

Running head: "I CANNOT ACCEPT MY BABY TO BE A MOTHER"

"I cannot accept my baby to be a mother": Exploring daughter-father dyads' experiences of teenage pregnancy.

Student Name: Bianca Octavia Kruger

Student Number: 0709259N

Degree: Masters in Psychology (Research Report)

Supervisor: Prof. Mzikazi Nduna

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Declaration

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Date

Abstract

Background: There has been a decrease in South Africa's total fertility rate in recent years, accompanied by an increase in the pregnancy rate of children aged fifteen years and younger. Teenage pregnancy receives a great deal of research attention, examining the social and economic status of the mother and child, future outcomes, the teenager's challenges at home and in school, and the experiences of teenage fathers. No research has explored the relationship and experiences of the teenage mother and her father, despite research emphasizing the important role of father's in the lives of their daughters.

Research aim and objectives: The study explored the father-daughter relationship through their experience of teenage pregnancy. The proposed objectives were: To explore the experiences of teenage pregnancy and motherhood, to explore the influence of teenage motherhood on the fathers of teenage mothers, to elaborate on the teenage mother and her father's relationship through their experience of teenage pregnancy, and to examine if and how fathers influenced their daughters lives through their experience of teenage pregnancy.

Research methods: The study was qualitative, assuming a constructive interpretive paradigm. Through six in-depth interviews of three father-daughter dyads, this study provided a two-way account of father-daughter relationships, exploring those fathers who were present and active in the lives of their children. I conducted the study in the Coloured Township of Eldorado Park, Johannesburg, South Africa. I conducted narrative interviews and translated them verbatim into English. I then read and re-read these transcriptions and notes taken throughout the interviews for data immersion and coded them into themes. I used hermeneutic phenomenology to analyze the data as it allowed for a level of interpretation and sense-making into the phenomenon of teenage pregnancy. I presented and discussed the themes and sub-themes with my supervisor and research team.

Findings: The research aimed to fill the knowledge gap on the experiences of teenage mothers and their fathers in the Coloured township of Johannesburg, South Africa. Participants described their reactions to teenage pregnancy, including the positivity of motherhood. Teenage mothers' perceived abortion to be wrong, arguing from a religious perspective. Father participants reacted with disappointment, hurt, and attributed self-blame due to daughter's lack of disclosure of her pregnancy. Non-disclosure affected the reactions to the teenage pregnancy, including fathers insisting their daughters terminate their pregnancy. Fathers' further questioned their fathering abilities and relationship with their daughter. Father-daughter dyads narratives reported conflict within the home, due to the control fathers wished to have over the teenage mothers and her baby. Fathers of teenage mothers assumed full responsibility for the teenage mothers and her baby, and therefore hindered the access of young fathers, causing conflict in the home. Fathers experienced great difficulty in accepting their teenage daughters were mothers, and in accepting the transgression of the adult/child binary. The findings suggested that hegemonic masculinity undergirded by religion, assisted in the construction and performance of fatherhood. This construction governed the decisions around whether to terminate the pregnancy, the treatment and control of the teenage mother and her baby, and the contact of the young father. Within this Coloured community, they reported the expectation and acceptance of teenage pregnancy as encouraging the phenomenon. The findings reported that the teenage mother's family expected a visit from the young father and his family, upon discovering the teenage pregnancy.

Discussions: The study showed that the reactions to teenage pregnancy are like those of previous studies, including the hurt and disappointment from the fathers of teenage mothers. However, the positivity of the teenage motherhood was greater than the negativity experienced. The teenage pregnancy aided the teenage mother in her acknowledgement and understanding

of her sexuality and encouraged safer sexual choices and open communication regarding sexual health dialogue. Fathers of teenage mothers experience the same hurt and emotions and engage in similar child-rearing practices as the mothers of teenage mothers. However, due to the normative masculine constructions of fatherhood and expected gendered norms, they do not express the emotions experienced. The conflict within the teenage mother's household, exists because of fathers difficulty in accepting their teenage daughters sexuality and her transition into adulthood. Whether the baby's father is involved in the teenage mother and her baby's life, further conflates this conflict. Fathers of teenaged mothers prevent these young fathers from seeing their teenage daughter or grandchild, which promotes father absence. Financial provision and absence of the expected visit from the baby's father and his family, aid in the negative reactions from fathers toward the young fathers and the control they wish to exert over the teenage mother and her baby. The findings argue that the lack of his financial contribution and accountability for the baby encourages teenage pregnancy within this Coloured community.

Recommendations: Future research should explore teenage pregnancy across lower age brackets. We need to educate and encourage fathers to engage more with their daughters about their sexuality and sexual practices. Parents, teachers and health care professionals need to educate young people on reproductive health, safe sex practices and unplanned pregnancy.

Conclusions: This study illustrated that the reactions to teenage pregnancy are more complex than reported in previous research. Fathers of teenage mothers play an equal and active role in the upbringing of teenage mothers and their grandchildren's, as mothers of teenage mothers. Provision plays a crucial role in the access granted to young fathers to their children. Present, active, and affectionate fathering does not guarantee teenage pregnancy will not occur. Fathers of teenage mothers embed their experience of teenage pregnancy in feelings of hurt and pain, and attribute self-blame and helplessness. They suppress these emotions due

to normative constructions of masculinity and fatherhood. The conflict within the home, results from the difficulty in accepting the transgression of the adult/child binary, the baby's father and the non-disclosure of the pregnancy. Coloured fathers expect a courtesy visit from the baby's father and his family. Within the Coloured community, the occurrence, reactions and acceptance of teenage pregnancy as a norm, encourages the phenomenon.

Keywords: Teenage, adolescent, daughter, father, fatherhood, phenomenology, pregnancy, qualitative, relationships, father-daughter relationships, qualitative, Eldorado Park, townships, young mothers, fathers of teenage mothers.

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Glossary of Terms

African	Refers to the Black population group.
Coloured	The Population Registration Act no. 29 of 1950 defines a Coloured person as not a White person or a native. Coloured people will refer to those of who identify as mixed race or decent (Erasmus, 2001).
Father	Any male figure who has played the role of father in a young girl's life, including social fathers.
Inhlawulo	In the Zulu culture, this refers to the damages paid to the family of a women impregnated out-of-wedlock, by the father of the baby.
Inhlonipho	Zulu for respect or honor (Hunter, 2005).
Isoka	A man with multiple partners (Hunter, 2010).
Teenage mother	Pregnancy occurring in a girl between 13-19 years of age (UNICEF, 2008)
Umgezo	Traditional practices of the cleansing of impurity because of premarital pregnancy

Abbreviations

DoE	Department of Basic Education
DoH	Department of Health
DSD	Department of Social Development
MRC	Medical Research Council
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WHO	World Health Organization

Chapter 1: Introduction

“I cannot accept my baby to be a mother.”

1.1. Background and Rationale

South Africa, with its ever changing, unique, and diverse reality embedded in culture, tradition and defined through her socio-economic challenges, shares factors with the rest of the world, one of which being unplanned, untimed, or unexpected teenage pregnancy. The WHO defines adolescent pregnancy as a pregnancy that occurs in a young girl between 10-19 years of age (WHO, 2004). For this study however, I define teenage pregnancy as a pregnancy of a girl between 13-19 years of age (UNICEF, 2008). I will further use the adolescents and teenager interchangeably throughout the paper.

There has been a tremendous shift in the manner in which people receive teenage pregnancy in South Africa and across cultures, as it is accepted and accommodated (Jewkes, Morrell, & Christofides, 2009). Both international and African research identifies the presumed benefits of teenage pregnancy to young women by describing the attainment of motherhood as increasing social status and financial gain for the teenage mothers (de Carvalho, 2007; Jewkes et al., 2009; Kanku & Mash, 2010). The birth of a child signifies the fertility and sexuality of heterosexual women and men (Preston-Whyte, Zondi, Mavundla, & Gumede, 1990). Regardless of this, earlier research emphasizes the expected negative outcomes for the teenage mother and her child, the mothers inability to raise her child and attend school; and the developmental considerations of the infant (Chigona & Chetty, 2008; Jewkes et al., 2009; Koffman, 2012; Madhavan & Thomas, 2005). Likewise, research examines the negative stigma associated with teenage pregnancy from peers, educators and community members, and the fear of punishment, self-loathing, regret and shame for young girls and their families (Bhana & Mcambi, 2013; Bhana, Morrell, Shefer, & Ngabaza, 2010; Kanku & Mash, 2010; Mturi & Moerane, 2001; Nduna & Vella, 2008). Although research has focused on the

negativity associated with teenage pregnancy, studies also aim to explore more than the failures of and the difficulties teenage mother's face. Two of these studies, highlight the important role of the teenage mother's support system, who have to support both the teenage mother and her child (Jewkes et al., 2009; Madhavan, Harrison, & Sennott, 2013). Within this context, the father of the teenage mother plays a crucial role in the support offered to teenage mothers and their children. However, this has not been explored.

In research on teenage pregnancy, the father-daughter relationship is the least studied and least understood entity of the family. This relationship is crucial for adolescent women as father's have a profound influence on their daughter's sexuality and consequent sexual behaviour (Nielsen, 2012; Secunda, 1992). Studies on absent fathers highlight father's influence on their daughter's sexual maturation and decision. They argue that absent fathers and the lack of attention daughters receive from fathers, bolsters vulnerability around men, results in poor sexual decision making and increases the likelihood of early sexual debut and consequent teenage pregnancy (Brahmbhatt et al., 2014; East, Jackson, & O'Brien, 2007; Ellis et al., 2003). Although the physical presence of fathers is important for young women, the quality of the father-daughter relationship serves as a tool from which they develop their sense of self. Relationships for example, with higher levels of communication and open discussion about boys, sex, dating, and the intimacies of sexual experience, aid daughters choice of a romantic partner and instill values and morals about respect and commitment as prerequisites of sexual relationships (Bowling & Werner-Wilson, 2000). The quality of the relationship, rooted in secure and supportive relationships and built on open communication, aids in daughters ability to build fulfilling relationships with other men (Nielsen, 2012). The important role of fathers in their daughter's sexuality provides the groundwork from which this study emerges, there is a lack of research on the fathers of teenage mothers. No research explores the father-daughter dyad within the context of teenage pregnancy, in the Coloured

community. Research about teenage pregnancy and fatherhood in South Africa has examined the two as separate entities, with the only research merging these fields relating to teenage fathers and not the fathers of teenage mothers.

1.2. Aims, Objections and Research Questions

The aim of this study was to explore father-daughter relationships and their experience of teenage pregnancy.

Study Objectives

The proposed study objectives were:

- To explore the experiences of teenage pregnancy and motherhood.
- To explore the influence of teenage motherhood on the fathers of teenage mothers.
- To elaborate on the teenage mother and her father’s relationship through their experience teenage pregnancy.
- To examine if and how fathers influence their daughters lives through their experience of teenage pregnancy.

Research Questions

- What are the experiences of teenage mothers during their teenage pregnancy and motherhood?
- What are the experiences of the fathers of teenage mothers throughout their daughter’s teenage pregnancy and motherhood?
- How do fathers influence their daughter’s lives within the context of teenage pregnancy?

1.3. Chapter Organization

Chapter one, introduces the context of the study, providing both support for the rationale of the study and the choice of study site. **Chapter two**, reviews literature on teenage

pregnancy, fatherhood and the important role pregnancy, fatherhood and the important role of fathers in the lives of their daughters. I then present the methodological approach and analysis used for the study in **Chapter three**, detailing the difficulties experienced with the choice of method and personal nature of the study. **Chapter four** follows, comprising four main themes and provides the findings of the six interviews conducted. These outline the experiences of both the fathers and daughters and the crucial role fathers play in their daughter and grandchildren’s lives. A discussion on the findings ensues in **Chapter five**, where I argue the role of fathers of teenage mothers as underplayed, within the Coloured community. The findings and study illustrates how fathers challenge the existing societal norms of the Coloured community, through their physical and emotional presence in their daughter’s lives and their experiences upon discovering the teenage pregnancy. This chapter further illustrates teenage pregnancy as attributed to more than social ills and absent fathers but something that requires more investigation. The research report then concludes with **Chapter six**, including the conclusions and limitations of this study and the recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I discuss the literature reviewed on teenage mothers and their fathers. I begin by providing a breakdown of the keywords and research engines used to find the literature and the outcomes thereof. I will then review literature related to teenage pregnancy; fathers and fatherhood; and show how important fathers are in the lives of their teenage daughters. The literature review illustrates the lack of research relating to father-daughter dyads and teenage pregnancy. The review presents teenage pregnancy and fatherhood as two separate entities and concludes with a discussion on the roles of fathers in the lives of their teenage daughters.

2.1. Research Engines and Keywords

I used research engines EBSCO Host, SABINET, SAGE Publications, Science Direct, Springer Link and Taylor and Francis. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the search engines and the keywords used in attaining literature for this study.

Table 1

Research Engines and Search Keywords

Research Engine	Teenage pregnancy	Adolescent pregnancy	Fathers of teenage mothers	Fathers in SA
EBSCO Host	11 030	9 098	160	210
SABINET	1 773	2 934	1 082	16 858
SAGE	7 020	18 989	5 204	18 961
Science Direct	1 102	52 128	5 950	14 781
Springer Link	9 615	35 381	11 157	30 440
Taylor & Francis	13 050	34 555	11 026	49 930

I found many articles on teenage and adolescent pregnancy and further narrowed the search to South Africa. Of the 28,619 articles found, I used about 62 articles, which included international articles, those on teenage childbearing and motherhood. The gap in research on the fathers of teenage mothers became clear when searching for “fathers of teenaged mothers”. Search engines yielded over 30,000 articles, on the separate keywords of “teenage mothers”; “teenage fathers”; and “teenage childbearing”. I redirected my search to father-daughter relationships. The articles and books used related to fathers of adolescent daughters, father’s impact on their daughter’s sexual choices, and included articles on absent fathers.

My focus then shifted to fathers and fatherhood in South Africa and I attained over 130,000 articles and books and used about 65. Only one article used a sample of father-daughter dyads, not related to teenage pregnancy. The surveys used were from Statistics South Africa (Stats SA), the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), The Medical Research Council (MRC), and the Department of Health (DoH), and Education (DoE) and Social Development (DSD).

2.2. Teenage Pregnancy in Perspective

There is a vast pool of knowledge on teenage pregnancy. This is clear in the number of statistics and data on teenage pregnancy in South Africa. I will discuss this data, coupled with international and African research on teenage pregnancy, its consequences, causes, and the perceived negative and positive outcomes for the teenage mothers and young fathers.

Of the births in the South Africa, the SAIRR attributes 13.4% to young mothers between 15-18 years of age (Ndebele, 2017). Stats SA reported a 7.9% drop in the overall fertility rate in South Africa and a decrease in the teenage fertility rate (SAIRR, 2014, p. 35; Stats SA, 2016a). De Lannoy, Swartz, Lake and Charmaine (2015) attributes the decline in

fertility rate to an increase in safer sexual practices and exposure to HIV/AIDs prevention interventions. Stats SA further reports a decline in the percentage of births of mothers aged 15-19 years between 2013 and 2015 (Stats SA, 2016b, p. 19). The above mentioned allows for a more crucial issue to surface: an increase in the pregnancy rate of younger adolescents.

Although reports suggest an overall decline in the number of pregnancies between 18-19-year-old girls between 2010 and 2015 (Stats SA, 2013b, 2015a, 2015b), research shows an increase in childbearing of lower aged adolescent girls. Stats SA reports 4% and 14.8% of fifteen- and seventeen-year-old girls, having begun childbearing in South Africa (Stats SA, 2017, p. 12). This increase continued among 14 to 17-year-old girls, with reported pregnancy rates of 0.7% and 3.7% in 2012, increasing to 0.8% and 4.2% in 2013 (Stats SA, 2013b, p. 30; 2015a, p. 31). Of more concern is the increase in the number of reported pregnancies in learners who have not reached adolescence (Department of Basic Education, 2012, p. 29). As illustrated above, reports on South African statistics on teenage fertility is often misleading. The reported decline in the teenage fertility rate and childbearing of 18- and 19-year-olds, could result from teenagers becoming mothers by the age of 16 and 17 years. This illustrates the earlier sexual debut of young girls'. Research have argued this sexual debut to be a significant determinant of early pregnancy (Brahmbhatt et al., 2014). An explanation for the decrease in teenage pregnancies in 18- and 19-year-old adolescents could be their young age at becoming mothers as young women avoid a second pregnancy in their adolescent years (Nkani & Bhana, 2016), which explains the drop in teenage pregnancies in 18- and 19-year-old adolescents. There is a need for research to explore teenage pregnancy across age groups and research should include when young girls begin childbearing and engage in intercourse and the reasons behind these choices. The vast research on teenage pregnancy is due to the above statistics and complexities surrounding teenage pregnancy.

In her reviews on the portrayals of teenage pregnancy in South African literature, Catriona Macleod identifies several *negative* attributes associated with, and the gaps within research on, teenage pregnancy. One article identifies the causes of teenage pregnancy, including a review on the risk-taking behaviors of young girls and the cultural value placed on children (Macleod, 1999a). Within the same article, Macleod raises methodological concerns within South African research, the lack of comparative studies between perfectly matched teenage mothers and teenagers who do not have children. Her research further explores the risks teenage pregnancy poses to the economic security of South Africa and the manner in which the ideals of women and pregnancy are subsidiary to the roles of men (Macleod, 2002). Macleod illustrates that research depicting the negativity of teenage pregnancy often focuses on the inadequacy of teenagers as mothers, based on and compared to the idealized notion of the “perfect mother”. The ideal of what a good mother should and should not be, tend to problematize and pathologize teenage mothers because of their young age. The studies highlight the incompetence of teenage mothers and their children’s developmental problems as being separate to the socio-economic disparities, relationships and circumstances in which teenage mothers are raising their children (Macleod, 2001). Earlier research has attempted to place blame on teenage mothers for falling pregnant and provides a negative outlook for them and their children’s future, in isolation. Literature further excludes the gender dynamics of teenage pregnancy and the lack of research on the consequences of teenage pregnancy for young fathers (Macleod, 1999b). In response to this, there is a growing body of research on teenage fathers in South Africa, discussed later.

Research within the last decade depicts teenage mothers as the problem. Their findings hold teenage mothers accountable for falling pregnant (Nduna & Jewkes, 2012) and blame them for bringing shame to their family (Mturi & Moerane, 2001). The blame for the teenage pregnancy extends to the mother of the teenage mother for her inability to raise her daughter

“properly” (Mkhwanazi, 2010). Young women fear their parents reaction, the social stigma and shamereaction, the social stigma and shame associated with teenage pregnancy (Varga, 2002). Parents’ first reaction to the teenage pregnancy is that of shock, anger and disappointment (Bhana & Nkani, 2016). These reactions link to the regret to the regret teenage mothers’ experience falling pregnant in school (Singh & Hamid, 2015). This manner in which the parents of teenage mothers react further contrasts arguments suggesting the acceptance and encouragement of early childbearing in African communities (Jewkes et al., 2009; Preston-Whyte et al., 1990). Research emphasizes that people encourage teenage pregnancy to increase social status, attaining agency and financial gain from the baby’s father, and for social grants i.e. Child Support Grant (Bray, 2010; de Carvalho, 2007; Jewkes et al., 2009; Kanku & Mash, 2010). The latter has not been associated with teenage pregnancy (Makiwane, 2010; Naong, 2011).

The teenage mother’s family assumes full responsibility of the teenage mother and her baby, including the costs incurred during the pregnancy and postpartum. These costs include hospital visits, medication, doctors’ bills, schooling, food, and expenses related to both the teenage mother and her child. Although parents of teenage mothers often accept the responsibility for the young mother and her child, they react though threats of kicking their daughters out of the house (Mkhwanazi, 2010). Despite these threats, the parents of teenage mothers incur the costs of their daughter and grandchild while ignoring the implications this has for their own financial and psychological wellbeing (Bhana & Nkani, 2016; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015). They further try to secure their daughter’s future through encouraging and assisting her to complete her schooling (Bhana & Nkani, 2016). Parents of teenage mothers provide for both their daughter and grandchild, altering their grandchildren’s position within the household. There is a shift from being the grandchild to being raised as the youngest member of the family, as seen in African cultures (Jewkes et al., 2009; Mturi & Moerane,

2001). This shift in household dynamics influences the teenage mothers agency and decision making capacity about her child.

Motherhood and marriage are the two ideals that allow women's' transition into adulthood. For women, entry into adulthood depends on someone else, either the partner they marry or their child. Macleod argues that gendered roles limit adulthood for women. She states that women can never achieve adulthood “through the masculinized path of career building” (2003, p. 431) but only through someone else. Regardless of this, the decisions surrounding pregnancy termination, akin to those of marriage, lies with men. In addition, socially constructed ideals and norms of a marriage proposal for example, are the responsibility of men. As discussed, earlier research findings blame the teenage mother for the teenage pregnancy, highlighting that pregnancy prevention (i.e. contraception use) is her responsibility. When the baby is in utero, the parents and baby's father often remove the teenage mother's decision making ability. Varga (2002) states that the multiple actors decide whether to end a pregnancy. She further states that teenage mothers have to follow the wishes of the baby's father if he does not want to end the pregnancy. The sexual partner and parents of young women further limit her decision making about contraception use. Young sexual partner's often strive to prove their fertility and reject contraceptives use, while mothers of teenage mothers fear contraceptive usage causes infertility, illustrating that the fear of infertility far surpasses that of conception (Wood & Jewkes, 2006). Certain cultural contexts remove the decision making abilities of young mothers, even though they attain adulthood through motherhood as described by Macleod (2003).

The refusal to end the pregnancy and contraception use occurs even with few or no resources to support the teenage mother and her baby. Support and paternity of the child often goes hand-in-hand, as paternal denial renders the responsibility of the teenage pregnancy on the teenage mother (Sathiparsad, 2010) and the teenage mother's family assumes full

responsibility for the teenage mother and her baby (Bhana & Nkani, 2014; Jewkes et al., 2009; Madhavan et al., 2013; Swartz & Bhana, 2010). Research related to father absence identify the act of paternal denial to fathers not assuming responsibility for their children (Langa, 2014; Nduna, Kasese-Hara, Ndebele, Pillay, & Manala, 2011), and being a punishment for women intentionally falling pregnant (Nduna & Jewkes, 2012). The fear of paternal denial, coupled with the fear of telling their parents, may encourage teenage mothers to end their pregnancies, often through dangerous and illegal abortions (Mkhwanazi, 2014; Ngabaza, 2011; Varga, 2002). Although research identifies paternal denial to avoid the responsibility associated with fatherhood through the blatant denial of their children, cultural expectations play a large role in young fathers' non-involvement. More often than not, fathers' inability to meet cultural expectations attributed with out-of-wedlock pregnancies, such as paying *inhlawulo* (referring to the damages paid to the family of the girl they impregnated out-of-wedlock), that hinders their contact to their children (Hunter, 2006, 2010).

Besides father involvement, culture and race have further implications for the reactions to teenage pregnancy. Jewkes et al., (2009) highlights that while White and Indian population groups insist on marriage or termination of an unplanned pregnancy, for African population groups fathers acknowledging paternity is more important (Madhavan et al., 2013). The above mentioned, places teenage mothers in a tenuous position within their households. Besides their teenage pregnancy bringing shame to their families, when the baby's father does not acknowledge paternity of the baby, it places an added financial and material strain on their families (Varga, 2002). The teenage mother is the most affected by the teenage pregnancy, as young fathers continue with their lives with little disruption (Bray, 2010). It for this reason that others label teenage mothers and their babies as burdens (Chohan & Langa, 2011). Within their households, teenage mothers have to show respect and remorse for disgracing their families and have to adhere to their parents rules (Mkhwanazi, 2010), despite the sometimes

harsh treatment from their parents. This results from their financial dependence and illustrates the role of financial support in forcing teenage mothers to stay in undesirable and abusive situations. This often discourages a second pregnancy, for fear of being kicked out of the house and the withholding of financial support (Nkani & Bhana, 2016; Singh & Hamid, 2015). Teenage mothers’ know of their lack of economic power and the risks involved if they go against those who aid them. The judgment and harsh treatment they endure often extends beyond their households as teenage mothers find schooling as another area in which they experience difficulty.

Much like the reactions of parents, teachers’ initial reactions to teenage pregnancy within schools alters along the course of the pregnancy. Singh and Hamid (2015) report that teachers first response to pregnancy is that of disappointment but like parents, overtime they become more supportive. Other research highlights the challenges of pregnant learners as they report teacher’s lack of empathy and intolerance (Ngabaza & Shefer, 2013). Teachers perceive pregnant learners as poor role models for non-pregnant learners in the school (Bhana, Clowes, Morrell, & Shefer, 2008) and believe the school should exclude them (Shefer, Bhana, & Morrell, 2013). The difficulty faced by both parents, teachers and society in accepting teenage pregnancy, is the difficulty they have in linking a teenager, a presumed child, with the adult experience of pregnancy. Macleod (2003) describes adolescence as a transitional stage of childhood into adulthood and teenage pregnancy as a visible representation of the transgression of the child-adult boundary; as a visible representation of her engaging in sexual relations with a male. Research on teenage pregnancy in schools highlights this as the reactions and discomfort experienced by teachers in teaching “women as opposed to girls” (Bhana et al., 2008, p. 82). These ideals are rooted in the normative expectations of what young people should and should not do. The transgression of this child-adult boundary causes discomfort and blurs the lines of authority and control within schools (Shefer et al., 2013). The

“undecidability” of a pregnant teenager as an “adult, but not an adult, child, but not a child” (Macleod, 2003, p. 426), plays a crucial role in the reaction and treatment of teenage mothers and is clear in the representations of sexual health dialogue that exists before and post pregnancy.

Narratives surrounding sexual health dialogue in Africa differ to that of most of the world as it depends on the role of culture within African communities and homes. The role of cultural communication barriers exist in sexual health dialogue as sexually active teenagers practice “respectful silence” by avoiding sexual topics with adults, resulting in them seeking advice from peers (Lebese, 2010; Mkhwanazi, 2010). In his discussion on masculinity, Mark Hunter (2005) adds to the difficulty in communicating about sex, attributing it to respect (*inhlonipho* as ascribed by the Zulu population he studied), stating that the silence preserves gendered and generational hierarchies within communities. African communities practice a respectful silence around sexual communication. Within Coloured communities in Cape Town, sexual health dialogue between fathers and daughters comprises one-sided scolding’s, warnings about the dangers of sex, and fear the consequence of sex, such as falling pregnant (Lesch & Scheffler, 2015, 2016). Besides these warnings, mothers of teenagers resorted to corporal punishment and try to regulate, monitor and restrict their daughters activity and movement to prevent sexual encounters (Bray, 2010; Mkhwanazi, 2010).

The dangers and warnings about sex are linked to the undecidability of adolescents sexuality described by Macleod (2003), as she reports that sex educators teach about sex but caution against the “dire moral and social consequences of sexual interactions” (p. 427). Sex education is to be communicated by teachers, research suggests that within the context of cultural communication, parents view their teachings as promiscuous (Lebese, 2010). Discussions about sexual health do not include safe sex practices, including contraceptive use and HIV prevention. Despite this lack of sexual health discussions, parents expect children

should listen to their parents’ advice and avoid teenage pregnancy (Lebese, Davhana-Maselesele, & Obi, 2010). Using indirect speech thwarts communication about sex and further causing problems with misinterpretation from children. Studies report adult secrecy on sex leads to increase anticipation and encourage exploration into and experiencing the “forbidden” (Bray, 2010). The lack of sexual health dialogue therefore, seems to be counterproductive, in it not only renders children vulnerable to misleading and incorrect information about sex but further encourages exploration into engaging in sexual activities, forbidden by parents.

Bray describes the “‘presumption of innocence’ surrounding sexuality” (2010, p. 263) held by parent-figures regarding their children but in particular to their daughters. After this presumed innocence diminishes through the visibility of a teenage pregnancy, open channels of communication emerge. To avoid a second pregnancy for example, research suggests a mother’s willingness to engage more with their daughters about contraceptive usage, which did not occur before the pregnancy (Nkani & Bhana, 2016). Mothers are expected to engage in discussions and communicate sexual topics with their daughters, even though studies show fathers have a more profound impact on their daughters sexually-mature self (Nielsen, 2012; Secunda, 1992). It is for this reason that this review explores the role of fathers in the lives of their teenage daughters.

2.3. The Ideal of Fathers and Fatherhood

There is a vast difference between the definitions of the term father within South Africa compared to the rest of the world. Morrell (2006) recognizes the biological definitions of a father in the Western world as the act of impregnating a woman. Other research disputes this biological stance. In his discussion on the good enough father, Samuels argues that it is “not the actual maleness of the person from whom we obtain fathering” (1995, p. 516) that is crucial, but the quality and importance of what exists within the relationship between the father figure

and his/her children. In this depiction, his argument is congruent with other research in stating the performative nature of fatherhood and fathering, as performed by anyone able to guide and teach young boys how to be men (Mkhize, 2006). Views like these emphasize the important role of a father or male figure in the lives of young boys, but, removes role of fathers for their daughters. The emphasis on the role of the father figure in the lives of young men, has led to a broader definition of fatherhood in South Africa.

Definitions of fatherhood has expanded due to two things, namely: the common occurrence of extended families in poorer socio-economic status groups in South Africa, including mother, father, their children, and other family members within the same household (Amoateng, Kalule-Sabiti, & Heaton, 2006), and the high rates of absent fathers in South Africa (Ndebele, 2014, 2017). These definitions include fatherhood as a learned social role and the collective responsibility within a household, including grandfathers and uncles (Langa, 2010; Selebano & Khunou, 2014). It includes the holistic *social father*; a role assumed by multiple male role models who step into children’s lives when the biological fathers cannot (Ratele, Shefer, & Clowes, 2012); and provide for their livelihood and education (Franklin, Makiwane, & Makusha, 2014; Makusha & Richter, 2014). Given these South Africa definitions, fatherhood involves more than the biological stance described by Western societies, just as motherhood involves far more than the state of impregnation by a man. What is evident are the ideals of communal life in African cultures; that child-rearing involves and is the responsibility of the extended and nuclear family (Mkhize, 2006); a view contradictory to those of Western cultures.

Although definitions of fatherhood illustrate the altering definitions of fatherhood, one commonality is the importance and role of fathers as being the material providers and protectors of their family’s (Kirkman, Rosenthal, & Feldman, 2001; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015). The social constructions of masculinity undergirded this. One cannot separate masculinity from

fatherhood, however, definitions of fatherhood link to the male body. The difference, as argued by Connell, is that male biology does not define masculinity. Masculinity is defined through “configurations of practice in gender relations” (2000, p. 29), institutionally bound and socially constructed in institutions, face-to-face interaction, and an innate aspect of personality and individual character. Masculinity is a socially ascribed definition of characteristics of male bodies, positioned in a society, which engages with and honors the gendered positions and power of men. Culture plays a role in the construction of masculinity as it depicts how men should behave and how *real men* behave (Morrell, 1998), with the ideal of achieving successful masculinity. This gave rise to the dominant form of hegemonic masculinity.

Researchers argue that the basis of hegemonic masculinity depends on men’s subordination of women and effeminate qualities, leading to the subordination of groups who own these qualities, such as homosexual men (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1985; Connell, 1995, 2005). The difficulty men face is that most men do not live up to the normative definitions of masculinity (Connell, 1995). The dominant, hegemonic man able to meet the required expectations, often subordinates these groups of men. It is for the impossible standards expected of the hegemonic man that society demands, that restricts the “male role” as it does “not reflect the true nature of man... masculinity is fundamentally the social pressure, that, internalized, prevents personal growth” (Carrigan et al., 1985, p. 579). In his work on gender relations in Zululand, and his discussion of *isoka* (a man with multiple partners), Hunter (2010) illustrates that masculinity involves more than male power, but embodies male vulnerabilities and weaknesses. It is not centered on the power that men exert over women or different men, but how men attain the power. In addition, achieving hegemonic masculinity does not translate into a satisfying experience of life (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), as the ideal changes. Masculinity involves a lot of work and men constantly need to prove their masculinity (Seidler,

1997). It is neither biologically determined but changes over time and takes on multiple forms (Morrell, 2006).

Research embeds masculinity and fatherhood in the role of men as the providers and protectors of their families (Clowes, Ratele, & Shefer, 2013; Mavungu, 2013; Richter & Morrell, 2006; Swartz & Bhana, 2010). In their constant attempt to prove their masculinity, fathers often avoid engaging in tasks around their households that labels them effeminate. Their normative macho-masculine identity and the “right and proper way of being a man” (Edley & Wetherell, 1997, p. 210), often discourages engaging in such activities. Datta (2007) for example, argues that African cultures prevent men from engaging in activities such as being active fathers or engaging in activities delineated as “women’s work”; such as housework. For fathers who wish to engage in active, emotional, and caring relationships with their children, they face the difficulty of being subordinated by other men, resulting in an internal battle between the fathers they aspire to be and the normative macho-masculine ideal exerted by society. Anything outside of this ideal and men presenting androgynous characteristics renders fathers effeminate and deviant men (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Thus illustrating the embodied tension they experience because they want to be affectionate fathers (Kirkman et al., 2001) besides providing for their families. For South African fathers, the emphasis on provision as the place where masculine identity and fatherhood intersect (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015), becomes an increasing problem for their ability to be active fathers in their children’s lives.

Within South Africa (and perhaps in most African countries), the ideal of the father as financial provider for the family makes up barriers for the father’s involvement in their children’s lives. The ability of men to have multiple partners, as deemed to be a rite of passage, and women’s censure against premarital sex as noted by Hunter (2010). Through paying *inhlawulo*, men can acknowledge their “mistake” of impregnating a woman out-of-wedlock. African cultural practices such as *inhlawulo* and *isisu*, are payments made to the family of a

woman impregnated out-of-wedlock, for the man bringing shame to the family and for the paternal acknowledgement of the child (Hunter, 2006, 2010; Madhavan et al., 2013; Swartz & Bhana, 2010). Research found this gesture supersedes the cementing of the union between mother and father, but rather secures financial support for the child (Madhavan et al., 2013). Due to the increased occurrence of out-of-wedlock pregnancy, there is a shift to the expected role of fathers and the management of pregnancy. This shift is also evident among different population groups, where there is little or no expectation of marriage among African population groups with an out-of-wedlock pregnancy, while it is less accepted among White and Indian population groups (Jewkes et al., 2009). There is therefore a shift in the masculine expectations of men, from being the “providers in marriage”; to the less reliable “providers outside of marriage” (Hunter, 2010, p. 190).

In a country such as South Africa with increasing levels of unemployment, men face challenges in meeting the traditional and cultural expectations associated with out-of-wedlock pregnancy. They hinder young and unemployed fathers’ access because they cannot meet the expected provisions and payment of damages (Bunting & McAuley, 2004; Langa, 2014; Selebano & Khunou, 2014). These findings emphasize fatherhood as depending on access to resources (Madhavan & Roy, 2012), akin to masculinity depending on the ability to provide for one’s family. Fathers are therefore hindered from gaining access to their children by maternal grandparents (Makusha & Richter, 2016; Swartz & Bhana, 2010), regardless of their willingness to be part of their children’s lives.

Research suggests that some men want to be active and present fathers in their children’s lives, despite their inability provide. Studies on teenage fathers highlight that young fathers challenge the traditional masculine roles of fathers. Fathers acknowledge their important role of engaging in caregiving activities, such as bathing and changing the baby’s nappies (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015), and providing guidance and emotional support

(Selebano & Khunou, 2014). Teenage fathers acknowledged the gate-keeping roles of the maternal grandparents of their children, who restrict access to both mother and child, and the changing definition of fatherhood that emerges. As a result, they accept the blame for their lack of participation in their children’s lives. In addition, young fathers acknowledge provision as important for children but stress the forging of close relationships with their children through active and involved parenting (Khunou, 2006). Research on teenage boys found the quality of the relationship with their fathers is important. For these boys, quality embeds itself in father presence and the physical and emotional needs of the child (Langa, 2010, 2014).

For fathers of teenage mothers, they have to ensure the wellbeing of both their daughters and grandchildren. The role of the father of teenage mothers further alters to that of a social father. Fathers assume the role of both father and grandfather to their daughters and their grandchildren, and no research was conducted on this dynamic. Due to the limited research on father of teenage daughters, a broad review of fathers in the African context will ensue. In the next section, a discussion on the role and importance of fathers in the lives of their teenage daughters will ensue.

2.4. The Relationship between Fathers and their Teenage Daughters

As mentioned, the research pertaining to father-child relationships has encouraged and highlighted the relationship fathers have with their sons. Research highlights the significant role of father involvement in academic success and an increase in self-esteem and security in heterosexual relationships (Howard, Lefever, Borkowski, & Whitman, 2006; Makusha & Richter, 2014). In line with the current research, this section will review literature on father’s role in the lives of their daughters and the father-daughter relationship.

Most articles related to this topic are international and range from the communication practices of fathers and daughters, to father’s influence on their daughters sexual maturation.

Punyanunt-Carter (2008) for example, identifies communication as imperative to father-daughter relationship satisfaction, as it assists in daughters rebellious behavior and ability to seek comforting discussion from males. Communication is not only key for relationship satisfaction of fathers and daughters but also serves as a mechanism for sexual choices and personality development. Studies found verbal expression of love from fathers, discussions about men, dating, and sex, including the sexual and emotional aspects of sexual experiences, to influence sexual practices, decision making and delayed sexual activity (Bowling & Werner-Wilson, 2000). Regardless of the need for young women to engage in conversations such as these with their father's, this seldom occurs.

Research pertaining to masculinity and fatherhood identifies fathers' communication regarding sexuality and sex as restricted, surfacing through jokes and humor and centered on the warnings and dangers of sex, and results in the enforcing of rules and curfews for their daughters (Kirkman et al., 2001; Lesch & Ismail, 2014). Although sufficient evidence exists illustrating the benefits of father's communication about sex and men, outside of pure censure of daughters, this seldom occurs as parents often encourage same gendered conversations with their children. Supporting research reports that one of the main concerns for fathers regarding their daughters sexual exploration is the consequence of sex, which is a pregnancy (Kirkman, Rosenthal, & Feldman, 2002). Despite fathers fears however, there is still an innate belief that mothers should engage in sexual discussion with their daughters, illustrating the constructions of fatherhood as embedded in separate gendered roles. Despite these gendered beliefs, research emphasizes the impact of fathers as greater to that of mothers, as they determine their daughters depiction of her sexual and womanly self (Secunda, 1992).

Communication is only one of the important factors of the father-daughter relationship. Studies depict father absence as having detrimental effects on daughters. Research shows single-parented households are a significant risk factor for teenage pregnancy and early sexual

activity (Brahmbhatt et al., 2014). Studies associate father absence with the early timing of sexual activity and teenage pregnancy; encourages male-seeking behaviors due to the lack of paternal attention, and influences young girls' ability to negotiate positive relationships with men (Brahmbhatt et al., 2014; East et al., 2007; Ellis et al., 2003). Research further argues a secure, supportive, and communicative father-daughter relationship as fostering daughters ability to create and maintain fulfilling relationships with men (Nielsen, 2014). Intimate, active father involvement embedded in open and intimate communication, discourages the seeking of male companionship and sexual intimacy from male peers (Bowling & Werner-Wilson, 2000). Even though the quality of the father-daughter relationship has a strong influence on decisions around substance abuse (Nielsen, 2012) and daughters self-esteem and confidence (Bowling & Werner-Wilson, 2000); studies argue the influence of father absence to have a greater impact on early sexual activity and teenage pregnancy, compared to other behavioral and mental problems (Ellis et al., 2003). A study using data from the Cape Area Panel Study, illustrates that compared to Africans, the effects of childhood environment has a more profound effect on reproductive strategy, in that father absence and childhood exposure to violence are predictors of an early sexual debut and earlier pregnancy among Coloured females in Cape Town (Anderson, 2015). This is important in exploring present fathers, and Coloured fathers in particular, given the effects of absent fathers on daughter's sexual vulnerability. It makes sense therefore that father presence should protect and hinder their teenage daughter's early sexual debut and teenage pregnancy.

The current study aims to look at how father-daughter relationships are constructed, exploring father's emotional availability and physical presence in their daughter's lives. This extends to their grandchildren, as they not only become the financial responsibility of the maternal household, but the fathers of teenage mothers act as social fathers to these children. Emotional and material care from parents of the teenage mother often shift towards their

daughter's baby (Bray, 2010). In as much as the father-daughter relationship is beneficial for a daughter's development, it is also important for the development and wellbeing of fathers (Nielsen, 2012). The relationship is thus reciprocal and dynamic and in teenage pregnancy, serves as an area that contributes to a wealth of knowledge about teenage pregnancy, and fatherhood in South Africa. As illustrated, there is a gap in current research regarding the father-daughter relationship in teenage pregnancy, which this study aims to fill. To achieve this, I aimed to answer the broad questions of what are the experiences of teenage mothers throughout their pregnancy and motherhood, and what are those of their fathers.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

The aim of this research was to examine the relationship between fathers and their teenage daughters who were mothers; through both their experiences of teenage pregnancy. This study attempted to close a particular gap in research regarding father-daughter relationships within a Coloured community in the south of Johannesburg, South Africa. This study assumed a constructivist-interpretive paradigm. This assumes multiple realities which are co-created by both researcher and participant, in the natural setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Due to the research gap this study was exploratory in nature, and used a qualitative approach to conduct and analyze the data. The current chapter will begin by explaining the rationale for the methodological framework and conceptualization of the research. It will then delve into the practicalities of the research process with an in-depth description of the study site, participant recruitment, data collection, analysis, and ethical considerations. As a phenomenological researcher I have included my personal reflection of my experiences throughout the research process.

3.1. The Qualitative Research Approach

In an attempt to explore an area where there is very limited research, I chose qualitative research because of its ability to delve into individual's deep subjective experiences, and encourage the emergence of hidden meaning through self-reflection, while adding to existing knowledge (Ponterotto, 2005). Qualitative research was best suited to this exploratory study as it allowed for the in-depth experiences of fathers and their teenage daughters to come to the fore, while embracing the contradictions and tensions within dyads (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012). Qualitative research would further allow for fathers and daughters to share their lived experiences in a manner that fostered the participants' agency, and allowed for a fair level of interpretation on the part of the researcher. The researcher was tasked with having to accurately

record data and uncover the meaning participants drew from their own life experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Qualitative research employs terms such as transferability, credibility, and dependability (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). These concepts are achieved primarily through transparency in the research process and acknowledgement of the role of the researcher in the construction of meaning-making. In their description of the bricoleur qualitative researcher Denzin and Lincoln (1998) describe the researcher as interactive, and shaped by their own “personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and those of the people in the setting” (p. 4). They emphasize the intimate relationship between the topic under investigation and the researcher, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Accordingly, I took a reflexive stance. I explained and described my thoughts, feelings, and experiences. The benefit of qualitative research is that it does not privilege a single methodological practice (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012), and instead encourages the deployment of multiple interconnected methods to accomplish a better understanding of the topic at hand (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, 2005). It is for this reason that I approached this research using narrative analysis and hermeneutic phenomenology.

3.2. Methodological Framework and Study Design

I adopted a constructivist-interpretive research paradigm which acknowledges the co-construction of meaning between the researcher and participant (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). I had my own personal ideas and interest in this topic, but was also compelled by the stories of the father-daughter dyads. The study of experiences and their meanings can occur in different ways but the phenomenological researcher argues that it is not something that we undergo. Phenomenological researchers arguing that experience is “what happens to us, and not something accumulated and mastered by us” (Friesen, Henriksson, & Saevi, 2012, p. 1). The

narrative approach understands experiences as being expressed through storytelling (Creswell, 2007), which allows individuals to construct meaning and make sense of a phenomenon (an aspect of a lived experience) and of past experience, as a way of understanding their own and others actions (Chase, 2005; Padgett, 2004; Riessman, 2005). To understand the shared experiences of teenage mothers and their fathers, I argue that narrative analysis, through the collection of participants' stories, provided a platform to achieve this.

Storytelling allowed participants to describe past events, and through the process of self-exploration and interpretation, to recall the emotions and thoughts associated with these (Chase, 2005). It is through this recall process that participants engaged in personal reflection on events. Participants explored and provided an explanation for their own and others' reactions within the given situation. To ensure rich data in line with these reasons the collection of narratives included contextual and situational information about the stories. These included aspects of participants' home lives, occupations, religions, cultural practices, and historical backgrounds (Creswell, 2007). This aided in a holistic interpretation of the experiences of teenage pregnancy from father-daughter dyads. I could not dissociate my personal feelings and pre-existing stories about the topic. Knowing that these would affect the manner in which I conducted and analyzed the research, I chose the phenomenological approach.

Phenomenology is a philosophy with a strong focus on essences. It is a reflective process that involves “analysis and astute interpretation of the underlying conditions, historically and aesthetically, that account for the experience” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 10). Merleau-Ponty states that phenomenology is a study of essences, and that all problems are related to essences, with the aim of putting essences “back into existence” (1962, p. vii). He stresses that prior to reflection and an understanding of the facticity of man and the world, that phenomenology is a philosophy of the pre-existing world. I explored teenage pregnancy and the experiences of teenage mothers and their fathers with the understanding that I entered

participants' lives as an outsider with pre-existing ideas and feelings. Even though the aim of phenomenology is to describe the meaning of a phenomenon for several individuals (Creswell, 2007), I was tasked with having to collect data and develop a description of the essence of the phenomena based on what participants experienced and how they experienced it (Moustakas, 1994). Phenomenological research provided a platform for myself as a researcher to be open to and sensitive towards others' experiences and the meanings they create. It allowed me to rely on participants to provide insight into their own lived experiences. It aided in clarifying an inclusive meaning into the everyday lived realities of teenage mothers and their fathers, inclusive of their situational context. My own interest in the phenomenon of teenage pregnancy, its visibility within the community, and my personal witnessing of its effects on family members contributed to my choice of hermeneutic phenomenology for exploring my own and participants' narratives.

My interest in the unfamiliar area of the fathers of teenage mothers further encouraged my choice of hermeneutic phenomenology as, through interpretation, it allows me to make sense of the participants' experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). I was also aware that the value ascribed to phenomenology was in describing participants' lived experiences and explaining or analyzing the meanings attached to them (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) *without* much interpretation. Hermeneutics however contends the act of interpretation based on the premise that all research and perception is itself an interpretive act (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Van Manen (1990) describes hermeneutic phenomenology as trying to be:

Attentive to both terms of its methodology: it is a descriptive (phenomenological) methodology because it wants to be attentive to how things appear, it wants to let things speak for themselves; it is interpretative (hermeneutic) methodology because it claims that there are no such things as uninterpreted phenomena. The implied contradiction may be resolved if one acknowledges that the (phenomenological) “facts” of lived

experience are always already meaningfully (hermeneutically) experienced. Moreover, even the “facts” of lived experience need to be captured in language (the human science texts) and this is inevitably an interpretive process (pp. 180-181).

Hermeneutic phenomenology aided in my exploration of the way in which I altered my research. I was forced to challenge and reflect on my pre-existing beliefs and feelings throughout the research process. Consequently, I re-read texts, referred back to theoretical texts, reflected on what the process meant for data production and what it meant for me and the participants. I made assumptions and interpretations about meanings, attempting to present a phenomenon that can only be represented in words and “yet escapes all representation” (van Manen, 2006, p. 718). I therefore endeavored to fill the gaps between the actual content of the interview, the meanings suggested, and its co-construction within the interviews. As an applicative method, phenomenology aided in the description and interpretation of the narratives’ meanings. These occurred “In such a way that the effect of the text is at once reflexive re-living and a reflective appropriation of something meaningful: a notion by which the reader is powerfully animated in his or her own lived experiences” (van Manen, 1990, p. 36). The methodology was never practiced purely nor followed step-by-step, but rather became a “manner of style and thinking” as described by Merleau-Ponty (1962, p. viiii).

3.3. Study Site

The study was conducted in the Coloured Township of Eldorado Park. This area consists of Ward seventeen and eighteen in the south of Johannesburg. Population statistics pertaining to this Coloured Township were calculated through a combination of the separate wards. Coloured and African adolescent groups constitute the largest proportion of teenage pregnancy in South Africa (Bray, 2010; Ndebele, 2013; Panday, Makiwane, Ranchod, & Letsoalo, 2009; SAIRR, 2014). The low socio-economic status community was best suited for

the study because it has the highest concentration of Coloured people in Johannesburg (Wazimap South Africa, 2011). Furthermore, despite the later sexual debut of the Coloured population, they represent a population with high teenage pregnancy rates (Bray, 2010; Marteleto, Lam, & Ranchhod, 2008). By examining present fathers, I required a sample where the likelihood of children residing with both their parents was high, Coloured children fulfilled this requirement when compared to other South African population groups (Stats SA, 2011a).

Being born and raised in the Eldorado Park community provided me with an advantage in understanding the demographic layout, socio-economic standing, and attendant social nuances of the community. These included the stigma associated with Eldorado Park, such as the high rates of father absence. This is commonly referred to as men going to "buy soap" (a phrase referring to men leaving and never returning to support their children). Another stigma includes the high rates of crime and substance abuse and "Coloured complacency". "Eldos" as the area is most commonly referred to by residents, was formed (among the other racially segregated areas) because of the Group Areas Act of 1950, and through the forceful removal and segregation of races across South Africa. Figure 1 illustrates areas most populated by Coloured people in Johannesburg, including Eldorado Park, the Newclare/Bosmont area, Riverlea, and Ennerdale.

Growing up I became aware of the history of different areas in the community. This included the area where the first houses were erected, commonly referred to as "old Eldos". Since the creation of that area, the community has subsequently grown to include nine extensions and an additional, affluent area called Bushkoppies. The latter, along with extension two and nine, are deemed to be the more affluent areas. Extensions one, eight, and sections of old Eldos are considered poorer. This is not to say that these areas are all exclusively of lower-middle or lower socio-economic status, but indicates the predominant socio-economic status groups within each area.

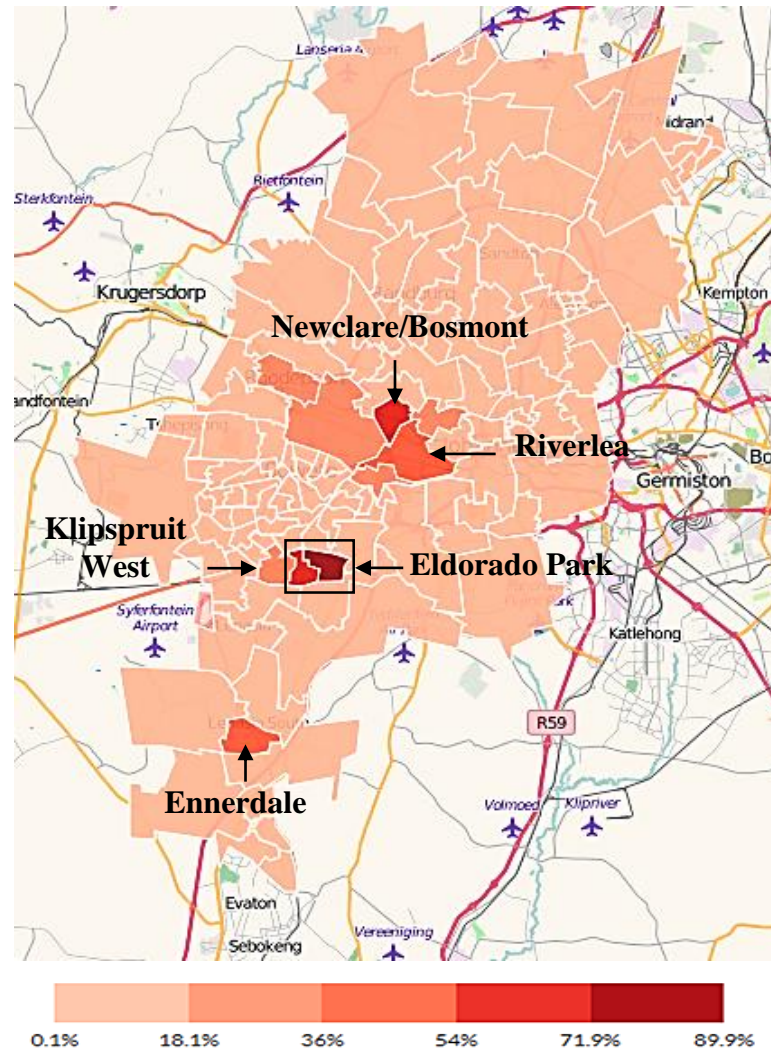


Figure 1. Johannesburg Coloured population by Wards (Wazimap South Africa)

The Township lies approximately 21 km south of Johannesburg CBD. This is illustrated in Figure 2. It comprises of 76.5% Coloured, 20.8% African, 1.0% Indian/Asian, and 0.2% White population groups; with 56.9% and 32.7% of the population speaking Afrikaans and English as their home languages, respectively (Stats SA, 2011a). While driving down the single main road (of the same name as the area), one is able to see the many formal housing structures (including houses, flats and outbuildings) wherein approximately 84% of the

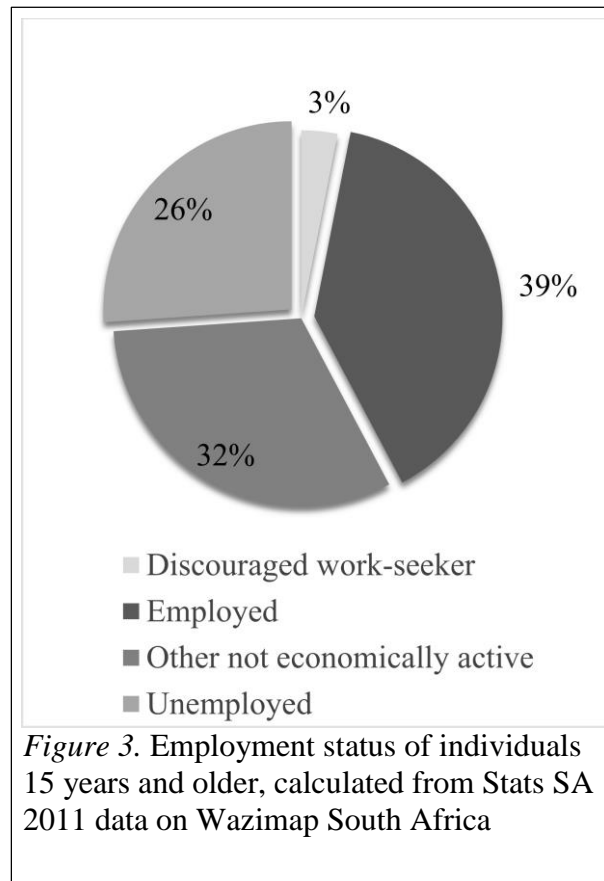
Township’s population reside (Stats SA, 2011b). In the less affluent areas, informal settlements are visible from the main road, in the form of shacks erected in the yards of the



Figure 2. Location of Eldorado Park in relation to Johannesburg CBD. Taken from Google maps.

formal dwellings. These serve as a form of income for homeowners, and are reflective of the high levels of unemployment (Figure 3). It further represents the low-income levels of the community. Approximately 10% have no income; 53.5% earn between R200 to R13,000; and 7.5% earn between R13,000 – R26,000 (Calculated data from Stats SA (Stats SA, 2011b)). During the many power outages, extension cords run across streets to assist neighbors and children are often sent next-door to borrow sugar.

Despite this, media portrayals (Appendix 1) and research have focused on the negative attributes of the community: the high incidences of drugs and alcohol use and violence (Blanche, Butchart, & Seedat, 1994; Lupton, 1993). There have been positive role models from the community including member of both the Union of Black Journalists and the Congress of South African Writers, poet and multiple award winner, Donato Francesco Mattera (“Don”



Mattera), Bianca Le Grange (an Idols SA finalist), and Miss South Africa winners, Tansey Coetzee (2007) and Liesl Laurie (2015). In addition, community members have become advocates for their social ills (Kruger, 2016), though anti-drug marches. The problems faced by the Eldorado Park community may therefore be attributed to those of other lower socio-economic status Townships, such as the conditions associated with low levels of employment and the lack of income.

3.4. Recruitment and Sampling

I had to meet specific criteria to fulfil the requirements of my research. The study was purposive in nature, and I was interested in researching two groups of people: teenage mothers and their fathers. Teenage mothers were defined as young women who had given birth to a child during their teenage years (UNICEF, 2008). South African women are reported to begin child-bearing between 15-19 years of age (Department of Health, 2007; Stats SA, 2014).

Accordingly, to ensure daughter participants had indeed given birth in their teenage years, they had to be between 16 and 21 years of age at the time of the interview.

The second group I recruited was the father of the teenage mother, defined as any male figure that the daughter participants identified as their father. This included the biological or stepfather of the teenage mother, as well as uncles or grandparents. This definition was encouraged by the increased occurrence and importance of social fathers in Africa (Amoateng et al., 2006; Franklin et al., 2014; Langa, 2010; Makusha & Richter, 2014) and the fact that more than 65% of South African Coloured and African men do not reside with their biological children (Stats SA, 2013a, p. 10). This definition led to the loss of interview data, which will be discussed later. Due to the negative effects absent fathers have on their daughters' sexual and reproductive wellbeing, I purposefully chose fathers who were present in their daughters lives. Consequently, to ensure father-daughter dyads had a shared experience of the teenage pregnancy and consequent motherhood, the dyad had to reside in the same household for at least three years prior to the discovery of the teenage pregnancy. As mentioned, based on the visibility of teenage pregnancy in the community, I thought the recruitment process would be relatively easy, but I was wrong.

My first setback in recruitment was a four-month delay in attaining ethics approval, resulting in the loss of interest in potential participants who I had previously approached to partake in the study. Ethical clearance was issued at the end of November and as it was December school holidays, I decided to delay recruitment until January. The recruitment criteria for teenage mothers involved approaching people I knew were teenage mothers (excluding my family) or relatives of a teenage mother and requesting their involvement in the study. This worked well for my first participant, but was followed by dead-ends as the teenage mothers I found resided with their mothers or grandmothers, with no male figure in the household. I ultimately found participants through my social networks, including friends,

family, and a local health care practitioner, who shared the details of my study and provided me with the details of those who had agreed to be contacted. From the eight contacts of potential participants provided, I attained four participants. Reasons for contacts not participating from the study included one getting married and being uncontactable prior to her wedding, while others did not arrive to discuss the study. After conducting interviews on four father-daughter dyads, I discovered that all the teenage mothers were over the age of 18. My data lacked teenage mothers who fell in the lower age bracket, which I had hoped to include. After presenting these findings to my supervisor and research group, I was advised to recruit backwards, by recruiting the father of the teenage mother first and then his daughter. One of my personal connections provided me with the contact details of both a father and teenage mother who had recently given birth, however, I was unable to speak to either the father or teenage mother due to gatekeeping, reflected on later.

All in all, I met with four teenage mothers, to whom I provided a brief description of the study and consequently invited to partake in the study. Even though I preferred calling daughter participants', there seemed to be an insistence on the use of WhatsApp as the primary means of communication. I concluded two reasons for this: the first being their avoidance of the intimidating and personal nature of a phone call. WhatsApp gives participants the control to reflect on and respond in their own time, and allows for a level of comfort in asking and answering questions they may not feel comfortable with asking over a voice call. Secondly, I concluded (especially after numerous messages and failed phone calls) that potential participants could simply ignore or block my contact on WhatsApp.

I met with each daughter at a place that was comfortable to them. All of them chose to meet at their place of residence. I provided them with an information sheet explaining the nature and importance of the study (Appendix 4 and 5). I answered all participants' questions and requests for clarification, and upon agreeing to participate in the study, provided them with

a consent form (Appendix 9 and 10) and demographic questionnaire (Appendix 11). I recruited father participants through their daughters, which is a technique used in a previous study on father-daughter dyads (Lesch & Scheffler, 2016). Consequently, consent forms for daughter participants included a section where they agreed to provide me with their fathers contact details. In addition, daughter participants were provided with an additional information sheet to give to their fathers, to ensure prospective father participants had some knowledge of the study and anticipated my call. Information sheets for both father and daughter participants included the nature, purpose, and importance of the study. These sheets included what was expected of participants', and ethical considerations, such as the confidentiality of their information. Furthermore, it included my contact details, my affiliation to the University of the Witwatersrand, and information about and contact details of the ethics department.

The initial aim of this study meant to include eight to ten participants - four to five father-daughter dyads – however, only eight interviews were conducted. From the eight interviews conducted only six were used in the analyses within the study. This was due to a disjuncture between my definition of a father as set out in my proposal for the study, which was being a male and identifying oneself as a father, and daughter participants.

4.1.4. Fathers' reaction to teenage pregnancy: “I would sit there and I would cry.”

Fathers' reactions to their daughters' teenage pregnancy consisted of deep emotions and feelings when they recounted their experiences of the teenage pregnancy. For Liam, the experience of teenage pregnancy caused him deep sadness, and brought him to tears. His reflection included a story of him looking at his daughter and walking out of his lounge to the backyard, as stated:

“There were many times I would go out here at the back; ah I do not know if those walls could talk there at the back... I would sit there and I would cry and

I'm saying it. I am not ashamed to say it. I would sit there and I would cry, you know?" (Liam, 52)

For Liam, crying seemed to be linked to the disbelief and difficulty in accepting that his daughter was pregnant. Liam's narrative articulated the helplessness he felt, and which was an underlying feature to his self-blame at not being able to protect his daughter. He expressed feeling as though he had failed his daughter, as he should have protected her from boys and sex, and ultimately prevented the pregnancy. Post-pregnancy, he became more protective over his daughter and grandchild, intent on ensuring their safety and well-being. This was reinforced by his future wishes for his daughter's independence. This finding was present throughout all the fathers' narratives, as they encouraged and assisted their daughter's pursuit of a tertiary education.

The emotional expressiveness of crying in narratives of Owen and Liam, was one of the first themes that included the constructions of fatherhood and of being a man. Both fathers asserted their masculine identities after their admission of crying. In the previous excerpt, by saying that he cried and was "*not ashamed to say it*," Liam demonstrated the embarrassment and shame associated with men who cry, echoed by Owen (51) who stated "*Ya! I cried with Nikki... and I'm a man.*" Through his reassertion "*[...]and I'm a man*," Owen highlighted the difficulty he faced in attempting to maintain the expected masculine identity and role of fatherhood. Furthermore, it highlighted fathers' internal battle to express the emotions experienced throughout their daughter's pregnancy. For the fathers of this study, the experiences of teenage pregnancy emphasized that fathers can be just as affected as mothers of pregnant teenagers. Albeit their defiance, the fathers' expression of their harboured emotions was silenced due to the gendered constructions of them as men. Moreover, fathers' reactions were not violent and angry, but were deeply embedded in sadness and hurt, often expressed when they were alone. What was evident was that the fathers' emotional expressions were

unexpected, which is not the case for mothers, and as a result, fathers attempted to defend and explain away their emotional expressions.

Lastly, fathers’ reactions to teenage pregnancy were also dependent on whether or not it was the first or second teenage pregnancy within the household. This was seen throughout all narratives. This was the second teenage pregnancy within the home for fathers Nick and Owen. For fathers like Owen, his reaction to his daughter Cayla’s pregnancy differed to that of his middle daughter, as he believed the latter to be a mistake. His anger and blame towards Cayla, and their turbulent relationship, was due to him deeming her pregnancy to be a deliberate act of disrespect and defiance. The frequency of the occurrence of teenage pregnancy within the household and community was also stated to be a learning opportunity, with fathers stating that younger siblings “should have learnt from the mistakes” of their sister and community or neighbors.

3.6. Description of Participants

In addition to Table 2 below, which provides descriptive information of participants, they shared commonalities. Participants were Coloured and biologically related, insofar as the researcher was informed. Daughter participants shared that they were:

- No longer in a relationship with their child’s father.
- In the process of, or had plans to further their education in a tertiary institution.

Father participants shared that they:

- Were married to the mother of the teenage mother, insofar as the researcher was informed.
- Had their own businesses.

Table 2:

Participant details

Participant	Age	Occupation	Age when becoming a mother	History of teenage pregnancy in household
Cayla	21	Finished training at an aviation college and awaiting a job	18 years	Experienced a teenage pregnancy in her household
Lily	20	Conflicting information, so this information is unclear	17 Years	Experienced a teenage pregnancy in her household
Mia	19	Studying at a tertiary institution	16 years	First teenage pregnancy in the household
Owen	51	Owns his own small business		
Nick	46	Owns his own small business		
Liam	50	Has a full-time job and has a small business		

3.6.1. Lily and Nick.

Lily (20) and her son (3) lived with her parents and younger brother, in one of the less affluent areas in the community. Lily’s teenage pregnancy was the second teenage pregnancy within her household. The interview was difficult in that responses were unclear and often diverged from my questions. I found Lily’s narration confusing as she described the story of her pregnancy, the turbulent relationship with her baby’s paternal grandmother and subsequent dissolution of the relationship between her and her baby’s father.

The interview with Lily’s father, Nick (46), delved into various aspects of his life, including his business. After the interview, I met Lily’s mother and listened to stories about their lives.

3.6.2. Cayla and Owen.

Cayla (21) and Owen (51) had a turbulent relationship and described the continuous fights in their household. Cayla’s pregnancy was the second teenage pregnancy in the household. She shared that her baby’s father was still present in her child’s life but they are no longer in a relationship.

Owen expressed his anger toward Cayla and blamed her for their turbulent relationship. As a business owner, there was a sense of him trying to be the best provider for his family. He was also a religious man and after the interview, we engaged in a brief discussion about the Bible, which upon reflection provided background into his difficult relationship with his daughters.

3.6.3. Mia and Liam.

The third father-daughter dyad in this study was Mia (19) and Liam (50). Mia, like all the other daughter participants, did not disclose her pregnancy status to her parents. Using the term ‘disclosure of pregnancy’ described teenage mothers who did not tell their parents about

their pregnancies, but also did not conceal or hide it from their parents. Unlike the other daughter participants, Mia did not live at home during her pregnancy. The dyad narrated the difficulty experienced due to her absence from home and her traveling home every weekend to spend time with her family. Mia stressed how important her father was in her life. She also expressed the hurt she experienced after the disclosure of her pregnancy and how her father’s behavior changed towards her, including his mistrust of her and paranoia because of her baby’s father.

The interview with Liam focused on his portrayal of being a “good” father, in particular his insistence on being present in his children’s lives. He strove to be a good example to his children, and provided them with a sense of presence, love, and support, over and above financial provision. His fathering role extended beyond the traditional financial provision expected of fatherhood as he encouraged an active and liberal relationship. The interviews with this father-daughter dyad were long and provided unanimous descriptions of their close relationship, communicated their emotions and contained deep personal reflections of their experiences of the teenage pregnancy. None of the father-daughter dyads has shared how they felt about the teenage pregnancy and their emotions around the reactions to the teenage pregnancy. Two of the father-daughter dyads however, shared their desire to engage in a discussion about their experience.

3.7. Data Analysis

Upon returning home from the interviews, I made notes of my overall impression of the interview, including my feelings towards participants and the data collected process. This reflective practice aided in interpreting data as it helped separate my experiences from the data. This practice has been argued to represent participants’ true experiences, as seen in previous research (Ali, 2015). This bracketing is essential to phenomenological research to attain

participants reflections of their lived experiences (Creswell, 2012). Notes also assisted in providing reflection and attaining clarity on the challenges in the interviews and aid in ascertaining an explanation for these. Consistent with the reflexive practices expected of phenomenological researchers, I noted and shared my pre-existing notions and understandings of the phenomena and how they shaped my understanding of the findings (Starks & Trinidad, 2007).

I transcribed each voice recording verbatim as close to the day as possible. I encouraged a dialogue close to natural conversation. Participants often mixed English and Afrikaans in their narratives. I then translated these into English, however to ensure a minimal loss of meaning, translations were not verbatim but rather an English equivalent of what participants meant. As an insider to the community, I understood the nuances, the colloquial language, and their underlying meaning. I included the Afrikaans and English translations, to preserve narratives of participants. Riessman (1993) reiterates narratives should be preserved, as they are essential to meaning-making and encourages researchers to avoid fracturing them but should “respect respondents’ ways of constructing meaning and analyze how it is accomplished” (p. 4).

As mentioned, I used multiple methodologies for this study, narrative approach and hermeneutic phenomenology, as “no pristine interpretation exists — indeed, no methodology, social or educational theory, or discursive form can claim a privileged position that enables the production of authoritative knowledge” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 311). Research has argued the phenomenological method of inquiry is challenging due to its constant re-invention and non-ascription to particular research strategies or techniques (van Manen, 2006). Nonetheless, Creswell (2012) defined steps to conducting phenomenological analysis, the basis of which I used in the data analysis of this study. These steps included:

1. Going through the interview data and identifying important statements, alluding to participants understanding of their experiences of the phenomenon;
2. Establishing clusters of meanings from these statements into themes; and
3. Using these themes to write a description of participants’ experiences.

I further use the steps to provide the situational and contextual description, influencing participants experiences of the phenomenon, referred to as imaginative variation or structural description, from which the ‘essence’ of the phenomenon is deduced (Creswell, 2012). From this process, I identified five main themes and discussed these in Chapter 4. Each theme consists of two to four sub-themes and are discussed in relation to narratives from all the father-daughter dyads.

3.8. Reflexivity

Phenomenological researchers are encouraged to note experiences, contexts and situations that may have influenced participants’ experiences (Creswell, 2012), a task I found difficult and frustrating but also therapeutic. In acknowledging these difficulties, I aimed to shy away from imposing my authoritative voice within the data collection and reporting of my findings (Chase, 2005; Pillow, 2003). Reflexivity allowed me to bracket my personal experience from the findings.

The research topic stemmed from my Honors research, which explored the experiences of the younger siblings of teenage mothers. Both my current and previous study interested me due to the personal witnessing of teenage mothers and their families. However, the presence and role of the father of teenage mothers intrigued me the most. I planned on interviewing fathers of teenage mothers but changed this to father-daughter dyads to gain a holistic understanding of their experiences of teenage pregnancy. Growing up in the community, I understood the stigma associated with men “going to buy soap” and the common occurrence

of absent fathers. Within the community, absent fathers are blamed for teenage pregnancy. I began to question what happened to those present fathers whose teenage daughters fell pregnant.

My personal narrative was biased and included me blaming teenage mothers for hurting their parents as I had witnessed a father’s emotional outburst upon discovering his daughter’s pregnancy. I was a young mother and although not a teenage mother, I noted the reactions and narratives of daughter participants’ were parallel to my narrative. I related to the emotional accounts of father participants and assimilated them to those of my father. It was during this period I took my first break from my findings. During which I returned to theory and identified my reflection as a part of the phenomenological process, described by Merleau-Ponty as:

The sense which is revealed where the paths of my various experiences intersect, and also where my own and other people’s intersect and engage each other like gears. It is thus inseparable from subjectivity and intersubjectivity, which find their unity when I either take up my past experiences in those of the present, or other people’s in my own (1962, p. xviii).

After acknowledging the overlaps and intersections described by Merleau-Ponty, between my experiences and those of participants, I experienced a fair level of discomfort and irritation with the research. Juxtaposing my life with those of the teenage mothers, within the cultural and social context of Eldorado Park, elaborated that our lives were entangled according to the contextual spaces we shared. We were the daughters of fathers who wanted the best for us and we made a mistake. In my discomfort, I began to ‘other’ the daughter participants. Subliminally, I decided that I was different to *them* because I was not a teenage mother and perhaps thought of myself as better than them. I could find no other difference, which caused a discomfort that distanced me from the data.

After a few weeks, I started writing, and stopped focusing on what we did not have in common but rather on the similarities. I lived with my parents, was separated from my child's father and was (much to my discomfort in admitting) still dependent on my parents. My father's reaction to my pregnancy and my parents role in assisting with my daughter, were identical to narratives of participants. Upon reflecting on this, I identified with the daughter participants. I altered my negative and judgmental attitude because if I had to judge them, I would judge myself. At this point in the research, the difficulty in writing phenomenologically became clear because it “is not just a process of writing up or writing down the results of a research project. To write is to reflect; to write is to research. And in writing we may deepen and change ourselves in ways we cannot predict” (van Manen, 2014, p. 20).

I deemed my insider status as something beneficial, as I shared the same race, culture, language, and subtleties of the colloquial language of the community. The benefits of this insider status was that I was influenced by and developed an increasing sensitivity toward the data (Padgett, 2004). Throughout the interview with Lily, it became clear that my insider status conflicted with my outsider status of a researcher. Lily opted to do her interview in English and it was only during the interview that I discovered her difficulty expressing herself in the chosen language. To counter the language barrier, I set aside the interview guide and encouraged free talk and asked questions based on her narrative. Within qualitative research, there may be a fixed outline on the steps that a researcher proposes but practically, the choice of which tools and research practices to use often changes as it cannot be set in advance (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

Upon reflection of the difficult interview, with incoherent answers and confusing narrative, I surmised that even though researchers offer participants autonomous choice, their choices are sometimes not what is best for them but what the researcher influences. To explain Lily's choice, I reflected on the entire interview, including the recruitment. I recruited Lily

through my brother, who spoke to her in Afrikaans, but introduced us in English. Throughout the interview I looked like the typical researcher, with my clipboard (because there was no table) and a pen in my hand to take notes. These placed me as an outsider to Lily and positioned me as the privileged, educated, and English-speaking researcher, which affected her language choice. I felt that the outsider status prevented me from attaining the best possible narrative I could from this participant. Researchers embody their lived experiences and identities, built on history, culture, informed by society and inseparable to that of the researcher and participants (Harris, 2015; Sharma, Reimer-Kirkham, & Cochrane, 2009). The reflective process increased my awareness my body's representation within the research space and how it aided in constructing narratives. I self-identified as the female, privileged, and educated researcher and attempted to alter these perceptions, including the discontinued use of the clipboard.

Recruitment served a one of the most difficult parts of the research process that left me feeling frustrated. Participants did not answer my telephone calls, withdrawing their interest in the study, and what I refer to as “research gatekeepers”. After attaining three daughter participants above the age of twenty, I looked for participants between fifteen and seventeen years of age and to which the experience of motherhood was new. I attained the contact details of a father participant but could only contact him through his wife, who seemed to be suspicious of my interest in her husband. The wife of the potential participant questioned my motives and why I wanted to interview her husband instead of her. As all the interviews took place in participants' homes, all the mothers of the teenage mothers asked this question, either before or after the interview. I further postulated that their behavior alluded to the assumed role of mothers in their children lives and their belief that they “know better”. Studies have also identified mothers as the parent used to intrusions through questioning into their lives (Finch,

1984). After failing to recruit the father participant, I contacted his daughter, whose contact was limited by her boyfriend. He arranged for me to meet but did not fulfill his commitments.

I conducted eight interviews but excluded interview data from one teenage mother who identified her uncle as her father. After her interview, however the participant's grandmother stated that I should interview her and not the young girl's uncle, a sentiment echoed by the teenage mother. As a child raised within the community, I understand and maintain the morals and values of children of the community, regarding respecting the elderly and adhering to their requests. I conducted the interview with the teenage mother's grandmother and upon further reflection, addressed the difficulty with my insider and outsider status. Had I recruited someone else to collect data, they may not have conducted the interview with the grandmother as it was outside the scope of the study. After completion of the interview excluded the data as my definition of fatherhood was a biological male.

Throughout the entire research process, and as illustrated, I engaged in a battle between my research, the method used and altered these as best suited the situation. This aspect of phenomenology aided in the findings of this study as it allowed for re-examination and self-critique of the research goals and objectives I set up for myself, the method used and the strengths and weaknesses of these (van Manen, 2016). To attain credibility and trustworthiness, I ensured the research process was transparent and constantly discussed the processes of my research and findings with my Father Connections research team (<https://www.facebook.com/StudentsOrgFatherConnections/>) and with my supervisor. As a result, I have gone back-and-forth interpreting results and findings, splitting and combining the latter six times as a result. This caused me to hate the paper, demotivated me and illustrated the difficulty in the reflexive process described in work on phenomenology (van Manen, 2014).

3.9. Ethical Considerations

It attained ethics approval for this study through the Non-Medical Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand, protocol number: H15/09/12 (Appendix 14). The ethical considerations presented include how I ensured participants were protected from harm where I could control; their voluntary participation; the processes of attaining consent; and how, through assurances of anonymity, I assured confidentiality.

Roth-Cline and Nelson (2013) identify identical requirements for attaining informed consent and parental/guardian consent of a minor, through identifying the possible risks and benefits to the research participants and alternatives to research participation. I provided participants with an information sheet containing its nature, purpose, and what I expected of them. I then provided them with an informed consent form and requested them to read and sign as an acknowledgement of their willingness to take part in the study. Informed consent creates an illusion of free choice, where potential participants agree to participate in the research under the full understanding of what it would entail and assurance that their participation would not have any negative consequences (Thorne, 1980). Sentiments like these assisted in participants being informed of their voluntary participation and their right to withdraw at any point in the study, with no negative consequences or prejudice.

The nature of this study alluded to including children under the age of eighteen, defined according to the Children is Act 38 of 2005, as a minor. Given the nature of the study, I expected to find teenage mothers under the age of 18 and had additional assent and parental/legal guardian consent forms. These were not used as none of my participants were minors. Participants' information sheets, consent forms and demographic information sheets were all provided in English and Afrikaans; however, I included the English versions because they were used.

Informed consent forms were identical for father and daughter participants, except for daughters agreeing to provide their father’s contact details and agreeing to take part in a voluntary focus group of the overall findings. Although the latter served as member checking, this did not occur as the findings consisted mainly of fathers’ narratives. Participants consent forms requested them to agree to the use of an audio recorder throughout the interview. If participants refused to give consent for the use of an audio-recorder, the interview did not ensue.

I used pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality and assure anonymity throughout the transcripts and reporting of findings. Participants were assured that I would know their identities and the names of people to whom they referred. My supervisor, the readers, and the members of my group supervision team would not know their identities. I could not uphold assurances of anonymity because using referrals, father-daughter dyads would know each other. The individuals who referred me to participants had some knowledge as to their participation in the study. I advised all participants of this before the study commenced. To maintain confidentiality, I did not discuss the contents of the interviews with anyone other than my supervisor. I did however request verbal permission from daughter participants to use some information raised in the interview, in the interview with her father. If daughter participants did not give permission, I did not mention or query anything in the interview with their fathers. I offered each participant a referral list, containing the contact details of counselors and support groups within the community. None of the participants took one, a finding consistent with previous research (Nduna & Jewkes, 2011).

3.5. Data Collection

Prior to commencing data collection, I had to acknowledge the personal nature of the topic, how I was affected by the research and the crucial role this played in the production of

data. As mentioned, I took the stance of the bricoleur researcher described by Denzin and Lincoln (2005). Within this role, I acknowledged my history and interest in the topic and attempted to make the process as natural as possible for participants. This was to equalize the research relationship and practice “doing research ‘with’ instead of ‘on’ ” participants (Pillow, 2003, p. 179). I had previous knowledge on interviewing techniques, as well as conducted a pilot interview. After feedback from my research team, I felt confident enough to conduct and analyze the interviews myself. As an insider, I was fluent in the primary languages, and had knowledge of the nuances, slang, and colloquial terminology within the community. This assisted in understanding participants narratives, which may have been lost to a cultural outsider.

I conducted one-on-one, face-to-face interviews in participants’ homes, which caused a number of interruptions throughout the interviews. Regardless of interviews, information sheets, consent forms, and the demographic questionnaire being offered in Afrikaans or English, all the participants opted for English. Throughout the interviews, I attempted to be as non-directive as possible and encouraged free talk. I anticipated that some participants may require some guidance and therefore interviews were semi-structured, following but not restricted to eight baseline questions (Appendix 12 and 13). The questions were open-ended and aimed at allowing participants to describe their lived experiences of teenage pregnancy, including their emotions, thoughts, and memories, within the context in which they occurred. Where needed, I asked for clarification and further detail of their experiences. Interviews were not restricted in time and ranged between one to two hours in length. Each interview was audio-recorded and the notes taken for clarity. This ensured that nuances within the interview were captured. These included body language and non-verbal cues argued to constitute the meaning of language (Padgett, 2004; Riessman, 2008).

Chapter 4: Findings

The chapter contains the findings of the study, divided into five main themes: The reactions to teenage pregnancy, intergenerational households, religion, hegemonic masculinity, and a theme related to the Coloured community. Although discussed as two separate themes, religion and hegemonic masculinity was present throughout the findings. The first two themes described the initial reactions to teenage pregnancy, including the termination of pregnancy and positivity of motherhood. It presents the conflict experienced raising the child and fathers of teenaged mothers' difficulty accepting the transgression of the adult/child binary. Religion and hegemonic masculinity provided a backdrop to the manner in which the practices of fatherhood were constructed in relation to the reactions to teenage pregnancy. Lastly, I present findings on the Coloured community, discussing the normalization of teenage pregnancy and breaking of intergenerational cycles.

4.1. The Reactions to Teenage Pregnancy

The reactions to the teenage pregnancy highlighted how important the disclosure of the teenage pregnancy was to fathers. Lack of disclosure influenced fathers' decisions to terminate their daughter's pregnancy, instilled self-blame in them and influenced the father-daughter relationship. In addition, and present throughout this theme was the role of religion and masculinity in understanding father's reactions to teenage pregnancy.

4.1.1. The lack of disclosure of the teenage pregnancy.

Upon discovering their daughter's pregnancy, fathers experienced hurt, anger, and disappointment. They directed these feelings toward the teenage mother and the alleged baby's father. What became apparent throughout the narratives of fathers', was the effect the disclosure of the pregnancy had on the father-daughter relationship. This was evidenced in

fathers’ reactionary behavior and actions. None of the teenaged mothers disclosed their pregnancy to their parents but told other family members and friends. The parents of teenage mothers discovered the teenage pregnancy through changes in her physical appearance, through neighbors and a school principal. Fathers’ disappointment and anger linked to the lack of disclosure, as it resulted in their questioning of the relationship they believed they had with their daughters. For fathers, the lack of disclosure signaled their daughter’s lack of trust within the father-daughter relationship.

What became apparent throughout the narratives of daughter participants, was the link between the lack of disclosure and daughters’ fear of hurting and disappointing their father, rather than a lack of trust. Mia for example feared being put out of her house due to threats from her mother such as *“if you ever fall pregnant, do not even come home, just go”* (Mia, 20). Her mother instilled the fear of being put out of the house but Mia assumed it was both her parents’ position. For teenage mothers such as Mia, the fear experienced at the onset of their pregnancy accumulated where they contemplated terminating their pregnancy and running away from home. Their decision to do this and keep their actions a secret, related to their avoidance of hurting their fathers. This fear superseded the fear of being kicked out of the house. Daughter participants expressed this through their inability to tell their fathers about their pregnancy stating: *“how do you tell him things like that?... It's not nice”* (Lily, 20). Fathers assumed they had close relationships with their daughters and could not understand their daughters’ non-disclosure. They experienced distress and hurt as they could not understand why their daughters did not disclose their pregnancy as expressed by Liam (51):

“Well, her answer was that she was scared, and I said: ‘how can you say that you were scared? I mean I thought that we had a bond? We had a relationship? We had that openness? Why could not you?’ You understand? And that was the biggest. Not so much the pregnancy, that was the biggest that really ah I would

say, as a father that broke me completely. Ah and there are a lot of questions that came of what is it? Where did I then go wrong that I could not pick that up or see it or allow it to happen? You know those questions come and where did I fail my child? What have I done that [caused this]? Wasn't there enough love? Wasn't there enough interest or you know, those type of questions.”

The non-disclosure of pregnancy therefore, resulted in fathers questioning their relationship with their daughters and their overall ability as fathers. The findings illustrated that teenage pregnancy was neither expected nor welcomed, a finding contradictory to the normalization of teenage pregnancy in the Coloured community, discussed in theme five. The Father's experiences of teenage pregnancy and their reactions were embedded in pain and disappointment due to their perceived failure as fathers. Echoed by their daughters and perhaps the reason behind daughters fear of hurting their fathers was the sacrifices fathers made in their daughters upbringing. These included fathers' desire to provide a better life for their daughters by ensuring they had everything fathers never had growing up:

“We had to make things work for ourselves... we had to make it happen and you have to do things and stand up for yourself... There was enough in the house, I could not complain or say we did not have in the household but the extras, you must see for yourself... that is why I said I did not want them to grow up like that. You want to make sure they have everything so they cannot have an excuse and say that they had to do this, and this happened because I had to do that you know?” (Liam, 52)

In statements such as *“they had to do this, and this happened”* fathers alluded to the ills of the community and their attempt to avoid their children participating in illicit behaviors in the community. These behaviors included illegal activities because they did not have enough

money or food at home. Narratives such as Liam’s illustrate how fathers attempted to protect their daughters from the ills of the community by ensuring they have everything at home.

To break further intergenerational cycles, fathers’ narratives suggested that they wanted to break the violent cycles present in their own childhood. To achieve this, fathers attempted to foster relationships built on open communication and care. For fathers, material provision was an important tool to prevent their children from engaging in risk-seeking behaviors in the community. The most important facet of the father-daughter relationship however, was the quality of the relationship. The quality of the relationship was important as it had a cause-and-effect reaction between teenage mothers and their fathers occurred. Daughters tried to avoid the emotional repercussions their pregnancy would have on their fathers, through choosing not to disclose their pregnancy. Father participants acknowledged their daughter’s fear, but perceived the non-disclosure as a reflection of their bad fathering and lack of within the relationship. The lack of understanding of the reasons behind non-disclosure lead to several negative reactions toward the teenage pregnancy that affected the father-daughter relationship.

4.1.2. The expectation of a termination of pregnancy.

Upon discovering their daughters were pregnant, one mother and one father of two of the teenage mothers insisted on terminating the pregnancy. In both these instances, fathers, daughters and other family members acknowledged religion as the main reasons not to terminate the pregnancy. For one participant, her father removed her choice regarding terminating her pregnancy and took her to an abortion clinic. The difficulty that arose in the narrative centered on the religious beliefs and abortion as described by Mia (20):

“[...] It was bad and then my mother was saying she is not going to compromise her faith... she would not allow [the abortion] cause then she would have to live with it and I would also have to live with it, knowing that I murdered a baby. So

then, my fathers like: ‘no it’s fine, God can punish me but this child’s not coming out here!’ Then he sat down and started saying: ‘I love you and I cannot believe this happened to you, but that thing in you I will never accept it’. He started saying that and then the next morning we had to, we went to Marie Stopes¹.”

The experience of negotiating the termination of pregnancy seemed traumatizing for teenage mothers as they questioned their parent’s actions as contradictory to their Christian beliefs. This was not only the case for teenage mothers, as seen with Mia but also other family members such as her mother. The narrative further highlighted the shift in the response to teenage pregnancy, with Liam reacting in anger, to his reassertion of his love for his daughters and defending his behavior. The “love” that Liam had for Mia and his insistence on abortion, outweighed his Christian faith, as illustrated:

“It was a totally different what’s-her-name, but I had to do that. A lot of things that I said and what I did ah, I regret doing and saying it then but I had to, you understand? Maybe she will say it and her mother also, it was not justifiable, it was wrong because being in a Christian home where we should not [abort] but I tell you I personally felt that I had to react that way because I was trying to bring a message across to her that this is not going to happen again. I cannot allow you to do the same mistake again.”

The benefit of interviewing father-daughter dyads was that it allowed for exploration into both fathers’ and daughters’ experiences of teenage pregnancy. For Liam, he understood the ramifications of his insistence on abortion and how contradictory it was to his Christian beliefs. Admitting it was wrong, he further illustrated that his actions were shameful, expressed

¹Marie Stopes offers safe termination of pregnancy and has various clinic across South Africa, as well as contraceptives, pregnancy tests and scans, HIV and STI testing and other services around women’s health.

in his inability to verbalize “abortion” referring only to that which he *“had to do”* and what he *“regrets doing”*. Although the narrative showed his shame and remorse, Liam believed his actions were justifiable given the situation and would scare Mia into avoiding a second pregnancy, by saying *“I cannot allow you to do the same mistake again”*. In forcing both his wife and daughter to go to an abortion clinic, Liam’s narrative suggested contradictions not only in his Christian beliefs but also in the liberal manner he claimed to run his household and raise his children, discussed later.

For the two teenage mothers whose parents insisted on an abortion, they expressed shock, confusion and disappointment because abortion contravened the Christian values their parents raised them in. Upon further reflection of father-daughter narratives however, what became clear was the teenage mothers’ removal of their own responsibility and accountability in their pregnancy, while attributing blame to their parents. Daughter participants illustrated this in their insistence that their parents were wrong encouraging them to abort their unborn child. Daughter participants did not see that their parents’ reactions as a response to them engaging in sex out-of-wedlock; discouraged by Christianity. They however claimed to understand their father’s reactions to their pregnancy, except in the instance of abortion.

4.1.3. Lessons learnt and the positivity of motherhood.

Teenage mothers regretted the timing of their motherhood but not the child itself. Daughters regret of the timing of their pregnancy was coupled with feelings of growth and personal life changes. This encouraged teenaged mothers to become responsible, as having a child at a young age was said to be *“[...] like a stepping stone to what responsibility is”* (Cayla, 21). The responsibility of teenage mothers linked to the pressure experienced balancing their role as a teenage mother and schooling as illustrated by Mia (19):

“I felt that it’s my duty to tell everybody that you do not want to end up like [me]. Finish your school, go study, just do not even involve yourself in any intercourse... with all my friends I always told them ‘guys do not do it, you do not want to do it... I have a child now, like you guys can go home now and go and sleep, I must go home and I must pay attention to my child, I must play with him and when I’m doing my homework, he wants to do my homework with me’, you know it’s a lot.”

The experience of teenage motherhood was difficult, as participants had to be a child and attend school, while tending to the needs of their own children. They expressed their maternal duties after school and illustrated their challenges through comparisons of their friends “normal” teenage lives and their own. These challenges encouraged daughter participants to become advocates not only for avoiding teenage pregnancy but encouraging safe-sexual practices and abstinence.

Both father and daughter participants alluded to the personal growth of teenage mothers, not only because of their responsibility towards their children. Daughter participants narrated an understanding of themselves and what they want for them and their children's' futures. Lily for example, described herself before pregnancy as a *deurmekaar kind* (confused child) who smoked *dagga* (marijuana) and described her father as the person who never gave up on her saying: *“he sees light in me”* (Lily, 20). All the narratives implicate the young mothers’ construction of their roles and responsibilities as teenage mothers and the positivity associated with motherhood. These included responsible behavior and caring for their children. These are expressed through engaging in activities such as staying at home with their children, balancing schoolwork and their maternal duties, and avoiding negative behaviors, such as the substance abuse described by Lily. This extended to responsible sexual choices as the teenage mothers intended to delay any further sexual encounters. They were also less naïve in their

participation in sexual health dialogue, not only sharing their knowledge with their friends but engaging in open discussion with their parents.

Daughter participants’ understanding and experience of teenage pregnancy and early motherhood assisted in their maturity and active role in understanding their sexuality and sexual health. Even though teenage mothers advocated for abstinence to avoid teenage pregnancy, their personal understanding and avoidance of sexual encounters was far beyond that of a fear of a second pregnancy to the realization of the dangers of unprotected sex, as Cayla (21) described:

“[...] There's so many people with STD's, AIDS, sexual transmitted sicknesses and all these things man. It's more like because I have a child, I will never put myself through something like that... So my personal point of view, I do not think I'll fall pregnant again unless I am married but I cannot afford it now.”

The openness and understanding of sexuality aided in the parents of teenaged mother’s becoming more active in discussions about contraceptive use. Mia’s mother for example, asked her if she will use oral contraception after the birth of her baby. All the daughter participants however, stated that they would abstain from any further sexual encounters. The experience of teenage pregnancy highlighted the teenager’s sexuality and the shift away from her innocence. It seemed to encourage the teenage mother’s pursuit of committed relationships with marriage prospects, before them engaging in sex or having another baby. All the teenage mothers were cognizant about their inability to support themselves and their children, which further contributed toward their decision to avoid a second pregnancy. They therefore believed marriage to be a precautionary measure as it would provide stability for both teenage mother and her baby. Marriage would further serve as a preventative strategy for them not making the same mistake again.

4.1.4. Fathers reaction to teenage pregnancy: “I would sit there and I would cry.”

Fathers’ reactions to their daughters’ teenage pregnancy comprised deep emotions and feelings when they recounted their experiences of the teenage pregnancy. For Liam, the experience of teenage pregnancy caused him deep sadness, and brought him to tears. His reflection included a story of him looking at his daughter and walking out of his lounge to the backyard as stated:

“There were many times I would go out here at the back; ah I do not know if those walls could talk there at the back... I would sit there and I would cry and I’m saying it. I am not ashamed to say it. I would sit there and I would cry, you know?” (Liam, 52)

For Liam, his crying was linked to his disbelief and difficulty in accepting that his daughter was pregnant. Liam’s narrative articulated the helplessness he felt, which was an underlying feature to his self-blame at not being able to protect his daughter. He expressed feeling as though he had failed his daughter as he should have protected her from boys and sex and prevented the pregnancy. Post-pregnancy, he became more protective over his daughter and grandchild, intent on ensuring their safety and well-being. His future wishes for his daughter’s independence reinforced this. This finding was present throughout all the fathers’ narratives, as they encouraged and assisted their daughters’ pursuit of a tertiary education.

The emotional expressiveness of crying in narratives of Owen and Liam, was one of the first themes that included the constructions of fatherhood and of being a man. Both fathers asserted their masculine identities after their admission of crying. In the previous excerpt, by saying he cried and was *“not ashamed to say it,”* Liam showed the embarrassment and shame associated with men who cry, echoed by Owen (51) who stated *“Ya! I cried with Nikki... and I’m a man.”* Through his reassertion *“[...]and I’m a man”* Owen highlighted the difficulty he faced in attempting to maintain the expected masculine identity and role of fatherhood.

Furthermore, it highlighted fathers' internal battle to express the emotions experienced throughout their daughter's pregnancy. For the fathers of this study, the experiences of teenage pregnancy emphasized that fathers can be just as affected as mothers of pregnant teenagers. Albeit their defiance, the gendered constructions of them as men silenced fathers' expression of their harboured. Moreover, fathers' reactions were not violent and angry, but embedded themselves in sadness and hurt, often expressed when they were alone. What was clear was that fathers' emotional expressions were unexpected, which is not the case for mothers. As a result, fathers attempted to defend and explain away their emotional expressions.

Lastly, fathers' reactions to teenage pregnancy also depended on whether it was the first or second teenage pregnancy within the household. I saw this throughout all narratives. This was the second teenage pregnancy within the household for Nick and Owen. For fathers like Owen, his reaction to Cayla's pregnancy differed to that of his middle daughter, as he believed the pregnancy of the latter to be a mistake. His anger and blame towards Cayla, and their turbulent relationship, was due to him deeming her pregnancy to be a deliberate act of disrespect and defiance. It also stated the frequency of the occurrence of teenage pregnancy within the household and community to be a learning opportunity, with fathers stating that younger siblings “should have learnt from the mistakes” of their sister and community or neighbors.

4.2. Intergenerational households

Intergenerational households are a common occurrence in South Africa, particularly among Coloured urban households (Amoateng et al., 2006). As a result of the teenage pregnancy, households in this study comprised two parents, their children, and their grandchildren. Due to this cohabitation, several factors presented in the research including the conflicts and emotions between the parents of the teenage mother, their daughter, and the

complexities involved in the teenage mother’s child-rearing practices. In addition, fathers’ difficulty in accepting their daughter’s maternal identity and the position of the baby in the household, will be presented.

4.2.1. Conflict in raising the baby and in the home.

The difficulty within the father-daughter relationship extended from the discovery of and reactions to the teenage pregnancy. These included father’s insistence of abortion and the decisions regarding the access to the baby’s father to the teenage mother and her child. The stories of daughter participants allude to the difficulty they had in making independent decisions about their own children and child-rearing practices, as their fathers attempted to have complete control over their daughters and grandchildren. As stated by Owen (51):

“She’s got this child... but I do not really have say over him, but I must maintain him? I must support him. I must see to everything. She’s not with his father but I do not get asked ‘can the father take him?’ I just see him disappear; I’ve got no say in it.”

The excerpt illustrated two things: Owen’s desire to have control over his grandchild above that of the baby’s father and the support he provided for the child undergirded the control. As an active parent to his daughter and grandchild, fathers of teenaged mothers financially supported them and provided them with housing and stability embedded in consistency and love. Illustrating that the responsibility toward the teenage mother and her baby was more than financial. The financial support of the baby’s father however, seemed to cause conflict with the father of a teenaged mother, due to its implications for the decision-making around his grandchild.

Father participants’ stated the lack of support from the baby’s father as a personal choice across narratives, however further exploration revealed that this was not the case. The father

of Cayla’s baby for example, financially contributed toward his child’s upbringing. For Owen, his financial contribution far surpassed that of the baby’s father. Due to this masculine provision role, Owen insisted that he should have more control and decision-making power over his grandchild, as illustrated:

“Joshua’s father does not maintain Joshua. Paying for the crèche that is maintenance? But he has more say? But I am the one [that supports the child]” (Owen, 52).

Arguably, Cayla and her baby’s father should own the decision-making power for their child, however Cayla’s financial dependency on her father rendered her vulnerable to adhering to his demands. The findings illustrated fathers desired to control their grandchildren as they do their daughters, including having them follow their rules, granting permission for visitation, and knowledge of their whereabouts. It links the conflict between fathers and daughters to the lack of or diminished control over their grandchildren, with its roots in financial dependency, such as paying for school fees, household costs, and the everyday expenses of the teenage mother and her child. Although the financial support played a crucial role in the decision-making power of fathers of teenaged mothers, it was not the most important. As mentioned, the sense of responsibility toward the children and dependents living within the household, is more important. Young father’s lack of this and their lack of financial provision, renders them secondary to the fathers of teenaged mothers, as they cannot meet any of the needs required from the teenage mothers and her baby.

Fathers’ control extended to the religious upbringing of the child and depicts that any meandering out of Christianity will be met with consequences. such as fathers removing themselves from their children lives, discussed later. What is important to note here is that the conflict described, depicts fathers having ownership over their daughters and their children?

The fights within the household were not between fathers and daughters, but also affected the parents of the teenage mother. Owen (52), for example, shared the mediating role

of his wife stating that they (his daughters) “*should thank God that their mother is here... if their mother was not here, they will not be here*”. Moreover, he expresses the extent of the fights that take place between the couple, because of their children:

“What can I do? I’ve spoken, we’ve had fights in the house, and it becomes fights between me and my wife, big fights. The next minute it just happened again, she [Cayla] just does not care. She’s actually, in my opinion she’s very rude.”

The fights between the parents of the teenage mothers ranged from the attitude of the teenage mothers, as in the case with Owen and Cayla, to the decisions around pregnancy termination. More importantly, the fights occurred due to the custodial responsibility of the teenage mother’s baby and the lack of control that fathers, like Owen, desired to have over the child.

After their babies were born, all the teenage mothers, attempted to encourage a relationship between their baby and the baby’s fathers, placing strain not only on their own relationship with their fathers, but on their parents relationship. One daughter participant was pressured into choosing between her baby’s father and her own father. This surfaced through paranoia and censure from their fathers, as seen in quotes such as: “*if I ever find out that you speaking to him next door, letting him Michael see him, it is over between us’ ... Then he said: ‘you can forget about our relationship’*” (Mia, 20).

Teenage mothers admitted to their father’s monitoring them and restricting access to their baby’s father, a finding contradictory to fathers’ narratives. Paranoid phone calls and monitoring, threats and ultimatums were means daughters described as ways fathers’ prevented them from maintaining contact with their baby’s fathers. For the teenage mothers’ in this study, the relationship with their fathers was more important than their relationship with the father of their children. More importantly, teenage mothers feared losing the quality relationship with their fathers rather than his financial support. To avoid the conflict in the home, teenage

mothers and their mothers resorted to keeping the visits between the baby’s fathers a secret from the fathers of the teenage mother. The access granted to the baby’s father was the biggest contributing factor to the conflict within the home and, as stated, was influenced by the financial support and the expected visit of the baby’s father to the girl’s family’s acknowledging the pregnancy, discussed later.

4.2.2. “She is not a mother, she is a child”: Fathers difficulty in accepting their daughters are mothers.

An overarching theme across narratives was fathers’ difficulty in accepting their daughters were mothers. This surfaced in fathers’ stating that their daughters were too young to be a mother as they are children, coupled with the disbelief that this happened to their “baby girls”. The difficulty expressed by fathers also highlighted the paternalism and control they wished to exert over their daughters and grandchildren as illustrated by Liam (52):

“So from here onwards it is a mistake, you are going to fix it and you are going to handle this, but going forward you are still a child... my words to her were ‘you not going to act like a mother, cause you are not a mother you are a child and you are my’ well I used the word ‘you are my baby and I’m not, I cannot accept my baby to be a mother. It is totally wrong. Although you have brought a child into this world, by the worlds standards you are called a mother now, but I cannot accept the fact that you are a mother, you are not a mother you are a child. You’ve got no clue what it is to be a mother, so you are not even going to behave like a mother. You are going to go to school, you are going to get over this whole thing and you are going to carry on.”

Mia’s teenage pregnancy was deemed to mistake, which she was expected to “fix”. Liam objectified her experience as something that can be “moved on” from as if the child does

not exist. To “fix” their mistakes, daughter participants attempted to assert their maternal identity, and stated that their children are their responsibility. However, their assertion of their maternal role encouraged conflict within the home, as it was also expected of them to adhere to their parents’ rules and demands. The experience of teenage pregnancy for fathers in this study emphasized the pain and difficulty in trying to associate their teenage “baby girls” with motherhood, as this is not natural. Fathers attempted to treat their daughters within their child-like state, even though teenage mothers wished to assert their adult maternal role in the lives of their children. It is because of their child-like nature that fathers, such as Liam, presumed Mia did not understand her body’s physiological changes during pregnancy. Liam seemed to want to remove the responsibility from his daughter.

There was a clear understanding throughout the narratives about what children should and should not do and having a baby within their teenage years was one of those acts that defied the natural progression from childhood into adulthood. The greatest and underlying difficulty fathers faced, was their acceptance of their daughters loss of her innocence, as her pregnancy brought the realization that daughters engaged in sexual intercourse. In accepting their teenage daughters were pregnant and mothers, fathers had to accept their daughter’s active sexuality and as stated by Liam, rendered her no longer his “baby girl”. This term links to the innocence of Mia and the difficulty and emotions expressed throughout narratives such as Liam’s and referenced the loss of her innocence. Furthermore, the baby’s father was a reminder of this act, as he is the object who removed her innocence.

Engaging in sexual activity in their teenage years was seen as a deliberate disregard for fathers’ rules and instructions, as fathers’ admitted to warning their daughters about early premarital sex. Fathers believed daughters should have listened to their warnings and for fathers such as Owen, falling pregnant illustrated complete disrespect for him and his Christian

teachings of not engaging in sex out-of-wedlock and resulted in anger and blame towards Cayla.

4.2.3. “He is now my son”: Father’s as the provider, protector, and “father” to their daughters and their grandchildren.

As with previous research, the parents of the teenage mothers in this study assumed full responsibility for their teenage daughter and her baby. Consequently, fathers of teenaged mothers fulfilled the provider role and identity associated with fatherhood, an identity young fathers cannot meet. Not only does this theme emphasize fathers’ control over their grandchildren, but the active role and emotional ties formed between fathers of teenaged mothers and their grandchildren.

Father-daughter dyads reified the positive relationship between fathers of teenage mothers and their grandchildren, stating that grandchildren were treated as the youngest children in the household, as stated:

“My mother will be like ‘no, you had your time to be a child, now this is our child’” (Mia, 20)

“The thing is that Jaimie and Lily are like, both of them are like my son and my daughter now... but ah Jaimie he calls me daddy, I’m his daddy now. Everything he wants, I’m his daddy...” (Nick, 46)

Much like the perceived close relationship fathers and daughters shared before the teenage pregnancy, fathers had relationships with their grandchildren built on interaction, presence, and acceptance. Fathers and daughters narrated the active role of the father of teenaged mothers as they do “*everything*” together. Although fathers’ emphasized the financial support, they provided and control they wished to exert because of this, their relationship with their grandchildren extended far beyond financial provision and was fostered

in love, care, and active involvement. What is of interest in these findings is that teenage mothers attempted to assert their maternal role in their children’s lives, but showed no negativity to being treated as an elder sibling to their own children?

4.3. Religion

A common theme presented across interviews was that of religion and particularly Christianity which surfaced across all narratives and will be discussed. Christianity and the way it was used in managing the termination of pregnancy and sexual relationships influenced the experience of teenage pregnancy for participants. The current theme explored the dynamics of Christianity with the household, including its use as a guiding principle within the family, the perceived supremacy of Christianity over other religions, and the manner in which these reinforced hegemonic masculinity of fathers within the study.

In the first theme, I discussed the manner in which one father exerted his control to force a termination of pregnancy. For fathers such as Owen, he attempted to exercise his control over his daughter’s choice of a romantic partner, child-rearing practices, sexual orientation, and overall relationship with his daughters, undergirded by Christianity. Owen and Cayla’s experience of teenage pregnancy included stories of Owen’s relationship with his other children, such as his disapproval of his eldest daughter’s lesbian sexual orientation. Although not linked, its importance to the study highlights the relationship dynamics of the father-daughter dyad through describing the underlying influences of Christianity in the practices of fatherhood. Cayla stated that her father would never visit his eldest daughter because he is a “*strict Christian*” and has his “*boundaries*”. Owen portrays himself as a man devout in his Christian faith and admitted that God comes before his wife. For Owen, religion serves a means to bolster heterosexual masculinity and is used to exercise authority over his relationships with his daughters. Any deviation from his Christian teachings such as his eldest

daughter engaging in homosexual relationships, resulted in his removal of or limiting his role as a father in their lives. This was echoed in Owen’s (51) relationship with his middle daughter, as showed:

“Now I’ve got Nikki [middle daughter] she’s pregnant again... She has a Muslim boyfriend. It’s totally against my religion. I hope.... If she should get married, and it is with him and it is Muslim, I will not put my foot there.”

These findings are significant because they highlighted Cayla’s turbulent relationship with her father as resulting from his belief she should have learnt from her sisters, as what applies to the one, applies to the others. Owen (51) made this clear:

“They do not see the picture and this is why if I do this with Ray (eldest daughter) and I tell Nikki you got a Muslim boyfriend and then she thinks for one minute I’m bluffing when I say that I will not put my foot there, I’m not bluffing... She missed the mark. She missed the mark by far. Even if she is not Muslim, and he is still Muslim, I will not put my foot in his house and I’ve told him: ‘if your child is born and there’s pork in this house, your child will eat pork in this house. This is my house if you do not like it then you can keep your child if you want’”.

Evident throughout the interview with Owen, was the lack of concern expressed to the barriers created with his daughters, premised on his practicing of his Christian beliefs. There was also no concern over the interaction or lack thereof that his absence created for his grandchildren. For Owen, his grandchildren were not the problem, rather his children’s defiance of his rules. Going against his religious teachings is depicted as, including acts such as not following his instruction, engaging in homosexual relationships, relationships with men who are not Christian, and for Cayla, engaging in sex out-of-wedlock.

Owen’s narrative suggested a disregard for other religious dominations, such as Islam, and a perceived supremacy of Christianity. His refusal to visit his lesbian daughter or middle

daughter if she married her Muslim boyfriend could be argued as a personal choice, however the supremacy of Christianity was clear in statements such as: *“As I said, he’s a Muslim guy. That is even worse, because I would have wished and hoped my grandchildren will grow up Godly”* and his attempt to raise his grandchildren in a Christian environment and they *“should not settle for anything less than that”* (Owen, 51). The control Owen attempted to exert over his children therefore, extended to his grandchildren and it depicts the refusal to adhere to his Christian beliefs as an act punishable by the removal of himself from their lives.

4.4. Hegemonic Masculinity

Throughout the interviews, masculinity was one of the dominant themes that surfaced. Within the context of teenage pregnancy, hegemonic masculinity presented itself through the running of the household, negotiating control and power of fathers and daughters, and negotiating ownership of the teenage mother’s baby. The current theme, will discuss hegemonic masculinity and the manner in which it was present throughout the narratives.

4.4.1. Gendered roles in child rearing.

I defined gendered roles in child-rearing as the roles of mothers and fathers within the upbringing of their children. All the fathers admitted to being active fathers in their daughters’ lives, but one father narrated his participation in his children’s lives from birth until they went to school. Liam narrated leaving his job in another province and moving back home to his family and the value he placed on physical presence over financial provision. In doing this, he illustrated his rejection of the societal hegemonic norms founded on financial provision, which he experienced first-hand from colleagues:

*“Really to my friends, I say you know what, I know what it is to change a nappy,
I know what it is to make bottles, and I know what it is to [do] all those things...*

I know what it was to have them around me and my wife was not at home because she was also studying... and I was there. So you know if I can use the word brag, I can brag about it.” (Liam, 52)

The excerpt exemplified Liam’s pride in engaging in gendered roles atypical of men, such as changing a baby’s nappy and making baby bottles. He described being called stupid by his colleagues for his decision to leave his job but still bragged about his role in his children lives. The finding demonstrated the shared responsibility of pregnancy, as not only the responsibility of the teenaged mother and her mother but also the fathers of teenaged mothers. Father participants helped in the care of their daughter’s baby including staying up with the child at night. In a community where having a father who is both present and provides for his family is an anomaly, having one that is further emotionally and psychologically astute to one’s needs, is scarcer.

Although varying on the level of care-taking and support, fathers active roles and assistance in child-rearing was consistent in all the interviews. However, their roles in the lives of teenage mothers and their baby’s, was suppressed and overshadowed by societal expectations of what fathers should and should not do. Active fathers, like Liam, are pressured into defending their affectionate and active father roles, to individuals who still have the normative constructions of fatherhood embedded in masculine norms of financial provision. Although mothers of teenage mothers engaged in practices such as teaching their daughters how to take care of the baby including rubbing the baby with *drupples* (the Lennon Drupples mixture rubbed on newborn babies), fathers too, played a crucial role of spending time with and feeding the children. Daughter participants shared more information of how their fathers assisted in maternal roles such as assisting daughters throughout the night.

4.4.2. Fathers as head of the household.

In the Bible, Ephesians 5: 22-28 (King James Version) states that wives should be submissive to their husbands “for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church”. It also states that husbands should love their wives “as Christ also loved the church”. A Bible quote like this illustrates the links between Christianity, masculinity, and constructions of the head of the household and has particular significance for the power dynamics within the households of fathers in this study. The current theme explored the ideals of the head of the household within the lives of teenage mothers and their fathers, undergirded by Christianity.

Fathers asserted their masculine roles and head of the household status but there were also instances where this subtly expressed. Owen (51) for example asserted his position as head of the house and insisted his children listen to him and not question his authority, as illustrated:

“I never used to answer my father back and I demand the same in this house. There’s no you right and wrong, this is my house, I’m always right in my house and I expect from them if there’s a problem, they should learn to keep their mouths and accept it and hope that maybe if he goes through he will think about it. They want to have the last say. This is my house, there’s no who’s right and wrong here. I say that is right that is how it’s going to be. If you do not like it get your own house and you can put your rules down.”

Owen maintained his head of the household status and I have discussed the obedience he demanded from his children. Fathers like Owen acknowledged the young men as the baby’s father but further demanded that they have the final say over their grandchildren and not the baby’s father. This was expressed through quotes such as: *“I know he’s [the baby’s father] his [the baby’s] father but they need to know I am the head of the house and have the decency*

to say: *‘Da is it okay? Can Joshua go for the weekend?’*” (Owen, 52). Teenage mothers and their baby’s living with and financial dependence on their fathers, seemed to bolster fathers’ head of the household status and the control he wished to exert over his children and grandchildren. Owen’s narrative was rich in data regarding the subordination of other religions and the control he attempted to maintain in his household, extending to his grandchildren. Interestingly, his stories also illustrated that although he had strict expectations and demands from his children; his authoritative voice did not extend to his wife, and he admitted to relinquishing his title as head of the household to her. I noted this in the mediating role of his wife and him stating that his children should leave but due to his wife's request, they remained in the house.

The fluidity of masculinity surfaced through Liam’s contradictory narrative around his liberal and non-controlling child-rearing practices, but forceful nature taking his daughter to an abortion clinic. Despite her disapproval, Liam also forced Mia’s mother to go to an abortion clinic with her daughter. In both instances, we have contradictory depictions of fatherhood. Owen advocates his head of the household status, however relinquishing it to his wife’s forceful; attitude in the decision around termination contradicted his liberal portrayals of fatherhood. The father participants seemed to be similar in that they deemed the father-daughter relationship contingent on daughter’s ability to do what father’s tell them and fathers financial provision. The liberal attitude was contingent on daughter’s adherence to their father’s rules. For the mothers of teenage mothers however, they played an interlocutor role in protecting their daughters, with fathers often conceding to their requests.

4.5. The Coloured community and teenage pregnancy

Participants’ continual reference to their community and its’ stance on teenage pregnancy elicited this theme. Both father and daughter participants alluded to the expected

reactions of a father to his teenage daughter’s pregnancy, due to normative constructions of the Coloured community. How father participants were reared, influenced their decision-making with their daughters and particularly their desire for a better life for their children and self-blame for their daughters pregnancy, viewed as a setback.

4.5.1. The normalization of teenage pregnancy in the Coloured community.

One of the father’s best describes teenage pregnancy as being common within the Coloured community by saying:

“You’ve seen it happens around you and you grow up and see these things. I mean this is our area, it is where we grew up. You know in the Coloured community these things are not new to us you understand and also the shock was that no one is immune to it and when it happens to you. I mean I had a neighbor here, it happened to their daughter, also very young... and I mean she [Mia] was here.” (Liam, 52)

Participants depicted the normalization and acceptance of teenage pregnancy within the Coloured community. Fathers’ stories centered on their provision of schooling outside of the community, material possessions, and their attempts to protect their children from the ills of the community. Their disappointment and lack of understanding of their daughters teenage pregnancy was based on these futile attempts as fathers perceived these should have prevented the normative behavior of the community. Reactions from the community members further illustrated the *normality* of teenage pregnancy as it confused people. Illustrated in Liam’s (52) negative reaction:

“It does not mean because it’s a daily thing, it’s an acceptable thing. I said: ‘no we’ve got to, it’s not because it’s my child but it’s because we cannot just accept things like this and go on with our lives as if it’s one of those [things]’. I said:

‘no it’s not right’. I tell you, I had a lot of what’s-her-names with people that would tell me: ‘no you must get over it and go on with your life’ I said: ‘ya we will go on with [our lives] one hundred percent correct but I said we must stop that behavior’. You know that is why we find a lot of our young men who think that is the right thing to do, you know? Get the girl pregnant and then they will still come to your house, they want to come sit in your house and ah come drink your coffee and your tea and your cake and then go on. You understand?’

The excerpt alluded to the state and acceptance of teenage pregnancy within the community, something he argued deviates from the norm. It further illustrated this complacency as encouraging young fathers’ continual impregnation of girls, as there was no consequence for their behavior. Within the Coloured community, the lack of accountability for the fathers who impregnate young women out-of-wedlock, angered father participants. Liam stated that he should not accept young fathers who show no shame or remorse for what they have done. The exclusion and gate-keeping of the baby’s father discussed earlier, seemed to be an attempt to instill a sense of consequence and responsibility, due to the lack of financial support and the shame brought upon the maternal parents’ home. This finding further fills a gap in current research, as in keeping with the traditional ways to respond to out-of-wedlock pregnancies, father’s such as Liam expected a visit from the baby’s father and his family.

4.5.2. The expectation of the teenage fathers and his parents to come to the teenage mother’s family.

Within African cultures, there is an expectation of a visit from the boy’s family and payment of *isisu* or *inhlawulo* upon impregnation of a girl out-of-wedlock. The current theme exemplified that even though unspoken, the maternal family expected a courtesy visit from the

father of the baby and his parents/family. Mia detailed the day she disclosed her pregnancy and the unfulfilled promises made by her baby’s father and her father’s reaction:

“Why isn’t he here to speak to them face-to-face about it? He did not even have the decency to come... so when my father phoned him and my father said: ‘Why? Why did you do that to my daughter’ and then he said: ‘it’s just one of those things’ to my father? That is what upset my father like yoh! My father went ballistic.” (Mia, 20)

Even though unspoken, the above excerpt illustrates how important the visit was to the maternal family. The significance of the visit was illustrated in statements like *“he never came”* coupled with the negative reactions of fathers. Although participants’ provided very little about the details of these meetings, the instance of Owen and Cayla alluded to discussions about financial support. The absence of the visit seemed to anger fathers and encourage their insistence that their daughters and grandchildren have no contact with the baby’s father.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This section will include a discussion on the findings of the current research in relation to father-daughter relationships in the context of teenage pregnancy. I describe the experience of teenage pregnancy for teenage mothers and their fathers, making links between the findings and the themes that were presented in Chapter four, such as religion and hegemonic masculinity. The discussion will draw on previous research, and highlight the gap in research that this study aims to fill, with particular regard to fathers of teenage mothers and the Coloured community.

The reactions to teenage pregnancy.

The reactions to teenage pregnancy among narratives found in the current study were similar to those found in other studies. These included the anger and hurt upon discovering the teenage daughter's pregnancy, the nondisclosure of the pregnancy, aspects of termination of pregnancy, and the subsequent positivity of teenage motherhood. None of the teenage mothers in this study disclosed their pregnancy to their parents, but told other family members and friends. This had a major effect on fathers' reactions, and management of the teenage pregnancy. Fear and shame were identified as reasons for daughters' nondisclosure, a finding consistent with previous research (Mkhwanazi, 2010, 2014; Ngabaza, 2011). In previous research however, the directionality of the fear and shame is attributed to society's depiction of the young girl, and her parents. For the teenage mothers in this study, their fear and shame seemed to be particularly focused on their fathers, and how the disclosure would hurt them. More importantly, their reservations were not associated with the expectation of rejection and violence from their fathers, but rather, they indicated their avoidance of disappointing and hurting their fathers. This was expressed through their discomfort in disclosure, and their questioning of how to disclose their pregnancy to their fathers. These concerns were present throughout all of their narratives.

The fear associated with the disclosure of pregnancy was also related to threats made by the mothers of the pregnant teenagers. Mothers threatened to put their daughters out of their homes if they fell pregnant. The findings suggest that teenage mothers did not fear being put out by their fathers, nor did they allude to any fear associated with them being harmed by their fathers, but that the fear of disclosure relating to their fathers was deeply personal. In their attempt to avoid the emotional repercussions disclosure would bring, teenage mothers contemplated running away from home and terminating their pregnancies. Partially linked to the decision to run away, was the threats made by their mothers. Previous research has identified that although mothers threaten their daughters, they do not always throw them out of the house (Mkhwanazi, 2010) which is consistent with these findings. Although none of the fathers in this study threatened their daughters with regards to the consequences of falling pregnant, research on Western Cape fathers suggests that in the event that these threats do occur, they too are often not executed (Lesch & Scheffler, 2015). Rather, the parents of teenage mothers felt compelled to look after their grandchildren, regardless of the implications for their financial and psychological well-being (Bhana & Nkani, 2016; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015). This was also found in the narratives of participants in this study, as father's anger, hurt, and disappointment shifted to concern about the well-being of their daughters and grandchildren.

Furthermore, father participants strongly encouraged their daughters to further their education. This often involved assistance from the teenager's siblings and parents with child-care. Fathers' encouragement of their daughters highlighted an important factor in the research on teenage pregnancy, namely that teenage pregnancy need not be a downfall for teenage mothers, nor a hindrance to her future. Rather, fathers of teenage mothers seemed to use the teenage pregnancy as a means of encouraging daughters further as they believed daughters should work harder to provide for their children. Father participants encouraged their

daughters’ furthering their education, and this was enabled by the parents of the teenage mother. The importance placed on schooling, and fathers’ beliefs that teenage pregnancy should not hinder their daughter’s ability to complete her education or hinder her future success, was found in previous research (Chohan & Langa, 2011; Jewkes, Morrell, & Christofides, 2009; Singh & Hamid, 2015). This emphasizes their support of their daughters in achieving future success. In aiding their daughters’ pursuit of a tertiary education, fathers believed it would help them attain a good job, ultimately aimed at securing her independence and capacity to take care of herself and her child. Fathers’ encouragement was not linked to securing their own future, as seen in other research on Coloured fathers (Lesch & Scheffler, 2016) but is consistent with those that deemed education as a means of securing their daughter’s financial future (Bhana & Nkani, 2016).

Navigating the termination of pregnancy and religion.

Consistent with previous research (Mkhwanazi, 2014; Ngabaza, 2011; Varga, 2002), the fear and shame experienced by teenage mothers encouraged non-discourse of their pregnancies and placed them in positions where they considered abortions. Regardless of the kinds of reactions they received, and despite the shame and stigma associated with teenage pregnancy, all of the teenage mothers argued against the termination of pregnancy. Their arguments aligned with previous research (Mkhwanazi, 2014; Varga, 2002), as they argued from a religious stance that abortion was “murder and a sin”. The research on teenage pregnancy and termination of pregnancy has provided the views of teenage mothers, but not of their fathers. Although father participants in this study believed that termination of pregnancy was wrong and against their Christian beliefs, given the situation, they believed that their insistence on the termination of pregnancy was justified.

One father’s insight was valuable as he highlighted his reasons for the instance of abortion, which was aimed at preventing a second pregnancy. This finding was interesting, as

previous studies identified the shame attributed to the families of teenage mothers as reason for insisting on a termination of pregnancy (Varga, 2002). This could be a partial reason in this study, although it is usually mothers and not fathers who are ascribed blame for teenage pregnancy (Mkhwanazi, 2010). For the fathers in this study, shame did not seem like the predominant reason for the insistence on a termination of pregnancy (among other actions). The fathers' actions seemed more deeply rooted in their inability to accept that their daughters were going to be mothers. This will be further discussed later in this paper. Fathers questioning of their own parenting skills exacerbated this and influenced the relationship they had with their daughters.

Teenage pregnancy's overlap with religion further highlighted fathers' difficulties in communicating about sex with their daughters. Liam could not verbalize the words “abortion” or “termination”, indicative of the shame and regret experienced when discussing his choices. This choice being insisting his daughter has an abortion which contravened his Christian beliefs. Moreover, when linking the cultural aspects of African population groups, his actions illustrate the respectful silence (Lebese, 2010; Mkhwanazi, 2010) between children and their parents regarding discussions about sexuality and sexual dialogue. The findings suggested the difficulty fathers have in communicating about sexuality with adolescents, particularly their daughters (Kirkman, Rosenthal, & Feldman, 2001, 2002; Lesch & Scheffler, 2016). Although fathers alluded to warning their daughters about sex, the primary sexual health dialogue was deemed to be the responsibility of the mother of the teenaged daughter. The difficulty or discomfort in communicating about sex and sexuality became evident throughout the interviews with fathers. They avoided discussing what they had spoken about with their daughters, saying the word sex, and discussing termination of pregnancy, with me as a young female researcher.

Christianity was used as a tool with which teenage mothers afforded blame to their parents for their insistence on or suggestion of an abortion. They used arguments such as the ideas that their babies were “gifts from God” to abortion being “murder”. They did not conceptualize their pregnancy as a consequence of their own transgression of their Christian beliefs. Teenage pregnancy is a visible representation of engaging in sex out-of-wedlock (Macleod, 2003), a deed discouraged in Christianity. English Standard Version Bible verses such as Galatians 5: 19-21, illustrate the consequences of “sexual sin”: “Now the works of the flesh are evident: sexual immorality, impurity, sensuality, idolatry... orgies, and things like these. I warn you, as I warned you before, that those who do such things will not inherit the kingdom of God.” Other bible verses emphasize this as well, by encouraging people to abstain from “sexual immorality” (1 Thessalonians 4: 3-5) and the importance of “honoring marriage” and keeping the marriage bed “undefiled” (Hebrews 13: 4). Teenage mothers dissociated their own actions of engaging in sex out-of-wedlock, and consequent pregnancy, from their parents’ reactions of insisting on a termination. This seemed to be a means of removing their own accountability from their teenage pregnancy. This behavior and dissonance is atypical of the maturity of some of the teenage mothers.

Personal growth of teenage mothers, sexuality and future sexual choices.

Consistent with previous research, teenage mothers in this study regretted the timing of their becoming mothers, but not the child itself (Chohan & Langa, 2011; Mkhwanazi, 2010; Ngabaza, 2011; Singh & Hamid, 2015). Narratives suggested that although the pregnancies were unplanned, they were not unwanted, as teenage mothers alluded to the personal growth and responsibility attained as a result of their motherhood. This sentiment was echoed by their fathers. The positive affirmations of teenage mothers included the joys of motherhood, accompanied by the maturity attained due to their responsibilities. These seemed to overshadow the negativity resulting from their teenage pregnancy, which included the

difficulties faced in managing both schooling and motherhood, and the stigma associated with their teenage pregnancy. One of the positive outcomes was the encouragement of responsible behavior, with a focus on making responsible decisions on sexual choices.

All of the teenage mothers planned to avoid and delay any further unprotected sexual encounters, a finding consistent with Singh and Hamid (2015). The motivation to behave more responsibly has been argued to be an attempt to reclaim the teenage mothers' position in society (Chohan & Langa, 2011), as well as prevent a second pregnancy, which could lead to condemnation from their parents (Nkani & Bhana, 2016). For the teenage mothers in this study, financial constraints, and their dependence on their parents seemed to motivate the avoidance of a second pregnancy. In addition, teenage mothers' desire not to engage in sex was not purely linked to a second pregnancy. Their views on their sexuality and sex as a whole were altered.

The findings highlighted that postpartum, teenage mothers were more proactive and knowledgeable about the dangers of unprotected sex, sexually transmitted diseases, and contraceptive use. It is this knowledge and the difficulty they experienced as teenage mothers that encouraged them to become advocates for abstinence and the prevention of teenage pregnancy. Coupled with their growth was a sense of their attainment of knowledge on safe-sex practices, and their agency in negotiating their future sexual relationships. This was depicted in their knowledge of contraceptive usage and sexual illnesses. Teenage mothers' motivation for abstaining from sex and engaging in safer sexual practices ranged from: young girls devoting their lives to God, their inability to support another child in the event of a second pregnancy, to their desire to be married and have a family. This illustrated their desire to 'do mothering' the 'right way', as child-bearing in school "deviates from the 'ideal' circumstances of motherhood" (Singh & Hamid, 2015, p. 5). Even though participants may not have become mothers under this 'ideal,' they strove to better their lives, and were cognizant that it was only

with their parent’s assistance that they were able to do so. Furthermore, teenage mothers attempted to avoid the stigma associated with their teenage pregnancy and desired a stable home for their children, akin to the one they experienced growing up. This included having a present and active father figure for their children, which encouraged them to seek out committed relationships before engaging in sexual intercourse.

Teenage pregnancy aided in teenage mother’s perspective on sex as not purely a mundane physiological act, but something that should occur in the presence of “love and deep commitment”, presumably present within a marriage. There had been a shift from teenage mothers’ lack of understanding to how they felt pregnant, thought of as something that “just happened”, to their understanding of themselves as sexual young women who can make proactive choices in their sexual behaviour. This included choices around contraceptive usage, and was embedded in an understanding that they should be loved and that their sexual choices should be respected. The participants noted that they would base their future sexual experiences on this understanding. The findings further illustrated that it was not only the teenaged mother that became more aware of her active sexuality, but so too did her mother.

Teenage pregnancy encourages parents’ understanding of their daughter’s sexuality.

The narratives suggest that the parents of teenaged mothers shifted their view away from the presumed innocence of their daughters. Through her teenage pregnancy, they became more aware of their daughters’ sexuality. This awareness encouraged sexual communication that extended beyond mere threats of the negative consequences of sex, teenage pregnancy, and being kicked out of the house, to more constructive dialogue. Research has highlighted parents’ difficulty engaging in sexual health dialogue (Kirkman et al., 2001, 2002; Lebeso, 2010; Lebeso, Davhana-Maselesele, & Obi, 2010; Singh & Hamid, 2015). However, much like the teenage mothers in this study, their parents became more proactive in communicating about contraceptive use postpartum, suggesting that the difficulty dissipated once the teenage

mothers had their baby. In a bid to prevent consequent pregnancies, mothers of teenaged mothers were forced to discuss and assist in their daughters' use of contraception. This is consistent with previous research (Bhana & Nkani, 2016).

The findings further suggested that discussions around sex and the actions of fathers seemed to be largely focused on the avoidance of a teenage pregnancy. Fathers' narratives centered on them wanting to protect their daughters from the ills of the community, however seemed to be largely focused on teenage pregnancy, and not inclusive of other risk factors such as substance abuse. This was seen in the narratives of Nick and Lily. The emphasis on providing for and being active fathers to their children was deemed as a protective factor to their daughters in avoiding a teenage pregnancy. The findings however emphasize that this does not always hinder the occurrence of such behaviors. Nonetheless, the experience of teenage pregnancy served to encourage positive behavior in the form of safer sexual practices and the avoidance of other risk factors such as drug use.

Differences in fathers' reactions to a teenage pregnancy: Fathers' blame and failure.

There seems to be a difference in fathers' reactions to teenage pregnancy when there already had been a teenage pregnancy within the household, as this affected fathers depiction of the pregnancy as either a deliberate act or a mistake. The relationship between father-daughter dyads, such as Owen and Cayla, illustrated the manner in which the portrayal of the teenage pregnancy affected their relationship, and had implications for the father's reaction to the teenage pregnancy. Crying upon discovering the teenage pregnancy was one such example that differed if fathers had experienced the teenage pregnancy for the first time in their household, such as Liam and Mia, from those who had already experienced a teenage pregnancy prior to the teenage daughters interviewed in this study. Differences seemed to be associated with the father's depiction of the teenage pregnancy as a deliberate act, as was the case with Owen, who argued that he warned his daughter against sex and that she “should have

listened”. Fathers believed that their daughters should have listened and adhered to their instruction regarding the avoidance of sex, as well as learnt from the mistakes of their older sibling, as well as other teenage mothers within the community. For fathers such as Owen, the teenage pregnancy was deemed to be a deliberate and spiteful act. He reasoned that this was because of his warnings about sex coupled with the fact that his middle daughter was also a teenage mother. It makes sense that his treatment of Cayla and his reaction toward her teenage pregnancy differed to that of his middle daughter.

Fathers who had experienced the teenage pregnancy for the first time however, expressed feelings of self-blame, particularly in relation to the lack of disclosure of the teenage pregnancy. Fathers such as Liam, who built his relationship with his daughter on trust and openness, experienced the non-disclosure of his daughter’s teenage pregnancy as a reflection of his failure as a father. This self-blame was associated with the inability to protect their daughters, not teaching them properly, and ultimately failing as fathers. This is linked to the masculine expectations of the protection of girls and daughters (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007; Lesch & Ismail, 2014). Fathers deemed it their duty to protect their daughters and teach them how to resist the dangers that exist in the world in general and about sex specifically. There seemed to be an expectation that fathers’ teachings would resonate with teenage daughters and deter them from these actions. This was accompanied by a deep hurt upon discovering that daughters had not adhered to their teachings. This was especially the case where fathers provided everything they could for their children, particularly in the Coloured community, where having an active, present father who provides for his daughter should serve as a protective factor.

Masculinity in fatherhood and the reactions to teenage pregnancy.

The problem faced by these fathers was the manner in which their normative masculine identity clashed with their nurturing and emotive role as fathers to their daughters. The premise

that “real men do not cry” has been a socially constructed ideal passed down from generation to generation across the world (Seidler, 1997). The expression of emotion through crying upon discovering the teenage pregnancy seemed to assert this ideal, because fathers attempted to defend their emotions. Father participants’ emotional and supportive expression of fatherhood contradicts masculine norms and highlights the struggle men have in maintaining the “macho-masculinity” and the “right” way to be a man as described by Edley and Wetherell (1997). Seidler (1997) argues the masculine construction of boys’ lack of outward expressiveness in crying, has taught them to disconnect from their inner thoughts and emotions.

The problem faced by the fathers of teenage mothers, and an area that current literature has not identified, is the combined emotions and societal expectations of fathers, upon discovering their daughters. This exemplifies the conflict that exists between the social expectations of masculine identity and the adverse effects when a father’s reactions does not align with this ideal. This was illustrated in the narratives of Owen and Liam, who attempted to continuously reassert their manhood through statements such as “and I’m a man” after admitting that they had cried. This reassertion is due to the links made between emotion and sexuality (Davies & Eagle, 2007), with emotions argued to be “disdained as a sign of weakness and femininity” (Seidler, 1997, p. 120). The findings suggest that the fathers of teenage mothers expected their reactions to be immune from emotions, in the hopes of aligning with the social construction of manhood expected of them. However, they experienced difficulty in navigating their emotions and their desire to be active and supportive fathers within the constructions of masculinity expected of them. This finding is consistent with the embodied tension experienced by men in discourses surrounding involved and affectionate fathering and traditional masculinity (Kirkman et al., 2001), but further demonstrated their courage to engage in the seemingly “effeminate, demeaning and deviant” behavior not ascribed to the normative behavior of men (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). The lack of research on fathers of teenage mothers

may be due to the normative behavior expected of men and fathers in relation to their daughters: as immune from emotions and absent from caregiving practices. This could be the reason for research focusing on the mothers of teenaged mothers. The current study however, highlights that the emotions experienced as well as the caregiving practices within the experience of teenage pregnancy are not limited to the mothers of teenage mothers. The fathers of teenaged mothers may also be deeply affected, especially in this Coloured community.

Shifts in the household dynamics of the teenage mother and the implications for the baby’s daddy.

As a result of the teenage pregnancy, all of the households were intergenerational, and the teenaged mothers’ family assumed full responsibility for raising both the teenage mother and her child, consistent with previous studies (Bhana & Nkani, 2014; Jewkes et al., 2009; Madhavan, Harrison, & Sennott, 2013; Swartz & Bhana, 2010). There was also a shift in the family dynamics, consistent with those found in African cultures (Jewkes et al., 2009; Mturi & Moerane, 2001) positioning the grandchildren as younger siblings of the teenage mother. This positioning of the teenage mothers child, as being the grandchild and responsibility of the teenage mothers parents, had implications for the role of the baby’s father.

The absence of the baby’s father was depicted as being a personal choice, however, the findings revealed that the fathers of the teenaged mothers played a gatekeeping role, hindering the access between their daughters and grandchildren from the young fathers. One of the reasons for hindering access was the lack of financial provision. Hindering access also seemed to be deeply embedded in the disclosure of the teenage pregnancy, and the visitation of the paternal family (discussed later). Conflicts that arose due to the contact between the baby’s father and his child extended to the teenaged mother and her parents.

One example was Owen’s emphasis on financial provision. This reinstated the central construction of fatherhood and masculinity as dependent on provision (Clowes, Ratele, &

Shefer, 2013; Mavungu, 2013; Richter & Morrell, 2006; Swartz & Bhana, 2010). Research argues that men deem financial support to be a means of showing love and affection (Lesch & Ismail, 2014). For fathers in Black townships such as Eldorado Park, with the high levels of unemployment (Stats SA, 2011a), men are often unable to financially provide for their children (Bunting & McAuley, 2004; Hunter, 2006; Selebano & Khunou, 2014). This lack challenges the traditional role of men (Franklin, Makiwane, & Makusha, 2014). Father participants in this study were able to financially support both their daughters and their grandchildren. For Owen, his contributions far surpassed that of the baby’s father, which seemed to render him superior and afforded him more control over his grandchild. Young fathers’ failure to live up to the expectations of providing associated with fatherhood results in their emasculation and disempowerment, and ultimately a dismissal by the teenaged mother’s family as irresponsible and useless (Hunter, 2006; Mavungu, 2013; Sathiparsad, 2010). Fathers’ absence in their children’s lives may also be encouraged or enforced by the teenaged mother’s family, and may not always be the young father’s choice.

Regardless of a fathers’ longing to be part of their children’s lives, their absence is strongly linked to their inability to provide for their children, and the teenaged mother’s family impeding their involvement with their children, as seen in previous research (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Makusha & Richter, 2016; Morrell, 2006). The findings further suggest that teenage mothers and their mothers often attempted to encourage access and interaction between the young fathers and their children, despite their lack of financial support. The gatekeeping role of maternal grandfathers has been identified in research on African fathers who prohibit access to their daughters and grandchildren (Makusha & Richter, 2016; Swartz & Bhana, 2010) until payment of *inhlawulo* is received (Bhana & Nkani, 2014). Although these attempts were made in secret, they were fruitless, as daughters were forced to adhere to their father’s rules or face consequences such as losing their own fathers. Throughout narratives with fathers, they

seemed to feel a sense of ownership of both their children and grandchildren, subtly produced because of their provision. This ownership has been argued to force children to adhere to a father's rules as a means of attaining provision (Kirkman et al., 2001, 2002).

Teenage mothers as powerless.

Teenage mothers are consequently positioned as weak, needy, and inferior, because of the power produced through their father's provision (Morrell, Jewkes, Lindegger, & Hamlall, 2013). Negative outcomes for teenage mothers, like their perceived inability to be “perfect mothers” (Macleod, 2002), are not only expected of them by society, but are strengthened and reinforced in their relationships within their households. This is achieved through the removal of the teenage mother's agency with regards to the decisions about her child, undergirded by her father's capacity to dictate to her and control her. In as much as daughters expressed the support they received from their fathers, especially in pursuing their education and careers, they still were afforded no agency over certain choices regarding their children, namely, contact with their baby's father. Although not purely based on financial provision, the findings emphasize the intersection of fatherhood and masculinity as rooted in provision (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015). The gatekeeping enacted by the parents of the teenaged mother inadvertently promotes father absence and consequently the associated problems in later life, such as the children attributing self-blame for their absent fathers, and increased vulnerability to being exploited by men (East, Jackson, & O'Brien, 2007). Although the powerless of teenage mothers was separated in this section, it appears throughout this discussion as it was linked to masculinity, undergirded by religion.

Fathers' reactions to the transgression of the adult-child binary.

The underling facet faced by father participants was their difficulty in accepting that their daughters were mothers. This accounted for most of the tensions within the household, and was linked to the reactions to the teenage pregnancy. Father's faced an internal battle in

assimilating their “baby girls” with parenthood. This was expressed through their treatment of their daughters as young children in the household, whom they could dictate to and control. Importantly, this control was not purely rooted in the power produced from financial provision, but rather the ideal that because they were the fathers, it meant they were head of the household, and that their rules should be adhered to because daughters reside “under their roof”. Fathers of teenaged mothers seemed to live in a state of disbelief that the teenage pregnancy had happened to their daughter. This highlighted their belief that their actions should have made their daughter immune to engaging in risky behaviors. Moreover, their disbelief and internal turmoil associating pregnancy with their daughters was rooted in fathers’ difficulty in facing the natural progression from childhood to adulthood described by Macleod (2003), where the daughter is no longer a child but not yet an adult. For Macleod, this is further complicated in the case of teenage pregnancy as it is a visual representation of the transgression of the child-adult binary, but moreover, exemplifies the teenager’s sexuality. This sexuality is argued to underlie the moral decay discourse (Shefer, Bhana, & Morrell, 2013). Bray (2010) argues that parents attempt to maintain the presumed innocence of their teenage daughters. Fathers’ narratives suggest that it is their realization and acceptance of their daughter’s loss of innocence, made visible through her teenage pregnancy, that causes fathers the most turmoil in their acceptance and management of the teenage pregnancy.

The social construction of motherhood was reawakened within the findings. One father admitted that his daughter is a mother because she gave birth to a child. However, Liam’s inability to accept that his daughter was a mother, was based on his understanding that his daughter lacked an understanding of what it means to be a mother because of her youth. In as much as fathers of teenage mothers acknowledged their daughters socially constructed maternal identity, their depiction and treatment of them was still heavily rooted in them being young children who required guidance, protection, and control. The teenage pregnancy

confirms the adulthood of teenage mothers, but is conflated by their young age and inexperience, which is linked to the immature and innocent child. This serves to contradict the adult identity associated with motherhood, resulting in teenaged mothers being treated like children within their households, with having all responsibility removed from them with regard to their children. For fathers of teenaged mothers the experience of teenage pregnancy causes major discomfort, as they cannot accept the transgression of the adult-child binary, which ultimately causes conflict in their relationship with their daughters. This is due to daughters attempting to accept their maternal role in their children’s lives, while living in their father’s households where they are expected to follow his rules.

The difficulty faced by fathers is seen in the reactions of other adults, such as teachers, and further promotes the negative responses toward teenage pregnancy (Shefer et al., 2013; Singh & Hamid, 2015). Similar to how teachers felt uncomfortable teaching teenaged mothers, who are seen as women because of their maternal status and not as girls (Bhana, Clowes, Morrell, & Shefer, 2008), fathers experienced difficulty in treating their daughters as mothers. Fathers’ expected their daughters to behave like children, and their reassertions that teenaged mothers will not behave like mothers, as in the case of Liam, serves to arrest her transition into adulthood. By forcing daughters to adhere to their rules and behave like children, fathers of teenaged mothers maintain their daughter’s childlike status that they are comfortable with, through hindering their daughter’s transition into adulthood. However, the teenage pregnancy and parenthood asserts the teenagers’ transition into motherhood by highlighting their sexuality. Father participants admitted to warning their daughters about the dangers of sex, illustrating that they were aware of their daughter’s sexuality, and her age of exploration into sexual acts. Moreover, it illustrates their awareness of their daughter’s transition from adolescence into adulthood, as they both explained the normative behavior and sexual urges associated with adolescence, but attempted to ignore the inevitability of their daughters

engaging in sexual acts, as seen in research (Macleod, 2003). Fathers of teenaged mothers therefore seemed to negate their daughter’s sexual experience, through the reassertion that the teenage pregnancy was a mistake that must be fixed. Removing or hindering the baby’s father access aided in negating the teenage mother’s sexual experience, as his presence was a constant reminder of the teenage mothers’ loss of her innocence. This is discussed later.

Masculinity undergirded a number of the findings in this study, especially the father’s assertions of their power, control, and status as head of the household. Fathers asserted their power as providers and heads of the household, roles argued as having the contradictory capacity to both protect and subordinate their wives and children (Clowes et al., 2013). Coupled with this, this state further diminished the teenaged mothers’ capacity to maintain and encourage a relationship between the children and their fathers (Hunter, 2010). Teenage mothers’ lack of decision-making capacity with regard to the access granted to her baby’s father further bolsters the patriarchal role of fathers within the family (Davies & Eagle, 2007). The challenging of his patriarchal role was seen in the case of Owen, as he did not have complete control over his grandchild. This caused the majority of the conflict in his relationship with Cayla. The head of the household status served to disempower teenaged mothers through the denial of her responsibility toward her child. Moreover, the findings illustrated the authority and control that father participants believed should exist between a father and child, embedded in the ideal that children should “do what they are told to do” (Clowes et al., 2013). As illustrated, this depiction of what children should and should not do, is rooted in the adult-child binary and the difficulty fathers’ face in accepting the transgression. Their reactions, their lack of understanding, and the struggle to accept their daughter’s pregnancy, all stemmed from the adult-child binary transgression, and their futile attempts to protect their daughters from the ills of the community.

Research has identified the links between masculinity and provision, arguing that provision is the place where fatherhood and masculine identity meet (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015) and that both are deeply embedded in provision and protection of families (Clowes et al., 2013; Mavungu, 2013; Richter & Morrell, 2006; Swartz & Bhana, 2010). Due to the dependence of teenaged mothers on their parents and their fear of condemnation, teenaged mothers were placed in a position where they had to adhere to their parents' rules. This is consistent with previous research (Bhana & Nkani, 2016; Jewkes et al., 2009; Mkhwanazi, 2010; Singh & Hamid, 2015). The findings also suggest that teenaged mothers feared losing their fathers, and the relationship between the father-daughter dyad more than they feared the loss of financial support. Consequently, this encouraged an adherence to their fathers' rules. Another important finding was linked to the hegemonic constructions of fatherhood, undergirded by religion.

Dollahite (1998) argues that religion is instrumental in promoting harmful gender roles as well as influencing the innate beliefs and practices of fatherhood. The findings of this study suggest that in the context of teenage pregnancy, gender roles regarding the child-rearing practices of fathers were not delineated to the division of labour in terms of 'men's' and 'woman's' work (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1985), but that fathers took an active and caring role in the lives of their daughters and grandchildren. The findings further suggest that religion influenced the innate beliefs and practices of fatherhood as portrayed by the ways in which they raised their teenaged daughters and grandchildren. This included raising their children in Christian homes; under the assumption that their daughters should adhere to the teachings of the Bible, and engage in only heterosexual relationships. This was also illustrated in their wish for their grandchildren to be raised as Christians. The fathers' innate beliefs therefore influenced the manner in which they 'do fatherhood'. This is argued to be a performance (Mkhize, 2006; Samuels, 1995).

The role of masculinity in fatherhood, child-rearing and the difficulty in navigating the teenage pregnancy.

Within this low-income Coloured community, having a father who was both present and provided for their children was an anomaly. This anomalousness is reflected by the high levels of female-headed households and unemployment rates (Stats SA, 2011b), findings constant with that of a Western Cape Coloured community (Lesch & Scheffler, 2015). In this study fathers' involvement in the gendered work of child-rearing extended beyond that of the provider role to being actively involved in all aspects of their children lives. This extended to their grandchildren, and included assisting their daughters with the baby at night, and engaging in caregiving activities usually reserved for the female partner or wife (Mavungu, 2013). As discussed, the representation of child-care in the context of teenage pregnancy highlights the importance of the mothers of teenaged mothers. The current findings suggest otherwise. Portrayals of fatherhood in recent research emphasize active, caring, emotional, and integrally involved aspects of fatherhood as the most important characteristics of a “good” father (Khunou, 2006; Langa, 2014; Lesch & Scheffler, 2016). This focuses on the quality of the relationship rather than financial provision (Ratele, Shefer, & Clowes, 2012). The role of fathers in this study shows them as being far more than material providers and protectors of the family, and emphasizes fathers' role in child-care. Consequently, this illustrates that fathers are attentive to the emotional and physical needs of their daughters and grandchildren, even while expecting their daughters to follow their instruction, and asserting their control over their daughters. This finding supports the celebration of the multiple meanings of hegemonic masculinity presented by Wetherell and Edley (1999), who suggest that hegemonic norms are able to be used or avoided according to men's interactional needs based on circumstance. Enderstein and Boonzaier (2015) suggest this alternate masculinity as constructed when “heteronormative constructions are repurposed to align with care and responsibility” (p. 521).

The importance of the fluidity of masculinity for teenage pregnancy is that fathers assume that engaging with their daughters in a caring and active manner should lead to the avoidance of risk-taking behaviors and teenage pregnancy. These expectations are supported by current research, illustrating positive and protective fathering as promoting positive outcomes and behavior in children (Howard, Lefever, Borkowski, & Whitman, 2006). Furthermore, fathers engaged in sexual health dialogue with their daughters, alluding to warnings about sex. This was aimed at assisting their daughters in making responsible decisions around boys and sex, consistent with previous research (Kirkman et al., 2001; Lesch & Ismail, 2014; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015, 2016). Regardless of the importance of father involvement in both previous research and the current study, narratives suggest that fatherhood is still deeply embedded in, and based upon, masculine constructions of fatherhood.

For the fathers in this study personal constructions of fatherhood contradicted the social constructions of fatherhood, as they were deeply invested in being involved in their daughters' lives. Societal constructions and the gendered norms of fatherhood that still exist today surfaced when fathers of teenage mothers had to continuously reassert their manhood. The findings emphasized that for some fathers of teenaged mothers the reaction to teenage pregnancy differs from the expected violence and anger. This was expressed through their emotional response of crying upon discovering their teenage daughter's pregnancy. Their involvement and emotional responsiveness to the pregnancy is often hindered by societal expectations of what it means to be a father and a man, evidenced by the dictum that “real men should not cry” (Seidler, 1997) nor engage in tasks that constitute woman's work (Carrigan et al., 1985). The findings illustrate that fatherhood is still embedded in normative constructions of hegemonic masculinity and the gendered norms that still exist today regarding the status of a man as the head of the household, and the role of Christianity in enforcing these hegemonic practices.

The role of Christianity in fatherhood and the management of teenage pregnancy.

Christianity was instrumental in decisions regarding teenage pregnancy, including the babies' upbringing and the relationship dynamic between fathers and daughters. It was depicted as a “pristine” religion, as a religion that all other religions fell short of, and as “the only pathway to God”, having “little to learn but everything to teach” (Seidler, 2006, p. 23). For deeply religious fathers, such as Owen, Christianity served as a means of encouraging the control he exerted over all of his children. In illustrating how hegemonic masculinity is undergirded by religion, I examined the relationship with Owen and his homosexual daughter, which assisted in an explanation of his treatment of the teenaged mothers in the household. This included the perceived supremacy of Christianity and the control exerted over the baby's father because of this supremacy. Research within the field of hegemonic masculinity reflects the rejection of homosexuality because of its association with femininity, and the associated powerlessness of homosexual men (Connell, 1995, 2005; Donaldson, 1993). Bible verses from a number of Bibles like the King James Bible, the New Revised Standard version and the English Standard Version have described homosexuality as an “abomination, punishable by death” (Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13) and an act which “prevents people from inheriting the kingdom of God” (Corinthians 6: 9-10). Women engaging in same-sex relationships are seen as an anomaly and transgressive in both the religious sense, and also in discussions surrounding masculinity (Connell, 2000). The blurred lines that exist between masculinity and femininity where “gay men are imagined as feminized men and lesbians as masculinized women” (Connell, 1995, p. 40), challenge Owen's own masculinity. His treatment of his daughters was based on his religious beliefs and masculine identity, and extended toward the treatment of his daughters who engaged in relationships outside of normative Christianity. Moreover, falling pregnant was depicted as a defiance of both the Christian teachings of fathers as well as their teachings and rules about sex, which daughters were expected to adhere to. For fathers such as Owen,

removing himself from his children and grandchildren's lives because of their defiance of his Christian beliefs would be the right thing to do. Furrow (1998) argues that the authoritative power of religious narratives are instrumental in shaping the beliefs, convictions, and ultimately the actions of religious fathers.

Narratives of fathers alluded to the removal of their support from their daughters if they did not adhere to their rules. For example, Liam made his daughter choose between himself and her baby's father. Argued from a religious standpoint this type of behavior may be a form of punishment, or in biblical terms: “discipline” and an “extension of parental love and care” (Furrow, 1998, p. 27), which in its absence, would render his parental relationship open to question. The boundaries created by fathers between their daughters and grandchildren illustrated that although fathers are active, caring, and supportive, this was contingent on whether or not their daughters' adhered to their rules. Failure to do so would result in the removal of their parental support, albeit not fully, as they may still have provided financially for their teenage daughters and grandchildren. For teenage mothers in the study in order to maintain the father-daughter relationship and resolve conflict, they had to adhere to their fathers' rules. These findings are supported by research arguing the father-daughter relationship is contingent on daughter's compliance with their fathers' rules (Lesch & Scheffler, 2016). This compliance, as illustrated by this study, further discourages teenage mothers' agency and ability to challenge their father's authority, as they fear losing the father-daughter relationship.

The Coloured community and teenage pregnancy: Encouragement of and expectations surrounding the teenage pregnancy.

The findings suggested an expectation and acceptance of teenage pregnancy within the Eldorado Park community. Despite father participants' attempt at preventing their daughter's teenage pregnancy, they had to accept that it “could happen to anyone,” consistent with

previous research (Preston-Whyte, Zondi, Mavundla, & Gumede, 1990). Fathers’ argued that the acceptance institutionalized teenage pregnancy as normative behavior, which consequently encouraged young fathers to continue impregnating teenage girls, as there was no consequence for their behavior. Unlike the sacrifices and difficulties faced by the teenage mother and her family, the fathers of the babies seemed to live their lives without much disruption or responsibility, consistent with previous research (Bray, 2010). In as much as research has documented the practices of African cultures such as the payment of “damages” (Hunter, 2006, 2010; Madhavan et al., 2013; Swartz & Bhana, 2010) and of the expectation of either a termination or marriage from White and Indian populations (Jewkes et al., 2009), little is known about the expectations of Coloured men who impregnate women out of wedlock.

Although there has been no formal documented research on these practices within the Coloured community, the findings of this study suggested parallels to practices found in African cultures. The narratives suggested that fathers of teenage mothers expected a visit from the boy who impregnated his daughter and his family after discovering the teenage pregnancy. Although alluded to, the contents of these meetings were not clearly identified. Nonetheless, one father provided some insight alluding to a discussion of financial obligations and contributions for medical aid and schooling.

These Coloured practices concur with the discussion on the formation of Coloured identity through creolisation, cultural borrowing, and transformation. Erasmus (2001) premised the formation of Coloured populations as occurring through the borrowing from both African and European cultures, although not in their entirety. In addition, although there was an expectation of a visit from the baby’s father and his family, there was no mention of the expectation for daughters to marry the baby’s father, as expected in White populations (Jewkes et al., 2009). This suggests the purpose of the visit or meeting may be for the acknowledgment of paternity and perhaps to secure support, as suggested by Madhavan et al. (2013), albeit in

the absence of the payment of “damages”. The absence or presence of the visit had further implications for the father-daughter relationship. Similar to the manner in which the observation of payment for damages or *umgezo* (cleansing of impurity because of premarital pregnancy) dissipates the anger in the case of African cultures (Preston-Whyte et al., 1990), in this study the visit seemed to reduce the pressure placed on the teenage mother. Moreover, in examining the narratives of fathers with regard to the institutionalization of teenage pregnancy as the norm and consequent encouragement of it, the exclusion of the baby’s father was linked to instilling a sense of consequence, accountability, and responsibility for the father of the baby. Young fathers were therefore kept away from their children due to the lack of providing financial support, the shame they brought upon their baby’s maternal grandparents’ home, and as a means of discouraging any future pregnancies.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The study sought to explore the experiences of father-daughter dyads within the context of teenage pregnancy in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg. It was found that the experiences of teenage pregnancy for Coloured teenage mothers in the study overlapped with those of previous studies on African population groups. This included teenaged mothers' non-disclosure of their teenage pregnancy due to shame and fear of their parent's reactions. More importantly, the circumstances and reasons behind the non-disclosure were seen to extend far beyond this shame and fear. It was found that teenage mothers feared the emotional repercussions that their teenage pregnancy would have on their fathers because of the closeness of the father-daughter relationship. Therefore, the study revealed that even though having an active and present father who shared a close relationship with their daughter, daughters were unwilling to disclose their teenage pregnancy. For fathers of teenaged mothers, the secrecy around the disclosure of teenage pregnancy deeply affected them, as it made them question their entire relationship with their daughters. This included them questioning the trust within the dyad and resulted in fathers believing they had failed their daughters. It was because fathers felt they had attempted to be the “best fathers they could be”, that they could not understand why their daughters were unable to disclose their pregnancy to them. The misunderstanding between the reasons behind the non-disclosure of teenage pregnancy encouraged a number of reactions to teenage pregnancy that may have been prevented if the dyads had communicated the reasons behind the non-disclosure.

The study found that the disclosure of pregnancy played a crucial role in the reactions to and management of teenage pregnancy. Although it is unclear if insistence on abortion would have occurred if the disclosure of pregnancy had occurred in a timely manner, the study found that it may have aided in the response. The reactions of the fathers of teenagers

seemed to be negatively affected by the non-disclosure of the pregnancy, including the insistence on a termination of pregnancy.

The study found that religion played a crucial role in the responses to teenage pregnancy, as the insistence on abortion was met with the same disbelief and religious opposition as it had in previous research. In previous studies, the views of the fathers of teenage mothers were never explored, but this study highlighted the reasons for the negative reactions of fathers of teenage mothers. Although daughters stated that their parents were wrong to insist on an abortion because it went against their Christian beliefs, they failed to see the reasons behind their parents' insistence on a termination of pregnancy. The study found that it was linked to the management and prevention of a second pregnancy from teenage mothers. More importantly, daughters' reactions excluded their own responsibility and accountability in their teenage pregnancy as, had they not engaged in sex out of wedlock, they would not have fallen pregnant, and their parents would not have reacted with a suggestion that went against their Christian beliefs.

The reactions to the pregnancy included teenage mothers' positive experiences of motherhood, which encouraged a positive change in their lives. This positivity occurred despite the difficulty experienced in being a teenage mother, including the balancing of school, motherhood, and the pregnancy. The latter encompassed having to go through the pregnancy without the support of the baby's father and with the risk of the dissolution of the father-daughter relationship. The study further found that the experience of teenage pregnancy encouraged teenaged mothers to warn others about engaging in sex in the hope that it would deter the same behavior in others. Teenage mothers not only warned against the dangers of sex, but also advocated for safe sexual practices, and abstinence.

The study highlighted the change in the depiction of the young girl's sexuality. Because her teenage pregnancy aided in an acknowledgement of her sexuality, it encouraged both the

teenage mothers and her parents to play a more active role. This included constructive discussions about contraceptive use, and teenage mothers becoming more knowledgeable about sexually transmitted diseases and overall safe sexual practices. Moreover, the pregnancy encouraged teenage mothers to explore and pursue committed relationships often with the prospect of marriage, and illustrated a shifting depiction of the personal nature of sex, as an act to be shared between two parties who are committed to each other.

The study also revealed that constructions of fatherhood affected fathers' reactions to the teenage pregnancy. They faced difficulty in their emotional expressiveness around the pregnancy, affectionate fathering, and the normative constructions of fatherhood. The findings revealed that the emotions experienced upon discovering a teenage pregnancy were not synonymous to mothers of teenage mothers, but that fathers experienced the same hurt and sadness. There exists a stereotype of Coloured Townships as violent, however, fathers in this study did not react violently to their daughter's pregnancy, but instead cried. It is due to this emotional expression that fathers felt that they had to constantly defend their emotional reactions, and align them with their masculine identity. This illustrated their embarrassment at expressing their emotions. It is for this reason that more research needs to be conducted on this topic, as fathers' reactions to teenage pregnancy are deeply embedded in their sadness, hurt, and disappointment, which are suppressed due to the normative constructions of fatherhood in society.

The study found that the teenage mothers' family assumes full responsibility of the teenage mother and her baby, which renders the teenage mother vulnerable to having to adhere to her parents rules. It highlighted the importance of fathers' provision and support of the teenage mother and her baby, and emphasized how this aids in fathers' desire to have control over their grandchildren and daughters. The conflict within the home was found to be largely influenced by the lack of control fathers had over their grandchildren. Moreover, the

involvement of the baby’s father further contributed toward the discord within the household. The study revealed that masculine constructions of fatherhood, embedded in provision, played an important role in the gatekeeping of young fathers, and in negotiating the control that fathers of teenage mothers wished to have over their grandchildren. This was linked to the fact that the teenaged mother’s child is not only seen as the grandchild, but also as the youngest sibling in the household. This illustrated the importance of social fathers.

The depiction that young fathers do not want to be a part of their children lives out of their own choices, was found to be incorrect, as the fathers of teenage mothers hindered their access to both the teenage mother and her baby. Teenage mothers are placed in position of having to choose between their father and the father of their baby, illustrating the role of the teenage fathers as placing strain on the father-daughter relationship. Fathers of the teenage mother blamed the young fathers for taking away the daughter’s innocence, and are ultimately seen as the cause of the teenage pregnancy and the difficulties within the teenage mother’s home. It is because of the teenage pregnancy that fathers of teenage mothers had to accept their daughter’s sexuality.

One of the most important findings of this study was that it highlighted the difficulty fathers of teenage mothers faced in accepting their daughters as mothers. Fathers of teenage mothers, like teachers and other proximal adults, experienced great difficulty in accepting the transgression of the adult/child binary. Fathers continued to perceive their daughters within their child-like status, and wished to exert authority and control over them, due to this immature status. However, teenage mothers desired to assert their adult maternal identity in decisions regarding their children. This further accentuated the conflict between the father and daughter, as fathers attempted to assert their masculine constructions of fatherhood to control and take ownership of both their daughters and their grandchildren. This was undergirded by religion. In order to rectify the “mistake” of falling pregnant, teenage mothers relinquished the power

they had over their children, and act like children themselves. Fathers of teenage mothers therefore, face a major challenge in accepting and learning how to accept the adult/child binary. There is a strong understanding of what children should and should not do. Having sex and bearing children were two of the things that fathers believed should not happen. Fathers admitted to warning their daughters about sex and falling pregnant, and there was a strong belief that their warnings should have been adhered to. This finding added to the conflict in the household as falling pregnant was seen as a deliberate sign of disrespect and defiance. In addition, fathers of teenage mothers viewed the pregnancy as a deliberate act if there was a previous occurrence of a teenage pregnancy within the household, as fathers believed that teenage mothers should have learnt from the mistakes of their siblings.

The study revealed that fathers of teenage mothers perceived their active role, supportiveness, and financial provision should have been a preventative measure for their daughters. Teenage mothers in this study were ideally “not supposed to fall pregnant” as they had a “good upbringing” and a stable background. Even though fathers expressed an open and close relationship with their daughters, the study found that sexual communication only included warnings about the dangers of sex and the consequences of teenage pregnancy. Constructive sexual health dialogue was still the responsibility of the teenage mother. Fathers attempted to do everything they could to give their children the best lives; however, these teenage girls still fell pregnant. It is for this reason that research needs to explore teenage pregnancy and father-daughter relationships to ascertain the reasons behind the occurrence of teenage pregnancy.

Men and women both engage in the child-rearing of the teenage mother and her baby. Teenage mothers illustrated that both their parents assisted in the child-rearing practices with their children, including helping the teenage mother with the baby at night. Previous research has failed to explore the roles of fathers in gendered constructions of child-care within the

context of teenage mother, assuming that it is the responsibility of the maternal grandmother. In as much as the fathers of teenage mothers asserted their provider masculinity in exercising control over their teenage daughters and grandchildren, the study revealed that their roles extend towards ones of care, presence, and being active. What was important to the fathers of teenage mothers was the well-being of their daughters and their grandchildren, including the safety and the security of their futures. It is for this reason that fathers of teenage mothers encouraged their daughters to further their education, to become independent, and to be able to provide for herself and her child.

The study further provided an account of the experiences of teenage pregnancy within the Coloured community. Much like the cultural expectations of African cultures, the study highlights the importance of the visit from the baby's father and paternal family to the teenage mother's home. Little is known about the purpose of the visit and therefore future research needs to explore this. Furthermore, the teenage pregnancy was not celebrated or accepted among the fathers within the study. The study highlights fathers' beliefs that it is the Coloured community's acceptance of teenage pregnancy that encourages the phenomenon. It is for this reason that fathers of teenage mothers also hinder access to young fathers, as a form of accountability for impregnating their daughters.

The experiences of teenage pregnancy were almost identical to those found in previous research in certain aspects. However, this study provided an account of fathers of teenage mothers which highlighted nuances that have been missed by previous research. The dynamics of the non-disclosure of the teenage pregnancy and the lack of visitation from the babies' fathers provided an explanation for fathers negative reactions toward the teenage pregnancy. The findings shifted away from purely blaming fathers of teenage mothers for restricting access to young fathers as well as angry outbursts assumed to lead to violence, but allowed for an understanding into the reactions of the fathers of teenage mothers. Moreover, the reactions

were based on the deep sadness and hurt experienced by these present fathers. These fathers felt they had attempted to protect their children against teenage pregnancy, and who, in their inability to do so, blamed themselves for their daughter's pregnancy. In as much as fathers were disappointed and concerned about their daughters' well-being upon discovering their daughters' pregnancy, fathers did not deem the pregnancy as the end of her future prospects. Rather, fathers encouraged and assisted their daughters in pursuing their careers, through providing financially for her education and assisting with looking after their grandchildren a gendered norms associated with women. This further highlighted that child-care as well as the emotional responses were not delineated to the mothers of teenage mothers. The above mentioned illustrates the importance of the fathers of teenage mothers and extends the area of research as it explores the aspects of fatherhood, including masculinity, and undergirded by religion, in the context of teenage mothers and teenage pregnancy.

6.1. Limitations and Recommendations

Future studies need to explore teenage pregnancy across all age limits to gain a holistic account of the experiences of teenage mothers and their fathers. This study was limited in that it included those teenage mothers that fall in the upper age limit of adolescence, a problem found in a review of previous South African research (Macleod, 1999a).

Although unintentional and unavoidable, the findings fail to give an account of the current lived experience of teenage motherhood, and the experiences of both father and teenage mother. At the time of the interviews, all of the teenage mothers were at a certain level of maturity, had learnt how to manage their time as a mother and scholar, and had developed a routine as mothers. There was a certain level of maturity to the findings, ascertained because of their years of experience as mothers. In addition, their fathers had learnt to accept and support their daughters, and had formed close bonds with their grandchildren. Future research

exploring younger teenage mothers may provide accounts of the raw experiences and difficulties of teenage motherhood, including the early management of motherhood.

Although beyond the scope of this paper, the limitation illustrates a methodological problem faced by researchers, namely the difficulty in gaining access to young mothers under the age of eighteen without engaging in rigorous ethical processes and encountering censure from parents. In South Africa, the legal age to terminate a pregnancy is fourteen, however, these minors as defined by the Children is Act 38 of 2005, are unable to participate in research without their parents' consent until they reach the legal age of eighteen. The difficulty in attaining information from these children was evident in attaining statistics on teenage mothers from databases such as Stats SA. The statistics reported an absence of data of 13-17 year-old-girls with regard to their current pregnancy status, including whether the teenagers had either a spontaneous miscarriage, terminated their pregnancy by choice, or had had a still-birth (Stats, 2011). The data reported that no girls in South Africa between this age group terminated their pregnancies. Given the knowledge we have, and reported previous research (Varga, 2002) and the occurrence of backstreet and illegal abortions, the accuracy of the reported statistics seems highly unlikely. It may be a reflection of the difficulty faced by researchers in gaining access to teenagers who may have terminated their pregnancies without their parents' knowledge prior to them turning eighteen. Future research needs to explore this when approaching research of such nature and when reporting statistics.

The findings of this study emphasized the importance of fathers in the lives of their teenage daughters, and illustrated the absence of current research in exploring this dynamic. Teenage pregnancy and the sexual development of young girls has been attributed to absent fathers, nonetheless, the current study illustrated that absent and single-parented households are not the only determinants of teenage pregnancy. Moreover, the fathers of this study were portrayed as active and 'good' fathers, with no mention of abuse or substance abuse, based on

self-reports from their daughters. While studies suggest the effects of these on young daughters, the study found that teenage pregnancy occurred in spite of father's presence in their daughter's lives. The reasons behind why young girls fall pregnant needs further investigation, as even in the presence of active, loving, fathers who financially and emotionally support their daughters, the phenomenon still occurs.

Given the active role of fathers of teenage mothers, future research should explore the benefits and experiences of these fathers on the lives of the teenage mother and her child. It is within this exploration that we can understand the actions of the fathers of teenage mothers with regard to the baby's father. The self-blame and questioning of fathers' failure in the father-daughter relationship provided some clarity into their negative attitude and apprehension toward the baby's father. Blaming the fathers' reaction solely on the lack of obligation, which seems to be the case in previous research, downplays existing nuances. Future research therefore needs to explore these more deeply, and not solely attribute blame to fathers for gatekeeping the access of teenage fathers, as they do have to provide for the financial, emotional, and psychological needs of the teenage mother and her child. Future recommendations should include educating both teenage mothers and their fathers about their daughter's sexuality, and providing them with the tools to engage in discussion around this topic. Teenage girls require greater knowledge about sex, unplanned pregnancy, and contraceptive use, which should be taught directly in school and discussed at home, and not instilled through fear.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Media Portrayals of Eldorado Park

ELDORADO PARK MARCH AGAINST DRUGS

GP Premier and MEC Faith Mazibuko are attending a march against drugs and child abuse.



Eldorado Park residents raise concerns about substance abuse in their area. Picture: Sebatso Mosamo/EWN

Source: EWN online, 2013

DA Eldorado Park march set to address community ills

Saturday 10 October 2015 10:49
SABC



The Democratic Alliance (DA) will be marching through the streets of Eldorado Park, south of Johannesburg to hand over a memorandum of demands to the local police station.

Eldorado Park is affected by unemployment, substance abuse and crime.

The DA says these issues need to be dealt with effectively and soon.

DA Leader, Mmusi Maimane, will be joined by Western Cape Premier Helen Zille.

Maimane says it wants government to deliver on

Eldorado Park is affected by issues ranging from substance abuse, unemployment and crime. (SABC)

Source: EWN online, 10 October 2015

SA Media - The University of the Free State Page: 1

Source: STAR Date: 15-May-2013
 Topic: 10 Ref No: 1345

ID: 04153337-01 Source Page: 1

‘I will drive anti-drug campaign’

Zuma’s pledge to anxious Eldorado families

SHAUN SMILLIE
shaun.smillie@ufo.co.za

THEY had pleaded for him to help, and yesterday President Jacob Zuma finally responded. After the president’s arrival, responded with chants of “Zuma Zuma”. The president promised to close the billy lounges – the area’s notorious drug dens – and to look at possibly changing laws to uplift the community through economic initiatives.

As he spoke, the crowd – several thousand strong – began to warm to him. They cheered and repeated some of his phrases.

Zuma arrived in Eldorado Park, south of Joburg, with a contingent of cabinet ministers, MECs, directors-general and high-ranking police officials.

He was there in response to a letter from a group of “mothers and sisters” who wrote of the effect drugs had had on them and their families.

Zuma told the audience he was touched by what he had read.

“That letter made me take the decision that we must come here, that we must not delay as it is very important,” he said, adding he had national, provincial and municipal – to find a quick solution to the problem.

The day began with him meeting some of the mothers who had written the letter last month.

A crying Deveson James – one of those mothers – took to the stage before Zuma spoke to tell of her fight to try to get her son off the drug tik.

“My son has done everything to get drugs. He has stolen from me, and sold household stuff and even his clothes,” she said.

James called on Zuma, who she referred to as Dad, to deal with corrupt police officers and drug dealers who can’t be brought to justice.

“We are relying on you, Dad, that our law enforcement and courts do not face the other way.”

“I am afraid you will leave us with the same promises, Mr President,” she said.

Zuma said it troubled him that the community claimed the police were corrupt and called for their

national, provincial and municipal – to find a quick solution to the problem.

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Source: Star, 15 May 2013, p. 1.

SA Media - The University of the Free State Page: 1

Source: STAR Date: 20-Mar-2012
 Topic: 25 Ref No: 1280

ID: 04038615-01 Source Page: 2

School battles on without textbooks

Department tells parents to petition MEC over budget woes

KRISTEN VAN SCHIE AND NONTIBEKO MISHALI

IT'S MORE than two months into the academic year, but frustrated pupils in Eldorado Park are still waiting for textbooks.

And now Eldorado High School has been told there simply is no money available to help.

Last Friday, pupils picketed outside the school for an end to a situation that has them learning from photocopies since the school gates opened on January 18.

Yesterday, their parents joined the fight, meeting with district officials. They had little success.

“They said they were aware of the matter, but it was beyond their control,” said National Association of School Governing Bodies

Despite the change, the school’s budget allocation for textbooks and learning materials apparently stayed the same – despite its no longer being a primary school.

Now, the school has its first batch of Grade 12s, but none of the required textbooks. Pupils are currently writing their first-term tests.

With increasingly stretched resources, the school’s other grades have also been affected.

“The president said that on the first day of school when learners walk in there must be textbooks,” said student governing body chairwoman Estherline Schroeder. “But that didn’t happen.”

The school approached the department repeatedly for help. Then, last week, they were allegedly told there was no money left in the budget.

Teachers at the school have reportedly had to make photocopies of textbooks borrowed from neighbouring schools to ensure pupils don’t fall behind.

“They’ve really gone out of their way to make sure learners don’t sit in the class with nothing,” said Schroeder. “But we’re entering the third month of this already. The term is almost finished. Our kids are going to suffer at the end of the day.”

Ramasike said: “It’s really not on that during the month of human rights, children’s rights are being infringed upon.”

Gauteng Department of Education spokesman Charles Phahlane explained that the school is a section 21 school, which means it receives fund-

If any wrongdoing is found, there could be disciplinary action

Source: Star, 20 March 2012, p. 2.

SA Media - The University of the Free State Page: 1

Source: STAR Date: 28-Jun-2013
 Topic: 35 Ref No: 2425


 ID: 04162815-01 Source Page: 6

Illegal power connectors make life hell for residents

**KUTLWANO OLIFANT
AND KHANYISILE NGCOBO**
kutlwano.olifant@inl.co.za

Family forced to move teen with asthma from Eldorado Park

FRUSTRATION TAKES ITS TOLL

RAAZIA Hendricks has to find somewhere for her 13-year-old child to live because of illegal electricity connectors in Eldorado Park.

Hendricks's daughter Ashka is living with severe asthma and has to use a nebuliser at least twice a day. She was diagnosed with the chronic condition when she was just three years old.

The electric nebuliser is central to her treatment as it is used to administer medicine into her lungs in the form of mist.

However, the ongoing electricity theft in the area and subsequent outages have left the family with no choice

● On Monday, The Star reported that an 18-year-old girl was stabbed more than 50 times by her neighbour after she refused to allow him to illegally connect electricity from her home. The attacker was sentenced to an effective 12 years in prison.

● A KFC outlet, Jozi FM offices and several houses in Dube, Soweto, were stoned on Sunday evening when local hostel residents demanded electricity.

He added that he believed the callers were angered by the fact that he was fighting against the connections. Lourens said both callers used unknown numbers.

Neighbour Ramano Taylor said it was risky for them to protect themselves from the

receiving death threats.

Lourens claims the threats are from Mandela informal settlement residents, just two streets away from his home.

On Wednesday, the 30-year-old Lourens, together with residents of Eldorado Park

Source: Star, 28 June 2013, p. 6.

SA Media - The University of the Free State Page: 1

Source: STAR Date: 14-Mar-2013
 Topic: 35 Ref No: 954


 ID: 04134349-01 Source Page: 2

Residents fed up with 'bully' cops

Police accused of excessive force during arrest

KRISTEN VAN SCHIE
kristen.vanschie@inl.co.za

ELDORADO Park residents say they are fed up with the heavy-handedness from Joburg's metro police department - but the metro cops say they're just doing their jobs.

This comes after several residents say they were physically assaulted by members of the JMPD for filming an arrest on their cellphones.

Reginald Mini and Winston Scholtz were at the Hyper Save supermarket on Turf Road in Eldorado Park yesterday morning when they saw metro officers arrest a driver of a BMW X5 parked outside. The vehicle had no licence plates.

Mini said he began recording the arrest on his cellphone because the officers were acting violently.

"One came up to me and said 'Why are you taking pictures of us?' He hit my phone and it broke on the floor. Then he started assaulting me."

Mini said he was then pushed to the ground by several officers, who proceeded to hit and kick him.

At this point, Scholtz also tried to record the incident.

Scholtz had been inside the shops when he saw a large group of JMPD vehicles in the parking lot.

He said he saw two men being pushed around and arrested before an officer turned on Mini.

"He was saying 'Why are you arresting me? Why are you putting me in the van?' At that point, an officer came up and asked me 'Who gave you permission to take photos?'"

When Scholtz backchatted the officer, he was punched in the face.

They say another bystander was taken to hospital by witnesses, but this could not be confirmed.

The men said none of the officers wore name badges.

Yesterday, they opened an assault charge against the officers at the Eldorado Park police station.

"We are sick of this happening in Eldorado Park," said Dwaan Ponsoy of activism group People Seeking Justice.

"The police come in here, remove their badges, and start beating and harassing people."

But JMPD spokesman Chief Superintendent Wayne Minnear said metro officers had a responsibility to ensure that motorists obeyed the rules of the road, to enforce by-laws and to prevent crime.

"It is standard procedure that if a vehicle is driving on public roads without a licence plate, the driver is arrested," he said, adding that the X5 was not licensed or registered.

"Officers have the right and the authority to use the necessary force in effecting an arrest," he added, saying that to his knowledge, Mini and Scholtz were interfering with a police officer.

He said the officers' action could be investigated if the men laid a complaint with JMPD internal affairs.


Source: Star, 14 March 2013, p. 2.

SA Media - The University of the Free State

Source: CITY PRESS Date: 02-Jun-2013 Page: 1
 Topic: 15 Ref No: 4064

ID: 04158396-01 Source Page: 29

We're all waiting for our Eldorado



Mudney Halim

The antidrug campaign in Johannesburg and surrounding areas has been given a tremendous boost over the past few weeks.

It started with the visit by President Zuma to Eldorado Park on May 14 2013 in response to a letter written by Dereleen James on behalf of desperate mothers, who pleaded with the highest office in the land to intervene in the drug-riddled township.

The cry is no different to thousands of others who are bearing the strain of drug-dependent family members or neighbours who in their desperation for a fix, disrupt family life

There is much scepticism about the motive for the president's response with votes in the 2014 general elections often being cited as the ulterior motive. Whatever the motive, the impact on Eldorado Park, particularly, and more generally other townships around Johannesburg, is clearly visible.

There is still a high police presence in Eldorado Park and neighbouring Klipspruit West, and areas like Lenasia, Westbury, Newclare, Ennerdale, Noordgesig and as far as Thokoza, and other East Rand townships have had

workshops in Eldorado Park. The general criticism of these meetings and workshops is that there is overdiagnosis and too little treatment of the symptoms as well as the root causes of the problem.

While provincial government is producing the broad framework with community groups for multidepartmental intervention, civil society organisations are concerned about the Eldorado Park focus of the actions thus far.

Two more marches were held by church groups since Zuma's visit. The latest was last Saturday. The nature of the "Believers' March, Taking Back Eldos for Jesus", as it was billed, raises questions about how best to maintain the momentum gained since the Zuma visit. Other groups felt sidelined and are pursuing "their own" action.

The fight against drug dealing,

Source: City Press, 02 June 2013, p. 29.

SA Media - The University of the Free State

Source: STAR Date: 21-May-2012 Page: 1
 Topic: 15 Ref No: 4787

ID: 04054984-01 Source Page: 5

Search for missing girl sheds light on lolly lounges

MOTSHWARI MOFOKENG AND MPILETSO MOTUMI
mpiletso.motumi@ini.co.za

A SEARCH for a missing 16-year-old Westbury High School pupil has opened up a Pandora's box of missing children in townships of Newlands, Claremont, Westbury, Sophiatown, Bosmont, Noordgesig, Riverlea, Eldorado Park and Ennerdale.

The children have been dragged into prostitution and drug abuse by being lured into the houses used as drug hubs by criminals and gangsters, and popularly known as lolly lounges in these areas.

These houses are called lolly lounges because the glass pipe/popper bottle used to smoke substances like crystal meth and tik is shaped like a lollipop.

Different types of drugs including heroin and mandrax are smoked in these houses, and girls are taken in and set onto drugs, only to be used to

Berance is a quiet child, she would not just run away

said she hadn't been to school for two weeks," she said.

She went to the Sophiatown police station that afternoon.

After a runaround at the police station she eventually received help from a constable, who told them about The Organisation and what they do.

Fazil Carrim knows all too well how lolly lounges operate, because he used to frequent them.

The former drug addict formed The Organisation two months ago with concerned Waterval and Sophiatown residents after being approached by people who would tell them about their missing children.

They have since raided lounges in various areas. Four have been closed down.

They had rescued 12 of the 14 girls who had gone missing.

Carrim said children who went into the lounges did so of their own free will. The problem came when they did not come out of the lounges.

Whenever they raided the lounges, they found some of the girls so far gone, they did not want to leave.

Carrim said the lounges were even more rife in Cape

Town, but Gauteng was starting to catch up.

The longest time it has taken The Organisation to find a missing child was three days.

But Berance's case is different, as she has been missing for two weeks now.

The Star accompanied The Organisation and a task team from the Sophiatown police station on Friday evening to alleged lounges in Kliptown, Soweto and Eldorado Park, where a source had said Berance would be. But she wasn't found there.

"Berance is a quiet child and she wouldn't just run away. I wish I could tell her to come home because this is hurting me."

"I love her," said Oliphant.

Source: Star, 21 March 2012, p. 1.

Appendix 2: Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950.

POPULATION REGISTRATION.

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (ii) “board” means a board constituted in terms of section <i>eleven</i>; (x) (iii) “coloured person” means a person who is not a white person or a native; (iv) (iv) “Director” means the Director of Census appointed under section <i>four</i> of the Census Act, 1910 (Act No. 2 of 1910), and includes the Assistant Director of Census and any officer acting under a delegation from or under the control or direction of the Director; (ii) (v) “ethnic or other group” means a group prescribed and defined by the Governor-General in terms of subsection (2) of section <i>five</i>; (iii) (vi) “fixed date” means the date upon which the census is taken in the year 1951 in terms of section <i>three</i> of the Census Act, 1910 (Act No. 2 of 1910); (xiii) (vii) “identity card” means the identity card referred to in section <i>thirteen</i> but does not include an identity card which has lapsed in terms of any regulation; (viii) (viii) “identity number” means the identity number assigned to a person in terms of section <i>six</i>; (ix) (ix) “Minister” means the Minister of the Interior; (vi) (x) “native” means a person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa; (vii) (xi) “prescribed” means prescribed by regulation; (xiv) (xii) “register” means the register referred to in section <i>two</i>; (xi) (xiii) “regulation” means a regulation made under section <i>twenty</i>; (xii) (xiv) “this Act” includes the regulations; (v) (xv) “white person” means a person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person. (i) 	<p>Act No. 30 of 1950.</p>
<p>2. There shall, as soon as practicable after the fixed date, be compiled by the Director and thereafter maintained by him, a register of the population of the Union.</p>	<p>Compilation and maintenance of population register.</p>
<p>3. The particulars required for the compilation of the register in respect of the population of the Union as at the fixed date shall be extracted by the Director from the forms and returns received by him under the Census Act, 1910 (Act No. 2 of 1910), in connection with the census taken on the fixed date and from such other records as may be available to the Director.</p>	<p>Data from which register to be compiled.</p>
<p>4. There shall be included in the register, in three separate parts thereof, the names of—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) (i) all South African citizens within the Union on the fixed date; (ii) all South African citizens who enter or are born in the Union after the fixed date; and (iii) all persons who become South African citizens in the Union after the fixed date; 	<p>What persons to be included in the register.</p>

Appendix 3: Information Sheet



University of the Witwatersrand, Department of Psychology

Researcher Name: Bianca Kruger

Contact Telephone Number: 073 342 3118

Study Title: Teenage pregnancy: The experiences of teenage mothers and their fathers.

Good day, my name is Bianca Kruger and I am currently completing my Master's degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am required to complete a research study, which involves exploring the stories of both young women who have had children during adolescents and their father (i.e. their biological father or stepfather). After you have heard more about the study, and if you agree, I will ask your daughter to agree to participate. Both of you have to agree independently before I can begin

Why is the study important?

Research has shown the importance of the relationship between fathers and their daughters in the daughter's development. The current research aims to explore the father-daughter relationship within the context of teenage pregnancy. The aim of this study is to elaborate on both the positive and negative experiences of teenage mothers and their father's experiences of teenage pregnancy.

Important information for volunteers.

You do not have to agree for your daughter to participate in this study. If you choose to say no, there would be no negative consequences for you or your daughter. Please note that your daughter's participation is completely voluntary. She can decide to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. Your daughter will participate in an interview with myself, which will take place at a location of her choice. Interviews will be audio-recorded and these recordings and information about your child will be kept in a password-protected file and will only be available to my supervisor and myself. In the reporting of findings, pseudonym

(false) names will be given to protect your daughter’s identity. As the researcher, I will know your daughters identity. After my preliminary findings have been made, I will have a group discussion with the teenage mothers enrolled in this study, to inform them of my findings and to discuss them. If your daughter choses to participate in this group discussion, the other teenage mothers will have some knowledge as to who she is however participation is not compulsory. The study is at no cost to you or your daughter. If you do not understand anything or need some clarification, please ask me and I will take time to explain.

Who can participate in the study?

I would like to extend an invitation to your daughter to participate in this research study.

Participation includes the following:

1. Participating in an interview regarding her experiences of being a teenage mother.
2. Agreeing to provide the contact details her father, in order to recruit him for an interview.
3. Allowing the interview to be audio-recorded and for me to take notes during the interview.

The Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) from the University of the Witwatersrand has checked this research project. For more information, please contact Lucille Mooragan, 10th Floor Senate House Room 10004 or email Lucille.Mooragan@wits.ac.za or 011 717 1408.

Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet for the Teenage mother (under 18)



University of the Witwatersrand, Department of Psychology

Researcher Name: Bianca Kruger

Contact Telephone Number: 073 342 3118

Study Title: Teenage pregnancy: The experiences of teenage mothers and their fathers.

Good day, my name is Bianca Kruger and I am currently doing my Master's degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am inviting you to join in my research study to look at the stories of young mothers who had a child during their teenage years and their father (this can be your biological father or stepfather). Before you decide if you want to join in, it's important to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve for you. Please read this sheet carefully and if you do not understand anything, please ask me and I will take the time to explain.

Why is the study important?

Studies have shown that fathers are important in their daughter's growth. This study wants to look at how fathers and daughter's experience teenage pregnancy. I want to look at both the good and the bad experiences of teenage motherhood, by interviewing both teenage mothers and their fathers.

Important information for volunteers.

You have been invited to join this study because you have a child during your teenage years. I will ask you to sign a form if you agree to join the study but if you say no, nothing bad will happen to you. You are free to stop taking part at any time during the research without giving a reason. You do not have to pay anything to be part of this study, but the information you give might help other people understand your experiences.

What will you have to do?

If you decide to join the study, you will have to do the following:

1. Do an interview with myself, to talk about your experiences of being a teenage mother.
2. When I interview you, I will audio-record the interview. The recordings and all your information will be kept in confidence. This means that only my supervisor and I will know who you are. When I write up my report, you and your father will be given false names, so that people do not know who you are.
3. I will need you to give me your father’s telephone number, so that I can ask him to join the study.
4. After I finish all my interviews and write up my results, I will invite you to join in a group discussion with the other teenage mothers, to discuss my findings. If you agree to join, the other teenage mothers will know who you are.
5. After I finish interviewing you, I might ask if I could mention something that you spoke about, in the interview with your father, if you say no, then I will not talk about this in my interview with your father.

Before any research goes ahead, it has to be checked by a Research Ethics Committee. They make sure that the research is fair. The Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) from the University of the Witwatersrand has checked this study. If you need any more information, please contact Lucille Mooragan, 10th Floor Senate House Room 10004 or email Lucille.Mooragan@wits.ac.za or 011 717 1408.

Thank you for reading this – please ask any questions if you need to.

Appendix 5: Participant Information Sheet for the Teenage mother (older than 18)



University of the Witwatersrand, Department of Psychology

Researcher Name: Bianca Kruger

Contact Telephone Number: 073 342 3118

Study Title: Teenage pregnancy: The experiences of teenage mothers and their fathers.

Good day, my name is Bianca Kruger and I am currently completing my Master's degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am required to complete a research study, which involves exploring the stories of both young women who have had children during adolescents and their father (i.e. their biological father or stepfather).

Why is the study important?

Research has shown the importance of the relationship between fathers and their daughters in the daughter's development. The current research aims to explore the father-daughter relationship within the context of teenage pregnancy. The aim of this study is to elaborate on both the positive and negative experiences of teenage mothers and their father's experiences of teenage pregnancy.

Important information for volunteers.

Please note that your participation is completely voluntary and is at no cost to you. You can decide to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. The raw interview data will be available and accessed only by my supervisor and myself. In the reporting of findings, pseudonym (false) names will be given to protect you and your father's identity. As the researcher, I will know your identity. After my preliminary findings have been made, I will have a group discussion with the teenage mothers enrolled in this study, to inform you of my findings and to discuss them. If you choose to participate in this group discussion, the other teenage mothers will have some knowledge as to who you are. If you do not understand anything or need some clarification, please ask me and I will take time to explain.

Who can participate in the study?

I would like to extend an invitation to you to participate in this research study. Participation includes the following:

1. Participating in an interview regarding your experiences of being a teenage mother.
2. Agreeing to provide the contact details of your father.
3. Allowing the interview to be audio-recorded and for me to take notes during the interview.

The Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) from the University of the Witwatersrand has checked this research project. For more information, please contact Lucille Mooragan, 10th Floor Senate House Room 10004 or email Lucille.Mooragan@wits.ac.za or 011 717 1408.

Appendix 6: Participant Information Sheet of the Father of the Teenage Mother.



University of the Witwatersrand, Department of Psychology

Researcher Name: Bianca Kruger

Contact Telephone Number: 073 342 3118

Study Title: Teenage pregnancy: The experiences of teenage mothers and their fathers.

Good day, my name is Bianca Kruger and I am currently completing my Master’s degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am required to complete a research study, which involves exploring the stories of both young women who have had children during adolescents and their father (i.e. their biological father or stepfather).

Why is the study important?

Research has shown the importance of the relationship between fathers and their daughters in the daughter’s development. The current research aims to explore the father-daughter relationship within the context of teenage pregnancy. The aim of this study to is elaborate on both the positive and negative experiences of teenage mothers and their father’s experiences of teenage pregnancy.

Important information for volunteers.

Please note that your participation is completely voluntary and is at no cost to you. You can decide to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. The raw interview data will be available and accessed only by my supervisor and myself. In the reporting of findings, pseudonym (false) names will be given to protect you and your daughter’s identity. As the researcher however, I will know your identity. If you do not understand anything or need some clarification, please ask me and I will take time to explain.

Who can participate in the study?

I would like to extend an invitation to you to participate in this research study. Participation includes the following:

1. Participating in an interview regarding your experiences of being the father of a teenage mother.
2. Allowing the interview to be audio-recorded and for me to take notes during the interview.

The Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) from the University of the Witwatersrand has checked this research project. For more information, please contact Lucille Mooragan, 10th Floor Senate House Room 10004 or email Lucille.Mooragan@wits.ac.za or 011 717 1408.

Appendix 7: Parent/Legal Guardian Informed Consent Form

I _____, parent/guardian of _____ (name of child, referred to from here on as my child) hereby confirm that I understand the research presented to me by the researcher, Miss Bianca Kruger. Having understood the following aspects of the research:

1. That participation in this study is completely voluntary.
2. That my child can withdraw from participating in this study at any time throughout the research, without any adverse consequences.
3. My child’s anonymity will be guaranteed and no one will be able to identify her in the research results.
4. Results obtained in the study will be strictly confidential.
5. There are no benefits or harm associated with this study.
6. The interview with my child will be audio-recorded.

I accept and understand the above-mentioned conditions and hereby grant/do not grant (delete whichever is not applicable) permission for my child to be a participant in this study.

Signature/Initials of Parent/ Guardian _____
Date

I, _____, having understood the above, as explained by my parents/guardian, do agree/disagree to be part of this study.

Signature/Initials of child _____
Date

Researcher

Signature _____
Date

Appendix 8: Assent Form

I _____, (name and surname) agree to participate in the research study related to father-daughter relationships and teenage pregnancy, presented to me by the researcher, Miss Bianca Kruger.

I am aware that:

1. Participation in this study is completely voluntary.
2. I may withdraw from participating in this study at any time without any negative consequences.
3. My anonymity will be guaranteed and no one will be able to identify me in the research results.
4. Results obtained will be strictly confidential.
5. There are no benefits or harm associated with this study.

Participant

Signature

Date

I further agree to the use of an audio recorder throughout the interview. I acknowledge that these audio-recordings will be secured in a password-protected file and will only be made available and accessed by the researcher (Miss B. Kruger) and her supervisor.

Consent for the use of an audio recorder

Signature

Date

Researcher

Signature

Date

Appendix 9: Informed Consent Form of the Daughter Participant

I _____, (name and surname) agree to participate in the research study related to father-daughter relationships and teenage pregnancy, presented to me by the researcher, Miss Bianca Kruger. I further agree to provide the researcher with my father’s contact details.

I am aware that:

1. Participation in this study is completely voluntary.
2. I may withdraw from participating in this study at any time without any negative consequences.
3. My anonymity will be guaranteed and no one will be able to identify me in the research results.
4. Results obtained will be strictly confidential.
5. There are no benefits or harm associated with this study.

Participant

Signature

Date

I further agree to the use of an audio recorder throughout the interview. I acknowledge that these audio-recordings will be secured in a password-protected file and will only be made available and accessed by the researcher (Miss B. Kruger) and her supervisor.

Consent for the use of an audio recorder

Signature

Date

Researcher

Signature

Date

Appendix 10: Informed Consent Form of the Father Participant

I _____, (name and surname) agree to participate in the research study related to father-daughter relationships and teenage pregnancy, presented to me by the researcher, Miss Bianca Kruger.

I am aware that:

1. Participation in this study is completely voluntary.
2. I may withdraw from participating in this study at any time without any negative consequences.
3. My anonymity will be guaranteed and no one will be able to identify me in the research results.
4. Results obtained will be strictly confidential.
5. There are no benefits or harm associated with this study.

Participant

Signature

Date

I further agree to the use of an audio recorder throughout the interview. I acknowledge that these audio-recordings will be secured in a password-protected file and will only be made available and accessed by the researcher (Miss B. Kruger) and her supervisor.

Consent for the use of an audio recorder

Signature

Date

Researcher

Signature

Date

Appendix 11: Demographic Questionnaire

Please cross the option that applies to you with an X.

1. Age (in years):

2. Gender:

 M F

3. Race:

 Black White Indian Coloured Asian

Other:

Appendix 12: Interview Schedule for Daughter Participants

The interview will take a conversation style, as to illicit free talk, and therefore will encompass but not be restricted to the following broad questions:

1. Tell me about your childhood and the things you used to do with your father when you were a child.
2. Tell me the story of when you became pregnant.
3. What happened when you told your family and father that you were going to have a baby?
4. Tell me what has changed in your relationship with your parents since the birth of your child?
5. Tell me about what you know about relationships and sex from your parents?
6. Tell me about your views on relationships now.

Appendix 13: Interview Schedule for Father Participants

The interview will take a conversation style, as to illicit free talk, and therefore will encompass but not be restricted to the following broad questions:

1. Please tell me about things you used to do with your daughter when she was growing up.
2. Tell me about the story of when you found out your daughter became pregnant.
3. Tell me what happened when you found out that she was pregnant?
4. Tell me what has changed in your relationship since you found out that she was pregnant?
5. Tell me what has changed in your relationship since the birth of your daughter's baby?
6. Tell me about your relationship with the baby and some of the things you do with him/her.
7. What do you wish for your daughter's future?
8. Tell me what you have spoken to your daughter about in terms of sex and relationships?

Appendix 14: Non-Medical Bioethics Clearance Certificate



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Kruger

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: H15/09/12

PROJECT TITLE

Teenage pregnancy: The experiences of teenage mothers and their father's

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Ms B Kruger

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT

Human & Community Development/

DATE CONSIDERED

18 September 2015

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved unconditionally
This protocol has been approved by the HREC (Medical) Sub-Committee

EXPIRY DATE

19 November 2018

DATE

20 November 2015

CHAIRPERSON

J. Knight
(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Professor M Nduna

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

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

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

Signature _____

Date _____/_____/_____

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES