

The Experiences of Fatherhood in Dual Earner Families

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A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of,

Master of Arts by Research in Psychology,

In the faculty of Humanities,

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

2018

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at this or any other university.

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ABSTRACT

Background: There is an increase in dual earner families globally and in South Africa. This increase is attributed to mothers' increased participation in the labour force. Unlike a nuclear single earner family where the provider role is fulfilled by the father, in a dual earner family both parents work to earn an income. Therefore the provider role is fulfilled by both mother and father. From this observation this study contends that the dual earner family phenomenon bears significance on the way fathers' experience fatherhood in a family where the other parent also fulfils the provider role. This contention is based on the long-established concept that being a good provider is the epitome of fatherhood.

Research aim and objectives: The aim of this study was to explore young fathers' subjective experiences of fatherhood in a family where both parents work to earn an income. The objectives of this study were to explore young fathers' objective experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families from Johannesburg metropolitan. To explore how young fathers experience being a father in a dual earner family. To explore how young fathers experience their relationships with their partners in a dual earner family.

Research methodology: An interpretivist and constructionist research paradigm was adopted in order to meet the aims and objectives of this study. These research paradigms were complemented by implementing a qualitative research approach and a phenomenological research design. The research methods that were employed were in line with the research paradigm, research approach and research design of the study. The participants were sampled using a non-probability sampling technique such as purposive sampling and snowball sampling. The actual sample included four fathers from dual earner families who were between the ages of 20 and 30 years old. All four participants met the following criteria:

- Living within the regions of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan;
- Formally employed full-time and received an income from salaries;
- Each of the participants was living with the mother of their child or children;
- Their partners were also formally employed full-time and received an income from a salary;
- The fathers had a child or children who were younger than seven years old.

Data was collected from the participants using semi-structured interviews. Interview data was analysed using interpretive phenomenological analysis. Ethics clearance was issued by the Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) at the University of the Witwatersrand. The researcher had consent from each participant. The researcher ensured honesty and trust through privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity of the participants.

Findings: For fathers in dual earner families, it was found that it was easier to fulfill provider role expectations. This was because in this instance fathers had financial assistance from their partner's income. This in turn made it easier for fathers to meet provider role expectations in their families. It was also found that there was an increase in father involvement in childcare and housework. It was also found that the increased contributions to childcare and housework were not equal to mother's contributions in these areas.

Discussion: In regard to the finding that for father's in dual earner families it was easier for them to fulfill provider role expectations it is contended that if a father is less preoccupied with meeting the provider role expectations of fatherhood, then he is more likely to explore other ways of relating to his children and family such as increased father involvement in childcare and housework. It is also contended that in this instance their partners became assistants to fathers

reaching the hegemonic masculine ideals of fatherhood, such as being a sole breadwinner. As such, fathers in this situation were complicit in reproducing hegemonic masculine ideals, by enforcing discrete forms of gendered power to create conditions around their partner's employment which were in favour of the father's needs. In regard to the finding that fathers increased their involvement in childcare and housework in the household, it is contended that a father's increased involvement in housework and childcare can be attributed to endorsing egalitarian gender ideologies.

Conclusion: It is concluded that the experience of fatherhood in a dual earner family is fluid. This means that the construction of fatherhood is in constant movement and it is always being deconstructed and reconstructed in relation to money. The emphasis on money in dual earner families is what moderates the movement of the constructions of fatherhood.

Recommendations: In light of the conclusion of this study, it is recommended that further research into the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families, should place emphasis on studying the nature of father's and mother's income from employment. This may include detailing information such working hours, level of salary, type of employment, level of employment and educational attainment. It is suggested that this will provide a better context of money in dual earner families from which to understand and analyse the experience of fatherhood. It is also recommended that further research into the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families should prioritise collecting data from a sample of fathers in dual earner families from low income and high income groups. This recommended is based on this study's conclusion that money is what moderates the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families. It can therefore be hypothesised that the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families from

those income groups will be markedly different to what was found from the middle class income group in this study.

Key words: dual earner, families, fatherhood, father involvement, father presence,

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Professor Mzikazi Nduna for the continuous support of my study. I would especially like to thank her for extending patience and understanding throughout the writing of this dissertation and for providing innumerable opportunities for academic enrichment. I would like to express my gratitude to the members of the Father Connections research team at the Department of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand for their contributions towards this dissertation. I would like to express my gratitude to the DST-NRF Centre of Excellence in Human Development at the University of the Witwatersrand for providing funding for this study. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their financial support throughout the duration of this study.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Dual earner family: a family arrangement where both parents are in employment outside of the home for which they receive an income.

Father involvement: defined as men's positive, wide-ranging, and active participation in their children's lives.

Father presence: refers to the physical presence and proximity of a father in a family.

Fatherhood: commonly understood as the social role that men assume to care for their children.

Gender role ideology: refer to attitudes regarding the appropriate roles, rights, and responsibilities of women and men in society.

Gender: a socially constructed categorisation of people as men and women based on their respective biological sex as male and female.

Hegemonic masculinity: attitudes and practices among men that legitimise and perpetuate men's domination over women, and the power of some men over other men (normally from minority groups).

Heteronormativity: refers to pervasive and invisible norms of heterosexuality as a normative principle in social institutions and theory.

Nuclear family: In this study nuclear families are referred to as a traditional family that consists of two parents with a child or children who all live together in the same household. In this type of family there is usually a single provider which is the father.

Provider role: the role of economic provider in a family that is commonly assumed to be fulfilled by a father in a family.

Work-family conflict: Work-family conflict occurs when the pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible, and as a result, participation in the family role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the work role.

Young fathers: Young fathers are generally defined as males under the age of 24 or 25. This does not include teenage fathers who usually involves 18 or 19 year old male fathers. In this study young fathers refer to males with children in their early twenties until age 30.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background, rationale, aim, objectives and research question of this study.

1.1 Background

Statistics show that there is an increase in the amount of dual earner families globally and in South Africa (Miura & Higashi, 2017; Pew Research Center, 2015; Statistics Canada, 2016; Statistics South Africa, 2012; Waite & Nielsen, 2001). Dual earner families are families where both parents work to earn an income (Manlove & Vernon-Feagans, 2002; Nepomnyaschy & Waldfogel, 2007; Raley, Bianchi, & Wang, 2012). Unlike a nuclear single earner family where the provider role is fulfilled by one parent, usually the father, in a dual earner family both parents work to earn an income. Therefore the provider role is fulfilled by both mother and father. From this observation this study contends that the dual earner family phenomenon bears significance on the way fathers experience fatherhood in a family where the other parent also fulfils the provider role. This contention is based on the long-established conception that being a good provider is the epitome of fatherhood.

Research about fatherhood in dual earner families is characterised by the experiences of work-family conflict and father involvement. Work-family conflict occurs when the tension from the work and family domains are mutually irreconcilable, and as a result, participation in the family role is made more difficult because of participation in the work role (Weer & Greenhaus, 2014). It is reported that for fathers in dual earner families work-family conflict is experienced with the development of a father role that is more involved in childcare, which is not easily compatible with the more traditional provider role (Martínez, Carrasco, Aza, Blanco, & Espinar,

2011). Similarly it is reported that tension between gender roles at work and at home has left men experiencing more work-family conflict (Galinsky, Aumann, & Bond, 2013). There is also research which reports that work-family conflict from high work pressure experienced by fathers in dual earner families negatively affects the parent-child and marital relationships. However, this phenomenon is under researched in the global South (Ransford, Crouter, & McHale, 2008).

Research about fatherhood in dual earner families in South Africa is a relatively new area. This is because research about fatherhood in South Africa has been dominated by narratives of absent fathers and abusive fathers. Only recently has there been research centred on father involvement in families (Richter, 2018). However, in South Africa, much like the rest of the globe, research about fatherhood in dual earner families has been focused on work-family spillover (Smit, 2000), work-life balance (de Wet, van Zittert, & Koekemoer, 2012) and work-family balance (Seeley, 2015).

The experience of father involvement is defined in many ways such as direct physical interaction with children (i.e. playing and caregiving). Accessibility to children (i.e. fathers' availability to children) and responsibility for children (i.e. planning and organising resources for children) (Marsiglio, 2004; Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004). Research reports that father involvement in dual earner families is more likely than in single earner families. This is because increased father involvement is related to the egalitarian perception held by fathers in dual earner families about mothers' participation in the labour force (Saraff & Srivastava, 2010). Increased father involvement for fathers with working wives is also related to the age of the child. The younger the child is the more involved in childcare fathers were (Wang & Bianchi, 2009).

Increased father involvement is also reported to be related to support from partners. Father involvement increased in dual earner families where fathers observed less undermining co-parenting behaviours from their partners (Buckley & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2010).

From a conceptual point of view, research into modern family arrangements refers to dual earner families, dual career families and dual income families. Generally, all these terms refer to the same phenomenon (i.e. a family arrangement where both parents are in paid employment outside of the home) (Manlove & Vernon-Feagans, 2002; Nepomnyaschy & Waldfogel, 2007; Raley et al., 2012). Apart from this general characteristic there are other characteristics of these family arrangements that are shared amongst each other. There are also characteristics that differentiate each type of family arrangement from each other. These characteristics are: the number of children, the relationships status, the type of employment, the temporality of employment and the source of income.

The number of children is crucial to defining dual earner family arrangements. The amount of children is what differentiates ‘families’ from ‘couples’. In order to be considered a family; partners need to have a child or children. Research about partners in dual earner, dual career and dual income arrangements without children focuses on couples.

Relationships status refers to whether the parents are married or cohabiting. Research about dual earner families, dual career and dual income families all share this characteristic and generally study families with parents that are married to each other or cohabiting (Dancer & Gilbert, 1993).

Type of employment refers to the nature and the amount of time parents spend working. This includes full time, part time, formal, informal and even self-employment. In relation to

these characteristics dual earner families and dual career families normally include parents that are in full time, formal employment. Dual income families are different to this and refer to income that can come from different types of employment including but not limited to full time and formal employment (Dancer & Gilbert, 1993; Raley et al., 2012).

The temporality of employment refers to the employment of the parents in relation to time. This does not refer to how much time is spent on working as with full time and part time characteristics. Instead it refers to the amount of time spent working as it is related to longevity of the career. This relationship between employment and temporality exclusively refers to dual career families. In dual career families there is a focus on having a lifelong career that is uninterrupted. In a dual career family parents' employment is considered a career and not a job (Bosch, de Bruin, Kgaladi, & de Bruin, 2012).

The source of income refers to the origin of the income or money received by the parents of the family. In dual earner and dual career families the source of the income comes from formal full time employment. Dual earner families as the name emphasises differ from dual earner and career families on this point. The source of the income can be from various sources of employment such as full time, part time, self-employment, formal and informal. Income can also be derived from grants, investments, paid parental leave, unemployment insurance funds, retrenchment pay-outs and pension funds.

Because of the characteristics of the sample (full time formal employment) in this study it was most suitable to use the term dual earner to refer to the family arrangements throughout this document. However, the literature review will present an amalgamation of research from dual income, dual earner and dual career families. This is to highlight the differences and similarities

in the experiences of fatherhood in each of these types of families and how they are supported by, or related to, the participant's experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families.

1.2 Rationale

From the preceding research about the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families the following observations are made. The methods used to study father involvement and work-family conflict amongst fathers in dual earner families measures these constructs quantitatively. It reports on the actual time spent on father involvement and fulfilling the work and family roles. The research using these methods does not qualitatively describe the content of the time spent on father involvement and fulfilling work and family roles. This study fills this gap by adopting qualitative methods and semi-structured interviews as a data collection tool in order to explore the qualitative details of the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families.

In relation to the origin of the research most of the research presented was carried out in countries from the global North. This included countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Canada. These countries have different socio-political climates in relation to each other, as well as in relation to countries from the global South. Therefore the findings from the research reflected the discourses of fatherhood experiences in dual earner families from that region. There is research about the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families from the global South, namely India and Mexico. However, the same critique can be applied even though South Africa forms part of the global South, its socio-political climate is different to these countries and may reflect a different discourse on fatherhood and dual income families. As such there is a need to carry out research on this topic in South Africa.

In relation to race and class, the research available about fatherhood and dual earner families from the global North mostly reflected the attitudes and perceptions of American, Canadian and European White, middle and upper class males and females. Therefore the findings of the research from the global North are not entirely relatable to Africa and South Africa nor are they relatable to the experiences of Black African South African and Coloured males. In relation to this observation there is a need for research on the experiences of fatherhood that is relatable and reflective of the majority of South Africa. As such, this research collected data from Black African and Coloured males so as to contribute to the research, literature and discourses about fatherhood and dual income families in South Africa that reflect an experience of the majority.

In summary, existing research about the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families mostly reported on father involvement and work-family conflict. A critique of this research identified gaps in research about fatherhood and dual income families such as: the need for the use of qualitative methods to collect data that explores the details of the experiences of fatherhood in dual income families. It was also identified that there is a need for research that reflects South African experiences of fatherhood in dual income families and a need for research that reflects Black African male's experiences of fatherhood in dual income family.

1.3 Research question

What are the subjective experiences of young fathers in dual earner families?

1.4 Aim and objectives

Research aim:

- To explore young fathers subjective experiences of fatherhood in a family where both parents work to earn an income.

Research objectives:

- To explore how young fathers experience fatherhood in a dual earner family.
- To explore how having a partner that works to earn an income influences father's experience of fatherhood.

1.5 Chapter summary

In summary, the background to this study is that the increase in mother's participation in paid work outside of the home has resulted in family arrangements where both mothers and fathers are financial providers. It is hypothesised that this may bear significance on the experience of fatherhood in these families since fatherhood is closely linked to financial provision. It was established that this phenomenon is under researched. In order to address this gap in research the study aimed to explore what are young father's subjective experiences of fatherhood in a family where both parents work to earn an income?

1.6 Chapter organisation

Chapter two is the literature review; this chapter is a review of published literature about the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families and how the findings of that literature relate to the current study. Chapter three describes the methodology employed in order to carry out the study. Chapter four presents the findings from each participant in this study. Chapter five is the

discussion of the findings and demonstrates why the findings are important. Lastly, chapter six offers a conclusion about the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families based on the findings and what they mean.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This study explored what are the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families. The aim of this study was to explore young father's subjective experiences of fatherhood in a family where both parents work outside the home to earn an income. The objectives of this study were to explore how young fathers experience fatherhood in a dual earner family and to explore how having a partner that works to earn an income influences father's experience of fatherhood.

This chapter presents a description of what related research has already been conducted on the experiences fatherhood in dual earner families. It demonstrates how this research informed the study and how the study related to the research that has already been conducted on the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families.

2.1 Methods

The review type used in the study was the literature review type as described by Grant and Booth (2009). The following strategy was used to conduct a literature search: the research question was broken down into aims and objectives. The aims and objectives were further broken down into key words and search phrases.

To find the most relevant literature, synonyms were used to expand some search phrases (e.g. fatherhood and fathering, dual earner families and dual earner families). The eligibility of literature that related to the research question was determined by a process of title and abstract screening as well as searching the text of the publication for inclusion of the search phrases. All publications that were found from applying each search phrase through an electronic database

were only included in the literature review if the abstract of the publication included the search phrases or if the text of the publication included the search phrases.

Each search phrase was individually applied to two different electronic databases (i.e. EBSCO Host and JSTOR). Additional filters were applied to limit results to literature that contained the full text, which only came from scholarly journals that have been published between 2003 and 2017. The decision to include articles published between 2003 and 2017 is in line with the style of the literature review type outlined by Grant and Booth (2009), whereby only recent or current literature is examined. Another justification to include the most recent articles from the last decade was supported by the circumstance that research in this area of fatherhood is relatively new in South Africa. This contention is supported by the sentiment that two decades ago fatherhood was not much of a political issue in South Africa. Instead concerns about fatherhood focused on men as abusive or absent and not accepting responsibility for their children (Richter, 2018). Two different electronic databases were selected to search a wide range of electronic databases in order to avoid publication bias. EBSCO Host and JSTOR central were selected because they had a multidisciplinary collection of databases. Only a selected number of the search results were included in the literature review.

Table 1

Summary of electronic database search

Databases	EBSCO Host		JSTOR		Total	
Search Phrases	Results	Results refined	Results	Results refined	Results	Results refined
Fathers in dual earner families	9	6	528	11		17
Fatherhood in dual earner families	245	1	275	0		1
Fathering in dual earner families	98	0	123	1		1

Note. Columns labelled 'results refined' refers to literature that was actually included in the literature review after abstract screening.

2.2 Key themes emerging from the selected literature

This section presents an analysis of research about the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families. It was identified that research about the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families was characterised by the following three aspects. First, it was found that particular *socio-historical aspects* influenced the development of dual earner families. Second, it was found that *relational aspects* such as shared parenting and co-parenting had an influence of the experience of fatherhood. Third, it was found that *economic aspects* such as mother's working hours, mother's salary and father's educational attainment bear significance on the experience of fatherhood.

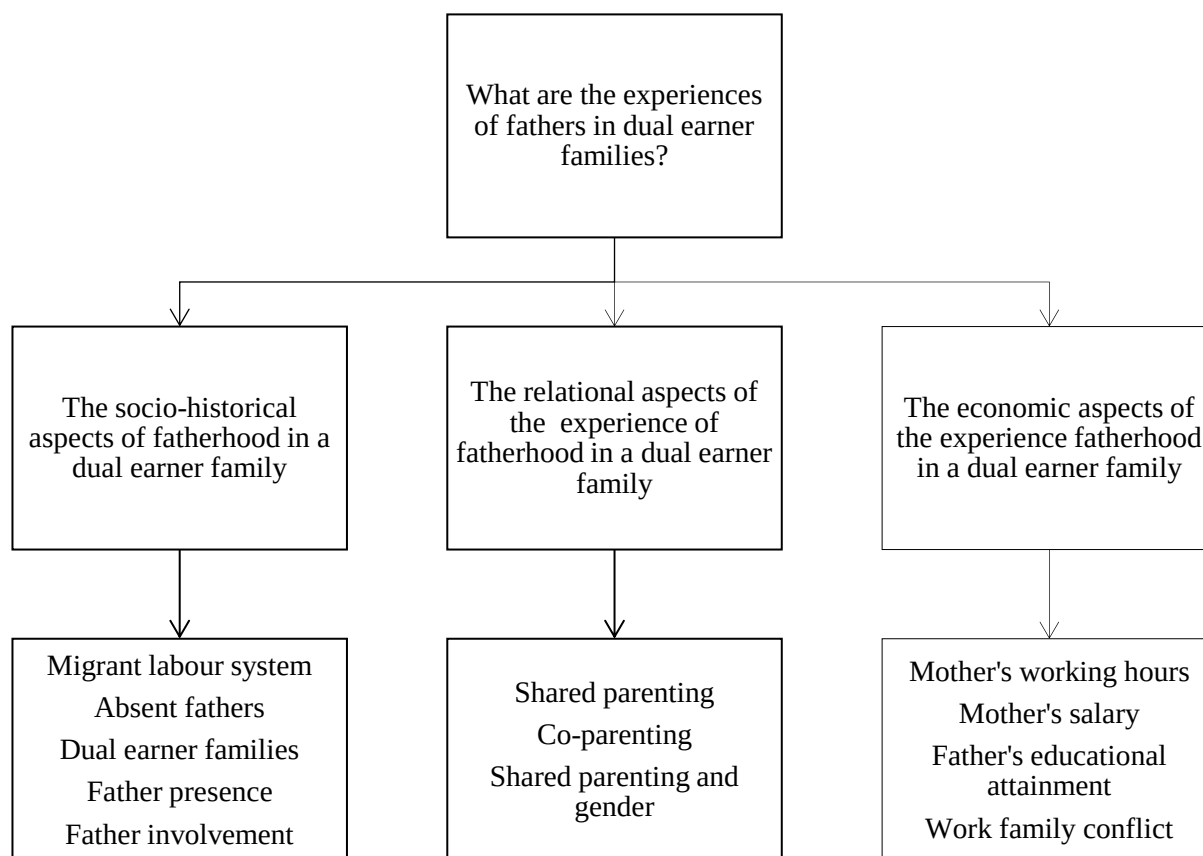


Figure 1. Key themes emerging from the literature review. This chart represents the development of themes from the research question within the literature review.

2.2.1 The socio-historical aspects of the experience of fatherhood in a dual earner family

Much like there is a distinction between sex and gender, so too is there a difference between the terms father and fatherhood. From a biological perspective a male becomes a father when he impregnates a female. However, from a social constructionist perspective fatherhood refers to the social roles associated with being a father (Morrell, 2005, 2006; Morrell, Posel, & Devey, 2003). Because the experience of fatherhood is socially constructed, it is always in a constant state of revision in relation to prevailing social conditions. As such, this section of the

literature review details the change in the experience of fatherhood in families during Apartheid and post-Apartheid social conditions.

Although research about fatherhood in South Africa is sparse, the literature that is available places a lot of attention on the phenomenon of absent fathers. This is due to the fact that South Africa has high rates of children growing up without their fathers (Holborn & Eddy, 2011; Mavungu, Thomson-de Boor, & Karabo, 2013; Richter, Chikovore, & Makusha, 2010). This occurrence has been attributed to South Africa's history of Apartheid which was institutionalised racial segregation, whereby Black African fathers' access to employment, and thereby their ability to provide for their families, was complicated by the Apartheid migrant labour system. The Apartheid migrant labour system is a system where Black African labourers from rural areas took on work in cities and mines, thus resulting in households and families without the physical presence of fathers (Makusha & Richter, 2015; Mamphela & Richter, 2006; Rabe, 2006).

Apart from Apartheid's migrant labour system it was also reported that other socioeconomic conditions such as poverty and unemployment influence the experience of fatherhood in South Africa. Based on the assumption that being a good father means being a good financial provider, it follows that a father without access to employment may not feel as if he is living up to the ideal of fatherhood. Therefore the possibility of a father shunning his responsibility to his children because he is unable to offer his family any financial provisions increases (Elliot, 2003; Mavungu, 2013; Wilson, 2006). Socioeconomic conditions such as poverty and employment intersect with other social structures which altogether may exacerbate the phenomenon of absent fathers. For example, in some instances cultural norms such as *inhlawulo* (damages paid by a man to a woman's family for having a child out of wedlock) and

ilobola (bride price) may alienate fathers from the lives of their children in the following way. Sometimes it may be that if a father is unable to pay, then they are denied access to their children (Hunter, 2006; Mavungu et al., 2013). However, *inhlawulo* holds cultural significance and can also be viewed as a fathers acceptance of paternity.

In response to the ‘crisis’ of NGO’s such as Sonke Gender Justice had developed a programme named *Men Engage*, which is aimed at fostering fatherhood and father involvement in families (Richter et al., 2012). In a similar vein, there is research aimed at fostering fatherhood and father involvement for young fathers such as the *Teenage Tata* study. This study reported on young father’s willingness to be involved in the lives of their children (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Similar findings were reported by (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Franklin, Makiwane, & Makusha, 2014). It was further revealed that these sentiments presented an opportunity to transform constructions of fatherhood to include protecting and caring for children (Hendricks, Swartz, & Bhana, 2010). Likewise it was also found that school going boys who were not yet fathers held similar sentiments about becoming a father (Morrell, 2007).

When considered as a whole, it is observed that the experience of fatherhood in South Africa is studied in relation to specific social contexts that are unique to South Africa. It has been shown that these contexts shape the experience of fatherhood for poor Black African fathers in the following ways; high rates of father absence and high rates of migrant labour. In light of this observation this study offers an exploration of the experience of fatherhood in relation to a different social, economic and political context. As such, the participants in this study were all Black African and Coloured fathers who were employed and had access to money. Their experience of having access to employment and money offers an alternative insight into the experience of fatherhood outside of the migrant labour system. For example, the participants

were all able to access employment that was closer to their households and families which in turn increased their presence at home. This provided an opportunity for increased involvement with their children and households.

Furthermore, post-Apartheid socioeconomic conditions resulted in changes in family formation as well as in the roles of mothers and fathers individually (Amoateng, Heaton, & Kalulule-Sabiti, 2007). For example, in Apartheid era South Africa, Black African fathers were more likely to engage in paid work away from home while mothers would engage in unpaid work in the home. However, due to the advent of new government labour policies (i.e. Employment Equity Act 1998 and Skills Development Act 1998) that encourage the participation of previously disadvantaged men and women in the labour force it is observed that some Black African fathers and even mothers have greater access to paid employment that is closer to their homes (Bosch et al., 2012) As such, mothers are also participants in the labour force, which results in the occurrence of dual earner families.

Despite research which reports that there is an increase in the amount of dual earner families globally and in South Africa (Miura & Higashi, 2017; Pew Research Center, 2015; Statistics Canada, 2016; Statistics South Africa, 2012; Waite & Nielsen, 2001), this research does not report on the effects of this increase on fatherhood. In South Africa and globally, research about the effects of this occurrence on the experience of fatherhood report that fathers in these family arrangements are more likely to be involved in childcare and childcare and housework (Smit, 2002).

2.2.2 The relational aspects of the experience of fatherhood in a dual earner family

Research reviewed under this theme is about the relational aspects of the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families. Relational aspects refer to the way in which mothers and fathers in dual earner families are connected to each other and how this connection influences a father's experience of fatherhood.

One of the main suppositions about the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families is that there is a relationship between a mother's participation in work outside the home and a father's participation in work inside the home. It is supposed that mother's increased participation in work outside the home is positively related to father's increased participation in work inside the home. Research reports that this relationship is moderated by shared parenting and co-parenting (Ehrenberg, Gearing-Small, Hunter, & Small, 2001; Stanley-Stevens & Seward, 2007)

It is reported that a father's increased participation in work inside the home is not only a result of a mother's increased participation in work outside the home, but it is also a result of shared parenting. Shared parenting refers to a couple's joint feelings of competency as parents. It is suggested that shared parenting influences a father's increased involvement in housework and childcare (Ehrenberg et al., 2001). Similar to shared parenting, other research has reported on co-parenting in dual earner families and how it influences father involvement. It was reported that a father's perceptions of supportive co-parenting (i.e. the way in which parents relate to each other in terms of their roles as parents together) influenced their experience of parental stress and parental self-efficacy or the degree to which they feel confident in their parenting abilities. It was found that higher supportive co-parenting was associated with increased father involvement (Schoppe-Sullivan, Settle, Lee, & Kamp Dush, 2016).

Other research about shared parenting and co-parenting examined relational aspects between father-child dyads and father-mother-child triads. It was reported that there were no affective differences found in the infant's dyadic time with mothers and fathers. In triadic settings it was found that there were no relational differences between mothers and fathers except that mothers vocalised more and fathers took longer to show positive affect towards their infants. In line with findings from other studies (Ehrenberg et al., 2001; Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2016) it was found that in triadic observations fathers showed more positive affect when interacting with babies in a co-parental setting (i.e. with the mother present) (Gordon & Feldman, 2008). Findings from other research confirm the supposition that relational aspects between parents influence a father's experience of fatherhood. In that research it was found that inter-parental conflict is associated with poor quality fathering (Formoso, Gonzales, Barrera, & Dumka, 2007)

Research about relational aspects between working parents in dual earner families and its relation to father involvement suggests that in dual earner families increased father involvement was related to the effects of supportive co-parenting and shared parenting. The presence of a mother as well as her perceived attitude about a father's parenting abilities influenced the father's interaction with infants and involvement in childcare (Saraff & Srivastava, 2010). Research in this area mostly reported about how the psychological and emotional connections between parents influenced father involvement in dual earner families. It reported less about how a mother's participation in employment outside the home specifically relates to increased father involvement in housework and childcare. To address this shortcoming this study explored the details of the experiences of how a mother's income relates to father involvement.

Apart from research about father involvement in dual earner families as it relates to co-parenting and its psychological and emotional influence on father involvement, there was also a

trend in research about co-parenting during the transition to parenthood and how it relates to father involvement (Ehrenberg et al., 2001; Gordon & Feldman, 2008). This refers to the period before the birth of a couple's first child and the few months after the birth of a couple's first child (Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2016).

Research about father's experiences of supportive co-parenting in dual earner families at the transition to parenthood focused only on how co-parenting increased father involvement in terms of time based activities (Kotila, Schoppe-Sullivan, & Kamp Dush, 2013). This research measured the proportion of time fathers spent doing activities with children at the transition to parenthood. It was found that at the transition to parenthood mothers allocated more time than fathers to positive engagement such as reading, playing, talking, holding and routine childcare such as cleaning, feeding and bathing than fathers. However, it was also found that fathers and mothers allocated similar shares of time to positive engagement at nine months (Kotila et al., 2013).

Despite the assumption that mothers increased participation in employment positively influences father's participation in housework and childcare, it was found that mothers still engage in more childcare and housework in relation to fathers. (Dancer & Gilbert, 1993; Feldman, 2000; Lindsey & Caldera, 2006; Manlove & Vernon-Feagans, 2002; Raley et al., 2012; Wang & Bianchi). This finding supports the findings from this study that fathers are indeed more involved in dual earner families than before but their involvement is rarely equal to the mother's involvement with childcare. Research using time use surveys presented a quantitative measure of father involvement in dual earner families in terms of the amount of time allocated to activities with children, this study offers a qualitative measure which provides details and context about the experience of father involvement and fatherhood in a dual earner family.

In review of the preceding research the following observations are made about the relational aspects of father involvement as an experience of fatherhood in dual earner families. Research about inter-parental relations and its effect on the experience of fatherhood positions the experience of fatherhood as dependant on mothers` attitudes and perceptions of fatherhood in dual earner families (Formoso et al., 2007; Gordon & Feldman, 2008). This did not account for the experiences of fatherhood that have been shared by fathers themselves. In relation to this observation this study offered a perspective of the experience of fatherhood directly from fathers by collecting data about their own personal first-hand experiences of fatherhood in a dual earner family. Even though it was an important finding that the quality of a father's relationship with a mother influenced his experience of fatherhood as expressed in increased father involvement it did not provide details about the contents of father's involvement where it did exist.

From a methodological perspective it was also observed that some studies employed similar methods to arrive at similar results and conclusions. Research reviewed mostly employed quantitative methods with the exception of two studies that used mixed methods. The mixed methods studies also used qualitative methods only in the interest of triangulating data and increasing validity. As such there was no inclusion of interview data in the articles. Using quantitative research methods to study the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families only offered knowledge about those experiences through establishing associations between a participant's responses from different scales. The data did not provide details about the context within which the associations between the experience of fatherhood and mothers attitudes occurred. This study employed qualitative research methods in order to explore the context from which the association between the experience of fatherhood and mothers attitudes occurred.

Quantitative analyses were applied on existing data from various time use surveys. In research about father involvement time use surveys were a popular data collection method where participants recorded the amount of time they spent on childcare and housework. Using this method only provided a quantitative measure of father involvement as an experience of fatherhood. This study employed a different data collection method such as one-on-one semi-structured interviews so as to provide qualitative data that describes the experiences of father involvement as a key experience of fatherhood in dual earner families.

Most of the research only included samples of biological parents. Even though some studies were theoretically aligned with social constructionism they did not acknowledge that fatherhood could be experienced by anyone other than a biological father. This study employed similar research paradigms such as social constructionism and interpretivism and explored the social experience of fatherhood from the perspective of a stepfather.

Relational aspects do not only consider inter-parental relations, it also considers father-child relations in dual earner families. Studies in this area found that in families where fathers were more involved with both male and female children, the type of involvement was different for boys and for girls. Fathers spent more time involved in leisure activities (playing, reading, and walking) with boys than with girls (Baxter, 2007; Combs-Orme & Renkert, 2009). It was also found that fathers spent more time on personal activities (bathing and changing) with boys than with girls. Even fathering styles were found to be different for boys and girls. Less warmth, overprotection, more hostile and angry parenting was more consistent with fathering styles in relation to boys than girls (Baxter & Smart, 2011).

It was also found that the amount of time fathers spend with boys and girls was found to be disproportionate. It was found that fathers of boys invested more time in children than those only with daughters (Mammen, 2011). These findings were confirmed by other studies that found that the gender of the child influenced father involvement. In these studies fathers spent more time with boys than girls (Lundberg, McLanahan, & Rose, 2007; Lundberg, Wulff Pabilonia, & Ward-Batts, 2007).

The selected available research about fathering and gender in dual income families revealed the following trends. Fathering style was influenced by father gender role ideologies and this in turn had an effect on boy and girl children and the cognitive skills they developed, such as social problem solving and social maturity. It appeared that gender role ideologies also influenced the type and amount of father involvement with boys and girls disproportionately. Boy's appeared to receive more time and different types of involvement compared to girls.

All but one of these studies was conducted with a dual income family sample. This research offers this perspective because it is important to understand the context within which gender ideologies are deconstructed and reconstructed. There has been research that supported the idea that gender ideologies in dual earner families are more egalitarian. As such, this research explored the relationship between this finding and the experiences of fathering in relation to fathering boys and girls.

2.2.3 The economic aspects of the experience of fatherhood in a dual earner family

Research using time use diaries report that employment influenced the experience of fatherhood. It was found that the more hours a father worked outside of standard full-time working hours, the less likely he was to be involved in housework and childcare (Roeters, Van

Der Lippe, & Kluwer, 2009). Longer maternal working hours and a greater proportional contribution of the mother to family income also made high levels of father involvement more likely (Zerle-Elsässer & Xuan, 2017).

Other research in this area reported differently about the relationship between a father's employment and his experience of fatherhood. It was found that increased father involvement occurred when fathers who were employed also had partners who were employed and that fathers in these families spend more time in solo childcare (i.e. childcare responsibility without the presence or supervision of a mother) (Wang & Bianchi, 2009).

Research about the relationship between a mother's employment and earnings in relation to a father's employment and earnings reports that fathers work less when there is a partner who is the main earner or who earns more than him when compared to fathers who earn more than their partners (Kanji, 2013). A mother's salary influences the experience of fatherhood in a dual earner family in other ways such as bargaining in regard to housework. It was found that in families where traditional male breadwinner ideologies were valued, fathers will partake less in housework than in an environment where non-traditional breadwinner ideologies are valued such as a dual earner family (Thebaud, 2010). Fathers also participated more in routine care when wives contributed a greater share of money to the family (Raley et al., 2012). Other research confirms that fathers were more likely to partake in childcare when mothers share, or have equal wealth, than when there are wealth differences between mothers and fathers (Nkwake, 2015).

In contrast some research found increased father involvement but a mother's salary was not associated with the increase. Instead it was found that there is a relation between a mother's

working hours and the experience of fatherhood. Fathers who had partners who were employed at the same time were more involved, However, they became less involved if their partners worked less than them (Craig & Mullan, 2011; Hofferth & Goldscheider, 2010). Another study found that fathers engaged in more solo care of children (i.e. without the presence of the mother) when wives were employed (Wang & Bianchi, 2009).

Research reported that a father's educational attainment influences his experience of fatherhood in a dual earner family. It was found that higher educational attainment is associated with higher shares of childcare (Craig & Mullan, 2011). In another study it was confirmed that fathers with higher educational qualifications contribute more to childcare than fathers with a lesser education. More specifically it was also found that in the case of housework, fathers with lower educational attainment increased their contributions to housework than fathers with higher educational attainment (Sullivan, 2010).

There was also a trend in this research to study the management of work demands and father involvement. This referred to the actual strategies developed by fathers (or lack thereof) to balance work and family demands. It was found that fathers were less likely to adjust work demands and schedules to have more time for involvement, even when it came to providing emergency childcare (i.e. when a child suddenly became sick) (Maume, 2008). Other parents develop strategies such as multitasking, delegating and alternating to maintain work life balance (Forsberg, 2009). However, in these cases parents created a dilemma whereby they used these strategies to free up time to increase involvement, but these strategies often isolated parents from involvement with children, especially with regard to delegating strategies (i.e. these included delegating grandparents or paid sources to childcare, or children taking care of themselves by watching TV or using technology to stay occupied).

There is also a trend in research about father involvement in dual earner families to study the relationship between paternal leave taking and father involvement. It was found that a large proportion of fathers take at least some leave at the birth of their child, but that the length of that leave varies. The association was that fathers who took longer leave were more involved in child caretaking activities (Nepomnyaschy & Waldfogel, 2007). This finding was supported by another study that found that fathers who took leave were reported to spend more time with children and be more involved with them (Jesmin & Seward, 2011). Even though research into paternal leave taking in dual income families indicated that paternal leave taking influenced father involvement, it was noted that it influenced the frequency of father involvement and not amount of father involvement (Meil, 2013).

Another area of father involvement in dual income families that was frequently researched was related to work demands and the influence this had on father involvement. It has been found that atypical work schedules (i.e. self-employment and working from home) and non-standard work schedules (i.e. working from 7pm to 7am on weekdays and any work on a weekend) influenced father involvement. It was found that fathers who worked these hours spent less time on childcare and housework (Craig & Powell, 2011). It was also found that working atypical work schedules decreased father involvement by way of outsourcing childcare (i.e. employing paid childcare) (Craig & Powell, 2012).

Findings from research about economic aspects of the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families generally suppose that higher maternal working hours, higher maternal salary and higher paternal educational attainment increases time spent on housework and childcare. This suggests that fathers in families whose partners are employed value egalitarian gender ideologies. However the findings from this research neglect to explore the actual content of the

fathers increased participation in housework and childcare. It is contended that it is not sufficient to only detail the amount of time fathers spend on housework and childcare. Instead it is also important to explore details about the actual content and practice of housework and childcare. This provides more qualitative and contextual information about the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families. As such this study employed a qualitative research approach to study the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families.

2.3 Theoretical framework

This section describes the theoretical framework of the study. It defines the major proponents of hegemonic masculinity and applies it to the present study.

2.3.1 Hegemonic masculinity

Based on research it is accepted that men are not born with masculinities (i.e. socially constructed attributes, behaviours and roles associated with men). Instead masculinities are learned (Ratele, 2008). In line with this notion, it follows that in order for masculinities to be produced and reproduced; they need social institutions such as the family, schools, and churches to exist (Khunou, 2006). This study applied this assertion, and studied the socially constructed experiences of fatherhood within the context of a family where both parents work to earn an income. Much like masculinity is socially constructed, so too is the experience of fatherhood constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed within a certain social context.

Because social contexts are varied, and constructions of fatherhood are made in relation to social contexts, it can be asserted that multiple masculinities are constructed. This is also

because masculinity and expressions of it, such as fatherhood are enacted through different hierarchies between men and other men, as well as between men and women (Petersen, 2003).

Based on the assumption of multiple masculinities, one of the major proponents of hegemonic masculinity is that there exists a hierarchy between different types of masculinity, namely; hegemonic, subordinate and complicit (Buschmeyer, 2013; Buschmeyer & Lengersdorf, 2016). In this hierarchy, it is implied that hegemonic masculinities are at the top. Hegemonic masculinities are accepted as the ideal way to be a man, even if this ideal is not met by majority of men. Being a White, heterosexual, employed male that possesses an inclination towards power, achievement and career best fit the requirements of hegemonic masculinity (Buschmeyer, 2013).

Subordinate masculinities are masculinities which have traits that are the polar opposites of the traits of hegemonic masculinity, such as being Black, being homosexual or being unemployed. Complicit masculinities refer to masculinities that do not meet the ideal of hegemonic masculinities, but at the same time benefit from the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, such as males receiving social, economic and political benefits by virtue of being male, even though they may not actually embody the ideals of hegemonic masculinity (Buschmeyer & Lengersdorf, 2016).

This theory relates to the study in the following way. Based on the assumption that financial provision is the epitome of fatherhood, how then is fatherhood experienced in a family context where financial provision is also being met by a mother? Fatherhood in this instance is understood as an expression of masculinity, and therefore the question becomes, how is masculinity constructed in a family where a mother also fulfils provider role expectations? Does

the presence of the working mother in a dual earner family become a threat to a father's construction of masculinity? Furthermore, how do fathers reconstruct their masculinity in relation to this threat and how does this influence their conduct in their families? These questions are applied to the analysis and discussion in order to elucidate if there is a relationship between the experience of fatherhood and the presence of a working mother.

2.4 Chapter summary

In summary, this chapter explained that the method used to conduct the literature search was the literature review method. The key themes identified from the literature were the socio-historical, relational and economic aspects of the experience of fatherhood. It was shown how these aspects related to the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This study explored what are the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families. The aim of this study was to explore young father's subjective experiences of fatherhood in a family where both parents work outside the home to earn an income. The objectives of this study were to explore how young fathers experience fatherhood in a dual earner family and to explore how having a partner that works to earn an income influences father's experience of fatherhood.

This chapter describes the research methodology used in this study (i.e. the research paradigms, the research approach and the research design). This chapter shows the research methodology used in this study informed the selection of specific research methods that were used to carry out the study. In light of this, the chapter also describes how the ethical considerations of conducting research were addressed and how the researchers' positionality in relation to the study influenced the carrying out of the study.

3.1 Research paradigm

A research paradigm can be described as a system of thinking about research traditions (Neuman, 2011). The research paradigms that informed this study were constructionism and interpretivism. Constructionism and interpretivism are related paradigms that address understanding the world as others experience it. They can be distinguished from other research paradigms in terms of their philosophical assumptions regarding ontology and epistemology.

Ontology refers to what we believe about the nature of reality. In this regard constructionism holds that "social phenomena and their meanings are continually being

accomplished by social actors. It implies that social phenomena are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision” (Bryman, 2004, p. 17). For participants of this study this meant that fatherhood and its meaning in dual earner families were produced through social interactions with partners and children.

Epistemology refers to how we know what we know. In this regard interpretivism holds that knowledge is subjective and idiographic (Chilisa, 2011). In line with this assumption, this study held the view that young fathers attach meanings to experiences of fatherhood in a dual earner family in a way that is based on personal experiences and that are different from other young father’s experiences. As researchers we can then study fatherhood by drawing on the experiences of the actors-the participants.

The philosophical assumptions of interpretivism and constructionism regarding ontology and epistemology are informed by philosophical traditions such as hermeneutics and phenomenology. As a philosophical approach hermeneutics is concerned with the theory and method of the interpretation of human action (Bryman, 2004). Phenomenology is concerned with the question of how individuals make sense of the world around them (Bryman, 2004). In summary, the research paradigms interpretivism and constructionism along with their philosophical assumptions (ontology and epistemology) and their philosophical underpinnings (hermeneutics and phenomenology) informed the research approach, research design and research methods of this study.

3.2 Research approach

The research approach selected for this study was a qualitative research approach. In line with the research paradigms of this study a qualitative research approach holds the assumption that there are multiple realities and that events are understood through the process of interpretation that is influenced by interaction in a social context (Bryman, 2004). In relation to the study this meant that there are different experiences of fatherhood and that these experiences are influenced by interaction between a father, mother and child in a dual earner family. As such an approach to this kind of study needs to use research which emphasises talking and listening, reading and writing in order to explore these experiences.

3.3 Research design

The research design selected for this study was a phenomenological study design. In line with the philosophical underpinnings of the research paradigms of this study a phenomenological study design is also concerned with the question of how individuals make sense of the world around them through describing the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or phenomena (Bryman, 2004; Christensen, Johnson, & Turner, 2011; Creswell, 1998; Nieswiadomy, 2012). This meant that the study was concerned with how young fathers make sense of their world around them through describing their lived experiences of fatherhood in a dual earner family. A phenomenological research design needs to employ research methods which emphasise gathering deep information.

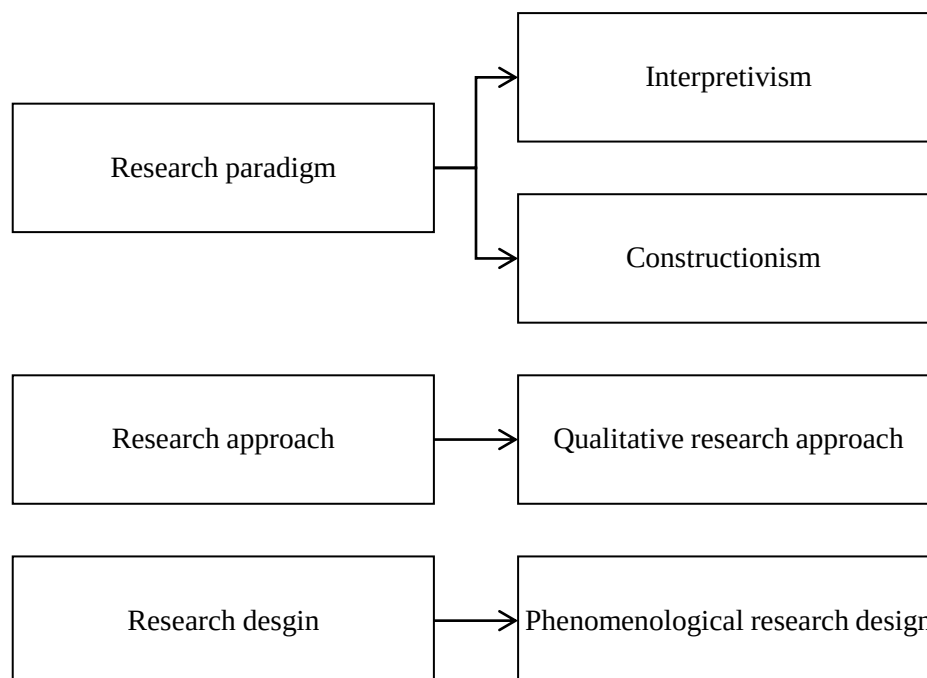


Figure 2. The development of research methodology. This figure outlines the relationship between research methodologies and the development of research methodologies employed in this study.

3.4 Research methods

The research methods described below are informed by the research methodology of this study (i.e. the research paradigms, research approach and research design).

3.4.1 Sampling and recruitment of participants

In line with interpretivist and constructionist research paradigms the study participants were people in the social world. The assumption was that people in the social world are intricate and complex. Different people experience and understand the same phenomena in very different ways and have their own, often very different, reasons for acting in the world. Since this study is

about fatherhood the target population were fathers. Fathers where the total group of individuals from which the target group was drawn. The target group included fathers that had the following characteristics:

- Were available and willing to participate in interviews.
- Sober and were not facing mental health problems.
- Between the ages 20 to 30 years old.
- Living within the regions of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan.
- Employed (i.e. full-time, part-time, self-employed, formally or informally).
- Receiving an income for paid work (i.e. from salaries).
- Living with the mother of their child or children who was also employed (i.e. full-time, part-time, self-employed, formally or informally).
- Living with the mother of their child or children who was also receiving an income for paid work (i.e. from salaries).
- Self-identified as fathers.
- Had a child or children that were younger than seven years old.

Practically and in light of availability, accessibility and willingness it was impossible to reach every study participant from the target group. As such the actual sample included:

- Four fathers that were recruited through snowballing sampling technique.
- Two fathers were 27 years old and the other two were 30 years old.
- Two of the fathers were living in the Eastern suburbs of City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. The other two fathers were living in the Southern suburbs and Western Suburbs of City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality respectively.

- The fathers were formally employed full-time and received an income from salaries.
- The fathers were all living with the mother of their child or children who was also employed full-time and formally and who was also receiving an income from a salary.
- They all had a child or children who were younger than seven years old.

Inclusion of fathers with children that were younger than seven years old was based on the following contention. It was contended that children below seven years old (i.e. infants, toddlers and preschool going age) require more physical involvement (i.e. intimate childcare such as feeding , bathing, washing etc.) than older children whom are more independent (Drago, 2009; Kryzer, Kovan, Phillips, Domagall, & Gunnar, 2007). Therefore father involvement in intimate childcare was anticipated to be more likely with younger children but also not exclusive to young children.

Inclusion of fathers between the ages of 20 and 30 years old was based on the researchers' working definition of young fathers. Young fathers are generally defined as males under the age of 24 or 25. This does not include teenage fathers who usually involves 18 or 19 year old male fathers. In this study young fathers refer to males with children in their early twenties until age 30 (Dudley, 2007).

The fathers in the actual sample all had middle class backgrounds and were employed in white collar jobs. However, having a white collar job was not a requirement for inclusion or exclusion in this study. Similarly, having a blue collar job was not a requirement for inclusion or exclusion in this study. As such no specific effort was made to specifically reach potential participants with blue collar jobs. Instead, participation was open to all employed fathers with the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality.

Table 2
Summary of participant demographic information

Pseudonym	Age	Occupation	Nationality	Population group	Number of children	Age of child/children	Relationship to child	Relation status	Partners employment status
Adrian Nel	27	Insurance administrator	Mozambican	Black African	1	7 months	Biological father	Married	Unemployed
Michael Thiyane	27	Sales representative	South African	Black African	1	4 years	Social father	Cohabiting	Employed
Samuel James	30	Marketing manager	South African	Coloured	2	1 & 6 years	Biological father	Married	Employed
Sean Davids	30	Sales representative	South African	Coloured	1	1 year	Biological father	Married	Employed

Note. Population group reflect the participant's responses from a self-identifying question about population groups as included in the Statistics South Africa household survey programme.

Within the actual sample it was disclosed at the time of the interview that one of the participants was a stepfather. The researcher advertised that potential participants needed to self-identify as a father. The researcher did not qualify the term father as exclusively biological, therefore the researcher decided to include the participant in the actual sample. It is an assumption that a father is always biological. A father can be anyone who takes on the role in relation to children and families (Richter & Morrell, 2006).

It was also advertised that potential participants needed to be living with the mother of their child or children who was also employed (i.e. full-time, part-time, self-employed, formally or informally) and who also was receiving an income (i.e. from salaries, investments, pensions, grants). At the time of the interview it was disclosed by one participant that his wife recently became unemployed. Considering the effort involved in arranging the interview the researcher decided to continue with the interview. However, the interview data was not included in the analysis.

Non-probability sampling was used to reach the participants in this study. Non-probability sampling is a way of sampling where the samples are gathered in a process that does not give all the individuals in the population equal chances of being selected (Morgan & Sklar, 2012; Neuman, 2000). The participants in a non-probability sample are usually selected on the basis of their accessibility or by the purposive judgment of the researcher.

The sampling method used in this study was purposive and then snowball sampling. Purposive sampling attempts to only reach possible cases that fit a particular criteria (Neuman, 2000). This meant that the research aimed to reach participants that met the inclusion criteria. Snowball sampling attempts to reach participants from a network of people (Neuman, 2000). It

starts with reaching one person and spreads out to other people based on the referral from the initial case or links to the initial case. Purposive sampling and snowball sampling were used as complementary sampling methods. After reaching participants who were interested to participate and met the inclusion criteria, snowball sampling was used as a complementary method in order to reach more participants from similar backgrounds.

An advert for participation in the study (Appendix B) was advertised on social media such as Facebook and distributed to the researchers' personal networks for further dissemination. There were no participants reached through the advertisement on Facebook and participants came from referrals from the researchers' personal networks. Members of the researchers' personal networks referred the researcher to members of their personal networks that they identified as suitable for participation in the study. The researcher contacted the referrals and determined if they were suitable for participation based on the characteristics of the target group. Thereafter interviews were arranged with suitable referrals.

The sample size of the study was four. Consideration for the sample size is in line with the assumptions of interpretivist and constructionist research paradigms as well as phenomenological research designs. For interpretivist and constructionist paradigms and phenomenological research designs three to six participants are acceptable (Smith & Eatough, 2007). These research paradigms and research designs aim to gain in-depth insight into the lives of participants using methods which allow close interaction with participants. The sample was four because it was easier to study each case intensively as each one case generated large amounts of information (Curtis, Gesler, Smith, & Washburn, 2000).

3.4.2 Research setting

This study was conducted in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is located in the Gauteng Province of South Africa. It is the largest city in South Africa, and the provincial capital of Gauteng, the wealthiest province in South Africa (Municipalities of South Africa, 2018).

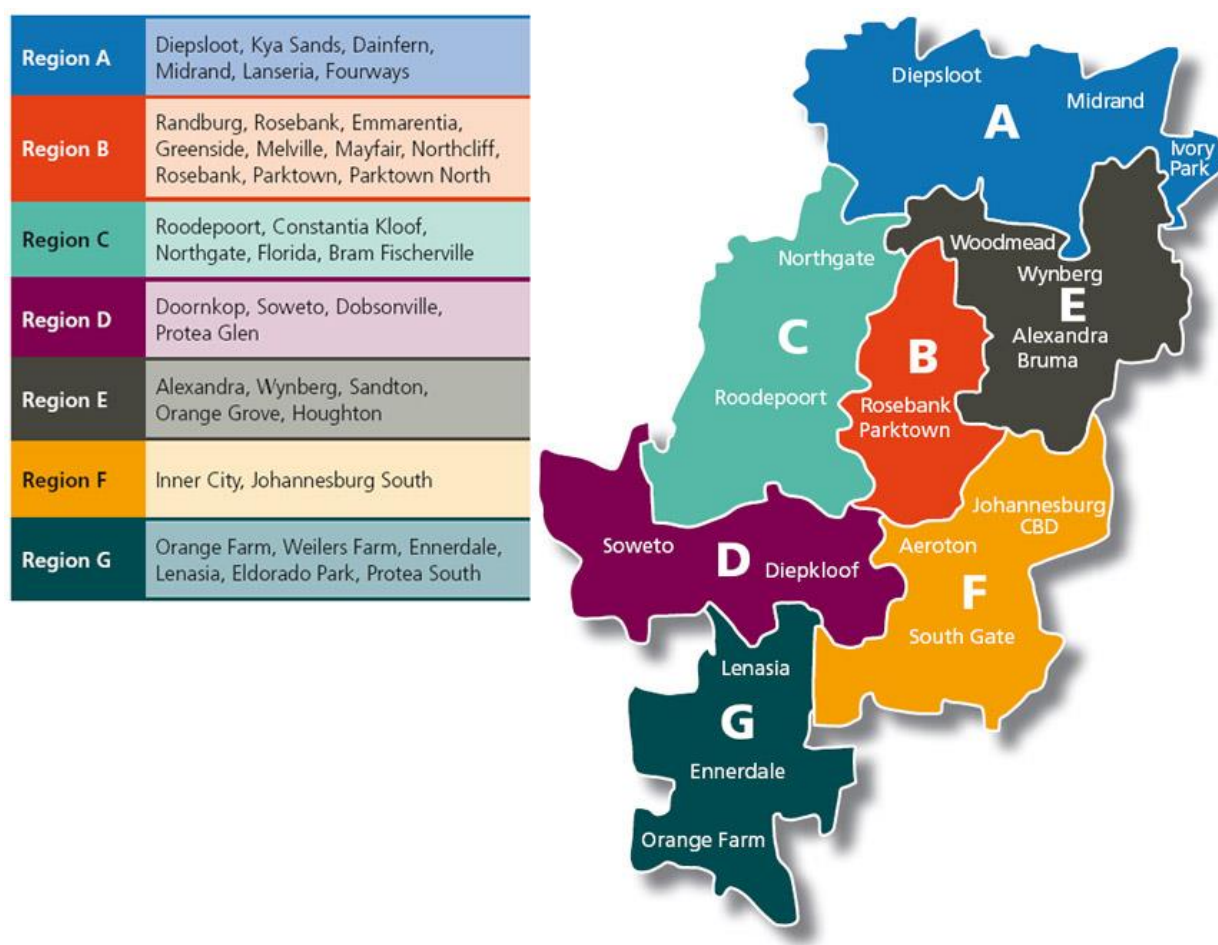


Figure 3. Map depicting the regions of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is divided into 11 regions in order to expedite services for the city.

The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality has a total population of 4,9 million inhabitants of which 80,6% are Black African, 8,8% are White people, 6,3% are Coloured people, and 4,4% are Indian/Asian. Of those 20 years and older 6,3% have completed primary school, 76,1% have some secondary education, 10,8% have some form of higher education, and 6,8% of those aged 20 years and older have no form of schooling (Statistics South Africa, 2018). There are 1 853 371 households in the municipality with an average household size of 2,7 persons per household. 60,3% of households have access to piped water, 31,8% have water in their yard and only 0,2% of households do not have access piped water (Statistics South Africa, 2018). There are 2 261 490 economically active people in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality; of these 25% are unemployed. Of the 1 228 666 economically active youth (15–35 years) in the area, 31, 5% are unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

The four participants each stayed in various areas within the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Samuel stayed in the Roodepoort area. Roodepoort has a total population of 326 416 with 109 707 households. Of those 20 years and older 29,7% have some form of higher education. In terms of access to services, 80,2% have access to piped water inside dwelling, 88,3% have electricity for lighting and 87,3% have access to a flush toilet connected to sewerage (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

Adrian and Sean stayed in the central Eastern suburbs of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality and Michael stayed in the central Southern suburbs. These suburbs all form part of the Johannesburg urban area within the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Johannesburg has a total population of 957 441 with 300 199 households. Of those 20 years and older 21,7% have some form of higher education. In terms of access to services,

84,8% have access to piped water inside dwelling, 95,4% have electricity for lighting and 94,2% have access to a flush toilet connected to sewerage (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

3.4.3 Instrument and data collection

The data collection instrument of the study needed to reflect the assumptions of the research paradigm, research approach and research design. As such one on one interviews were selected as the data collection method for the study. Interviews were considered to be an appropriate data collection method because they allow for close interaction with the participants. Close interaction with the participants in the form of an interview will generate descriptive information that will enable description of the participants' lived experiences (Seabi, 2012).

Semi-structured interviews were the type of interviews used for the study. This type of interview consist of a flexible schedule of questions (Seabi, 2012) . This type of interview was considered appropriate because for the participant it mimics a conversation from everyday life. This is intended to feel natural and therefore make the participant feel safe and comfortable to talk about their personal experiences of fatherhood in a dual earner family. For the researcher the light structure allowed the researcher to explore the participant's experiences in some detail without losing focus of the goal of the interview. This method of data collection also allowed the participant to express themselves in their own words which was central to data collection in phenomenological research designs (Greenstein, Roberts, & Sitas, 2003).

The interview guide (Appendix A) was designed in a way that relates to the research objectives of the study. The design of the interview schedule distinguished between content mapping and content mining questions. Content mapping questions are designed to identify the

dimensions of issues that are relevant to the participant. Content mining questions are questions that are designed to explore the detail uncovered in each dimension. This is to ensure an in-depth understanding as far as possible (Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003).

For example, the interview began by asking the participant to reflect on when they first found out that they would become a father. This widely framed question was designed to get the participant to open up to the subject of fatherhood and raise experiences that are most relevant to them. Their responses to the question generally formed a list of other dimensions of fatherhood such as childcare and relationships with young children. These dimensions of fatherhood are followed up by probe questions to obtain a full description of the participant's experiences of fatherhood. Probes were used during the interview as content mining questions.

The probes were different for each interview and varied according to what the participant talked about in relation to the main research question. For example some probes were used to amplify information and encourage the participant to elaborate more (Legard et al., 2003). This was important for obtaining rich descriptions of experiences. Exploratory probes were used to discover the feelings that underlie the descriptions of the experiences as reported by the participants. These questions were used in the interviews to help uncover the meaning held by the participants of the experiences shared (Legard et al., 2003).

Interviews were conducted in English and audio-recorded and transcribed into English text. Two of the four participants were first language English speakers and two were second language English speakers. One second language speaker had difficulty expressing himself in English. This was noted in the transcript at times when he could not find the appropriate English

word to accurately express his feelings. This could be attributed to the difference in length of the interview compared to participants who were first language English speakers.

The average length of the interviews was 49 minutes long. The interviews were conducted in various locations with each of the participants. The first interview was conducted at the workplace of the participant in his office. The second interview was conducted at a coffee shop. Transcribing this interview was difficult due to ambient sounds in the restaurant, although this did not affect the rapport between the interviewer and interviewee at the time of the interview. The third interview was conducted at the home of the participants. This interview took place in his dining room while his wife and child were in the other room. The researcher found this potentially distracting as the wife would frequently pass the room where the interview was taking place. The researcher noted that the presence of the participant's wife may have influenced his responses to interview questions. These conditions could also be attributed to the variances in the duration of the interviews amongst the four participants. The last interview was conducted at a café at the University of the Witwatersrand. While transcribing this interview the researcher experienced the same difficulty hearing the recording due to ambient sounds from the immediate environment.

3.4.4 Procedure and data management

A total of four interviews were conducted (i.e. one with each participant). Two of the interviews were each approximately 60 minutes long, and the other two interviews were each approximately 37 minutes long. The average duration of the interviews was 45 minutes long. The date and time for the interviews were agreed upon by the participant and researcher. One of the

interviews was conducted at the home of the participant. Another interview was conducted at the office of the participant. The remaining two interviews were conducted in public spaces; one at a café and the other at the University of the Witwatersrand. The participants were provided with a participation information sheet (Appendix C), which provided details about the study and their participation in the study. With signed informed consent (Appendix D) from the participant the interviews were audio recorded using the researcher's mobile phone.

The audio recorded interview was transcribed by the researcher in a play script style. The audio recorded interviews were transferred from the researcher's mobile phone to the researcher's personal password protected laptop computer. The audio was played back and typed into a Microsoft Word document. The document contained the pseudonyms of the participant, the date of the interview and the date of the transcription. The participants' real names were replaced with pseudonyms created by the participants themselves with the exception of one participant where the researcher assigned a pseudonym. The names of people and places mentioned in the interview such as parents, siblings, children and places of work were also replaced with pseudonyms created by the researcher.

Table 3
Interview data transcription details

Interviewee pseudonym	Place of interview	Date of interview	Date of transcription	Duration of interview
Adrian Nel	Primrose	17 October 2015	21 October 2015	37:47
Samuel James	Richmond	15 July 2015	26 August 2015	1:07:15
Sean Davids	Braamfontein	3 November 2015	10 November 2015	37:56
Michael Thiyane	Eastgate	18 September 2015	22 September 2015	1:07:08

3.4.5 Data analysis

Interpretive phenomenological analysis was used to analyse interview data. Interpretive phenomenological analysis is a method of analysis that seeks to offer insights into how a given person, in a given context, makes sense of a given phenomenon (Frost, 2011; Langdridge, 2007; Yin, 2010). In relation to the study, interpretive phenomenological analysis seeks to offer insights into how a young father in a dual earner family makes sense of the experience of fatherhood.

These insights are produced by an interpretive activity called a double hermeneutic. This is explained as the researcher trying to make sense of the sense-making activities of the participant (Langdridge, 2007; Smith & Eatough, 2007). Interview data was coded and analysed using a method of interpretative phenomenological analysis outlined by Forrester (2010). This method described extracting descriptive summaries, initial interpretations, initial themes and final themes from raw interview data. Analysis took place by the researcher reading each interview question and the associated interviewee response. For each question and response the researcher posed the following questions:

- What are the issues being identified?
- What events are being relayed?
- What feelings are expressed?

From these questions the researcher assumed the feelings of the participant based on their responses. This action produced descriptive summaries which were related the participant's emotions to the research question to arrive at how they help understand the experience of fatherhood in a dual earner family. Each transcript was also shared with the study supervisor.

The study supervisor also provided initial interpretations of the same transcripts. All the initial interpretations were grouped into initial themes and final themes and presented in the findings section of the dissertation. A worked example of interpretative phenomenological analysis is displayed in the table below.

Table 4

An example of interpretative phenomenological analysis

Researcher and participant names	Interview questions and responses	Descriptive summaries	Initial interpretations	Initial theme	Final theme
Che Kelly	<i>So tell me more about her and your relationship with the child? What is that like?</i>	1. His relationship with his child as a stepfather. 2. He expresses how she 'bullies' him and he lets her do almost anything. 3. He feels like they have a great relationship and she recognises him as her father.	It appears that his relationship with his daughter is a different than a biological father-daughter relationship. Perhaps this is because he is her stepfather; he lets her have certain freedoms because he does not feel like being a disciplinarian or give punishment because she is not his biological child. His role then is more to look after her and play with her.	Being a stepfather is like being a 'second father'.	Becoming a stepfather.
Michael Thiyane	Well with regard to her she loves me. She said it a couple of times. She does regard me as her second father. She does know who her [biological] father is. She even told him: 'I have got two daddies, you and Michael'. We cool, like I say I get bullied. I don't do corporal punishment, so she knows with me she will get away.				

3.5 Ethical considerations

An ethics clearance certificate was issued by the Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) at the University of the Witwatersrand for the study (Appendix E). In line with the research paradigms of the study and its associated research approach, research design and research methods the researcher had to interact personally with the participants. These interactions raised the following ethical concerns.

Miles and Huberman (1994), have listed several matters that researchers should consider when collecting and analysing data. These concerns involved the following: informed consent, harm and risk, honesty and trust, privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity, intervention and advocacy. In light of these matters the following ethical considerations have been addressed in the following ways.

The participants had full knowledge of what was involved by participation in the study. This was communicated to the participants through a participant information sheet. The details of the participation sheet were discussed in person with the participant at the time of the interview. The participant was also given a copy of the participant information sheet. Consent for participation and recording was negotiated before commencing with the interview. This was communicated to the participants through the informed consent sheet. The informed consent sheet was explained in person with the participant. All participants gave signed consent to participate in the study and are fully aware that participation in this study meant that they were to be interviewed, have their responses audio-recorded, transcribed, and shared with the study supervisor and included in the dissertation.

It was assumed that that the study did not pose any harm or risk to the participants and the researcher guaranteed the participants that participation in the study would not cause any physical or psychological harm. In relation to honesty and trust the researcher was truthful in

presenting the data in the dissertation. The interview data presented in the dissertation can be cross referenced with the interview audio recordings and transcripts. The audio recordings and interview transcripts are safely stored on the researcher's password protected personal laptop computer and are available upon request.

In relation to privacy, confidentiality and anonymity, the researcher adhered to ethical guidelines for conducting research as far as possible. Privacy and confidentiality could not be totally guaranteed as the researcher had to share the interview transcripts with the study supervisor. However, the participants were made aware of this in the participant information sheet and consent sheet, where signed consent was given to share the interview transcripts with the study supervisor. The audio recordings and transcripts are stored securely on the researcher's password protected personal laptop computer. The audio recordings were only listened to by the researcher for the purposes of transcription. Anonymity was guaranteed by removing all identifying information from the transcripts, such as the participants' real names, real names of their children, partners, family members and workplaces.

In relation to voluntary participation it was made clear to the participants in the participation information sheet that participation in the study was completely voluntary and they could withdraw from the study at any point. No participants were coerced to participate and no participants withdrew from the study.

3.6 Ensuring methodological rigour

In light of the interpretivist and constructionist research paradigms that guided this study, positivist measures of reliability and validity cannot be addressed in the study. Instead

credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability of the study were established by employing the following procedures to increase trustworthiness of the study.

The credibility or the truth value of the study refers to the extent to which the study demonstrates that a true picture of the phenomenon under study has been presented (Rudestam & Newton, 2014; Shenton, 2004). To ensure that a true picture of the experience of fatherhood in a dual earner family was presented the following measures were taken. Well established research methods were used in the study. The methods used in the study were non-probability sampling, one on one interviews and interpretive phenomenological analysis. These methods were derived from those that have been successfully utilised in previous studies.

Peer debriefing sessions were held which included the researcher, the study supervisor and the research team. Through presentation and discussion in these meetings the vision of the researcher was widened as team members contributed insights about the study (Rudestam & Newton, 2014; Shenton, 2004). The meetings also provided the researcher the opportunity to evaluate ideas and interpretations about the study and identify researcher bias. The researcher is a member of the Father Connections research team in the Department of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. The research team is led by this study's supervisor, Professor Mzikazi Nduna and is made up of researchers, academics and postgraduate students who all have a common interest in research about fatherhood. The research team is affiliated with the DST-NRF Centre of Excellence in Human Development at the University of the Witwatersrand (<https://www.wits.ac.za/coe-human>).

It is advised that researchers should seek out opportunities for academic enrichment and scrutiny from peers and academics (Shenton, 2004). In light of this the study was presented at the 5th Southern African Psychology Students Conference

(<https://sites.google.com/site/studentpsychologyconference/>). The experience of presenting at the conference offered the researcher the opportunity to refine the methods and research design of the study based on comments from the audience.

Providing thick description of the phenomenon under study was also a measure taken to promote credibility. Providing detailed accounts of the experiences of participants helped to convey the actual situations that have been studied. Providing these descriptions helped the reader determine the extent to which the findings convey a truth value. In relation to this an examination of previous research findings from similar studies were provided in the discussion in order to assess the degree to which the study's findings were congruent with those of past studies.

Appropriateness of data as a means to ensure trustworthiness refers to the extent to which data has been purposefully sampled and chosen in order to meet the needs of the study. As such purposive sampling was used in the study to reach participants with specific experiences that are in line with the objectives of the study. An audit trail or a record of the process of the study was documented. This included raw data in the form of interview transcripts. Evidence of how the interview data was analysed in the form of a spread sheet which detailed the analytic processes of extracting descriptive summaries and initial interpretations from raw data.

3.7 Researcher's positionality

In qualitative research it is agreed that 'the researcher is an instrument'. This means that "the researcher is as much a part of the inquiry as the intent of the study and the inquiry process" (Piantanida & Garman, 1999, p. 24). This refers to the researcher's own

experiences, intellectual concerns and assumptions about the phenomenon under study and the way these subjectivities influence the research process.

In terms of the researchers relationship to the study and the participants the researcher identified as an insider and an outsider. The researcher was an outsider in terms of not being a father, but the researcher was an insider in terms of also being a male. In terms of being an insider it was identified that during data analysis there was a tendency for the researcher to view the participants' experiences in an uncritical manner. It was identified that the researcher would take fathers participation in childcare and housework at face value. This disregarded the reality of uneven division of labour even in dual earner families where fathers participate in childcare and housework. This was addressed by sharing the interview data and analysis with the study supervisor who offered a different view of the participants' experiences as she did not relate to the participants along these lines.

The fact that the researcher was an outsider also contributed to the researcher sometimes viewing the participants' experiences with extreme critical suspicion. At times the researcher would regard the participant's experiences of equitably and equally spending of their family income with suspicion. This resulted in the researcher developing a fear of misrepresenting the experiences of the participants' and being too judgemental and punitive. This was addressed through presenting study findings and extracts of interview data at peer debriefing sessions.

The researcher's age and relationship status in relation to the participants' age and relationship status sometimes influenced the interaction between the researcher and participants. It was identified that the researcher felt inexperienced to discuss some experiences of fatherhood and family life with all participants because the researcher was not

married or had children like the participants. In terms of age, the researcher felt relatively inexperienced to participants who were older than the researcher.

It was also identified that the participants consciously attempted to present progressive attitudes towards fatherhood. For instance, sometimes the participants would share some of their thoughts on the new fatherhood discourse even if they did not match their actual experiences of fatherhood. Even though the researcher attempted to design the interview questions to represent a neutral line of questioning about the experiences of fatherhood it was identified that participants believed the researcher was only interested to collect experiences that were considered desirable or ‘good’ behaviours.

3.8 Chapter summary

In summary, this chapter explained that the research paradigms which informed this study were interpretivism and constructionism. Complementary to these paradigms a qualitative approach and phenomenological study design was employed in the study. In order to reach participants for the study snowball and purposive sampling techniques were employed. The actual sample included four participants. The research took place in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Data was collected from the participants using a semi-structured interview guide. Interview data was analysed using interpretive phenomenological analysis. Ethics clearance was granted before the study commenced and precautions were taken to conduct the study ethically.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

This study explored what are the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families. The aim of this study was to explore young father's subjective experiences of fatherhood in a family where both parents work outside the home to earn an income. The objectives of this study were to explore how young fathers experience fatherhood in a dual earner family and to explore how having a partner that works to earn an income influences father's experience of fatherhood.

This chapter presents the findings from the study. In line with the idiographic approach of the study the findings from each participant are presented in isolation and in the form of a narrative account.

4.1 Samuel

The findings presented in the following section were from an interview with a study participant named Samuel James. At the time of the interview, Samuel was 30 years old and was living with his wife and their two daughters who were one and six years old. They all lived together in the Western suburbs of Johannesburg. Samuel worked as a marketing manager and his wife worked as a human resources recruiter. Samuel's experiences are presented through five themes: the nature of a dual earner family, money and fatherhood; father presence; father involvement and gender and fatherhood.

4.1.1 The nature of a dual earner family

This theme will present the basic features of fatherhood in a dual earner family namely: the normalisation of the dual earner family, the convenience of the dual earner family and financial contributions in a dual-income family.

4.1.1.1 *The normalisation of the dual earner family*

The dual earner family is different from single earner families because both parents receive an income. Even though these families appeared to be different from single earner families along these lines, Samuel believed that his family was normal and not much different from other families in South Africa. He described his family in the following ways:

I'm married with a fairly sized big house. I got two kids and drive nice car. You know? Living a normal life...It's a normal family; I mean we both go to work, which is supposed to be normal in South Africa but not all the time. The kids are in school, we have a helper at home. We try not to eat the most lavish of suppers and lunches and things, just the normal...We try and live a modest life but also comfortable, we don't want to be seen as if we are in poverty, and you also don't want to be a rich billionaire but you just want to be comfortable. For me being comfortable is there is hot water, the lights are on, the house is secure, we got the alarm system going on and we can walk into the house now and literally do whatever you feel like, that makes you comfortable.

Being married is one reason why Samuel considers his family normal. This experience can be related to notion of the marriage-procreation bond. The marriage-procreation bond contends that marriage is a stable foundation that meets children's needs (Morison & Macleod, 2015). It is from being married that they are able to provide food, shelter, security, water and electricity for their family and live a 'normal' life. This did not represent the actual types of families in South Africa, but it rather represented the ideal of what a normal family should be in South Africa. Another ideal that was put forward was one that states unless you were wealthy it was very difficult to have a 'normal' family. Otherwise, both parents had to work to be comfortable. This meant that it was normal for a mother and a father to be both working because it was expensive to raise a family in South Africa. The idea

was that being in a dual earner family helped people access a comfortable lifestyle. Samuel attested that:

A normal thing is that you would see a household where both parents should work. And the reason why both parents should work is because the cost of living in South Africa is expensive. But you understand that most of the time some families are more fortunate where one can go and work and the other one can stay at home. And most of the time it's the male because that's how things are always done. If you are a huge CEO and you can afford your wife to stay at home and go to yoga during the middle of the day and pick up the kids and the like, that's fine. But how many CEO's are there within a company, you actually have to be workers in that company. And the majority of the workers in that company should be going to work.

Samuel expanded on the idea that a dual earner family is normal in South Africa. It is only normal because he believed that the cost of living is expensive, as such two incomes are better than one. Even though there are other benefits of being in a dual earner family such as shared parenting, the idea put forward here was that a single earner family is preferred. This idea was brought forward by Samuel mentioning that if a family was fortunate, then one parent could work and that was traditionally the father. The word fortunate denoted that the arrangement where the father worked was preferred and was desirable compared to the unfortunate family where both parents had to work.

A single earner family can only happen under certain conditions. The father must be wealthy in order to be the sole provider. This is the ideal of fatherhood, and the dual earner situation has only become normal because of the reality of costs associated with having a family and children, therefore it becomes normal. It is contended that being in a dual earner family is only a means to an end. It aids fathers to reach masculine ideals, such as being the sole provider. It is only acceptable and normal to have a mother that works when the father is

not wealthy enough to be a sole provider. It follows that if a father is wealthy enough to be a sole provider then there is no other utility for a mother to work.

This contention is in line with research about the occurrence of masculine overcompensation. This asserts that men react to masculinity threats, such as not being wealthy enough to be a sole provider, with overcompensated behaviour such as extreme demonstrations of masculinity such as aggressiveness, multiple sexual relationships and dominant behaviours (Cheryan, Cameron, Katagiri, & Monin, 2015; Willer, Rogalin, Conlon, & Wojnowicz, 2013). Although this finding is in line with research it also opposes findings about male overcompensated behaviour. Over compensated behaviours are not always extreme or overt. For example fathers ‘allowing’ mothers to work to assist them support their families is a form of covert dominance over mothers. Father’s rationalise this as a benefit to mothers, but it is found to be a benefit to the father in reaching his masculine ideals of single provider fatherhood.

4.1.1.2 The convenience of the dual earner family

Another basic feature of the dual earner family was the fact that it was convenient.

This was well suited to Samuel’s needs. He reckoned:

It’s easy if we both work, and there is more income within the household, as it is tough [already] just with both of our incomes trying to make [it]. Some days there’s good days because I earn commission, so some months are very good, and others are really, really tight, and we [are] like ‘look, we have to live off your credit card for this month’ and we will make a plan next month to try and sort that out. But it’s easier if she works and it keeps her occupied...You don’t want it to be a case of literally living from hand to mouth. It makes life easier if we both work.

From this extract it was understood that it was convenient to have a dual earner family because it made living together easy. This meant that on a monthly basis they did not have to struggle to meet the financial and material needs of their family because they had two incomes. This arrangement was convenient in relation to Samuel and what he believed to be the needs for his family. This extract confirmed the assertion that mother's employment assists fathers in reaching their masculine ideals of provider fatherhood. However, the family was made up of other members who may have had different needs. As such the convenience of this type of arrangement should also be considered in relation to his wife and children. Samuel shared that he believed this arrangement was convenient for his wife because:

Look, for me my wife must work so she doesn't get up to crap when she is at home. That's how I feel, it's like if you're not working and your mind is not busy during the day, you find other things to occupy yourself that could cause problems within the household. I have a fear of that and by her working it means that she will also become independent and she can also go and buy herself a heel and stuff and feel good about herself, make herself pretty and feel good. That helps me, happy wife, happy life, if she's happy and she's got her own money and she's got her own car, and she pays for her own things, great. I will support her by throwing in as much money as I can, but the fact that she feels independent and that she does have independence it just makes the household easier.

This extract raises the point that housework is not considered 'work'. It is considered such simple work that mother's will have time left over. This makes them prone to being idle and increases the possibility finding other things to do that could possibly cause problems in the household. This fear that stay at home mothers are idle and more likely to 'misbehave' can be considered a threat to the masculine ideal of the dutiful and faithful wife. Therefore in this scenario mother's work outside the home is considered acceptable. It is rationalised that

this is the reason for mothers work outside the home. Mother's work in this case is just to pass time and occupy them so that they avoid getting into trouble. Therefore mother's work in a dual earner family is a benefit to a father as it eases his fear of a misbehaving wife, and the family has extra income.

This extract also raises the point that mother's income from work outside the home is also not entirely considered valuable. It was rationalised that the reason his wife works is because she wants to feel independent. If she is independent she can rely on herself to buy material goods such as shoes. This suggests that in relation to father's income, mother income is not considered to make an important contribution.

Apart from a dual earner family being convenient for Samuel in terms of easily meeting financial needs. It was also convenient for him because he believed that it satisfied his wife's material needs. He believed that earning wages meant financial independence and this meant gratification. He believed that earning and income made her feel satisfied which in turn made him feel satisfied. He shared why he believed his wife wanted to work:

It has to be obviously because she doesn't want to be dependent on me and she also wants to have that independence and be her own woman...But generally, it's obviously because she wants to feel as if you own stuff, you want to be part of society, and you want to be part of the household. You want to be a part of that whole group at home.

In contrast to the preceding extract this extract reflected an understanding that the reason his wife wanted to work was not only to be able to be independent so that she can buy material goods but also to feel a part of society. A dual earner family offered benefits and convenience in two ways. First, the idea of being in a family which received two incomes satisfied the collective material and financial needs of the family. For example, the need for food and shelter were satisfied collaboratively. This was convenient and beneficial for everyone on the family.

It is stressful if there is only one stream of income because we all now depend on that stream of income. Let's just say something happens and then that one stream of income stops, you're kind of screwed. At least with us, there are two [incomes] so if I had to ever say look, they retrenching here I need to now look for work, I can easily come out and start looking and we can try and live on her salary for the time being. But you rather have one thousand rand than no thousand rand...So it's like there are the two sources of income, we are a family and this is what we do for our kids. My portion might be 20% her portion might be 80% or the other way around but the fact is that we do this jointly and that is what we speak about.

Dual earner families also offered benefits and convenience for the parents in the family. As the father, Samuel felt satisfied that he was able to meet the needs of his family. Samuel also believed that his wife felt satisfied that she was able to work and feel financially independent from her husband. The individual benefits outweighed the collective benefits because the main reason they were in a dual earner family was to meet the needs of the family together.

4.1.1.3 Financial contributions in a dual earner family

The key feature of a dual-income family was that there are two streams of income. Samuel had mentioned that the idea behind this is that with two streams of income there was more money available to meet his family's needs easily. This section will present the way in which Samuel and his wife shared their financial contributions in their family. Samuel said in their case:

The wife and I, we put everything into one pot and we split it off there and we say look, there is 'x' amount left what do we do with it? Should we put a pool fence, put up [surveillance] cameras, should we go on holiday? Or should we just stash it? What do

we do? Then we like that one needs clothes, and that one needs shoes-it's easier to manage.

The idea of meeting the family's needs through collaboration was carried through in this extract. This presented one model of financial contribution in a dual earner family. In relation to other participants it will be discussed how different dual earner families adopt different ways of contributing financially to the family.

4.1.2 Money and fatherhood

This theme will present findings about the relationship between access to employment, money and the experience of fatherhood.

4.1.2.1 Access to employment and the experience of fatherhood

When Samuel first found out that he would be a father he mentioned that:

It was a bit shocking at frists. But throughout the whole pregnancy I thought, 'you know what? This is one of those things that happen. We will wait for the baby to arrive and things will fall into place'...I just took each day as it came. I didn't plan in advance...I was never worried about the providing side, I just said, 'you know what, it will come into place'.

Through these expressions it was identified that Samuel held a positive outlook that he would be able to meet the requirements of fatherhood. This was because he knew that he was working and had a job which enabled him to look after his child at least materially.

Because of being in this position Samuel felt capable to look after a child. He mentioned that:

I was never worried about the providing side...there is the pressure financially, it is a bigger strain. You have kids, you become broke very fast. I'm fortunate enough in that

I'm sales driven so I'm like look there is another mouth opening up I have got to work extra hard in order for that mouth to be fed so for me it was just a case of I always look at what needs to be done and I go out and I do it.

Being able to work was a good thing for Samuel because it made him feel like he could be a good provider and this means that he could be a good father. This extract also revealed that along with being a good financial provider a father must also be goal driven. As much as working was helpful for being a 'good father', working also presented some challenges to being a 'good father'. He explained that:

It's being there and not being overly committed to work, because there are tendencies and times where I would have to work late and the rest, but I always try and make sure that work is work, and when I get home, it's home time. I always have my cell phone on, my emails are on my phone so I always have access to work 24 hours. Even if we go on holiday, like I can see work coming through but I don't let that interfere with family time.

This described the challenges to father presence in a family where both parents work. Being employed allowed Samuel to feel capable of looking after his children. This feeling in turn possibly influenced Samuel's conviction to remain present in the lives of his children. At the same time his ability to work also influenced his presence in his family in terms of the quantity and quality of his presence. This experience is known as work-family conflict, it is defined as inter-role conflict where the roles pressure from work and family domains are discordant (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). As he explained, sometimes working too much affected the amount of time spent with his children therefore affecting his presence in his family. The section that follows will present findings related to father presence.

4.1.3 Father presence

This section discusses physical presence, emotional closeness and the quality of father presence.

4.1.3.1 *Physical presence engenders emotional closeness*

In the following extract Samuel presented his most notable experiences of being present in his family. These experiences indicated how his physical presence in his family encouraged relationship building between himself and his daughter. It also indicates how being present influenced the way he thought about himself as a father who is more than just a good provider.

For Terry (his eldest daughter) there was a stage where she was really, really sick and [she was] in hospital a lot...And you must know now there you really want to be a father and be there for your child because she looks at you and she's in hospital and she got drips and everything and all you can do is be there. But you can't...you're helpless; you make sure that the medical aid is paid so that you can be in that hospital. There you are a helpless dad [and] your child is sick and knowing that your child could die. And that is one [experience] that you know sticks out for me. Because you know, as much as you want to be a dad, there is just so much that you can actually do.

Samuel felt overwhelmed with feelings of hopelessness despite doing all that he felt he could do such as paying medical bills. From this experience it stood out for Samuel that apart from being a good financial provider the only other things he could do was to 'be there' for his daughter. During that experience he reflected how just being physically present with her as much as possible in the hospital was important for him and for her. The experience also allowed him to reflect on his role as a father in his family, what it meant for him to be a father and the value of having his daughter.

There are all these small points where she comes with a drawing and says to me, 'look I drew you this and I drew you that' ...and that makes you feel happy and makes you feel proud. You look at this picture and you get a warm fuzzy feeling and only you know about it [laughs and smiles] and that is awesome and I enjoy that. She will wake up in the morning and just her smile and saying 'morning daddy, how are you? Love you.' Our thing is always 'I love you more, I love you even more'. Unless you are a father, you would never understand, and you would never know. But it's that warm fuzzy feeling, and it feels good. It doesn't make me feel any less of a man when my daughter comes in and she's smiling and we are happy and we are playing. In fact it makes you feel anything but, so you feel like a real man if you can have a relationship.

It would seem that being physically present with his daughters allowed Samuel to foster emotional closeness and warmth with them.

So Terry is six years old and Tammy is the youngest now, she is one year and a half. With Terry she was more of the family child. She would go to all the brothers and all my sisters and spend time with the granny's. I mean on a Saturday literally you wake up and she's 4 years old and she's got a date. She's going to the movies, she's going to the mall or she's doing this. So she was always out but, night time was like our time. We played a lot. I enjoyed playing with her even if I sat in the lounge with her and played Barbie's. That was cool, that was fun and we like watching TV together. Today, we still, when we get home and we check Explora (Dstv) and we try and see what's new, so like if there's Ricky, Dicky and Dawn [children's TV programme] that's our time. We sit on the couch and watch that. Terry enjoys it, she lies next to me and that's our time. Probably not the best interactive relationship, but it's that sense of bonding and being together.

This extract reflects Samuel's experience of his relationship with his first daughter. It was found that being physically present and available meant that he had more opportunities to engage in activities such as playing with dolls and watching TV. Even though he was involved in the life of his daughter, he self-identified that he thought his involvement was not the best it could be. This reflection highlighted the difference between father presence and father involvement and pointed to the quality of the presence.

Tammy (Samuels's younger daughter), wow! She is literally stuck on my hip. She cries when she sees me leave, she gets excited when she sees me there. It is so much so that there can be a room full of family and she will work her way to me. She will pass the granny, pass the uncle, and pass my wife. She just wants to stretch for me and she is like stuck on me. It is not a problem as such but when you get home you must know that there is always going to be somebody clinched to you so you must learn to make a cup of tea and try to reconnect the Dstv because some of the wires got disconnected, get ready for work, plan for gym, and all of that with someone on your side.

It was found that the relationship with his youngest daughter explained how his physical presence prompted emotional closeness. His daughter had an attachment to him that was strengthened by his physical presence. The age may have also influenced the emotional closeness as his older daughter tended to be more autonomous and independent and therefore required a different type of relationship and closeness with her father. His younger daughter was less autonomous and more reliant on support from him and therefore physical closeness was very important for her to facilitate emotional closeness. He explained how through these experiences of being present in his family he developed a different understanding of his role as a father in his family. He explained that for him:

The cliché is everybody says oh you're the provider of the family, but it is not just providing in a sense of financial support. It is being there emotionally and being there

for your kids so I mean it's a tall order to roll around on the grass after work and you try and jump on the trampoline and I am up for that, I have no problems with sort of thing.

For Samuel, it was a cliché that the role of a father in a family is to only be a provider. Even though this idea could be considered a stereotype it is still a commonly held ideal in many families. For example, even in Samuel's dual earner family he held the view that he was a provider even though his wife is also a provider. In this instance it appeared that the presence of a partner that is also a financial provider did not take away from Samuel's feeling that he was the provider. The presence of another provider in the family did not threaten his role as a provider for his family; instead it encouraged him to explore other parts of the role of a father in a family.

For example, Samuel shared that apart from being a financial provider, providing also meant providing emotional support. This could be because of the nature of a dual earner family where mothers are also providers and fathers are also caregivers. This meant that gender roles for mothers and fathers are sometimes not strictly observed. For example, in a dual earner family it is common for mother to work; a role that was not normally designated for a mother. In the same way fathers are able to take on roles that are not usually assigned for fathers in family like caretaking (Bartley, Blanton, & Gilliard, 2005; Martínez et al., 2011). The experience of duality and collaboration in a dual earner family could perhaps encourage collaboration and duality in other areas of family life.

Another factor that could influence the relationship between physical presence and emotional closeness is the support received from extended family. This influenced the way Samuel experienced fatherhood and the way he related to his child. For example, Samuel received a lot of support from family in the form of relatives spending time with his child and

taking her on outings. She visited her relatives a lot. Even though this was presented as a good thing, it also affected the amount of time he had to spend with his daughter.

The relationship with his younger daughter was characterised by physical closeness. The essential part of the experience of developing a relationship with his daughters was centred on the experience of being physically present. Being physically present influenced him in a certain way and encouraged him and his daughters to bond and foster closeness as he mentioned. Even though he had little time to spend with his daughter because they have a lot of support from family and because he has to work late sometimes, the time that he does spend with them was important as it was his time to connect with them.

4.1.3.2 *Quality of father presence*

In the following extract Samuel described an average weekend with his family and how he shared his time with them.

The average weekend is...normally I got classes, so I go to lectures in the morning. I'll be back at like 12pm. By the time I get back we are at home and we doing stuff. Whether it's playing with Barbie's or watching TV. We get ready towards going to church at half past 5. That is one scenario.

Samuel has stated previously that he felt like the time he spent watching TV with his daughter may not be the best interactive time together. In these scenarios that he recalled it became apparent that he did other activities with his children and family besides watching TV.

But what we normally do is we try to be out and about all the time. So we try to be inside the house and we try and do activities such as playing with toys, tidying up toys or just being around the house watching Terry draw and Tammy run around. There are other scenarios where we could wake up on a Sunday go to church, but then if we up

on a Sunday morning then we have a Wimpy breakfast, not so expensive, R20 each. And then we doing something together and that's going to the mall, walking around. There is always going to the mall and that in itself is an activity, pushing a trolley and looking at all these shops. I would like to do more trips to like parks and stuff. But even know I mean winter time, you don't really want to leave the house. But summer time, Walter Sisulu is excellent, throw a blanket out and you sit back and relax with your cooler box and let the kids run wild and that again is an outing. Taking a drive to Hartebeespoort Dam, but again all of these things involve money.

Having money and access to money has an influence on the type of activities that Samuel engaged in with his family. Even though it was mentioned that it was expensive to be out all the time, he still did consider going out as an opportunity to spend time with his family.

So a typical day for us is most of the time, being with other family. Because our kids are the same age, if it's not at my house it will be at Tara's sister's house. She is very family orientated which is nice also because you kind of learn from other people's experiences. And you kind of like for instance, my sister's husband he is the type that is you know, 'man of the house' even though he doesn't work. He takes charge, and it's my house, my rules this is what you need to do, and if I let Terry sleep late he will say to me [that] is not allowed, you must get her in bed at half past eight. It's that sort of thing with talking experiences and hearing what their sorts of plans are making them work together.

It could be said that apart from merely being physically present, the key part of the experience of father presence is just being 'together' with everyone. This meant that doing things together is what creates opportunities for closeness and relationship building. It was understood that the content of some activities were believed to not be the most interactive but

the point was togetherness. This meant that the more time Samuel spent with his family the more he was able to learn about his family.

4.1.4 Father involvement

This section presents findings on father involvement. More specifically, this section discusses the relationship between father involvement and external support and work.

4.1.4.1 Father involvement and external support

It was found that the amount of support that Samuel had received from his family and domestic helper influenced his involvement in childcare. He explained his routine with his child as follows:

On an average day it starts at 12 o'clock at night because that is when Terry decides she wants milk. She still sleeps in our room, she sleeps in the cot but I sleep closest to her. My wife sleeps and she's flat out, she hears nothing. She does wake up every now and again to help but it's easier for me to wake up pass the bottle give it to her [the baby]. That's at 12 o'clock, 3 o'clock and then again at 6 o'clock. Then we are up and it's time to get ready for work.

He further mentioned that:

We now have a helper that's coming in to help us so it makes the mornings a little bit easier. Gayle [the helper] will come in and take turns, make sure that she [the baby] is changed and ready for school. The same thing with Terry [older daughter] she makes sure she brushes her teeth. That's what the helper has been helping with; otherwise it would be a shared responsibility between me and my wife. Whoever has the baby closest

to the sink, then you brush that one's teeth, brush that one's hair and we get done. With the help in the house it makes life a lot easier.

The fact that Samuel and his family had assistance in the form of a domestic helper may have influenced Samuels' inclination to be involved in childcare. This is because the work was shared between three people, Samuel, his wife and their helper. This made the load of the work less for each person and therefore more bearable. Even in this situation it was seen that they were able to meet multiple needs of the family through collaboration and sharing responsibility. In another instance the presence of the domestic helper could have discouraged Samuel from being involved because the task of childcare would have already been taken care of by the domestic helper. Because this is not the situation in this case, it was noted that perhaps the atmosphere of sharing and collaboration in the family encouraged Samuel to be more involved in childcare in the interest of fairness to everyone in the family. This understanding was reflected in the following passage:

Fortunately, I am not alone so I have my wife to share the responsibilities of giving them attention. Because they seek attention...you can't every five minutes tell them, go to your room, and go watch TV, go, go, go! You have to interact and it's something that [I am] lucky that there is two of us. It's like I will be with the kids and Tammy will be smoking or maybe she will be with supper. And then I'll go somewhere and she will maybe take the kids. Like I go to the gym, so we share the responsibility. It is a bit easier.

It was reflected that the support Samuel received from his wife also influenced the experience of his role as father in his family and thus his orientation to involvement in childcare and other areas family life. Samuel came to this assertion through comparing his life now to when he did not have any children and how being together with his wife helped him be more involved.

Growing up I mean when I was 19 in the motor industry and at 21 I had literally no responsibilities. You had a company car which was probably like a GTI or and Audi TT or something expensive. Didn't pay for the fuel, I had a one bedroom apartment and life was great. I had a girlfriend I could show off I was like a 'cheese boy' (privileged wealthy young man) it was okay you know. It was literally no responsibilities. Then fatherhood came in and slowly you saw the TT turn into a sedan and then car seats and then the nightlife-there was none. The social life was none. But I think it was easier because of my wife, because we were together. We used to club together and now we are 'babying' together sort of thing. So in that respect it was a lot easier. But I think for me it's like natural, so you go through it [becoming a father] and it evolves, it is just a natural sort of thing. Like you know that you must go home. It's like if he had kids it should be the norm that, that's just the route that you would go in, if that makes sense.

One part of Samuel's experience of being a father in a dual earner family was feeling supported from his wife. This was from the beginning of their journey into parenthood. He felt that they have always been supportive of each other by making decisions together about their lives. His positive experience of fatherhood in a dual earner family was influenced by the relationship with his wife and mother of his children. This also reflected the element of 'fairness' in a dual earner family. Samuel felt better at making sacrifices in his life as a single man to be a father because his wife also made sacrifices of her single life and they did it together.

4.2 Sean

The findings presented in the following section are from a study participant named Sean David. At the time of the interview, Sean was 30 years old and he was living with his wife and his child. They had been married for 2 years and their son was a year old. They all

lived together in the Eastern suburbs of Johannesburg. Sean worked as a sales representative and his wife worked as an administrator.

4.2.1 Being a father

The following section presents Sean's experiences of being a father in a dual earner family since his baby was born. Sean talked about the importance of feeling recognised as a father in his family. He also talked about father presence and the role of a father in his family. Sean concluded this section and talked about his experience of the fear of child care and how he came to understand that the roles of providing and protecting meant engaging in child care.

4.2.1.1 *Feeling recognised as a father*

Sean talked about some moments from his life as a father that made him feel at ease about being a father. He mentioned that:

It is great to be honest. Like when I come home after leaving for the day for work, or whatever and he sees me there is just this smile on his face. Obviously now he calls me 'dada' and that is probably the greatest name I have ever heard anyone call me. It makes you feel good about the whole fatherhood thing and it kinds of reassures you that you are doing something right because he would not react that way if he did not recognise me as his dad.

Because Sean's son responded positively to him when he returned from work he felt validated as father. This put his mind at ease about his concerns that he was not ready to be a father. The response from his son also influenced how he felt about the way he was enacting his role as a father in his family. If his son did not respond positively to him, it may have

meant that he was not doing his best to enact his role as a father and develop warm relations between father and son.

This was not the case for Sean despite his concern about working a lot and sometimes being away from home. For example, it has already been noted that working and making contributions was a key characteristic in a dual earner family. Working requires a father to be away from home. Being away from home because of work presented work-family conflict and challenges to developing good relations with children. Despite being away from home and his son because of work, his son still recognised him as his father. He was still able to foster warm relations with his son. Sean presented other ways that helped him develop warm relations with his son. This experience meant that for a father in a dual earner family the quantity of time spent with his child is less important compared to the quality of the time spent with him.

4.2.1.2 Being a present father

Sean talked about being a present father and how this had advantages for developing warm relations with his son. These advantages were not only for the child but also for the father. He said:

I think the one thing that I can say that just fascinates me the most is watching him grow and seeing him develop his own character. From how he reacts to certain things, to certain foods, to walking, crawling, to being very demanding at times. I think the fact that he is developing his own character and for me to just kind of chisel him in that. On a daily basis I always watch him. I always keep watch over him, so I get to know who he is as well as an individual. Obviously now, he is still a baby but it starts with the foundations you know.

Father presence was understood here as being physically present. According to Sean being a father that is physically present presented some opportunities to develop good relations with his son. For example, it was reported that being physically present provided the opportunity to get know his son's personality and build a relationship based on that. This kind of presence was not only spoken about in terms of the benefit for the child, but also in terms of the benefits that being physically present had for the father.

Being physically present meant that Sean was able to literally see the way that his son was growing up. This presented an advantage because this enabled Sean to shape his son's growing personality. This also presented the opportunity to develop a warm relationship between Sean and his son. The essential part of that experience as a father for Sean was being able to lead. This meant that Sean's role as a father in that position was to lead his son so that he grew up a certain way with certain personality characteristics.

4.2.1.3 The role of a father

At first Sean shared what he believed his wife thinks makes him a good father. These traits were: *"To be a protector, provider, a counsellor, [and] a disciplinarian. I have to bring the discipline in as well, as a father and just all round being there and watching over him, and making sure he is alright"*. Sean expanded on his role as a father in his family and shared what he believed to be his role.

For me it is being sort of a compass for him. In everything, so whether it is emotional or whether it is just something that he needs to decide for himself. It is just me being a compass and leading by example and obviously also in that protecting, guiding, giving him something to look up to or someone to look up to is the main thing I would think.

When Sean shared what he believed his wife thinks made him a good father it reflected a heteronormative understanding of the role of a father in a family. It was shown

above that this is the same as Sean's own understanding of what it takes to be a good father. Even though the idea of leadership usually connotes strict authority, Sean explained what he meant by leadership with an example from his life as a father.

So we obviously, would like to instil good values in him. One of the values I try to instil in him is just prayer in general-having a relationship with God. So I try and guide him in that by praying with him, showing him that we pray, whether it is reading short stories from the Bible to him. That also obviously develops his character as well. So that the foundation is just built on and rooted on Christ.

It was understood that his role as a leader meant that he was to be a compass for his son. This meant that instead of just exercising authority, being a leader as a father entailed providing direction; much like a compass would provide direction. Even though the idea of a father being the leader in the family emanated from a heteronormative view, the way Sean interpreted his role as a leader here was slightly more dynamic. It was beyond merely being a leader and exercising autocratic authority in his family. It also expanded to spiritual and emotional leadership.

4.2.1.4 Fear of childcare

In a single income family, where the father is the provider the role of childcare is normally reserved for the mother. In a dual earner family, where both mother and father are providers, who is childcare reserved for? In the following section Sean talked about being a father and engaging in child care.

In the beginning I was so, so scared. I was really scared because for me it was you know, it is not like a Tamagotchi [handheld digital pet] where you press a button and it is fed and that is that. You have a full responsibility of carrying and making sure that

he does not get hurt. So whether you bathing him, or holding him. How you wash him can't be too hard, you have to be gentle. You know? He is slippery, he is so fragile.

The fear that Sean talked about came from the possibility that he might hurt his son. It is a stereotype that men and fathers are irresponsible (Kaufman, 1999; Wood, 1994). Because they are portrayed as irresponsible the assumption is that they are more prone to making bad decisions about taking care of children.

I know I have the responsibility for this boy and any mark, any scratch, any hurt, whether emotionally or physically-I have that responsibility now. So it freaked me out because it is not a car, it is not a cell phone. It is not something that I own, you know what I mean? It is a life that I have responsibility [for], it is not just a dog, it is beyond just having a dog and looking after a dog and feeding it and cleaning it. It is a human being. So now it just increases the fear even more.

Holding this view about childcare provided the advantage to redefine ways fathers construct their involvement in childcare.

Providing and protecting is just the surface of fatherhood. It is also the smaller miscellaneous things like bathing, washing, playing with him also fulfil that fatherly role-to make sure that you are present in his life.

For example, in the next extract Sean talked about childcare as more than just feeding and bathing. He extended an understanding that reflected a different understanding of child care.

So I don't even have this life figured out yet, now I have the responsibility of teaching this young man of what life is about and those things. So that is basically what freaked me out. The fear in that is whatever I do and say and teach him. He is going to implement it in his life so I have that responsibility of how his life is going to turn out at some point.

4.2.2 The nature of a dual earner family

This section presents Sean's thoughts on his reason for having a dual earner family arrangement, their financial contributions and the division of labour in their family.

4.2.2.1 Reasons for living in a dual earner family

Sean talked about how he believed that living in a dual earner family is necessary but not ideal. Reverting to gender role stereotyping, he said that:

I think in today's day and age, it's difficult for a man to be the sole provider of the family. If you are that is good. If you are in that position it works out perfectly where your wife is at home looking after your child. Because today you can't really trust your child with anyone, even just sending them to a crèche it's a difficult thing to deal with.

Being a sole provider was the ideal situation for his family, but his current situation does not match up with this ideal:

My wife works and I work. From the start of our relationship we have said to each other we have agreed that we are going to help out, she is going to help out, I am going to help out. Also remembering and understanding that each of us have a certain role to play; where I am the husband, the provider and she is the wife; she takes care of us. So until, we get to a point where I am the sole provider, we have agreed that we are just going to stand together and just do things together and what is mine is hers, and what is hers is mine. So and she understands her role as the mother and I understand my role as the father and we try not to let money you know hinder that.

It appeared that they were in this arrangement because they agreed to help each other out though the specific gender roles for mothers and fathers still remained. This was because

they had an understanding with each other about their roles as mothers and father in the family.

It also appeared here that being a father meant different things in different contexts. In the context of a family where the father works and the mother stays at home, a father is a provider and a mother is a caregiver-the roles are fixed. It would follow that perhaps in the context where both the mother and father work, the roles become more flexible. This meant that a mother can also be a provider, and so can a father be a caregiver. However, it was found in this case that the father maintained his position as a provider and the mother maintained her position as caregiver as well as the added position of provider-without the benefits of a provider. This raises questions about constructions of what work is and the value attached to certain kinds of work in a family. This will be discussed in relation to findings in the following section.

4.2.2.2 Financial contributions in a dual earner family

Sean talked about how financial responsibility was shared in his family. He said:

I try to take bulk of the responsibility, whether it is paying rent and the car. Then she takes care of the smaller things like the groceries, medical aid or whatever. So yeah, we split the responsibilities but all the bigger responsibilities I take care of and she just kind of gets all the small things like whether it is clothing.

The ways financial responsibilities were shared are in line with what Sean previously mentioned about not letting money confuse gender roles in the family. With his financial contributions, Sean took care of responsibilities that he considered to be big. This meant that his contributions were considered substantial and essential. His wife was left with taking care of responsibilities like medical aid and groceries. Sean considered these to be smaller in

relation to paying for rent and a car. Although paying for rent and a car are indeed expensive, so too is paying for groceries and medical aid especially in South Africa.

The responsibilities that each of them took on are in line with heteronormative gender roles. Sean took on responsibilities for paying rent and for a car thereby being a provider of shelter and transport. His wife took on the responsibility for paying for groceries, medical aid and clothing. Thereby being able to care for and nurture her family. By extension, this meant that work related to providing is more important than work related to caring and nurturing. In this case it is seen that even though, they both work and contribute to the well-being of the family, contributions were not equal. It was important to understand that contributions in this case were dual but not equal. As such, they did not influence gender role in a family in a positive way.

It was not established that the sharing of responsibilities was this way because Sean had a bigger salary in relation to his wife. It was also not established that his wife may have had a bigger salary in relation to Sean. Therefore it was unknown if responsibility was shared this way because Sean may earn more than his wife and that they then take care of responsibilities that they each could afford. Even though, it was an important observation that the way finances were distributed in a dual earner family could be different. In this case, the incomes were seen as separate and each person has certain responsibilities to pay for from their respective salary. This model meant that there was less room for equitable sharing of income in the family.

4.2.2.3 Division of labour in a dual earner family

In this section, Sean talked about sharing housework in his family: He noted that:

I would like to think that we split it evenly. My wife tries to...well my wife takes care of the house whether it is you know, cleaning or the dishes or whatever. I try and help her so I'll sometimes do the dishes; I'll sometimes help her clean the house.

In the opening sentence of this extract it was stated that “*I would like to think*” that housework is split evenly. This appeared to be an admission that in fact it is not split evenly. It is further stated that “*sometimes*” he will “*help*” his wife with housework. This can be understood as an admission that although he did engage in housework, it is certainly not shared evenly, much like the financial contributions they both make to the household. It appeared that the reason for this was because of the ideal of maintaining heteronormative gender roles in a family. For example, even though he did engage in housework, which is in heteronormative terms women's work other kinds of housework like maintenance is reserved only for Sean. In a way that suggests that his wife did everything but this, Sean said:

She leaves that to me, whether it is changing a bulb, or putting a screw in the wall, or whatever manly duties. I take care of those things. I make sure the car is clean and drivable and safe for the family. So she is in charge of the house in terms of cleaning and taking care of the family and cooking and so on.

It was explained that the idea is that being a helper or an assistant is better than not doing any housework at all.

I try and help sometimes, it's not like the day of old where the wife does everything in the house and you come home and sit down and that's that. So when it comes to a baby we share the responsibility as well. I change him, she changes him, I bath him sometimes, and she bathes him. She obviously does most of that but I try to be flexible and help her out wherever I possibly can.

Sean engaged in housework activities because he felt it was necessary even though it was not considered ideal for a man. Much like it was necessary for his wife to work, at the

same time it is not ideal that she does paid work. This extract highlighted the changes and continuities of the construction of fatherhood in modern families. Sean engaged in activities in his family that promoted an understanding of equality and sometimes engaged in housework and childcare. At the same time he also frequently engaged in work that is traditionally reserved for males from a heteronormative point of view like handy work around the house and looking after the car.

Even though it was mentioned that certain responsibilities were sometimes shared and this reflected a progressive view of fatherhood and being a man in the family, the process of sharing the responsibilities was still according to defined gender roles. His role in sharing housework and childcare was talked about as an assistant role whereby he provided help, but did not take full responsibility of the housework or childcare, because they are not traditionally manly roles in the family. This was a movement between old and new practices of fatherhood in a dual earner family.

Even though it would appear that this was progressive, it could be questioned how progressive this movement between progressive fatherhood and traditional heteronormative fatherhood ideals. For example, in each case there was still the use of gender power and male privilege to advance the interests of the father over the mother. For example, it may appear that having a wife that works is progressive and reflects an understanding of gender equality (Evertsson, 2014; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010). At the same time, because Sean was not able to be a single provider in his family, it could be said that he is allowing his wife to work. In this case doing this helped him financially until he was at a time where he felt financially stable enough to have her stop working. In this case, he was using gender power to create conditions around when his wife should work and when she should not work so that it suits his needs, while appearing to be a decision that is good for her.

Another example is that even though his wife worked, and is technically a provider just like him. She however, did not exercise the same privileges as him in terms of being a leader and decision making in the family. Even though it appeared that engaging in childcare and housework was progressive, it was still predominantly the domain of the wife. It could be that in this case, gender power was used to create conditions of when it was acceptable for a man to do housework and when it was not acceptable for a man to do housework. A reflection of this example can be seen in the following extract.

I think my wife would like to be at home, looking after the kids, or the house, making sure that when I get back from work there is food on the table. You know that kind of thing, general wifely duties. And I think that is what she would like, and that is what we are working towards. So eventually we would probably get there. It is just for now that she probably understands that this is what we have to do to get there.

This statement reflected his construction of his wife's employment and her role in their family. His wife was not interviewed so it was unknown if she indeed shared the same sentiments about working and her role in her family. Therefore it can only be understood that this statement reflected Sean's understanding and interests.

4.2.3 Being a man in a dual earner family

In this section Sean talks about what it means to be a man in a dual earner family. He recalled events from his life to illustrate his experiences.

4.2.3.1 Talking about being a man

Sean used the word responsibility to describe his idea of what being a man is.

So you as a man have responsibilities and it is an automatic thing. So my child generally would seek protection from me I would think. My wife seeks protection from me. I need to make sure that she eats; I need to make sure that she is clothed; I need to make sure that she is provided for whether emotionally and physically and that goes for my son as well. So being a man is fulfilling that role of being what they cannot be.

It was believed that it is automatic for him to be the responsible one because he is the man in the family. The idea that it was automatic suggests that it was believed to be the natural way of things or without question that a man should be the one with all the responsibility of protecting his family. He also believed that it was automatic that his child and wife would seek protection from him.

Previously, Sean mentioned that his wife took care of smaller responsibilities like buying groceries and clothing. However in this extract, Sean put forward the idea that being a man in his family meant that he needed to make sure that his wife is fed and is clothed. Making sure of this meant that he needed to provide groceries and clothes. This contradiction perhaps reflects Sean's ideal of being the sole provider in the family as a measure of being a man. In relation to their current reality, Sean was unable to acquire this ideal of manhood and allowed his wife to work in order to assist him in reaching his goal.

Despite that his wife works, Sean asserted that he is a provider and protector because he is man. There was no acknowledgment that his wife is a provider; instead she was a woman that worked because she is helping him. The view here was that it is in aid of the man of the house. It has been shown here that the provider role is not based on being able to work, but it is based on being male.

4.2.3.2 *Responsibilities of a man in a family*

In this section Sean talked about what he does in his family that makes him feel like a man. Sean said:

The fact that I am able to pay for rent, the fact that I am able to pay for the car, the fact that I am able to pay for certain things, whether we are going out, whether we are doing whatever, makes me feel good. [It] makes me feel good as a man because it makes me feel like I am providing for my family.

In this extract a lot of attention was brought to the fact that Sean was able to pay for expenses. This was an essential part of the experience of being a man. This also meant that because he was a provider this made him feel like a man. This also reasserts the findings that the provider role is about being male and working. Being in a dual earner family his wife was also able to pay for things. However, she was not able to be a provider because she is a female. Sean also said that being a man also means being available to do things physically around the house:

Doing the smaller things like changing a tyre or you know putting a nail in the wall. Or getting something for her that is heavy; carrying those things and just general manly duties makes me feel like a man.

Being a man also means something for relations between women and men in a family. Being the provider, protector and man in this way may bear significance on the way men relate to women in families. Sean elaborated that:

The fact that my wife would not make a decision without consulting me first makes me feel like a man. I think also when it comes to our child her understanding that whether we are walking in the mall or whatever, I carry him because I can protect him better, or I can hold him better, you know things like that, makes me feel pretty good, I feel like a man.

Even though Sean is in a dual earner family, this did not alter constructions of fatherhood for him. The fact that his wife is also able to provide and protect did not make him feel like less of a man. The fact that his wife works did not affect his feeling like a man. Because she is not a man, she cannot enjoy the privilege that men enjoy in the family. In this instance the wife's work was not seen as vital to the well-being of the family, but as help. In the same way that men's involvement in housework and childcare was considered not considered vital but minor.

There were overlaps in the experience of being a man and being a father. For example, talking about being a father and a man were both about being a provider and protector. However, the experience of being a man and being a father differed on one point. For instance, experiences of being a father revealed emotional qualities such as being caring and nurturing with children. This may have meant that the experience of being a man in this context appeared to be only about provision and protection. In a dual earner family, gender roles appear to be fluid. This appeared to be a progressive but the fluidity comes with restrictions that are in favour of the man. For example, women are able to transcend their roles as pure caretakers and work, but they do not achieve status as a provider in the home. Their contributions are seen as less and as help or assistance to the man.

As a man and a father, Sean also felt responsible for his family in the following way:

We believe that when I come before God, I will have to give account for where my family is and how I have led my family. So the responsibility is on me. The onus is on me on where I take my family. So there is a major responsibility and an expectation also from God that you have to deal with constantly, so that influences most of my decisions.

What has been described in the preceding extracts emanates from a patriarchal view of gender roles on the family. This view puts forward the idea that the father is the head of

the family and therefore should take responsibility and deserves submission. This notion may flourish in a single income family where the father is the sole provider. However, from Sean's experiences it appeared that this notion also holds true for a father in a dual earner family, even though mothers also provide. This is because patriarchy is in service of the father. Therefore it does not allow mothers to be in decision making or leadership positions in the family, even though she may be a provider.

4.3 Michael

The participant in the following narrative account is referred to as Michael Thiyane. Michael was 26 years old and lived together with his partner and their daughter Melissa. Michael and his partner have been together for four years. Michael is not Melissa's biological father. Michael explained that he felt like the child's father and considered himself to be the father in their family. Michael and his family lived in the Eastern suburbs of Johannesburg. Michael worked as a sales representative and his partner worked in education.

4.3.1 Sharing resources in a dual earner family

In this theme, Michael talked about how he felt about his partner being employed. He also talked about what type of contributions he and his partner make to their family. Lastly he talked about what he believed are the benefits of being in this type of family arrangement.

4.3.1.1 *Working mothers have independence*

Michael believed that the reason his partner was working was because it was beneficial for the household and their daughter,

I would say for the household and to give her daughter the best. You know because, she is not getting it from the father's side so she needs to be there working. So whenever the daughter wants something she can get it herself. So she doesn't have to now wait for someone to give it to her, or to ask her mother for help with regards to certain things like that. So if you are working you can support yourself in all those aspects.

Michael also believed that his partner worked so that she could feel independent, he shared that:

The more she is independent the more she won't ask me for money you see [smiles]. So I am absolutely all right with it. I mean we have to get out of the dark ages. Women need to support themselves too. If she wants something and at that moment I don't have the money for it, she will have to wait until I have the money to get it. So now if she is working and she wants something she can go and buy it immediately. I got no problem; I mean it's her money. As long as everything in the house is sorted and we got groceries and we got everything we need at home. Do whatever you want with your money. If you want to go drink it all away, drink it all away or buy clothes, sweets or whatever women buy. She is more than welcome to go and do that. I don't tell her what to do.

It was suggested that was beneficial that his partner worked because she felt independent. Her independence appeared to be a benefit for her as well as Michael. Not only did she feel independent because she earned her own money, it also means that she won't have to ask Michael for money because she could use her own. This suggested that in their family, even though they were both working, their income was understood as separate from each other. This suggests that there are different ways that couples make financial contributions in dual earner families. It is suggested that the way financial contributions are made may have an effect on decision making power between parents (Ludwig-Mayerhofer,

Allmendinger, Hirsland, & Schneider, 2011; Winkler, 1998) . In this instance, even though it is felt that his partner is independent and has her own money, it is shown that she can't be completely independent with her money and spend it on whatever she pleases. It must be spent on her contributions to the household. This scenario points to the meaning of a working mother's independence in families.

4.3.1.2 Dual family contributions

Michael explained how they make other types of contributions in their family, such as housework and childcare. He described that:

It's 50/50 everything is 50/50. So for example, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and Sunday she puts Melissa to bed. Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday it's me. With regards to cleaning we don't have a domestic worker, so each person has a section of the house that they clean. Obviously, I got both the yards, the pool, the lounge and then she will do everything else inside the house.

In relation to housework Michael believed that their contributions were equal. Even though it was believed that their contributions in terms of cleaning were equal, the contributions were influenced by gender roles for parents in families. For example, Michael noted that it was obvious that he would clean the garden and pool. Even though Michael engaged in housework that was normally ascribed to men in the household, he also took responsibility where he believed his partner had a weakness, for instance:

I do all the washing, because my girlfriend [laughs and shakes head] she will mix up clean and dirty and wash it all together. So now even Melissa knows, Michael does the

washing, so if she wants something to be washed, 'Michael I want this to be washed' and I'll do that.

In this instance the influence of gender roles on the division of housework is different. In this scenario, Michael engaged in a household activity that was not normally in line with gender roles for fathers in families. Also, his partner was not doing something which was in line with stereotypical gender roles for mothers. Some studies support this finding, and suggest that father's in dual earner families spend more time involved in housework (Wang & Bianchi, 2009). Although some of Michael's experiences of fatherhood follow a heteronormative pattern, some other experiences show that sometimes the gender role for fathers in families do not always follow a heteronormative pattern.

4.3.1.3 The benefits of a dual earner family

Michael believed that:

Both parents working are a good thing. But I mean if one parent is not working it is also not a problem. As long as both parents are around because then the child grows up with both parents, not just one.

Michael suggested that it is beneficial if both parents are working in a family. But if only one parent is working that is also acceptable as long as both parents are available for their children. Parents availability instance meant being emotionally and physically available for children. Michael also believed that this kind of presence was important for children. In this case it would appear that the dual contributions of emotional support are more important

than the dual financial contributions for children. It is constructed that being a financial provider is the cornerstone of fatherhood, especially in a single earner family (Mavungu, 2013; Roy, 2004). In this case it can be suggested that in a dual earner family, financial provision is less of an important feature of fatherhood. Instead providing in other ways, such as being physically present and emotionally available is more important. This could be attributed to the financial needs of the family being satisfied, thereby providing a father the opportunity to explore other ways of providing. For instance, Michael shared the benefits he received from being available and physically present in his family, he detailed that:

You get to learn like how fathers are supposed to be from a daughter's perspective. You learn how fathers are supposed to be and you see how mothers are supposed to be and when you are together you see now a whole different thing.

It was suggested that through being physically present and available for his family, Michael was able to explore alternative constructions of fatherhood. He further elaborated that:

We go on family outings, we go shopping together, we do family stuff together...if you are having a good time with your family then you know for a fact that the father played his role, the mother played her role. Kids play their role as well. That is how everyone is left with a smile, so it is not really saying it was one person that made everyone smile, it was everyone that made everyone smile.

In this case, it would appear that through having money, and thereby fulfilling the need for financial provision, Michael was able to explore other areas of fatherhood such as availability. It would also appear that in this instance as long as the need for financial provision is fulfilled, the source of the income is indiscriminate.

4.3.2 Being a man and father in a family

This section presents Michael's experience of being a man and father in his family. His experiences are related to the assumption that fathers in dual earner families hold egalitarian gender ideologies (Thebaud, 2010).

4.3.2.1 Being the alpha male

In this section Michael reflected on his position in his family. In his reflection he described his position in his family as being the alpha male. He elaborated on why he felt this way.

Besides just being the father I am the man of the house. So I play that role of being the man of the house. So she can identify that this is the alpha, if I can put it in those terms. Mummy and I [daughter] both listen to daddy, in some sort of way. You know there are times when they [mother and daughter] both don't listen. You can't do anything about it, it's a household, it's part of how things are.

Much like in the case of Sean, Michael also believed there to be a difference between the experience of being a father and being a man. Being a man is tied up in the ideal of being the “*man of the house*”. For Michael this meant being listened to “*in some sort of way*” and not absolutely. This experience highlights that there was a difference between the ideals of fatherhood and the reality of family life. It is suggested that being the alpha male or “*man of the house*” is in line with provider role expectations. It is a socially constructed ideal that in single earner families where the father is the sole provider, the father is also the only source of power. However in reality, and as a “*part of how things are*” for Michael, there are not always conditions that allow for the father to be the single provider such as living expenses.

Therefore there are some families where mother's also work and fulfil provider role expectations.

In families such as these, it can be contended that since the source of income is from both parents, so too does the source of power associated with earning an income derived from both parents. This contention could provide an explanation for a father in a dual earner family experiencing being listened to "in some sort of way". The power is not always shared equally. It is mediated by factors relating to gender role ideologies and the nature of the mother's income and employment such as working hours and salary. Michael further described his experience of being the alpha male in his family,

Well, security and household things. Like for example, stuff that I know a woman can't do. Obviously I should know how to do it. So if that is messed up. I will go immediately and fix it. She doesn't have to tell me, "listen that has been sitting there for three days not working, why have you not done it?". I will know that I need to do that I am the man in the house, so she, I am not going to expect her to do such things like that...I say you got to be there, you got to be responsible, uh you know, there are times when you got to put your foot down when you feel that this is not alright. Uh security purposes, you always got to make sure that your family is safe. You can't go sleep without locking up there. Who am I expecting to lock up? My girlfriend? No, that is something I should do because I am the man. Problems in the house that I know she can't do, I should be the one to do it.

For instance, Michael believed that security and maintenance are tasks reserved for him to carry out because a woman should not carry out those tasks even though she may know how to carry out those tasks. He expanded on this point,

Changing globes, fixing a nut or you know? She can do that sort of thing, but I won't now tell myself that because she knows now how to do it that she should do it. If there is a globe there and for the past two days it has been there, then she has the right to actually come to me and say "what are you doing? You can see that that light has been off, why don't you want to fix it?" That is a role that a man should play, you should protect your family, take care of your family, and you should be there for your family.

Based on Michael's explanation it can be suggested that in sometimes it is acceptable for a women to carry out tasks which are incongruent with the stereotypical roles for women in households, such as working to earn an income. However, other times, it is not acceptable for women to carry out tasks that are incongruent with the stereotypical roles of women in households, such as household maintenance. This could be attributed to the fact that working outside the home produces income whereas, working within the home does not. This suggests that next to working for income, other types of work such as housework are not greatly valued. It could be that the value attached to these types of work, influences father's perceptions of mother's roles in families. It may also influence a father's own perception of the roles which he may fulfil in his family.

4.4 Chapter summary

In summary it was found that for fathers in dual earner families, it was found that it was easier to fulfill provider role expectations. This was because in this instance fathers had financial assistance from their partner's income. This in turn made it easier for fathers to meet provider role expectations in their families. It was also found that there was an increase in father involvement in childcare and housework. It was also found that the increased

contributions to childcare and housework were not equal to mother's contributions in these areas.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This study explored what are the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families. The aim of this study was to explore young father's subjective experiences of fatherhood in a family where both parents work outside the home to earn an income. The objectives of this study were to explore how young fathers experience fatherhood in a dual earner family and to explore how having a partner that works to earn an income influences father's experience of fatherhood.

This chapter explains how the findings of this study fit relative to the existing body of knowledge about the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families. This chapter then acknowledges the study limitations and makes recommendations for further research.

5.1 Discussion of the major findings of the study

For fathers in dual earner families, it was found that it was *easier to fulfill provider role expectations*. It was also found that there was an *increase in father involvement in childcare and housework* and that *the experience of fatherhood is fluid*.

5.1.1 Easier to fulfil provider role expectations

It was found that being in a dual earner family was convenient for the father. This meant that it was easy for the father to enact the roles associated with fatherhood in a family where both mother and father earn an income respectively. This was because in this instance fathers had financial assistance in the form of their partner's income. This in turn made it easier for fathers to meet provider role expectations in their families.

This finding is important for understanding men's experiences of fatherhood, because this means that a father will encounter less psychological stress while trying to meet provider role expectations. Research has reported that a father's ability to meet provider role expectations influences a father's experience of being a father. For example, fathers that are not able to meet provider role expectations may experience an assault to their self-esteem and begin to feel as if they have nothing to offer their children and thereby distance themselves from the lives of their children and families (Makusha & Richter, 2015; Mavungu, 2013; Mavungu et al., 2013; Threlfall, Seay, & Kohl, 2013; Wilson, 2006).

In contrast, it was shown in this study that having access to more money in the form of dual income allowed fathers to meet provider role expectations more effortlessly and without encountering psychological stress about being able to provide. It is surmised that in the absence of psychological stress, perhaps fathers will be more likely to remain present in their families because they may feel as if they are making valuable contributions to their family. It is contended that if a father is less preoccupied with meeting the provider role expectations of fatherhood, then he is more likely to explore other ways of relating to his children and family such as increased father involvement in childcare and housework.

In relation to the theoretical framework of this study, it is contended that fathers in dual earner families do not fit the mould of hegemonic masculinity, such as being sole breadwinners (Buschmeyer, 2013; Buschmeyer & Lengersdorf, 2016). Instead, they possess attributes that are more aligned with complicit masculinity. This observation is supported by the participant's assertion that being in a dual income family was necessary but not ideal. This meant that it was necessary to 'permit' their partners to work for the time being, until they are financially stable enough to become sole breadwinners. At which point they would no longer require their partners to work.

In this instance their partners became assistants in their reaching the hegemonic masculine ideals of fatherhood, such as being a sole breadwinner. As such, fathers in this situation were complicit in reproducing hegemonic masculine ideals, through using gendered forms of power to create conditions around their partner's employment which were in favour of the father's needs. This contention is supported by other findings in this study that revealed that mother's income was understood as subordinate in relation to father's income. For the father's in this study it was found that mother's financial contributions were useful for assisting with satisfying 'small' needs such as groceries and clothing. Whereas, father's financial contributions were reserved for fulfilling 'big' needs such as bond repayments, car loan repayments and insurance premiums. It could not be established if father's held this view because their partners earned less than them because the participant's and their partner's income was not measured.

5.1.2 Increase in father involvement in childcare and housework

It was found that fathers in this study increased their involvement in childcare and housework in the household. Research attributes father's increased involvement in unpaid work within the home to mother's increased involvement in paid work outside the home (Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston, & McHale, 1987; Galinsky et al., 2013; Hofferth & Goldscheider, 2010; Meteyer & Perry-Jenkins, 2010; Roopnarine et al., 1995; Smit, 2002; Volling & Belsky, 1991).

Even though research reveals that there is a general trend that father's involvement in childcare and housework increased in dual earner families, it was found in this study that the increased contributions to childcare and housework were not equal to mother's contributions in these areas. Research supports this finding and attributes this occurrence to father's salary

in relation to mother's salary and father's working hours in relation to mother's working hours (Craig & Mullan, 2011; Craig & Powell, 2011, 2012; Formoso et al., 2007; Glass, 1998; Hofferth & Goldscheider, 2010; Kanji, 2013; Nkwake, 2015; Raley et al., 2012; Saxena, 2016; Van Gorp, 2013; Wang & Bianchi, 2006).

An alternative explanation of this occurrence does not consider economic issues such as income and working hours. Instead, it considers gender role ideology, and how it influences a father's inclination to be more involved in housework and childcare. Gender role ideology refers to attitudes regarding the appropriate roles, rights, and responsibilities of women and men in society (Kroska, 2007). Traditional gender ideology holds that fathers fulfil their roles through breadwinning activities and mothers fulfil their roles through nurturing activities. In contrast, egalitarian ideologies regarding the family endorse and value mothers and fathers equal and shared breadwinning and nurturing family roles (Kroska, 2007; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016). Therefore it can be explained that a father's increased involvement in housework and childcare can be attributed to endorsing egalitarian gender ideologies (Evertsson, 2014; Saxena, 2016).

5.1.3 The fluidity of the experiences of fatherhood

It is observed that traditional and egalitarian gender role ideologies assume that gender roles in families exist as binary opposites. This means that gender roles in families are distinct, opposite and disconnected forms of traditional and egalitarian. For example, some research about the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families reported that by virtue of being in a dual earner family, fathers experienced a positive change in their construction of fatherhood from uninvolved breadwinners to involved caretakers (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Keizer, 2015; McGill, 2014; Smit, 2008). This assumes that the change took

place independently and in a linear progression. The findings of this study suggest that it is an oversimplification to construct the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families in this way as it overlooks the iterative and fluid nature of the experience of fatherhood.

For example, the findings show that there are some experiences of fatherhood in a dual income family that are both egalitarian and at the same time are in line with traditional gender ideologies. Such as, the finding that father's involvement in childcare and housework is understood as assistance to mothers and not as an equal contribution to the division of labour. The gender of the father moderated the experiences of caregiving in the following way. It was found in this study that fathers were more inclined to spend more time on personal activities such as bathing and changing with boys than with girls. These findings are supported by studies which suggested that not only do fathers spend more time with boys, but they spend less time doing activities such as playing, reading and walking, with girls than with boys (Baxter, 2007; Combs-Orme & Renkert, 2009). The influence of gender on the experience of fatherhood was also found to be implicated in the division of housework in dual earner families. Even though the amount of time involved in housework increased, the content of the housework was still in line with traditional gender roles for men in the household such as, garden work and home maintenance (Evertsson, 2014; Wang & Bianchi, 2006).

Based on reports that father involvement in childcare and housework increases in dual earner it can be understood that the dual earner family presents an opportunity at destabilising heteronormativity. This is because there is a notion that only egalitarian gender role ideologies exist in dual earner families. It follows that placing high value on egalitarian gender role ideologies increases the occurrence of mothers participating in the formal workforce and this also positively influences father's involvement in childcare and housework (Buckley & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2010; Saxena, 2016).

These findings are important because they show father's movement between performing traditional and egalitarian gender roles in dual earner families. This supports the notion that fatherhood is not experienced in extremes, but rather enacted in various ways between traditional and egalitarian. These findings also show that in dual earner families, even if duality does not engender equality, it does not mean that dual earner families do not provide the opportunity to destabilise heteronormative ideas and practices. It is contended that being a father in new conditions such as in a dual earner families it may expand the understanding of fatherhood. Therefore if fatherhood is considered in this context, it is asserted that there is an opportunity to discover a more expansive ways of being a father. Perhaps from enacting traditional fatherhood roles in a non-traditional context emerges more expansive ways of being a father that are not in line with heteronormative practices and ideas.

The assertion that the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families are fluid is supported by assumptions about hegemonic masculinities. These theories suggest that masculinities are fluid and change in response to material realities between women and men, children and men and even between men themselves. Material conditions such as having money intersect with men's social realities which results in experiences of different masculinities between hegemonic at the top of the power hierarchy and complicit and subordinate masculinities (Buschmeyer, 2013; Buschmeyer & Lengersdorf, 2016; Connell, 1995).

The more money a father has, the easier it is to fulfil provider role expectations which are the ideal by which fatherhood is measured. It is some father's material realities that they do not have money in order to reach this ideal of fatherhood. In the instance of dual earner families it is seen that father's in these positions use gender power to legitimise their exploitation of their partner's income in order to reach the fatherhood ideal of hegemonic masculinity. Father's in these instances are complicit in the sense that they do not possess all

the attributes of hegemonic masculinity but do not do anything to challenge it. Even though, as it is shown in this study, they still benefit from being a man. These benefits include having assistance with income, and not making equal contribution to childcare and housework.

5.2 Chapter summary

In regard to the finding that for father's in dual earner families it was easier for them to fulfill provider role expectations it is contended that if a father is less preoccupied with meeting the provider role expectations of fatherhood, then he is more likely to explore other ways of relating to his children and family such as increased father involvement in childcare and housework. It is also contended that in this instance their partners became assistants to fathers reaching the hegemonic masculine ideals of fatherhood, such as being a sole breadwinner. As such, fathers in this situation were complicit in reproducing hegemonic masculine ideals, by enforcing discrete forms of gendered power to create conditions around their partner's employment which were in favour of the father's needs. In regard to the finding that fathers increased their involvement in childcare and housework in the household, it is contended that a father's increased involvement in housework and childcare can be attributed to endorsing egalitarian gender ideologies.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This study explored what are the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner families. The aim of this study was to explore young father's subjective experiences of fatherhood in a family where both parents work outside the home to earn an income. The objectives of this study were to explore how young fathers experience fatherhood in a dual earner family and to explore how having a partner that works to earn an income influences father's experience of fatherhood.

This chapter presents the conclusion of the study which was arrived at from the discussion of the findings. The limitations of the study are explained and recommendations for further research are suggested.

6.1 Conclusion

It is concluded that the experience of fatherhood in a dual earner family is fluid. This means that the construction of fatherhood is in constant movement therefore it is always being deconstructed and reconstructed in relation to money. The emphasis on money in dual earner families is what moderates the movement of the constructions of fatherhood.

6.2 Limitations of the study

The first interview was conducted by the researcher with the intention of it being a pilot interview. The intention of this interview was to test the application of the interview schedule with a participant. The data from this interview was included in the findings, even though it is not usual for data from pilot interviews to be included in the findings. It was decided that the data from the pilot interview would be included in the findings because there

were no changes made to the interview schedule after the pilot interview. Therefore the same questions were presented to each subsequent participant in the sample.

Interview data from a study participant names Adrian, had to be removed from the analysis and was not included in this thesis. This was because he no longer became eligible to participate in the study. It was advertised that in order to qualify for participation in this study all potential participants had to be in a relationship with the mother of their child who is also employed and living together with them. During the interview, it came to the researcher's attention that the participant's wife was no longer in formal employment since the birth of their child. Therefore, the participant's answers to the interview questions were not related to the experiences of fatherhood in dual earner family as he was now a single earner in his family.

Details about father's and their partner's employment such as, working hours and salary were not recorded. Recording this information may have assisted with analysing a fathers inclination to increase involvement in childcare and housework. In the absence of this information the researcher used existing literature about similar studies to theorise about father's the relationship between these factors and a father's inclination to increase involvement in childcare and housework.

6.3 Recommendations for further research

In light of the conclusion of this study, it is recommended that further research into the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families, should place emphasis on studying the nature of father's and mother's income from employment. This may include detailing information such working hours, level of salary, type of employment, level of employment

and educational attainment. It is suggested that this will provide a better context of money in dual earner families from which to understand and analyse the experience of fatherhood.

It is also recommended that further research into the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families should prioritise collecting data from a sample of fathers in dual earner families from low income and high income groups. This recommended is based on this study's conclusion that money is what moderates the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families. It can therefore be hypothesised that the experience of fatherhood in dual earner families from those income groups will be markedly different to what was found from the middle class income group in this study.

Similarly, it can be recommended that further research should place emphasis on the influence of race, culture and sexuality in dual earner families and the ways in which they influence the experience of fatherhood. In the same light it is recommended that other confounding factors such as fathers' personal will to be involved in the lives of their children, should be explored in dual earner families.

APPENDICES

7.1 Appendix A: Interview guide

Introduction: the respondent will be thanked for agreeing to participate in the study and the student researcher will double check with a filler question that they understood what the study is about and confirm that they have signed consent forms.

Tell me about your experiences of the following:

- When did you first find out you would be a father?
- What is your relationship like with your child or children?
- How do you experience being a father day to day?
- What do you think your partner feels about what it means to be a father?
- Please share an experience of your life as a father that you think explains what it means to be father?
- Describe your family.
- Tell me how you feel about your partner working?
- Why do you think your partner would like to work?
- What kind of family do you think is good for raising children?
- What do you think it means to be a man?
- What do you think it means to be a man when you have children and a family?
- What things do you do with your family that you think make you a man?
- Did you feel like a man before having a child and a family?

- Do you feel like a man now that you have a child and family?
- What or who influenced your understanding of what it means to be man?

7.2 Appendix B: Advert for participation in the study



VOLUNTEERS NEEDED FOR RESEARCH STUDY



I need participants for a research study titled “**Subjective Experiences of Young Fathers in Dual-Income Families**”.

Description of project:
I am researching the experiences of young fathers who are in families where both parents work to earn an income.

Would the study be a good fit for me?
This study might be a good fit for you if you are:

- Male between the ages of 20 to 30 years old;
- Living within the regions of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality;
- Have a child that is between the ages new born and 7 years old;
- In a relationship with the mother of your child for at least 3 years;
- Currently living with the mother of your child for at least 1 year.



What would happen if I took part in the study?
If you decide to take part in the research study, you would:

- Be required to share your experiences of being a young father in a one-on-one interview with the researcher.



To take part in this research study or for more information,
please contact Che Kelly at chenoel.kelly@gmail.com.

The principal researcher for this study is Che Kelly at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.



**DST-NRF Centre of Excellence
in Human Development**
Individual and Society







7.3 Appendix C: Participant information sheet



Centre of Excellence in
Human Development
Individual and Society



Dear participant

Re: Invitation to participate in a research study

My name is Che Kelly and I am studying towards a Master of Arts in Psychology by dissertation at the University of the Witwatersrand. It is required by the university that all students enrolled in this programme produce a research project on an approved topic. I politely request your participation in the research project, titled *Experiences of Fatherhood in Dual earner Families*.

Your participation in this research will help me understand how young fathers experience fatherhood in a family where both partners earn an income. Please note that your participation in this study is voluntary, and you will not be rewarded or penalized in any way for participating or not, and you have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. Involvement in this study requires your participation in an interview of approximately 30 minutes, which will be scheduled at a time suitable for you in your home. If you do not feel comfortable conducting the interview at your home, the interview can be conducted in any other space comfortable for you.

All information collected in the interview will be kept confidential. The researcher will not reveal your name or any details which might reveal your identity. The

results of the research will be compiled in a research report and then submitted for grading as part of the course requirement.

It is in the researcher's understanding that the study will not pose any risks or result in any benefits for you. However, if you feel that you have concerns regarding the study, or if you require any additional information, please contact the researcher on the details below or the researcher supervisor, Professor Mzikazi Nduna telephonically on 011 717 4168, or via email, mzikazi.nduna@wits.ac.za to discuss your concerns.

Yours sincerely

Che Kelly

081 576 7845

Chenoel.kelly@gmail.com

7.4 Appendix D: Participant consent form



Centre of Excellence in
Human Development
Individual and Society



I hereby confirm that:

I have been briefed on the research that Che Kelly is conducting titled, *Subjective Experiences of Young Fathers in Dual-Income Families*. I understand what participation in this research project means and:

- I understand that my participation is voluntary,
- I understand that I have the right not to answer any questions that I do not feel comfortable with,
- I understand that I have the right to withdraw my participation in the research, at any time I so choose,
- I understand that the proceedings of the interview will be audio recorded,
- I understand that my identity will be kept anonymous, and
- I understand that any information I share will be held in the strictest confidence by the researchers.

Optional clauses (please indicate preference):

- ☐ I hereby request a copy of the research report.
- ☐ I hereby consent to the proceedings of my interview with Che Kelly to be audio recorded. I understand that:

- The sound files and transcripts will only be seen or heard by the researcher and his supervisor,

- A pseudonym will be used in the transcripts or the research report,
- Sound files of the focus group will not be destroyed, unless participants request that their comments be deleted, and
- Sound files will be stored on a computer protected by a password.

Signed by (name) _____

On date _____

At (place) _____

Signature _____

7.5 Appendix E: Ethics Clearance Certificate



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

R14/49 Kelly

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: H15/05/14

PROJECT TITLE

Subjective experiences of young fathers in dual income families

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Mr C Kelly

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT

Human and Community Development/

DATE CONSIDERED

22 May 2015

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved unconditionally

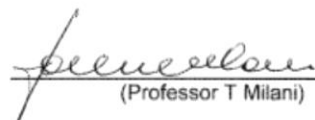
EXPIRY DATE

10 June 2017

DATE

11 June 2015

CHAIRPERSON


(Professor T Milani)

cc: Supervisor : Professor M Nduna

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10005, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

Signature _____

Date / /

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

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