinga

Student no. 53623673

Supervisor/promoter: Prof K Ratele

Affiliation: Institute for Social and Health Sciences

Title of project:

Precarious Employment and Fathering Practices among Black South African Men

Ethical clearance is given to this project without any further conditions

X

Ethical clearance is given on conditions that certain requirements are met (as appended)

Ethical clearance is deferred as the matter was referred to the Ethics Committee of the CHS, Unisa

Ethical clearance is deferred until additional information is supplied (see the appended list)

Ethical clearance cannot be granted on the basis of the information as presented (for reasons as listed in an appendix)

Signed:



Prof. M Papaikonomou

Date: 2013-10-24

[For the Ethics Committee]
 [Department of Psychology, Unisa]

Participants' demographic information

No :	Pseudonyms:	Age:	Place of Birth:	Current Town:	Skill-set:	Matrix Y/N:	Children:
1.	Patrick	25	Eastern Cape	Nyanga	Labourer	No	1
2.	Moses		Eastern Cape	Khayelitsha	Painting, Paving	No	1
3.	Peter	45	Zimbabwe	Kraaifontein	Painter	Yes	3
4.	Jason	37	Cape Town	Belhar	Tiling	No	3
5.	Themba		Eastern Cape		Painter, Businessman	Yes	4
6.	Siseko	30	Eastern Cape		Cement	No	1
7.	Jacob		Zimbabwe	Delft	Driver, Labourer	Yes	2
8.	Steve	57	Zimbabwe	Mbekweni, Paarl	Tiling	Yes	5
9.	Qhawe	38	Eastern Cape		Painter	No	2
10.	John	24	Eastern Cape	Delft	Painter	No	3
11.	Sphiwe		Eastern Cape	Khayelitsha	Painter, Welding		2
12.	Bheki		Zimbabwe	Phillipi	Painting, Carpentry, Security		3
13.	Songezo		Zimbabwe	Phillipi	Labourer		2
14.	Donald	36	Eastern Cape	Phillipi	Painting, Labourer	No	2
15.	Lukhanyo	28	Eastern Cape	Khayelitsha	Plaster, Labour, Brick Layer	No	2
16.	Sicelo		Zimbabwe	Delft	Carpentry, Welding		1
17.	Rams	35	Zimbabwe	Phillipi	Paint, Labour, Art		1
18.	Jabu	37	Eastern Cape	Khayelitsha	Paint, Tiling, Plumbing, Gardening	No	3
19.	Sylvester	33	Cape Town	Ravensmead	Carpentry	No	2
20.	Manne	Pension	Cape Town	Elsies River	Painting, Cleaning, Labour		6

21.	Demaine		Eastern Cape	Harare	Building, Plaster, Paint, Paving		3
22.	Spikiri	27	Eastern Cape	Khayelitsha	Paving, Labourer	No	1
23.	Star		Eastern Cape		Labourer, Gardening, Car Parking	No	Yes
24.	Mondlane	56	Eastern Cape	Phillipi	Builder		Yes
25.	Musa		Eastern Cape	Khayelitsha	Plumber, Car Parking		2
26.	Christopher	32	Eastern Cape	Kraaifontein	Painting and Waterproofing		1
27.	Jerry		Eastern Cape	Lavis	Painter		2
28.	Siya		Cape Town	Nyanga		No	1
29.	Mike		Eastern Cape	Elsies River	Painter		3
30.	Charlie		Johannesburg	Nyanga	Painter		4
31.	Katlego	28	Eastern Cape	Makhaza	Labourer	Yes	1
32.	Fezile	26	Eastern Cape	Belhar	Plaster, Painter	No	1
33.	Siphelele	36	Eastern Cape	Gugulethu	Painter	No	2
34.	Luyanda	34	Eastern Cape	Phillipi	Tiler, Plaster	No	1
35.	Tyrese		Eastern Cape	Crossroads	Builder, Painter		3
36.	Mzo		Eastern Cape	Makhaza	Painter, Labourer, Car Parking	Yes	1
37.	Gerald		Cape Town	Lavis	Driver, Delivery Truck Owner		2
38.	Admire	28	Zimbabwe	Makhaza	Painter, Plaster		2
39.	Senzo	54	Cape Town	Delft	Painter	No	3
40.	Jappie	60	Cape Town	Symphony	Tiling	No	25
41.	Njabulo	29	Eastern Cape	Phillipi	Tiling, Painting, Plaster, Roofing	No	1

42.	Thando	38	Eastern Cape	Khayelitsha	Painter, Labour, Car Parking	No	2
43.	Sthe		Eastern Cape	Phillipi		No	2
44.	Mandisi		Eastern Cape	Delft	Painter, Gardener		2
45.	Zweli		Lesotho	Khayelitsha	Tiling	No	1
46.	Given	36	Eastern Cape	Samora	Plaster, Tiler	Yes	2

Translations: Quotes in isiXhosa⁴⁹ and English

Chapter 4:

1. *Ndandize, ingxaki ne ndizokwenza umzekelo bendihlala ezilalini uyabo...qha ndimane ndisiza eholideyini...bendifunda mos, ndimane ndisiza eholideyini. Still apha ekuhambeni ndakhula mos ndakhula ndaba mdala andagoduka kengoku, ndafumana umsebenzi uyabo eCape Town ndisebenza ndisithini, waphela umsebenzi. Ekupheleni ndimane ndisenza obububhanxa bofolo apha.*

I had come, the problem you see, I'll make you an example I used to live in the rural areas, you see...I used to come on holiday...I was studying, and then coming [to Cape Town] on holiday. During my travels, I grew and became older, and didn't go back home. I found a job you see in Cape Town and worked, then the job ended. At the end [of the job], I kept doing this foolishness of looking for work here.

2. *Ndisuka ngapha eMthatha emaxhoseni. Ndasuka nge draft, idraft ke kuhamba ngetrongo, ngetrongo uyabona...Ndazofika apha elantukeni ePollsmoor, eKapa. So kengoku bekungekho umntu wasendlini olapha neh. So ndafika apha ndahlala apha eKapa, xandifika apha eKapa saphela isigwebo sam neh. Ok ndathi niright ningandiyeka apha, kwabe kungekhomntu wasendlini uyabona. Ndandodwa ke, ndaqala ke ndathini nam, ndalala pha eBellville. Ndafana nabanye, ndabona uba kuzanywa kanje. Nam kwaye, kwaye abantu ndade ndabazi uyabo. Ngomane ndiba bona. Ndafumana eyam indawo, uyabona ke.*

I come from eMthatha, where the Xhosa people are. I left there through the draft⁵⁰, a draft is when you are transferred from prison to prison, you see. Then I arrived here at Pollsmoor, in Cape Town, so there was no one from my home here. So I arrived here and stayed here in Cape Town, and after I arrived here in Cape Town my sentence ended. So I said, it is fine, you can leave me here, but there was no one from my home here, you see. I was alone, I started doing what, I also started sleeping in Bellville. I became like the others, I learnt that this is how it is done. So it went on and I got to know the people, from seeing them all the time. I found my own place, you see.

⁴⁹ The original quotes are in isiXhosa and presented in italics with the English translations in bold.

⁵⁰ Prisoners and correctional officers refer to the transfer of prisoners from one prison to another as going "on the draft" (O'Connell, 2015).

3. ...just because lomntu usuka kwidusty rural areas zase Transkei uyabo, ukhwele...ukhwela mhlawumbi nge R50 ubheke eTown just uya eTown then ufika apha eKapa, iKapa it's so confusing kuye kakhulu, it's so big uyabona akazi fokol and akana education lamntu loyana usuka ukolusa inkomo uyabona. Then, ezinto azibonayo zosela nentoni uthatha ubana zicool because ubona aba bantu baselayo bahamba ngemoto ezintle uyabona, a endaphe engakwazi uzicontrola ngobuyena ngoba akana kwaskolo and nokhuliswa khwakhe ukhule kwenye njena ubomi then into zotywala zona zifika zibeyenye into kengok ezim...zimbulala mpela man uyabona ebomini sister.

Just because this person comes from the dusty rural areas of Transkei you see, he travelled with only R50 to town, just to town, then he gets to Cape Town, Cape Town is so very confusing to him, it is so big you see, he knows nothing and has no education, he comes from herding cattle you see. Then, the things he sees like drinking [alcohol] he thinks they are cool because he sees that the people who drink drive nice cars, then he ends up not being able to control himself because he has no schooling and his upbringing...he was brought up in just another life, then alcohol things become just another...it really kills him, you see in life sister.

4. Ndaqonda okay hayi ndiyaspana nje uyabo. Kuba yena wayendithatha wandibeka apha eback wandixelel'uba 'okay jonga into ezakwenzeka, siza'spanasoyi-two but umlungu andizomvezela uba awuwazi lomsebenzi'. So nam ke ndibe ndiqhubeka ngolohlobo for three days abe lamlungu aveske achaze uba uzasishiya apha siqhubeke nomsebenzi. Hayi nathi siqhubeke nomsebenzi.

So I figured okay, I am just working you see...Because he had taken me and put me at the back [of the vehicle] and told me that 'okay look, what will happen now is that we will work together, but I will not tell unlungu⁵¹ that you do not know this work'. So I also continued that way for three days, umlungu would just tell us that he will leave and let us continue with the work. So we also continued with the work.

5. Isikolo kwanzima ba isikolo sisgqibe ngenxa yosweleka ko mama wethu. Umama wethu wasweleka sisebancinci siqala isikolo. Ndafunda kwakphela ku three,

⁵¹ The term *umlungu* is used to refer to an employer.

kwafumaniseka uba ngoku akhomntu onantsika...ohoyileyo endlini ndaphuma ndahamba ndayofuna umsebenzi eBhayi. Ndafumana umsebenzi eBhayi ekontrakini ndaqalisa utyhala ikreyiva ndijiji'daka. From there ndi...oko ndisime ngenyawo.

It was hard for us to complete school because of our mother's passing. Our mother passed away while we were young and just starting school. I went to school until I got to [standard] three, then we found that there was no one who...who was taking care of things at home so I left and went to look for work in Port Elizabeth ⁵². I found a job in Port Elizabeth at a construction site and starting pushing the wheel barrow and mixing concrete. From there I...I have been on my feet since.

6. *Ha-a ndiyeke ku standard nine. Kalok mawum'dala uyabona thina abantu aba ngama dodana sinezinye izinto esizifunayo. So ndafuna ukuya endle, siyendle ke thina abaXhosa. Nangokya ke phambili sasi yenzanjalo not ngoku these days. These days seyiba ngabazali uyabona.*

No I left in standard nine. The things is when you are older, you see, us male children we have other things we want. So I wanted to go to the bush⁵³, we go to the bush as Xhosa people. Back then we used to do it like that not these days, these days it is the parents [who pay] you see.

7. *Heyi kwafumaniseka kalok ba ndizokoluka qha bendingana mpahla zonxiba. Kwafumaniseka uba kumele ndizame ukhangela.*

So it happened that I was about to go to the bush but I did not have clothes to wear⁵⁴. So it happened that I had to go and try and look [for a job/money].

8. *Kwingcinga zam...senditsho kwingcinga zam uyabo...Maybe xandinobuyela esgela, maybe ezinye izinto, qha into endibethayo iyi-one uyabo...andinobuyela ndibe still ndinabantwana. Senditsho mna ingenzeka lonto uyabo...ndibe neloxesha uyabo, ukuya esgela, ndi be namaxesha uba ndisebenze uyabo. Xandithe ndafumana ichance ndibe neloxesha loya esgela. Uba ok ndiske ndifunde inight, then apha emini ndisebenze uba ndifumana umsebenzi qha not uba ndizofola apha.*

⁵² Xhosa speaking people refer to Port Elizabeth which is in the Eastern Cape as *eBhayi*.

⁵³ The 'bush' refers to mountain school where circumcision and other processes take place that facilitate young men's transition to manhood among the amaXhosa, an ethnic group in South Africa.

⁵⁴ After a young man has completed his initiation process, a huge celebration is held and the new man is clad in a new attire that signifies his transition.

In my thoughts, I am just saying, in my thoughts you see, maybe if I can go back to school, maybe some things, there's just one thing that hinders me you see...I can't go back [to school] while I have children. I'm just saying it could happen you see...If I have that time to go to school, and also time to go to work you see. When I find a chance and have the time to go to school. Like I could go to night school, then during the day I work if I can get a job but not to come look for work here.

9. *...And neskolo sisi...somewhere somehow you can't run away kwinto yobana iskolo siyanceda uyabona, apha naphaya iskolo siyakwazi uguqula nje ismilo sakho uyabona, apha naphaya ezinye izinto ungajongi nje ngento yobana I have to work ubana kuze...uyabona, ukuze ndibe ngunmtu ebomini. Ingase ngelinye ixesha xa ungakwazi...umsebenzi ungafumaneki uyazi uba wenza enye into.*

...And school sister, somewhere somehow you can't run away from the fact that school does help you see, here and there school can change your character you see. Here and there you should not only look at the fact that you have to work so that...you see, so that I can become a person in this life. Sometimes when you cannot find a job, you know you can do other things.

10. *Uyazibona into ezinjalo. Kubuhlungu ndikuxelele ungafundi sani, siyazi lilela nyani. Sas'cinga fanuba senza ubuslem nyan...Ndamkele le ingxaki sendizi fake kuyo, ndizozikupha ngokwam, ndim umntu owazifaka kuyo.*

You see those kind of things. Not being educated is painful I tell you. We really regret...We really thought we were being clever...I have accepted this problem I have gottenmyself into, I will get myself out of it, I am the one who got myself into it.

Chapter 5:

11. *Lena [pointing at the building] yi warehouse eyona enkulu around the Western Cape... Ewe, that's why abantu beza in numbers. Everything ongayifumaniyo suka naphi na kwi ndawo ezikude like kuboma Ceres. Ndikhe ndi meethe iclients zase Ceres apha uyabo, zize apha because ziyayazi uba into ethile uzayifumana apha qha uyabo....otherwise yiyona enkulu lendawo....kukho ezinye indawo. Senditsho yiyona ndawo endiqondayo into bana kengoku ndi marketha kuyo kengoku ba ndiqhube ibusiness cards zam for ba ndifumane iclients uyabo.*

This one [pointing at the building] is the biggest warehouse around the Western Cape...Yes, that's why people come here in numbers. Everything you cannot find anywhere else even coming from places as far as Ceres. I often meet clients from Ceres here you see, they come here because they know that certain things can only be found here you see. Otherwise this is the biggest [warehouse], there are other places. I am just saying this is the place where I know that I can market [my business] and hand out my business cards so I can find clients you see.

12. *At least apha kuyakwazi uba xakuvuleke lochance ndikwazi uba ndiparke ezomoto uyabona ke? Nezo jobanyana, umsebenzi omncinci wolayisha nje izitena, siphinde siyozothula ngaphayana.*

At least here I know when that chance comes up I can park cars you see...And those small jobs...small jobs like loading bricks, and offloading them on the other side.

13. *Angizi everyday la eParow, izolo bengingapha eAthlone...Ngaphaya mangibona abantu babanengi ngike ngizelana, futhi ngapha sekukhona abanye abangaziyo bese mabafika bayangithatha. Lana nginabantu abangaziyo, bayangibiza bathi ngize ngapha mhlawumbe like if kukhona umlungu ongifunayo.*

I don't come to Parow every day, yesterday I was in Athlone. When I see that there are too many people that side, I come here. There are also people who know me here already so when they get here they pick me. Here I have people who know me, they call me and tell me to come this side for example if there is an employer who is looking for me.

14. *Akukho mnandi kulomda, subona ingathi siya hleka kumnandi, akumandanga apha. It is not fun here at Emdeni, do not see us laughing and think it is fun, it is not fun here.*

15. *Noba ungabona omnye oyi one ethenga isonka pha, siyaqhekezelana. Akhomntu othenga isonke asitye eyedwa, siyaphila nje ngendlela [inaudible segment: 0:19:46.3]. Uyabona uba siyatshaya notshaya ke thina icuba, bakhona nabatshaya intsangu because siyashiyana uyabona. Uyakwaz uba xa utshaya...uzawuza pha umntu etshaya ajonge umntu azomtshayisa, nje umntu akanoyi tshaya icigarette ayigqibe ayedwa nje because uyayazi uba omnye akanayo uyabona...into ezinjalo ke.*

Even when you see one person buying bread there, we share. No one buys bread and eats it on their own, we just live in a way [inaudible segment: 0:19:46.3]. You can see that we even smoke, we smoke cigarettes, there are also others who smoke marijuana, because we are different you see. You know that if you smoke, someone will be smoking and come and look for someone else who he can share the cigarette with...a person will not just smoke a cigarette alone because he knows that the other person does not have one you see...such things.

16. *Siyancokola, siyabonisana...Akubalulekanga ukuthi nithi nize ngoluhlobo, uthi ufumene imali uyoyitya yonke etywaleni...kubenzima nothenga neskipa esi, uyayiqonda...xa uvukayo kubenzima no thenga isepha lena yohlamba wena no hlamba impahla ezi zakho, siyabonisana ngezonto ezo.*

We chat, we advice each other. It is not important that when you come here in this way, when you get money and then spend all of it on alcohol...so much that it is even hard to buy yourself a t-shirt, you understand...When you cannot even buy soap to wash yourself and your clothes when you wake up. We advise each other about such things.

17. *Like mna ndifumana ngoku umsebenzi we painting ndibe ndiqonda uba andinokwaz uwenza ndedwa, ndiyakwaz uthatha kwa umntu olapha...andithathi umntu wase lokshini ndiza apha ndizothatha lomntu ofolileyo ndimbona uyasokola ulambile ndiyoncedisana naye, siyibetha ngolohlobo. Hayi siyasebenzisana, siyakwazi no organizelana umsebenzi.*

Like, I can get a painting job now...Knowing that I cannot do it on my own, I can take someone here...I do not take someone from the township, I come here and take someone who is looking for work who I can see is struggling and is hungry and we go and help each other, that is how we do it. We work together, we can even organise work for each other.

18. *Ok hayi, sincokola uba ingase umntu afumane umsebenzi opermanent ukwenzela uba azokwazi into yokubana xa endlula apha akwazi uba aphosele something. Aqonde uba aba...ndandisokola nabo abaya. Sithetha ngomsebenzi qha, so umntu iba yimfihlelo yakhe into yasendlini akafuni kuyithetha kwabanye because umhlawumbi baske bahlekise ngayo uyaqonda.*

Okay no, we talk about things like finding permanent work so that he can...when he passes here he can throw something, so that he can know that 'I used to struggle with these people'. We only talk about work, so your household matters remain your secret, you do not want to talk about it to others because maybe they can laugh about it you understand.

19. *Like sister yabona xa ulapha andizukuxelela yonke into eyenzeka endlin, ngoba kwenye indawo ndizakuqhatha ndithi hayi endlini ndiyakwazi ukwenza into enje, ndibe ndingakwazi uyenza uyabo. Qha ngoba sidibene apha, maybe xa ungakwazi endlini uyabo. Ngoku ndingakuqhatha ndithi hayi ngoku bendispanile ndenza into ethile nethile. [laughter] Like uyabo, omnye uzokuthi 'hehayi lomntu hayi suka akho yakhe', abe yena ekuxelela into ebeyenzile uyabo. Ubone uba okay xa ebenze oluhlobo yena, mna ndingakwazi uyenza, kungcono ndithi ngokwam bendiyenzile.*

Like sister you see when you are here, I will not tell you everything that happens at home, because I can even lie to you and say I can I can do certain things at home, even when I cannot do those things you see. Just because we met here, maybe you don't even know where I live you see. I can lie to you and say I had worked and did this and that. [laughing] Like, you see, another person will say 'no this person, there's nothing to him', while he is telling you about the things he had done you see. Then you feel that if he did that, and I cannot do the same, I can just say to him that I had also done it.

20. *Mama apha kule ndawo kukho abantu endi qonda uba ndiba fake **ibhozo**...for umsebenzi, kukho abantu endibazonda intliziyo yam yonke apha kule ndawo apha.*

Mama there are people here at this place that I feel like stabbing with a knife...for work, there are people that I hate with my whole heart here at this place.

21. *Umzekelo njeba ndiyi brick layer mna, ababantu ba xova amadaka abafuni ndiqabele kumsebenzi wabo, kodwa bona bakhe bawu thathe lo wam wokokha uyabo. So bona abafuni uthathe, ubekhe nda thatha lowabo mna baya kuzonda, uya shouta, uyandi thuka.*

For example, I am a bricklayer, these people who mix concrete do not want me to take their work, but they take my building work you see. So they do not want me to take...If I take their work they will hate me, they will shout and insult me.

22. Kukhona indawo ekuthiwa yiCodessa apha, yazi apha eParow indawo esismokolo kuthiwa yiCodessa? Aba bantu bayisusa pha eCodessa, from nalapha. Caba ke baqashwe apha...mandithi umntu baya bejelana uba benzelana inqala, athi omnye ndiza kufumana eCodessa. Ufumana ijob, uyayazi uzo dibana naye eCodessa, agcine imali, axolele ugcina imali...uba unethemba loba xa efika eCodessa uzofika athenge ibotile zakhe, aphume ecaleni ongenayo imali.

There is a place called Codessa here, you know here in Parow a bar called Codessa? These people start [conflict] at Codessa even from here. So when they get a job here...let me say they make bets to spite each other, the one will say 'I will catch you at Codessa'. When he gets a job, he knows they will meet at Codessa, he keeps some money, he chooses to keep some money...because he hopes that when he gets to Codessa he will buy his bottles, and those who don't have money will stand out.

23. Recently I think last of last week bendifumane ijob ndandiqashwe apha, I like ubana ndifumane ijob ndiyithathe if iyafumaneka and go to see on site then ndijonge on-site into yobana kwenzeka ntoni mhlawumbe ndingathatha iclient leya yalamntu ba akayazi wenza'ntoni. Then ndijonge nje...ndiyaya on-site because I know usebenza uyabona.

Recently I think last of last week⁵⁵ I had found a job, I was hired here. I like to find a job and take it if I can find one and go to see on site then I look on-site to see what is happening, maybe I can take the client from this contractor if he does not know what he is doing. Then I just look [around]...I go on-site because I know how to do the work you see.

24. Siye sikhethane oluhlobo like uba oh hayi ubani uyasebenza, ngoluhlobo. Wenzela ntoni, uba niqeshiswe ndim, kufuneka ndizibonakalise apha kuwe kengoku uba okay ndikuqashisile ndisebenze ukwenzela nangomso ungafuni undishiya.

We choose each other like that, because so and so works [hard], like that. You do it so that if I am the one who got you a job, I must show to you that I got you a job and work [hard] so that tomorrow you must not leave me behind.

⁵⁵ Many South Africans use the phrase 'last of last week' to refer to the week before last.

25. *Like mna ndize ndibe right xa kungena izeason...like ngoku ubona ba imvula imkile uyavela umsebenzi we painting. At least ndiyakwaz uba ndiqale ngoku tot uDecember uyaqonda, ndifumane okanye nje indlu whatsoever uyabona, ihamba njalo.*

Like [for] me, I only get better when the season comes in... Like now you see the rain is gone, painting jobs will come up. At least I can start now till December, you understand, if I get like a house [to paint] whatsoever you see, that is how it goes.

26. *Ya, inintsi idifference, like kuba qeshi ba khona...ufumaniseke ubana xa uqeshwe ngumntu omnyama angakubhatali and imali yomntu omnyama ibayi ncinci kuneyo'mlungu njalo njalo.*

Yes, there is a big difference, like with employers there are...you find that when you are hired by a black person they might not pay and a black person's money is not sufficient like that of a white person, like that.

27. *Abafani mntasendlini, abanye ubone omnye uza ngobuhlanga uyabona. Imost yabo hayi bane respect, abantu abangena respect ngaba abamnyama [inaudible segment: 0:23:56.3]. Uyayaziinja?*

They are not the same my sister, some of them come here with ethnocentrism you see. Most of them are respectful, black people are the ones who have no respect [inaudible segment: 0:23:56.3]. You know a dog?

28. *Hayi at least apha sisi sidibana nabelungu...nabantu aba nenyani man. Enye into endiqhele uyiva kwabantu abafola koma Side C kukhona indawo ekufolwa kuzo but bathi abantu badibana notsotsi babantu. Umntu omnyama umntu angafuni ukunika nemali umxelela ngayo umntu akuxelele uba ukuthathe erobotsini athi mhlawumbi ba uhlupheka kwathini kwathini. Apha siyakwazi udibana nabelungu abaright...umntu omnyama net abone even senditsho kwangoku ngohlala apha sisi umntu omnyama endlula nje kanje engasicingeli uba mhlawumbi lamntu uhluphekile uyabona. Hayi umntu omnyama uyakwazi uthatha ngumntu omnyama. Senditsho bake basithathe abantu abamnyama apha uthole kengoku ukuxokisela nangexesha lotshayisa kanti umlungu uyayazi uba emsebenzini ngoten kuyahlalwa phantsi, ngo one kuyahlalwa phantsi and ngofive kuyagodukwa, uya understanda uhlala eKhayelitsha kwi distance uyabona nobusafe kwathini.*

At least here we meet white people...and people who are honest. What I also hear from people who look for work at Side C⁵⁶, there are places where people look for work but people say they meet crooks there. A black person will not even want to give you the amount of money you charge them, instead they will tell you they picked you up at the robots⁵⁷ and tell you that you are struggling and what not. Here we can meet whites who are good...once a black person just sees you just sitting here and they will not even think that maybe that person is struggling you see. A black person can be employed by a black person. I'm just saying, black people do take us sometimes and you find that they even lie to you about the time you will finish work whereas a white person knows that at work there is a break at ten, at one there is a break, and at five it's home time, he understands that you stay in Khayelitsha which is far and is concerned about safety and what not.

29. *Indaba yobaleka nemali yake yandehlela ke yona, yandehlela three years back okanye yi four years back. Umlungu wayendithatha apha, futhi wayeli coloured [inaudible segment: 0:12:11.3]...wamka nemali yam ye vekhi ezimbini.*

The issue of running away with wages has happened to me, it happened to me three years back or four years back. A white person who employed me here, he was actually coloured [inaudible segment: 0:12:11.3]... he left with two weeks worth of my wages.

30. *Ewe abanye...omnye uyakwazi ukuqesha apha akufune ne tools, uyakuqesha apha athathe nama tools wakho. Indoda ayibuze uba 'you got a lunch?' Uthi 'andina lunch', athi 'okay nantsi ishop ngena pha eshop uzithengele ilunch because apha siyakhona akuna lunch'. So wena into ezahlala kuwe iyione uba kuright ndiya emsebenzini mos mandihambe ndiyothenga ilunch. Uthenga kwakho, ngelixesha ungena eshop uthenga ilunch...uthathe imali yakho yokugqibela uyothenga ilunch kanti awuzosebenza sekabaleke ne tools ezi zakho. Ubaleka ne tools zakho, kaloku wena ngelixesha ungena emotweni ubeka itools zakho apha then athi 'hambo thenga ilunch' so wena ingqondo yakho isekutheni kumele uyothenga ilunch uyayi bona. Into zinjalo abasenza yona abantu bale ngingi, yho mntasendlini.*

⁵⁶ Side C is a section in a township called Khayelitsha, in Cape Town.

⁵⁷ 'Robots' is commonly used in South Africa to refer to traffic lights.

Yes, some of them...others can hire you here and ask you for tools, he hires you here and then take your tools. He will ask you 'you got a lunch?' You say 'I don't have lunch', and he says 'okay there is a shop, go there and buy yourself lunch because there is no lunch where we are going'. So in your mind you have one thing, that you are going to work 'so let me just go buy lunch'. While you go inside the shop to buy lunch...you used your last money and bought lunch only to find that you are not even going to work he has already driven off with your tools. He drove off with your tools, because when you got into the car you put your tools down, then he says 'go buy lunch', so your mind is on the fact that you have to go and buy lunch you see. Those are the kind of things people of this area do to us, yho⁵⁸ my sister.

31. *Thatha umzekelo, xa bengabhatalwanga, bayahamba baye epolice station beyi reporter uba 'hayi ubaas ubani akasibhatalanga', amapolisa afika athi 'hayi iyani kwalabour ngento zosebenza', ayonto zosebenza eza they cannot go ku labour ubana...ulabour uzothi...ithatha 15 days ba ulabour aqale icase ayithatha as ba yicase uyaqonda and bazosukaphi, usuka eStikland uyakwalabour eBellville, uzahamba ngantoni ngobana akana kwa train awuna kwa ntoni. Kanti amapolisa kwakhona that time amapolisa nge e reactor that time uyabona ambambe lomntu ngeloxesha uyaqonda.*

Take for example, when they are not paid, they go to the police station to report that 'boss so and so did not pay us', the police will say 'no go to the labour department with work related matters', this is not a work related matter, they cannot go to the labour department because...the labour department takes 15 days to get started on a case and where do they travel from...they come from Stikland to the labour department in Bellville, how do they get there because they have no train [ticket] they have nothing. Whereas police could react at that time you see, and arrest this person at that time you understand.

32. *Ufumaniseke uba bonke abanye abantu abasebenzela icompany balapha phantsi, basebenza apha phantsi, it's only aba bantu babe desperate bafuna umsebenzi bafakwa pha phezulu ukwenza lamsebenzi odifficult. Most of the time kwenzeka lonto leyo apha, abantu abaqeshwa apha baqeshwa zicompanies baqeshelwa into elega*

⁵⁸ 'Yho' is an exclamation.

ideadline...bafuna ukwenza ideadline for ngomso baleqe moertoe bamvove and baphinde bagxothwe mos, bayekiswe or else idangerous lento leyo uyaqonda.

You find that all the other people who work for the company are here on the ground, they work on the ground, it is only the people who were desperately looking for work who are out at the top, to do the difficult work at the top [of a building or scaffold]. Most of the time that is what happens here, the people employed here are employed by companies for work that chase deadlines...they want to meet a deadline for tomorrow and rush and exhaust a person and then fire them, they lay them off...or the work is dangerous you understand.

Chapter 6:

31. *Uba ngumntu ongutata kukwazi ukwenza into xa uyifuna, ukwazi uyenza. Uye uzifeele hayi noko ngoku uyabona ndi ngumntu othile ngoku uyabo. Uba ndiyakwazi ufuna into ethile ndiyenze. Like ukuze uzive ungumntu ongutata, like xa ungeluhlobo uvela uzibone xa ukwazi uzoma apha, ume imini yonke uphinde ugoduke ungenanto. Awuzifeeli right wena self, uyabo.*

Being a father is being able to do things when you want to, being able to do it. You can feel yourself, that you are now a certain somebody now you see. If I can do something that I want. Like, to be able to feel like a father, like when you are like this, you just see yourself standing here, you stand here the whole day and go home with nothing. You don't feel right you see.

32. *Then ke into ezinjalo ba ndenze igrocery for abantwana, ndiyenza ne school fees, ndiyenza full xa ndine mali ndiyenza yonke lanto, ndiyazi ba kengoku mna ke ndizokwazi usurviva ngoba abantwana bona abayi understandi into yongatyiwa uyabona, then ndenze igrocery.*

Then things like those, like doing groceries for the children, paying school fees, I do it in full when I have money, I do all of that then I know that I will be able to survive because the children do not understand not having food to eat you see, then I do groceries.

33. *Uhm like ngoku mhlawumbi ba mna bendinomsebenzi like abantwana bendi zabasupporta nge uniform, ndibasupporte ngento yonke qha ndibe nokwaz uba kubekhona imali endiyibekela omnye omnye nomnye. Like nomnye ndimvulele icard*

nyana lakhe ndibekela omnye nomye nobe mhlawumbi ke ngenyanga sithi umzekelo yi R50, R50, R50.

Uhm, like now maybe if I had a job I would support the children with [school] uniform, support them with everything and be able to save money for each one of them. Like opening a [bank] card for each one of them and maybe for example we can say per month it is R50, R50, and R50.

34. *Apha emntwaneni? Kumele abe nokwazi unxiba angaske ba caba uzahamba ngenyawo phantsi. Plus unga caba ndithi ndininto mna apha abe esithi ushota ngento ndingakwazi umnika. Kufune ndimnike xana ndinayo lento leyo ashota ngayo.*

For the children? They should have clothes to wear and not walk around bare feet. Plus I cannot say I have things here while they need something and I cannot give it to them. I should give them whatever they need if I have it.

35. *I think maybe as a father uthando, uthando...uthanda just...like love uyabo, noku defenda ifamily yakho. To them noba awunanto, you say 'hey hey hey that's my family!'. I have to fight for them, to defend whatsoever. It gives you into yobana ukwi rough patches zo bomi whereby ungananto let's say imali ke uyaqonda, into ezinintsi nezinye izinto they look at you say 'eish that guy uyaqonda ino...inothando for thina and he [inaudible segment: 0:19:27.9], ukwazi uyidefender ifamily yakhe uyaqonda', ya I think iyona into ebalulekile luthando to me, ukwazi uba khusela as umntu onguTata.*

I think maybe as a father it is love, love...just love...like love you see, and also defending your family. To them even if you have nothing, you say 'hey hey hey that's my family!'. I have to fight for them, to defend whatsoever. It gives you something to...even if you are going through rough patches in life where you have nothing like money you understand, not much, they look at you and say 'eish that guy you understand has...has love for us and he [inaudible segment: 0:19:27.9] he knows how to defend his family you understand', ya I think that the one thing that is important to me is love, being able to protect them as a father.

36. *Umntana sisi kufuneke uqinisekise ekqaleni uba uyadla, umntana ngento ezinxitywayo kufuneke uqinisekise uba uyenza and then kengoku uthando lomntu onguTata kufuneka ngalo lonke ixesha uqinisekise uba uyalifumana.*

You must first make sure that children eat [my] sister, you must make sure that you provide them with clothes to wear and [only] then you have to make sure that they get a father's love at all times.

37. Ndiyibona kuqala engafanelanga iqhubeke kubona sisilwa no nina umtana, ja noba siya susana ingaske angabikho yena. Sisusane sodwa, noba ndinomsindo ongakanani makangandi boni ndimkhaba phambi kwakhe, mandisuke ndimshiye okanye ndimthume umtana.

The first thing I think should not happen is for the child to see me and the mother fighting, yes even when we fight they should not be there. We can fight when we are alone, no matter how angry I am they should not see me beating her in front of them, I must leave her or send the child away.

38. Mna...akhonto endinothi andiyenzi because abantwana bam uba ndi off ndiziphumlele elokshini baye beze bonke ba abayanga eskolweni, nange weekend ba ndibuya kwa early kwi job zam because ndiyatshayisa pha ngo three, ndiyakwaz uba ndifike khange bahlambe oko bebemdaka abantwana bam imini yonke, ndibeke amanzi phana ndiba cleane banxibe uyayibona. Into nje ezinjalo.

There is nothing I can say I am not doing because whenever I am off and just relaxing in the township all my children come to me if they did not go to school, and even on weekends if I come back early from my jobs because I finish work around three, I can get home and find that they have not washed and my children have been dirty all day, I put water there and clean them up and dress them you see, such things.

39. Into kaloku eyomntu ongutata mna endiyibonayo iyi one qha uba qha abantwana uyabondla. Enye nanye mayibe ngumama. Ewe...uba abantwana bam babe clean bathini, but ufumaniseke uba ngoku abanye abazali abana care ngabantwana. Ufumane uba umntwana khange ahlambe imini yonke. Ufika late uvela kwi job ufike abantwana bangqolile into ezinjalo nje.

There is only one thing I see for a father is to provide for his children. Anything else must be [done by] the mother. Yes...that my children must be clean and stuff, but you find that some parents do not care about children. You find that the children have not washed all day. You get home late and find the children dirty, such things.

40. Hayi, kalok umama wakhe ukhona. Kalok xandifuna unursa ndiya nursa, xa ndingafuni unursa andi nursi. Xandingafuni hayi ndiyalala ncam, kalok xandihleli endlini ndisuke ndiyazi uba andifuni unxolelwa...ndihlala endlini yam, ndivale igate yam then ndimamele umculo or ndibukele iTV. Hayi kalok uyawu nursa yena...ungumama mos.

No, his/her mother is there. If I want to nurse⁵⁹ I nurse, and if I don't want to nurse I don't nurse. If I don't want to I just sleep, when I am sitting at home I know that I don't want to be bothered...I stay in my house, close my gate and listen to music or watch tv. She will nurse...she is the mother.

41. Oh, into emenza utata abengutata olungileyo ogood, ku xa sube anazo ilantuka ineed ezineedwa yilantuka yifamily, uyabo. So xa engenazo ke akango tata ogood sometimes.

Oh what makes a man a good father is when he can provide for his family's needs you see. So when he cannot [provide] then he is not a good father sometimes.

42. Nasebantwini ube nobuntu, uyabo...Apha endlini kungabe kuthwa ha, xa ungena abantwana bazobalekela kumama. Nasendlini ngo...ngoku ubungena kuncokolwa ubone ngoku sekumane kuthethwa apha napha, akusathethwa ngelahlobo bebehleli ngalo ubungekhoyo. Uyabona ngoku xa kunjalo ha, awunotsho uthi ungumntu ogrand, kwa kungabikho right apha endlini, yazi more than ngaphandle uyabo.

Showing humanity towards others, you see...At home it shouldn't be that when you walk in the children run to their mother. Even at home when you walk in and they were talking and then you see they talk here and there, they don't talk the way they did when you were not there. You see when it is like that, you cannot say you are a good person, especially when things aren't going well at home, more than out there you see.

⁵⁹ The participant uses the word 'nurse' to refer to physically caring for the children which includes changing diapers, feeding and washing them.

43. *Kaloku into ekwenza uba ungumntu ulungileyo luthando olunika nabantu. Ba unothanda nabantu, ne community, then ke ungumntu olungileyo. Even ne family yakho uyinike ilife, uthando, yonke lonto.*

What makes you a good person is the love that you give to others. If you can love people, and the community, then you are a good person. You should even give your family life, love and all that.

44. *Eish senditsho uba sisi nokho kukho isupport endiyi fumana kwi family yami, ndiyaqonda nditsala nzima kwelami icala but at least ndine back-up ye family because bayayazi ba andispani, xandiphangela ngalendlela andiphangeli. So ndiyakwazi uthetha ne brothers zam ne sisters zam 'ekse ndishota ngento ethile nento ethile' because iyafana nongaphangeli xasiphangela oluhlobo.*

Eish I am just saying sister that I am receiving some support from my family, I understand that I am struggling on my side but at least I have my family's back-up because they know that I am not working, when I work like this I am not working. So I can talk to my bothers and sisters and say 'I need this and that' because it is the same as not working when you work like this.

45. *Hayi bayazama undincedisa nabo omama kwelinye icala kule mali yabo ke ipay...Kona kona mna ndiyazama xa likhona elothuba pha kum ba...Ndiyazama nyani bakufumaneka apha kum.*

No my mother and them try to help me with the 'pay'⁶⁰ money...I do try when I get the opportunity...I try so that there is something coming from my side.

46. *...but andiba supporti bonke, like aba dependi everyday kum, fortunately abazali babo nabo bayakwazi undimeetha and baya understanda xa ndisithi andinayo imali uyabo.*

...but I do not support all of them, like they do not depend on me everyday, fortunately their parents are able to meet me [halfway] and they understand when I say I do not have money you see.

⁶⁰ 'Pay' money refers to the older person's pension grant.

47. *Nomama wakhe, hayi ngumama wakhe...andipheyi mna, ndiyafakaza nje sometimes, ngelo xesha ndithe ndaba right ngalo.*

With his/her mother, no it is the mother...I don't get paid, I just help sometimes, whenever I am able to.

48. *Uyakwazi uncedisana nento ze grant uyabo, igrant iyafaka uyabo...senditsho nako kwezondawo ukwazi ubetheka kuzo, ayisoloko ikhona la grant endlini, iyaphela. Xa iphela kumele wena ukwazi ke uncede, kufuneke uthenge ukutya kwalapha endlini. Like imali ye grant kumele yenze lento yase skolweni and then iyaphela.*

You can help along with the [social] grant you see, the grant helps...I am just saying here and there where you struggle, the grant money is not always there around the house, it runs out. When it runs out then you can help, you have to buy food here at home. The grant money is to be used for school expenses then it is up.

49. *I don't think so, because xa ndiphuma...bendizoba nazo intsuku endibonayo eyi hayi, qha ubone ngelinye ixesha umntana uzobuya esikolweni afune into ethile, andinayo lanto...like izobakhona into angafuni le ilapha endlini, ndiqonde andinanto esempokothweni uyabo, bendizakonqena ngezinye intsuku, ndiqonde hayi suka ukutya kukhona endlini, akhomntu ozondingxolela, uoledi akazundifunanto, icuba ndinalo uyabo. Ngoku bendizawubona uba he hayi andino kwazi uvuka namhlanje, hayi mandiziphumze.*

I don't think so, because when I leave...I would have days where I feel like no, but you see sometimes the child comes home from school and they want something, and I don't have what they want...there will be a time when they don't want what you have here at home, and I am thinking that I have nothing in my pocket you see, I would get lazy on some days, and think no there is food at home, no one will bother me, my mother will not want anything from me, I have cigarettes you see. Now, I would feel like I can't wake up today, let me rest.

50. *Ja yiyo ebangela mandivuke ndize apha everyday, ingaske nam ndikwazi uba ndibazamele bazolala abantwana betyile.*

Yes that is what makes me wake up and come here everyday, I would like to be able to provide for them so my children can have something to eat before they go to bed.

51. *Ja, bendizovuka ndize, but ke xa ndingacacanga ukuza ngenye imini kendiphumle ndingezi, kodwa ngoku andikwazi uhlala endlini.*

Yes, I would still wake up and come [here], but when I didn't feel like it on another day I would rest and not come, but now I can't stay at home.

52. *Yho! Ngenditshaya elokshini, inoba ngenditshaya intsangu elokshini because yintoni, abantu abangenabo abentwana abafuni uhambela ndawo because yintoni into uyakuxelela mos uba akananto like 'andinanto endinayo mos andinanja andinakati so ndizozothini' uyabo, nditsho ndiyotshaya intsangu qha.*

Yho! I would have been smoking in the township, I probably would have been smoking marijuana in the township, because people who do not have children they do not come here because they tell you that they have nothing like 'I don't nothing, I don't have a dog or cat so what am I doing there' you see, and I'd just go and smoke marijuana.

53. *Hayi ngendingahlali apha mna, yhu! Ngendingahlali apha ngendizihlalela pha elokshini, ngendizihlelele pha elokshini mna noba ndibathengisela ifruit and veg, noba ndenza ntoni na uyayibona, not uba ndizohlala apha mntasendlini because into yalapha [inaudible segment: 0:18:01.7]...because nemali apha andiyiboni like namhlanje wenza i labour job, ngomso yi...umsebenzi uyatshintsha-tshintsha so imali oyifumanayo...ungasebenza iveki yonke only to find out uba awenzanga ne six hundred rand sometimes, sometimes uyakwazi usebenza itwo days ube nayo...uyenze ithousand rand because usebenza lona umntu ngomso usebenze nomnye uyabona.*

No I would not be sitting here, yhu! I would not be sitting here I would be sitting in the township, I would just stay in the township even if I sold them fruits and vegetables, or so just anything you see, not to come sit here my sister because the thing here [inaudible segment: 0:18:01.7]...because even the money here I do not see it like today you do a labour job, tomorrow it is...the work changes so the money you get...you can work all week only to find out that you have not even made six hundred rands sometimes, sometimes you can work for two days and have...and make a thousand rands because you work for this person and tomorrow you work for another person.

54. *Ewe sisi bendizoyenza lonto because ndiyazihlalela uyabo, kwinto yozihlalela kwam andifuni uxhomekeka, ngaske ndingafuni into emuntwini, nokho apha ndifumana into ethile nento ethile not ba yonke into ba ndizayi funa emuntwini. Eish ingxaki sisi ndingathi [inaudible segment: 0:07:23.9] ...ukubone lanto xa uqhele uphangela, so kengoku andirhaleli kubekho la tshintsho ba andinamsebenzi ubone. At least nje ngaske kubekhona uba ndizenzele ngokwam because kengoku andinokwazi uba...noma ibrothers zam ziyakwazi undinika la support zikhona into ubona uba lomntu lo akanokwazi undenzela because mhlawumbi yena kuleyakhe iage nhlawumbi kakade ndifuna into e useless uke obone lonto mhlawumbi ufune i tekkie mhlawumbi ye thousand rand kuye, so kuye lonto ayino soundeka.*

Yes sister I would do that because I live alone you see, in living alone I don't want to be dependent, If only I could not want anything from anyone, at least here I get this and that and not have to ask everything from someone else. Eish the problem sister let me not say [inaudible segment: 0:07:23.9] ...you see when you are used to working, so now I don't want there to be any change like not having a job. At least I would like to be able to do things for myself because now I can't...even if my brothers can give me that support there are things you find that that person cannot do for you because from their age, maybe I wanted something useless you see like maybe wanting a sneaker that maybe costs a thousand rand from him, so to him that might not make sense.

55. *Ewe ngendifola every day noba bendingenabo abantwana because of indlela endikhule ngayo, kufuneke uvuke phantsi uzijongele ungavuki ufole ezitratweni, zanke ndayiqalisa lento leyo.*

Yes I would have been looking for work even if I did not have children because of the way I grew up, you have to get up and look after yourself and not wake up and hang about the streets, I never started doing that.

Chapter 7:

56. *Umtana wam usemaxhoseni, usemaxhoseni wahamba nomama wakhe. Uhambe...ndiyacinga inoba ebena ten months umka kwakhe kum, ebena ten uyabo. Hayi andikaphinde ndimbone, kuba sasihlukene ngelali uyabo, ukweyakhe ilali nam ndikweyam ilali, uba njengoba ndiseNqamakhwe yena use Cala uyabo. Ingxaki*

andikwazi kwa kokwabo kemnake, zange andinike kwa...kwa umka kwakhe kwayena umka kwakhe zange andinike direction uyabo.

My child is back at home, his mother took him back home with her. He left...I think he was ten months old when they left me, he was ten months you see. No I never saw them again, we came from different home towns you see, she is in her home town and I am in mine, like mine is Nqamakwe and hers is Cala you see. The problem is I don't even know her family home, she never gave me even...even when she left she never gave me direction you see.

57. *Mna andi...like ndiye ndingafeeli right kuba ndingamboni, ndiske ndiyicinge lento okanye uhleli kakuhle njani, uyabona. Ndiye kengoku ndingafeeli uhm... lanto leya ibangela indicondeme nam ingqondo uba ndibenaso esa'stress, okanye ndibe ngumntu osela kakhulu uyabo. Ngoba ingathi, okanye ndiyayicinga lento eyi, inoba lomntana uhleli njani uyabo, okanye lomntu ahleli naye okanye lotata ahleli naye okanye umphatha njani uyabo, okanye omnye uzomphatha ngoba 'ayingomntana wam lo, ingengo mntanam nje ndenza nje nantoni na, andinaxesha lalonto'. Ebe nalonto, bakhona kaloku abanye abazali.*

I don't...I don't feel right because I don't see him, I think about whether he is doing well or not you see. I don't feel uhm...that thing condemns my mind and I become stressed, or I become someone who drinks a lot you see. Because it is like, or maybe I think about it, how is the child doing you see, how the person he lives with or the man he lives with treats him you see, maybe they will say 'he is not my child, and because he is not my child I can do whatever, I don't have time for that'. They have that thing, there are some parents.

58. *No, andithi like badala and then bayazisebenzela, I don't care ngobana nabo babaleka bahamba nomama wabo. Kaloku ndingathi imeanisha ntoni lanto leya, kaloku nawe sisi nditsho uba...uzazi zindaba zomhlaba eziya, ezenzekayo. It mean...imeanisha blind kum ukuthi abantwana bam bakhula bengenayise, kodwa ndikhona.*

No, you see they are grown and are now working for themselves, I don't care because they also ran away and left with their mother. What does that mean, sister I am saying that...you know these are the things of this world, they happen. It mean...it affects me that my children grew up without a father, while I am here.

59. *Abantwana bam ndiyabathanda bona, senditsho ndiyakwazi uhm...like ingxaki into endiyicingayo iyi one uyabo, mna ngokwengcinga zam ndicinga ndiske ndilobole qha abantwana. Ndibathathe ndibase ekhaya, uhm...ndibhatale isusu bonke boyi three...
I love my children, I'm just saying I can uhm...the problem is there is just one thing I am thinking about you see, in my thoughts I am thinking I should just pay ilobolo for the children. I should take them to my family home, uhm...I should pay damages for all three of them....*
60. *Bekufanele ba ndihlala nabo mos nomama wabo, but kengoku ulantuka mos andikatshati, andikabi nayo imali yotshata enough ngenxa yespani, ndinga spaniyo.
I am supposed to be living with them and their mother, but now I am what you call...not married, I have not yet had enough money to get married because of work, I don't work.*
61. *Yingxaki kakhulu saya kumalume wakhe naba bantwana sayo misana ecourt, ecourt kwatholakala into uba ok akana lungelo kwaba bantwana bam, umntu one lungelo ndim kuphela utata. Xa umama wabo ekhona fanuba ibe ngu mama wabo one lungelo kwaba bantwana, ngenxa uba umama wabo wasweleka, umntu okhoyo ngutata wabo, so ndim umntu one lungelo kwabantwana. Kodwa nabo bayayazi bekula ndawo bakuyo, umntu one lungelo kwabantwana ndim,qha andibahoyanga.
It is a big problem, we went to court with her uncle over these children, the court found that he had no rights to my children, the only person with rights is me, the father. If their mother was around she would have the right to them, but because their mother passed away, the person left is their father, so I am the one who has a right to these children. But they also know being where they are, that I am the one who has a right to the children, but I am not taking care of them.*
62. *Ya la ngihlala nabantwana ababili umama wabo wasweleka. At least nabo beze la eKapa, manje la eKapa angina ndawo yokuhlala, so angiboni futhi ukuthi bazokwazi ukuhlala ngokuthi laba umama wabo wasweleka and abayana umama wabo ukhona. So angifuni bahlale babonke la, kuncono mababonke babe sekhaya, ngokuthi laba indlu yakamama wabo.*

Yes here I live with two of my children, their mother passed away. At least they [two other children] should also come to Cape Town, but here in Cape Town I don't have a place to stay, so I also don't think they will be able to live [here] because this two's mother passed away while the other two's mother is still alive. So I don't want them to all live together here, it is better if they are all together back at home, because these ones it is their mother's house.

63. *Uyabona ke thina sihlala kwi ndawo enjani, yho xa ungaze uyibone mntase'ndlini awunotsho uba kuhlala abantu, yenye inantsika...ihokkie nithi yintoni? Ya, sihlala ezi hokkini, so abantu basezi hokkini ngoku idrain ikhona pha soze athathe lo waste yemichamo uyayibona oyifaka edrainini, kumdaka nje uyayibona, yindawo engafanelanga uhlala abantu.*

You see the kind of place we live in, yho if you could see it my sister you wouldn't say there are people that live there, it's just another...what do you call a shack? Yes, we live in shacks, so people in squatter areas do not use a [sewage] drain even if there is one they will never take their waste such as urine and dispose it in the drain you see, it is just dirty you see, it is not a place suitable for people to live in.

64. *Ndinaye umntana qha into eyenzekayo, umntana wam...umama wakhe ebesuka ezilalini, beka suka ezilalini qha siye sathandana, I think in the end of the year, sathandana, sathandana, sathandana. Siye sabhidana man ekuhambeni kwexesha, because uye wa preg, ubhidana kwethu saxabana, akho mvisiswano, so kengoku salantuka, sabe siyahlukana ngolohlobo. So ndimxelele ke mnake good advice endinayo for le pregnancy yakhe, makenze iabortion. After i two months uyabo amithi ngomntana wam wavuma iboyfriend, so kengoku la boyfriend yavuma nayo uba okay makathandane nayo. So sithe xasiphumayo isisu, wathi yiyo uyabo, so nayo yavuma. Qha ke ndabe ndiyiqonda uba ngumntana wam loya uyabo, qha ke nda...ndingu lamntu ke mna oquiet, so lamfana akayazi lento le senguMakoti.*

I have a child but what is happening is that, my child...his mother was from the rural areas, she was from the rural areas but we fell in love, I think in the end of the year, we dated, dated, dated. We started disagreeing as time passed, because she became pregnant, in our disagreeing we fought, we were not getting along, and that is how we broke up. So I told her I had good advice for her pregnancy, she must have an abortion. Two months into the pregnancy with my child she started dating

another boyfriend and they were in a relationship. So when the pregnancy came out she said it was his, and he also accepted. But I knew that it was my child you see, but I was...I am a quiet person, and that guy does not know and she is now his wife.

65. *Ha-a, kubanzima man because lamntu loya usemzini uyabo. So xa ndiya pha ndithi ndiyojonga umntana izasusa enye into leyo, and two, ngokwam, andisebenzi. Lamntana xa aba sengxakini ndizamthini? Ewe hayi wenza into ebuwng, but ke mna ukuba ndiyakwazi ucinga, xa ingasa jumpanga, andinoba sayi jumpisa. Andinofaka lamntana engxakini uyabo, so makahlale ola hlobo, asupportwe ngulam'jita.*

No, it becomes difficult because that person is married now you see. So if I go there to go see the child I will be starting something else, and second, I am also unemployed. What will I do if that girl gets into trouble? Yes what she did was wrong, but because I know how to think, since it is not known, I will not make it known. I will not get that girl into trouble you see, so she must stay like that, and be supported by that guy.

66. *Mayibe ngolahlobo, hayi uba ndincolile or ndifuna ukwenzelwa ngomntana uyabo, qha ndiyayicinga laway. Selixesha elide ngoku since 2011 until now, ndithandane naye ngo 2010 lamntana, so 2011 until now lamjita ulobolile pha wenza zonke izinto uyabo. Uthengelwa impahla usupporta abantwana so xandizothi qgi mna ke ngoku sekuthiwa hayi ngutata walomntana, lamjita uza feela njani. Angayenza nje noba yintoni ayicingileyo. Ndizabe ndi jeopardisa ubomi bam, okanye ndi jeopardise ubomi balamntana.*

Let it be that way, it is not that I am evil or I want someone else to provide for my child you see, I just think about that situation. It has been a long time since 2011 till now, I dated that girl in 2010, so 2011 until now that guy paid ilobolo and did everything you see. He buys them clothes and supports the children so I can't just show up and say I am the child's father, how will that guy feel? He can do just about anything that comes to his mind. I would be jeopardising my own life, or I would be jeopardising that girl's life.

67. *It's not ba bahlala pha kude, ha a. Like ndinguTata, xa bayo qheba ngeweekends siya phuma uyabo nje like inormal love yabantu abanabantwana. Ngeweekend ndiyazi ba*

okay this weekend ndizabe ndifree 'boys niphi hayi masambeni siyokwoja embengweni uyabo' kulondawo leyo or sambeni siye elwandle.

It is not like they live very far, no. Like I am a father, when they go and get their hair cut on weekends we go out you see like the normal love of people with children. I know that on weekends if I am free I tell them 'boys where are you, let's go and grill some meat' you see wherever or 'let us go to the beach'.

68. *Oh, lincinci ixesha endilispenda nabo, ndivuka ekuseni ndize apha, ndiphinde ndibuye late.*

Oh, I spend very little time with them, I wake up in the morning and come here, and return home late.

69. *Ixesha, ha a alikho linintsi...Like ndingathi maybe like xa kunje uyabona, ndingathi ja, yena kengoku abe asesikolweni, uyabo, kodwa ubuya kwakhe eskolweni ndiyakwazi uhlala naye uyabo.*

The time, no it is not enough...Like I could say maybe when it is like this you see, I could say yes, he will be at school you see, but when he comes back from school I spend time with him you see.

70. *Ya ndiyakwazi uhlala nabo, like ngamaxesha amanye ngeweekend, okanye ngenye iweekend undibone apha, iba ndingenamali mos, so ndizofuna kwa lomsebenzi. Nam andijwayeli usebenza ngeweekend, ingaske ndihlale phantsi, but xandingenamali endlini ndizawuhlala njani. Awunohlala ungumntu ongutata, uyohlala njani abantwana bajonge kuwe.*

Yes I can spend time with them, like sometimes on weekends, or on some weekends you will see me here, it is when I do not have money, so I come and look for a job. I am also not used to working on weekends, if only I could just stay home, but how can I stay at home when I do not have money. You can't stay home as a father, how do you stay home when the children look to you.

71. *Ewe sasiyi planile lonto, uhm...Wena sisi sase sihambe phambili kakhulu my sister, ndandi sebenza kwi fishing eBhayi.*

Yes we had planned it, uhm...we had been doing really well my sister, I was working in fishing in Port Elizabeth.

72. *Hayi ke ndandim'planile nomama wakhe, qha ke singenamali uyabona, andinotsho ke uba hayi ndandi ngamplananga, bendim'planile yena, ndisazoba nayo imali mos ndim'hoye mos kakade umntanam.*

I had planned him/she with their mother, but we did not have money you see, I can't say I had not planned it, I had planned him/her, I will still have money and take care of my child anyway.

73. *Lo wesibini ivele yenzeka ndabe ndingekho kuye kakhulu, qha kuyenzeka uba amithe, ndabe ndiqonda uba andizuba kude kakhulu like xa se kwenzekile kwenzekile.*

The second one just happened and I wasn't that into her, but it just happened that she became pregnant, I knew that I couldn't distance myself like when it happens, it happens.

74. *Ayi planwa lonto iyazi qhubekela, but ngokwa ngoku andim'rhaleli ngokwa ngoku kuba kuse nzinyana. Once unina abenomtana uzoyeka kwa kula msebenzi ebemane ewenza. But uba angavela kuzovela iplan yoba makalale etyile, yena uzolala etyile everyday.*

No you do not plan that it just happens, but for now I do not want one as it is still a bit difficult. Once the mother has a child she will have to leave the job she has been doing. But if he/she comes there will be a plan to ensure that he/she has something to eat before going to bed, he/she will have something to eat before going to bed everyday.

75. *Mandisa: Waba plana abantwana bakho?*

Jabu: Yho uthixo...uthixo wandipha.

Mandisa: Did you plan to have children?

Jabu: Yho God...They were a gift from God.

76. *Kuyafumaniseka ngelinye ixesha umplanile, ngelinye ixesha awum'plananga but abekhona umntana. Xa usithi hayi umntana ndifuna um'delaya, nawe kalok kufuneka uzibonakalise ungathi ngumntu othi 'hayi baby sukuya uyom'deleta umntana'. Ufumaniseke uba mhlawumbi ufuna ukwenza iabortion, then umxelele uba 'hayi no*

baby sukuya man, myeke lomntana abekhona' because kuzohamba izinto zibe right mhlawumbi.

You find that sometimes you had planned, sometimes you didn't plan but the children are there. When you say you want to delay having a child, you also have to show and not be that person that says 'no baby do not go and terminate the pregnancy'. You find that maybe she wants to have an abortion, then you say 'no baby don't go, let the child be' because maybe eventually things might get better.

77. *Uphinde ke joe mhlawumbi ngelinye ixesha omnye akayithandi icondom or omnye uyayithanda, or okanye ufumaniseke uba andikholwa man uba ndithanda...uba ndingasebenzisa icondom uyabo. Like okanye ndilahle ijoni lonke etoilet, like ndibe ndilahla abantwana bam etoilet uyabo.*

You also find that maybe sometimes the one person does not like using a condom, the other person does, or you find that I don't believe that I like...that I like using a condom you see. Like for example I could dispose of a soldier⁶¹ in the toilet, like I could be disposing of my children in the toilet you see.

78. *Hayi umntana mna, kwa kulo wokuqala zange ndi decide uba ndibe nomntana qha ngu mama wakhe lo kwakucaba...Ndaba ngazama ngendlela zonke uba yena anga fumani umntana, yena hayi waphephisa wade wafumana umntana. Even nalo wesithathu woku gqibela, nakuye umama wakhe bendizama ngandlela zonke into yoba angafumani umntana. Zange ndiyi thande into ba ndizale nje nakanjani...*

No, children for me, even with the first one I had not decided to have a child but it was the mother who...I tried in all ways to make sure that she did not fall pregnant, but she made sure that she had a child. Even the third and last one, even with that one I tried in all ways to make sure she doesn't have a child. I didn't like that I was just making children just like that...

79. *Hayi! Sendisokole gqithi, andifeeli happy because...ngoba sendi sokola. Bekuzoba bhetera ba bendiphangela uyabo, bendizofila happy ke ngelohlobo.*

⁶¹ 'Soldier' is used metaphorically to refer to a healthy sperm that could produce children.

No! I have struggled too much, I don't feel happy because...because I am struggling. It would've been better if I was working you see, I would feel happy that way.

80. *Ndandi ngaphangeli qha ndancediswa ngabazali bam ngoku ndinga phangeliyo. Ngoku ndingeka phangeli andika cingi ba ndingase ndibenaye ngaske ndiphangele kuqala then ndibe naye ke uba kubana lifikile elothuba uba ndingase ndibe naye. I was not working but my parents were helping me while I wasn't working. Now that I am still not working I do not think that I would have a baby, I would rather get a job first and then have one if that opportunity presents itself for me to have one.*

81. *Like mna ukuba bendivana nomama womntana, bendivana right good, ngoku ndikulemeko, bendinoyizama enye ingcosi [laughter] uyabo. Because noko ndinethemba, kuba andim'hoyanga abazali bakhona bazakwazi umhoya uyabo, like obrothers izinto ezinjalo, like nje ba ndinga spani. Like if I was still in a relationship with the mother of my child, if we were still together, while I am in this situation, I would try for another child [laughter] you see. Because I have hope that if I cannot take care of him my parents would be able to take care of him you see, like my brothers and things like that, just because I am not working.*

82. *Ewe tshin...Hayi suka, senditsho noko ewe because umntana ndim'funa emfazini xa ndi married uyabo, ngaske ndibe nomntana, ndingathathi umfazi singabi namntana, lilishwa elo. Kengoku zizinto ebendiplane ngolohlobo elo. Yes...I am just saying that because I actually want a child from my wife, when I am married you see, I would like to have a child, not to have a wife and not have a child, that is bad luck. That is how I have planned things.*

83. *Hayi ndinga bona xa sendi tshatile ngoku, fanuba sendi tshatile ngoku qha nje kuba kungekho mali, bendi ngenaminqweno woba ndibe nomnye umntana nje from emuntwini, ibi ngaske ibe yi vrou.*

No I will see when I am married now, I am supposed to have been married now but it's just that there is no money, I was not hoping to have another child from just anyone, if only it could be from my wife.

84. *Ewe yho basashota mntasendlini, kushota nje noba yi one two uyabona because kalok andikatshati kusafuneka nditshatile. Kalok kusafuneka nomama wakwam ndibenaye umntana uyabona, thina abaXhosa ke [inaudible segment: 0:17:16.2].*

Yes there's still a few missing my sister, there's still at least one or two missing you see because I am not married so I have to get married. I still have to have other children with my wife you see, as Xhosa people [inaudible segment: 0:17:16.2].

85. *Mna ndikhulele kumakhulu wam ezilalini, uyabo, ndikhule kumakhulu ndihlala elantukeni ezilalini. Umakhulu kodwa yena andizalwanga nguye, ndizalwe ngumama. Kodwa ke ebendikhulisa ngehlobo eliright, zonke imfanelo zam ebendinika mna imfanelo zam nge hlobo oluright. Nangoku umama wayondithatha pha ndabe mna ndizifumana imfanelo zam ngohlobo eli right, kungekhonto i, indikhathazayo umphefumlo wam. Ndihleli nje right yonke into ndiyifumana.*

I grew up with my grandmother in the rural areas you see, I grew up with my grandmother living in the rural areas. But my grandmother did not give birth to me, my mother did. But she raised me well, she gave me all the things I needed in the right way. Even when my mother went to fetch me from there I had been well taken care of, there was nothing that, that bothered me in my spirit. I was living right, receiving everything [I need].

86. *Hayi ndikhule ndingenaye mna utata. [inaudible segment: 0:13:24.4] Utata uduke nezwe.*

No I grew up without a father. [inaudible segment: 0:13:24.4] My father wandered into the world.

87. *Uyi one okhoyo, ngumama. Utata wasishiya kudala ngo '93. Hayi kaloku ngo '93 bendina six years mos ndandifunda ko one.*

There is only one, my mother. My father passed on in '93. No in '93 I was six years old and doing around [grade] one.

88. *Ha a, ityma ayisekho kukho iold lady lodwa. iTyma lasweleka ngo '95 bendingaka qhapheli kakhulu, bendisemncinci. Eyi hayi sisi but mhlawumbi ndaba ne lucky or kwathini cause ibrother yam endala, i first-born yasekhaya ndayithatha as ityma because ndakhulela phantsi kwayo, ndafundela kuye nalapha eKapa ufika kwam ndifika ndahlala naye. So yonke into bendikhule phantsi kwakhe as umzali wam, so ityma ke mhlawumbi ngabo ke abaziyo ngaye mna akhonto...ndazi nje kancinci.*

No, my father is no longer around only my mother. My father passed away in '95, I was not very much aware, I was still young. Oh no sister maybe I was lucky or something because my older brother, my parents' first-born, I took him as my father because I grew up under his guidance, I learnt from him and even when I arrived in Cape Town I stayed with him. So in everything I was under his guidance as my parent, so maybe they would know about my father but I don't...I know just a little.

89. *Utata kaloku zange aye, zange aye kwangelaxesha ndisentabeni, uhm...zange ahle aye so yaba ngu lantuka, ngu malume owayenakekele zonke izinto pha, uyabo ezoba thina masiye, sihambe, masihambe sibuye entabeni uyabo. Yabe inguye kengoku onakekele zonke ke izinto uyabo, sathi ubuya kwethu e...elantukeni entabeni, ndabuya ndaphinda ndabe ndi tshiseka kengoku kuphinda ndibuye back...Utata akhonto ayenzayo, akho nix ayenzayo, akhonto ayenzayo.*

The thing is my father never came, never came even when I was on the mountain⁶², uhm...he never came down so it was my what you call, my uncle who took care of everything there, so that we could go you see, we could go, we could go and come back from the mountain you see. He was the one who took care of everything you see, so when we came back from the...the mountain, I came back and I had the urge to come back [to Cape Town]...My father did nothing, there is nothing he did, he did nothing.

90. *Ndakhuliswa ngutata wam, umama wam bendingamazi, ndimazi ngoku sendiyindoda, ndisandomazi ngoku sendoluka ndathini, ngoku sendimngaka because bendingamazi umama. Still nangoku andika believe uba ngumama wam lo because akanondibona sendimngaka, azixelele uba 'ngumntanam lo'. Ndize ndibe ngaka ndoluswa ngutatam, ngoku ndathi ngoku sendingaka sendiyindoda engaka kwathiwa*

⁶² The mountain is where young Xhosa boys are taken for initiation and to complete their passage into manhood.

nanku umamam, uyabo. Still nangoku andikayi believe lonto uba...Ndisathi mama ku makhulu wam owa'sweleka, ndisathi mama ku makhulu wam.

I was raised by my father, I didn't know my mother, I only got to know her after I became a man, I just got to know her after I had gone through initiation and stuff, now that I'm this big because I didn't know my mother. I still have not believed that she is my mother because she cannot see me now that I am this big and say to herself 'this is my child'. Up until I was this big I was raised and taken through initiation by my father, and only now that I am this big and am a man this big I was told this is my mother, you see. I still have not believed that...I still refer to my grandmother who passed away as 'mama', I still say mama to my grandmother.

91. *Uyabo because no tata wam lo washiywa li oledi lam uyabo, washiywa li oledi lam like, undi shiya njani? iOledi, umama wam, wandishiya mos ndisa gaqa mos zange asweleke uyabo, wahamba uyabo, watshonisa ne tyma yam man, wayene shop utata wam uyabo, so wahamba wayohlala nevambo uyabo, wamka nalo waya eJozi, zange aphinde abuye kuna ngoku uyandiva.*

Even my father was left by my mother you see, he was left by my mother, like, how do you leave me? My old lady, my mother, left me when I was still crawling, she didn't die you see, she left you see, she even let down my father, my father had a shop you see, so she left and stayed with a wambo⁶³ you see, she left with him and went to Jozi⁶⁴, she never came back till now, you hear me?

92. *...wandishiya mos ndisa gaqa mos zange asweleke uyabo, wahamba uyabo.*

...she left me while I was still crawling she didn't die you see, she left you see.

93. *Ya...inintsi ngoba ke ebendizamela yonke into like endaye ndi shota ngayo, njengobana ndifuna uzibonakalisa ubana ndiyamzamela naye umtana lo.*

Yes...There is a lot because he used to try and give me everything I needed, in the same way I want to show that I can try and do for this child.

Chapter 8:

⁶³ Some isiXhosa speakers use the word 'wambo' to refer to a 'foreign' person of Indian or Pakistani origin.

⁶⁴ 'Jozi' is short for Johannesburg.

94. ...*Bandi delele kakhulu ngenxa uba baya ndibona uba ndingumntu osu...othanda ungabi namali, so bona bathanda umntu soloko imali...egcwele imali, impokotho igcwele imali. So kemnake yilento kemnake ndifumanisa uba iya ndonyanyisa ukuba ke abakwazi unyamezela uba xa ndithi andinamali, imali umntu xa eyifuna angayifumani, abanyamezeli uyabo. Into abayifuna ngalo mzuzu, bafuna wena ubanike ngalo mzuzu. Ndibone hayi fok!*

...They have disrespected me a lot because they can see that I am someone who...who often does not have money, so they like it when you always have money...when you are full of money, pockets full of money. So that is why I find that it annoys me that they cannot be patient when I say I don't have money, when they want money and do not get it they cannot be patient you see. If they want something right now, they want you to give it to them right now. So I am like no fuck!

95. *Usebenzela uba mawube nemali empokothweni ukwazi uyisebenzisa. Inintsi mos lento, but iyasokolisa indaba yofola because xa ubona nalapha phandle mos like emantombazaneni kufuneka ube ne date, kwenzela ntoni, ayazi uba ndipaya nini na...ndizabuya ndize nemali. Ngelinye ixesha ke ubuye unayo imali, ngelinye ixesha ubuye ungenayo. Ndawufika etshintshile mhlawumbi late uyabona, more especially kungo lwesihlanu.*

To work so that you can have money in your pocket that you can use. There is a lot, but it is difficult to look for work because when you see even out there with the girls you need to have a date, so that what happens, so that she knows when you get paid...I will come back and bring money. Sometimes you come back with money, sometimes you come back without it. I will get there late and find her unhappy you see, especially because it is a Friday.

96. *Ha-a, sohlukana last year. Kaloku xa ungasebenziyo thina abaXhosa, umfazi uyahamba uyayibona...Kuyaxatywana endlini akubikho right man. Because imali yalapha uthi gqi nalomali ye one day or two days, ngeskhathi ikhona imali ubenzele everything ube phana...but the time kungekho mali, ingxabano endlini akonwatywa uyabo. Mnike ndino calu-calulo, mna ndinto ezinintsi, ndingu no-nonsense. Ndiyabaxelela uba 'hey jonga ingathi ngewu packa sisi uhambe...*

No, we broke up last year. The thing is when you are not working we as Xhosa people, the wife leaves you see... There is conflict at home and things are not right

man. Because the money you get here you only show up with money for one or two days, when there is money you do everything for them and be there...but when there is no money, there is conflict at home there is no happiness you see. I get frustrated, I have many issues, I am [a] 'no-nonsense' [person]. I tell them that 'hey look here you better pack sister and go'...

97. *Ja kuyayi affecta mos, kuthi sobabini...kaloku kukho lama gama usuke uqalekise wona, uba hey kuba ndinga phangeli ngoku inoba uzondenza kanje wena mhlawumbe ucaphekile uba hayi man kuba ndinga phangeli fokof unga suka uhambe uyo funa aba phangelayo.*

Yes it does affect it, between the two of us...the thing is there are these words that you curse with, that because I am not working now you will probably do this to me, maybe you are angry that no man just because I am not working fuck off you can go and look for others who are working.

98. *Abanye abantu abawu thandi umsebenzi we fortnight uyabo...Like mna lo, ndiye ndenzekelwa yingxaki ndangena kulomsebenzi we fortnight, umlungu wamka nemali uyabo, ndingapheyanga kuna ngoku. So ngoku abantu abanintsi uyabo, uba bafumana lomsebenzi we fortnight balumkele into ezinjeya...abelungu baya baleka uyabo.*

Other people do not like fortnightly paying jobs you see...Like I had a problem when I got into a fortnightly job, the employer left with my money you see, I did not get paid to this day. So a lot of people you see, if they get a job that pays fortnightly they become aware of such things...employers run away you see.

99. *To find a job it wasn't difficult for me, uyabo ufumana ijob, but the only thing yayi difficult was only irate. Irate yejob epermanent they pay me lesser, far lesser than kunemali endiyifumana apha on a day basis uyaqonda.*

To find a job it wasn't difficult for me, you see finding a job, but the only thing that was difficult was the rate. The [pay] rate in a permanent job is less, far lesser than the money I get here on a daily basis you understand.

100. *It's better to get work Emdeni than usebenzela umntu because apha I can get R1500 in three days.*

It's better to get work at Emdeni than to work for someone because here I can get a thousand five hundred rands in three days.

101. *Abanye abantu basebenzela usela because irst yabantu apha...mandithi lanto yenzeka kwabantu abangatshatanga iskakhulu. Umntu azixelele uba 'anditshatanga and then abazali bam bayaziphilela so akhonto abayicela kum' uyasebenza namhlanje ngomso ahlale elokshini ba uvuke esenemali aphindele esimokolweni the whole day, uyaze abuye uphela kwemali.*

Some people work so they can drink because the rest of the people here...let me say that happens among the unmarried the most. A person will tell themselves that 'I am not married and my parents provide for themselves so there is nothing they need from me', he works today tomorrow he stays in the township and if he still has money when he wakes up, he goes back to the tavern the whole day, he will only come back when the money is finished.

102. *Yile esiyisebenzayo kalok, kalok mntasendlini awunothi mawuzama ujonge calanye, iyafuneka ngexesha elithile uyahamba uyogamblisha uyabona. Sometimes you win, sometimes you lose. Kamnandi unguRasta ukewamuva uRufaro xa equla, uthi sometimes you win sometimes you lose. Iyaxhomekeka uyayibona.*

It's the money we work for, the thing is my sister you can't be trying and only be looking on one side, it is necessary that at a certain time you go and gamble you see. Sometimes you win, sometimes you lose. Even better you are a Rasta so you must've heard Rufaro when he sings, he says 'sometimes you win sometimes you lose'. It depends you see.

103. *Namapolisa ufumanise into yobana xakwenzeka icrime around, first thing abakhangela kuyo bakhangela apha kwababantu and nabo ababantu baba affected uyabona, bayahlukumezeka ngokwabo, nabantu be business baba chaser away, abanye baya bethwa. I think one guy yasweleka apha yayi bethiwe.*

Even the police you find that when a crime takes place around here, the first place they look, they look here among these people and these people also get affected you see, they are abused themselves, even the business people chase them away, others get beaten up. I think one guy died here, he was beaten.

104. Ngoku ndiyakwazi usinda, ndisinda nakwinto ezinintsi like mhlawumbe kwelinye ixesha ndikhe ndibe busy ndibe semsebenzini uba ndikwazi ufumana imali ndibe ndisebenza. Ndisinda kwezinye izinto ngoba uba ndaba selokshini nditshaya, ndiyo mosha mos, ndibe stout uyabo. Uzahamba uthwele amatyala wabantu kuthiwe ubile ngenxa yabantwana because abantwana bakho abanongatyi uyabo ngaske uzame iplan. So noba okay ke noba andinabantwana makhendiyofola noba.

Now I can be safe, I am safe from a lot of things like sometimes I get busy and be at work so that I can get money while I work. I am safe from other things because if I am in the township smoking, I will mess up, and be corrupt you see. You will carry other people's crime and they will say you stole because of the children because the children cannot go without eating you see, you want to make a plan. So even if I do not have children [here] let me go and find work.

105. Abanye only to find out ba abanye bafola apha abasena...abasahlali nasezindlini zabo sebhala phantsi kwe blorho...banintsi, banintsi abantu endibaziyo abahla phantsi kwe blorho. They pretend ubana bona kwabanye [inaudible segment: 0:30:57.9] just because babe nengxaki zabo ubana they can't support ifamily zabo baqonde uba 'okay ndizothini, it's better ubana ndibaleke'. Umgqibele umntu ehlala koma Khayelitsha kanti ha-a wabaleka kudala eKhayelitsha lamntu akasahlali Khayelitsha uhlala phantsi kwe blorho and akhomntu omaziyo apha uyabona.

Others...only to find out that others look for work here they no longer have...they no longer live in their homes they live under bridges...there are many, there are many people I know who live under a bridge. They pretend towards others [inaudible segment: 0:30:57.9] just because they had their own problems and cannot support their families they figure 'okay what will I do, it is better that I run away'. The last time you checked the person lived in Khayelitsha only to find that no he left a long time ago from Khayelitsha, that person no longer lives in Khayelitsha he lives under a bridge and no one here knows that you see.

106. Iyabutshintsha ubomi babantu kakhulu, ufumanise omnye se elala phandle, sekangu bergie uyabo into ezinjalo. Sevuka nje phandle abuye eze...angahlambi angathini, angasayi endlini. Ushiya ntoni...abantwana bakhe akasaba hoyanga, akasahoyanga nto yasendlini ngoba seke ncamile uba hayi, sencamile elifini.

It changes people's lives a lot, you find that another one now sleeps outside, he is a beggar now you see such things. He just wakes up outside and come back here...without washing or anything, he doesn't go home anymore. What does he leave behind...he no longer looks after his children, he is no longer looking after his household because he has given up, he has given up on life.

107. *Kaloku uqhakupela lanto uba uzaske ushiywe ngumama wekhaya uyabo ngoba ungaphangeli. Kodwa ufumanise noma kunjalo iphele iveki ufumanise uba upaya ngeveki or ngenyanga xa iphela iveki uthi 'hayi umlungu uthe wathi'.*

The thing is you get annoyed by the fact that you might be left by the woman of the house you see because you are not working. But you find that even if it is like that the week goes by and you find that you get paid weekly or monthly, at the end of the week [when there is no pay to show for the week's labour] you say 'no the employer said this and that'.