

https://dspace.org/

# Black middle class men's reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy

**Bujela, Khanyisile A.**

**2018**

https://hdl.handle.net/10539/26012

Bujela, Khanyisile Anna (2018) Black middle class men's reactions and responses of unplanned pregnancy, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, https://hdl.handle.net/10539/26012

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

**University of the Witwatersrand**
**School of Human and Community Development**
**Discipline of Psychology**

# MASTER'S DISSERTATION

## Black middle class men's reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy.

Khanyisile A. Bujela

447194

**Supervisor: Prof. Mzikazi Nduna**

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master's Degree in Community Based-Counselling Psychology in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand.

# DECLARATION

I, _____, know and accept that plagiarism (i.e., use of another person's work and pretend that it is one's own) is wrong. Consequently, I declare that;

- This research report is my own work.
- I understand what plagiarism is, and the importance of clearly and appropriately acknowledging my sources.
- I understand that a proper paraphrase or summary of ideas/ content from a particular source should be written in my own words with, and be accompanied by an appropriate reference.
- I have correctly acknowledged all direct quotations and paraphrased ideas/ content by way of appropriate, APA-style in-text referencing.
- I have provided a complete, alphabetized reference list, as required by the APA reference style.
- I understand that although anti-plagiarism software (e.g. Turnitin) is useful, such software does not provide definitive proof that a document is free of plagiarism.
- I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.
- I am aware of, and familiar with the University of the Witwatersrand's policy on plagiarism.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is evidence that this is not my own unaided work, or that I failed to acknowledge the source(s) of the ideas or words in my writing.

_____

Khanyisile A. Bujela

_____

Date

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank the Almighty God for constantly guiding me: I would not be where I am today if it were not for you; Enkosi Somandla!

To my research supervisor, Professor Mzikazi Nduna: Thank you for your time, commitment to my work, patience, support, encouragement and constantly pushing me to work hard. You have been such a great inspiration throughout this process. Ndiyabulela Prof.

To the fathers who welcomed me into their lives and shared their stories and experiences with me, thank you. It was a pleasure meeting and working with you.

To my research family the Father Connections Team (FACT), this team consists of hardworking Wits lecturers and post-graduate students (Master's and Doctorate) all under the supervision of Professor Nduna, thank you for your constructive criticism, your support and encouragement throughout this process. I have learned so much from being a part of this team.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the DST-NRF Centre of Excellence (CoE) in Human Development for their financial support towards the success of this research. The views and conclusions expressed in this research are those of the researcher and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the DST-NRF CoE.

To my friends, M1 classmates and internship colleagues, thank you for the support, words of encouragement and "self-care moments". It all made the process a lot better!

The Ndimande Family, thank you for your support and prayers.

To my brothers, Vuyolwethu and Nangomso, thank you for being my cheer-leaders and for constantly motivating me, Hlabangani.

To my mother, Enkosi Mama for all the sacrifices you have made for me, your prayers and constant support. Nangomso Bhelekazi.

Lastly to my little family, Makhosonke, Lisakhanya and the help we have received from Aunts Ntombi and Casandra: Thank you for your assistance, patience, understanding and motivation. You guys are such a blessing in my life.

# ABSTRACT

**Background:** Unplanned pregnancy is a phenomenon that is commonly explored in South Africa. The male perspective is often neglected and overlooked when exploring unplanned pregnancy, hence most literature focuses on the female perspective. This neglect can result in gender bias where men are under and misrepresented by literature. The few studies that have attempted to speak directly to fathers explore unplanned pregnancy in two ways: explore the experiences of fathers in relation to how they were fathered and how this affects how they father their own children. The first study that was directed at exploring how young South African fathers experience unplanned pregnancy was only conducted in 2009 by Swartz and Bhana. This demonstrates that there is a dearth in research that focuses directly on young fathers in South Africa. The current study hoped to be a platform for the voices of Black men to be heard, for them to speak for themselves and not be spoken for or about, based on the experiences of women.

**Research aim and objectives:** The aim of this study was to explore Black middle class men's reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy. The study's objectives were as follows: To study how Black middle class men react to the news of an unplanned pregnancy. To study how Black middle class men respond to an unplanned pregnancy. To explore the reported factors which influence the manner in which Black middle class men respond to unplanned pregnancy. To explore how Black men from middle socio-economic backgrounds experience unplanned pregnancy. The research questions are: How do Black middle class men react to news of an unplanned pregnancy? What factors do Black middle class men perceive as influencing their responses to the unplanned pregnancy? What are the experiences of Black middle class men who have gone through an unplanned pregnancy?

**Research methods:** An exploratory study was conducted using a qualitative approach from a social constructivist perspective. Nine men, around the Gauteng region (Johannesburg and Pretoria), were purposively sampled. Snowballing was used recruit the participants. These participants were recruited via social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter. In the hopes to obtain the upper middle class, this study focused on men who have a stable monthly income and earn a minimum of R10 000. Semi-structured, one-on-one interviews were conducted in IsiXhosa, IsiZulu or English, depending on the participant's preference, and were facilitated using a semi-structured interview guide. The interviews were audio recorded,

transcribed and translated into English. Discourse analysis (Gee, 2011) was used to analyse the data.

**Findings:** The findings of this study revealed discourses around the different circumstances; such as the nature of the participants' relationship with the mother, participants' upbringing, consideration of financial security, readiness and the individual's awareness of their actions and the consequences thereof. There was evidence of blame shifting through discourses around falling victim of women's deceit or manipulation as some of the participants perceived the pregnancy as the woman's way of 'trapping them into a happy-ever-after'. The findings suggest that news of the unintended pregnancy result in some psychological distress for some of the participants. This was reflected by discourses around feelings of disappointment, feeling that the experience was emotionally challenging for them to the extent that some expressed a need for social support throughout the experience. The influence of traditional constructions of masculinity and fatherhood was evident in some of the responses to the pregnancy. There was however evidence of a shift from these traditional constructions as reflected by discourses around fatherhood being associated with active participation in the child's life. This study found that due to the lack of knowledge about the practice of *intlawulo*, a fine which the man pays to the woman's family as a symbol of acceptance and acknowledgement of the paternity of the child (Langa & Smith, 2012), some of the participants reported that this practice was not significant to them. Religious discourses evidently influenced most of the participants' opinions on termination of the pregnancy. Some participants reported having been punished by the church for impregnating someone out-of- wedlock.

**Discussion:** This study intended to explore Black middle class men's responses and reactions to unplanned pregnancy. It was observed in this study that a reaction to an unplanned pregnancy was understood in relation to the individual's initial reaction to discovering the news of the pregnancy. This could take the form of shock, whilst a response was understood as the long-term response or actions taken at a later stage such as paying *intlawulo*. It was evident that social determinants surpassed scientific determinants when it comes to reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy. This was reflected by the major discourse elicited in the findings which concerned the nature of participants' relationship with the women whom they had allegedly impregnated. The nature of the relationship was understood as follows: The length of the relationship, the state and stability of the relationship (e.g. relationship in the process of ending/ a "Love-Back situation" and the intensity of the love felt for the

partner. It was evident in this study that middle class men's reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy were informed by social determinants which were influenced by cultural and religious discourses that have been normalised leading to ambivalence to scientific determinants of unplanned pregnancy. Scientific determinants can be understood in relation to plausible biological processes responsible for conception and how (lack) knowledge of or ambivalence towards these processes influence reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy.

**Recommendations:** Programs and interventions that provide support to young Black fathers can help create good role models which could break the cycle of unpleasant experiences of being fathered. This could subsequently result in young Black men being motivated to become good fathers. Young Black men need to be challenged to critically engage with cultural discourses around women's sexuality. Moreover, they need to be encouraged to take responsibility of their sexual behaviours. Increased involvement of young Black men in sexual and reproductive health education, dialogues and interventions could be an opportunity for them to gain more knowledge about their sexual behaviour and the consequences thereof. It is further recommended that young Black men be provided with more scientific knowledge around pregnancy.

**Conclusion:** This study gave evidence that shows that young middle class Black men's reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy were informed by their personal experience of being fathered and cultural discourses around sexuality and courtship. Furthermore, social determinants of unplanned pregnancy were pivotal to the manner in which these participants constructed and experienced unplanned pregnancy. Relying on social determinants as opposed to scientific determinants is argued to be detrimental to paternal acknowledgement as this contributes to unplanned pregnancies which occur in less socially acceptable contexts being confronted with negativity. The knowledge generated by this study contributed to a knowledge gap on the reactions and responses of Black middle class men towards unplanned pregnancy.

*Key words: Black fathers, Black men, discourse analysis, fatherhood, intlawulo, middle class, paternity, religion, responses, termination, unplanned pregnancy.*

# Contents

DECLARATION ..... ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... iii
ABSTRACT ..... v
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION ..... 1
1.1 Rationale of study ..... 4
1.2 Aim of the study ..... 6
1.3 Study objectives ..... 6
1.4 Chapter organisation ..... 6
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW ..... 7
2.1 South African fathers ..... 8
2.2 Black South African Fathers vs. The 'Father Absence' phenomenon ..... 9
2.3 What does 'responses' to unplanned pregnancy mean? ..... 11
2.4 Contributors to the manner in which men respond to unplanned pregnancy ..... 12
2.5 Experiences of young fathers ..... 13
2.6 Operational definition of middle- upper class ..... 15
2.7 Conclusion ..... 17
CHAPTER 3: METHOD ..... 18
3.1 Research questions ..... 18
3.2 Research design ..... 18
3.3 Sample ..... 18
3.3.1 Targeted population ..... 19
3.3.2 Targeted sample ..... 20
3.3.3 Actual sample ..... 20
3.4 Recruitment of participants ..... 23
3.5 Instruments ..... 25
3.6 Pilot interview ..... 25
3.7 Data management and analysis ..... 26
3.7.1 Study limitations ..... 27
3.7.2 Reflection ..... 28
3.7.3 Ensuring the study's rigour ..... 28
3.8 Ethical considerations ..... 29
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS ..... 30
4.1 Responses and reactions to pregnancy ..... 31

4.1.1 The Nature of the relationship with the mother ..... 31
4.1.2 Own upbringing ..... 39
4.2 Consideration of financial security ..... 44
4.3 Readiness ..... 46
4.4 Awareness of actions and consequences ..... 48
4.5 Victim of women's deceit/manipulation ..... 50
4.5.1 Discourse around being "trapped" into a happy ever after ..... 54
4.6 Disappointment in one self ..... 56
4.7 Experiences of unplanned pregnancy as emotionally challenging ..... 58
4.8 Need for social support ..... 60
4.9 Meaning of fatherhood ..... 65
4.9.1 Responsibility ..... 65
4.9.2 Active participation ..... 70
4.9.3 Blessing (in retrospect) ..... 74
4.10 Depersonalisation of the *intlawulo* practice ..... 75
4.11 Termination of pregnancy ..... 83
4.12 Religious chastisement ..... 87
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION ..... 90
5.1 Introduction ..... 90
5.2 Reactions and responses ..... 90
5.2.1 Initial reaction was positive, the response that followed also positive. ..... 90
5.2.2 Initial reaction was negative, response that followed was positive. ..... 92
5.3 Social determinants surpass scientific determinants ..... 93
5.3.1 The length of the relationship ..... 93
5.3.2 The state and stability of the relationship ..... 94
5.3.3 Intensity of love felt for partner ..... 95
5.4 Conclusion ..... 95
5.5 Recommendations ..... 96
6 CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION ..... 97
6.1 Future research ..... 99
7 REFERENCES ..... 100
8 List of appendixes ..... 110
8.1 Appendix I: Semi-structured questions intended to be used to guide interviews: ..... 110
8.2 Appendix II: Participant information sheet ..... 111

8.3 Appendix III: Consent Form (Interview) ..... 113
8.4 Appendix IV: Consent Form-Recording ..... 114
8.5 Appendix V List of figures: Figure 1: Map of 7 regions of Johannesburg ..... 115
8.5 Appendix VI: Table 1: summary of participant's demographic information and background. 116

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Unplanned pregnancy is a phenomenon that is no stranger in South African studies. This phenomenon has been extensively researched within this context (Kaufman, de Wet, & Stadler, 2001; Macleod, 1999; Makiwane, Desmond, Richter, & Udjo, 2006). Most of this research focuses on impoverished communities, often explores the link between knowledge and use of contraception and childbearing, family structures, tradition, fertility and health services (Bakilana & Esau, 2003; Harrison, Xaba, & Kunene, 2001; Kaufman, de Wet, & Stadler, 2001; Manzini, 2001). This research seems one dimensional in that it often focuses on the mothers' experiences while the fathers' experiences are neglected (Mkhwanazi 2010; Nduna & Jewkes, 2012; Panday, Makiwane, Ranchod, & Letsoalo, 2009). Research on fathers is frequently secondary and speaks about fathers through women who have been impregnated by or borne children for young men (Futris & Schoppe- Sullivan, 2007).

The few studies that have attempted to explore unplanned pregnancy from the male perspective, explore fatherhood in two ways; they explore the experiences of fathers in relation to how they were fathered and how this affects how they father their children (Allen & Doherty, 1996; Bradfield, 2006; Bucklin, 1996; Veneziano & Rohner, 1998 as cited in Swartz & Bhana, 2009). They also explore the assumed link between early parenting and negative life outcomes such as delinquency (Wei, Loeber, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2002). The fact that the first study to directly explore the experiences of young fathers in South Africa and be a platform for their voices to be heard was conducted just over five years ago (see, Swartz and Bhana's 2009 'Teenage Tata'), testifies to the one-dimensional approach that dominates research on early parenting in South Africa (Ederstein & Boonzainer, 2013). This one dimensional approach has resulted in a dearth in literature that focuses on young fathers in South Africa.

Research on unplanned pregnancy in South Africa often takes a stance which focuses on gender inequalities, power dynamics and constructions of masculinity (Bhana & Nkani, 2014; Harrison & O'Sullivian, 2010; Jewkes, Vundule, Mafarah, & Jordaan, 2001). This research often results in discourses of the *'bad man'* where the woman is portrayed as victim and the man as the perpetrator (Jewkes, Morrell, & Christofides, 2009; Panday et al., 2009; Chigona & Chetty, 2007; Bearinger, 2007; Pettifor et al., 2005 as cited in Willan, 2013, Madhavan, Townsend, & Garey, 2008; Morrell, 2007; Pattman, 2007). These discourses result in men being assumed to be uninterested, uninvolved and wilfully absent in their children's lives

(Enderstein & Boonzainer, 2013). Young fathers are presented in a negative light and portrayed as sexually irresponsible (Barret & Robinson, 1985). They are frequently regarded as "a shadowy, unknown figure, more of a culprit than a potential contributor to either the mother or his offspring" (Parke, Power, & Fisher, 1980, p. 90 as cited in Chili, 2013) and as unsupportive individuals who neglect and abandon their children (Speak, 2006). Inasmuch as there is a grain of truth in this perception (Manyatshe & Nduna, 2014; Nduna, 2014), this is not always the case as observed in a number of studies (Chili, 2013; Panday et al., 2009; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). These representations can be said to be a consequence of the fact that literature on fathers is often accumulated through mothers who may have experienced negative encounters with the fathers of their children. Literature that attempts to move away from such discourses often ends up faulting the mother with discourses such as 'deviant and immoral' normally used to describe teenage mother (Chohan & Langa, 2011). This study intended to explore unplanned pregnancy from a male perspective and hopes to achieve this without reinforcing existing stereotypes.

This study explores how Black middle-class men respond to unplanned pregnancy. For the purpose of this study individuals who earn above R10, 000 (a month before deductions) fall into the category of middle class. Factors such as social support and attitude regarding fatherhood, which may affect the manner in which men respond to unplanned pregnancy, are explored. Focus was directed at Black men from middle-upper socio-economic backgrounds to eliminate the financial instability as that is the frequently reported justification for the lack of father involvement (Langa & Smith, 2012; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Through the elimination of financial instability, it was hoped that there would be room for other explanations for men's responses to emerge.

Furthermore, through the elimination financial instability as a possible excuse, this study intended to give men an opportunity to express other challenges that they may face which influence the manner in which they respond to the unplanned pregnancy. This study hoped to add knowledge on young Black men's responses to unplanned pregnancy. This knowledge can be used to identify appropriate and relevant interventions such as getting men to think critically and reflect upon their role in unplanned pregnancy. This can challenge men to come up with behavioural changes which they can make to ensure that they are not perpetuating the existing stereotypical representations of Black men in relation to unplanned pregnancy. Such representations often portray young Black fathers as being irresponsible individuals who father children as a consequence of their irresponsible sexual behaviours (Chili, 2013).

Furthermore, this knowledge can be used to identify ways in which men can be provided with support and guidance, to improve the quality of their involvement in their children's lives.

## 1.1Rationale of study

Since Swartz and Bhana's (2009) 'Teenage Tata' study, there has been a slow but gradual development in literature on young Black South African fathers' experiences of teenage pregnancy (e.g. Chili, 2013; Langa & Smith, 2012; Madhavan, Harrison, & Sennott, 2013). The little data that is available focuses on the experiences of men from low socio-economic backgrounds who have poor schooling performance, low education attainment and can barely afford to financially support the child and the mother (Panday et al., 2009). Focusing on such contexts often results in literature that attributes men's responses to unplanned pregnancy and father absence to their financial instability.

Financial support has been observed to be one of the significant features in processes of paternal acknowledgement (Bhana & Nkani, 2014; Kaufman, de Wet, & Stadler, 2001). Most South African ethnic groups use the traditional process to acknowledge a pregnancy where *'intlawulo'* is paid. *Intlawulo* can be understood as a fine which the man pays to the woman's family as a symbol of acceptance and acknowledgement of the paternity of the child (Langa & Smith, 2012; Madhavan & Roy, 2012; Nduna & Jewkes, 2012; Ramphele, 2002). Apart from the cultural process of acknowledgement, traditionally the role of a father is to be the breadwinner and to provide for their family (Lamb, 2000 as cited in Richter et al., 2012). Research has shown that many Black men believe that fatherhood is embedded in one's ability to provide financially for his child (Bunting & McAuley, 2004; Khunou, 2006; Chili, 2013). Given the high unemployment rates in South Africa which was 24 % in 2013, of that 50% were the youth (Stats SA, February 2014), one cannot deny that financial instability acts as a barrier making it difficult for fathers to be involved in their children's lives as illustrated by (Chili, 2013 ; Khunou,2008 ; Swartz, Bhana, Richter, &Versfeld, 2013).

Research constantly focusing on financial instability creates an assumption that men who are financially stable respond differently to unplanned pregnancy yet there is no evidence of this. Langa and Smith (2012) found that in some contexts such as townships and urban areas, there has been an erosion of cultural practices such as that of paying *intlawulo*. According to Langa and Smith (2012), only 12% of the participants reported to have paid *intlawulo*, and the other 88% said that they had not been asked to pay any 'damage'. Based on the frequent tendency of attributing negative responses to unplanned pregnancy to financial instability, one would assume that the 88% of the participants who were not asked to pay for damages responded positively to the unplanned pregnancy and were present in the child's life. This sparked

questions of whether eliminating the frequently reported financial instability, would present different results and would mean men view and respond to unplanned pregnancy differently to those in low socio-economic backgrounds. Grounded on this, this study gravitated towards exploring how Black men living in middle-upper socio-economic backgrounds respond and react to unplanned pregnancy.

## 1.2 Aim of the study

The aim of this study was to explore Black middle class men's reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy.

## 1.3 Study objectives

i. To study how Black middle class men react to the news of an unplanned pregnancy.
ii. To explore how Black middle class men respond to an unplanned pregnancy.
iii. To explore the reported factors which influence the manner in which Black middle class men respond to unplanned pregnancy.
iv. To explore how Black men, from middle socio-economic backgrounds experience unplanned pregnancy.

## 1.4 Chapter organisation

**Chapter one** is an introduction to the study, its context and the rationale behind the study, including a justification for its focus on middle-class Black men**. Chapter two** comprises a detailed literature review. In this chapter, the following are discussed: South African fathers; South African fathers vs. the 'father absence' phenomenon; Black men and what "responses to unplanned pregnancy mean." Literature on contributors to the manner in which men respond to unplanned pregnancy was explored, hence literature on the experiences of young fathers will be provided. This chapter provides an operational definition of the phrase middle-upper class and the indicator that has been used to identify this socio-economic status in this study. **Chapter three** is a description of this study's methods. This includes the research questions and study design, sample and sampling, the study site, data collection procedures and instruments used, data management and analysis, study limitations, approaches to ensuring the study's rigour, the study's limitations and ethical considerations. **Chapter four** presents the study's findings. These are presented as a narrative by the researcher, with direct quotes from the participants strategically mobilised for illustrative purposes. **Chapter five** presents the discussion of the findings presented in the fifth chapter. Recommendations are made and provided in this chapter. **Chapter six** provides a conclusion to this study and recommendations for future research.

# CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature search for this study was conducted through the following search engines; Google scholar, Google books, JSTOR, Ebscohost, Oxford University online journals, TandFonline, SAGE and Wits Library e-catalogue. Literature written in the English language was searched with the assumption that research which had been previously conducted and written in African indigenous languages had been translated into English prior to publication. The key words used when searching for relevant literature included the following: Black fathers, Black middle class fathers, fatherhood, unplanned pregnancy in South Africa, middle class Black men, early parenting, and father absence. The literature search focused on literature in South Africa as global North studies focused on unplanned pregnancy in relation to teenagers or adolescents (between ages 15-24) and therefore, it does not cover the ages targeted in this study.

Garcia, Pence and Evans (2008) observed that in African countries, Namibia had the highest rate of fathers being absent from their children's lives followed by South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Kenya. Inasmuch as literature from these countries would have given accounts from countries that share similar cultural practices and values in relation to unplanned pregnancy, this study did not explore this literature as it focused on patterns of migrant labour during colonialism which resulted in the role of Black fathers being limited to being economic providers (Garcia et al., 2008). Furthermore, literature on young Black fathers in Africa often focused on the father's high levels of poverty, unemployment and high HIV prevalence rates. The focus on young Black father was evidently for the purpose of HIV education, sexual health education and for the purpose of recruitment into sexual health and wellness intervention programs (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). All this is beyond the scope of the current study.

Literature dating back to the early 2000s was also explored. However, most of this literature makes inferences based on the experiences of the mother, this could be a consequence of the fact that the role played by fathers in their children's lives is undermined and there is great emphasis on the role played by the mother (Mahan & Browning, 2003). In a society such as South Africa where there are significant father figures such as social fathers who take on the role of the biological father (Richter & Morrell, 2006; Richter et al., 2012), the role of the biological father is not emphasised resulting in the absence of the biological father being

viewed as a societal norm and young fathers being neglected even in all realms including research.

There was very little data available on middle class fathers. Most literature focused on Black fathers in low socio-economic backgrounds. This could be a consequence of researcher's assumptions that such phenomena are exclusive to poor people. Macleod (1999) makes reference to a tendency by researchers to associate teenage pregnancy with low socio-economic status. Research focusing on the low socio-economic strata could be a result of teenage pregnancy being prevalent in such contexts and is viewed as a social problem as it becomes a burden to state resources (Morrel, Bhana, & Shefer, 2012). Research on people of higher socio-economic contexts may be difficult due to the demands and pressures of the lifestyle in these contexts such as not having time to participate because working hours are too long.

## 2.1 South African fathers

While exploring literature on Black fathers in South Africa, it became evident that there is very limited information. The main challenge to conducting research on fathers is that identifying and contacting fathers is complex, making it difficult to recruit them for research studies, whereas identifying mothers is much simpler (Thompson & Walker, 2004). There are many reasons for this complexity; it is uncommon for young mothers to give the name and age of their partners at the time of delivery and a very large number of young mothers go for hospital or clinic visits unaccompanied by the fathers of their children (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Most household surveys conducted in the hopes to capture data on biological reproduction are often administered to women rather than men (Morrell, Posel, & Devey, 2003). There are a number of reasons for this; one being that in some cases these surveys are conducted for the sole purpose of capturing data pertaining to fertility rates and infant or child mortality rates, and information on fatherhood is not necessary (Morrell et al., 2003). Another reason for this is that it is impossible for a woman to question or dispute her motherhood, whereas men are able to do this (Nduna & Jewkes, 2012). In some cases men would underreport the number of children that they have fathered, especially those out of their marriage and those from their previous relationships (Posel & Devey, 2006). Although the information accumulated through surveys such as the Estimation of fertility from the 2007 Community Survey of South Africa is useful (Statistics South Africa, 2010), they do not give us information pertaining to fathers in South Africa. This has led to not much being

known about the number of fathers in South Africa, their characteristics and how this has changed over time.

## 2.2 Black South African Fathers vs. The 'Father Absence' phenomenon

Father absence is a term which frequently emerges when exploring Black South African fathers (Langa, 2010; Ratele, Shafer, & Clowes, 2012; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). This study argues that research on Black South African fathers often limits Black South African fathers to the 'father absence' phenomenon, which often focuses on the absence of the father in the house-hold (Madhavan et al., 2008). It is important that we define the term 'father absence' as 'absent' and 'father' as comprising different facets. In collectivist contexts such as South Africa, the term 'father' is fluid. It can be used to refer to many male members of one's family such as grandfathers and uncles (Hunter, 2006). In such contexts, the word 'father' is connected to kinship ties and the social role that a man plays in a child's life rather than biological ties.

Morrell (2006) makes reference to different roles which can be played by a 'father'. The social father is a man who takes care, in some cases even lives with, children who are not biologically his. These children could be children of the women he is in a relationship with or could be his sisters' children or grandchildren (Morrell, 2006). In many African homes where there is an extended family structure, the social father is common (Morrell et al., 2003). Furthermore, there is also an economic father. The economic father is a man who takes on the role of financially providing for the child such as paying school fees or meeting any other financial need (Morrell et al., 2003). For the purpose of this research, the word 'father' has been used in relation to biological ties, where a man has impregnated a woman.

"Absent father" is a term that can be understood in different ways, it can be understood as fathers who are absent physically, emotionally and financially (Balcom, 1998). According to King and Sobolewski (2006), absent father can be defined as non-residential, unknown and undisclosed fathers. Unknown fathers can be understood in relation to children who do not know who their fathers are (Nduna & Jewkes, 2011). This can be in the form of the biological father being unknown to the mother, child and other family members. Alternatively, this could be in the form of the father who is known to the mother but does not acknowledge having fathered the child (Nduna & Jewkes, 2011). According to Nduna (2014) undisclosed fathers refer to biological fathers whose identity has not been disclosed by the mother to the

child (ren). The fathers in the current study were known by all parties involved; mother, child and the respective families and were disclosed as the child's father.

This study acknowledges that the child and father not living in the same household may contribute to their interaction declining. For example; Cheadle, Amato and King (2010) have observed that while non-residential fathers are initially involved in their children's lives, over time there appears to be a gradual decline in contact between fathers and their children. This trend has been attributed to a progressive drift apart between fathers and their children. With this said, this study argues that inasmuch as there are some negative aspects to non-residency between the father and child, co-residency is not a true reflection of father involvement. Studies which limit biological Black South African fathers to the phenomenon of father absence can be said to look at fatherhood in relation to Western ideas of the nuclear family as the father's absence in the household is assumed to be a reflection of the absence of his support while the father's co-residence is treated as evidence of his support (Madhavan, Townsend et al., 2008). This can be said to undermine the role of fathers who are non-residential but meet their children's needs. Research has found that some non-residential fathers appreciate taking on the role of simply 'being there' for their children. This can be understood as being involved in a child's life in different ways such as being available to them in terms of phone calls, spending time with them and being available when needed by the child (Reynolds, 2009).

Limiting the role of a father to residency gives a flawed reflection of the involvement of many Black South African fathers across generations. This dates back to the colonial era where fathers had to leave their wives and children in Bantustans and migrate to the city for the sake of insuring that their families were fed (Hunter, 2006; Ramphele & Richter, 2010). Inasmuch as this may reinforce hegemonic constructions of fatherhood, as the focus is placed on financial provision, one cannot deny that at times; due to circumstances such as employment location, a father's involvement may take the form of being a distant provider. That does not mean that there is no emotional interaction with their child nor does this mean the father is absent from the child's life.

Through straying away from limiting father involvement to co-residency between father and child, this study hopes to move towards exploring different conceptualisations of a father's presence in their child's life. These could include the following three types of father presence: "(a) accessibility (parent is physically and psychologically available to child), (b)

engagement (parent interacting with child in one-on-one activity), and (c) responsibility (parent assumes responsibility for welfare and care of child)" (Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, & Levine, 1987 in Futris & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2007, p.259).

## 2.3 What does 'responses' to unplanned pregnancy mean?

In most South African communities, the concept of responses to unplanned pregnancy is understood in relation to paternal acknowledgement, which can be divided into negative responses or positive responses (Nduna & Jewkes, 2012). Positive responses from a cultural practice of paternal acknowledgement would be where the alleged father accepts to pay *intlawulo* as a symbol of his acceptance to taking responsibility for the pregnancy; this signifies his acknowledgement of the child's paternity. Based on the same perspective, negative responses would then be the opposite of this, the act of contesting responsibility for fathering the child; this includes denial, disputing, evasion and temporizing (Nduna & Jewkes, 2012).

The phenomenon of men's responses to unplanned pregnancy is made complex by the complicated nature of paternal acknowledgement in the South African context. Within this context, paternal acknowledgment is highly associated with financial support and kinship ties. This association can be said to perpetuate traditional masculinity values that limit the role of the father to being a financial provider (Richter & Morrell, 2006), and undermine the role played by the fathers who provide other forms of support such as emotional and social support for the mother and child because these forms of support do not conform to the typical gender roles that govern cultural processes of paternal acknowledgement (Montgomery, Hosegood, Busza, & Timaeus, 2006; Richter & Morrell, 2006). This association also produces patrilineality. This study hoped that the influence of the cultural shifts and modern values in urban and township areas, as a consequence of modernization, as observed by Langa and Smith (2012), would move away from conceptualizing reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy in relation to the payment of *intlawulo* and give room for different conceptualizations to be explored.

## 2.4 Contributors to the manner in which men respond to unplanned pregnancy

It can be argued that the relationships which exist within the man's ecological system have an impact on his response to unplanned pregnancy. At the individual level, the meanings and perceptions of fatherhood which the man holds can influence his response. Marsiglo (1993) found amongst black men who participated in his study that those who hold strong traditional values around masculinity viewed fatherhood in a positive light as they perceived this as a reflection of their fertility and masculinity. Similarly Swartz and Bhana (2009) observed that most men who acknowledged the paternity of their children attributed this to their sense of masculinity and reported this as an act of being a responsible man. A study conducted on young African-American fathers, which was directed at exploring their attitudes towards their paternal role, revealed that their attitude and motivation to fulfil the role of being a father was influenced by what fatherhood meant to them (Allen & Doherty, 1996; Chili, 2013).

In relation to others; the quality of the relationship between the father and the mother before discovering the pregnancy is observed to contribute to the father's reaction to the pregnancy (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015). This further influences the response that follows as reflected by his level of involvement throughout the pregnancy and later in the child's life. Hence the relationship between the unwed father and mother is a critical factor in predicting paternal involvement (Johnson, 2001).

Men's upbringing may have an influence on one's attitude regarding unintended pregnancy. For example, Swartz and Bhana (2009) observed that for young fathers who were raised without the presence of their biological fathers, this either motivate them to become much more responsible and accept the child's paternity or continue the cycle of denying the child's paternity. It can be argued that children who are exposed to good role models, fathers who are active in their children's lives and provide them with advice and guidance, could develop a positive attitude towards fatherhood. This can be learned through modelling those around them, which could lead to positive responses to unplanned pregnancy. This, amongst many other reasons is why research on fathers is important as this could be an opportunity to explore ways in which the quality of a father's involvement in their children's lives is improved.

Social support has been observed to be very influential in shaping how young fathers perceive fatherhood (Lamb & Elster, 1986). This influences how the young father makes

sense of fatherhood and how to take on the new role of being a father. With support from family members, friends and significant others, the individual is much more active and adequate at taking on the tasks of fatherhood (Rivara, Sweeney, & Henderson, 1985). In his study of black young fathers in the inner-city, Sullivan (1985) found that majority of young fathers who were involved in their children's lives were receiving some social support from those around them. This support came in different forms, financial, material assistance or assistance with the caretaking responsibilities. Black grandparents, grandmothers in particular, have been observed to play a crucial role in child rearing through supporting the parents (Hunter, 1997).

Literature on fatherhood gives evidence suggesting that maternal support provided to young fathers can encourage them to become much more involved in their children's lives (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998). Furthermore, in a study conducted on African-American adolescent fathers, it was observed that emotional support provided by family members contributed to an improvement in the quality of the father's involvement in the child's life (Miller,1994; Bunting & McAuley, 2004). This literature illustrates that there is a lot of support needed for young fathers to assist them move towards being much more involved in their children's lives. Through exploring unplanned pregnancy in relation to the father, this study is a stepping stone in the direction of identifying interventions to provide young fathers the social support they need.

## 2.5 Experiences of young fathers

Young fathers face many challenges similar to those faced by young mothers, such as not always receiving the sufficient social support that they need from society, their friends and family (Chohan & Langa, 2011; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). The fact that they are often unprepared for the new parenting role (Fagan & Bernad, 2007) makes it difficult for them to adjust. They are also reported to experience feelings of vulnerability, being afraid and confused (Barret & Robinson, 1985). Langa and Smith (2012) found that young fathers experienced stress upon hearing the news of being a father, they worry and are scared of how their parents would react to the news. Similar results were observed in the Teenage Tata study (Swartz & Bhana, 2009) , here participants reported experiencing a great deal of fear of disclosing the news to their parents as this would reflect their disrespect to the family and would result in their parents feeling deeply embarrassed and ashamed of them. Some of the

participants in this study reported being banished from their homes. Due to the financial responsibilities that come with being a parent, some of these participants had to leave school and seek employment (Mazza, 2002). Some of the participants experience a great deal of stress as they may feel that their hopes to achieving a successful life are destroyed (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). These are a few commonly reported challenges that young men who may not be gainfully employed experience upon hearing that they are going to be a father. These could result in the young man responding negatively to the news, not because he intended to do so but because they are overwhelmed or confused.

In cases where the man had denied the paternity of the child, the mother's side is often reported on, her experiences and distress are documented (e.g. Chohan & Langa, 2011; Nduna & Jewkes, 2012). Very little is known about the man's reasons for denying a pregnancy. In the Swartz and Bhana's (2009) study, uncertainty about being the genitor were reported and the reasons for this uncertainty could be known or suspected infidelity. The participants in Swartz and Bhana (2009) who had denied the paternity of their children reported doing so out of fear of being embarrassed by the girl's family because of their inability to provide financially for the child. Some added that they did this because they had moved onto other relationships and this would disrupt the new relationship which appeared to be better than the older one, so they denied the paternity of the child hoping to protect their new relationship (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). These reasons may spark a great deal of controversy and debate but they are important to consider when exploring men's responses to unplanned pregnancy so that interventions can be designed and implemented to encourage better responses.

In many parts of the world, out of wedlock parenting is perceived as a social issue, a reflection of moral decay. This could be because for many years, marriage has been deemed normal and beneficial and serves as a prelude to childbearing (Coleman, 1998 ; Chili, 2013). Going against this is viewed negatively (MaCleod, 2003). Grounded on this, many studies on out-of-wedlock parenting often focus on the negative aspects of this phenomena and neglect positive aspects. This has led to assumptions being made such as; unwed fatherhood results in negative outcomes such as violent behaviour, crime and delinquency (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). International studies on young fathers have shown that the consequences of unwed fatherhood include:

> increased poverty and dependence on welfare among young fathers (Giddens & Birdsall, 2001; Mollborn, 2006; O'Connor, 1998); delinquency and repeat offending by young fathers (Breslin, 1998; Florsheim et al., 1999; Wei et al, 2002); lower levels of education (Marsiglio, 1986); diminished employment opportunities and performance in the work place (Bunting & McAuley, 2004; Giddens & Birdsall, 2001; ESRC, 1997; Pirog-Good, 1996); and poorer health, educational and behavioural outcomes for children born to teenage parents (Thornberry et al, 1997) (as cited in Richter et al, 2012, p. 13).

However, some studies suggest that early fatherhood comes with many life changes that may have positive influences on the individual. Early fatherhood may motivate men to seek employment, pursue other means to generate income, encourage positive outcomes such as being a responsible parent (Swartz et al., 2013). These contradictions in literature illustrate the complexity of the transition to fatherhood as it may have negative or positive impact on the individual's development.

The terminology used when speaking of this phenomena, such as 'teenage pregnancy' 'illegitimate child' 'unplanned pregnancy' 'unmarried father' seem to present parenthood as synonymous to marriage. These concepts have created ideas of how adolescents should and should not behave; ideas of how pregnancy should take place and how families should look like, anyone who goes against this should be viewed negatively (MaCleod, 2003).

## 2.6 Operational definition of middle- upper class

There is a lack in consensus as to 'who and what' is the middle class in South Africa. This lack of consensus lies in the complex nature of defining middle or upper middle class because there are a number of subjective variables that are used as indicators of these socio-economic contexts (Visagie & Posel, 2013). For example, some people may identify themselves as belonging to the middle class based on geographical standards, where they grew up, and their neighbourhood, the position of their family in the community they live in and in relation to their parent's occupation (Khunou,2012). In Khunou's (2012) study one of participants explains having observed that she was different from her peers because her mother did not work in the Kitchens (referring to doing domestic work) as most of the mothers in the area, and they did not eat the dry bread that most households ate. The presence of both her parents in the household, as compared to her peers who were being raised by extended family members was a feature that set them apart from others in their community allowing them to self-identify as middle class. Another participant explained that her having her own bedroom

which was uncommon to most of her peers put her in a higher socio-economic class compared to her peers (Khunou, 2012).

Inasmuch as it is difficult to accurately define who and what the middle class in South Africa is, it is obvious that post 1994, South Africa's middle class has grown. It has been said that it grew from 8.8% in 1994 to 11.4% in 2000, the main feature to this growth is that it is characterised by an increase in the number of Black South Africans taking on high-level occupations and professions (Rivero, Du Toit, & Kotze, 2003). With the growing number of the Black middle class post 1994, there has been a lot of research conducted on the Black middle class (Southall, 2004; Khunou, 2012; Burger & McAravey, 2014).

Such research takes different approaches depending on the focus and intention of the study. Frequently, the Black middle class is explored in relation to the retail industry. Such research presents the Black middle class as conspicuous consumers who over spend on designer labels and extravagant cars and are often in debt as a result of this (Khunou, 2012; Visagie & Posel, 2013). Other studies take a more theoretical stance and explore how knowledge, social constructs such as class, meanings of class, and complexity of behavioural patterns such as language are used by individuals to position themselves in social classes (Krige 2011; Khunou, 2012). In their study, Visagie and Posel (2013) attempt to objectively define this concept and they do this on the basis of individual/ household earnings or household wellbeing (i.e. the total household income which falls within a particular range will be an indicator of middle or upper middle class). On the other hand, lifestyle has been used as indicators of class. Here they define the middle class as individuals who reside in formal housing where tap water, flush toilet, electricity, landline or cell phone is available in the household. Zoch (2013) takes on a different perspective; alongside using household income and the presence of a parent in the household, this study uses the parent's level of education, in relation to the child's future prospects, to define middle class. In this study higher education, presence of a parent in the household and income are indicators of a middle class status.

It is clear that both middle and upper middle class are very subjective concepts that are highly dependent on the stance that the researcher chooses to take. Due to this study's intention of exploring if eliminating financial instability influences the manner in which Black men respond to unplanned pregnancy, this study operationalises middle class using individual

earnings. In this study individuals who earn above R10, 000 (a month before deductions) fall into the category of middle class.

## 2.7 Conclusion

Through the literature reviewed on unplanned pregnancy in South Africa, it was evident that research often focuses on gender inequalities, power dynamics and constructions of masculinity (Bhana & Nkani, 2014; Harrison & O'Sullivian, 2010; Jewkes, Vundule, Mafarah, & Jordaan, 2001). Such stances result in the victim: perpetrator binary where the woman is seen as the former and the man the latter (Willan, 2013). Over the years, there has been progress towards conducting research focused on the man's perspectives and experiences of unplanned pregnancy (e.g. Swartz & Bhana, 2009). However, it is evident that there is a dearth in literature that focuses on the middle class Black man. This has created an assumption that unplanned pregnancy is a phenomenon that does not affect those in the upper economic strata.

# CHAPTER 3: METHOD

This chapter is a description of the current study's methods. It includes the research questions, study design, sample and sampling techniques; the study site, procedures and instruments used to undertake the study, data management and analysis, study limitations, strategies taken to ensure the study's rigour, study's limitations and ethical considerations.

## 3.1 Research questions

1. How do Black middle class men react to news of an unplanned pregnancy?
2. How do Black middle class men respond to an unplanned pregnancy?
3. What factors do Black middle men perceive as influencing their responses to unplanned pregnancy?
4. What are the experiences of Black middle class men who have gone through an unplanned pregnancy?

## 3.2 Research design

This was an exploratory study conducted using a qualitative approach from a social constructionist perspective. Gergen (1985) explains social constructionism as being concerned with how people describe, explain and make sense of the world around them. This approach does not view discourses of individuals as a reflection or map of the world but rather as an artefact of communal interchange. Qualitative research is characterised by being context based; this approach to research aims to explore human experiences from the perspective of the participants within that context (Hoepfl, 1997). This approach does not aim to establish universal truths, instead it aims to explore in-depth a specific phenomenon that not much is known about (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), in the hopes to shed insight on how participants of a specific context make sense of the world around them. The constructivist approach appeared most appropriate to this study as it (the study) does not intend to generalise the findings but instead, seeks to gain an in-depth understanding of young fathers in this particular context.

## 3.3 Sample

A non-probability sampling strategy namely, purposive sampling was used. The snowballing strategy was used to obtain participants for this study. Purposive sampling can be understood as a sampling strategy that the researcher uses to identify a sample that embodies characterises that will be relevant for a particular study (Rubin & Babbie, 2001; Makola, 2010). This sampling strategy took the form of individuals being requested by the researcher

to refer their friends, family or any other people whom they felt met the study's criteria. They gave the researcher those individuals' contact details for the researcher to approach them and provide relevant information. This strategy appeared to be appropriate because this study focused on specific characteristics such as middle-class black men.

### 3.3.1 Targeted population

Initially, this study was targeted at Black men living in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. These areas are classified as Region B of the City of Johannesburg (see figure 1). This is where most of the higher-middle and upper class lives. This region has been reported to have the lowest number of people living in poverty (Malikane et al., 2012 as cited in City of Johannesburg, 2015). This region is the least densely populated region of the City of Johannesburg, housing a low 9.4 % of the city's population. Region B includes the residential areas such as Fourways, Sunninghill, Woodmead, Strijdom Park, Sandton, Randburg, Northcliff, Rosebank and Parktown. These areas are often referred to as the Northern Suburbs. Region B is one of the economic and financial hubs of Johannesburg and is undoubtedly home to the economically active and financially stable people of Johannesburg who have high levels of education and disposable incomes (City of Johannesburg, 2015).




**Figure 1; Map of the 7 regions of Johannesburg. Taken from City of Johannesburg: 2010/16 Integrated development Plan p. 11**

### 3.3.2 Targeted sample

This study intended to use a sample of young men living in Region B area in the hopes to obtain a sample of middle-upper class young men. This, however, proved to be a challenge during the recruitment process as some individuals worked in these areas but in some cases did not reside there. It also became evident that limiting the sample to this geographical area was not conducive to the recruitment process as potential participants met the criteria of having been told by their partner that they have impregnated them and had a stable, and gainful income of a minimum of R10, 000.00 but lived in other regions of Gauteng such as Pretoria, Centurion, Kempton Park and some areas of Soweto.

### 3.3.3 Actual sample

The study sample comprised nine Black male participants who had been told by their sexual partner(s) that they were responsible for their pregnancy. These men either acknowledged the child's paternity or felt that they were mistakenly alleged to be responsible for pregnancy for which they felt they were not. These men were gainfully employed and considered

themselves as being part of the middle class economic strata as reflected by their monthly gross income of a minimum of R10, 000 00. These individuals ranged from ages 25-35 years. The reason for this preferred age group is that between these ages, it is assumed that these young men have secured some source of income or are in the process of doing so.

**Table 1: Summary of participants' demographic information and background.**

| Pseudonyms | Age | Ethnic group | Mode of recruitment | Relevant information |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andile | 27 | Tswana | Referred by another participant | Father of 3 children, all were unplanned. He has two children from his past long-term relationship. For this study he focused on the last unplanned pregnancy of his 1 year old son that he found out about 3 months after the relationship had ended. Participant came with his current girlfriend to the interview. Interview took place at the Hatfield Quatrain Station due to space constraints. |
| Vuyo | 29 | Venda | Instagram | First time father to a young boy less than a year old. Unplanned pregnancy occurred in a relationship that he was in the process of leaving as he had found someone else that he felt met his desires. Interview was conducted in a restaurant in Braamfontein, venue was convenient to both researcher and participant. |
| Thabo | 34 | Tsonga | Approached by researcher at social gathering | Father of a 6 year old girl, he reflected on this unplanned pregnancy that happened when he was younger. At the time of the interview he and the mother were together. Interview took place at a food outlet on Wits East campus (the Postgraduate PUB) as this was the most convenient place. |
| Vusi | 27 | Zulu | Referred by another participant | Father of 3, has an older daughter who is 6 years old. For this study he focused on his unplanned 9 months old twins who were conceived in a relationship that was intended to be about fun. Interview took place at a restaurant in Braamfontein as this was the most convenient place. |
| Mandla | 35 | Tsonga | Facebook | Father of 2, has a 17 year old son that he had when he was young. For this study he focused on the pregnancy of his 11 month son whom he felt he was ready for as opposed to the first pregnancy. Interview took place in his car at the parking lot at Eastgate Mall due to lack an alternative space. |
| Muzi | 29 | Zulu | Twitter | Father of 1, reflected on the unplanned pregnancy that occurred when he was 19 years old when his 10 year old son was conceived. Interview took place in a restaurant in Braamfontein as this was the most convenient place available. |
| Luyolo | 33 | Xhosa | Facebook | Luyolo had experienced two unplanned pregnancies of which one resulted in termination. He spoke of the unplanned pregnancy of his son who was 6 years old at the time of the interview. He and the mother were not together and has missed out on his son's first 5 years; he had not paid *intlawulo* for him. He was employed at the time of the interview and is in the process of taking responsibility of his son. The interview took place at the Postgraduate PUB on Wits East campus. |
| Bantu | 27 | Venda | Instagram | Father of a 5 year old girl, reflected on an unplanned pregnancy that occurred when he was younger. When the pregnancy occurred, he and the mother were in the process of breaking up. Interview took place in his work office. |
| Nhlanhla | 26 | Zulu | Facebook | Father of 4: Twins and two new-borns all were unplanned and born in 2015 of 3 different women. He reflected on these unplanned pregnancies. He is currently not with any of these women. Interview took place at a food outlet at the Pretoria Quatrain Station due to space constraints. |

The information on the table, about the participants ,was collected during the audio-recorded interview sessions.

Vuyo, Thabo, Muzi, Luyolo and Bantu were first time fathers with children between ages one to ten years. Andile, Vusi, Mandla and Nhlanhla were fathers of more than one child ranging from ages one to seventeen years. These fathers were not financially stable at the time when they discovered the news of the unplanned pregnancy but their financial status was at the time of the interview. They gave accounts of their experience of the unplanned pregnancy in retrospect.

This study intended to use young men who had been said to have fathered (or allegedly) an unplanned pregnancy. For the purpose of this study the term planned pregnancy was used in relation to a conscious decision to impregnate the woman for example: stop contraception or condom use in order to have a baby or target fertile periods. Unplanned was then the opposite of this where the individuals may want a child but have not set a specific time for this to happen or pregnancy occurs as a result of lack of contraception or no/inconsistent condom use (Barrett & Wellings, 2002). Two participants revealed at a later stage in the study that they had 'planned' their pregnancies. Mandla (35) explained that he and his partner had discussed having their one year old son, prior to the pregnancy. Nhlanhla (26) reported that he and his girlfriend had been in a long-term relationship and felt that their relationship was ready for a child. These two participants were included in the sample because inasmuch as they may have said they discussed having a child with their partner, their narratives reflected a "passive style of decision-making, which is also referred to as *automatic childbearing* (Meyers, 2001)". This decision-making style is "characterised by communication between partners that is indirect or non-verbal that assumes consensus" (Rijken & Knijn, 2009; Wolff et al. 2000; Morison & Macleod, 2015, p. 54). They appeared to have let the pregnancy be as it had already occurred as opposed to having planned to have a baby. The contradictions between these persons and their narratives reflected the complex nature of the term unplanned pregnancy as "admitting to an unplanned pregnancy would open a speaker up to being negatively positioned as irresponsible, negligent or lacking in control" (Morison & Macleod, 2015, p. 56) .

## 3.4 Recruitment of participants

Recruiting participants for this study proved to be challenging as participants were at first reluctant to participate. Sonke Gender Justice, a non-governmental organisation (NGO) working with men in South Africa (Peacock, 2013) was approached for assistance with

referrals for young Black fathers. This was unsuccessful as most of the Black fathers they could refer fell within the low socio-economic strata. Some of the individuals referred by friends and colleagues were reluctant to participate as they thought that the study was a scam that would compromise their confidential information (e.g. through their personal lives being exposed to the public). However, they finally agreed to participate after the researcher explained the study in-depth.

Participants were recruited through snowballing using adverts about this study being posted on social media platforms, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and WhatsApp. The researcher discovered an Instagram page called "I love fatherhood": (www.ilovefatherhooddotcodotza.wordpress.com). This is a page for proud fathers who identify themselves as being hands on in their children's upbringing. Once the researcher got in touch with the administrator of the page she requested that he posts an advertisement of the study on the page. It was requested that he refer individuals who met the study's criteria through providing them with the researcher's email address. Using this page as a recruitment space may have resulted in the sample being biased because this exposed the study to a particular audience: young Black fathers who have (had) positive experiences of fatherhood, as reflected by the name of the page.

These advertisements had brief information about the study, who was eligible to participate and the researcher's email address (as appendix II). These posters were circulated on social media through the researcher's accounts and were also shared by her friends and family to increase the number of people who could possibly see them. Individuals who were interested contacted the researcher via email and were provided with the research information sheet. Others were approached by the researcher in social areas, such as the PIG (Postgraduate Pub on the University of the Witwatersrand East campus) or gatherings. These individuals were informally introduced to the study, contact details were then exchanged with the researcher so that they could be provided with the study's information sheet. Most communication prior to the interview was through WhatsApp or email where the information sheet was explained to the potential participants. Once this was done and the individuals were aware of what the research entailed the researcher scheduled appointments for the interview to be held. These were scheduled according to both the research and potential participant's availability. These interviews took place after working hours during the week, and on Saturday mornings at places most convenient to the participants. Consent was only given on the day of the interview. R100 was offered to the participants at the end of the interview to reimburse their

travelling costs. Most of the participants, with the exception of three, rejected the R100 and opted for the researcher paying for their coffee or a drink. The participants will be granted the opportunity to gain access to the final report on the Wits library or on the internet.

## 3.5 Instruments

This study made use of a semi-structured interview guide that was used while conducting the one-on-one interviews (see Appendix I). Semi-structured interviews have a few questions that lead the research in the direction that the researcher has intended (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003). The questions asked included:

1. What was your initial reaction when your partner told you that she were pregnant? Probe: why? And get more about this scenario.
2. What influenced the manner in which you responded to the news (see Appendix I for more questions).

A semi-structured interview guide was important for this study because inasmuch as this study hoped to be flexible and allow the participants to express themselves in-depth, the information needed to be relevant to this study. The reason for one-on-one interviews being used was influenced by the private nature of the topic wherein auditory and visual privacy are pertinent. It was hoped that using interviews would benefit this study as interviews are advantageous at providing the researcher with information that will give them sufficient insight into the meaning and significance of what is happening in a particular context (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003).

## 3.6 Pilot interview

The researcher piloted the semi-structured interview guide with a 34 year old Black man who initially appeared to meet the study's criteria, however it became evident that he used his geographical location as an indicator of him being part of the middle class strata as opposed to the income earnings which was used in this study. Therefore did not meet this study's criteria. This individual was referred by a mutual friend. This interview took place at a restaurant in Braamfontein on a Thursday evening as this was most convenient for the participant. The participant and researcher had met before so it was easy to establish rapport. The interview proceeded over a cup of coffee.

The purpose of this pilot study was to help the researcher familiarise herself with interview guide and use this as a learning experience to improve her interviewing skills such as when

and how to probe. Alongside this, this pilot helped the researcher gain confidence in herself and observe the participant's level of comfort and manner in which the participant interacted with her. This was done in efforts to establish if it was necessary for her to seek the help of a Black male research assistant who would conduct the interviews on her behalf. This was also an opportunity for the researcher to evaluate if the questions of the interview guide were providing information that is relevant to the research topic. In doing so the researcher could then determine if there were necessary amendments needed to be made to the guide. Through the pilot the researcher was able to establish an approximate period of time that the interview would take allowing her to provide this information to the participants when scheduling an appointment for the one-on-one interviews.

This pilot assisted the researcher to make a few changes to the questions on the initial interview guide. Furthermore, this made the researcher aware that some of the participants could not be first time fathers and would often want to draw on the different experiences to answer different questions which then resulted in her pointing out to non-first time fathers to try and make reference to one experience of an unplanned pregnancy. Reading the transcript of this interview made the researcher aware that she needed to be more selective in the manner in which she probed because at times she came across as being too intrusive, suggestive and subjective. This also revealed to her opportunities which she missed where she could have probed.

## 3.7 Data management and analysis

One-on-one interviews were conducted in IsiXhosa, isiZulu and English and were audio recorded. Permission to audio record was routinely sought. These audio recordings were translated and transcribed into English and the narratives of these young men were analysed using discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis is one of the common approaches used in a social constructionism study as it is interested in exploring and interpreting how people of a particular context understand the world around them. This analytic technique looks at how linguistic units, for example utterances and the gestures that accompanied that utterance, construct the social world (Gee, 2011). This approach is not interested in establishing universal truths but rather at exploring how our knowledge is influenced by social processes (Jorgan & Phillips, 2002). Unplanned pregnancy is a phenomenon that is greatly influenced by our social environment. This study intends to understand how young men's negative responses to unplanned pregnancy are

influenced by their environment and how they make sense of their actions in relation to the social constructs that exist within their environment.

### 3.7.1 Study limitations

The fact that the researcher is a young Black woman conducting research of this nature with Black men could have resulted in the accuracy of the data being compromised because these men could have used the interview as a performance space as a result of them perceiving me as a representation of young Black mothers. This could have led to them tailoring their answers in a way that they may think would present them in a positive light and impress me. The researcher did not rely solely on what the participants' said instead notes on the participants' body language and non-verbal communications were used to assist the researcher get a better understanding of the participants' narratives. The demands of being middle class (e.g. long working hours) made it difficult for some of the participants to spend too much time on the interview as they had other commitments such as rushing to a meeting or a social gathering during the weekend. With the interviews that took place after work, the participants may have rushed through the interview as they were tired from their long day at work and wanted to speed up the process so they can get home and rest. This could mean that they may have narrowed down their answers to suit their time constraints, compromising the data of this study. The researcher tried to gather as much information from the participants in the time they had.

There were some constraints around venues to conduct the interviews. For example some of the interviews took place at places convenient to the participants like the Gautrain station's waiting area and another at a restaurant near the station. One of the participants, Andile, 13/02/16, came to meet the researcher with his current girlfriend (not the mother of the children) which made it very difficult for the interview to flow as he would avoid some questions or would not elaborate on an answer and it was evident that he was uncomfortable to proceed because of the girlfriend being present. The researcher made notes of Andile's non-verbal communications to assist with the interpretation of his narratives. Three of the participants were met at a restaurant which meant that the interview was disrupted by the commotion in the restaurant such as the music or other people having loud conversations around us. This was distracting at times as both the researcher and the participant would have to repeat themselves in efforts to increase audibility. The audio recorder assisted the researcher in this regard as this allowed her to re-listen to the interview during at a later stage for clarity. Two of the interviews took place at the PIG (Postgraduate PUB on Wits

University's East campus), this was due to the fact that the participants were (one at time of the interview and the other in the past) part-time postgraduate students so had access into this place. They also felt the informal nature of this setting would be most comfortable for them as they would relax. The disadvantage in using this setting meant that the participants had alcoholic beverage (s) was while the interview proceeded. Inasmuch as these were not taken to the point of server intoxication, the ethical dilemma that this possess is noted.

### 3.7.2 Reflection

The fact that I as the researcher was in the early days of my pregnancy during the data collection of this study could have influenced my approach to the interview. Inasmuch as the participants had no knowledge of this, so their responses were not influenced by it, my interpretation of the data and personal biases could have been exacerbated by my personal newly discovered unplanned pregnancy. My personal encounter of a young Black middle class man's reaction and response to the news of the unplanned pregnancy could have influenced the lens through which I view young Black fathers. This could have unintentionally influenced my approach to the analysis of the data which emerged in the study. Triangulation of data interpretation with the supervisor helped pick up any possible bias.

### 3.7.3 Ensuring the study's rigour

To ensure the study's rigour, the researcher did the following; the interview guide was compiled and presented to the supervisor for review and comments. This guide was further piloted with a 34 year old Black man who met this study's criteria. The pilot study gave the researcher an impression of how the participants would respond to the questions and assisted the researcher to estimate the time that would be needed to conduct the interviews. Triangulation of data was also used in this study to ensure rigour. Creswell and Miller (2000) note that data triangulation, through using more than one researcher to interpret the data, is an important tool for validation of the research study. Transcripts of the semi-structured interviews were submitted to the supervisor for reviewing and assistance with the interpretation of the data. The process of validating the data between the researcher and supervisor was from July 2016 to July 2017.

The research further engaged in peer-debriefing support group space with a research group called the Father Connections (FACT). This research group consisted of Master's and Doctorate students all under the supervision of Professor Mzikazi Nduna. The individuals in

this group are familiar with topics around fatherhood and father absence in the South African context. This group met every Friday for three hours. Lincoln and Guba (1985 in Cresswell & Miller, 2000, p. 127-29) explains the importance of peer debriefing as follows:

> A peer review or debriefing is the review of the data and research process by someone who is familiar with the research or the phenomenon being explored. A peer reviewer provides support, plays devil's advocate, challenges the researchers' assumptions, pushes the researchers to the next step methodologically, and asks hard questions about methods and interpretations.

Over the months of attending these meetings, the researcher had the opportunity to present the proposal of the study, the findings of the pilot study, the preliminary findings and the final study findings. In this group, the researcher was offered the opportunity to discuss the study and receive constructive criticism and feedback from peers, on areas of the study that required more attention and work to be done. The comments and feedback alerted the researcher of her personal biases and how these may have been affecting her interpretation of the data and revealed to the researcher other perspectives which she may have not initially taking into consideration when analysing and interpreting the data.

## 3.8 Ethical considerations

An application for ethics was submitted to the Wits University Non-Medical Ethics committee, with the appropriate documents such as the information sheet and consent forms for the study and approved. Due to the sensitive nature of this topic, the researcher maintained the ethical qualities of being non-judgement of these young men's views which could have been different to mine. The researcher tried to ensure that my interpretation of the results does not perpetuate any existing stereotypes or offend any of the participants. The participants voluntarily participated and informed consent was provided; were provided with participant information sheets (see Appendix II) where they were provided with the details about the study. They were assured that pseudonyms would be used to protect their identity and that only the researcher had access to their real names. They were asked to sign an interview consent form (see Appendix III) which includes consent to audio recording. The audio recordings are kept by the researcher in a password locked electronic device for five years and will be destroyed preceding that. The participants' transport costs were reimbursed at the end of each interview. The researcher bought refreshments which were consumed in the course of the interviews.

# CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS

The findings of this study revealed that the responses and reactions of Black middle class fathers were influenced by discourses of their interpretation of the nature of their relationship with the women whom they had allegedly impregnated. The influence of the pressure from parents, consideration of financial security, readiness, the discourse of the "kind of woman she is" and awareness of one's actions and their consequences was also reported. There were moments in this study where some of the participants attempted to shift the blame of the unplanned pregnancy onto the women by presenting themselves as victims of the women's deceit or manipulation and making reference to the discourse of being trapped by the women into a "happy ever after" scenario. Some of the participants reported having been very disappointed with themselves when they discovered the pregnancy as this was not part of their plan. These individuals described the whole experience as emotionally challenging for them and expressed that they needed social support to help equip them for their unexpected and unplanned fatherhood status.

Part of this study was to explore how Black men from the middle socio-economic strata experience pregnancy; this was explored by asking the participants about their understanding of fatherhood (personal meaning of fatherhood). Different participants expressed different meanings and understandings of fatherhood, such as associating fatherhood with responsibility, active participation, new purpose or meaning to life, being a good role model and a blessing (in retrospect). From the manner in which these participants spoke of the *intlawulo* practice there appeared to be some form of depersonalisation of this practice. By this, I mean that these individuals felt that this practice was of no significance to them. It was evident in the study that this was because of how the proceedings of this practice unfolded. For instance, the elders of their families took charge of the process and did not explain the meaning and significance of this practice to the genitor.

One participant reported having discussed termination of pregnancy with his partner. However, they did not go through with it. Six of the participants were reluctant to discuss termination of the pregnancy with their partners. They had different reasons for this. One of these was the influence of their past experiences with termination. Others explained that they had not discussed termination and expressed discourses around termination that seemed to be influenced by religious ideologies. Two of the participants reported having been harshly

punished by the church for having a child out of wedlock and this reflected the influence of the discourses of conservative religious ideologies.

## 4.1 Responses and reactions to pregnancy

### 4.1.1 The Nature of the relationship with the mother

This study found that the participants' interpretation of the nature of the relationship with their respective partner with whom they had the children influenced the manner in which they reacted to the news of an unplanned pregnancy and respond to the presence of the child in their lives. Mandla (35) reported that he and his partner were in a long-term serious relationship and because of this, he did not doubt the child's paternity. He described his reaction in this way:

> *…we have been together for 4/5 years, why do you still have to question such things... So if she says she is pregnant then that is it, if she says I am the father then that is it, I don't question paternity maybe someday I will but at the moment I don't. I don't believe in behaving like that…for now I have no reason to* (Mandla, 16/02/16).

Mandla's response suggested that for him the fact that they had been in a relationship for some years set an expectation for him to be loyal to her and not question or dispute the child's paternity. Through this response it appeared as though Mandla felt obligated to react in this way. This sense of obligation seems to have come from his experience of relationship commitment. Mandla placed a lot of emphasis on the fact that they had been in the relationship for a long period of time. This suggested that his positive reaction may have been motivated by feeling a sense of duty to her for having been with him for long without giving him a reason to suspect infidelity and now he probably felt that he should not disappoint her because of the trust that they had developed over their time together.

Contrary to Mandla's response, Vusi (27) reported that he was very shocked by the news that his partner was pregnant because the relationship was fairly new and was based on gratifying their immediate sexual needs. According to him, they were not in-love and he assumed that there was a mutual understanding and consensus of this yet he had no corroborating evidence from his partner about the veracity of this. In a regretful tone he said:

> *Well I basically have twins… (Deep sigh) they are turning 9months in February, it is still fresh... When she fell pregnant the relationship itself was still fresh, it was barely*

*4 months, it took a few stupid decisions and stupid moments where one gets carried away for that situation to be created...*(Vusi, 09/03/16).

This statement suggests that Vusi was using the fact that they had been together for only four months as a disclaimer to the context of his response to the pregnancy. He directly voiced it out that he had no intension to impregnate her. He went on to acknowledge that his action of engaging in unprotected sex was *"stupid"* reflecting an element of regret and disappointment in his tone which was consistent with him referring to the his experience as *"that situation".* Referring to the experience as *"that situation"* suggested detachment, as though he was far removed from the situation, which could have been the case as the pregnancy was not what he had intended. For Vusi, just like Mandla, it was evident that the length of the relationship appeared to signal the "seriousness' of the relationship and acted as a circumstance that determined the response to the news of the pregnancy.

Vusi then went on to suggest that he and his partner shared the same sentiments:

> *When we started the relationship, honestly when we started this relationship, there was nothing called love in it...It was more of a situation whereby you are looking at that lady, we go to the same church, so you are always looking at her and you wish you could do something only to find that the feeling is mutual then you get to a point where you can explore this and you feel "Wow this is really what I have been waiting for" but there is no love or something called love… then its BOOM! "I'm pregnant".* (Vusi, 09/03/16).

Vusi started his statement by making reference to *'we'* suggesting a collective, which means that he was speaking for both himself and his partner. Yet he cannot speak on her behalf because he could not be sure if she shared his sentiments as her intentions when she got into the relationship may have been different from his. There was no point in his narrative where he reported that they had discussed the intentions of the relationship suggesting that he was basing what he was saying on his feelings and perspective and assuming that it was shared by the mother of his child. He may have chosen to present his experience in this particular manner, suggesting that they shared the same sentiments and that the experience had shocked both of them because they both did not want it to happen. This could be interpreted as a way of justifying his reaction to the news as reflected by this following statement:

> *So I said to her let's give this a few weeks and see what happens, after a few weeks she says she is still vomiting, feeling sick, can't eat, I have missed my period again. Then I thought to myself you've got to be kidding me...Right so shock came...*(Vusi, 09/03/16).

This statement does not only reflect Vusi's initial shock to the news of the unplanned pregnancy, it also reflects an element of doubt which could have an emotional impact on her at a time when she needs his support the most. Alongside this, this statement could have been a reflection of him not believing her and wanted to buy time with the hope that she would come around and say that it was not true.

To Vusi the occurrence of the pregnancy appeared to be impersonal as reflected by this choice of words *"BOOM! I'm pregnant"* which suggest that this happened miraculously, and he was not aware of and had no control over the likelihood of a pregnancy occurring after having unprotected sex. This discourse implies an element of blame shifting, where the partner was blamed for not using contraception suggesting that the onus was on the woman to prevent the occurrence of the unplanned pregnancy and not on him.

Vusi stated that the occurrence of the unplanned pregnancy changed the dynamics of this relationship as they now had to move from being in the relationship for the purpose of satisfying each other's needs to thinking about parenting: *"Now this changes the whole picture, now we are no longer partners in pursuit of satisfaction, we now have to think about being partners in parenting* (Vusi, 09/03/16). Underlying his reaction there was evidence of hostility towards her as he implied that she was to blame because she did not use any contraception. During the interview, Vusi's tone appeared to be condescending, arrogant and blame shifting which was consistent with his discourses. There was evidence suggesting that he was over telling the story as a way of presenting himself in a positive light. This could be because he was in academia and maybe aware of the discourses that are often attached to young Black fathers so he probably wanted to disprove this stereotypical representation.

When the pregnancy occurred, Nhlanhla (26) and his partner were not together, they had been together in the past and broken up then rekindled for a moment and the pregnancy occurred. In his description of the relationship he talked about it as having "*... died somewhere with time and I guess it just popped up somewhere and then that happened."* (Nhlanhla, 02/05/16). Nhlanhla's tone when narrating his experience came across as being very vague as though he had no idea how everything ended up where it did. From the relationship that *"popped up"*

which suggested something that happened miraculously and he had no control over reunification of the relationship and the pregnancy just happening.

Nhlanhla reported that his reaction was influenced by the fact that the pregnancy was not planned or wanted. For him and his partner, they were not in-love when the pregnancy occurred and because of this he reported that he experienced a great deal of stress. He went on to justify his lack of interest in this pregnancy because *"First of all it was not planned; it was not what I wanted, there was no love or feelings to it so I guess it escalated my stress levels to high levels"*(Nhlanhla,02,05/16). Just like Vusi, Nhlanhla spoke for both himself and his partner on the assumption that they shared the same sentiments. This reflected the influence of patriarchy in sexual scripts and sexual socialization where the man is assumed to hold a position of authority and his needs lead the direction of the relationship (Harrison, O'Sullivan, Hoffman, Dolezal, & Morrel, 2006). This made these participants think that they had the right to speak on behalf of their partners. Nhlanhla stated that the pregnancy was not planned, yet he did not mention any preventative measures that he took to prevent the occurrence of pregnancy and maintain his child-free status. Like Vusi and Mandla, Nhlanhla implied that women were responsible for preventing the occurrence of unplanned pregnancies.

Vuyo (29) described his reaction when he heard of his girlfriend's pregnancy as confusion, because he was about to end the relationship, as he had found someone else that he felt was better suited for him. Thus when he discovered that his partner was pregnant this created an undesirable situation for him.

> *I wanted to be with Mbali* (his new girlfriend) *and this is the girl I want to settle with, I don't know maybe it's Murphy's Law but when I was on the verge of telling Palesa that 'look I no longer want to do this, I am sorry I wasted your time but I am actually in love with someone else', she actually told me that she was pregnant* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

Vuyo spoke casually of how he had been with both partners at the same time and was comparing them to see which one of the two he would pick. He overlooked his unfaithfulness and enjoyed male privilege to be in multiple concurrent relationships without the fear of judgement (Woods & Jewkes, 2001). Alongside this, his tone appeared to be one of superiority; he can pick and choose as he pleased, which reflects the unequal power dynamics that characterise typical heterosexual relationships (Jewkes, Vundule, Maforah, & Jordaan,

2001). For this participant, the news of the unplanned pregnancy meant that he had to give up the potential relationship that he could have had with the new woman and stay with the one that he impregnated. He said, "*So I am now in a situation where, I don't know if it's a common thing amongst us Black men, but I was now in a situation where I have got the wrong girl"* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

In his narrative, Vuyo mentioned that he and the woman he discovered he had impregnated had been together for a while, which then brings the question when did he decide that she was, in retrospect *"the wrong girl"*? Despite the negativity that lay beneath this statement, this statement also revealed how Vuyo was selfless in making his decision to stay with the partner he had impregnated. I say this because inasmuch as he was aware that he no longer wanted to be with this particular woman he chose to stay with her, sacrificed his happiness for the sake of ensuring that she did not experience any psychological distress emanating from his termination of their relationship while she was pregnant.

Andile's (27) story was somehow similar to that of Vuyo. Andile described his first reaction upon hearing the news as 'shocked' and he was troubled by the news as he had moved on with his life and now she was back. He said:

> *I was so shocked I just hung up on her; the thing that troubled my mind was that I had already moved on and now she comes back into my life and comes back with a kid. That messed up my life* (Andile, 13/02/16).

This response reflects the complex nature of pregnancies that are discovered after the relationship has ended. Because of this response it was evident that Andile felt frustrated and disappointed by this as he had moved on with his life but now the news of the pregnancy meant that he and his (ex) partner would have to continue to be in each other's lives because of the child. Andile reported that the fact that he and his partner had separated, learning about the pregnancy made the experience much more difficult for him as this raised a lot of questions for him, "*I had a lot of questions many of which I still struggle with today* (Probed: questions around you being the father?) *Yes"* (Andile, 13/02/16).

Andile spoke of the fact that that they had separated for three months as though he should be excused and not included in the situation which suggests that he doubts that he is the father of the child. This is consistent with him speaking about unanswered questions that he may have. He stressed how he had difficulty dealing with the situation which implies that he may have

thought that she deliberately fell pregnant as a way of coming back into his life. Implying that he was not aware of the consequences of having unprotected coital activity. This response also reflected how Andile failed to see how she may have not notified him earlier because she may have missed her period once or twice before taking a pregnancy test to confirm to herself that she was pregnant. Alongside this, it can be speculated that the conditions of the break up may have influenced her to delay telling him.

Muzi (29) explained his initial reaction to the news as shock because the pregnancy was not planned. He echoed Andile's sentiments and reported that he and his partner had recently broken up when he heard about the pregnancy. The pregnancy made the situation more complicated for him as he was trying to cut ties with the individual and now there was something that was going to bind them for life:

> *The reaction was influenced by the fact that we were no longer together, which made things a little complicated because even if you guys have been dating for years and are together there will always be that initial shock if you weren't expecting it, unlike when you are married and trying to have a baby* (Muzi, 22/02/16).

In this statement, Muzi spoke of the shock that came with not having expected the pregnancy. This suspends the discourse which disassociates unprotected sex and pregnancy. This suggests a sense of invincibility that some young men may have towards the consequences of unprotected sex where they behave as if their partners will never fall pregnant.

In this statement, Muzi also pointed to the idea of a socially accepted sequence of events where you are expected to have been dating for a long period of time, got married and then have the children. Thus anyone who deviates from this prescribed sequence is judged as a deviant. The fact that they did not follow this sequence and were no longer together made it more complicated for him. This reflected the influence of religious and cultural discourses which produce a heteronormative matrix (Morison & Macleod, 2015).

Luyolo (33) reported that once he heard the news that his girlfriend was pregnant, he accepted and started making changes to his life in preparation for his pending father status as he was certain that the child was his. He explained:

> *I think I made the move because I knew in my gut that that is me, I knew that I had to now pull up my socks and grow up, I knew that I had to grow up because there would be no way that he would not be mine* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

In this response, Luyolo subtly implied that there was a possibility that he may not be the father but he would trust his gut feeling. This revealed a small grain of doubt in her faithfulness.

The fact that Luyolo acknowledged that he had to start to make provision for his new fatherhood status reflected his willingness to be involved in the child's life. He reported having not questioned the child's paternity because he was always with this particular woman and during that time there was no evidence of her being unfaithful to him. This display of fidelity to him meant that he was the father of the child. He spoke proudly of this and said:

> *At the end of the day I was always with this woman, because she wanted me there, I knew that shame and I was not about to say NO because there was no one else even calling…* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

Luyolo's response suggested that a longstanding relationship with a woman who was perceived to be monogamous is some form of socially constructed evidence of paternity.

Further to the length of the relationship, the intensity of the love felt for the partner, her conniving intentions or the state and stability of the relationship was *"the kind of woman she was"* It was evident that this discourse had influence over the man's response and reaction to the unplanned pregnancy. Vuyo (29) reported that he did not doubt or contest the child's paternity because he knew the kind of a woman she was: he emphasised that, *"I was sure, I really was. Just from looking from the relationship we had and the kind of woman she is it never crossed my mind, even now it has never"* (Vuyo, 31/05/16). Vuyo spoke of having been sure because of *"the kind of woman she is"*. This suggested that there are characteristics about her that made her fit Vuyo's standards of a good and trusted woman. This exercise of aligning character to the decision to accept (or not) responsibility for impregnating a woman is linked to how women has been socialised into aspiring to become the socially acceptable women and any woman who deviates from this standard is viewed negatively. Her unfaithfulness could be questioned in situations such as the occurrence of an unplanned pregnancy and used as a decisive factor.

The findings of this study revealed that the influence of pressure from one's parents played an influential role in one of the participant's reaction and response to unplanned pregnancy. Thabo (34), who is the first born son in his family, revealed that his reaction was highly influenced by pressure he received from his parents. They felt that he had reached the age

where he could give them a grandchild. He conveyed their aspirations in the following way: *"No as I said, your parents play a big role, at my age maybe you should have a baby, and they want a grandchild and so on... and plus I am the first born so yah"*(Thabo,09/06/15). This participant made reference to discourses around age and milestone associated with particular ages which are standards set by society. He explained that his parents' old age put this pressure on him so that he would settle down into marriage, and be more responsible, in the hopes that he will remain faithful to his wife and not be promiscuous in behaviour, which decreases their risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV. He continued to say:

> *For them [parents], it was about me being locked into something, locked into a relationship because you have a baby and become more responsible and so forth. You know as young Black people, we are exposed to lots of risks such as HIV and all of these things so you know with your parents they would be like, maybe if you have someone then at least if you can have a baby and so forth, they know that you are clean and thereafter they want you to stay faithful to that particular person. So I think that is the main thing from the parents even though from my side I may feel that I do not want to be that 'locked on'*(Thabo, 09/06/15).

Thabo spoke a lot about what the pregnancy meant to his parents and not about what it meant to him which suggests a sense of detachment to the incident and all being about his parents and the pressure that they were putting on him to give them a grandchild. His statement suggests a sense of imprisonment as reflected by him choosing to make use of words such as *"locked";* this could be a reflection of how he felt when he found out about the pregnancy, he may have felt that he did not have much of a say but had to accept the news because of the pressure that he was receiving from his parents and society. This could be the reason why when speaking of the incident during the interview Thabo chose to focus on his parents and their feelings and neglect his own feelings. He also revealed his parents and his own misconceptions around HIV transmissions; particularly mother-to-child HIV transmission, as they assume that having a child automatically meant that the person was HIV negative which then led them to encourage him to stay with one partner to maintain this assumed HIV negative status.

Thabo described himself as being more mature now than back then. At the time of the pregnancy, upon reflecting he realised that he did a lot to keep his parents happy at the

detriment of himself which resulted in him feeling trapped in the relationship because it was not for himself but rather for his parents. He regretted this and said: "*So I did not consider myself but rather my family and that is where the feeling of being trapped comes from because now I wish I could reverse things but I cannot do that"* (Thabo, 09/06/15). Thabo made it clear that he was not ready to have a baby but like all the other participants, he made no reference to any preventative measure that he took to ensure that he doesn't impregnate his partner, instead he focuses on how having a baby would have made his parents happy which suggests an element of blame shifting and not taking ownership of his actions. He also introduced the discourse of feeling trapped as a strategy to present himself as a victim who had no control over his actions or the consequences thereof but was influenced by his parents.

### 4.1.2 Own upbringing

This study found that a large portion of the participants' responses and reactions to the news of an unplanned pregnancy were influenced by their own upbringing. Bantu (27) reported that although he knew his father, he was raised by his single mother. He felt that if he does not take full responsibility of this child, she would grow up like he did and he did not want this to happen to his daughter. He was mindful that: *"…if I don't take responsibility, full responsibility, my child will end up growing up like me, without a present father. So I think my upbringing influenced how I reacted to the whole situation"* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

The above statement reflects the effects of socialisation in that society is made to believe that the nuclear family structure is what should be aspired. It can be said that placing emphasis on nuclear families looks down on other family structures as Bantu subtly implies that there was something wrong with his upbringing because he was raised by a single mother. This statement also reflects the influence of patriarchy in that it implies that his upbringing would have turned out to be better had he had a father in his life. In a way, such an argument undermines his mother's efforts and competence. Bantu reveals a void that emanated from having been raised without a father and explained how he did not want his own child to experience the same upbringing and because of this, he reacted and took responsibility of the unplanned pregnancy.

Mandla's (35) experience of having suffered the consequences of his parents' break-up, one of which was not having an active father in his life, motivated him to strive to become a present father someday. He describes his experience of father absence in this way:

*There was a hostel at this school so every Friday there used to be fathers who would come and collect their children and they would sometimes give me a lift if they were going to my rural area. I really felt that gap at that time; I always asked myself why other fathers would treat their children so well yet my father didn't? I promised myself that I would never do this to my children, it started there, I said to myself I will never do this to my children and I will never do it! So I think that is where it all started* (Mandla, 16/02/16).

From Mandla's response, it was evident that his desire to have the kind of relationship that his peers had with their fathers led to him promising himself that he would not treat his children the way he had been treated. This then influenced the manner in which he responded to the news of the pregnancy, he undertook not to be only a present father but also to be a good father.

Muzi (29), who lived in the same household as his father but his father was not active in his life, echoed Mandla's sentiments saying that his own experience of not having an active father influenced how he responded to unplanned pregnancy. He admitted that:

*I think for me, I am constantly thinking of the things that I went through and how I wouldn't want my child to go through those issues. Or at times I would think of the things that I wanted to go through but did not. So if that desire was to spend more time with your father, because back then he may have worked night shift so you'd come back from school and he is sleeping then would get ready to leave for work, you would then think that when I have a baby I want to spend more time with them; be there, see them all the time and be involved in their upbringing, participate in all decisions involved and control their environment but now because we are separated, I do not have much control* (Muzi, 22/02/16).

For Muzi, the fact that he did not have an active father in his life influenced how he reacted to the pregnancy as he could draw on his experiences of how his childhood was and hoped that his child would not relive his experience. However, the fact he had separated with his partner made it much more difficult for him to be an active father. This reflected that at times young fathers are willing to be active in their children's lives, however the challenges that come with a separation and the child living with the mother makes it difficult for them to be active participants in their children's lives.

Luyolo (33), just like Mandla and Muzi, reported that his acceptance of responsibility for pregnancy and continued presence in his child's life was influenced by the fact that he also had a father who was not active in his life and he did not want this for his son. His response to having a child was a correction of this as he explained:

> *I don't want my son to experience what I experienced. I don't want my son to have the kind of father that I had (have), we don't talk; don't see each other and this has been going on for about 11-12 years now* (Luyolo, 17,07/15).

Throughout the interview, Luyolo appeared to be an individual who was sceptical and suspicious of women. This was reflected by his response to the news of the unplanned pregnancy which was characterised by scepticism. It became evident that this was a consequence of the betrayal that he had experienced from his mother who had three children sired by three different men. According to him: "*At home we are "choice assorted" there are three of us from my mother's side and we all have different dads..."* Luyolo makes reference to himself and his siblings as "choice assorted" which is a derogative term that is sometimes associated with a sexually promiscuous woman who has children with different men. This reflected his attitude towards his mother who was unmarried and had children with different partners. This attitude is a consequence of society constantly policing women's sexuality (Hunter, 2005). The participant went on to speaking about his paternity having been concealed and he was made to believe that he shared the same father as his younger sibling:

> *I always thought that my younger sister's father is my father. I grew up thinking that up until I was in standard 5 when I found out about my own father. At standard 5 you are old enough, I was old, and so for me it was like 'woooh'! However, I didn't have a problem with it because the one father that I knew in my life was my grandfather. I did not have a problem with who said what in my life because I knew my grandfather as my father; it has always been like that* (Luyolo, 17/07/16).

Luyolo blamed his mother for his own assumptions as he was not told that his younger sister's father was his; he just thought so. This assumption, though reasonable, has resulted in him believing that women are individuals who cannot be trusted because they can misattribute paternity similar to the way his mother did to him for many years. This blame shifting is also evident in Luyolo avoiding to take responsibility of his actions because if he knows that he had unprotected sex with his partner and she later reveals to him that she is

pregnant, this should not be met with scepticism because he should have been aware of the likely consequences of his actions.

Vusi (27) explained that the dynamics of his parents' relationship played an influential role in his reaction to the unplanned pregnancy. His father had a wife and family that he did not divorce before he got acquainted with his mother. Although his father was present in most of his life, there was a time where he disappeared to be with his other family and during this time he was raised by his single mother. He reported that he attributed his struggle with the unplanned pregnancy to having been deprived of a father figure that could have given him guidance during this time but he took responsibility and made wise decisions because he had learned a lot from the male role models that surrounded him:

> *My father was a foreman, earning a good salary then he decided that he wanted to take an early retirement. He basically has a wife, my mother...she is a girlfriend because there was never any lobola paid for her, nothing so when he took early retirement he went straight to Mpumalanga to his wife and his other kids, chilled there, spent his retirement money and for a period of about 6/8 years I never saw my father… I think from that stage I just became very strong, just watching my mother working hard as a domestic worker, earning R800, having to use R200/300 of that money for transport, R300 for food, even though at that time that amount had more value when you look at it carefully you realize that no things have been tough for us. She taught me a lot of things in terms of how one should survive in times of need, we would barely sleep sometimes having had a decent meal, she would tell me there are potatoes there, there is maize meal there, you can make pap and chips and sleep, no one will know in the morning that you ate that. So it became that sort of life, my mother does not have, so I cannot force what she doesn't have. So it went on and on so when my partner fell pregnant, it came as a burn but I don't know where I got the bravery to make the decisions that I made but as I said I think it has a lot to do with my father not being there to show me the way...*(Vusi, 09/03/16).

Mostly, Vusi spoke highly of his mother and the life lessons that she has taught him. However when it came to the unplanned pregnancy, he attributed this to the lack of guidance from his father. This reflected on constructions around gender roles, as highlighted by him speaking of his mother teaching him survival strategies that are largely associated with femininity (cooking) while implying that she was not able to guide him when it came to

sexuality which appears to be something that is gender specific in his context (Vilanculos & Nduna, 2017). This way of thinking could be a result of sexual conversations amongst children and their parents being gender-matched in some contexts.

Thabo (34) explained that the manner in which his parents had raised him influenced him to commit and take responsibility of the unplanned pregnancy and it was important that he does this because he had to set an example for his younger siblings:

> *I think my upbringing played a big role, a big, big role because my parents brought me up in a stable home where you have to take responsibility, take care of your kids, so I can say that I have inherited that. So now you find that I could be in a situation maybe with this woman it could have been a mistake but now because I would have committed that I have to stick with it whether it is dark or blue. I also have to set precedence to other generations such as my younger brothers…* (Thabo, 09/06/15).

From this statement, we see evidence of Thabo's detachment to the pregnancy as implies that he felt obliged by the beliefs and morals that his parents had instilled in him to respond positively and take responsibility of the unplanned pregnancy and not because this was something that he wanted to do. This reflects the pressure that young fathers may have to endure to try and please those around them including their parents. Throughout the interview, there was evidence of this participant's tone being characterised by resentment and bitterness, this could be because he may have felt that he could not vocalise his feelings about the situation but had to do what was right according to his parents' standards.

According to Thabo, his parents put pressure on him as their way of trying to correct the mistake that he had made and try to conceal the shame that he has brought onto the family by impregnating a woman out-of-wedlock. For his parents, taking responsibility of the pregnancy and committing to marry the partner would restore the family's dignity. This reflected the influence of religious discourses around children being born within marriage. Thus anyone who deviates from this shall have negative connotations and stigma attached to them and their family. This then means that in some cases, young fathers do not take responsibility of unplanned pregnancies because they truly believe that they are responsible for the pregnancy but rather because this is what is expected of them according to the standards of their family and society in general.

Luyolo (33), who was raised by his maternal grandfather because his mother experienced an unplanned pregnancy at a young age, reported that he did not want his son to be raised the way he grew up, without a biological father. Throughout the interview, Luyolo spoke highly of his grandfather, who raised him and made sure that all his needs were met. He appeared to admire him, looked up to him and had a male role model in him. Despite this, his narrative suggested that there was a void in his life caused by him not having a biological father in his life. This suggests that even though one may have social father figures such as uncles, brothers and grandfathers around them, there is sometimes a desire and longing to have one's biological father. For Luyolo, his own experience and desire to have his father in his life was the reason for him trying to do things the right way and be active in his son's life.

### 4.2 Consideration of financial security

It was evident in this study that considerations of financial security played a role in the manner in which participants responded and reacted to the unplanned pregnancy. Mandla (35), who had his first child at the age of 19, reported that with his second child, financial security played an influential role in how he responded to the news of the pregnancy as he felt that he was much more equipped for this role as opposed to the first time. He spoke with a sense of pride and said:

> *...look now I am much more stable, I am working, I am grown, even before we had the child we planned, unlike the other time when it happened through being irresponsible. So it was bound to be different because this time around we planned, we spoke about it and decided that we could afford to take care of a baby. Even when she said she was pregnant I actually rejoiced because I think I was much more emotionally prepared* (Mandla, 16/02/16).

Mandla was the only participant who had a conversation about having a baby with his partner. This could have been because he was the eldest of all the participants and because he felt that he was financially secure to afford taking care of a child. In his statement, Mandla implied that ensuring that he was much more financially stable before the pregnancy was a responsible act as opposed to the first pregnancy where he did not make such considerations. This subtly reflects the influence of traditional constructions of masculinity which say that a man has to be a provider. This is revealed by him placing great emphasis on the considerations of financial security that took place before the pregnancy occurred which then

led to him feeling emotionally prepared because he had met this standard as he was going to be able to provide for his family.

Luyolo (33) has not been actively involved in his five year old son's life and he attributes this to financial instability that lead to him not being able to pay *intlawulo* for him:

> *What happened is that I left work to start my own business about a year after my son's birth, I pursued entrepreneurship and that went but it has its ups and downs, it came and left, stopped and went, so I couldn't be the supporting father that I wanted to be to my son, you know things of intlawulo, I could not come up with them as I was financially unstable, I was not okay at all. It is only this year (2015) that things started shaping up, now I am able to fork out money for that, take him there and there but intlawulo we still need to pay next year(2016), I have already spoken to my uncle about it* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

Luyolo just like Mandla, placed great emphasis on the discourse of the father being a provider. As a result of this framework that links fatherhood with material provision, he has not been present in his son's life to fulfil other roles such as providing the child with emotional and psychological support. This demonstrated how a limited understanding of fatherhood can be detrimental. Children end up being deprived of other benefits that they could benefit from having fathers in their lives largely as a consequence of this lack of understanding. Luyolo also made reference to the inability to pay *intlawulo* contributing to him not being involved in his child's life which reflects how this cultural practice can be a reason for the ongoing cycle of father absence in this country. Some fathers may admit paternal responsibility and have a desire to be in their children's lives but because they are unable to pay for *intlawulo,* they have limited or no access to their children (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). From this statement, it is evident that financial considerations play an influential role when thinking of the reaction or response to the unplanned planned pregnancy as reflected by Luyolo had to wait for five years before being able to go to his son's maternal family and pay so that he could be involved in his life. His financial instability resulted in him feeling as though he has failed as a man because he was socialised in an environment where a man is a provider. He reflected as follows:

> *So for me it feels as though I have failed as a man because as a man I was raised to be a provider, and to make sure that I can sustain myself, so if I am not doing that, if I*

*cannot do that, then I feel less of a man (sad). Do you understand what I mean...?* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

### 4.3 Readiness

The discourse of readiness emerged from this study; the participants' perception of their readiness influenced their response and reaction to the unplanned pregnancy. Readiness was determined by (young) age, (im) maturity, (low or no) income status and (unstable) relationships character etc. Moving from this was part-readiness where financially there is no problem but emotionally the pregnancy was received as an encroachment. To the end of the stick was complete readiness both in terms of the relationship and income and expecting or not minding that the pregnancy could happen or even wished that it happens. These three scenarios are presented next.

One of the participants reported that he was not ready. Luyolo (34) reported that he was shocked when he discovered the news of the pregnancy because he felt that he was not ready since he was still in the process of establishing his career and was trying to develop himself. Thus he felt that he had not prepared a life that meets the standards he desires for him raise children. This resulted in him considering the option of termination of pregnancy. He described his reaction as follows:

> *Look, I was shocked because I wasn't ready at the time, I was busy concentrating on my career, concentrating on me, I didn't expect that so I was thoroughly shocked and also I'm gonna be honest with you and tell you that I was all for the termination because I felt that I wasn't ready at the time....* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

The above reflects the effect of socialisation which emphasizes a focus on a career ahead of starting a family. He felt that there were other areas of his life that he still needed to improve on, for him to be ready for a child and he had not established a stable environment that would be conducive for raising a child. Linked to career stability was access to income, to which Luyolo said:

> *I would have liked to be ready financially, ready mentally, ready as in grown up, mature to raise another person. There is a lot that I could say about that but just to summarise it; raising a child is not child's play mainly because we were raised in very difficult conditions, you know what I mean, so I didn't want to subject my child to such, where I would have to give my child to my grandparents or my mother, I wanted*

> *raise my child on my own. So I wasn't ready, ready being that I didn't have a stable home for him, I didn't have a stable relationship for him, even financially I wasn't stable so I didn't want to subject him to that* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

Luyolo's readiness could be understood within the political context of young black parents in South Africa who grew up (and continue to grow up) with absent fathers. His, and others', readiness was in terms of readiness to undo what they perceived to be a broken pattern. He was determined to break the cycle of poverty, the cycle of inter – generational parenting and crowded families that is typically found in the Black communities (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998). However, the pregnancy failed him in this regard.

Vuyo's (29) was a different case as he acknowledged that in terms of age and finances, he was ready. Vuyo reckoned that he had achieved the requirements for material readiness. However, he was not emotionally equipped for the experience and because of this, it took a while for him to adjust to the role of being an expecting father. He answered the question about this by affirming that:

> *...it was on time, I turn 29 this year (2016) so if anything, it was actually delayed. So the timing was right, I was financially stable but it was just unfortunate my emotional state at the time was way off so that is why it took a very, very long time for me to adjust* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

Vuyo, like Luyolo also spoke of not being emotionally ready for the unplanned pregnancy. This response reflected how the experience of an unplanned pregnancy can be emotionally distressing to young men. This then affects the manner in which they respond to the news of the pregnancy.

Another participant reported that he was ready for the pregnancy at the time at which it occurred. Nhlanhla (26) reported that he and his partner were in a long-term relationship and felt that their relationship was ready for a child. Further to the period for which they dated he confessed that *"... we planned it, we felt that it was time."* He explained that they felt they were ready because they had envisioned a future together: *"So in a sense, she felt that we were going to get married, have babies and all"* (Nhlanhla, 02/05/16). What is interesting about Nhlanhla's response is that he starts off speaking as a collective as reflected by him acknowledging that they had planned to have the child, however when the pregnancy occurred there was a shift in the way he spoke: He moved from collective to singling her out

when he said "…*she felt that we were going to get married…"* which suggests that there is a detachment on his part from this expectation implying that this was her problem and not his. Through this change, regarding plans to do with the pregnancy as being their plan to singling her out, he is also shifting the blame and suggesting that this situation was in fact not his plan but hers because she had a bigger goal, while he didn't have one. Therefore, his reaction has partially accepted but the follow-up response was not to fulfil her desires for a long-term permanent relationship.

The responses of these participants reflected readiness on three levels, readiness in terms of ready to rectify what they perceived as a broken pattern, readiness in relation to emotional stability and readiness in relation to stable relationships.

### 4.4 Awareness of actions and consequences

This study found that three of the nine participants attributed their reactions to their awareness of their actions and the consequences of these actions. Bantu (27) reported that although he felt betrayed by his partner by not taking the morning after pill as they had agreed, he was not angry when he discovered the news of the pregnancy because he was aware of the possibility of it occurring:

> ....*So the first thing I asked her was whether she had taken the pill. She said that she hadn't taken the morning after pill. I was not angry per se, I mean when I did it, I knew that there was a chance of this happening, I mean those are just the consequences of my actions so I accepted responsibility although I felt betrayed, but I just took it in* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

Inasmuch as Bantu acknowledged his actions and the consequences of these actions, this response suggests that his partner caused the disappointment as she did not comply when told to take the morning after pill. During the interview, Bantu appeared to be angered by his partner's action of not taking the pill as they had agreed on, which reveals his failure to consider that she may not oblige and he needed to protect himself against pregnancy. It was unclear from this narrative if this communication was two-way where his partner felt consulted or if it was one-way where he told her what he thought she should do.

Mandla (35) explained that he was aware that there was a high chance of a pregnancy occurring as a result of him and his partner engaging in unprotected sex. This led to him not questioning or contesting the child's paternity, instead he just took full responsibility. Mandla

was the only participant whose response to the unplanned pregnancy was linked to the biological determinism. For him if it was clear that:

> *Look Khanyi, to be honest with you, there is one thing that I believe; if you sleep with a woman without using protection, like really? What do you expect? What do you expect...you don't question that, I don't believe in questioning that, yes people may question it or something like that, for me it's like, I have been having sex with no protection with this woman and now she is saying she is pregnant and I have been Cumming inside her, why would I question that? I don't question that, I just have to accept it as it is as she tells me and just accept it* (Mandla, 16/02/16).

Inasmuch as Mandla's response reflects his awareness of his actions and the consequences of these actions, during the interview he repeatedly responded with questions which gave two impressions. One being that this was something that had been said to him once before when he had questioned his partner as reflected by his emphasis on *"what did you expect?"* leading to him pre-empting the researcher from thinking about it. The second impression was that he was trying to convince me of his awareness as reflected by him repeatedly say *"why would I question that?"* this could have been in efforts to present himself in a positive light so that he does not fall into the stereotypical representation of Black fathers. Furthermore, Mandla was reflecting on an educated position as it is scientifically plausible that sex without protection may (or may not) result in pregnancy.

Vusi (27) expressed that he was proud of himself for owning up and taking responsibility of the consequences of his actions (having unprotected sex) because he knows a lot of men who usually do not do so and would say:

> *...oh you are pregnant? That's not my child". I was able to face it and said even though she is older, even though you all think that this paternity is misattributed, this is my child, I know it for a fact and if this is not my child I will cross the bridge when I get there* (Vusi 09/03/16).

In this response, Vusi further argued that he acknowledged the child's paternity to prove a point that he will not listen to the rumours about the paternity being misattributed or judgements against his partner for being older than him. This narrative could be read as a counter voice to the dominant narrative that relies on social determinism as informing plausibility.

## 4.5 Victim of women's deceit/manipulation

This study found that some of the participants felt that they were victims of women's deceit or manipulation which resulted in the unplanned pregnancy. Bantu (27) reported that he and his partner discussed that she should take a "morning after" pill, which would decrease the chance of pregnancy occurring following unprotected sex. His partner agreed to do that as she said she was not ready to have a child. Bantu confirmed that:

> *I woke up the next morning and I reinforced that she should make sure that she takes the pill she said she would. Since those things take 72 hours I called her that very same evening she reassured me that she is not planning on getting pregnant so I must not worry, I called her the day after that and told her again about the 72 hours once again she spoke about me not having to worry because she didn't want to have a baby either* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

From Bantu's response, he appeared to have been adamant about not having a child as reflected by him reinforcing that she takes the pill. We can see that Bantu was consistent in ensuring that he prevented pregnancy. Albeit, in so doing he may have been blinded to his partner's needs: maybe she wanted to have a child but she was dishonest to him about her wishes and intentions or she was ignorant. This points to the dynamics that characterise many heterosexual relationships where the woman, in this case, may have decided what she wanted to do much to his displeasure.

Bantu explained that although he has taken full responsibility of the child, he felt betrayed by his partner because she did not stick to the agreement that they had and this has made his experience of the unplanned pregnancy difficult for him:

> *I felt much betrayed. It was, it was yeah! At the point I felt really betrayed, disappointed, I still feel the same way, in fact now I feel so strongly about it than I did a year ago or two years ago, it's worse now maybe it's because I am growing up and things are becoming more and more clearer with time you know and it's so difficult* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

Bantu had not changed overtime from the way he reacted to the news of the pregnancy to how he responded in the course of the pregnancy and post-partum. His strong reaction against the pregnancy was still evident five years later. In this response, we see that Bantu continues his blame-shifting by expressing his feelings of betrayal as a result of his child's mother

failing to take the emergency contraceptive pill. The word *"betrayal"* suggests that she went behind his back with intent to hurt him, the use of this word gives the impression that he was (is) a victim and she is the perpetrator in this situation. Inasmuch as he is equally to blame for the pregnancy, as he did not take any precautions such as making use of a condom, his feelings of betrayal are rightly placed as she could have lied and deceived him.

Bantu stated that he felt this betrayal strongly because he has not received the apology that he strongly believed was owed to him because she manipulate the situation to suit herself and did not consider how this would affect him. His discontent seemed to have grown as he stated that; "*So as I was saying, I feel strongly about it now as compared to how I felt a year or two ago because I feel like I never got an apology."* (Bantu, 13/04/16). This response makes it clear that Bantu really felt that he was not responsible for the occurrence of this unplanned pregnancy and therefore was owed an apology by his former girlfriend. This way of thinking can be said to be a consequence of how society has allowed men to get away with not being responsible for their sexual behaviour through placing a great deal of emphasis on women and girls to be sexually responsible. He registered his grief in the following way

> *I feel like someone sat down and decided how my life was supposed to plan out without consulting me and I never got an apology for it. I mean I took full responsibility for my child, for my actions and I take care of my child to this day* (Bantu, 14/04/16).

Bantu spoke as though he had no control over how everything played out, which once implied that he felt he had no control over what happened and therefore should not be held responsible for the occurrence of the unplanned pregnancy. He then went on to qualify this by stating that he did take responsibility for the child despite all of these feelings which subtly implied that he felt that he did her a favour by taking responsibility, it's not because he sincerely believed that he was responsible and this is something that he should be praised or commended for having done.

Luyolo (33) reported a similar experience to that of Bantu. He explained that he and his partner used protection but this was not effective so they agreed that she would take an emergency contraceptive pill. He recalled that they were unable to get the pill during the weekend because they woke up after shops were closed so they agreed that she would go on Monday. His version of the events that unfolded was as follows:

> *The condom broke and I remember clearly because it was a Saturday night and she had promised to go to Clicks* (Clicks is a chain store with a Pharmacy; they sell contraceptives including the Emergency contraceptive pill pack) *Sunday morning and we overslept, by the time we woke up Clicks had closed so we said that we will go the next day. "Then that Sunday I did not come back home, 'home' being her place I hardly stayed at my place in Midrand because she did not like me staying at my place she wanted me at her place, so I decided to go out with my friends as I had the day off on Monday. We passed by my place and she went to work and was angry the whole day that Monday because I didn't come 'home'. She then decided not to go get the pill, the 'Morning After', I don't know if it was to punish me or what, I don't know, we spoke about it that Monday morning and we were okay* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

In this response, Luyolo first made reference to a collective "we" suggesting that they (both of them) initially had agreed on the same thing then one of them (him, by not coming back) went against this agreement. He then voluntarily goes on to give a very elaborate account on why he did not come back to suggest that she had not taken the pill as a way of punishing him for his mischievous behaviour. He made no reference to his role; as she may have not gone to get the pill because she was expecting him to come back so they can go together, as they had agreed. Instead he presents himself in a way that portrays him as the victim and her as the perpetrator. Both Bantu and Luyolo can be said to have made use of such discourses as a way of going against the popular discourses that vilify the man.

The conflict in Luyolo and his partner's relationship escalated resulting in them breaking –up shortly after that. He reported that at this point, he was under the impression that she had taken the pill. To his surprise, a month later, she called saying she was pregnant. His story continued:

> *Then on Tuesday, everything was fine, I assumed that she took the pill I did not ask. During the week we were fine, then Saturday we broke up, we had a huge fight. Right, I carried on with my life and she was there. About a month later I get a call, she told me that she was pregnant, 5 weeks, and then I am like dude!..."When we calculated it was within that period so I asked her why she didn't tell me about this?, as in why didn't she go do what she were supposed to do? – to buy and take the pill* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

Luyolo spoke of his partner having *"supposed to"* take the pill which suggests that there has been a rule set for her to do so and she did not abide by this rule. This suggests that there was an expectation from his side for her to have listened to him and taken the pill as instructed. This reflects how some men feel that they can take on the authoritarian role and dictate to women how they should handle their sexual behaviour.

Nhlanhla (26) expressed his opinions on why his partner (at the time) had chosen to not take the pill as they had agreed:

> *I also learned that she went to a gynaecologist who prescribed some pills or drugs to increase fertility. We were together for almost two years and she did not conceive; see with her I knew that she wanted kids really bad; I guess it is because of the norms or stigma by society that say that at a certain age one must have children. I think that placed a lot of pressure on her and she took the tablets and I only found out when she was on her 7th tablet and there were 10, so let's just say I was too late. So I felt she was just selfish on this one to be honest. I felt that she should have consulted me first on this one. And say something like "Okay I understand that you have two on the way, but can we try and I will look after the baby or can you be a donor". I felt she should have consulted me but now I have the kids and yeah man* (Nhlanhla, 02/0/16).

Through the allegations of deceit that Nhlanhla made against his partner, his response comes across as he was blame shifting and trying to present himself as a responsible person who was mindful of family-planning. Alongside this, these allegations implied that he did not fail himself by not using a condom correctly and consistently, and therefore she was to blame and not him. Just like Bantu, if Nhlanhla was certain that he did not want to impregnate his partner he should have made use of preventative measures such as a condom but he made no reference of him having used this. These allegations also fed into the discourse of being a victim to the woman's deceit because she deceived him and went behind his back and got fertility pills without his knowledge. Nhlanhla like Bantu and Luyolo made use of this discourse to portray themselves in a positive light while their partners are portrayed as the perpetrators.

Although Muzi (29) acknowledged his role in the occurrence of the unplanned pregnancy, he presented himself as a victim of the woman's deceit by suggesting that he may have fallen pregnant intentionally. With an uncomfortable laugh he admitted that: *"... (Laughs)...To a certain extent you think she may have done it intentionally but yet again I was a willing*

*participant…* (Muzi, 22/02/16). From this response, we can see that there is an element of trying to shift the blame to the woman. Before delivering this response Muzi laughed suggesting that he was making light of a serious situation like making such an allegation which reflected a patronising attitude towards her.

### 4.5.1 Discourse around being "trapped" into a happy ever after

The discourse of being trapped by the woman into marriage or a happy-ever-after came out frequently in this study. This perception influenced Bantu's response and reaction to the news of the unplanned pregnancy as he claimed;

> *I knew because she had always wanted a child with me as a way of guaranteeing a "happy-ever-after" situation…Well (pause) a person will not tell you directly that I want to trap you with a child, the person will orchestrate things and events to happen then boom (emphasis)! You are a father and now you have to pay damages and marry her then a "happily ever after" follows...* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

Bantu's response reflected an attitude of great self-importance in that he presented himself as having been sought after by her to impregnate her, implying that she wanted this to happen therefore his reaction to the pregnancy was mindful of her clandestine intention, albeit known to him by speculation. He reinforced this blame shift by implying that he had no control over how everything proceeded, instead she orchestrated everything. This idea of not having control over the proceedings once again reflects some men's attitude of believing that they do not have control over their sexual behaviour. Despite his belief in her motives Bantu proceeded to do what would be considered as the right thing: to acknowledge the pregnancy, pay *intlawulo*, be a father and not defy her deed.

Bantu went on to explain why he felt that this was a way of trapping him into marriage:

> *The lady's family was pushing for some down payment for lobola, which I refused repeatedly...It, was serious conflict! Coupled with my refusal marry, they felt that I did not have the right to my child. That resulted in a whole lot of conflict in the family and they ended up saying that I needed to take my child's mother even now there is serious conflict between the two families, they don't get along because I do not want to marry their daughter* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

Here Bantu spoke of the reactions of his former partner's family, not her actions and yet he assumed that this was her desire and portrays her as the individual who wanted to trap him.

This reflects his inconsiderate attitude as he did not consider if she too may have been feeling pushed and pressured by her family. Instead, he chose to believe that she was colluding with her family to get him to marry her. It appeared as though he had presented this discourse around being trapped to help strengthen his strategy to shift the blame onto her and not take responsibility of what had happened.

Luyolo (34) expressed how he felt that his partner had gone against his idea of terminating the pregnancy because she felt that the pregnancy was something that would "trap" him into getting back into the relationship with her: Luyolo said:

> *So, me saying that I don't want to be with you and I do not want to raise my child in such an environment where you are there and I am here and you make a decision because of that, you decide that No, because I want to keep you in my life I will keep this child* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

First and foremost, he assumed that she wanted to get married. This illustrated the influence of socialisation and discourses around marriage being something that women should aspire to and therefore men should be sought after (Harrison, 2008). Secondly, Luyolo just like Bantu presented a response that was characterised by a great deal of self-importance as he assumed that she did all of this as a way of getting closer to him. He does not consider other reasons for her decision such as her views on abortion. Furthermore, this response reflects a sense of arrogance in that Luyolo thinks he has power over his partner, for her to actually make a decision based on what he said.

He continues to reinforce his struggle for power and control in this way:

> *I feel that is what happened, she felt that she wanted to keep in touch with me; she thought she was trapping me, but I never gave her the chance or opportunity to trap me because for someone to feel trapped they have to be inside the trap, I was outside the trap, I was in control the whole time....* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

This response reflected Luyolo's preoccupation with being in power and control. Thinking back on the interview when he was narrating this, constantly reiterating how he was in power, it came across as though he was trying to convince me that he was still in control. This could have been a reflection of his insecurities as she had gone against his wishes to terminate the pregnancy, taking away the power and control from him. Luyolo went on to speak of this having been his decision to make: "*I was in control. It was my decision to make so I did not*

*feel trapped because whatever her plan was, it just did not work...."* (Luyolo, 17/07/15). This response implied that Luyolo felt that his partner had no say, yet this was her body, which reflects how some men feel entitled to speaking over the body of a woman and treat it as though it belongs to them.

## 4.6 Disappointment in one self

Some of the participants were disappointed in themselves and this had an impact on their experience of the unplanned pregnancy. For instance, Vuyo (27) reiterated that:

> *I have always been that guy who believed that when I have a child it will be the right way, marriage, mother, father all in the same household you know all of that. So okay it hit me really hard, really hard, I got into a slump at some stage but with everything I started things okay cool how difficult can this be I have my own place, I am financially stable, I have the resources to take care of the child* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

Vuyo spoke of the "right way" which reflects the influence of discourses which have set standards for society resulting in the belief that there is a particular normative way to having children. Childbearing is sanctioned by various institutions. For example; from a religious point of view childbearing is constrained within wedlock; modern development discourses of family planning infuse the message of a 'right' time with career achievements and financial stability. Health interventions sell the idea that children born early suffer multiple deprivations associated with teen pregnancy. All these messages converge around the idea of the 'right' time and circumstances to have a baby. Vuyo's disappointment in himself can be said to stem from failure to observe the 'right' circumstances as he has internalised the shame and negative connotations that come with having a child out of wedlock. This disappointment has led to him presenting with psychological distress as reflected by him emphasising that this whole experience was "really hard, really hard" to the extent that he exhibited depressive symptoms. In his response, Vuyo provides a description of how he envisioned having a child in an environment that has both the mother and father in the same household which speaks to how according to these religious discourses the nuclear family structure has been deemed the "right" (normative) family structure that we should all aspire to, undermining all other family structures.

Vuyo went on to illustrate how the occurrence of the unplanned pregnancy went against his plans and all that he believed in:

> *It was just disappointing for me considering that I had a plan and I mean it so happened that this is a similar scenario to what my father went through because I also have a step brother that my father had outside of wedlock and it had always been something I looked down on him and always thought why would one do that then I find myself in a similar situation, the exact same place actually... My reaction was more about what I was going to lose and the fact that I had kinder 'screwed myself up', this was not my plan. So yeah that was my reaction* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

From Vuyo's response, it is evident that one's internalised stigma and attitudes towards out of wed-lock pregnancies influenced his reaction as he had always looked down on his father for having a child out of wed-lock and was now worried that people would have the same attitude towards him. Inasmuch as Vuyo expressed a disappointment in himself, he spoke of the unplanned pregnancy having gone against his plan, yet he did not speak of ways that he made sure that this did not happen which suggests that his sexual behaviour colluded with the social norm – men's failure to consistently use a condom. For him, his earlier negative judgement of his father came back to haunt him when in reality he too could not avoid that which his father suffered.

In this response, Vusi gave a description of his achievements *"glorified child; passed matric well, got accepted into Wits..."* suggesting that unplanned pregnancy is experience for a particular calibre of people and because of these achievements he was not of that calibre so he had disappointed himself because he was now going to be associated with those people. This demonstrates how literature and research that focuses on social issues such as unplanned pregnancy, through focusing on the low socio-economic contexts, has resulted in such occurrence being perceived as being of people with lesser social status.

Nhlanhla explained that he was disappointed in himself as this was not how he had hoped his life would turn out: expressing his regret he admitted that *"...ultimately this is not how I pictured my life, this is not how I wanted my life to be, it is not how I pictured life with kids to be...I wish I could have done things differently"* (Nhanhla, 02/05/16). This response carries a sense of regret, this could be because he realised that this experience changed his life. However, this response also hints at an element of detaching himself from taking responsibility of the occurrence of the unplanned pregnancy. I say this because he spoke of this having not been what he pictured his life to be implying that he had no control over his

actions that led to his life turning out the way it had. Nhlanhla and Vuyo's narratives were similar in this regard.

## 4.7 Experiences of unplanned pregnancy as emotionally challenging

Hearing the news of the pregnancy resulted in some of the participants experiencing emotional difficulties. Andile (27) revealed that due to his partner's unplanned pregnancy experience he began to experience depressive symptoms. He describes his reaction in this way:

> *The whole thing destroyed me, it destroyed my self-esteem, and I couldn't go to church for some time. I used to preach at church, and I had to stop preaching. It sort of destroyed a certain part of me* (Andile, 13/02/16).

Andile, who was a junior preacher at church by then, had to step down from this position because of the unplanned pregnancy. This reflected how based on religious sanctions, individuals who are associated with acts such as unplanned pregnancy are deemed impure to hold positions of respect such as being a preacher at church. The fact that he had been alienated by the church for his actions resulted in him experiencing distress and being frustrated by the impact. This response was a testimony to how religious discourses can result in a battle between the visibility and invisibility of sinful nature. For example, this may have not been the first time for him fornicating yet he did not step down from preaching but now that his sinful behaviour has become visible, he had to step down. The visibility is what results in emotional distress as it exposed him to negative judgement by the church.

Muzi (29) expressed that when he learned of the unplanned pregnancy he was overwhelmed:

> *But yoh! Yoh! Yoh! The first time I heard that my girlfriend was pregnant for me. I was shaken because I was busy thinking about my life plans then someone suddenly comes and changes everything about it, you are still trying to find your feet then suddenly you have to think about what will this person eat? Where will they go to school?* (Muzi, 22/02/16).

Inasmuch as it was evident from this response that the news of the unplanned pregnancy had been emotionally challenging as reflected by his use of the word *"shaken"*, this response however suddenly took a different turn in that he moved from expressing how he experienced the news of the unplanned pregnancy to shifting the blame onto the mother of the child for an

imposition that changed his life plan. Muzi spoke of himself having been busy thinking about his life plans yet he did not think about how these plans could be affected by his unsafe sexual behaviour. This implied that he was not concerned with using protection. His ignorance towards the consequences of his unsafe sexual behaviour could be the reason for him struggling to adjust to taking responsibility of these consequences leading to him responding to the pregnancy as emotionally challenging.

For Nhlanhla (26) the news of the pregnancy lead to him engaging in bad habits as a way of trying to relieve himself from the emotional distress that he was experiencing. He described the impact as follows:

> *...see the thing about me is that I am a very emotional person so I couldn't hide it, my stress levels went up, I started drinking a lot, started smoking (all very bad habits). I couldn't focus at work. I guess in a sense I could say that my back was against the wall (that is a term I use to say I don't know what to do, I am at a four-way stop and I am not sure which way to go or what to do)* (Nhlanhla, 02/05/16).

Nhlanhla spoke of not being able to hide his emotions suggesting that there was an expectation for him to do so. This brings to surface the influence of discourses of traditional constructions of masculinity, which discourage men from expressing their emotions. He went on to mention the destructive behavioural patterns that he engaged in as a way of dealing with his emotions. These externalised behaviours were largely influenced by these discourses as there is an expectation for men to internalise their emotional distress and engage in such behaviours. This response reflects how due to such discourses, young fathers like Nhlanhla may end up in difficult positions where they do not know what to do yet cannot express themselves because they have been socialised to internalise their emotions leading to the experience of the unplanned pregnancy being characterised by a great deal of emotional distress.

Due to his own emotional distress, Nhlanhla explained that he ended up being unsupportive to his partner during her time of need. He said:

> *So I can say that my reaction to that is that I neglected her during the time that she needed me the most, I didn't pay as much attention to her as I should have because I was trying to take care of myself. I was really struggling, I was dropping, I was dying somewhere...* (Nhlanhla, 02/05/16).

Inasmuch as this response is characterised by elements of selfishness as he spoke mainly about himself and his feelings, he also presents a sense of remorse as he appeared to be aware that he could have been much more attentive and supportive towards his partner; however due to his own emotional distress he was not able to do so.

Vuyo explained that inasmuch as other aspects of his life were stable enough for him to have a baby, he was not emotionally equipped for the news which made the experience emotionally challenging for him. He shared the following:

> *So the timing was right, I was financially stable but it was just unfortunate my emotional state at the time was way off* [tone of voice carrying a sense of sadness] *so that is why it took a very, very long time for me to adjust* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

Thabo (34) echoed Vuyo's sentiments and reported the anxiety that comes with the anticipation of the child's health and wellbeing once they are born. He explained:

> *You get scared about a lot of things like definitely I am going to be a father and you do not know what is going to be the outcome like will the child be mental? Will they be 100%? You know all of those things* (Thabo, 09/06/15).

These participants' narratives point to men's emotional state which is usually neglected in research on unplanned pregnancy. For them, their emotional instability made it difficult for them to adjust to their pending status of fatherhood. Vuyo's tone indicated that this was something that had been such a huge challenge for him to handle.

## 4.8 Need for social support

Four participants felt that they needed some form of social support to help them through the experience of learning about the unplanned pregnancy. Vuyo (29) felt that he could have benefitted from some form of advice to help prepare him for the new role of being a father. He reported that he was inadequately prepared for the role and would have benefited from something similar to what he thought women get. He said:

> *...it would have been nice to have got some advice because I feel women get prepped for a baby, the doctor's visits, aunts and grandmothers tell her that when the baby comes this is what you do, they get prepped, but we don't get such* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

From Vuyo's response it was evident that young fathers felt neglected and have no social support to help them deal with the challenges that come with being a new father. He attributed this neglect to the absence of conversation about fatherhood with young men. He drew from his experience of not being sure in the beginning if he should be involved as there was an expectation that fathers should not be involved. He said, *"I don't know if this is because we are not expected to be there, especially in the beginning maybe everyone feels we shouldn't be involved"* (Vuyo, 31/05/16). Based on anecdotal knowledge, this way of thinking can be said to be a result of practices which say that upon giving birth, the woman needs to leave her husband or partner for three months and go be with her family for them to help with the child. Such discourses can be said to have contributed to the idea that fathers do not need support during this time as they are not involved, which should not be the case as with modernisation, there may be a growing expectation and desire (from the father's side) for the father to be more supportive and involved yet there is no social support for him. The influence of gender roles which have placed the responsibility of child-rearing on mothers can be said to have normalised the tendency to accept the father's lack of involvement in child rearing.

Vuyo explained how everyone around him focused on preparing him for the financial aspect of the experience but no one took time to prepare him for the emotional aspect. He said:

> *yeah everyone tells you that you need to prepare financially it is the emotional part that us men are not prepared for because one minute...because literally in one split second there is now a human being here and I am thinking what now, what must I do from here and I know that there is no formula but I feel women are slightly more prepared and know what to do...*(Vuyo, 31/05/16).

From this response, it became evident that placing a great deal of emphasis on the financial aspects can be detrimental as this takes away from all the aspects that also need to be addressed, for example, the emotional aspect. This lack of attention being given to preparing men emotionally can be said to be a reflection of constructions of masculinity and gender roles which have categorised being a man as being synonymous with being a financial provider while being a woman is associated with being a nurturer (Richter & Morrell, 2006). It can be said that these categories allow women to be emotionally expressive, open up and seek emotional support while men are expected to internalise their emotions. This expectation then leads to the lack of structures that can offer emotional support to men as this is an area

that they are not expected to bring to surface, ultimately depriving them of the opportunity to obtain the emotional skills that could help prepare them for their new role of being a father.

Vuyo made reference to his experience in the delivery room to illustrate how he struggled to adjust emotionally to the experience. He explained:

> *Whereas us guys, we are lost so much so that I was in the delivery room and I kept thinking what the hell did I just see? You know, we aren't even prepared for a lot so I think it would be nice if there were more things available for me maybe to have a chat, get more prepared and told that this is generally what you will feel obviously it may change. This is where and how things will happen...I don't know I just feel we need to be at least given something because I went in blind* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

It was evident from Vuyo's response that men do not only need emotional support, but also information that will help equip them better for the overall birthing process. The lack of information or conversations about such areas can be said to be a consequence of constructing childbirth as a matter that affects women only and should be kept as a private practice amongst women. This can then be said to result in men being ill prepared for situations that allow for such gender roles to be challenged such as what Vuyo had attempted to do when he chose to be present in the delivery room. Vuyo's response points to the negative impact that the pre-natal treatment structure has on young fathers as it places attention to the mother and the baby while the father is not prepared for his role. This once again reveals the influence of structural discourses.

Bantu (27) drew from his experience with his church, where everyone heard about his partner falling pregnant no-one gave him any social support, and how this affected his response to the news of the unplanned pregnancy. Bantu seemed to contest the way his fellow congregants responded as he noted that

> *People can be just (pause), brutal; so after that it has been difficult for me to go back to church and be active because of its hypocrisy. The church is supposed to build you up, hold your hand, and when you fall, pick you up and dust you off and say "oh well you did not see that hump, child of God, you are so great." But you get the opposite. I always say that the church is the only army in the world that kicks its wounded soldiers so instead of helping you get up, they just finish you off. So it was that part of my life that has changed significantly...*(Bantu, 13/04/16).

Bantu spoke of the church having kicked its wounded soldiers, suggesting that he felt a sense of betrayal from the church because he was one of them, working for the church just like a soldier would serve his country and instead of helping him up when he was hurt by what had happened he was faced with rejection. This reflected the hypocritical nature of the church as it presents itself as a place where one can seek refuge in but in actual fact it does not practise this because it ends up rejecting that person. Thinking back on the interview, Bantu appeared to have been disappointed and hurt by the rejection that he had received from the church and as a result of this, his relationship with the church members changed. He further described that:

> *I find it so difficult to relate to those people again, it is so hard. They are growing, we are all growing but even today I find it difficult to relate to those people, that church or any one in that church. I go every now and then but even if I do not go I do not feel bad* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

The lack of support from church that Bantu suffered resulted in a "them" vs "us" relationship. He no longer saw himself as fitting in with the members of the church which feeds into the "sinners" vs "righteous" discourses. These discourses are often spoken about at church, reinforcing the idea that through its beliefs, ideologies and discourses the church ends up rejecting people who actually need it the most.

Vusi's experience of lack of support came in from his father's response when he told him of the unplanned pregnancy. He explained that, *"My dad took a deep sigh and said; "You are working; you will take care of it.""*(Vusi, 09/03/16). Vusi's father's response reveals the influence of traditional discourses of masculinity which have constructed the father as a provider because he focuses on the fact that he can provide financially for the child, therefore does not need help, and neglects all the other aspects such as emotional support that he could need. Vuyo's father referred to the baby as an "it" which suggested two things: 1) it could be a reflection of his disappointment in Vusi. 2) This could be a disinterest in being involved in the process resulting in him not being very supportive towards his son as reflected by the following:

> *I had no support aside from my mother saying fine, I will look after the baby but when you come back from school I need my time, I need to watch TV, you can feed your child, change their diapers and make sure that the child is okay, you can read*

*because the baby will sleep but when they are up and they start crying you have to go. So that was the situation* (Vusi, 09/03/16).

Vusi (27) had to be a much more hands-on father because his partner was attending nursing school at the time that the pregnancy occurred. Inasmuch as his mother helped take care of the baby while he attended university, when he got home he was expected to take on the responsibilities. This response reveals how young fathers need social support because at times they have to play an active role in their children's lives. As Vusi was expressing a need for social support, what was interesting about this response was that it reflected how some young fathers may be slowly starting to challenge discourses around gender roles and taking on roles that would ordinarily not be deemed "manly" such as feeding or changing their children's diapers.

Luyolo (33) explained that his mother was not supportive because of her beliefs about unplanned pregnancies and how this led to her not concerning herself with his son. He said:

*My mother was against it, she wanted me to marry first and then have children and she felt that she was too young to be a grandmother. She did not want to be part of it all she only asked about my son last year (2014), mainly because I put him up on Facebook and my aunts and everyone started commenting about the child's picture and she felt embarrassed by that* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

This narrative demonstrates the influence of religious discourses, which are of the belief that children should be born within wedlock. Such discourses led to Luyolo's mother not being supportive towards her son and grandson. However, these religious discourses cannot be entirely held responsible for her lack of support as there is evidence of elements of selfishness from the mother's side and how this selfishness led to her being uninvolved. Luyolo went on to explain that his mother was not happy with him having acknowledged the child's paternity. He explained:

*The fact that I am acknowledging my son, that I am happy with my son and putting him up on Facebook. She has never met him so she knew that those questions would come up from the family members and she did not want those questions so she felt embarrassed by those questions so ended up asking but she said that she didn't want to be involved when she was told that my girlfriend was pregnant...*(Luyolo, 17/07/15).

This narrative suggests that Luyolo's mother had no intention to ask about his son before the Facebook post and was only doing so because everyone else now knew and was trying to be politically correct as there would be an expectation for her to be involved. This reflected how his mother's negative reaction to the unplanned pregnancy as reflected by her lack of support strained their relationship. Luyolo expressed his disappointment in his mother by saying:

> *I was disappointed because I was trying to think of how my grandfather reacted when she was pregnant with me because she was also not married so I just wondered how my grandfather reacted to her. Did five years go by without my grandfather asking about me? No! I was born there so why did she feel the need to or why did she decide to say she wants no part in it? So that to me is one of the things that anger me about her, there are other things but this is the main thing that angers me about her decision making* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

In this response there is evidence of disappointment and resentfulness experienced by Luyolo towards his mother because as he explained, he was a product of an out-of-wedlock pregnancy and his grandfather was supportive towards her and accepted him while his mother could not do the same. Luyolo's narrative points to how at times people who are staunch in their beliefs in religious discourses can be such hypocrites.

## 4.9 Meaning of fatherhood

This study aimed to explore how Black men from the middle-class socio-economic strata react and respond to an unplanned pregnancy. This was explored by asking the participants the meaning of fatherhood for them. Different participants had different meanings and understandings of fatherhood, all of which were largely influenced by the diversity of their lifetime.

### 4.9.1 Responsibility

This study found that most participants associated fatherhood with responsibilities. These responsibilities were associated with financial provision, ensuring that the child's basic needs were met and providing the child with an adequate education. Bantu (27) reported that once he had learned about the pregnancy he decided to take on part-time employment so that he could be able to meet his daughter's financial needs. He explained:

> *…immediately I heard about the pregnancy, I started working part-time, making ends meet and making sure that by the time my daughter is born she has everything she needs and no one can claim that they took care of my daughter on my behalf. I may have not been physically there or the mother, in her early age but I made sure that she gets everything that she needs* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

From Bantu's response was evident that as a young father he had a sense of pride in wanting to ensure that all of his daughter's needs were met. Inasmuch as this response placed emphasis on the idea that taking responsibility as a father, it came in the form of being able to meet the child's financial needs. This revealed how discourses that construct fatherhood as being synonymous with being a financial provider have resulted in a great deal of emphasis being place on this aspect neglecting other aspects such as providing emotional support to the child.

For Mandla (35), who lived with his one year old son, fatherhood was associated with the responsibility of ensuring that the child's material needs were met in the household. Due to his experience with his son's expenses, he expressed that at times the maintenance set by the court was not enough. He expressed his disapproval in some men not willing to pay this amount by stating the following:

> *We have a live-in nanny; the presence of this child now has cost us about R 4500.00 a month that is an additional R4500.00 that goes to his food, clothes and paying the nanny. The food that we use in the house is far less expensive as compared to his things (nappies, milk, whips etc) alone. He is way more expensive than us and sometimes a court order would say pay R600 for maintenance that is nothing! Absolutely nothing yet most guys do not even pay that. That R600 will only cover milk which is about R250/260 and a box of nappies which are R300 or even R350 and if you are living in the rural areas there is no Game or Makro which are usually cheaper. What we do is we go to GAME or Makro and buy a big box that will last us for a while. In the rural areas you don't get the bulk buys, you have to buy a small packet each week at the local supermarket which ends up being a whole lot more. Then there is school stuff but you still don't want to pay R600 that is nothing! So your child will be forced by circumstances to eat solids and food that he/she is not mature enough to eat* (Mandla, 16/02/16).

The fact that Mandla was aware of all the figures involved in the child's upkeep suggested that he was a hands-on father who did not just provide the money to buy the recourses but was involved in buying them. This suggested that some young fathers are moving away from the constructions of gender roles and participating in the rearing of their children. Furthermore, this response revealed the unrealistic nature of maintenance rulings in that at times the court orders the man to pay a fee that does not meet the child's basic needs. This reflected how the government and its policies, through this leeway, perpetrates the on-going cycle of young fathers not making adequate provision for their children.

Vusi (27), like Bantu and Mandla, reflected on how he felt proud of having being able to meet his child's needs. He said, *"I feel really proud that I am able to provide for the child, from whatever angle, school, clothes, lunch, transport, and school tours, everything…"* (Vusi, 09/03/16). From his response, it was evident that being able to meet his child's financial and material needs gave Vusi a sense of pride. He went on to explain that for him, taking responsibility in the form of providing financial security for his child was a way of protecting her from what would be said to her had he not. He was adamant that:

> *…even though I don't stay with my child, I feel that I need to protect her and protection also means financial wise; she needs to be protected financially, she needs to be protected from remarks that are out there about my work, people will say your dad has a well-paying job but doesn't take care of you, he dresses nicely but you don't. I feel that I need to take care of her so she doesn't have to hear such remarks* (Vusi, 09/03/16).

It became evident that for Vusi, just like Bantu, ensuring that his child's financial and material needs were met was closely linked to him not being perceived in a negative way by people. Both these individuals are highly educated and it was evident that they were aware of the discourses around young Black fathers. This could be his way of ensuring that he does not get categorized in the stereotypical way. This reflected how due to the discourses that are sometimes attached to young fathers, these individuals end up feeling that there is a need to prove themselves to society as a whole.

Vusi also expressed other aspects of what fatherhood meant to him by suggesting the following:

> *To me fatherhood comes in a vast number of explanations, but the most import one is the verb one. Once you produce a child you have to own up because the child is too vulnerable to grow and you have to be there as the father to nurture and to make sure that even though you are not physically there, the child is well off* (Vusi, 09/03/16).

For Vusi, fatherhood was linked to the action of acknowledging the child's paternity. To him this act was the first step in taking responsibility for having fathered the child. This would be followed by financial provision but also ensuring that the child's wellbeing is taken care of through nurturing. This response illustrated how some young fathers, like Vusi were redefining their role as fathers and moving away from traditional constructions of the father role to becoming much more active in nurturing their children. He also highlighted the importance of taking part in teaching and instilling certain values in his child: "*To me, it's more than just the finances it's also about being there, making sure that whatever seed you planted is growing well and into the kind of tree that you want it to be"* (Vusi, 09/03/16). This means that even though one does not physically live with the child, he makes means to ensure that he is active in his child's life. It was interesting that Vusi chose to explain this metaphorically; this could be a reflection of how even though this was what he desired to do, he felt he could not literally achieve all of this because of the feud between himself and the mother of this child.

Thabo's (34) response, like that of the other participants, linked fatherhood to being a financial provider. However, Thabo made reference to ensuring that the child's psychological needs, in the form of confidence, were also met by:

> *...making sure that they are well groomed and making sure that they have that confidence because what I have noticed is that when the father figure is not around their confidence levels may be low. Financially you may also do your part, support* (Thabo, 09/06/15).

In this response, Thabo raised the concern that the absence of a father could result in the child expressing psychological distress.

It was evident that some of the participants, who associated fatherhood with responsibility, had a slightly different interpretation of responsibility. Vuyo associated the responsibility that comes with fatherhood as a "reality check" as this newly discovered fatherhood status changed his behavioural patterns to being much more responsible: He explained how his new

pending fatherhood status led to him reviewing how he had been living his life so he decided to change his behaviour. He stated:

> *I was going through some 'superman' phase at the time as a guy you know you starting to make good money and you start thinking that you are King of the world and then your behaviour also starts changing; you know when you start behaving like nothing can possibly go wrong, maybe in a way this is what I needed to kinder bring myself back to life again. Maybe I needed that reminder to sort of 'check' my life again* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

Vuyo's use of words such as *"superman", "king"* and him choosing to deliver this response in a manner that does not make direct reference to himself but speaks of *"a guy"* creates an image of detaching himself to these actions, suggesting that this was not him but him playing a role. This suggested that this was a performance and there was a particular character that one has to embody to reflect that he was now a young Black man who is successfully making a living and now fell within the middle-class strata. For him, being responsible for an unplanned pregnancy had a positive impact on his life as it acted as a reminder for him to reevaluate the direction that his life was taking.

Mandla (35), who started living with his partner and their baby fulltime after birth explained that for him, the unplanned pregnancy made him much more responsible when socialising with friends. He reported the following:

> *It did change me in a great way even when I would go out drinking with friends, there is a sense of responsibility. I have to think that I have a family waiting for me to come home, so at 22:00 I have to look at the time and tell my friends that it is late so I have to go. You have to take a stand and not succumb to the pressure because they will convince you to stay and drink some more…* (Mandla, 16/02/16).

Mandla's response reflected some of the expectations that come with being a father and a family man such as being cognisant of other people, in this case, the mother of his child and his child too. For him, fatherhood meant that he needed to be a responsible father and this came in the form of him choosing to make changes to the way he was socialised before and be able to stand his ground and not give in to peer-pressure for the sake of his family.

For Nhlanhla (26), fatherhood resulted in him being more responsible in the ways that he spent his money:

> *Honestly they have changed me in a in a very huge way, even when it comes to things like living my life as an individual; I always have to think about them, when I go clubbing, I think about how much I am going to spend there; because I ask myself do the children have everything that they need? How long am I going to spend time with them? When will I spend time with them? How much time am I spending with them?*(Nhlanhla, 02/05/16).

Nhlanhla's response reflected selflessness and consideration because he put his children first and changed his social patterns to accommodate the responsibilities that came with him being a father.

For Luyolo (33), his new fatherhood status meant that he had to ensure that he became more sexually responsible and protected himself from HIV. He said:

> *...fatherhood influenced me you know there are diseases, there's HIV, and there are a lot of things that could kill me out there, potentially, at the same time I need to be there for him, I cannot be putting myself in those kinds of risks where I could potentially grab something out there and die and not be able to provide for him* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

This response revealed a change in mind-set that came with fatherhood, for Luyolo as he moved from being sexually irresponsible to being cautious and mindful of the potential consequences of unprotected sex.

### 4.9.2 Active participation

Five of this study's participants felt that to them fatherhood meant more than just meeting the child's financial needs but more about active participation in the child's life. For these participants active participation came in the form of being involved in the diaper changes, feeds, school drop offs and pickups, bed-time story readings and providing emotional support to the mother and the child. For Vuyo, fatherhood meant being aware of the emotional distress that the experience may be having on the mother and providing her with emotional support. He explained that: *"For me, fatherhood is basically just being there for someone, support your partner or the mother of your child even if you guys are no longer together because it gets hectic! It gets really heavy"* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

The fact that Vuyo was cognisant of, and acknowledged the emotional distress that can be experienced by the mother as a result of this experience reflected his mindfulness and care for

her wellbeing despite the dynamics of the relationship and (or) the challenges that the relationship may be experiencing. He emphasised that *"it gets hectic"*, this suggested that he too had experienced this and was empathising with her.

For Vuyo active participant meant that he needed to be a good role model because there was now someone who was modelling his behaviours: *"Now I have this little someone who is watching me, who picks up on my energies, picks up on every little thing, my moods, my feelings everything little thing I do he picks it up and pulls it in…"* (Vuyo, 31/05/16). Vuyo's response reflected that he understood that fatherhood meant that he had to be cognisant about his behaviours because his son was watching and learning from him. This concern and mindfulness reflected a nurturing characteristic in Vuyo. This characteristic is one that heteronormative gender roles associate with femininity, which suggested that some young Black men are challenging gender roles and moving towards being involved in raising and nurturing their children.

Bantu (27) explained that for him active participation came in the form of being mindful of the quality rather than the quantity of the time he spent with his daughter and using this time to try and enrich her psychologically. He explained that:

> *I think I am a very responsible father and I am very active in my daughter's upbringing. As much as I spend limited time with her I use it to my best to build her, to teach her things and to explain to her* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

It was evident in this response that Bantu was making an effort to ensure that the time he spent with his daughter was worthwhile. This reflected commitment from his side in that he did not use the fact that he did not spend a lot of time with his daughter as a crutch and excuse but rather made a way despite the circumstances.

For Bantu, being active in his daughter's life meant that he had to make some sacrifices. These sacrifices were difficult to make as they were life changing and could result in him viewing fatherhood through a negative lens. He felt that his life would have been better off had the pregnancy not occurred. He said it made him angry that:

> *I could not achieve my goals; I mean I had to stop everything to attend to this. It shifted my life plan, I mean who knows I could have been halfway across the world now doing great things but all of that was shifted* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

The above response reflected the challenges faced by young men as a consequence of the unplanned pregnancy. Bantu's goals and priorities shifted, and this is something that is sometimes taken for granted as discourses around young Black fathers often portray them in a negative light. Inasmuch as it was evident from Bantu's tone, during the interview that he was frustrated and angered by the changes that he had to make to his life plan, he still chose to stay and take care of his child despite all of these negative feelings. This suggested that he was a self-less and responsible young man because he could have gone to pursue his dreams and left the mother of the child to take care of the child alone.

For Mandla (35), active participation meant instilling certain values in one's child. He however stated that due to circumstances, at times active participation for a father can only come in the form of them financially providing for the child. He explained:

> *Taking care of your child means being part of the upbringing, have a say, guide and teach them and so on. But sometimes you do not have a choice; taking care of the child becomes an ATM, you send the money at the end of the month; they see what they can do so that the child has clothes, goes to school, doesn't go to bed hungry, you don't have a choice because you are still trying to establish yourself, still renting and are unstable moving from one place to the other and you can't bring a child into that environment. So to be honest, taking care of the child is you upbringing the child with certain values and having the child around you but if push comes to shove, at least send the money!* (Mandla, 16/02/16).

This response revealed that both the child and the father are growing simultaneously which means that they are both going through developmental changes. For the young father one of the areas of growth that he may be going through may be him trying to establish a secure environment for himself. This then means that he may not yet be in an environment which can be conducive for raising a child which consequently results in him only being able to provide financially. This participant pointed out that this may not be the ideal, however it is a starting point as the child's basic needs are met and in a way that is a form of participating actively in your child's life.

Mandla then went on to reflect his experience of being active in his son's life from the day he was born. He said:

> *Talking to you right now I am just visualizing from the day he was born to present day. When I left this morning, it is like a little movie that is quiet nice. When he was born he was so small, I was there and I am so glad that I was the first person to touch him after his mother. I am really proud of that! He is almost a year now, starting to learn words, recognizes faces, when you leave he cries for you, it is all a great feeling. When you have friends over he will crawl and come to you just sit on your lap, whatever you are doing he also just wants to put his hands on it* (Mandla, 16/02/16).

This response reflected this young father's sense of pride for having been present in his child's life from the beginning. This appeared to be an experience that brought him a lot of joy, thinking back to the interview, he wore a smile while narrating this. Having described this experience as being *"like a little movie",* Mandla suggested that this was a beautiful moment for him which felt magical like a fantasy or dream. This description could have been a reflection of how he has always yearned for this, but was not able to experience it with his first child. In his response, it was evident that Mandla was aware of the developmental changes and milestones that his son was going through which reflected that he was active in raising his child.

Vuyo (29) felt that their new fatherhood status gave them a new meaning of life, their goals and priorities changed for the better. Vuyo felt that fatherhood came with changes to his social life as he needed to evaluate what was more important to him: spending his Friday night at a club or with his son. He stated that:

> *.... if you are a hands-on dad and live with your child, you cannot go out as often but it's not something that is like...I mean I go out whenever I want to but I just got to a point where I felt that Friday nights should be spent with him instead of being at a club* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

Vuyo's response suggested that for him, fatherhood meant that his priorities were changed; things which were previously important to him were no longer a priority. This response reflected a sense of maturity that came with being a father. Vuyo was not forced to make any changes, as reflected by his indication that he goes whenever he wants to. However, he made a choice to because this was something that he wanted for himself and his son. This response showed a sense of selflessness in Vuyo as he sacrificed his social life for the sake of committing to the new role of being a father.

### 4.9.3 Blessing (in retrospect)

Inasmuch as fatherhood came unexpectedly for some of these participants Bantu, Vusi and Luyolo felt that, in retrospect, fatherhood had been a blessing in their lives. Bantu happily explained that for him, fatherhood had been a great experience. He expressed it this way:

> *...I mean being a father is a blessing; it is the greatest thing ever. I got involved immediately from the pregnancy stage to the upbringing of my daughter. I have a very beautiful relationship with her; it has been amazing (smiles)* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

Bantu used the word *"blessing"* to describe what being a father meant to him, suggesting that he felt that this was a generous gift that had been assigned to by a higher Being. This way of thinking could be linked to how, despite all the challenges that he faced as a consequence of this experience, being a father brought him happiness. Furthermore, this response reflected the sense of pride that this participant had for having been involved in his daughter's life from an early stage.

For Vusi, fatherhood was a blessing in disguise in that it motivated him to change the direction that his life was taking. He proudly reported that: *"I feel that if I did not have a child, there are things that I could have done that were going to jeopardize me being here now..."* (Vusi, 09/03/16). This response revealed that despite the fact that the pregnancy was unplanned, it was a necessary experience as it catapulted him to maturity and encouraged him to engage in responsible behaviour. This response was contrary to what is sometimes said about young fathers being prone to engaging in socially unacceptable behaviours such as delinquency, substance abuse and dropping out of school. Luyolo attributed the experience to God's work and with a sense of acceptance he said:

> *I am glad that it happened this way because I feel God also played a role in all of this. He felt that this is how it is going to play out, this is His will so who am I to argue with that. So for now I am happy* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

This reflected the influence of religious discourses in some people's attempts to make sense of occurrences. Furthermore, these discourses influence some individuals to find solace in religion when they encounter experiences that do not go according to their plan, such as an unplanned pregnancy in this case.

## 4.10 Depersonalisation of the *intlawulo* practice

The practice of the paternal family paying *"intlawulo"* to the impregnated woman's family is wildly practiced by many indigenous Africans (Nduna & Jewkes, 2012). This practice symbolises the genitor's acknowledgement of the child's paternity. Findings from this study revealed that some of the participants "depersonalised" this practice. They explained that they were not part-taking in it because they agreed with or believed in what it symbolised. Instead, they attributed their participation to other reasons such as engaging in this practice for the sake of keeping their (and the woman's) parents happy. Alongside this, they mentioned partaking for the purpose of honouring their culture.

Vuyo was one of these individuals who…., and he explained: *"Yes, obviously I had to do the whole intlawulo thing, had to go pay damages so the families met and I paid damages we also wanted to respect our parents…"* (Vuyo, 31/05/16). He started off his narrative by saying *"Yes obviously..."* which suggested that to him, this may have been something that he carefully thought and decided on; it was something that he took part in not because he wanted to but rather because that he felt was part of his everyday life, it was common, it was a norm and so he was obligated to honour it. This response reflected how some long standing cultural practices which are passed down generations sometimes end up not being significant to some of the individuals participating in them but they end up practicing them for the sake of conforming to the norm. Vuyo then went on to speak of *"the whole intlawulo thing";* the use of these words reflected an element of him detaching himself from the practice as though it were something that was far removed from him. Furthermore, it came across as though Vuyo was undermining this practice as reflected by him making reference to it as being a *"thing"*. The fact that he attributed having paid the *intlawulo* to show respect for his parents and made no reference of what this act meant to him, gave the impression that he did not do this for himself nor did it have sentimental value to him.

Vuyo further explained how there was a lack in dialogue and explanations about the proceedings; all he was told was that he should take out money. He drew from his experience and said:

> *....it's all so vague, I mean you aren't even allowed in the room, all I was told is how much I need to folk out and was told to wait outside. You don't know what is being said, you don't know if they are judging your character, you know nothing* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

Vuyo's response suggested that he anticipated more information and interaction during the process and the lack thereof elicited feelings of frustration and suspicion as he did not know what was happening. This reflected how placing emphasis on the money aspect of this practice and overlooking the psychological aspects such as feeling involved and apart of the process. This oversight can result in detrimental effects on this practice because as a consequence of this, its meaning and value or significance may be lost, particularly when viewing it from the father's side.

Muzi, like Vuyo, participated in this practice because it is a normative prerequisite; this is a practice that has been prescribed to him by his cultural norms. Because the practice being prescribed, it is possible that young men participate in it without any attachment or ownership of it. Muzi explained his understanding of the practice by saying: *"In a way, I understand the significance but it is more of a thing of it is something that has been done for years*" (Muzi, 22/02/16). Muzi went on to explain that for him paying *intlawulo* was motivated by his fear of unknown repercussions (if there were any) for having not paid. He expressed this by saying:

> *At the end of the day I feel that the process is not something tangible, some people will say if you don't do all of this, the child will have bad luck and all of these things, but for me it was more of a thing of fearing the unknown, what if I don't do all of this and then years later things go wrong? So it was more of a thing of fearing being proven wrong or being safe rather than sorry* (Muzi, 22/02/16).

Muzi's response was similar to that of Vuyo, it suggested that the practice of *intlawulo* was not personal to him. From his response it appeared as though his detachment stemmed from him not knowing the meaning of this practice, instead he had to rely on explanations and understandings he had learned from people. The many speculations around the meaning of this practice created an image of *"the blind following the blind"* where no one or few know the meaning of it but participate out of fear of the unknown. This spoke to how over time due to influences such as modernisation there has been an erosion of understanding of cultural practices and (or) their significance. This erosion can be said to negatively impact on the *intlawulo* practice because it has influenced some young fathers partaking in this practice not because they saw value or significance to them but out of fear of the possibility of misfortune being the result of them not participating.

Similarly, Luyolo appeared to have participated in this practice because it was dictated to him by his culture. He said:

> *Its ummmh (pause), at the end of the day it is not about how I feel, it is part of our culture, if I am not marrying her I have to pay some kind of intlawulo so I can get some kind of access to him. I do have access to him, I talk to him every now and then....* (Luyolo, 17/07/15).

Luyolo's response suggested that he was holding back his feelings about this practice, thereby giving the impression that he had negative feelings towards *intlawulo*. This response suggested that Luyolo chose to comply and participated not because this practice was aligned with his values, but because he felt obliged by culture and because this was the only way that he was going to get access to his son. To this individual, this practice appeared to be similar to a law that he had to abide by to get a particular outcome. This reflected his lack of personal investment, control and taking responsibility of this practice. This can be said to be a result of the structure of this practice as the elders are the protagonists and there is very little involvement of the young father.

Bantu expressed how with age and maturity he had learned to question cultural beliefs including this one. Nonetheless, for the sake of his parents, he conceded because:

> *...for them its culture right, but you know when you grow up, you start defining things in your own terms and you start deciding what will work for you and what will not work for you and I did not grow up with a culture that is supposed to impose things into my life that make me uncomfortable. When something is not right I need to question it and if things don't make sense I need to question them until they make sense. I am not right, they are not wrong it is a matter of this is what they believe, and this is what I believe. That is where our differences are, we somehow need to find a way to live with each other with our differences. It takes time I mean with elderly people, maybe someday they will accept the decision that I made* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

From Bantu's response, it was evident that this practice did not make sense to him and he felt that it was being imposed on him. This revealed the oppressive and authoritarian nature of *intlawulo* as there is an expectation for individuals not to be critical of this practice and express their personal opinions. Instead they are expected to be compliant and obedient as reflected by the conflict that erupted as a result of Bantu voicing his opinions about this

practice. In his response, Bantu appeared to be trying to be diplomatic as reflected by his explanation that it's about him being right and his parents wrong, this suggested that he did not want to appear to be criticizing his parents or his culture. This could have been out of respect, which could also be the reason for his participation in this practice despite his feelings of resentment towards it.

Mandla mentioned how he did not agree with this practice, as it is grounded on the assumption that the woman is the only one who needs to be cleansed while no attention is given to the man. He complied as he had to follow the rules of his culture. His ambivalence towards *intlawulo* was expressed in this quotation:

> *Yes, yes...obviously you have to go pay intlawulo, you have to perform rituals such as slaughtering a goat to cleanse the house that you (the man) have made impure by impregnating the woman in it, they assume that you slept with the woman in her home so you have "broken that family's kraal" so you have to make amends* (Mandla, 16/02/16).

In this response, Mandla began by saying *"you have to"* suggesting that it was an obligation, something he had no say or control over, similar to Vuyo and Luyolo who felt obliged to comply with the rules of their culture. Throughout his response, Mandla made reference to "you" instead of "I" giving the impression that this was something that was happening generally. Furthermore, the fact that he chose to deliver this narrative in this manner suggested that he was not willing to take ownership and responsibility of having taken part in this practice, which could have been because this was not something that he personally believed in.

Mandla went on to express his sentiments on the practice despite having participated in it:

> *I got money from my grandmother, there were goats at home so that wasn't a problem, so we took one goat and went and performed a cleansing ceremony there...I do not see the significance in paying intlawulo; I will never see the significance in it just like I will never see the significance of lobola that is only my belief. I find it unnecessary, like really! I never slept with her at her house so I hadn't brought impurities into their home, so what am I cleansing?* (Mandla, 16/02/16).

Mandla made it obvious that this practice was not aligned with his beliefs, he described it as being *"unnecessary"* suggesting that to him, the *intlawulo* practice did not have any

sentimental value or significance. It was evident that Mandla took a literal stance towards the significance of practice as reflected by his reluctance towards paying *intlawulo* because he had not slept with her in her home, therefore had not brought any impurities into her home. This response belittled this practice as it made light of the symbolism that is embodied by this act. Inasmuch as this could have been because of a genuine lack of understanding of the practice as a result of it having not been explained to him, it could have been his way of trying to discredit this practice because it conflicted with his beliefs. Mandla spoke of *intlawulo* having entailed cleansing of the woman and her home; this reflected how discourses around out of wedlock pregnancy imply a victim-perpetrator binary where the woman is the victim and the man the perpetrator as it suggests that the man has contaminated the woman and therefore she needs to be cleansed. He went on to explain that he only paid *intlawulo* because it was part of his culture suggesting that *"...it's there but really I do not see the importance of it. I am just following rules, if I were to change the rules today I would do away with such"* (Mandla, 16/02/16). This response reflected how Mandla like Vuyo, Luyolo and Bantu took part in this practice out of respect for their culture and not because this practice had personal meaning to them.

For Andile, the practice of *intlawulo* was not personalised because he questioned its significance. He said:

> *I mean when two people consent to having sex and now you going to say that the one damaged the other? Come on that means that they have agreed to being damaged. That was the arrangement so they agreed to it so why must I then pay when she also consented?* (Andile, 13/02/16).

This response reflected how the discourse of *"damaging,* which is associated with the payment of *intlawulo* as in some communities this practice is understood as paying the damages for having impregnated the woman out-of-wedlock (Langa & Smith, 2012), can be problematic. This, like Mandla's experience of having to cleanse the woman's home implies that the man is at fault and is to be blamed for the pregnancy negating the fact that these were individuals who both consented to having sex, therefore should be equally held accountable for the outcome. This discourse can be said to contribute towards the negative discourses and stereotypical representations of young Black fathers.

Vusi explained that he felt that the proceedings of this practice detached him from the practice:

> *The only thing that they did was just to ask me if I know the situation, again just to confirm and make sure that I am comfortable with it. I said yes I do and I am aware of it. After that I had I had to find a way to pay intlawulo...* (Vusi, 09/03/16).

This response demonstrated how the structure of *intlawulo* limits the role of the father thereby contributing to this practice not having personal meaning or significance to the young father. He drew from his experience of paying *intlawulo* for his twin daughters. He explained that he was detached from this practice as it had lost its original meaning and had become purely a moneymaking scheme:

> *So basically what happened was, my uncles went to negotiate, and I had given them R5000.00. I said okay the range of intlawulo is about R5000.00; that is the bracketed range so here is R5000.00 go there and negotiate on my behalf. They went there and negotiated only to find out that my partner's parents wanted more money so my dad was complaining and said that they should be aware that they weren't there to pay lobola but just there to pay intlawulo and stuff, so it was a huge battle, it was a huge fight so basically they went down to settling for R7000.00. I made arrangements for the R2000.00. My uncles were supposed to send that R2000.00 and ironically the story changed, they said the amount that we agreed on was for intlawulo not changing of the surname and in order for the child to use my surname we would have to pay lobola for the child* (Vusi, 09/03/16).

Vusi described this process having been a negotiation between the families which gave the impression of a business meeting where money is the focus. His experience and perception thereof reflected how the symbolism enshrined in this practice has been lost in some instances and it has become motivated by material gain rather than creating a relationship between the two families. The lack in consistency on the amount that needed to be paid by Vusi also reflected how this practice has become subject to people manipulating it to suit their motives, thereby taking away its original meaning.

Andile felt that culture placed emphasis on this practice as it benefitted some people and not the child, because damages may get paid then the child does not get taken care of. He expressed this by saying: *"I feel that it is a practice that people feel they have to continue practicing because they benefit somehow."* This response reflected an element of feeling cheated by this practice as he would have to pay the woman's family. This response reflected how he felt entitled to always taking on the role of being at an advantage, being in power and

control which could be a result of patriarchal structures in society that have normalised this status-quo.

Similar to Vusi and Mandla, Andile went on to explain that, he paid *intlawulo* because he felt obligated to do so: "*You know when you do things out of obligation you don't do them well, you don't do them wholeheartedly"* (Andile, 13/02/16). Andile's response suggested that he felt restricted by this practice reflecting the oppressive nature of this practice which led to him displaying hostile feelings as reflected by his attitude towards the practice and the woman's family, he felt were the beneficiaries of this practice.

Thabo (34) expressed that he felt that this practice was being dictated to him, he had no involvement in the process to the extent that he was out of town when all the proceedings happened. He explained the proceedings as follows:

> *...So actually I didn't have room, things were being dictated to me, I was told step by step this is what you will do etc. so I didn't have a say, you don't even have to be there just as long as you agree. I remember at the time I was in Cape Town, she was in Limpopo, they went and did the stuff* (Thabo, 09/06/15).

For Thabo, the fact that the proceedings of this practice did not involve him resulted in this practice having no personal meaning to him. The father's role and involvement being so insignificant in this process is a reflection of the influence of gender roles which exclude fathers from child rearing leading to fathers not feeling that their role is important in matters involving children which inevitably contributes to the normalisation of father absence. The fact that Thabo's role was limited to providing the money to pay *intlawulo* demonstrated the influence of discourses of traditional constructions of masculinity which limit the role of a father to being a financial provider.

This study reveals that these young Black fathers felt that they had to pay *intlawulo* yet the meaning or the significance of this practice was not explained to them. Vuyo complained that he was not given any information instead, he had to do his own research on this practice which revealed to him many misconceptions about the meaning or significance of this practice:

> *I have been reading up a lot about it of late, us as young guys we have this misconception that when you pay damages you get all of these "rights' and what I picked up with the research that I am doing is that you actually don't. When you pay*

> *damages, you aren't entitled to seeing the child if anything the child belongs to the grandparents because you and the mother made a mistake so it is the family's baby. So that is something that I have learned that because initially when I paid damages I thought I can see the child whenever I want to, I can live with the child and I am slowly realizing after some chats with elders as well that it is a whole lot more complicated than that. It is more of an apology gift so to speak, it is more of a thing of this is the mistake we both made and this is our way of apologizing* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

Vuyo's response illustrated the detrimental effects of lack of information provided to young fathers as it results in young men feeling entitled to certain rights when it comes to the child, which is not necessarily the significance of this practice. The tendency of young men not being provided with the relevant information pertaining *to intlawulo* creates the picture that they are being overlooked and undermined in this process. This could result in young fathers being detached from this practice and not taking ownership and responsibility of it.

Andile explained that his relationship with his parents, which was characterised by a lack in communication, resulted in the meaning of this practice not being explained to him:

> *Lately, I have been thinking about paying, the problem is that although my parents are there we have a distant relationship, we have difficulty communicating that is the one other thing that we spoke about the other time I was at home that when we were growing up, they had a tendency of not being open with us, they would not say you know son you are growing up and this and this will happen.... It was never explained to me and I have a problem paying for things that I do not understand* (Andile, 13/02/16).

This response revealed how the lack of communication about the meaning of this process infantilizes fathers, similar to how children are not told the intimate details of things that happen within the family. This reflected the influence of religious discourses around pregnancy which have created the idea that pregnancy is synonymous with marriage which has been constructed as a rite of passage symbolising a developmental milestone moving from childhood to adulthood. From his response, it was evident that this lack of communication resulted in him feeling reluctant to pay *intlawulo.*

## 4.11 Termination of pregnancy

The findings of this study revealed that upon discovering the pregnancy one of the options that the participants had was to ask the mother to terminate the pregnancy. Participants had different perspectives on termination and these perspectives influenced their discussion to go through a termination or not.

Muzi explained that upon hearing of the pregnancy, his initial reaction was considering termination. He said:

> *...as a guy your first reaction is always like "Eish a baby" and this reaction is often worse when you are not serious about that person so you want to look into alternatives such as should we abort or not?* (Muzi, 22/02/16).

In his response, Muzi generalised his reaction to all men, this reflected an attempt to normalise his response. This attempt could have been in efforts to make his response appear socially acceptable in that it suggested that this was a general consensus that men held towards the news of an unplanned pregnancy, therefore he was not the only one who initially felt this way. From this response, it was evident that the consideration of termination was subject to Muzi's perception of the nature of the relationship he had with his partner, as reflected by him evaluating the seriousness of the relationship in relation to the consideration of termination. This reflected a sense of selfishness from his side in that he only took consideration of his initial reaction and neglected how this suggestion would resonate with the woman.

At the beginning of his response, Muzi made reference to "*you want to look into alternatives..."* suggested that this was one-side. This gives the impression that he felt that he had power and control to determine the outcome of this process. He then changed to plural *"such as should we abort or not?"* This reflected that he has some knowledge about sexual reproductive rights.

Majority of the participants reported having not discussed termination with their partner. The different participants had different reasons for this and these are as follows:

Vuyo reported that for them, the option of termination came up but they did not discuss it because both of them having experienced it in their past and were not prepared to go through that experience again:

> *It came up, it came up, it just so happened that we had both been in cases where it had happened in our past, when we were both younger, obviously we did not know each other then but from the moment we met whenever that conversation came up we both agreed that that was an option that we were NOT* (emphasis) *going to take. It was never an option that was on the cards, obviously she had asked because she saw my reaction to it all and it was just not a conversation I wanted to have. I felt that it doesn't matter what scenario we are in but termination is not an option* (Vuyo, 31/05/16).

Vuyo's response suggested that this was something that he strongly opposed and had made this clear to his partner. He mentioned that *"obviously she had asked..."* suggesting that this may have been an option to her but may have felt pressured into going with what he believes. The fact that he said that she asked, implies that she had to get his permission before going ahead with this which like in Muzi 's case reflected a sense being in power and in control of the woman and her body as this implies that the man had the final say. This was also reflected by the fact that he was not open to having a conversation with her about this. This attitude pointed to an element of lack of communication that characterises sexual reproductive health rights in relationships.

It was evident for Nhlanhla that the decision not to discuss termination was strongly influenced by religious ideologies that are against this practice. Nhlanhla explained the following: *"I am Christian and a strong believer I couldn't say to her have an abortion, so that is what happened"* (Nhlanhla, 02/05/16). For this individual, termination was a territory that he did not want to tread on, thinking back to the interview, Nhlanhla's discomfort about this topic was evident in his body language and facial expressions as well as his brief answer which reflected how he strongly opposed this and did not want to talk about it. This response appeared to be one-sided in that her opinions and (or) sentiments on the matter were not evident which could have been because she could have interpreted his feelings towards termination in a similar manner making it difficult to suggest termination or express her feelings towards it.

For Thabo not discussing termination was influenced by his religious beliefs: *"(silent)...My beliefs, I have a strong belief, I am Christian, I believe that if the soul is there you must keep it alive..."* (Thabo, 09/06/15). Both Nhlanhla and Thabo made it a point to emphasise that they were *"stronger believer"* or have a *"strong faith"* implying that there is a hierarchy for

believers and they belonged in the higher level. Furthermore, this implied that anyone who does not share the same sentiments about termination was placed in the lower levels of this hierarchy. This reflected how religion and its discourses have created standards which society has to abide by and if one fails to do so, they are placed in a lower level and negative discourses are attached to them.

Vusi's views on termination, like those of Thabo and Nhlanhla, were influenced by religious discourses around termination. However, his response differed slightly in that he considered termination which resulted in him fearing God punishing him for having done so:

> *Honestly No, (pause) immediately I had that thing of we will cross the bridge when we get to it because coming from a religious background there are indoctrinations about things, you can't do this, and you can't do that, God is watching you; you will have bad luck etc.*(Vusi, 09/03/16).

This response demonstrated how the church and its religious discourses are instruments of exercising what Foucault refers to as disciplinary power (Hook, Mkhize, Kiguwa, & Collins, 2004). The influence of this power was reflected through Vusi's fear of the possible punishments that would be a result of him not adhering to the rules and indoctrinations of this institution. In his response Vusi justified having considered termination by attributing it to being vulnerable:

> *Even though I was better at reasoning at that time but when you are in a vulnerable space such things do come up, you start thinking what if we do terminate and this was my only child that you can have on earth?* (Vusi, 09/03/16).

Vusi's justification came across as an attempt at rectifying this action of considering termination similar to how a child would justify their actions to their parent when caught doing something wrong. It was evident with this participant, similar to Nhlanhla, was not discussing termination was based on his values towards termination and not those collectively shared by both parties which pointed to the influence of patriarchy and unequal gender roles in normalising men's feeling of being entitled to having control over the woman's body and determining what can or cannot be done with it.

Bantu reported that he and his partner did not discuss termination because of religious belief. He felt that she did not tell him or her parents earlier in the pregnancy because she knew that

medically it would be much more complicated to terminate once the pregnancy was advanced beyond three months. He explained:

> *Well on both sides, termination was not an option because of religion but ummmh (pause), which is why she delayed to tell me, she told me at 3 and a half and the family at 4 months, because her mom would have suggested that she terminate and at that stage it would not work so she waited until she reached a stage where it was impossible although her mom still suggested that she terminates but it was too late. She took her to a doctor and it was too late* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

Despite the fact that Bantu knew that him and his partner shared the same sentiments of not believing in termination he interpreted her actions as being manipulative and calculated. The conflicted response pointed to an element of wanting to have had control over the situation. The fact that she took the initiative, made an independent decision and did what she wanted to do with her body resulted in him perceiving her in a negative light which once again reflected the unequal power dynamics which characterise decisions around termination of pregnancy.

Mandla felt that he and his partner did not discuss termination because there was a fear of the complications that could be a result of this. He was adamant that:

> *Never, never! Look, termination comes with risks, you can die during termination. Inasmuch as you can die during child birth, I think that is much more forgivable as compared to someone dying because they were terminating* (Mandla, 16/02/16).

Mandla was very adamant about not discussing the option of termination suggesting that he was not willing to negotiate or compromise on this as he strongly opposed it. For this participant, it was evident that he was concerned about society's reaction if there would be complications leading to death or being hospitalised. This reflected misconceptions and a lack of knowledge about the safety of the legal termination process. Furthermore he spoke of "*forgivable"* ways of dying which reflected the stigma and negative connotations that are attached to this practice, which is a manifestation of religious discourses.

These findings revealed that majority of this study's participants were influenced by religious discourses to shun discussions on termination of pregnancy. It was evident that unequal power dynamics played an influential role in the lack of discussion around termination as these participants were rigid in their beliefs and appeared to assume the position of power in

the relationship thereby not giving the woman the opportunity to vocalise her opinions on the matter.

## 4.12 Religious chastisement

This study found that once the news was out and fell on the ears of church members that the young man had impregnated a woman out of wedlock, some of the study's participants reported that they were punished by their church: Bantu felt that his punishment came in the form of the church socially isolating him:

> *So I was socialized in the church and being in the church, I was very active, I was a youth leader in the church, used to preach as well so as soon as she fell pregnant (we were in the same church so everyone knew what was going on), then there was this exclusion, you know. No on one wanted to associate with a "sinner"; it was as if it was contagious and no one wants to be seen with you. The very same church that you used to go to and greet people and everything would be fine, now no one wanted to talk to you. When they see you they just want to disappear, there are events and functions happening and all of a sudden you do not know anything about them, you are not invited* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

It was evident from Bantu's response that he was saddened by the fact despite all of his good efforts, as reflected by work that he had done in the church prior to the partner's unplanned pregnancy, all went unnoticed and he had been rejected and cast aside by his church. This response reflected the remorseless nature of the church which contradicts some of its values such as that of forgiveness and remaining non-judgemental. Bantu's response pointed to how religion through its discourses categorises people into a sinner: saint binary as a means of maintaining control and governance over society. The fact that no one wanted to associate with Bantu is an example of this control being executed. He explained how this made it difficult for him to return the church:

> *People can be just (pause), brutal… so after that it has been difficult for me to go back to church and be active because of hypocrisy. The church is supposed to build you up, hold your hand, and when you fall, pick you up and dust you off and say "oh well you did not see that hump, child of God, you are so great." But you get the opposite. I always say that the church is the only army in the world that kicks its*

*wounded soldiers so instead of helping you up they just finish you off* (Bantu, 13/04/16).

It was evident during the interview that Bantu had been disappointed by the manner in which his church treated him as this went against everything that he thought this institution stood for. He described the church as being characterised by *"hypocrisy"* suggesting that he felt cheated as the church had not practiced what they preach. Instead, they pretentiously gave him all the positions he assumed and now did not want to be associated with him. Bantu's response alluded to the role-playing nature of religion in that its discourses and indoctrination, just like a production/ stage play script, are prescribed to an individual and they need to adhere to them in order to effectively present the character, being a Christian in this case. The church acts as the authority figure, similar to the casting director, rejecting all those who do not fit the characteristics of the role.

For Vusi, the pregnancy brought to light what he and his partner had been doing in secret, resulting in them being worried about their reputation in the church, especially that they go to the same church:

> *We go to the same church, we are both glorified, and some members of the church often refer to us as the most glorified children in the church so now that you are pregnant what is the pastor going to say? What is the pastor's wife going to say?* (Vusi, 09/03/16).

Vusi's response reflected a fear about their reputation in the church being tainted as they held high position in the church. This response pointed to how one's sexuality is constantly under the church's scrutiny through its religious discourses around premarital sexual activities. These discourses can be said to influence people to engage in pretentious behaviour in efforts to maintain a particular image that is acceptable in the church as reflected by Vusi and his partner who were engaging in sexual acts in secret while carrying on to hold their positions in the church. They only began to worry about their reputations and what their fellow church members would say about them when the pregnancy, which is visible for all to see, occurred. The visible nature of pregnancy "exposed" their actions to public scrutiny.

Vusi went on to give a description of the process, in church, which he and his partner went through as a result of the unplanned pregnancy. He described their experience as follows: " *It was challenging, there was a big meeting at church, we went through a process where we*

*were going to church but were not allowed to do what other church members do because we were "unclean"* (Vusi, 09/03/16). Vusi's response gave the impression of a disciplinary hearing, implying that they were in trouble as a result of them having deviated from the manner in which they were expected to behave or carry themselves in the positions which they held; therefore had to be disciplined by individuals in positions of power and authority. This was reflected by the discourse of "unclean" suggesting that there is "clean" according to the church's standards and because they had deviated from this once again reflecting the saint: sinner binary that is created by religious discourses. This response pointed out how the church polices and sanctions its members' sexuality.

In Vusi's response, it became evident that this disciplinary process was different for Vusi and his partner and this difference was determined by their gender:

> *This happens for 3 months for a guy and 6 months for the girl, so for a guy you go to church wearing your casual clothes as opposed to the church uniform worn by everyone, you must sit next to the door and watch what the congregation is doing but you cannot participate. The girl sits next to you by the door but she sits on the floor, this happens for 6 months* (Vusi, 09/03/16).

Vusi's response brought to surface the influence of unequal power dynamics which are demonstrated by a lack of consistency in the manner in which these individuals were treated. This inconsistency reflects the normalisation of the woman being held accountable and to some extent blamed for the occurrence of a pregnancy. This normalisation can be said to be a consequence of sexual reproductive health conversations being directed at women, creating an expectation for the woman to have taken a contraceptive to prevent the pregnancy. Therefore, she should be given a harsher punishment as compared to the man who is not held responsible for his sexual behaviour.

# CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

## 5.1 Introduction

This study aimed to explore Black middle class men's responses and reactions to unplanned pregnancy. Discourse analysis was used to analyse the data. Due the fact that this is a master's research dissertation by course work and the word count limit constraints thereof, this discussion only focuses on two prominent themes that emanated from the findings reported in the previous chapter. The findings suggested that a reaction to an unplanned pregnancy was understood in relation to the individual's initial reaction to discovering the news of the pregnancy while a response was understood as the long-term actions taken at a later stage. The discussion centres on the observation of social determinants surpassing scientific determinants in relation to the reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy. This was reflected by the major discourse elicited in the findings which concerned the nature of participants' relationship with the women whom they had allegedly impregnated. This discussion explores discourses that inform these social determinants resulting in scientific determinants of unplanned pregnancy being neglected by participants.

## 5.2 Reactions and responses

It was evident in the data that upon learning of the unplanned pregnancy, participants embarked on different journeys that took them from reaction to response. The reaction mostly took the form of a shock while the response relates to the measures taken as a long-term result of the reaction for example the payment of *intlawulo* or being an active father, etc. The findings of this study reveal that the participants embarked on a journey that took form in two ways:

- Initial reaction was positive, the response that followed was also positive.
- Initial reaction was negative, response that followed was positive.

### 5.2.1 Initial reaction was positive, the response that followed also positive.

It was evident in the findings that the participants who reacted and responded positively to the news of the pregnancy were those who did not dispute or contest the paternity of the child. They took full responsibility of the pregnancy as reflected by them being supportive of the partner and began to work towards acknowledging the child's paternity which was signified by either paying *intlawulo* or being active in the child's life. An initial reaction of

shock to an unplanned pregnancy is not uncommon (Langa & Smith,2012). Individuals who react with shock may have not seen themselves as susceptible to being responsible for an unplanned pregnancy. This tendency to under-estimate one's personal susceptibility is commonly observed in lack of condom use and prevalence of sexually transmitted infections. It has been observed that people tend to externalise the threat of contracting HIV from unprotected sexual acts (MacPhail & Campbell, 2001). Similarly, these participants may have externalised the possibility of an unplanned pregnancy.

The consideration of the calibre of the female was prominent in the study findings. The participants' positive reactions and response to the pregnancy appeared to have been informed by this discourse. This discourse reflected a sense of duty and an act of rewarding the woman for having proven to be faithful by not giving the man a reason to doubt her fidelity. Discourses of this nature are deeply entrenched in cultural discourses which can be said to teach men and women that a woman's sexuality defines her moral status (Harrison, 2008). Therefore, any sign of the woman having multiple concurrent partners compromises her respectability and credibility (Varga, 2003). These discourses can be said to have instilled the belief that if the woman does not deviate from these prescribed standards, she will be rewarded through a positive response as reflected by her child's paternity not being contested or disputed and through the payment of *intlawulo*. This echoed the findings of Nduna and Jewkes (2012) and Kaufman, de Wet and Stadler (2001) indicating that allegations of the woman's infidelity resulted in the man being reluctant to acknowledge paternity.

Past studies have given evidence that suggests that one's experiences and expectations of fathering are influenced by their relationships and experiences with their own fathers (Makusha, Richter, Knight, van Rooyen, & Bhana, 2013). Doherty, Kouneski, and Erickson (1998) argue that "a father's relationship with his own father may be a factor-either through identifying with his father or compensating for his father' lapses-in contributing to his own role identification, sense of commitment, and self-efficacy as a father" (p. 288) This study found that the positive reactions and responses were influenced by the participants' own upbringing. Individuals who had experienced not having an active father in their lives were motivated to break this cycle and be the fathers that they had hoped they had when growing up. This is consistent with findings by Swartz and Bhana (2009) indicating that young fathers, who had not been raised in the presence of their biological fathers, were determined to take responsibility of the unplanned pregnancy and accept the child's paternity. Similarly,

Marcisz (2014) found that the participants' journey of fatherhood was influenced by their personal experiences of father absence.

### 5.2.2 Initial reaction was negative, response that followed was positive.

The findings of this study showed that there were participants who initially reacted negatively to the news of the pregnancy. This was reflected through their doubt, blaming the woman for having not taking the necessary contraceptive accessories e.g. the emergency pill (Morning After). A woman being blamed for having not taken necessary precautions has been observed to be a common trend when it comes to unplanned pregnancy. Nduna and Jewkes (2012, p.325) make reference to the discourse of women being believed to have deliberately fallen pregnant *(uzimithisile)*. Nduna and Jewkes (2012, p. 325) effectively epitomize this discourse as follows: "The common cultural explanations that blame women for not taking precautions and getting themselves pregnant demonstrate how patriarchy has become interwoven in the fabric of the values in this community and is being reinforced through reproductive control". This discourse of the woman having deliberately fallen pregnant was associated with her efforts towards manipulating the man into a long time commitment.

Portraying women's intentions in this manner can be said to be a consequence of cultural discourses which have been passed down generations through cultural practices such as the view that the payment of *intlawulo* is a reflection of the man's intention to marry and begin paying *ilobola* (Stadler, 1993). Therefore, pregnancy was assumed in this study to be something that is wanted by women because it will be the first step in the direction of marriage; which the participants were adamant they would not fall victim to. Furthermore, this discourse demonstrates the limitation of women's aspirations as it is assumed by these male participants that women aspire to marry. This reflects the influence of religious and cultural discourses which limit the role of a woman to being a homemaker (Kiamba, 2008).

Despite the initial negative feelings, as the pregnancy progressed the participants' responses reportedly became more positive. This was reflected by their actions of paying *intlawulo* for their children (or were in the process of doing so) and a choice to remain an active, present and involved father. Similar to the positive reaction and response, this shift from the negative initial reaction to a positive response was associated with own upbringing. The positive response appeared to be an attempt to rectify their unpleasant experience of having had absent or inactive fathers. This demonstrates what Guzzo (2011, p. 3) defines as the "compensatory hypothesis". This can be understood as a man being motivated by his

relationship with his father to be a different father to his own children. This is often done from a place of compensating for their father's weaknesses (Guzzo, 2011).

## 5.3 Social determinants surpass scientific determinants

A prominent finding in this study was that the participant's reactions and responses to the pregnancy were influenced by socially constructed determinants of pregnancy rather than scientific determinants of pregnancy. In this study, social determinants can be understood as social and cultural discourses which inform an individual's reaction and response to unplanned pregnancy. Scientific determinants can be understood in relation to plausible biological process responsible for conception and how (lack) knowledge of or ambivalence towards this process influences reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy. The nature of the relationship with the pregnant women was one of the major social determinant discourses that emerged from this study. The nature of the relationship was understood as follows:

- The length of the relationship,
- The state and stability of the relationship (e.g. relationship in the process of ending/ a "Love- Back situation" and
- The intensity of the love felt for the partner

### 5.3.1 The length of the relationship

The discourse of the length of the relationship (determined by the months/years together) frequently featured in the findings of this study and influenced the participants' reactions and responses to the news of the pregnancy. Individuals who felt that they had been in a long-term relationship with the women who they had impregnated reacted and responded positively as opposed to those who felt that the relationship was fairly new. Chalmers (1990) defines unplanned pregnancy as a result of engaging in unprotected sexual intercourse without using effective contraceptives. From this definition it is evident that conception can happen after one sexual encounter. The participants evidently ignored the scientific facts and placed emphasis on the length of the relationship. Placing the emphasis on the length of the relationship can be said to be a consequence of social norms which encourage condom use in casual or new relationships and are more accepting to the lack of use of condoms in stable relationships such as long-term relationships and marriage (Mancaluso, Damand, & Hook, 2000). Other studies have found that lack of condom use in long-term relationships is common (Heridriksen, Pettifor, Lee, & Rees, 2007). Lack of condom use in long-term

relationships has been observed to be associated with monogamy, trust, faithfulness and commitment. In such relationships, condom use is commonly deemed unnecessary and when suggested it is perceived as a reflection of one's infidelity or lack of trust in the other partner (Moyo, Levandowski, MacPhail, Rees & Pettifor, 2008). Condoms are then used in causal relationships, with "secret lover" other than a steady partner (MacPhail & Campbell, 2000 as cited in Eaton, Flisher, & Aaron, 2003). Normalising unprotected sex in long-term relationships can be said to result in discourses that are more accepting of a pregnancy that occurs in what is socially considered as a long-term relationship as opposed to casual or new relationships, despite the scientific determinants of an unplanned pregnancy.

### 5.3.2 The state and stability of the relationship

The state and stability of the relationship was observed to influence the participant's reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy. The findings gave evidence showing negative or ambivalent reactions to a pregnancy that occurred or was discovered when the relationship was in the process of ending or had ended. Such pregnancy creates a "Love- Back situation" and the initial reaction to the news is to question the women's truthfulness about the paternity. This reflected how unplanned pregnancies which occur in what is socially deemed as unstable relationships may be frowned upon by the genitor and therefore should be met with a negative reaction.

This could be because stable relationships are perceived as a prelude to marriage. Once again plausible biological processes responsible for pregnancy are overlooked and relationship stability is heeded. Cultural practices which may not be commonly practiced today can be said to have seeded discourses which are responsible for this way of thinking. For example, in the Zulu culture there is a practice called *"ukumisa iduku"* which is celebration of a formal initiation of courtship. In this practice, a girl child who has reached puberty tells her family that she has fallen in love. A celebration then follows this announcement and display of a white handkerchief outside the kraal is held to show the community that one of their daughters has fallen in love. There is then an expectation for the young woman to marry the young man (Harrison & Montgomery, 2001). Inasmuch as sexual intercourse is discouraged and thigh sex *"ukusoma"* is encouraged (Harrison & Montgomery, 2001) pregnancies which occur within such public relationships, where the community and families have full knowledge of the existence of the relationship, are met with less frown as compared to casual or new relationships. Based on anecdotal evidence, the practice of "meeting the parents" can be linked to this. Pregnancies which occur in stable relationships where the partners have met

each other's families are more socially acceptable. Relying on stability as a determinant to one's reaction and response to an unplanned pregnancy can be problematic and evasive as stability is subjective.

### 5.3.3 Intensity of love felt for partner

Intensity of love felt for the partner appeared to be a frequently reported discourse. The emphasis of this discourse again demonstrated how social determinants surpass scientific plausibility of an unplanned pregnancy occurring in a relationship that was not based on love. Participants who appeared to be in-love with their partner reacted and responded more positively as compared to those who appeared to be less in love with their partner. This reflected the influence of social expectations on the sequence that people should adhere to when it comes to love, sex and procreation. Such expectations are prescribed for individuals from childhood. When one thinks back to the following childhood rhyme:

> *David and Doris, sitting in a tree, K-I-S-S-I-N-G." The rhyme continues: "First comes love, then comes marriage, then comes the baby in the BABY carriage." (McClain, 2006, p. 2133) Through this rhyme socially acceptable sequences are engraved in the minds of children: "kissing signals or leads to love, courtship, dating, or what have you, which lead to a social institution, marriage, which leads to another social institution, parenthood, represented by the baby carriage* (McClain, 2006, p. 2134).

In the event that the pregnancy precedes marriage the discourse of sequences is reflected through love playing an influential role in the manner in which individuals make sense of the pregnancy. This can be said to result in pregnancies that occur in the context of love being more socially acceptable as they do not deviate far from the prescribed sequence. Prescribed sequences of this nature can be said to have a negative effect on paternal acknowledgement to unplanned pregnancies that occur as a result of causal or relationships that are not based on love.

## 5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the research findings were discussed. Middle class Black men's reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy were discussed and literature was used to argue that these reactions and responses were influenced by cultural and social discourses. The findings indicated that positive reactions and responses were influenced by one's own upbringing and a desire to rectify the cycle of an unpleasant experience of being fathered. Furthermore,

positive reactions and responses appeared to be informed by discourses around women's sexual morality and reflected a sense of rewarding the women for having not given the man reason to question her fidelity. Negative initial reactions were associated with discourses around women being responsible for conception and women's intentions being questionable. Despite the negative reactions all of the participants were observed to have displayed positive responses as reflected by them having paid *intlawulo* (or were in the process of doing so) and were active in their children's lives. This once again was influenced by their own upbringing. Participants' reactions and responses were evidently informed by social determinants as opposed to scientific determinants of unplanned pregnancy. This was reflected by discourses around the length of the relationship, the state and stability of the relationship (e.g. relationship in the process of ending/ a "Love- Back situation") and the intensity of the love felt for the partner. All these demonstrated how unplanned pregnancies which occur in particular contexts were deemed more socially acceptable and therefore are met with positive reactions and responses. This study argued that placing emphasis on social determinants as opposed to scientific determinants of unplanned pregnancy is erroneous because this results in unplanned pregnancies which occur in contexts that are unconventional to be frowned upon and met with negative reactions and responses. This can then be said to have a negative impact on paternal acknowledgement.

## 5.5 Recommendations

It was evident that the participant's upbringing played a fundamental role in the manner in which he reacted and responded to unplanned pregnancy. Programs and interventions that provide support to young Black fathers can help create good role models which could break the cycle of unpleasant experiences of being fathered. This could subsequently result in young Black men being motivated to become good fathers. Young Black men need to be challenged to critically engage with cultural discourses around women's sexuality being used as an indicator of their moral status. Furthermore, these Black men need to be encouraged to move away from such discourses. This could lead to men relying less on discourses of this nature as a means to shift the blame for unplanned pregnancy onto women and encourage them to take more responsibility of their sexual behaviours. Furthermore, increased involvement of young Black men in sexual and reproductive health education, dialogues and interventions could be an opportunity for them to gain more knowledge consequences thereof. This could possibly led to less responsibility being placed on the woman to prevent

the occurrence of an unplanned pregnancy. Young Black men need to be provided with more scientific knowledge around the occurrence of pregnancy. This could result in them relying less on discourses informed by social determinants of pregnancy which often result in unplanned pregnancies which occur in unconventional relationships being met with negative reactions and responses despite the scientific plausibility of the possible occurrence of pregnancy.

# 6 CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the aim of this study was to explore Black middle class men's responses and reactions to unplanned pregnancy. Semi-structured one-on-one interviews were conducted with nine men around the Gauteng region. The participants' responses to the semi-structured interviews informed the researcher of discourses around the different circumstances; such as the nature of their relationship with the mother, their own upbringing, consideration of financial security, readiness and the individual's awareness of their actions and the consequences of the actions which influenced the participant's responses to the news of the unplanned pregnancy. There were instances in the study where the participants shifted the blame for the occurrence of the pregnancy onto women. This was reflected by discourses around women using the pregnancy to try and manipulate or deceive them into marriage. It was evident that the participants had experienced some psychological distress as a result of the unplanned pregnancy and displayed a need for social support. Discourses of traditional constructions of masculinity evidently played a fundamental role in the manner in which the participants constructed fatherhood. There was, however, evidence of strides towards challenging some of these constructions and moving towards constructing the father as playing a more active role in the child's life. The findings indicated that due to the lack of knowledge about the practice of *intlawulo,* some of the participants reported that this practice was not significant to them. Religious discourses evidently influenced most of the participants' opinions on termination of pregnancy.

This study contributes to two prominent discourses that were elicited by the findings. 1) Reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy. All the participants had positive long term reactions to the pregnancy as reflected by them having paid *intlawulo*, their intensions to do so and them being active participants in their children's lives. The participants' own upbringing played a pivotal role in regards to this. The major observed difference was in the participants' initial reactions. Amongst those who reacted positively, there appeared to be a

general consensus that their initial reaction to the news of the pregnancy was characterised by shock as the pregnancy was not intended. Reacting through shock appeared to be influenced by discourses around individuals' under-estimating the odds of a pregnancy occurring as a result of unprotected sex. They did however remain supportive of their partners and made efforts to participate in cultural practices of paternal acknowledgement and or were active in the child's life. Furthermore perceptions of the woman's sexual morality appeared to motive the participants to reward her, through a positive reaction and response to the pregnancy, for having not given him a reason to question her fidelity. This surfaced as a need for young Black men to be challenged to think critically about cultural constructions of a women's sexuality. Moreover, this would encourage them to take responsibility of their own sexual behaviours.

Participants who initially reacted in a negative manner to the unplanned pregnancy appeared to be influenced by discourses concerning the onus for contraceptive use being placed on women. This led to them shifting the blame onto the women and insinuated that the women had deliberately fallen pregnant in efforts to trap them into a life-long commitment. This alluded to a need for Black men to be included in dialogues, education and interventions around sexual and reproductive health. It was evident that cultural and religious discourses that limit the role of women to being a home-maker were mirrored by these participants' discourses. Despite their initial negative reactions, as the pregnancy progressed, these participants' responses shifted to be more positive. They attributed this shift to considerations of their own upbringing and a motivation to break the cycle of an adverse childhood without a father.

Secondly, the participants' reactions and responses were informed by social determinants rather than scientific determinants of unplanned pregnancy. It was evident that the participants were ambivalent to plausible scientific processes responsible for unplanned pregnancy. Relying on social determinants was argued to be detrimental to paternal acknowledgement as this contributes to unplanned pregnancies which occur in less socially acceptable contexts being confronted with negativity. This reflects a need for interventions targeted at providing young Black men with more knowledge about scientific determinants of unplanned pregnancy. This could be an opportunity to also encourage the adoption of preventive measures.

## 6.1 Future research

While reviewing literature on young Black men and unplanned pregnancy, it was evident that there was a dearth in literature which speaks directly to Black South African men's reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy. Furthermore, it was evident that there is a limited body of research with focuses on middle class Black fathers in relation to unplanned pregnancy. Inasmuch as financial stability cannot be overlooked when speaking of unplanned pregnancy, exploring unplanned pregnancy in affluent contexts moves away from the frequently reported financial instability acting as a barrier to Black men being active fathers. Moreover, it was evident that most research on unplanned pregnancy in South Africa focused on teenagers or adolescents and there is a research gap amongst the population of Black men who are young adults (in university, recently graduated and those who have just secured gainful employment but are unmarried). Focusing on these different population groups could be an opportunity to explore different aspects relating to young Black fathers reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy. Future research can be directed at exploring the discourses which inform social determinants that influence reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy. Furthermore, research needs to be directed at exploring understandings of scientific determinants of pregnancy, this could be an opportunity to gain insight into how much knowledge people have around this and give and an indication of areas that could be targeted for interventions. Lastly, more research can be targeted at exploring men's sexual and reproductive health.

# 7 REFERENCES


Allen, W.D. & Doherty, W.J. (1996). The responsibilities of fatherhood as perceived by African American teenage fathers. *Families in society, 77 (3),* 142–155.

Bakilana, A. & Esau, F. (2003). Young people's social networks, confidants and issues of reproductive health. *Centre for social science research, 44,* 1–34.

Barret, R. L. & Robinson, B. E. (1985). The adolescent fathers. *Dimensions of fatherhood 353*, 368.

Barrett, G., & Wellings, K. (2002). What is a 'planned' pregnancy? Empirical data from a British study". *Social Sciences & Medicine, 55*, 545-557.

Bembe, M.P. & Beukes, A.M. (2009). The use of slang by black youth in Gauteng. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies. 25:4,* 463-472

Bhana, D. & Nkani, N. (2014) When African teenagers become fathers: culture, materiality and masculinity, culture, health & sexuality: *An international journal for research, intervention and care, 16:4,* 337-350.

Bozzet, F.W (Ed.). *The Dimensions of Fatherhood (pp. 353-368).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Bunting, L. & McAuley, C. (2004). Research review: teenage pregnancy and motherhood: the contribution of support. *Child and family social work, 9,* 207-214.

Burger, R., & McAravey, C. (2014). What does the 'middle class' mean in a polarised, developing country such as South Africa?

Cheadle, J. E., Amato, P. R., & King, V. (2010). *Patterns of nonresident father contact. Demography, 47(1), 205-225.*

Chili, S. (2013). Perspectives and experiences of fatherhood among young people: a case study of 'black' students at University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. Masters Degrees (Population Studies), University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10413/10047

Chohan, Z, & Langa, M. (2011). Teenage mothers talk about their experience of teenage motherhood, Agenda: *Empowering women for gender equity, 25(3), 87-95*

Coleman, J. (1998) Teenage parenthood. *Children and Society*, 12:306-314.

Cresswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative Inquiry. *Theory into practice, 39(3), 124-130*

City of Johannesburg: 2012/16 Integrated Development Plan: 2013/14 Review Johannesburg.

Eaton, L., Flisher, A. J., & Aarø, L. E. (2003). Unsafe sexual behaviour in South African youth. *Social science & medicine, 56(1),* 149-165.

Enderstein, A.M & Boonzaier, F (2015): Narratives of young South African fathers: redefining masculinity through fatherhood, *Journal of Gender Studies*, 1-16

Ewing D., Nduna M., Rolston, I., & Khunou G. (2013). Supporting the Nelson Mandela Foundation in its fight against HIV and AIDS: Assessment of the impact of Community Dialogues on key social, attitudinal and behavioural drivers of continued HIV transmission in the provinces of Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga, South Africa Evaluation (Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, Trans.): McIntosh Xaba & Associates: A partnership of institutional and development research and facilitation specialists.

Fagan, J., & Bernd, E. (2007). Adolescent fathers' parenting stress, social support, and involvement with infants. *Journal of Research on Adolescence,* 7(1), 1–22.

Gee, J.P. (3rd Ed). (2011). *An introduction to discourse analysis, theory and method*. New York: Routledge.

Gergen, K. J. (1985). The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. *American Psychologist, 40,* 266-275.

Garcia, M. H., Pence, A., & Evans, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Africa's future, Africa's challenge: early childhood care and development in Sub-Saharan Africa.* World Bank Publications.

Guzzo, K. B. (2011). New father's experiences with their own fathers and attitudes toward fathering. *Fathering, 9(3),* 268.

Harrison, A., & Montgomery, E. (2001). Life histories, reproductive histories: rural South African women's narratives of fertility, reproductive health and illness. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27(2), 311-328.

Harrison, A (2008) Hidden Love: Sexual ideologies and relationship ideals among rural South African adolescents in the context of HIV/AIDS. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 10:2, 175-189.

Harrison, A. and O'Sullivan, L.F. (2010). In the absence of marriage: long-term concurrent partnerships, pregnancy, and HIV risk dynamics among South African young adults. *AIDS and behavior, 14 (5),* 1–10.

Harrison, A., Xaba, N. & Kunene, P. (2001) Understanding safe sex: gender narratives of HIV and pregnancy prevention by rural South African school-going youth. *Reproductive health matters, 9 (17),* 63–71.

Harrison, A., O'Sullivan, L. F., Hoffman, S., Dolezal, C., & Morrell, R. (2006). Gender role and relationship norms among young adults in South Africa: measuring the context of masculinity and HIV risk. *Journal of Urban Health*, 83(4), 709-722.

Hendriksen, E. S., Pettifor, A., Lee, S. J., Coates, T. J., & Rees, H. V. (2007). Predictors of condom use among young adults in South Africa: The reproductive health and HIV research unit national youth survey. *American Journal of Public Health*, 97(7), 1241-1248.

Hoepfl, M. C. (1997). Choosing qualitative research: A primer for technology education researchers. *Journal of technology education, 9(1),* 47-63.

Hook, D. 2009). Erikson's psychosocial stages of development, p, 281-310. In Watts, J., Cockcroft, K. & Duncan, N. (Eds.). *Developmental Psychology. Second Edition*. UCT Press.

Hunter, M. (2005). Cultural politics and masculinities: Multiple-partners in historical perspective in KwaZulu-Natal. *Culture, health & sexuality*, 7(4), 389-403.

Jewkes, R., Vundule, C., Maforah, F., & Jordaan, E. (2001). Relationship dynamics and teenage pregnancy in South Africa. *Social Science and Medicine, 52,* 733-744.

Johnson, W. E. (2001). Paternal involvement among unwed fathers. *Children and youth services review, 23(6-7), 513-536.*

Kaufman, C.E., de Wet, T., Stadler, J. (2001). Adolescent pregnancy and parenthood in South Africa. *Studies in Family Planning, 32(2),* 147-160.

Khunou, G. (2006). Fathers Don't Stand a Chance: experiences of Custody, Access and Maintenance. In Richter, L. & Morrell, R. (Eds.) (2006). *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa,* p. 265-275. Child, youth and family development, Human Sciences Research Council.

Khunou G. (2012). What middle class? The shifting and dynamic nature of social life: life histories of two women from Gauteng. Mimeo, Department of Economics, Stellenbosch University.

Kiamba, J. M. (2008). Women and leadership positions: Social and cultural barriers to success. Wagadu: *A Journal of Transnational Women's and Gender Studies*, 6, 5.

Krige, D. (2012). Histories and Changing Dynamics of Housing, Social Class and Sococial Mobility in Black Johannesburg: *Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Arts and Humanities in South Africa,* 19 (1), 19-45.

Kroger, J. (2007). *Identity development: Adolescence through adulthood.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications

Lamb, M.E& Elster, A. (1986). Adolescent mother, infant, father interaction. *Child Development 185,* 768-773.

Langa,M. & Smith, N. (2012). Responsible teenage fatherhood in a South African historically disadvantaged community. *Journal of psychology in Africa 2012, 22(2*), 255–258

Lesch, E. & Ismail, A. (2014). Constraining constructions: Low-income fathers' perceptions of fathering their adolescent daughters. *The open family studies journal, 6,* 39-46.

Lichtman, M. (2nd Ed) (2010). *Qualitative research in education: a user's guide*. UK: SAGA.

McClain, L. C. (2006). Love, Marriage, and the Baby Carriage: Revisiting the Channelling Function of Family Law. *Cardozo L. Rev., 28,* 2133.

Macleod, C (1999). Teenage pregnancy and its 'negative' consequences: review of South African research - Part 11. *South African journal of psychology 29(1)*

Macleod, C. (1999). The 'causes' of teenage pregnancy: Review of South African research—Part 2. South African Journal of Psychology, 29(1), 8-16.

MaCleod, C. (2003). The conjugalisation of reproduction in South African teenage pregnancy literature. PINS, 29, 23-37

MacPhail, C., & Campbell, C. (2001). 'I think condoms are good but, aai, I hate those things': condom use among adolescents and young people in a Southern African township. *Social science & medicine, 52(11),* 1613-1627.

Madhavan, S., & Roy, K. (2012). Securing fatherhood through kin work: A comparison of Black low income fathers and families in South Africa and the U.S. *Journal of family issues, 33,* 801-822.

Madhavan, S., Harrison. A & Sennott.C. (2013). Management of Non-marital Fertility in two South African Communities. *Culture, Health & Sexuality 15(5)*: 614-628.

Madhavan, S.,Townsend,N & Garey. A (2008). Absent Breadwinners: Father–child connections and paternal support in rural South Africa. *Journal of Southern African studies 34 (3),* 647–663.

Mahan, S & Browning, K. K. (2003). Delinquent dads in detention. *Journal of juvenile justice and detention services, 18(2):* 93-11 0.

Makiwane, M., Desmond, C., Richter, L., & Udjo, E. (2006). Is the Child Support Grant associated with an increase in teenage fertility in South Africa? Evidence from national surveys and administrative data. The Child Support Grant and teenage fertility in South Africa.

Makiwane, M.B., Makoae, M., Botsis, H., & Vawda, M. (2012). A baseline study on families in Mpumalanga. Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria: Human and Social Development, Population Health, Health Systems and Innovation.

Makola, M. (2010). Teenage pregnancy: Views of parents and caregivers, teenagers and teachers at two high schools in SOWETO Gauteng. University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg.

Manyatshe, L., & Nduna, M. (2014). Keeping it secret: Mothers' concerns in dealing with the undisclosed paternity of their children. *Gender Questions, 2(1),* 67 - 83.

Manzini, N. (2001) Sexual initiation and childbearing among adolescent girls in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. *Reproductive health matters, 9 (17),* 44–52.

Marcisz, K. (2014). Perspectives on 'new generation 'Black South African fathers on fatherhood (Doctoral dissertation).

Marsiglio, W. (1993). Adolescent males' orientation toward paternity and contraception. *Family planning perspectives, 25(1),* 22-31.

Mavungu, E.M., Thomson-de Boor, H., & Mphaka, K. (2013). "So we are ATM fathers": A study of absent fathers in Johannesburg, South Africa. Johannesburg: Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg.

Mazza, C. (2002). Young dads: The effects of a parenting program on urban African-American adolescent fathers. *Adolescence,* 37(148), 681.

Mkhwanazi, N. (2010). Understanding teenage pregnancy in a post-apartheid South African township. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 12(4),* 347-358.

Montgomery, C. M., Hosegood, V., Busza, J., & Timæus, I. M. (2006). Men's involvement in the South African family: Engaging change in the AIDS era. *Social Science & Medicine, 67,* 2411-2419.

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

Morrell, R., 2007. Do you want to be a father? School going youth in Durban schools at the turn of the 21st century. In: T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel and R. Buikema, Eds. From boys to men: social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 94–113.

Morrell, R., Bhana, D., & Shefer, T. (2012). *Books and babies: Pregnancy and young parents in schools*. HSRC Press.

Morrell, R., Posel, D., & Devey, R. (2003). Counting fathers in South Africa: Issues of definition, methodology and policy. *Social Dynamics* 29(2), 73-94.

Moyo, W., Levandowski, B. A., MacPhail, C., Rees, H., & Pettifor, A. (2008). Consistent condom use in South African youth's most recent sexual relationships. *AIDS and Behavior*, 12(3), 431-440.

Nduna, M., & Jewkes, R. (2012). Denied and disputed paternity in teenage pregnancy: topical structural analysis of case studies of young women from the Eastern Cape Province. Social Dynamics: *A journal of African studies, 38(2),* 314-330.

Nduna, M. (2014). Factors that hinder the disclosure of the biological identity of a father to a child: South African mothers' perspective. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy, 26(4),* 218-235.

Panday, S., Makiwane, M., Ranchod, C., & Letsoalo, T. (2009). Teenage Pregnancy in South Africa: with a specific focus on school-going learners (Child Youth Family and Social Development, Trans.). South Africa: National Department of Education.

Pattman, R. (2007). Researching and working with boys and young men in Southern Africa in the context of HIV/AIDS: A radical approach. In Shefer,T., Ratele, K., Strebel,A., Shabalala, N& Buikema,R (Eds.), From boys to men: *Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society (pp. 33–49).* Cape Town, South Africa: UCT Press.

Peacock, D. (2013). South Africa's Sonke Gender Justice Network: educating men for gender equality. *Agenda*, *27*(1), 128-140.

Posel,S &Devey,R 2006). In Richter, L. & Morrell, R. (Eds.) (2006). *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa.* p. 38-64. Child, youth and family development, Human Sciences Research Council.

Ramjee, G., & Daniels, B. (2013). Women and HIV in sub-Saharan Africa. AIDS research and therapy, 10(1), 30.

Ramphele, M. (2002). *Steering by the stars: Being young in South Africa.* Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers.

Reynolds, T. (2009). Exploring the absent/present dilemma: Black fathers, family relationships, and social capital in Britain. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 624(1), 12-28.

Richter, L., Desmond, C., Hosegood, V., Madhavan, S., Makiwane, M., Makusha, T., Morrell, R & Swartz, S (2012). Fathers and other men in the lives of children and families. Strategies to overcome poverty and inequality: Towards Carnegie III. Cape Town.

Richter, L., & Morrell, R. (2006). *Baba: men and fatherhood in South Africa*. HSRC Press.

Rivara, F.P., Sweeney, P.J & Henderson, B.F. (1985). A study of low socioeconomic status, black teenage fathers and their non-father peers. *Paediatrics 75*:648-656.

Rivero, C, Du Toit, P & Kotze, H. (2003). Tracking the development of the middle class in democratic South Africa. *Politeia 22(3),* 6–29.

Selebano, N &Khunou, G (2014). Early-fatherhood in white city, jabavu, soweto: A time-bound, contextual construct. *The open family studies journal, 6*, 24-30

Shin An, J & Cooney, T. M. (2006). Psychological well-being in mid to late life: The role of generativity development and parent-child relationships across the lifespan. *International journal of behavioral development, 30:5*, 410 – 421.

Siqwana-Ndulo, N. (1998). Rural African family structure in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 407-417.

Smith, P. B., Buzi, R. S., Weinman, M. L., & Mumford, D. M. (2001). The use of focus groups to identify needs and expectations of young fathers in a male involvement Program. *Journal of sex education and therapy. 26(2):* 100-105.

Speak, S. (2006). Being there: Roles and aspirations of young single non-residential fathers. In H. S. Holgate, R. Evans, & F. K. O. Yuen (Eds), Teenage pregnancy and parenthood: Global perspectives, issues and interventions (pp. 67–98). New York, NY: Routledge.

Stadler, J. (1993). Bridewealth and the Deferral of Marriage: Towards an Understanding of Marriage Payments in Timbavati, Gazankulu. Africa Perspective, 12, 62-76.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Sullivan, M. L. (1985). Teen Fathers in the Inner City: An Exploratory Ethnographic Study .A Report to the Ford Foundation Urban Poverty Program. Vera Inst. of Justice, New York.

Swartz, S., Bhana, A (2009). *Teenage Tata: Voices of young fathers in South Africa.* Human Sciences Research Council .Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Swartz, S., Bhana, A., Richter, L., Versfeld, A. (2013). Promoting young fathers' positive involvement in their children's lives. Human Sciences Research Council. Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Thompson, S. D., & Walker, A. C. (2004). Satisfaction with parenting: A comparison between adolescent mothers and fathers. Sex roles, 50(9), 677-687.

van der Berg, S. (2010). Straddling Two Worlds: Income inequality in South Africa. Centre for Development and Enterprise, Johannesburg.

Varga, C.A (2003). How Gender Roles Influence Sexual and Reproductive Health among South African Adolescents. *Studies in Family Planning,* 34(3) pp. 160-172

Vilanculos, E., & Nduna, M. (2017). "The child can remember your voice": parent–child communication about sexuality in the South African context. *African Journal of AIDS Research,* 16(1), 81-89.

Visagie, J & Posel, D (2013). A reconsideration of what and who is middle class in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa, 30(2),* 149-167.

Visagie, J (2013). Race, gender and growth of the affluent middle class in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Economic Research Southern Africa (ERSA) working paper* 395.

Wei, E.H., Loeber, R. & Stouthamber-Loeber, M. (2002). How many of the offspring born to teenage fathers are produced by repeated serious delinquents? *Criminal behaviour and mental health 12(1),* 83-98.

Weinman, M. L., Buzi, R. S., & Smith, P. B. (2005) Addressing Risk Behaviors, Service Needs, and Mental Health Issues in Programs for Young Fathers. *Families in Society: The Journal of contemporary social services, 86(2)*: 261-266. Families International Inc.

Wilkinson,D & Birmingham,P. (2003). *Using Research Instruments: A Guide for Researchers.* Routledge Falmer. London.

Willan, S. (2013). A Review of Teenage Pregnancy in South Africa – Experiences of Schooling, and Knowledge and Access to Sexual & Reproductive Health Services. Partners in sexual health.

Wood, K. M., & Jewkes, R. K. (2001). 'Dangerous' love: Reflections on violence among Xhosa township youth.

Zoch, A. (2013). Life chances and class: Estimating inequality of opportunity in South Africa for various life stages. Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers 08/13: University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch.

# 8 List of appendixes

## 8.1 Appendix I: Semi-structured questions intended to be used to guide interviews:

**Introductory questions**

Tell me about the relationship that you would like us to talk about, where the pregnancy occurred.

9 What was your initial reaction when your partner told you that she were pregnant?

Probe: why? And get more about this scenario.

10 What influenced the manner in which you responded to the news?

11 Were there any cultural practices that you part-took as a way of acknowledging responsibility of the pregnancy? (e.g. Payment of *intlawulo*)

12 What is your understanding of the situation?

13 How do you feel now?

13.3 Has it changed over time? In what ways, what brought the change?

14 What was your experience of the unplanned pregnancy?

14.3 Were you involved in the decision making? (E.g. possible termination of the pregnancy or continuing with the pregnancy).

14.4 Did the unplanned pregnancy change your life in anyway?

Probe: How?

**Closing questions**

Do you have other child/children? Can you tell me a bit about them?

## 8.2 Appendix II: Participant information sheet

Psychology

School of Human & Community Development

**University of the Witwatersrand**

Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050

Tel: 011 717 4503 Fax: 011 717 4559

Dear Sir,

My name is Khanyisile A. Bujela; I am currently completing my master's degree in Community-based Counselling Psychology at the Wits University. The purpose of this study is to explore in depth how Black men from middle or upper middle socio-economic contexts respond to and reactions and responses to unplanned pregnancy.

**Who should volunteer?**

Any man who has been told by their sexual partner(s) that they have impregnated her can volunteer. This man can be a man who acknowledges the child's paternity or any man who feels that they are mistakenly alleged to be responsible for pregnancy for which they feel they were not. I am looking for Black men between ages 25-35, who are gainfully employed and earn a minimum of R**10, 000**, identify themselves as being middle class or upper middle class and live in the Northern suburbs of Johannesburg.

**What is expected of the participant?**

This study requests that you respond honestly to the questions that will be administrated to you. The interview is estimated to take no more than an hour, this is substantial amount of your time that you will be investing and I appreciate it.

**Risks and benefits**

You will be rewarded with an incentive of R100 as a token of my appreciating. There will be no physical or emotional harm inflicted onto the participant.

**Study information**

- The interviews conducted during this study will be audio recorded, each participant will be asked to sign a consent form that covers your agreement to have the interview audio recorded.

- The audio recordings will be stored in a safe place where I, Khanyisile will be the only one who has access to them. These recordings will be kept for the next 5years and will be destroyed thereafter.

- Your direct quotes may be use in the final write up of the study but your identity will not be disclosed- will make use of pseudonyms.

- You will be required to provide basic information about your earnings, an income range not the exact amount, as this will be used as a marker of socio-economic status.

I respect that the nature of the content that you may disclose is highly sensitive and I will insure that no pre-existing stereotypes will be reinforced or perpetuated. Instead I hope that this study will be a platform for your story to be told and your voice to be heard. The final write up will be available at the Wits University Library and online. Thank you for your participation, you may keep this page for future use.

Yours sincerely

Khanyisile A. Bujela

Lisakhanya21@gmail.com

_____

## 8.3 Appendix III: Consent Form (Interview)

Psychology

School of Human & Community Development

**University of the Witwatersrand**

Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050

Tel: 011 717 4503 Fax: 011 717 4559

I, _____, consent to being interviewed by Khanyisile A. Bujela as part of the study on Black men's responses and experiences of unplanned pregnancy. I understand that

- My participation is voluntary
- All the information that I disclose will be kept confidential, although my direct quotes may be used in the research report with a pseudonym
- I will disclose an income range, not exact amount, as this is an important feature of the study. This will in no way be linked to my real identity.
- I am aware that a research report will be written on the findings of the study and will be submitted into the Psychology department as part of the requirements to complete the degree.
- I am aware that this research may be presented (poster or oral presentation) at conferences and may be published in a journal and/or in a chapter of a book.
- I am aware that this research will be submitted to the NRF- Centre of Excellence for publication, as part of the researcher's requirements for holding a bursary from this organisation.
- I am aware that the final write up of this research will be available at the Wits library for staff and students to access and online for the general public to access.

## 8.4 Appendix IV: Consent Form-Recording

I, _____, consent to my interview with Khanyisile A. Bujela being recorded for her study. I understand that:

- The audio-recordings will be made available to no one else except for Khanyisile and authorised supervisors (only if requested).
- The taps will be kept in a safe place for 5years and only Khanyisile will have access to them, they will be destroyed thereafter.
- I may be quoted directly but no identifying information will be used in the transcripts or write up, pseudonyms will be used.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

## 8.5 Appendix V List of figures: Figure 1: Map of 7 regions of Johannesburg




**Taken from City of Johannesburg: 2010/16 Integrated development Plan p. 11**

## 8.5 Appendix VI: Table 1: summary of participant's demographic information and background.

| Pseudonyms | Age | Ethnic group | Mode of recruitment | Relevant information |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andile | 27 | Tswana | Referred by another participant | Father of 3 children, all were unplanned. He has two children from his past long-term relationship. For this study he focused on the last unplanned pregnancy of his 1 year old son that he found out about 3 months after the relationship had ended. Participant came with his current girlfriend to the interview. Interview took place at the Hatfield Quatrain Station due to space constraints. |
| Vuyo | 29 | Venda | Instagram | First time father to a young boy less than a year old. Unplanned pregnancy occurred in a relationship that he was in the process of leaving as he had found someone else that he felt met his desires. Interview was conducted in a restaurant in Braamfontein, venue was convenient to both researcher and participant. |
| Thabo | 34 | Tsonga | Approached by researcher at social gathering | Father of a 6 year old girl, he reflected on this unplanned pregnancy that happened when he was younger. At the time of the interview he and the mother were together. Interview took place at a food outlet on Wits East campus (the Postgraduate PUB) as this was the most convenient place. |
| Vusi | 27 | Zulu | Referred by another participant | Father of 3, has an older daughter who is 6 years old. For this study he focused on his unplanned 9 months old twins who were conceived in a relationship that was intended to be about fun. Interview took place at a restaurant in Braamfontein as this was the most convenient place. |
| Mandla | 35 | Tsonga | Facebook | Father of 2, has a 17 year old son that he had when he was young. For this study he focused on the pregnancy of his 11 month son whom he felt he was ready for as opposed to the first pregnancy. Interview took place in his car at the parking lot at Eastgate Mall due to lack an alternative space. |
| Muzi | 29 | Zulu | Twitter | Father of 1, reflected on the unplanned pregnancy that occurred when he was 19 years old when his 10 year old son was conceived. Interview took place in a restaurant in Braamfontein as this was the most convenient place available. |
| Luyolo | 33 | Xhosa | Facebook | Luyolo had experienced two unplanned pregnancies of which one resulted in termination. He spoke of the unplanned pregnancy of his son who was 6 years old at the time of the interview. He and the mother were not together and has missed out on his son's first 5 years; he had not paid *intlawulo* for him. He was employed at the time of the interview and is in the process of taking responsibility of his son. The interview took place at the Postgraduate PUB on Wits East campus. |
| Bantu | 27 | Venda | Instagram | Father of a 5 year old girl, reflected on an unplanned pregnancy that occurred when he was younger. When the pregnancy occurred, he and the mother were in the process of breaking up. Interview took place in his work office. |
| Nhlanhla | 26 | Zulu | Facebook | Father of 4: Twins and two new-borns all were unplanned and born in 2015 of 3 different women. He reflected on these unplanned pregnancies. He is currently not with any of these women. Interview took place at a food outlet at the Pretoria Quatrain Station due to space constraints. |