Precarious Employment and Fathering Among Men in Higher Education Institutions

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A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Masters of Arts in Psychological Research

Faculty of the Humanities
University of Cape Town
2020

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate Date:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- First and foremost, to my Almighty God- Thank you is not enough for me to display my most humble gratitude for getting me through this challenging journey.
- I will never be able to find the sincerest words to convey my deepest respect and gratitude towards my thesis supervisor Dr Mandisa Malinga. I would like to say Thank you for the astounding opportunities you have opened me to, your patience and encouraging atmosphere in doing this research. Working with you has helped me grow as a confident individual researcher and helped me realise the power of critical thinking and reasoning. You have, and still demonstrate the true nature of what a brilliant and hardworking black woman can accomplish if they set their mind to it. From the bottom of my heart, *Ke ya Leboga Dr Malinga*.
- I would like to thank my family, particularly my pillar of strength and Mother Manare-Alice Modubi, my sister Motlatso Modubi and my brother Dikhutla- Jack Modubi for your continued support, love and encouragement when the journey felt difficult. To my friend Rebecca Baforegi, thank you for the support through this journey and for not allowing me to throw in the towel when it got challenging.
- I dedicate this thesis to my late father who showed me every day till his last breath, the importance of fathering and what it meant to have a loving supportive and physically present father. Through him I learnt that anyone can be a father but it takes a real man to be a Dad. I could never thank you more than enough, for all that you were. Thank you DAD!
- To the National Research Foundation and the Research and Development grant for their generous financial contribution.
- Finally, I would like to thank my participants who took time off their work to share their experiences with me. Your contribution has allowed me to have a better understanding of fathering in the context of employment in Higher Education Institutions, in South Africa.

Abstract

There has been an increase in literature involving female academic staff on precarious employment contracts and how they balance their work and family lives. However, research involving male academic staff on insecure contracts with children is limited, particularly within the South African context. My thesis addressed this gap by exploring how precariously employed men in higher education institutions in Cape Town understand the concepts of fatherhood, their own practices of fathering, and what influence their employment has on their involvement with their children. Given that precarious employment in higher education institutions is a salient problem in South Africa, this study investigated the ways in which such employment conditions in higher education shape fathering practices. This study was informed by a broader study, which aimed to understand (a) how men in precarious employment in the formal and informal employment sectors define fatherhood, (b) what practices they associate with fathering, and (c) how, if at all, their employment conditions shape their fathering practices. I conducted a qualitative research study using purposive and snowball sampling methods to procure a sample of seven men aged 34 to 57 years old. Data was collected through individual, semi-structured interviews. I used Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis to understand the fathers' experiences. Findings from the study show that fatherhood is constructed through the participants' ability to provide for their families and be responsible role models to their children. Having a good relationship with their children is important for the men, and they establish these relationships by spending time with their children. The findings also show that participants perceived HEIs as exploitative, relying on PhD students who are in the process of establishing their academic careers for teaching purposes. The income received by the men on these non-permanent contracts is not sufficient for them to provide for themselves and their families, and they therefore work multiple jobs so that they can receive a better income. The fathers' experiences also show that precarious employment conditions in higher education institutions enable some fathers to be involved in their children's care due to flexibility in their working hours. However, for some of the men, father and child co-residence was prohibited by migration, resulting in reduced contact with their children.

Keywords: Fatherhood; Fathering; Precarious Employment; Higher Education Institution; Lecturers; Cape Town; Masculinity

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CHAPTER 1:

Introduction

Precarious academic employment, defined as employment that includes, but is not limited to, poor pay, short-term contracts that may or may not be renewed, and no guarantee of work from semester to semester (Mühlberger, 2009), has increased in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in recent years, both internationally and in South Africa. This increase in precarious academic work is due to a reduction of government funding for universities and the privatisation of education both in South Africa and in other parts of the world (Shrivastava & Shrivastava, 2014). A decrease in state subsidies and block grant funding, from 49% in 2000 to 40% in 2014 (Bozzoli, 2016) has had an impact on the growth of precarious academic work in HEIs. This decrease in subsidies has also had an impact on management of funding which has made universities in South Africa increasingly dependent on student fees to fund operational shortfalls (Shrivastava & Shrivastava, 2014). In South Africa, there are currently 26 public universities, all of which are under pressure from the ongoing funding crisis. Since the funding crisis began, the five leading research-intensive institutions, the University of Cape Town, University of Pretoria, Rhodes University, University of Stellenbosch, and University of Witwatersrand, have been facing the dilemma of how to continue pursuing global research recognition while catering to the ever-increasing number of students (Callaghan, 2018). In response to the increasing number of students in universities, rather than creating permanent academic posts, universities are creating short-term lecturing contracts, to bridge the gap of the high number of incoming students into universities (Dickinson, 2017). Although the emergence of precarious employment in HEIs was initially for 'special' needs such as covering peak periods, absences and unpredictable demands on staff members (Campbell, 2004), it has become standard practice across many faculties in universities across the world. This form of employment is a way in which many lecturers and postgraduate students start their academic careers, and for some it is the only means of making a living. Academic staff on non-permanent contracts have been reported to be feeling emotional and financial pressure, which not only negatively affects both their financial security and psychological well-being, but also affects their social and family lives (Weng, 2014).

The growing phenomenon of precarious academic employment in HEIs warrants an in-depth study of the ways in which this employment impacts on family life. However, not only is it difficult to gain access to information regarding the number of staff members on precarious contracts in HEIs, it is also difficult to find staff members who want to discuss their

employment conditions. This makes it difficult to have access to information on ways in which such conditions shape men's engagement with their family and children. It is thus not clear what the prevalence of precarious academic employment is in most universities in South Africa, although anecdotal evidence suggests that it is prevalent. Due to titles held by academic employees in HEIs that are on precarious employment contracts, such as, Doctor, Associate Professor and Senior Lecturer, there is an assumption that academic employment is well unionised, with relatively good pay and good working conditions for the staff. However, academic work is increasingly being taken over by lecturers that are on casual contracts and, in some cases do not have access to all the benefits usually associated with permanent academic employment such as adequate remuneration, medical aid benefits, retirement annuity benefits and paid paternity leave (Rothengatter & Hill, 2013).

Studies about the relationship between short-term academic posts and balancing family life have been on going within various HEIs (Gottschalk & McEachern, 2007; Harrington et al., 2010; Reddick et al., 2012). These studies often report gender differences in their results. For example, balancing work and family life is reportedly more likely to affect female than male academic staff (Finkel & Olswang, 1996; Varner, 2000; Williams, 2000). It has also been reported that female academic staff are more likely than men, to express feeling overloaded with work or underappreciated by their employers (Duxbury et al., 1993). Some studies have found that women on short-term lecturing posts face difficulties in balancing family life duties and work (Varner, 2000; Williams, 2000) and are thus more likely to leave their job to focus on their families (Mason et al., 2009). Although the challenges and experiences of female academic staff have been well documented in literature, particularly women's experiences of balancing their work and family lives, less is known about men and fathers' experiences, particularly those on precarious academic contracts in HEIs (Williams & Best, 1990).

The challenges and experiences that fathers have in their work in HEIs are important because employment conditions may affect the fathering practices of men, which may contribute to their involvement, or lack of involvement in their children's lives. The involvement of fathers is particularly important, as research has shown the significance of paternal involvement in the development and well-being of children (Hrženjak, 2017; Pougnet et al., 2012). This study draws on the tripartite division of involvement proposed by Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1985), which includes: (1) engagement, (2) accessibility, and (3) responsibility. Engagement is associated with having direct one-on-one interaction with the child, accessibility refers to the number of times a parent is available for interaction with the

child and responsibility centers on taking responsibility for ensuring the child's welfare (Lamb et al., 1985). The involvement of fathers in a child's life is beneficial for the developmental outcome of children, while a lack of involvement may contribute to negative outcomes for the children. For example, studies show that children whose fathers do not reside with them and are not physically involved in their well-being are more likely to experience lower socio-emotional development and a likelihood of being incarcerated (Harris, 2002). While research has highlighted the importance of paternal presence in the general well-being of children, Morrell (2006) cautioned that the level of involvement of a father in a family could not be determined in terms of his absence or presence. This is because the presence of a father within the household does not necessarily guarantee that the father is involved in everyday care of the children (Harris, 2002). The presence of a father is also not always beneficial for the well-being of the child (e.g., in the case of abusive fathers) (Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999). Additionally, while research on the relationship between the involvement of fathers and the well-being of children often portray the role of a father as something that only 'one' individual is capable of fulfilling, it disregards children's relationship beyond the mother, and father (Lupton & Barclay, 1997). It is therefore argued that research that explores the relationship between a father and a child does not always explore fatherhood and the ways in which it is conceptualised, enacted, and negotiated due to having concentrated on the ways in which the involvement of fathers supposedly influences positive child outcomes. Barnes, Bryson, and Smith (2006) argue that mothers are often reported to be the parent that spends the most time with the children, regardless of working either normal or atypical hours. However, a father's involvement in his children's lives should also be taken into consideration, particularly when they too face broader structures such as their employment conditions, which could interfere with caring for their children.

Studies report that the lack of research into men and fathers and experiences of their working conditions, is likely because parenting and care-work were considered to be a terrain specifically for women, with men not being the focus in the studies (Delphy & Leonard, 1992). Research on men and fathers has changed to include a focus on men and their parenting practices, revealing that men too have a challenge balancing their work-life experiences and fathering practices. Hrženjak (2017) argues that fathers who are precariously employed in HEIs have reported a difficulty in balancing work and caring for their families and children because of the pressure of being on the precarious contracts. In a study investigating men's conflicting and complimentary roles as fathers and professors (Reddick et al., 2012), it was found that

some men acknowledged that being on non-permanent contracts meant they were able to spend time with their families and establish a relationship with their children due to flexible working hours. Emphasis was also placed on a desire to be actively 'present' fathers, particularly during their children's early years (Reddick et al., 2012). However, it was important for most of the men in the study to be permanently employed within the institution as this would allow them to provide for their children's needs (Reddick et al., 2012).

The involvement of fathers in their children's lives is an important discussion to engage in, particularly in the South African context where there is an exceptionally high rate of absent fathers within households compared to other parts of the world (Posel & Devey, 2006). Statistics South Africa (2016) reported that 62% of children younger than 18 years old had fathers who were physically absent from the household. This number differs according to race, with 14% of 'coloured' children and 40% of black African children living only with their mother, compared to 5% of Indian/Asian children and 3% of 'white'[1] children (Statistics South Africa, 2016). Although a father's physical presence alone does not necessarily lead to a positive outcome in children's well-being, a father's physical absence may have detrimental consequences for both their family and in society. Fathers who are responsible and engaged in parenting provide beneficial development outcomes for children (Eddy et al., 2013). It has been found that some working fathers prioritised spending time with their families over their work (Harrington et al., 2010). However, some policies that have been designed to ease their workload and achieve work-family balance make it difficult for them to do so. For example, Harrington et al. (2010) found that although more parents, both male and female, are finding themselves in these working environments that require them to be available for work for long periods of time, few of the parents are comfortable with utilising policies that have been designed to ease their workload particularly in the case of having a new born baby. Utilising paternal leave when a child is born, especially if the parent is on a non-permanent contract, means they will not receive an income during most of the time they are away. This was shown to be true in a study conducted by Reddick et al. (2012) which found that men working in HEIs reported that the policies might not align with the men's interest in achieving work-family balance. However, even when the policies do align with their interests, some men in academia are believed to be less likely to take paternal leave because they fear they might lose their jobs,

[1] The terms 'Black', 'Coloured', 'Indian' and 'white' are racial categories that were utilised under the apartheid system in South Africa to categorise people in accordance to the colour of their skin. The terms have been placed in inverted commas to indicate that these racial categories are socially constructed.

and are not comfortable with the unspoken disapproval and questions about their dedication to their work that they believe comes with taking leave (Hall, 2013). The involvement of men in their children's lives is important, because men have the ability, through involved and affectionate care, to contribute to children's development and well-being (Richter et al., 2004). However, men on precarious employment contracts in HEIs may find it difficult to spend time with their families as a result of the conditions of their employment. Therefore, this current study seeks to understand the experiences of precariously employed fathers in HEIs and the ways in which their employment conditions may have an impact on their fathering practices.

Research Aims and Objective

This study forms a part of a broader study that aimed to understand the ways in which precarious work across both the formal and informal sectors shape fathering practices. The current study sought to understand the way men experience fatherhood and the meaning they make of these experiences. The aim was, therefore, to explore how precarious employment in the formal sector, particularly in HEIs, influences men's fathering practices and their ability to be actively involved in caring for their children. More specifically, I was interested in looking at the challenges that fathers experience in two HEIs in the Western Cape and the impact their employment status and conditions has in balancing their work and caring for their children. The objectives of the study included answering the following questions:

a) How do men in precarious academic employment define fatherhood?
b) What practices do these men associate with fathering?
c) How do their employment conditions shape their fathering practices?

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter Two will review literature on fathering and precarious employment in HEIs, both internationally and in South Africa. The first part of the chapter will discuss research on constructions of fatherhood and masculinity. The second part of the chapter will review research that examined the relationship between fathers and their involvement in their children's lives. The third part of the chapter will review literature on fathering conducted from a South African context. The fourth part of the chapter will demonstrate an understanding of the ways in which working patterns of fathers impact on fathering practises. Thereafter, there will be a review of literature, that will explore the working patterns of fathers in HEIs, and the impact it has on family life. Lastly, there will be a discussion of the theoretical framework of the study which is situated through the lens and engagement with the Father Involvement Model.

Chapter Three will outline the aim and objectives of the current study along with the research design. The data collection, analysis procedure, setting, participants as well as the ethical considerations will also be discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Four will present the demographics of the participants, along with a discussion of the participants' constructions of fatherhood and the ways in which they are involved and have relationships with their children.

Chapter Five will provide a discussion of the ways in which the men's precarious employment in Higher Education Institutions result in flexibility, insecurity and exploitation. This discussion will also highlight the ways in which the men's employment conditions impacts their fathering practices.

Chapter Six provides a summary of the findings and considers them in light of literature that has been reported. The limitation of the study will also be discussed and suggestions made for future research. Finally, the practical implication of the study's findings will be considered and discussed.

CHAPTER 2:

Literature Review

Previous literature has explored fatherhood and the impact it has on society (Mkhize, 2006). In line with these explorations, this literature review aims to investigate work that is centred on the topic of fatherhood and the working patterns of fathers. Linked to the understanding of fatherhood are the concepts of masculinity and identity, which can shape how members of particular societies perceive what it means to be a father. The first discussion in this literature review explores the notion of masculinity in relation to constructions of fatherhood. In addition to understanding the constructions of fatherhood, this review will explore how the involvement of fathers in their children's lives influences the development of their children (either positively or negatively). The review will then explore the working patterns of fathers in HEIs and the impact these patterns have on family life. Understanding fatherhood and the working patterns of fathers, will provide a better understanding of how working in higher education can shape fathering practices. In closing the review, I will provide a summary of important points from these discussions, which will argue that even though there is existing literature on fatherhood and precarious employment, there are very few (if any) studies that explicitly explore issues of precarious employment and fathering practices of men in HEIs. This is important, as it is the aim of this particular study.

Constructions of Fatherhood and Masculinity

The meaning of fatherhood is continuously evolving and changing over time. As the cultural definition of masculinity shifts, so do constructions of fatherhood (Pleck & Pleck, 1997). The term fatherhood is used in research to refer to either a biological or social association to children. Various idioms bare testament to men's biological and social association to a child, for example, in Sepedi, it is said that "*Ngwana ga se wa shete, ke ngwana wa kgoro"* meaning a sperm does not bring a child into existence but the child belongs to the community in which they live. Furthermore, the number of children a man has and whether they are biological and/or social children can influence how a man acts and how he thinks of himself as a parent (Pleck & Pleck, 1997). In many African cultures, a man does not need to be primarily associated to the child through biology to take on the role of a father (Engle, 1997). However, having a biological child is also considered to be a source of pride among some men and may enhance respect within their communities, as virility is a celebrated aspect of a 'traditional' masculine identity (Pleck, 2010).

Discussions about masculinity are important because they affect the way fatherhood is understood in society. Given that literature on masculinity is often linked to fatherhood, it should be expected that, like masculinity, the understanding of fatherhood is complex in nature. Mkhize (2006) argues that fatherhood is a process through which men come to understand who they are, which is something that does not occur in a vacuum but is shaped by societal constructions of masculinity. Arguably, fatherhood is therefore a social construction that is interconnected with the production and reproduction of masculinities and is shaped by the surroundings and structures in the lives of men (Mkhize, 2006; Plantin, et al., 2003) The understanding of fatherhood as a social construction is further suggested to be aligned with obligations, responsibilities, and roles, which have undergone numerous changes in previous centuries. For example, in the 19th century, the industrial revolution had an impact on the role of fathers in the household (Lamb, 2000). In many black households in South Africa, men were encouraged and in some cases, others forced into migrant labour while the women carried out domestic duties in the home (Delphy & Leonard, 1992). This meant that men were expected to move away from their homes, to regions and areas that could allow them to secure employment so that they could engage in paid labour (Hosking, 2006). The migrant labour system was therefore, a key factor that shaped expectations and norms of fathering (Lamb, 1986). Due to the social oppression and physical hardships experienced by men who engaged in migrant labour during this period, being a 'good father' usually meant taking on the breadwinning role. This also meant that fathers and men were expected to spend most of their time at work so that they could provide for the financial needs of their families (Bernard, 1981). Therefore, work was the key characteristic of their masculine identity, with their ability to provide for their families viewed as a determiner of their masculinity (Brandth & Kvande, 1998).

It has been argued that while the discourse of the 'father as provider' remains prevalent, where men are positioned as taking responsibility for financially providing for the needs of their families, there is also a dominant deficit of male involvement within the home (LaRossa, 1988). Parenthood is now conceptualised as a project whereby men have willingly taken on to self-reflect and question their activities as fathers and what it means to be a good father (Lupton & Barclay, 1997). Morrell (2001) argues that there needs to be an acknowledgement that there are multiple masculine identities that exist and one man's ways of doing 'fatherhood' may differ from another. For example, in a study consisting of low income African American fathers (Roy & Dyson, 2010), it was found that 'good fathering' was associated with the men's ability to provide for their families, which put them under a lot of pressure. Similarly, another

study on the lived experiences and perceived fatherhood roles and parenting behaviour among African American teenage fathers (Paschal et al., 2011), it was found that the majority of the teenage fathers defined fatherhood primarily in relation to economical provision. The teenage fathers communicated that they wanted to provide financially for their children, with some expressing that they were willing to become 'good fathers', which they defined as 'good providers' if they did not already fulfil the role (Paschal et al., 2011). However, in a study investigating men that are involved in South African families in KwaZulu-Natal (Montgomery et al., 2006), it was found that the men were actively involved in their homes. The active involvement was demonstrated through their physical presence at home, caring for their children and financially supporting immediate and extended family (Montgomery et al., 2006). Additionally, in another study on separated and divorced fathers in the Czech Republic (Dudová, 2006), it was found that even after marital separation, the men's notion of fatherhood was focused on their ability to provide for their children. In an ethnographic study on Zulu speaking men's understanding of the changing context of fatherhood in the 20th century in Kwa-Zulu Natal (Hunter, 2006), it was found that the idea of being a father is strongly associated with being the breadwinner. Literature (Morrell, 2001) has revealed that even when other ways of being a father exist and are cited, economic provision has been the most dominantly reported. Due to the understanding of fatherhood linked mainly to financial provision, men who take part in parenting and caring tasks that fall outside of what society would regard as the 'norm' are sometimes regarded as men who 'mother'. However, given West and Zimmerman's (1987) conceptualisation of gender which they argue can be 'done', the studies (Butler, 2004; Deutsch, 2007) show that it is also possible to 'undo' and even trouble the understanding of the way gender is understood in society. This has been shown in the ways in which the role of men as fathers have integrated such that their involvement in their children's lives is not only limited to their roles as the financial providers, but also includes forming emotional and intimate relationships with their children which historically was not regarded as a norm in society.

Although fatherhood is strongly associated with the role of the provider in families, some men are not able to fulfil that role, which may have an impact on their identity. In a quantitative study investigating incarcerated fathers' relationships with their children in the United States (Hairston, 1998), it was found that although imprisoned men want to contribute financially to the care of their children, most of them are not in a position to carry out their paternal roles as financial providers. Furthermore, even when imprisoned men are released

from prison, incarceration disrupts their ability to financially provide for their families because having a criminal record results in fewer employment opportunities (Hairston, 1998). This was a troubling phenomenon for many black fathers, as United States societal norms reinforced the conceptualisation of black father's as involving being a breadwinner (O'Neil et al., 1986). In another study that investigated the lived experiences of low-income fathers in both the United States and South Africa (Roy & Dyson, 2010), it was found that when there is a lack of material resources, fathers feel pressure to fulfil the roles of both the provider and the caregiver for their families. However, when men are not able to fulfil their roles as providers they may experience a 'crisis' in their masculinity (Höfner et al., 2011; Miller, 2011; Morrell & Ritchter, 2006). Achieving a 'complete' sense of masculinity, which is achieved through securing jobs that guarantee sufficient income, may be difficult for many men, especially those in South Africa, given the economic and social conditions (Hunter, 2005; Niehaus, 2005). The socio-economic challenges in South Africa are more prevalent among black people as a result of the continuous inequality and poverty perpetuated by apartheid, therefore resulting in high unemployment rate and low income earnings for black people (Maromo, 2019).

While fathers often view themselves as providers for their families, they are not the only ones who draw on a 'father as provider' discourse in understanding the role of fathers. For example, literature shows that sons also view fathers as being responsible for providing the family with the necessary material resources. Young boys are influenced by viewing their fathers as providers and aspire to be like them (Adomako-Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Mlotshwa, 2016). Likewise, women also view a man's ability to provide for his family as a prominent aspect of good fathering (Perälä-Littunen, 2007). In many black communities in South Africa, both the men and women have a common ideal of fathers as financial providers for their children (Chili & Maharaj, 2015).

From the studies above, it is evident that there is a strong expectation not only among men who are fathers but also among children and women across various cultures and societies that fathers should provide for their families. However, poverty and financial difficulties result in fathers' inability to fulfil their roles as a provider, which can have an impact on their involvement in the children's lives. For example, if a man is unable to fulfil his role as the provider, he may experience fatherhood as unrewarding which may force him to alienate himself from his family. This causes feelings of shame and disappointment, which potentially result in the father being absent from participating in their children's lives (Carlson & McLanahan, 2010). The above mentioned argument regarding the unlikelihood of fathers to

participate in their children's lives due to shame has been supported by a study on a group of young working-class men who have experienced not having being employed over a long duration of time in the region of the English West Midlands (Willott & Griffin, 1997). The study found that the men expressed feeling powerless when they were not able to live up to their masculine role expectations of providing for their families (Willott & Griffin, 1997).

It is clear that the 'father as the provider' discourse exists in different settings. There has been a shift away from the idea that fathering only involves requiring men to provide for the family. Men are increasingly becoming present and emotionally involved in the well-being of their children. However, economic provision continues to be prominent in different societies as a gendered discourse which shapes the understanding of fatherhood (Dermott, 2008).

The following section will focus on literature that has been conducted within the South African context. While I will speak of African men and cultures in South Africa, it is important to note that there are different cultures, therefore it should not be assumed that one culture is representative of all cultural groups that live in South Africa.

Fatherhood and Fathering of Men in South Africa

The emergence of the gold mining industry during the apartheid era had an impact on shaping families in South Africa. Family life was disrupted because African men were forced to migrate for the purpose of work, and therefore spent most of their time away from their families (Morrell & Richter, 2004). Although the men financially provided through remittances, sometimes they only saw their families once a year due to their working conditions and travelling costs (Morrell & Richter, 2004). The migrant labour system therefore played a prominent role in embedding gender roles in the African society where fathers took care of the financial aspect of providing for their families whereas the mothers took care of the childrearing aspects (Montgomery et al., 2006). Therefore, most men were prohibited by their working conditions from being actively involved in socialising with their children and being consistent role models to them (Smit, 2001). The systems of apartheid and colonialism have therefore had an impact on men's ability to maintain a relationship with their children, with the role of the 'fathers as providers' being prevalent.

Qualitative interviews with a group of South African men who reside in low income communities (Clowes et al., 2013) found that the men constructed their understanding of fatherhood through their ability to provide economically for the family. Having the ability to provide for the family was therefore a central component of them having achieved successful masculinity. In another study investigating women's positions in 'coloured' working-class

families in Cape Town, Field (1991) found that even when the women received a monthly income, fathers were regarded as the breadwinner in the household. The inability for fathers to provide has been reported to be regarded negatively for themselves and their status in the communities in which they reside. For example, Swartz and Bhana (2009) found that both 'black' and 'coloured' fathers in South Africa do not feel like 'real men' when they are unable to financially provide for their children. Literature has shown that men in low-income communities regard their ability to provide financially as essential as they are likely to be the main providers for their families (Morrell, 2001). In light of this argument, it is not surprising that South African men particularly those living in low-income communities, feel pressure to provide for their families. Within the context of low-income communities in South Africa, literature shows that when men are unable to provide for their families, they often desert their families due to feelings of failure (Ramphele, 2002). While precarious work may not be an ideal form of employment for those who are engaged in it because they are unable to find permanent employment, they end up having to settle for precarious work so that they are able to provide. Therefore, precarious work shapes constructions of masculinity and subsequently, fatherhood.

While precarious employment shapes constructions of masculinity, it is not the only significant factor especially in the context of South Africa. Culture is another factor which is particularly significant within the South African contexts and society as it has an influence on the kind of access men have to their children. Below I will discuss some of the cultural factors that impact men's access and presence in their children's lives.

Ulwaluko, Magadi and Masculinity in South Africa

In South Africa, *Ulwaluko*[2] is a ritual that is commonly practiced among the isiXhosa, isiNdebele, seSotho sePedi, tshiVenda, and Tsonga speaking communities. *Ulwaluko* has been reported (Gwata, 2009; Meissner & Buso, 2007) to give men 'power', which carries with it social and cultural significance. This power that is conferred to ritually circumcised men, is associated with responsibilities and rights which also give men a 'higher standing in society' (Lee, 2006; Meissner & Buso, 2007). Some of the responsibilities that are associated with traditional circumcision, is having the ability to appease ancestral spirits. According to the isiXhosa speaking communities, ancestors are involved from the initial decision to engage in the circumcision ritual until successful completion (Mavundla, Netswera, Bottoman, & Toth,

[2] *Ulwaluko* is a Xhosa word that makes reference to an initiation ritual that is performed to transform boys into men (Goniwe, 2004).

2009). In a qualitative study conducted on the meaning of circumcision to Xhosa men in South Africa (Mavundla et al., 2009), it was found that Xhosa men regard the initiation as a symbolic birth of a man from a boy. *Ulwaluko* grants authority to men to partake in decision making process relating to household issues and also legitimizes them to become an ancestor once they die (Mavundla et al., 2009). Undergoing the ritual also accords the men with respect from those who share the same culture but have not yet undergone the ritual (Gitywa, 1976). Unmarried women are expected to respect circumcised males, unless they are older than the circumcised male in question. It is therefore evident that undergoing *Ulwaluko* validates the men's masculine status which would otherwise be difficult to attain if they had not gone through the initiation process (Mavundla, Netswera, Toth, Bottoman, & Tenge, 2010).

While for some, the ritual is viewed as having positive aspects (e.g., grooming the boys to be responsible men in society), Wood and Jewkes (1998) argue that the lack of positive role models from older males may reinforce violence and sexual exploitation of young women. Of particular importance is the ways in which uninitiated men may be ridiculed and ostracized (Bottoman, 2006; Mavundla et al., 2010). Uninitiated men may feel rejected or marginalized through a lack of respect for them. These men are excluded from community events, their initiated peers and rejected by their families who may otherwise feel an uncircumcised male brings shame to the family (Bottoman, 2006). Such exclusion may lead to stress and trauma. The feelings may cause some of the men to compensate for not having gone through a process that validates their masculinity by using alternative means such as drug abuse, and promiscuity to assert their masculine identity (Courtenay, 2000). From the arguments presented, *Ulwaluko* is perceived as holding socio-cultural significance. However, criticism is leveled at the behaviour of those initiates who fail to live up to the *Ulwaluko* masculinity.

Ulwaluko may have positive aspects like grooming boys to uphold the positive ritual teachings like being responsible men in society consequently having an impact on their fathering roles. Studies also suggest that marital status has an influence on men's fathering practices. For example, Lerman (2010) reported that men who are not married to the mother of their children are less likely to be involved with their children especially when they do not stay in the same household as them. Moreover, according to Neale and Smart (2002), fathers are believed to be the ones that are less committed to parenting in instances of a divorce. In many countries including South Africa, it is important for the men to pay *Magadi* (bride price) or *Inhlawulo*, in order for them to have complete access to their children. Unlike married fathers who have legitimate rights over their children, fathers that have not paid *Magadi* (bride price)

or *Inhlawulo*[3] are barred from seeing their children. This means that men who are not able to afford the bride price as well as *inhlawulo* will have a lowered chance of being involved in their children's lives and might end up abandoning their children. In other cases, it has been reported (Richter, Chikovore, & Makusha, 2010) that some men would rather not acknowledge the paternity of their children because of their inability to afford to pay for *Magadi* and *inhlawulo*. Therefore, doing so may have an impact on their inability to have access to their children.

Given the importance of a father being involved in a child's life, I will elaborate on the effects this involvement has on the well-being of both the children and the fathers. This discussion is particularly important as this study seeks to understand some of the ways in which employment conditions could potentially impact on fathers' ability to be involved in their children's lives.

The Importance of Fathers' Involvement in Their Children's Lives

While literature has previously described an ideal father to be a man who provides economically for the family (Lamb, 1986), an emerging body of literature has reported fatherhood to also include men who are actively involved[4] in caring for the well-being of their children and being emotionally intuitive (Minsky, 2000). In addition to viewing the father as a provider for the family, a growing body of research has found that men are becoming more committed to the idea that being a 'good father' requires establishing emotional connections with their children, which requires a greater level of engagement in their everyday lives (Cabrera et al., & Lamb, 2000; Wiberg, 2015). Recent studies have reported an increase in men's participation in the household, suggesting that men have become actively involved in caring emotionally and being physically present for their children (Viljoen, 2011). In a British study investigating the contemporary notion of a 'good father' (Henwood & Procter, 2003), it was found that the male participants all associated being a 'good father' with being present in the home. They also reported that they wanted to be involved in their children's lives so that they could keep in contact with them and be sensitive to their needs (Henwood & Procter, 2003). Similarly, in an informal observational study in a township in Johannesburg (Richter, 2006), literature shows that there was an increase in men walking their children to and from school, taking them to health care centres to get immunised, and reports from the men that they

[3] *Inhlawulo* also referred to by some as 'damages' is a fine that is paid to the family of the mother that a man impregnates outside of marriage.

[4] See Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, and Levine (1985) for a definition of involved fatherhood

provide care at home. It is therefore evident that men are actively taking part in the well-being of their children, which has been documented to have a positive impact on the well-being and development of children (Amato & Gilbreth, 1999; Coley & Hernandez, 2006).

In a book on the father and child relationship and the influence fathers have on their children, Lamb (2004) found that there was a connection between whether a father lives with the child or not, their involvement in caring practices and their children's cognitive and socio-emotional development, academic achievement, and the development of healthy peer relationships. Similarly, literature investigating fathers' involvement during the first years of a child's life in low income white, black, and Latino households in the United States of America (Shannon et al., 2002; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2004) found that fathers who are engaged and involved in their children's lives contribute positively to the language and cognitive development of their children. Additionally, it was found that children who were raised by single mothers lived below the poverty line as adults compared to children raised in a household that had both a mother and a father (Lang & Zagorsky, 2001). Although not all children who are raised by single mothers are poor as adults, the difference in poverty rates should be taken into consideration because literature reports that families that have an absent father were more likely to be poor (McLoyd, 1998). Another study investigating the household family structure and children's aggressive behaviour (Vaden-Kiernan et al., 1995) found that boys whose fathers were present in their early years were reported by teachers as exhibiting low levels of aggression between grade 4 and 6. In another study, Flouri et al. (2002) found that girls who had an absent father at the age of seven were more likely to get into trouble with the police at the age of 16. In addition to the presence of fathers within the home, the quality of the father-child relationship is said to determine the outcomes of children. It is important to note that the kind of relationship fathers have with their children, along with physical absence/presence of fathers, impact children's overall well-being.

In addition to the discussions above that demonstrate that fathers have an impact on the well-being of children in general, it is also assumed that fathers have a particular impact on the development of a male child. A male child has been reported by Garbarino (1999) to need the care and love of his father more, as it is believed to enhance his emotional, psychosocial and masculine development. Silverstein and Auerbach (1999) argue that fathers play a 'unique' and vital role contributing to a male child's development, as a male role model is believed to be essential in order for him to develop a masculine gender identity. In a book narrating the lives of 16 young males and females from the townships in Cape Town (Ramphele, 2002), it

was found that boys who did not grow up with a father present were vulnerable to drug abuse, experienced emotional disturbances like aggression, and were likely to be involved in gangs.

Research reports that the interest men are taking in being actively involved in the lives of their children is because of the relationship between paternal involvement and the positive outcomes of children and men themselves (Dermott, 2008). In a longitudinal study that explored the importance of parenting, financial contributions and psychological well-being in the United States (Schindler, 2010), it was found that children who had an involved father who contributes financially to their families' well-being, showed improvement in psychological well-being. Other potential benefits of involvement for men include better quality of life and health, better relationships with their partners (Holter, 2007). From these findings, it is evident that while fathers who are involved in their children's lives contribute to the positive development of their children, they are also likely to experience positive outcomes. However, the lives of men on precarious employment conditions have been reported to be characterised by anxiety, frustration, and a constant fear that the next assignment will be their last (White, 2015). These feelings of frustration as a result of the men's working conditions may therefore have an impact on the men's emotional involvement with their children. Therefore, even though the fathers may be physically present in their children's lives, they may not be 'present' because they are constantly worried about the future of their families which may result in a lack of emotional connection with their children. In the next section, I will provide a further discussion on the impact working conditions may have on men's fathering practices.

The Effects of Working Conditions on Fathers and Family Life

Literature argues that fatherhood opens up opportunities for emotional engagement with children (Morrell, 2006). In light of this argument, a positive father and child relationship can be seen as having benefits for both men and children. A South African study investigated the precarious employment of African men in Cape Town and the impact their employment has on their fathering practices (Malinga, 2015). It was found that while men acknowledge the importance and shared the desire to be present in their children's lives, their precarious employment conditions made it difficult for them to do so (Malinga, 2015). Similarly, Cohen (1993) argues that fathers are increasingly taking on roles that involve a more active and emotional relationship with their children. There is however, evidence that precarious employment conditions may impact on the fathers' involvement in the lives of their children. Furthermore, even among fathers who identify themselves as being the primary care-givers for

their children, paid work as a source of identity still stands out as a priority and a societal expectation (Doucet, 2016).

Given the preconceived societal expectation that constructs fatherhood through a man's ability to provide for the family through paid work, the labour market may be seen as a system that shapes fatherhood (Hanlon & Lynch, 2011). This is because access to time dedicated to fathering is determined by the men's involvement in the labour market. In order to manage the demands that come with the different forms of labour, including precarious employment in HEIs, fathers can expect to face difficulties in balancing their time between work and family. In a newspaper article on the incompatibility of working in academia and balancing family life (Chakrabortty & Weale, 2016), it was reported that a father who is on a non-permanent contract, working as a lecturer, is less likely to be able to plan for his future with his family. The lack of ability to plan for the future lies in the conditions associated with precarious employment in HEIs, such as short-term contracts with a lack of opportunity to gain secure work, plan their future, and build a career.

There are challenges that could hinder the ability of employed men to be involved in their children's lives. For example, Wiberg (2015) argues that employed men have certain responsibilities that they take up, and employers have certain expectations of them, which involve loyalty in terms of working over-time which is considered important for building a career. Men have certain child caring responsibilities they take up and employers have particular expectations of them. The following section will discuss some of the characteristics and conditions associated with precarious employment and how this kind of employment in academia hinders men's ability to be actively engaged in fathering practices.

Understanding Precarious Employment in Higher Education Institutions

There are three broad categories of precariously employed academic workers in HEIs. The first is doctoral students who lecture during their studies in an attempt to begin an academic career (The University and College Union, 2016). They often work long hours at the expense of their studies and are poorly paid (White, 2015). The second category comprises of academic professionals who are employed outside of academia but also teach on the side to elevate their income or because they enjoy teaching. Universities often employ a large number of these academic professionals, sometimes called 'sessional' or 'visiting' lecturers. The last category consists of research staff who are employed on a limited term and are dependent on short-term funding (The University and College Union, 2016). These staff members depend on the precarious contracts proposed by the universities they are employed at for a living. Drawing

on extensive secondary literature to understand casual academic employment, Burgess et al. (2008) argue that the continued prevalence of casual academic employment practices may not provide financial security or a stable career but does allow for flexibility for some of the workers. A recent report on the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) (Graham-Leigh, 2020) found that there has been a major financial cut to the university's financial budget. A cut to the financial budget at universities means an eminent attack on non-permanent academic staff because they are reliant on the income received, but have to be let go (Graham-Leigh, 2020). However, students, lecturers who teach because they enjoy it, and people with caring responsibilities, usually women, are some of the people who fall into the group of academic employees who need this flexibility.

Most university faculties in the United States of America report that a segment of part- and full-time employees are on precarious contracts because they want to be able to focus on teaching rather than on research work (Atkins et al., 2018). Data from household income and labour dynamics in Australia, found that some people who are casually employed in HEIs are there as a result of family responsibilities or education but do not seek to be employed on the casual contracts for an extended period of time (Chalmers & Waddoups, 2007). Casual employment is often presented as a personal choice, particularly in Germany and the United States as the two European countries are believed to be populated by people that are financially well off (Atkins et al., 2018; Burgess et al., 2008). However, it is likely that for some people, the choice is for flexibility in terms of hours spent at work or because it is the only opportunity that provides the flexibility they need (Kimber, 2003). Therefore, while some people choose precarious employment for the kind of flexibility it provides, there are others who would prefer more permanent forms of work. However, because they are unable to find permanent employment, they end up having to settle for precarious work. This means that some people take on a precarious employment contract to earn an income for survival. The lives of these people are often characterised by anxiety, frustration, and a constant fear that the next assignment will be their last (White, 2015). Gottschalk and McEachern (2010) found that most academics on casual contracts are caught in the cycle of short-term contracts with experiences of frustration centred on a lack of opportunity to gain secure work and plan their future or build a career.

Employment flexibility tends to gradually wear away standard employment conditions that should be adhered to by employers (Bradley et al., 2000). When comparing precarious academic employees on temporary contracts to permanent employees, some variations of the

conditions can be seen. For example, Goudswaard and Andries (2002) found that temporary workers report experiencing unfavourable working conditions more often than permanent workers, with the severity of the working conditions tending to correlate with the instability of the employment contracts. Workers on temporary contracts have been reported to be less inclined than permanent employees to put in a leave of absence from work due to their type of employment, feelings of job insecurity, a lack of pay during sick leave and/-or financial difficulties (Tompa et al., 2007). This means that men that are employed on non-permanent contracts are less likely to spend the time that they want engaging in caring practices for their children because of their working conditions. Even when the men are at home engaging in caring practices for their children, they may not be 'present' because they are constantly worried about the future of their families.

Arguments in support of the labour market flexibility across sectors, including higher education generally propose that the arrangement is beneficial for both the employer and the employee (Gottschalk & McEachern, 2010). However, some people dispute this argument, stating that labour market flexibilities are better for the employers rather the employees (Campbell, 2001; Forward, 2007; Pocock, 2008). According to Campbell (2004), an advantage for the employer is that it provides cheap labour costs and makes it easy to dismiss the employees. According to The University and College Union (2016) some universities justify the mass casualization of their teaching workforce by citing (a) that some people need employment flexibility, (b) postgraduate students need to build their careers in academia and (c) a shortage of funds in the institutions. However, the majority of people on casual contracts would most likely trade the flexibility of their situation for the security of predictable employment patterns and a guaranteed income. This is because life on casual contracts is very uncertain; not only does one never know what the following academic year holds, but extra work can frequently be offered during the semester or year at very short notice (White, 2015). In a newspaper article investigating the experiences of part-time lecturers (Weale, 2016), three lecturers reported that working for a HEIs on an hourly paid contract means that they are underpaid and have to take on extra work to increase their income. This decreases the amount of time available to spend with family. While it is evident that casual and contracted academics find themselves performing extra tasks and working overtime, some of them have jobs on the side in addition to their academic duties so that they can afford to provide for themselves and their families. This means that some of them have multiple hourly paid jobs across various

institutions and cities, which results in a lot of time spent travelling for work purpose and little time spent at home (Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015).

Employees on precarious employment contracts hardly ever receive an income that corresponds with the amount of work they are expected to do and the number of hours spent at work. A survey on the experiences of precarious labour employment at the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg (Tjirera & Academic Staff Association of Wits University, 2016) found that most lecturers felt that they were paid below the university's minimum associate lecturer rates. The lecturers reported that they were getting only 80% of their expected salary while student numbers had increased threefold. Additionally, a report by The University of College Union (2016), found that lecturers who were on hourly contracts put in long hours of work, with postgraduate lecturers working almost twice as many hours per week on teaching than they were actually being paid for. Moreover, a study on casual academic contracts in higher education in England (Lopes & Dewan, 2014), found that although the employees worked longer hours and made themselves available during odd hours (e.g., at night) they did so out of fear of not having their contracts renewed. In a university in the United States of America, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) found that approximately half of the faculty members worked part-time and the majority of the academic staff were not on an employment post that guaranteed consideration for eventual full-time employment. It is clear from these studies, that precarious employment is common in many universities, although it may take different forms. For example, while some employees may experience flexibility as a result of the working conditions of their employment, some spend significantly longer hours at work out of fear of not having a job the following semester.

What is most startling is that although precarious employment is common in most universities and assumes similar characteristics and conditions, both in South Africa and internationally, the problem is most acute in most well-known universities with good public reputations (The University of College Union, 2016). Within higher education in the United Kingdom, it was found that the problem is acute in the country's well-known universities because a large number of academics in the universities are doctoral students who either use their part-time lecturing to fund their doctorates or build their teaching portfolio (The University of College Union, 2016).

In a study on long-serving casual staff at an Australian university, Brown et al. (2010) found that aside from some of the problems associated with employment insecurity, other issues that came with being on an insecure contract were a lack of access to basic employee

necessities (e.g., a computer, a desk, an office), feelings of exclusion from some university forums, high administrative burdens, poor communication from employers, and feelings of isolation. These issues affect not only employees' emotional well-being but also the kind of work they produce because of a lack of self-identity. This also affects their work-life balance, which leaves them with little time to spend with family and friends. While it would be expected that 'well-known' universities would have better working conditions for academic employees, it is clear that precarious academic employment requires working significantly longer hours with no guarantee of a permanent position regardless of the institution. Moreover, the employees have less time in the day to spend with their families and children, which consequently has an effect on their parenting practices.

The Impact of Precarious Employment on Fathering

Several studies have investigated precarious employment of men in HEIs and their fathering practices from an international context. For example, a qualitative study investigated precarious employment and fathers' frustrations of casual employment in an HEI in Australia (Gottschalk & McEachern, 2007). The results from the study showed that academics who are precariously employed in HEIs in Australia usually hold multiple jobs, not because it is their preference to do so, but because they need to earn enough so that they can be able to survive (Gottschalk & McEachern, 2007). Another qualitative study investigated academic fathers on tenure contracts navigating around work and family life conflict, coping strategies, and departmental culture in the South-Western United States (Reddick et al., 2012). The results from the study indicated that a significant number of men had common challenges, which involved conflicting pulls on one's time through home responsibilities and work with the challenges pronounced for men desiring to be active fathers.

There are broader structures that should be taken into consideration regarding fathers' involvement in their children's lives. Some of these structures include organisation and employment policies such as parental leave after the birth of the child as taking paternity leave and the length of the paternity leave has a positive impact on the father's involvement in the child's well-being (Haas & Hwang, 2008; Huerta et al., 2014; Levtov et al., 2015; Nepomnyaschy & Waldfogel, 2007; Petts & Knoester, 2018). More men have been reported to be taking an interest in their new born children's well-being, especially because it was found that time off work when a child is born provides fathers with the opportunity to bond and feel comfortable performing parenting tasks (Rehel, 2014; Tanaka & Waldfogel, 2007).

Men want to be a part of the journey of taking care of their new born babies. However, Perna (2001) reported that even though HEIs in countries like the United States of America, have policies in place for maternity leave, less than half had policies in place for paternal leave. Even when the institutions had paternal leave policies in place, the polices were often not put into practice or enforced (Perna, 2001). In South Africa, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act in terms of section 30, states that permanent staff or staff members who are on a non-permanent contract of between 2-5 years are entitled to 4 months paid maternity leave and 10 days of paid family responsibility leave (The South African Labour Law Guide, 2019). However, staff members on a contract that is for 2 years or less, are entitled to 4 months unpaid leave (The South African Labour Law Guide, 2019). Furthermore, permanent staff in higher education are entitled to 5 days of family responsibility leave whereas staff members on a contract of 2 years or less are entitled to only 3 days (The South African Labour Law Guide, 2019). It should be noted that not all male academic staff are on contracts that are between 2-5 years in length. This means that although they may want to take paternal leave when their child is born, taking more than the 3-5 offered days of leave, they will not receive an income during the time they are away. This also means that fathers employed in HEIs may find it difficult to have social interactions with their children, and balancing work and care for their families and children (Hrženjak, 2017).

The discussion above has highlighted the experiences and challenges of precariously employed academics in HEIs. This includes a lack of financial security, ease of dismissal by the employers because of flexibility in the contract, and long hours spent at work out of fear of not having a job the following semester. The above mentioned argument may have an impact on a person's well-being therefore contributing to the kind of emotional involvement and connection with their families. It is therefore clear that due to precarious working conditions, fathers working in HEIs are affected which consequently has an impact on their parenting practices.

Theoretical Framework

This study focuses on men's fathering practices within the context of precarious work in HEIs. The theoretical framework utilised in this study was the Father Involvement Model which is a lens through which I made sense of and engaged with the findings of the study. The purpose of the Father Involvement Model is to understand father involvement in relation to other factors that have an impact on fathers being involved in their children's lives. Additionally, the model seeks to explain the dimensions of father involvement, the factors that

may affect father involvement and the impact of involved fathers in their children's lives (Santis & Barham, 2017). The model was first discussed by Lamb et al. (1985) who highlighted its three key features; (1) e*ngagement* which refers to the interaction between a father and his children, (2) *accessibility* which refers to being available to the child, and (3) responsibility which involves decision-making and other roles which include things like arranging a doctor's appointment for the child, child-rearing practices like changing the child's nappy and taking care of the child's financial needs (Castillo et al., 2011).

In the current study, the impact of precarious employment conditions on the men's fathering practices was observed through the three key features mentioned above. Engagement refers to how the father interacts with his children and was observed through the kind of relationship the father has with the child. Accessibility refers to how available the father is to the child when he is needed, either by helping the child with a particular activity or making time to be available to the needs of the child. Lastly, Responsibility refers to the decisions that fathers make for the children within the household, particularly in terms of providing financially for the child. For the purpose of this study, factors that could potentially directly impact on the involvement of fathers in their children's lives are: (a) who the child lives with, (b) the availability of time and financial resources particularly from the father, and (c) the men's working conditions (see Figure 1).

Utilising the Father Involvement Model is particularly important because the employment conditions of men precariously employed in HEIs is one of the factors that could have an impact on these men's fathering practices (see figure 1).

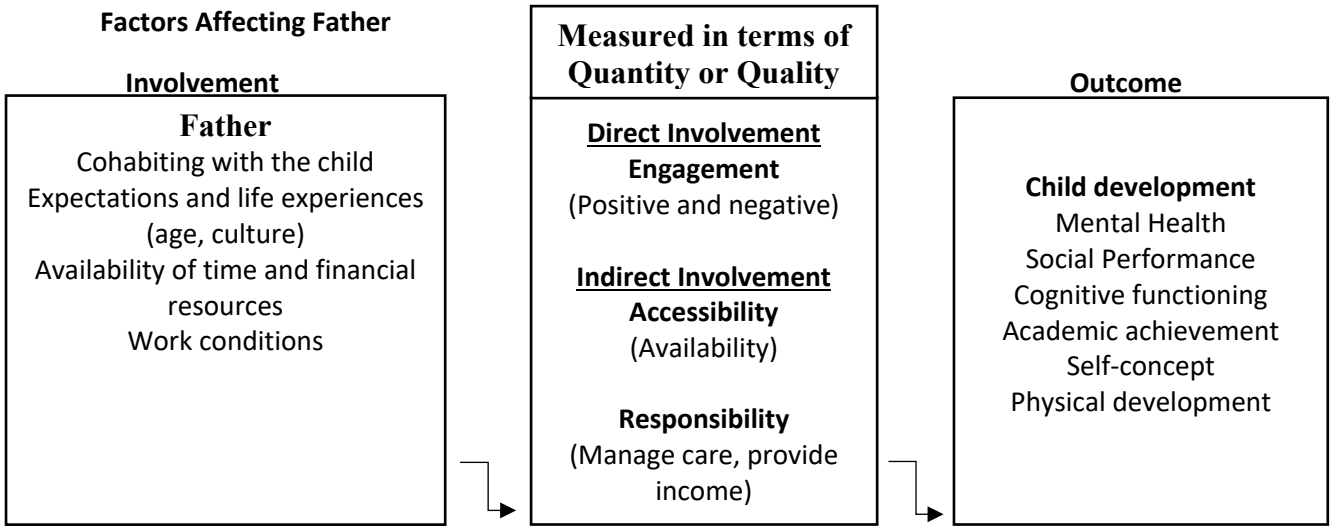

Figure 1 Theoretical Model of father involvement adapted from Lamb et al. (1985)[5]

[5] *Figure 1*. Theoretical model of Father Involvement (Santis & Barham, 2017).

Concluding Summary

Both qualitative and quantitative research has highlighted the importance of fathers and the contributions they make to their children's' lives. It has been suggested that while fathers act as providers and protectors, they also contribute to the cognitive and social development of their children. Drawing from the South African context, certain historical and cultural factors have contributed to the ways in which fathers conceptualise their responsibilities and roles in society, with evidence suggesting that the traditional expectations (i.e., men providing financially and having children in the families) continue to persist. Evidence also suggests that while the involvement of fathers has been seen to be important for the well-being of children, the labour market continues to have an impact on fathering practices. While there has been a significant amount of research conducted on precarious employment in HEIs and the impact the employment conditions have on family life internationally (particularly in Australia), limited attention has been paid to ways in which precarious employment conditions in HEIs influence fathering practices in South Africa. This is an important area of work that will contribute to a better understanding of men who are experiencing these employment conditions and fathering within the South African context. Given that the study focused on practices and men's experiences of fathering, the study utilised the Father Involvement Model as a lens through which I can make sense of and engage with the findings. In doing so, the model was able to help me understand involvement of fathers in their children's lives. The following chapter will elaborate on the research aims and discuss the methodology that was employed within the current study.

CHAPTER 3:

Methodology

This chapter describes the current study's research process. It outlines the research aims and the methodology that was employed for this research. This chapter will begin with an outline of the aim and objectives of the research. Thereafter, the choice of research method will be justified, followed by a discussion of the study sample, the data collection methods and procedure, and the data analysis process, which will describe how interpretive phenomenological perspective was utilised to analyse the data. This will be followed by a section on ethical considerations, which will discuss issues regarding informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, and incentives. The chapter ends with a section on my subjective reflection on the research process

Research Design

The aim of this study was to understand the fathering practices of men who are precariously employed in HEIs in the Western Cape, South Africa. This research adopted a qualitative research design. Qualitative research places emphasis on words and meaning rather than on the quantification of data (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Hammersley, 2012). The qualitative process involves collecting data relating to a specific area of study so that the researcher can gain a greater depth of understanding of the individual's experience. Therefore, the qualitative research method aims to understand the ways in which individuals give meaning to their experiences and allows participants to interpret the experiences from their perspective (Willig, 2001).

Creswell and Creswell (2017) argue that the role of the qualitative researcher is to investigate the meaning of a phenomenon from the participants' perspective. The use of a qualitative methodology can be justified in the current study due to the nature of the subject under investigation (Creswell & Creswell, 2017), which is the subjective experiences of precariously employed fathers in HEIs and their definitions of fatherhood within their precarious employment conditions. Given that the objective of qualitative research is to understand participants' experiences and interpretations of a phenomenon (Willig, 2001), the qualitative method was suitable for the current study.

Critics of the qualitative methodology have emphasised that the subjective views and perspectives of the researcher could contaminate the detailed data. As such, it is important that qualitative researchers attempt to avoid data contamination through the process of reflexivity (Wilson & MacLean, 2011). The process of reflexivity allows the researcher to be aware of

their contribution to the research findings and the manner in which they are reported (Willig, 2001) by identifying any subjective factors that may have had an impact on the research outcome (Wilson & MacLean, 2011). It was therefore important for me, as the researcher, to discuss and reflect on my own contribution to the research process. This process will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

Sampling Methods and Procedure

Seven self-defined fathers, employed under precarious working conditions in HEIs, participated in this study. Semi-structured interviews were held with each of the participants at times that were mutually convenient. I recruited the participants using purposive and snowball sampling methods (Wilson & MacLean, 2011). Using purposive sampling is essential for establishing a good correspondence between the research questions and sampling (Bryman, 2004). The recruited participants had to meet three requirements for participation, namely that they (1) self-defined as fathers, (2) were employed as academic staff within an HEI in the Western Cape and (3) were on non-permanent contracts. Ethical approval and permission was granted by two HEIs within the Western Cape and the University of Cape Town for the research study to commence (see Appendix E and Appendix F). An advert was circulated through the staff email portals at both the institutions (see Appendix C). The response rate was low following both these institutions internal mailing procedures, and as such, I had to find another way to recruit participants. This was done by printing out A5 size posters of the invitation to participate and going door-to-door delivering these at both the institutions, to individually invite men to participate in the research. Participants who were interested in taking part in the study responded to the invite and emailed me about their interest in taking part in the study. The process of recruiting participants was particularly challenging. This was because the potential participants were often too busy to take part in the research or did not meet the criteria of the research study. Although this was distressing, some interviews were eventually secured. The number of participants interviewed are a reflection of the challenges I had in recruiting participants. The aim was to achieve a total of twenty participants. However, only seven interviews were secured. The number of participants that took part in the study should not undermine the quality of information that will be discussed in the paper, as the qualitative research method is not interested in the number of participants that take part in a study but rather the depth of conversations with the participants (Willig, 2001).

Data Collection Methods and Procedure

Data was collected using semi-structured, face-to-face interviews. I selected semi-structured interviews because they involve an exchange of dialogue in a relatively informal style, led by predetermined open-ended questions that are used to maintain and guide the interviews (see Appendix B). This allowed the participants to answer questions on their own terms, while still providing a good structure over that of the unstructured interview. The interviews were designed to have a flexible structure to allow the emergence of unexpected themes (Esterberg, 2002). They therefore allow the participants to give a rich and descriptive explanation, thus eliciting more information from them (Mason, 2002). All the participants chose to have the interviews in their offices, as they were at work during the time that the interviews were scheduled to occur. Each individual interview was audio recorded and lasted between 40 and 75 minutes. In total, recruitment and data collection took six weeks.

The questions I asked the participants required me to listen attentively to their responses so that I was able to gain a better understanding of the experiences of the fathers. The initial questions in the guide included open-ended questions about what fatherhood meant to the participants and how they described the influence their employment had on their fathering practices. Each participant was presented with a similar set of questions relating to their overall experience of their precarious employment in HEIs and the influence this had on their fathering practices. Questions in the guide were reviewed several times during and the interview. This was based on the responses the participants gave, with probing questions included each time a new theme emerged so that there was further exploration of that issue. I carried out a pilot interview prior to commencing the actual research so that the pilot interviewee could express their feelings, thoughts, and dissatisfaction relating to the questions that were asked. This process allowed for me to be able to re-evaluate working with some of the questions while also identifying any question that could potentially make the participant feel uncomfortable.

While using semi-structured interviews as a form of data collection helped me understand and articulate the experiences of the fathers and their precarious employment, the interviews should not be treated as though they are a direct reflection of what happens to all men and fathers in HEIs in South Africa (Mason, 2002). This is because all men are different, and therefore, experience fathering and their working conditions in HEIs differently.

Data Analysis Method

Data analysis is defined as a process whereby data is reduced to manageable chunks, which allows the researcher to be able to present that data in the form of a report. The analysis process also involves data being interpreted, which is when meaning is constructed and described (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). Data from this study consisted of audio-recorded, semi-structured interviews that were transcribed verbatim. The process of transcribing allowed me to gain a better understanding of the participant from having to repeatedly listen to the interviews and read the transcriptions. The current study utilised Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to analyse the data. The main aim of IPA is to explore, in detail, the manner in which participants make sense of their personal and social worlds and the meanings their experiences hold for them (Osborn & Smith, 1998). IPA involves a detailed examination of the world of the participants by exploring their personal experiences and perceptions as opposed to producing objective statements regarding the phenomenon under study (Osborn & Smith, 1998). A study exploring men's understanding of fathering and paternal roles (Eskandari et al., 2016) using IPA found this data analysis method useful as it moves beyond a mere description and understanding of experiences and involves interpreting the experiences and the meanings placed on them by participants (Smith, 2004). As such, this method of analysing data is well suited to a study that seeks to understand the experiences of men employed on precarious employment contracts in HEIs and the impact their employment has on their fathering practices. Data was analysed according to the guidelines outlined by Osborn and Smith (1998), which involved the following steps: (a) reading and re-reading the transcripts in order to have a sense of the experiences the participants shared and note potential themes; (b) re-reading the transcripts from the beginning and identifying and organising emerging themes; (c) defining the themes in more detail and establishing relationships between them; and (d) organising the themes into meaningful statements that detail the participants' experiences and the meaning they attached to these experiences. This process allowed themes to emerge directly from the data.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations form an important part of the research process, from the moment the study commences until the research findings are published (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010). Several ethical considerations were relevant for this study. Ethical clearance for this current study was granted by the University of Cape Town's Department of Psychology's Research Ethics Committee (Ref. PSY2018-055, see Appendix F) as well as permission granted by the

University of the Western Cape (see Appendix E). Ethical issues that were relevant to this study, and the ways in which they were addressed, are discussed below, namely: informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, do no harm to participants, and incentives.

Informed Consent.

An informed consent form, drafted as a written agreement for participation in the study, was given to the participants before the study commenced (Wilson & MacLean, 2011). Factual information regarding the purpose of the study, the methods that will be used to gather the information, as well as an assurance of the voluntary nature of participation in the study, were outlined (Wassenaar, 2006) (see Appendix A). Participants were also informed of their rights to withdraw from the study at any point even after having signed the consent form, without any repercussions (Esterberg, 2002). Before the participants could sign the form, I made sure that they understood everything that was outlined in the informed consent form and only then, did they sign it.

Anonymity and Confidentiality.

Steps were taken to protect participants' anonymity and confidentiality. The term anonymity makes reference to the act of not using an identifiable name or characteristics of the person involved whereas confidentiality refers to the state in which something is kept a secret (McKinlay & McVittie, 2008). I ensured that the interactions I had with the participants remained confidential and that any identifying information that may link back to the participants was stored securely (e.g., I made sure that all the consent forms were kept in a locked compartment in a cabinet). Additionally, their recorded information was kept confidential on a password protected computer; only my supervisor and I had access to the information. It was important that participants' names be completely removed from all data, as they were concerned about the safety of their jobs. The information presented in the findings section have the potential to cause conflict between the participants and the universities that employ them, and the head of management in their faculties. Therefore, it was important for me to make sure that their identity was withheld from all data presented in the study report. Thus to keep them anonymous, I made sure that I removed any information that could identify the participants to others along with any explicitly identifiable information (McKinlay & McVittie, 2008). For example, I made sure that their real names and surnames are not utilised in the study report and instead replaced their names with pseudonyms so that their identities remained concealed.

Harm to Participants.

It was also important that I ensured that the participants were not harmed as a result of this study. I therefore informed the participants that, should they require counselling as a result of the study, details of a counsellor would be provided. Only one participant expressed the need for us to stop recording the interview due to the discomfort he felt as a result of the information he was sharing. It was important that although I was there as a researcher to gather information about the experiences of the men, that I also treated the participants with the respect they deserve as human beings. The participant who expressed the need for me to stop recording the interview showed signs of distress and discomfort during the study. He stated that the issues we were discussing were the cause of a lot of problems in his family and life. Because we had already gone 28-minutes into the interview, I had to ask him if he was comfortable with me using the information. He did not withdraw the data from the study and indicated that he was comfortable with the information he had already shared being used in this study. I made sure to enquire at the end of the study if he needed assistance in dealing with the distress. When I made the offer for him to see a counsellor as a result of what had occurred, he mentioned that he had been seeing someone for 10 years to help him through some of the issues and that it was enough for him. Other participants mentioned they were comfortable with the questions that had been asked when I followed up with them at the end of the interview. I made sure to leave behind a referral list after all the interviews so that should they need to seek counselling as a result of the study, they would have access to contact details for such services (see Appendix D).

Incentives.

Incentives in a research study serve various purposes and can be either monetary or non-monetary in nature (Dickert & Grady, 2008). While it is believed that utilising incentives may increase the likelihood of participation in a study, incentives are usually used in quantitative surveys rather than qualitative research studies that often have a small sample. In this study, incentives were provided to participants. After having taken part in the study, the participants were given a gift voucher from Checkers store worth R100. In making sure that the participants did not take part in the study only so that they could receive the incentives, I made sure to only mention rewarding them after the interview was complete. The role of the incentives were to show appreciation for the time participants had taken out of their busy schedules to speak to me. By only mentioning the incentives at the end of the interview, we expect that there was less pressure and influence on the individuals to participate in a study that

they may otherwise have opted not to take part in (Grant & Sugarman, 2004; Singer & Couper, 2008).

Reflection on the Research Process

In qualitative research, it is important for the researcher to reflect on their positioning in the research process. This reflection will provide an important understanding for the study's results. This reflection will allow for me as the researcher to discuss some of the contribution I may have had in the data that was collected, and how it was analysed.

Researcher's Experience.

Researchers need to be reflexive when they investigate qualitative research material (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006). Reflexivity is a process whereby the researcher continuously reflects upon the entire research process and the manner in which they may have influenced the study's results (Denzin & Lincoln, 2002). The process of reflexivity is important as it allows there to be an awareness of how the researcher's personal attributes may have affected and/or contaminated the outcomes of the research (Willig, 2001). Thus, it allows the researcher to identify various factors within themselves that may have affected the interview process.

A Reflection of Power: Race, Age and Gender.

Prior to recruiting participants for the study, one of my concerns was how my social identity could affect the data collection process. Social identities are factors that need to be considered in qualitative research because they are made up of identity categories such as race, class, gender, ethnicity, and education. These factors have an impact on how people relate to one another. While the interaction between the participant and researcher may be influenced by the researchers' social status, gender, or age, the researcher may be seen as an authoritative figure by the interviewees (Wilson & MacLean, 2011).

Given South Africa's racial history, Seidman (2006) argues that establishing rapport between a researcher and participants from different racial and ethnic backgrounds may be difficult. As I reflect on my personal experience of having engaged with my participants, I do not feel that my racial identification had an impact on establishing rapport with the participants. The intersection between my age and gender appeared to affect the manner in which I interacted with some of the participants. For instance, I found that I was more reserved and highly conscious of myself as a young Pedi woman. Both historical (Mazuri, 1975) and contemporary (Day, 2014) South African literature has reported on the behaviour of a black child and the concept of respecting elders. This is because culture plays an important role in the ways in which a child treats an elder. It was important that I was respectful in the manner in which I

phrased my questions to my participants so that I did not come across as rude or insensitive. In some instances, I felt shy to ask some of the questions because of the expectations and beliefs that have been instilled in me, which is to show utmost respect for my elders. However, I made sure that I phrased the questions similarly for most of the interviews so that respect was shown and to ensure that I did not offend the participants when I probed their answers. In this sense, I would say that the interviews I had with the fathers limited the amount of data I attained because I was self-conscious and reserved about the way I asked the questions. However, I would also suggest that the fact that I showed utmost respect might have caused them to want to share more with me than they might have shared with someone who did not show the same level of respect.

With regards to age, literature suggests that older participants are less comfortable being interviewed by younger interviewers, especially in instances where they feel that the interviewers place them in subordinate positions (Seidman, 2006). Being cognisant of this, along with the position the men hold in the university, being interviewed by a young woman with possibly less qualifications than them may have subverted the interview space and relations often expected within an interview setting. Some of the fathers were not forthcoming with the responses to some of the questions, particularly with regards to their fathering practices. I was aware of the fact that some of the fathers seemed to have been showing signs of discomfort towards some of the discussions about fatherhood and was therefore, sensitive with the way I probed some of the answers that I felt they held back.

My gender is of interest when discussing the way the participants and I interacted with each other. According to Johnson and Moore (1993) gender relations influence both the dynamic of the interview process and the data that was collected. Moreover, it has been reported that an interviewing relationship may be affected by sexist attitudes (Johnson & Moore, 1993). For instance, Seidman (2006) reported that males interviewing females may cause discomfort to a certain degree whereas, females interviewing males can be reluctant to control the focus of the interview. In both of these scenarios, there is the possibility of limiting the richness of the collected data. I found that my gender did not have an impact on the mood of the general interview. As a matter of fact, the participants were happy to be contributing to a topic that they felt is often not spoken about in HEIs. Some of the fathers felt comfortable sharing more information with me and I am of the assumption that it was because I was female, with some going as far as showing me some family pictures on their phones.

The fact that some of my participants were referred to me by a mutual friend meant that the fathers might have painted a positive image of their parenting practices in order to maintain the good impressions I had of them.

Concluding Summary.

This chapter outlined the study's methodology. It discussed the participants and outlined the data collection and analysis procedures. Despite the limitations of the research methods that were utilised, they were useful in undertaking the research study. As this research study utilised qualitative research methodology, semi-structured interviews were the best method for collecting data related to participants' experiences. In order for me to best understand the effect I may have had on the data collection and analysis process, it was important that I reflected on issues of power, race, age, and gender and how these may have contributed to the research process. The following chapter will detail the analysis process and present the research findings.

CHAPTER 4:

Understanding Fatherhood and Fathering

Introduction

This is the first of two chapters that present findings of the research study by attending to the research objectives, namely: to generate a better understanding of how men on non-permanent contracts in HEIs describe and make meaning of their experiences of fatherhood. Using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis, I identified five themes in the data: (1) a 'traditional' understanding of fatherhood, (2) father involvement and father-child relationships, (3) HEIs: insecurity, flexibility and exploitation, (4) the job viewed as fulfilling and rewarding, and (5) the impact of precarious employment conditions on fathering. These themes reflect the participants' subjective experiences which will be discussed in this chapter and the one that follows it.

The understanding of fatherhood changes over time and in accordance to cultural changes, socio-economic background and society (Morman & Floyd, 2002). In this chapter, I will focus on the participants understanding of fatherhood and the roles they associate with fatherhood. Furthermore, I will discuss the participants involvement in their children's lives and the kind of relationships they have with their children. The analysis of the themes is centred on the ways in which the participants' working conditions shape fatherhood. For ethical reasons, the fathers have been given pseudonyms: Father 1 – Mikhulu, Father 2 – Abdul, Father 3 – Peter, Father 4 – Mark, Father 5 – Tonderai, Father 6 – Takudzwa, Father 7 - Simbarashe. Before discussing the two themes, I will provide a description of the participants. This information (i.e., the nationality of the participants, their age, and the number of children they each have) provides an important backdrop against which the findings can be understood.

Demographic Information

This section will provide a description of the men who were interviewed in this study. Relevant demographic information must be discussed and incorporated into the analysis and findings so that there is a clear understanding of the lives of the participants that have been studied. A discussion on the demographics of the participants is important because it allows for a better understanding into their lives and experiences. Majority of the participants in this study were not South African. Work and/or studying is the reason the men in the study left their countries and, for some, their families to come to South Africa. The participants' nationality, age, and the number of children provide an important foundation for understanding their experiences.

Nationality.

Three of the participants were Zimbabwean nationals, two were South African and the other two participants were from Uganda and France.

Five participants indicated that they had moved from their country of origin to South Africa to either look for work or to further their studies. Four of these participants originated from an African country and the remaining participant was from a European country. These findings are consistent with a headcount of staff in South African public universities between 2000 and 2010, which found that the majority of international academic staff were from the African continent, followed by Europe (Sehoole et al., 2019). The number of African migrants sampled in this study is not surprising. The shift from an apartheid state to one that was democratic signalled the widespread change in South African HEIs (Department of Education, 1997). While the government set out to develop a higher education system that was competitive and could contribute to economic development, there were also challenges with redressing the inequalities that were created by apartheid (Department of Education, 1997). The National Plan on Higher Education for 2001 proposed a strategy that would increase the admission of disabled and black students into undergraduate and postgraduate programmes. This was of particular importance because of the lack of access 'othered' people had to gain entrance to HEIs. The lack of access makes the strategy important in order to redress some of the inequalities in higher education institutions. Furthermore, there was also a proposed strategy to change the profile of staff in HEIs to align with the increase in the number of black students. This meant that South African HEIs actively recruited academics from all over Africa to increase representation and change institutional culture (Department of Education, 1997). The change in institutional culture was particularly important because of the manner in which most universities in South Africa were infiltrated by 'white culture' as a result of Apartheid. It was believed that providing African students access to South African HEIs would develop intellectual and research networks across the continent and, in doing so, would contribute to the social and economic development of Africa (Department of Education, 1997). Therefore, the recruitment of students, academics, and staff from the rest of the African countries was identified as one of the key strategies for transforming HEIs in South Africa (Sehoole et al., 2019).

There are various reasons why African academics choose South Africa as their destinations for their academic mobility, including a need to contribute to a body of academic literature, to learn and develop their research profiles and South Africa viewed as a better

platform for educational innovation than other countries in Africa (Sehoole et al., 2019). Below I present some of the reasons the men in the study provided for leaving their countries of origin to migrate to Cape Town.

Peter is a 36-year-old man who left his wife and two children in Uganda to further his studies at one of the HEIs in the Western Cape. He completed his primary school, high school, undergraduate degree, and master's degree in Uganda. Thereafter, he was sponsored by the university he worked for in Uganda to complete a doctoral degree. Staff development in Uganda is important, so because the research capacity there is low, South Africa offered a better opportunity for him to build his career which is why he was encouraged to come here to further his studies.

> *"I am from Uganda…So I am here for my PhD and this is my fourth year here. The research capacity in my country is low. At the moment, the component of research is embedded in the staff development which is similar to what I am doing here-to come and further my studies and get another qualification...so what I am doing here is broken down into capacity development for the staff back home and for building my research."(Peter)*

Tonderai, is a 34-year-old man who stays with his wife and child. He has spent approximately 13 years in Cape Town as he first moved here after completing his high school education in Zimbabwe. He returned to Zimbabwe in 2010 to work and then came back to Cape Town to do his master's degree and then his PhD.

> *"I am originally from Zimbabwe and I came here just after finishing high school in 2005…I came here with the sole purpose of studying and to develop my career and I think if I could go back in time, the idea was to get an education from South Africa, especially at University X - the world-renowned university. I had left in 2010 to work in Zimbabwe then I came back to do my masters and that led to a PhD. So, I am still in South Africa and it seems I am stuck in South Africa (laughs)...especially in Cape Town. You know, there is something about Cape Town and something that is magical." (Tonderai)*

In the above extract, it is evident that it is important for Tonderai to study and be employed at University X[6] because of its reputation as he highlighted that he is there "*for the sole purpose of studying and to develop his career"* and that it is '*the world- renowned*

[6] In making reference to Institution X, Y I am referring to either one of the two institutions sampled whereas in making reference to Institution Z, I am referring to institutions outside of the two sampled institutions.

University". While literature has reported that students who travel outside of their home countries to study do not return to their countries of birth once they complete their studies (Okereke, 2012), the same cannot be said for Tonderai as he returned to Zimbabwe to work for a short period. However, he subsequently made a decision to permanently reside in Cape Town to further his studies and build his career.

Simbarashe, who is a 35-year-old man from Zimbabwe, also stays with his wife and two children while he is doing his post-doctoral fellowship:

> *I am originally from Zimbabwe and I did my primary and secondary education there in Zimbabwe. I came to South Africa to do my undergraduate, which I did in 2002 and also did my masters there at "Institution Z" I came to University X to do my PhD and I graduated in 2011, in May. Now I am doing my postdoctoral here." (Simbarashe)*

Takudzwa is a 35-year-old man who left his two children with their mother in Zimbabwe to further his studies. He mentioned that during his younger days, he would travel to different countries, including South Africa. He eventually came to South Africa to study for his master's degree in 2016, and is now doing his PhD at University X:

> *"I was born and raised in Zimbabwe and have travelled across various regions and countries. South Africa is one of them. Before I came here, I used to come here a lot with my mother when I was doing grade 5…After having trained as a teacher, I taught a bit than I worked for the church, a catholic church that is…I left and I finally came here to do my masters. So, when I came here to do my master in 2016, I then got a job as a tutor in the second semester of teaching. Now I am doing my PhD." (Takudzwa)*

While the four above-mentioned fathers all came to South Africa from African countries to further their studies, Mark is a 57-year-old man from France who came to South Africa for work purposes:

> *"I am French and I have a PhD and went on to do a post-doc fellowship in the United States of America. When I was in the USA, I applied for a job here at University X, which was internationally advertised. It was just after the apartheid era and I was keen to visit South Africa…once the decision was made that the apartheid will be suppressed, then for me, I mean, they employed many people: soft people[7], art people and other science people that also caught onto the wave." (Mark)*

[7]"Soft people" is a term that is used to refer to people who are on part-time contracts in HEIs

The extracts above highlight why these men in the study migrated to South Africa (Cape Town); they wanted to further their studies while working. The participants were not only of different nationalities but also of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. For example, one of the South African participants indicated that he is Xhosa speaking while the other South African indicated that he is 'coloured', which is one of the racial categories that was used under the apartheid system to categorise and classify people according to their skin colour. Although there were no significant differences in the men's construction of fatherhood based on their ethnicity and nationality, there were culturally based practices, particularly those relating to parenting, that were drawn on when relating to challenges of being a male parent.

Age of the Participants.

The age of the participants in this study ranged between 34 and 57 years (Table 1), with most of the men falling between the ages of 34 and 36 years. These findings are consistent with those of an Australian study (May et al., 2013), which found that the median age of precarious academic workers is 36 years. Similarly, in a qualitative study on fathers pursuing academic tenure and coping with work-family conflict (Reddick et al., 2012), the participants were between 30 and 46 years old. Furthermore, in an Australian newspaper article (Wardale, Richardson, & Suseno, 2019) it was reported that in some universities, more than 80% of academic staff on non-permanent contracts are in their 30's. The above mentioned age profile of academic staff on non-permanent contracts in HEIs may be as a result of the need to establish an academic career (The University and College Union, 2016). It should be taken into account that all the participants in my study either have a PhD or are in the process of completing one. This is consistent with findings from a report from the United Kingdom investigating precarious work in higher education (The University and College Union, 2016), which reported that PhD students lecture during or after their studies as part of their attempt to begin an academic career.

Table 1

Demographic characteristics of the participants in the research study

Participant	Age	Marital Status	No. of children	Sex & Age of children	Job title	Length of employment
1	56	Married	1	Girl: 14 years	Lecturer	5 years
2	42	Married	3	Boy: 11 years Girl: 6 years Girl: 4 years	Lecturer	7 months
3	36	Married	2	Girl: 3 years Girl: 9 months	Part time-Lecturer/ Researcher/PhD student	4 years
4	57	Divorced	3	Twin boys: 13 Boy: 15 years	Researcher/ Lecturer	30 years
5	34	Married	1	Girl: 5 years	Researcher/ Teaching assistant/ Lecturer	10 years
6	35	Single	2	Girl: 6 Boy: 10	Teaching assistant/researcher Tutor	3 years
7	36	Married	2	Girl: 5 years Boy: 3 years	Post-doctoral fellow/part-time lecturer/tutor	2 years

Children.

Each participant in this study had between one and three children, with most of the participants having either one or two children. Similarly, in a qualitative study conducted by Reddick et al. (2012), participants reported having either one or two children, with most of them having one child. While being precariously employed in HEIs provides the participants in the current study with the ability to provide for their children, the income they receive is often not enough to sustain their households. This will be further discussed and elaborated on in the upcoming sections that focus on the meanings men make of fatherhood within the context of precarious work.

A 'Traditional' Understanding of Fatherhood

Participants constructed their understanding of what it means to be a 'good father' through the 'traditional' paternal roles that are valued in their societies (Roy & Dyson, 2010). All the men associated fatherhood with many important responsibilities, including the ability to provide financially, being a good role model to their children, and being responsible for protecting their families. Some participants' views of fatherhood were moulded by their culture. This section will focus on (a) the men's constructions of a father as a provider and (b) their understanding that fathers need to be role models to their children.

The Father as a Provider.

Literature shows that the ideal of a man providing for his children has been persistent over the years. According to Lamb (2000), the role of a father as the provider for his family was important during the periods of industrialisation and urbanisation, with literature (Mkhize, 2006; Richter et al., 2010) suggesting that this notion and understanding has been prevalent within the contemporary settings as well. While the role of the father as a provider has been well noted in most countries globally, it is also true for South Africa. In many South African communities, a belief commonly held by both men and women is that fathers should provide financially for their children (Chili & Maharaj, 2015). This belief was also evident among the men in this study as they placed great importance on being able to provide for the material needs of their children and families:

> *"With regards to financial needs, she (the daughter) always comes to me. Yeah, she normally comes to me." (Mikhulu)*

> *"It means that I am responsible for moulding someone's future. So it is not only the future of my children but that of my wife as well. I have to really think and act carefully when it comes to what they should eat. So I really have to place myself in a position where I can be able to provide for them in that time." (Peter)*

> *"Now I suddenly have to think about the fact that I have a bond to pay, I have three kids that I pay a lot of money for, all the bottles and all the nappies and the school fees and whatever. So I had to make money." (Mark)*

> *"Kids have to survive because they don't know anything about the economy or how bad it may be so I constantly have to send them money to survive." (Takudzwa)*

It is evident from the extracts above that the men consider the ability to provide for their families as an important aspect of their roles as fathers. Mikhulu refers to his ability to provide

as being seen as natural in the eyes of his child as he mentions that "*she always comes to me"*. He sees his ability to provide as something that should be 'normalised' as he is the father of the house. Peter views his ability to provide for his family as important because he says, he is "*responsible for moulding someone's future".* Mark made a direct connection between his "*sudden*" role as a provider and the need for him to make money so that he can fulfil his fatherly role. Takudzwa, however, views his role as one that is unavoidable, particularly given the age of his children, who are 6 and 10 years old and are viewed by Takudzwa as too young to understand anything that is related to the economy and money.

The involvement of fathers in financial and material provision is a central component of the participants' views of fatherhood. This means that the men construct fatherhood as automatically connected to taking care of their children's material needs (Dudová, 2006). Thus the men can be seen to be drawing on the "father as provider" discourse, which assumes that men should provide financially for their families, and positions men as the "natural" breadwinners (Coltrane, 1998; Miller, 2011). By associating 'fathering' with the 'traditional' ideal of providing financially for one's family (Richter & Smith, 2006), it may seem that men who receive an income are able to fulfil their roles as a father (Richter & Morrell, 2006). These constructions of the father as a provider are consistent with findings from studies in South Africa that have been conducted with low-income fathers in Cape Town and Durban (Swartz & Bhana, 2009), migrant workers in Johannesburg (Rabe, 2006), and men, women, and children in rural KwaZulu-Natal (Makusha et al., 2013). The findings are also consistent with international studies, including a study on separated or divorced fathers in the Czech Republic (Dudová, 2006) and teenage fathers among African American boys in the United States of America (Allen & Doherty, 1996).

While the participants constructed their ability to provide for their family as an important aspect of their role as fathers, some of them discussed their ideas about paternal responsibility as having been shaped by their religious and cultural beliefs.

> *"My background as a Muslim man, a father is an important figure in the family, because he is seen as the one that needs to care and provide for his family and should make sure that the wife and the children are living a comfortable life. So in our culture, it is the duty of a father to make sure that all those things happen." (Abdul)*
>
> *"Culturally, where I come from and values and norms and expected role of a man is to be a provider." (Tonderai)*

"The expectation is that you as the father are primarily responsible whether it is from a cultural point of view, even if we say that we are no longer sticking to culture, technically that is how your life as a man is set up."(Simbarashe)

Abdul, Tonderai and Simbarashe further reinforce the notion of the father as being responsible for providing for the family by stating that their religion and cultural beliefs have shaped their roles as fathers. Religion and cultural beliefs are in line with some of the factors mentioned on the Father Involvement Model (see Figure 1), as religion and culture have an impact on the men's involvement in their children's lives. Abdul noted that his "*background as a Muslim man"* makes his position and role in the household one that is dominant because it has been instilled in him that being a man and father in a house means he is the 'head of the house'. Tonderai mentioned that, his "*culture*" places him in a position where he needs to take on the role of provider for his family. For Simbarashe, his culture and his status as a man places him in a position where he is expected to fulfil the role as the provider for his family.

Culture and religion are discursively positioned as significant factors that shape parenting behaviour (Marsiglio et al., 2000). Literature has shown that the relationship between a father and a child is shaped by the broader socio-cultural context, which includes cultural, religious and social beliefs regarding the father's role within the family (Cabrera et al., 2000; Marsiglio et al., 2000).

While it is evident that it is important for participants to work hard to make sure that the children and the family are provided for, the pressure of having to be the provider of the family can be overwhelming. Some of the fathers referred to the challenges they encounter because of having to be the provider in their households:

Researcher: In your experience, what would you say are some of the challenges of parenting as a male parent?

Mark: "Being a father is tough especially if you have three boys within the space of 2 years (twins are involved). It was a challenge because I did not have any family that helped me. So that was a big part of my divorce and it was because of the stress and having to provide money, pay the school fees, pay the bond and have a house."

Simbarashe: "So I had that period when I was doing my PhD, I was so broke and I didn't have anything and yet I have to provide. So that is why we have to work and do these tutorials and the likes and you have to study…sometimes you will remain even without a cent so I think that is one of the challenges for parenting as a man."

Traditional perspectives on fatherhood have defined fathers as authority figures and breadwinners. Fathers are expected to play an instrumental role in the family by ensuring the family is well taken care of and order is kept with regards to the behaviour of the children (Ammari & Schoenebeck, 2015). Notions of "new fatherhood", being a father that is involved in the children's lives and well-being, have generally reflected changes in the fathers' behaviour and the expectations of how fathers should behave. While the amount of work fathers do at home has increased and more men are actively taking part in caring practices for children, imbalances between men and women in childcare still exist (Ammari & Schoenebeck, 2015). In light of the strong expectations for men to provide for their families, it has been reported that unemployed fathers may find it difficult to experience their fathering identities positively due to their inability to fulfil their roles as a provider (Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005).

Although paternal roles are slowly changing, fathers may be imprisoned by societal expectations around how they should care for their children and families (Ammari & Schoenebeck, 2015). This consequently places them under pressure to meet the standards of provision that are expected of them. Mark indicated that being the provider for his family without any external support caused him immense stress which consequently resulted in his divorce. He feels that had he had financial support from his immediate or extended family, he would have been in a better position to provide financially for his family even though he was not earning a sufficient income. For Simbarashe, being a father while not making enough money is challenging as it means there are days when he cannot meet the needs of the people he is financially supporting on his income because he does not have enough money.

Another form of societal pressure, shaped to a certain degree by culture, is the need for the father to provide not only for his household but also provide for extended family members. Peter expressed having to be the provider for both his immediate and extended family:

> *"A challenge of being a male parent is that there is a part of being the provider and you are not the provider of your house only. So you also have to look at your brother, parents and extended family…So this has to come to me as the father of the house. Then there is also my wife's family: Her brothers, sisters, mother and father." (Peter).*

For Peter, being a father and a provider means that he provides for both his immediate and his extended family: "*you have to look at your brother, parents and extended family".* This form of cultural expectation and provision is known among many black South Africans as

"*Black tax".* [8] While this form of provision to both immediate and extended family has been conceptualised as "*Black tax",* some people are challenging the term because they do not consider providing for their extended families as a form of 'tax". This is what black people do in the spirit of Ubuntu, which [we] are raised with. In light of the spirit of Ubuntu, Africans are often not only concerned with their own well-being but also the well-being of immediate communities as well as extended family members (Bonn, 2007). Recently, this practice of Ubuntu has evolved and is referred to as "*Black tax"* which is conceptualised as financially taxing for some. Peter's reason for feeling the need to provide for his extended family is due to the society he was raised in, which has moulded his understanding of his role as the man and father of his household. He further expressed that even though he may want to ignore the expectations of "*these other families*" and "*keep to only providing for my family*", it is something he cannot avoid. Ultimately, he expressed that providing for extended family members hinders his ability to create a good future for his immediate family because even though he wants to save some of the money he receives, he cannot save enough because he has to spend the money on his extended family.

The men in the study reported that even if their wives are employed, they still feel that it is their responsibility as fathers to provide for the family. Even though society has seen a shift towards the sharing of household roles and financial assistance between spouses, the participants still feel that they are the ones that need to be the breadwinners. For example, Abdul describes a father as someone who needs to take his role seriously and be the person who provides for his family:

> *"My wife does small things on the side but I am the one that needs to look after paying the bills and so on. A father for me is someone that takes his role seriously in providing for the family." (Abdul)*

Tonderai mentioned that his wife is a stay at home wife that also babysits children to make money, however, he is the one that needs to provide.

[8]*Black Tax* is a term used to define financial support to extended family within black communities. Young professionals who come from disadvantaged backgrounds often remain in the same financial positions for a long time because they need to support their parents, siblings, and extended family on a single salary (MoneyMarketing, 2019).

"She is the one that stays at home and while she is at home she babysits children that are toddlers and are learning how to crawl to make money. That takes up a lot of her time but I am the one that steps in." (Tonderai)

Although Simbarashe mentioned that equal division of labour concerning financial provision is something he is comfortable with, he described that, in his household, as the husband he needs to bear all the worries, particularly those that are related to financial provision.

"The husband should worry about where the money will come from. Maybe the wife can do the same and provide but the pressure will always be there even if you have a wife that is helpful." (Simbarashe)

Findings from this study suggest that the fathers take seriously their role as providers for their families. When analysing the men's experiences from the perspective of the Father Involvement Model, responsibility in the form of financial provision is believed to be something that they need to do because of their role as the men in their house. Some of the fathers expressed that this responsibility comes with different challenges that contribute to some of the reasons why some of the men felt pressure. However, even when they felt that way, it was important for them to make sure that they can uphold their role and take it seriously.

Fathers as Role Models to Their Children.

While the participants connected the act of providing for their children and families with fatherhood, they also expressed that fathers should act as role models for their children. The participants highlighted the importance of being a responsible figure and role model that children can look up to. For example, Abdul, who has two daughters, and one son, mentioned that a father needs to be someone who the family can look up to:

"A father is also a person who the family looks up to especially the small kids; they obviously need to see a figure that they can take as a role model." (Abdul)

For Abdul, it is important that his children see a "*figure that they can take as a role model"*. Tonderai has two children, one son and one daughter. He does not live with his children because he has separated from their mother. The mother of the children stays in Zimbabwe with them. As previously mentioned, Tonderai is in South Africa for study and work purposes, and he expressed that although other forms of support (e.g., material, emotional, and social support) should be provided to his children, it is also important that he is a role model to his children:

"As a father, you need to give them all the kinds of support-material, emotional, social and what not and to also be a role model." (Tonderai)

Mikhulu, who is a father to a daughter, described his role as extending to his extended family. He mentioned that while being a role model may be important for the development and well-being of his children, it is also important that he builds a close relationship with the other children who look up to him so that he is also cognisant of any of the wrong doing that they can get up to:

"You know parenting for me is not about parenting my children. I have brothers and cousins and I am a father figure to their children and not only for daughters but also for boys and it is nice. You are able to talk to them and also hug them because when you are not close with them, you are going to have to pick things that they start to do like drinking and by the time you find out, it is already too late."(Mikhulu)

From the extract above, it is clear that it is important for Mikhulu to have an open channel of communication with the children who he believes see him as a father figure so that when they start taking part in things like '*drinking*', he may be able to intervene. These findings regarding fathers being role models to their immediate children and extended family, is consistent with literature that has reported the father to be significant and essential to a child's development, especially for boys who are believed to need a male role model (Diamond, 1998; Pleck & Pleck, 1997; Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999). Furthermore, a father is believed to also serve as a role model, provider, and protector to girls and are important figures for their development (Bowling & Werner-Wilson, 2000; Morgan & Wilcoxon, 1998). The findings from my study supports the notion that contemporary fatherhood has moved away from the image of a father as merely a distant provider and towards one that involves being nurturing, engaging, and emotionally invested in the well-being of his children (Carlson & McLanahan, 2010).

Father Involvement and Father-Child Relationships

To understand the participants' involvement in their children's lives, I asked them whether they are involved in their children's lives and what kind of relationship they have with their children. These questions were based on research that argues that paternal involvement is an important contributor to the healthy development of children (Coley, 2001). Furthermore, it has been suggested that an involved and present father is likely to practise positive fathering by taking an interest in the child, which consequently contributes to the child's general well-being (Flouri, et al., 2002). However, this may not be the case for all children who have

involved and present fathers, especially if abuse is involved. The men in this study all reported having relationships with their children, although the kinds of relationships they have were expressed in different ways. For example, Mikhulu who has a 14-year-old daughter, reported that he lived with his daughter from the day she was born until she was in grade 7. This year (2019) she was sent to boarding school in the Eastern Cape.

> *"I think we have a relationship because she speaks more to me than to her mother…yes, she comes to me. She is not afraid to come to me." (Mikhulu).*

The idea that the father and daughter relationship is marked by uneasiness or emotional distance (Sharpe, 1994) was challenged by Mikhulu. Moretti and Peled (2004) reported that, during adolescence, girls are typically closer to their mothers than their fathers. However, Mikhulu expressed that his daughter is able to "*speak more"* to him more than to her mother, indicating that they have a good relationship. During the interview, Mikhulu spoke confidently about the kind of relationship he has with his daughter, and noted that his daughter is not afraid to come to him for anything she may be experiencing. However, Mikhulu also acknowledged that being a male parent to a daughter who is growing up, means that when it comes to talking about "*certain issues*" the mother has to step in. Unfortunately, he did not explicitly mention what kind of "*issues*" require the mother, although it would have been interesting to find out.

Mikhulu further expressed that his ability to speak openly with his child, is a necessary component for a father and daughter relationship. He further expressed that:

> *"The relationship with girls and fathers is like that. That you always spoil your daughter and sometimes you are very protective and I try to give her all the support but you know, she is growing up now and she is beginning to assert herself as well and right now for instance she must also learn that she can't have everything that she wants." (Mikhulu).*

In the extract above, the relationship between Mikhulu and his daughter is characterised by him "*spoiling"* his daughter and being *"protective"* and "*supportive"*. The acts of the father spoiling, protecting and supporting his daughters are positioned as representing a good father-daughter relationship. It is important to Mikhulu to build this kind of relationship with his daughter so that she is able to be independent and stand up for herself later in life. Mikhulu continued to share that he would like for his daughter to:

> *"…be independent and should not be afraid to talk. That she understands that she has rights and to sensitise her to various kinds of abuse and to assert herself and stand her ground…I don't want her that when someone takes her out to think that he is doing her*

a favour. I don't want her to think that when someone takes her out to a fancy restaurant, for her to think that it is novel and get excited. I want her to be empowered." (Mikhulu)

It is evident from the extract above that it is important to Mikhulu to have a good relationship with his daughter, particularly because he does not want her to be exposed to any kinds of *"abuse"* or unhealthy relationships. This construction that women have unhealthy relationships because of a lack of relationship with their fathers is in line with views expressed by Leonard (1982), who identified that women who do not have a good relationship with their fathers are more likely to have unpleasant romantic relationships, be involved in bad peer relationships and make poor decisions compared to women who are satisfied with their communication and interactions with their fathers. Thus, a positive father-daughter relationship promotes positive development outcomes for female children. Although literature suggests that the mother-child relationship is a primary attachment relationship, children who have secure attachments to their fathers are more independent (Verschueren & Marcoen, 2005). Tonderai, who also has one daughter, expressed that although his child is still young (5 years old), he has a close relationship with her:

"So I spoil my kid and I believe I have a close relationship with my child and every time I go home, when I come back, she hugs me and she would tell me about her day at school and she would report of everything that had happened at school." (Tonderai).

Tonderai constructed a close relationship with his daughter by noting that he "*spoils*" her and that she gives him "*hugs*" when he returns home from work.

He also mentioned that she reports *"everything that had happened at school."* Children of fathers who are involved in their lives have been reported to enjoy school and have better attitudes towards school (Allen & Doherty, 1996), which is seen to be evident with Tonderai's child.

In the context of traditional hegemonic roles, which position the mother as the primary caregiver and the father as the provider, many fathers spend less time with their children compared to the mothers (Carlson & McLanahan, 2010; Dermott, 2008). While Tonderai is employed on a non-permanent contract so that he can provide for his family, he stated that when he returns home from work he takes time to interact with his child. However, he added that although he has a good relationship with his daughter, that as the man of the house, he does not want her to feel comfortable taking advantage of his *"lenience"*:

"So I have a good relationship with my kid. Although there are times as the man of the house where you know that this is what we grew up to be told that as your responsibility, you need to make sure that you are the man of the house and sometimes she takes advantage of my lenience…she knows I only raise my voice when I am angry and I am saying no to something." (Tonderai)

Abdul, who has two daughters, and one son, has fostered an open relationship with his children such that he does not speak down to them, but speaks with them:

"I try to be as open as possible. I try to speak with them and not down at them and not instruct them to do things and so I try to have an open relationship with them. So my kids feel very comfortable coming to me and speak about whatever they need to. They are still very young but they would come to me about anything and we try and in-still that in them and have that feeling of safety and comfort that we are there for them."(Abdul)

Similar to Mikhulu, Abdul expressed that he *"tries"* to have an open relationship with his children and allow them to be able to be comfortable enough to come to him when they are experiencing an issue. In Abdul expressing the words "*I try to*" he views the type of relationship he has with his children as one where they all need to put in effort and continuously keep trying, as is true for most relationships that evolve. As such, he implies that a relationship between a father and his children is a work in progress and not one that is automatic or natural because of being the biological father.

Peter and Takudzwa do not currently reside with their children as they are in South Africa to further their studies. They expressed that the kind of relationship they have with their children is reflected in their ability to provide for their material needs:

"I don't know how to describe our relationship. She knows that daddy is in an aeroplane and when he comes back, he will bring me this and that. So I think I get the feeling that daddy is going to give me this and therefore sees daddy as the provider…" (Peter)

"I think it's a good relationship. I recently bought my son a tablet and a computer for my daughter and unfortunately the computer was stolen." (Takudzwa)

In the extracts above, the men position themselves as economic providers, which is the basis of the construction of their relationship with their children. For example, Peter reported that his child is aware that *"daddy is in an aeroplane and when he comes back, he will bring me this and that,"* therefore implying that the child is aware that her father is not around but

will return and always makes sure to provide. Similarly, Takudzwa expressed that he has a "*good*" relationship with his children, connecting his ability to provide with his relationship with them. Even though both Peter and Takudzwa were aware that having the ability to provide allows for them to establish a relationship with their children, it was important for them to do so because providing for their children also ensures a good standard of living for them. Both Peter and Takudzwa further expressed that providing for their families is particularly important because they do not reside with them, given they are currently working in South Africa. These findings are consistent with literature that reports that economic contributions from fathers increase their children's standard of living, health, and educational attainment through the provision of food, shelter, and educational resources (Amato & Gilbreth, 1999). Furthermore, Amato and Gilbreth's (1999) meta-analysis found that when non-resident fathers contribute financially to the support of their children there are positive effects related to the children's academic success and fewer externalising problems.

Mark, who has three sons, also mentioned that he has a good relationship with them. As a researcher, I felt that it was not clear what he meant when he said their relationship was "*good*", but he elaborated on this following some probing:

> *Mark: "I would say a good relationship."*
>
> *Researcher: "And by good relationship, do you mean that you speak often or…"*
>
> *Mark: "Yes, I spend a lot of time with them. Since they were born…I would pick them up from the crèche and spend time with them…We go camping and we go on holiday. We would have a 2 week get-away where we do not have any screens or our cell phones and it is just us. Every night we have dinner around the table. So we talk a lot."*

While Mark was not forthcoming in answering some of the questions regarding fatherhood, he constructed his relationship with his children through the ability for them to *"spend a lot of time"* together doing shared activities and *"talking a lot."* Based on this, he believes that he has a good relationship with his children. The discussion with Mark is consistent with findings from a study conducted in Australia (Lupton & Barclay, 1997), which reported that the men in the study spoke about the importance of developing a close relationship with their children through shared activities. Therefore, engaging in activities with children is constructed as central to forming a "good" relationship with them. Similarly, Simbarashe, who has a son and a daughter, expressed that he has a *"special"* relationship with his children. This special relationship was attributed to Simbarashe spending time with his children at home and going out with them:

"I have a special relationship with them. We are so bonded and they always want to be with me…when they get home in the evening, they expect me to be there. Whenever I set my foot out of the house, they also want to go with. So you get home and they or rather the girl will tell you that we need to go to Grand West and skate and sometimes we would go to Century City. We go there and play games with them." (Simbarashe).

In the extract above, Simbarashe makes a direct connection between having a relationship with his children and him taking them out to skate at Grand West. His ability to take them out and spend time with them while doing activities they enjoy is due to him being employed and having an income. It has been argued that the ability for a man to economically provide for his family may contribute to social capital, as fathers are believed to be able to develop a relationship with their children by taking them to places they enjoy and engaging in activities that require money to be spent (Christiansen & Palkovitz, 2001). It appears that the ability for Simbarashe and the other men in the study to provide for their families allows them to establish "good" relationships with their children. The fathers defined having a good relationship with their children by their involvement in their lives, including spending time with them and being able to talk to them. These discussions of father and child activities may be an example of ways in which men participate in the 'fun' activities with children while the mothers are more likely to be responsible for everyday care of children (De1phy & Leonard, 1992; Hochschild, 1998; Johansson & Klinth, 2008). This is supported by a study on middle class fathers in Australia and England (Dermott, 2008; Lupton & Barclay, 1997), which found that the men constructed fun activities with children as being important for developing a close relationship.

Conclusion

The findings in this chapter provided the demographic context of the participants who were interviewed in this study. This study suggested that most people who are precariously employed in HEIs work at the institutions because they could find a job, particularly because nothing is guaranteed as their position is precarious and insecure. As shown in Table 1, most of the participants in the study were between 34 and 36 years old, which constitutes the largest group of people who are pursuing their PhDs and in the process of establishing their academic careers in HEIs (May et al., 2013; Reddick et al., 2012).

The primary function of a father as was evident from the findings of this study, is to be a provider for his family and children's economic needs. While the participants indicated that traditional paternal roles are important to them, they also indicated that it is important for

fathers to be involved in their children's lives so that they can be role models to them. While culture and religion grounded some of the participants' understanding of their paternal roles and had an impact on their involvement as fathers, their primary understanding and expectations did not differ from that of the other fathers.

The findings from the experiences of the men in this study also showed that although the participants still believe financial provision to be the most important part of their roles as fathers, their roles have integrated to include forming emotional and intimate relationships with their children and being involved in routines that require their physical presences (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015).

Finally, even though the participants reported having established a relationship with their children, research has shown that their employment in HEIs may have an impact on father's involvement (Hanson et al., 1989) because the working conditions affect the role of the father in the home. This is particularly true for male academics employed on non-permanent contracts as they are often overworked and therefore do not have enough time to spend with their children. Being overworked also leads to fatigue, stress, and worry about whether they will have employment the following semester, which consequently means they are not able to be 'present' fathers when they are at home. This conversation will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5:

Higher Education Institutions: Flexibility, Insecurity and Exploitation

Introduction

While it is not clear what the prevalence of precarious academic employment is in most universities in South Africa, anecdotal evidence suggests that it is prevalent. Such employment is not secure, is subject to change, and is dependent on circumstances that are outside of the employee's control. In this chapter, I will unpack the experiences of the precariously employed men which they described as being characterised by several factors including insufficient income, short-term contracts that may or may not be renewed, and not being guaranteed work from semester to semester, which contributes to employment insecurity (Mühlberger, 2009). Therefore, when discussing the experiences of the participants in this study, it was important to consider two main factors, namely: (1) the workload the men have in relation to the income they receive and (2) having multiple jobs. I also discuss the men's experiences and the ways in which they are impacted by their employment conditions, which affects their fathering practices. While some men felt that their employment on the contracts provide them with the flexibility they need to spend time with their families, others felt that HEIs are a system of exploitation, defined by the unfair treatment of workers for the benefits of the university.

The Workload in Relation to the Income Received.

I asked the participants about the workload they have in relation to the income they receive. Most of the men in this study are not happy with the remuneration they receive for the amount of work they do. Abdul reported that he is currently employed at a HEI in the Western Cape on a full-time, three-year contract. He mentioned that he responded to my participant recruitment email because he had worked for the institution on a non-permanent contract between 2006 and 2018 before coming across the advert for a full-time job post. In discussing his employment conditions, he reflected on both his current full-time post and his previous non-permanent contract. He reported that he was involved with the university as a part-time researcher while completing his master's degree.

> *"So I started out in 2006 and then pursued a degree in the same field. I managed to finish a master's degree in the same project I was a part of. At the same time I was a part-time employee teaching the language here, never full-time, always part-time basis." (Abdul)*

Prior to Abdul's full-time employment in 2019, he had been on a non-permanent contract for close to 12 years, while doing other work outside of the institution, which involved

teaching, lecturing, and being the head of the mosque in the area in which he lived. In asking about the workload and the income received, Abdul felt comfortable discussing his experience with regards to his current full-time employment position. He highlighted that he had just started working in his position as a lecturer at the time of the interview (2019), and expressed that he is not currently overloaded with work and is happy with his income.

> *"…it is not like I am overloaded with work, at least not yet or that it is difficult for me to come. I find it quite nicely balanced that I am able to do my work and I see that there is a nice balance in terms of what I earn and the work that I do." (Abdul)*

Abdul is not only content with his workload and the income he receives, but also mentioned that he sees "*a nice balance*" between his income and the work he is expected to do. However, it should be noted that he was making reference to his current employment as a full-time lecturer as compared to his previous employment as a non-permanent staff member.

Peter, who has been on a non-permanent contract for 4 years, indicated that he has a special arrangement with the institution that he works for in his home country: while he is a student at the South African institution, they will fund his tuition and continue paying him the salary he received while he was teaching in Uganda.

> "*I don't think I can ever ask for more than what I am getting. The reason being that the arrangement for my studies is in such a way that they are supposed to be paying me my salary for being employed back at home and they do that. Then they are supposed to finance my stay here. They have been doing that. So I am happy with it." (Peter)*

Although Peter is receiving an income from his university in Uganda, he is also on a non-permanent contract as a tutor and a part-time lecturer because he had come across other ways which students at the institution make extra source of income.

> *"…what I did not expect is the extra sources of income like tutoring and then the part-time lecturing here in this department." (Peter).*

Peter's statement suggests that although he is happy with the income he receives from the university in Uganda, he saw an additional financial opportunity and he took it. However, the opportunity has proven to be challenging because being a part-time lecturer contributes difficulties in managing his time, which consequently results in undesired negative feelings about the progression of his PhD research.

> *"The challenge I found was managing my time. It was tough at some point because I needed to keep the pace of doing my research and at the same time, I needed to go and*

do the teaching. I had to meet the deadline. I could not miss a lecture. No, I already committed so I had to be there. So that time when you are lecturing, it is not easy to adjust and say you are able to do both at the level you want... the other challenge is that it kind of builds anxiety in that you start to get worried in that you are not moving as fast as you had planned." (Peter)

The extract above, suggests that Peter's additional work has an impact on other commitments, including work that relates to his degree. Because of this, Peter experiences feelings of worry and anxiety about not being able to meet the degree related goals that have been set.

Tonderai, who is in his mid-30's and has been on non-permanent contracts for 10 years, highlighted that tutoring and being a teaching assistant involves a "*heavy workload*". He is completing his PhD along with the work that he does and mentioned that although there are days when he is able to manage the workload, it is overwhelming:

"I have been carrying quite a workload especially here…so we spend more time with the students and we do extra things with them...I used to work over the weekend quite a lot and late evenings as well. I could say that I could manage it but there were times when I would say that it was a little overwhelming and you spend the whole night on the table at home just marking…" (Tonderai)

When I asked Tonderai if he is well paid for work that he does, he did not directly answer the question in relation to his own personal income. Instead, he mentioned that he does not think anyone would say that people who are on non-permanent contracts in HEIs are well paid because the work that is done is part-time:

Researcher: would you say that for the amount of work that you do, that you are actually well paid?"

Tonderai: "I don't think there is anyone that would say that they are well paid…It is all part-time, non-permanent employment and contracts and we keep being told that we are facing financial challenges. In most cases, we find ourselves having to make difficult decisions. So to be honest, I don't think anyone is ever satisfied."

Tonderai's statement suggests that while he feels anyone who is on a part-time contract cannot confidently say they are well-paid, he still feels that in most cases, people who are on non-permanent contracts have a difficult decision to make about whether to stay on the contracts or leave and find other work. Mentioning that "*we keep being told*", reflects that he, along with other non-permanent staff in the department that he works for, are constantly told

that they (the department) are experiencing *"financial challenges"*. It is clear that he is aware of the unfavourable working conditions of the part-time work and that no one is "ever satisfied" with the salary because it is not sufficient.

Takudzwa, who is also in his mid-30s, has been on a non-permanent contact for 3 years and expressed that there are many disparities within the institution that he works for when it comes to employee payment structures. Like Tonderai, Takudzwa is in the process of completing his PhD. Takudzwa expressed that the university is good at exploiting students who are employed on these contracts because they know they need the money and will therefore do the work that the lecturers should be doing:

> "*It is unfortunate because you need the money. So you are stuck and you know the university is very good at exploiting the students. I say that because I believe that we do all the work for the lecturers and the lecturers are not teachers. They are referred to as researchers and they offload their burdens on us and we carry the burdens. They are only involved at the end when it is exam time." (Takudzwa)*

Takudzwa indicated that he feels that students employed on non-permanent contracts are exploited because they do most of the work that needs to be done by the lecturers. Literature suggests that because universities require the expertise of students who are most likely trying to build their academic careers to assist on non-permanent teaching posts, the students end up doing most of the work because the universities are fundamental to their professional growth (Percy et al., 2008). This means that while students want to establish their academic careers through their teaching and research at internationally recognised institutions, many of them do not have the opportunity to do so while experiencing the privilege of permanent employment. When Takudzwa was asked if he was well paid for the amount of work that he does, he mentioned that the faculty that he works for does not pay well in comparison with the another faculty he had worked for previously:

> "*I have tutored in 'Department X' for 3 years but I am also a marker for 'Faculty Y' and beyond that I have done some research work for them. Last year I did some work from June to September and I would say that I was paid quite handsomely because I was able to buy my car. But when I compare 'Department X' with 'Faculty Y', there is a lot of disparities…" (Takudzwa)*

The extract above suggests that Takudzwa is conscious of the different disciplines within the institution and that these disciplines are distinct from each other in terms of remuneration rates. While Takudzwa acknowledges the *"exploitation*" that is evident in his

line of work and the faculty he works for, he mentions that the job is done because *"you need the money".* This highlights the importance that men place on money and the fact that they will take difficult jobs so that they can provide for themselves and their families.

Mark is a part-time employee in his mid-50s who obtained his PhD and completed his post-doctoral fellowship in the United States of America. He has been on part-time contracts with the university he works for, for 30 years and expressed a range of challenges. He finds his employment conditions to be frustrating as he expressed having witnessed arbitrary decisions against him and decisions based on favouritism in his department. Mark feels that although he helps his institution raise funds and pay for student bursaries, the institution is more interested in making money than giving him a permanent position.

> *"I take part in a lot of fundraising and managing money because I pay for the bursary top up for students (with 50% top up). Then I pay for computers, and travel the university does not pay for much. In fact, they do not pay for anything. All they do is take all the money that I get in." (Mark)*

Mark further mentioned that because he is on a non-permanent contract, when he does not raise enough funds for his department, the institution does not pay him, even though he has been an employee of the institution for many years.

> *"…the part I do not like is that if I do not make or bring in money, they will not pay me. After all these years and after all the papers I have written. I do not like the part where I feel like I have to pay my employer…" (Mark)*

In the extracts above, Mark felt as though he was the one paying the university, instead of them paying him the income he deserves especially after everything he has achieved for institution. This engenders a sense of exploitation and powerlessness, which affects his ability to challenge the injustice of the working conditions. This was supported when he mentioned that he takes part in a lot of "*fundraising*" to be able to fund for bursaries for students, but when he does not bring in the money, he is not paid. This reflects the amount of power the institution has over their employees, particularly non-permanent staff, and the lack of power non-permanent staff have when on precarious employment contracts. After years of being employed by the institution, it would seem that the conversion of Mark from a non-permanent position to permanent employment would be easy; however, that is not the case. Mark mentioned that as a result of "*being overlooked*", he has not been able to get a permanent post.

> "*…what is most important is that all the stress that I have; I have no support from this institution. Being on soft money and when I was applying for a job, the head of the*

department decided that it was not going to be me that takes the job. I applied for three jobs that were going to give me security. Don't forget that the whole time I was living and wasn't sure whether I will have money to pay for the bond or school fees…" (Mark)

Mark's statement suggests that the result of such precarious arrangements is a workforce that exhibits signs of stress and insecurity, made worse by the lack of sufficient income related to the amount of work that is done. The insecure nature of casual employment in higher education has been shown to include material hardship, which is evident when Mark mentioned that *"[he] wasn't sure whether [he] will have money to pay for the bond and school fees*".

Income seems to be an important factor for most of the fathers in the study. Although none of the fathers mentioned specifically how much they earn for the job they are doing, most of them are not happy with the income they receive. Simbarashe, who is in his mid-30s, is a post-doctoral research fellow and a tutor for his department. He indicated that his employment conditions are not pleasant especially given the workload that he is expected to do in relation to the money that he is paid:

"*Yeah, it is not a good experience. The exam marking because all of those students who are shared by the tutors at the end of the day are under you. You are the one marking all the scripts. Maybe you would be marking a 100 and something scripts or you are marking 200 and something scripts. This is not nice especially considering what you are paid for and maybe by then, you have already finished the money you were paid already…you are only paid a lump sum for the teaching but these other admin things are not paid for."(Simbarashe).*

In the statement above, Simbarashe highlighted the nature of his employment such that he is also expected to do extra work that he is not payed for. He further mentions that it is "*not nice"* particularly because sometimes he would receive the money before completing the load of work that still needs to be done. Employees on non-permanent contracts in Higher Education Institutions are usually payed per hour and in accordance to the level in which they are in their studies. The rate includes but is not limited to contact time with the students, delivering a lecture or a tutorial, as well as pre-and post-delivery duties for the course. The rate also includes preparing for the lecture or tutorial, which could involve extensive work especially if the employee is new or the module itself is new. Additionally, marking assignments, reading essay drafts, giving feedback, dealing with student's queries outside of teaching time (that is through

email and after tutorials). Lastly, the staff is also expected to participate in meetings, keep student record and a range of other administrative duties (Lopes & Dewan, 2014).

Simbarashe further highlighted that sometimes he would be aware that he is teaching with someone that is on a permanent contract and knew that their salary is more than his, but he appreciates what he receives because that is where he is at that particular moment:

> *"But the person that you are teaching with that is permanently employed, their monthly salary would be for example R50 000 so you cannot be satisfied knowing that. You cannot be satisfied with that but that is where you are at that particular moment and you appreciate what you have in that moment and time. So you would say even if this is what I am getting at this point, let me take it." (Simbarashe)*

In the extract above, Simbarashe acknowledges the income disparities between himself as the part-time employee and someone doing similar work while employed on a permanent contract. He mentions that there is a lack of satisfaction when he reflects on the income gap between himself and a permanent employee, especially when there is an awareness of the disparities. However, like Takudzwa, he mentions that even when he is aware of the disparities and is dissatisfied, *"you appreciate what you have in that moment."*

Undertaking Multiple Jobs to Receive a Better Income.

This study shows that some participants have multiple jobs within the same institution and or across the city (in Cape Town) to make extra money while on non-permanent contracts. This means that although they are employed to do a particular job, they are doing it while having secured another part-time job in the same institution or elsewhere. For example, Tonderai highlighted the importance of having more than one job on top of the job he already had, mentioning the need to "*run around*" so that he is able to provide for his child:

> *"That is why I run around [He mentioned he had three part-time jobs and doing his PhD]. I want to make sure that there is food on the table and make sure the children do not go and steal cookies from next door. I want to make sure they do not ask for money from strangers but to rather ask for money from me." (Tonderai)*

Simbarashe also highlighted that although he is a post-doctoral research fellow earning an income, he also tutors and lectures part-time:

> *"As mentioned I am a post-doctoral researcher. I mean we are not students nor are we academics so we are fellows. We are more like interns. I also do part-time teaching as a lecture and a tutor. This semester however, I am only tutoring but last*

semester and for the past two years, I was lecturing on the courses in the department…" (Simbarashe)

The same was evident for Tonderai who reported that while he is a teaching assistant and guest lecturer, he is also employed to work part-time as a researcher and a lecturer in two other private HEIs in the Western Cape:

"My work at present despite the many things that I do and have done, entails research, teaching and my own studies…I have also been doing research work…Teaching I have done a lot of it. I am a lecturer at another private institution. Then here at my main institution, I have been a teaching assistant and a guest lecturer and I think it has been about 9 years now since I have started my masters, which was in 2010. I was also a lecturer and an academic advisor for another institution. I have been oscillating between my main institution and other academic institutions in the private sector." (Tonderai)

Similarly, Takudzwa reported that he works part-time for two different faculties:

"I have tutored for 'Faculty 1' for the past 4 years but I am also a 'Faculty 2' marker and beyond that, I have done some research work for them." (Takudzwa)

Mikhulu also mentioned that while he is involved in academic teaching in the university, he is also taking part in community work around Cape Town:

"My life as an academic involves teaching, research and community involvement. Here I teach both the undergraduate and Honours students…I have taught not only in this university, I was teaching in the community..." (Mikhulu)

In the extracts provided, Mikhulu, Takudzwa, Tonderai, and Simbarashe, noted that academics on non-permanent contracts tend to hold multiple positions at several universities and within the institutions in which they work, suggesting that they struggle to achieve acceptable levels of income satisfaction. These findings are not surprising and have been evident in other studies, including an Australian study (Junor, 2004) which also showed that academic staff on non-permanent contracts are likely to have between two and five part-time, casual jobs. Although it is evident from the current study that the men may hold down multiple jobs so that they can develop their academic careers, I suggest that, given the importance they place on themselves being the providers of their families, they are doing it so they can provide for their families. My suggestion comes in light of literature (Williams, 2010) which reports that men who are breadwinners of their households, are more likely to either work nonstandard hours or take on multiple jobs at a time to financially support their families. This is consistent

with findings from a qualitative study investigating casual employment in HEIs in Australia (Gottschalk & McEachern, 2010), which reported that part-time academics hold many jobs across the city, not because it is something they want to do, but because they need to earn enough to be able to survive.

The Job is Fulfilling and Rewarding

When explaining why, even though the participants are not satisfied with their employment conditions, they want to continue being employed as academic staff on non-permanent contracts, most of the men expressed the fulfilling and rewarding nature of their employment. It is also important to mention that the high rate of unemployment in South Africa means that the men cannot merely leave their jobs because they are unsatisfied. One of the challenges of precarious employment in HEIs is not receiving sufficient income for the work that is done. However, Mikhulu expressed that he still finds his employment to be rewarding:

> "*I would think that anything that I would call work, the reward should not necessarily be monetary because when you see the success of your programme, it becomes rewarding." (Mikhulu)*

Mikhulu's statement reveals his pride not only in the work that he does but also in seeing the success of the curriculum that is set for the semester. Tonderai reported that although he has had an unpleasant experience working for the university, he has realised that making a difference in someone's life is fulfilling:

> *"I have had a student that was on an extended degree program, a student who looked confused from the beginning and I worked with the student until in that course she was the best student. She actually got an award and she came and looked for me on campus to show me and thank me. So that is one of the things that I realised, that through all these experiences, you actually make an impact in someone's life." (Tonderai*)

Abdul mentioned that he does not find his experience unpleasant. Perhaps he feels that way because he was reflecting on having started on a permanent contract at the beginning of the year. In describing his experience, he mentioned that the process of helping students learn a new language is fulfilling:

> *"…in the beginning of the year, when I was given the initial language course to teach it was quite a big challenge but enjoyable in a sense that you could not help the student's from day one. Especially the students that knows absolutely nothing about the language…I was able to see how the students rose from having nothing to having the ability to read the scripts in a particular language…" (Abdul)*

Mark expressed that although being on a non-permanent contract is frustrating, he finds that having the ability to fund students from African countries to get a PhD makes him feel that he has done well:

> *"I have people from Congo, Zimbabwe, Madagascar and their dream is to have a PhD but they cannot be able to do that in their own countries so what I do is that I find money for them and I find advisors and send them overseas to the best people so that they can become internationally recognized scientists. When one of them got a PhD for instance, it was a female from Cameroon… she was the only female Black African at her graduation. That made me happy because I made a difference." (Mark)*

Takudzwa reported that while being employed on a non-permanent contract exposes him to being exploited by the institution, he enjoys teaching students because it gives him confidence:

> *"I do really enjoy teaching because it gives me a great level of confidence. The interesting part is that even beyond the classes I have taught, I have helped some students and people I have met in the lab and people that have approached me for help. It is good to see students proceeding on to do their masters." (Takudzwa)*

The Impact of Precarious Employment Conditions on Fathering Practices

The participants' employment not only has an impact on their ability to provide for their families but also on the time that can be spent establishing a quality father-child relationship (Hrženjak, 2017). The overall aim of the current study was to investigate how the men's precarious employment conditions impact on their fathering practices. The study found that the men's experiences varied, as they all face different working conditions. Although the men's experiences are not entirely similar in nature, they are all impacted in some way by their employment conditions, which affects their fathering practices. Three different relationships between precarious employment conditions and fathering could be identified in this study. The first is the flexibility that comes with being on a non-permanent contract. For the men in this study, the flexibility means that they are able to spend time with their children, although they would prefer to have a stable income and a permanent post. The second is whether the father resides with the child. Some of the participants are not able to reside with their children due to having migrated for study and work purposes. Lastly, being on a non-permanent contract in a HEI means that participants have to be assessed for both their teaching and research output, which takes up time that could be spent with family. These findings indicate that paid

employment is among some of the factors that are important for the men in the study. Being employed on precarious employment contracts despite the unfavourable conditions, means that participants are able to fulfil their role as providers for their families, which is something they view as prominent. Therefore, although some of the men would like to spend as much time as they desire with their children, their employment conditions make it difficult for them to do so. For the men that are able to spend the desired time with their children, having a stable financial income is important.

Although some of the men mentioned that they have flexible working hours, which allow them to spend time with their children, some of the men mentioned that their workload does not allow them to spend the desired time with their children. For example, Abdul mentioned that prior to last year, which was during the period that he was on a non-permanent contract he was able to see his children whenever he wanted to due to the flexibility that came with being on the contract:

> *"Until end of last year, my times were flexible…so I would see my kids more than usual fathers or parents would. So I would be there to take them to school because my times were flexible." (Abdul)*

Abdul further mentioned that after starting in his full-time position, he does not see his children as much as he used to (e.g., he no longer transports them to and from school).

> *"It is quite different this year because I come to this university in the morning and it is pretty much a 09:00-16:00 job or whatever amount of hours I spend here which is quite regular. So in the morning, I leave and I come here and I leave in the afternoon. So I don't see them off and I don't fetch them and so it is different this year in particular."(Abdul).*

Since commencing with his permanent position, Abdul expressed that he is no longer able to spend as much time as he wants with his children, which he is not happy about. In understanding Abdul's experience, it is evident that being precariously employed in HEI gave him the flexibility he needed to be able to spend time with his family. However, his permanent position does not allow for him to be able to spend as much time with his family which is something he yearns for. Similarly, Mark expressed that at the time his precarious employment contract started, he was working a lot from home and because the children were young, they went to '*crèche'* which allowed for him to get some work done and also spend time with them:

> *"I was working a lot from home and the children either went to crèche or to school so while they are at school, I would do my work. It was in the morning where I was there*

for them and then in the afternoon I was there for them. I did not travel much and we spent a lot of time on holiday together having quality time." (Mark).

Both Mark and Abdul (who makes reference to his previous non-permanent contract), position their precarious employment as having the kind of flexibility that allowed them to be able to spend time with their children. While Abdul is unhappy about the fact that he can no longer spend 'quality' time with his children because of his permanent position, he is happy to have a stable, permanent post after 12 years of having multiple part-time academic contracts. This finding is consistent with literature which reports that while male academics on non-permanent contracts enjoy the flexibility of the contracts as they are able to spend time with their families, it is much more valuable for them to be permanently employed within the institution as it guarantees financial security (Reddick et al., 2012). Similarly, Mark also mentioned that he was "*working a lot from home…and did not travel much.*" The findings from both Abdul and Mark's interviews challenge the implicit assumption that being an academic on a non-permanent contract makes it difficult for the men to fulfil family roles (Kinman & Jones, 2008). However, like Abdul, even though Mark felt that he was able to spend time with his children, and was happy to do so, he mentioned that not having a secure income was tough and that resulted in him being depressed, which may have had an impact on his parenting:

"Soft money people feel like second class citizen…financially you are screwed over and they screw you over morally as well and they do not give you a position that guarantees stability and a source of income like them so it was tough and I started to be very depressed. So maybe it impacted my parenthood. Maybe I was a bit on the edge because of the money problems…" (Mark)

Although spending time with his children was something that Mark appreciated, particularly because the children were younger, his ability to provide for his family was more important. By expressing that people who are on 'soft money' are treated like second class citizens, Mark suggests that unlike permanent staff, those that are on 'soft money' are not afforded the same rights and privileges. Mark making reference to casualised staff being treated like second class citizens is consistent with a report by The University College Union (2020). Interviews with academic staff in universities in the United Kingdom reported that casual academic labour is 'dehumanising' because: (a) you are invisible to senior management and are treated like second class citizen, (b) you are left vulnerable to exploitive practices, and (c) you are prevented from being able to have the ability to plan a professional and personal life (The University College Union, 2020).

Mark making reference to himself being '*on edge'* is because his employment did not give him the financial security he needed. While employment provides parents with economic resources to provide for their children, overloaded and inflexible work schedules may contribute to high level of stress (Voydanoff, 2004). Literature on the role of employment and parenting stress among fathers (Nomaguchi & Johnson, 2016) found that employment characteristics may prevent fathers from being fully invested in their children's well-being because their employment is demanding therefore, leading to more parenting stress. Qualitative research has also suggested that employment and financial instability are the primary source of parenting stress (Fox, 2009; Roy & Dyson, 2010). Therefore, Mark feeling that his financial insecurity as a result of his employment, had an impact on his role as a father to his children is consistent with literature (Fox, 2009; Roy & Dyson, 2010).

It was also found that the workload related to being on a non-permanent contract means that the men are not able to spend the desired amount of time with their children. This is the case for Tonderai, who mentioned that he feels he does not spend enough time with his child because of his work. This was after having mentioned that he has multiple jobs so that he can provide for his family. Tonderai expressed that if he had enough money, he would be able to spend more time with his child. However, given how busy his days are, he only spends time with his child on weekends:

> *"I wish I have millions of rands so that I can be able to spend my days basking in the sun playing with my child…but to be honest, I don't spend enough time with her. It is only on weekends where I try to compensate for the time that we lose between Monday and Friday. But another thing is that when it is the weekend her friends are playing in the park and outside in the parking lot so she spends a lot of time with her friends." (Tonderai)*

The extract above highlights the importance of having an income. Tonderai expressed his need to have enough money and explained that if he did, he would be able to spend as much time as he wanted to with his child. He also mentioned that he spends some time with his child on weekends even though he feels that this is sometimes interrupted by his daughter playing outside with other children.

While spending time with their children is challenging because of their workload, some of the fathers mentioned that they do not reside with their families because they have migrated to South Africa for the purpose of work and/or studying as mentioned in the demographic description section. Four of the participants reside with their children in South Africa. Two

participants stated that their children are living with their mothers in their home countries (i.e., Zimbabwe and Uganda). The remaining participant mentioned that he resided with his daughter until last year (2019) when she was sent to boarding school in the Eastern Cape. It is important to note that the reason his daughter was sent to boarding school was not because of his employment conditions but because both he and his wife saw it fitting for her to the school in the Eastern Cape.

In explaining his experience of the ways in which precarious employment conditions impact his fathering practices, Takudzwa mentioned that, because he is away from his two children on assigned contract, when there are circumstances that require him to be at home for his children, he is not able to be:

> *"...there are circumstances that would need you to be there but once you have signed the contract, you cannot be there till you fulfil the obligations within the contract."(Takudzwa)*

He further mentioned that because he is paid to be on the contract, he has to physically be at the University because he needs earn a salary. When asked if there are other ways in which he is able to fulfil the obligations by going home when he needs to, Takudzwa stated that sometimes the department understands that there are important family obligations. However, finding someone to stand in for him while he is away may be challenging because everyone is busy. Takudzwa mentioned that he does make sure to have regular contact with them through video calls so that he remains aware of their well-being:

> "*So I also keep in touch with them and we always do video calls on a daily basis*." *(Takudzwa)*

When I asked about the nature of his relationship with the mother of his children, Takudzwa stated the following:

> "*We are not together; she is just the mother of my children.*" (Takudzwa)

Peter's case is similar to Takudzwa's as he does not stay with his wife and children. He expressed that because of problems with his visa, he could not return to Uganda to be with his wife during the birth of their second child:

> *"I have never met one of them. I am going to meet her next month. When she was born I was not around and my visa had just expired, so I could not leave the country."(Peter).*

Peter further expressed that because he is not around as often as he needs to be, he feels that his 3-year-old child only treats him as someone that is a part of the family due to the pictures she sees around the house:

> *"When we speak, the conversations are relatively brief from what they used to be. Then she (the 3 year old daughter) says oh, the little one is here than she either drops the call or gives it to her mom." (Peter).*

Peter felt that the Skype conversations are becoming '*relatively brief*'. It is evident that Peter is aware that the physical distance between him and his child as a result of him being in South Africa has an impact on their relationship. He is, however, comforted by the fact that pictures of him are still on the walls of the house and this makes him feel that he "*has not lost her"* and that she still thinks of him as someone "*that is part of the house.*"

Mikhulu highlighted that he does not reside with his child as she is in boarding school. I asked if he is able to spend time with his child when she returns home and if perhaps his employment conditions have an impact on his parenting practices. When responding to the question, he first let out a deep sigh and then said the following:

> Mikhulu: "*You see, the life of an academic I would say is very stressful. Very very stressful. You have your own workload and you are not only assessed on the teaching but in academia you are also assessed on your research."*
>
> *Researcher: Would you say that your workload has an impact on your fathering practises and the time that you spend with your child…?*
>
> Mikhulu*: "Not only your child but also with your family. It is honestly a psychological trauma and it has an impact on how you deal with your family. Sometimes your wife will need certain kinds of attentions and your mind might be on finishing up the paper or when you wake up at night you go to the study and someone might think something is wrong with you and unfortunately that is the pressure of the work."*

In the extract above, Mikhulu notes that the life of an academic is very stressful. He demonstrates the that being employed at an HEI requires professional development in the form publication of papers in addition to the teaching that he needs to do. Thus he acknowledges the pressure of being on a non-permanent contract and an academic and the negative feelings it comes with, but because he is building his academic career, it is important for him to obtain his doctoral degree regardless of the impact it has.

Conclusion

The findings in this chapter highlights the occurrence of institutional exploitation, which is through remuneration, the workload that employees on non-permanent contracts have to carry, as well as the flexibility associated with non-permanent contracts. It is important to note that along with other responsibilities such as being physically present and involved in their children's lives, it was important for the participants to take on the role of economically providing for their households. Although most of the participants expressed dissatisfaction with the workload and the income they received, they stayed on the contracts with the universities. While financial responsibility is an important role the participants have placed upon themselves, their working conditions make it difficult for them to enjoy their journey through fatherhood as a result of the emotional distress that comes with being on the precarious contracts.

While exploitation and financial insecurity are a key concern among most of the men in the study, it was also found that the men find their employment to be somewhat fulfilling because they are able to see the students they teach do well in their prospective areas of work. Precarious employment contracts in HEIs have an impact on the kind of involvement men can have in their children's lives. In line with the Father Involvement Model described by Lamb et al. (1985), working conditions have an impact on the kind interaction a father has with his child, the kind of accessibility the child has with the father and the responsibilities bestowed on the men. The current study reveals that the fathers shared views that draw on concepts such as interaction, accessibility and responsibility, in discussing their precarious employment in HEIs and the impact their employment has on their involvement in their children's lives.

Finally, the study revealed that even though for some it is difficult at times, the men make sure that they have a relationship with their children and are involved in their well-being.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study explored the experiences of fathers employed on non-permanent contracts in HEIs in Cape Town, South Africa. In particular, the study aimed to understand the impact of men's precarious employment on their roles as fathers and their responsibilities towards their children. Previous studies (Gottschalk & McEachern, 2007; Reddick et al., 2012; Varner, 2000; Williams, 2000) have suggested that the challenges of precarious employment in HEIs impact on the parenting practices of both mothers and fathers.

The results of this study contribute to the limited research that has been conducted on precarious employment and fathering of men in HEIs in South Africa. The data suggests that the ways in which men experience their roles as fathers is informed by their ability to provide for their families, their cultures, their involvement with their children, and the impact that their employment has on their fathering practices.

In this chapter, I will summarise the findings of the study and provide concluding remarks. There were five themes that the participants drew on in discussing their roles as fathers and the impact that their employment conditions had on their fathering practices. These were: (1) the men's traditional understanding of fatherhood, (2) father involvement and the father-child relationship, (3) non-permanent employment in HEIs providing flexibility, insecurity and exploitation to academic staff (4) the fulfilling nature of their jobs and, (5) the impact of precarious employment conditions on fathering practices. I will summarise the findings according to both the aims and themes of the study along with the implications of these findings. Following that, I will discuss the limitations the research study followed by some suggestions and recommendations for future research studies.

Summary of Findings

This is one of the first South African studies to investigate the perceptions and lived experiences related to fathering practices of precariously employed men in HEIs. Historical and cultural factors have contributed to the ways in which South African fathers conceptualise their roles in society. Moreover, evidence suggest that traditional expectations (e.g., men having children and fathers providing financially for their family) remain persistent (Dermott, 2008; LaRossa, 1988). The same was true for the current study as the participants conceptualised their paternal roles on their ability to provide financially for their families. The father as the financial provider for the family has a number of implications in terms of the father's role in the household. Fathers are likely to feel a great amount of pressure to live up to

the expectations to provide for their families (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015). In South Africa particularly in black communities where the rate of unemployment is high (Maromo, 2019), many men are unable to fulfil the role of being the provider in the household. Therefore, while men's ability to provide for their families may be viewed as a determiner of their masculine identity (Brandth & Kvande, 1998), unemployed men may experience a lack of masculine 'honour'. This may cause feelings of shame and disappointment among the men which may result in father's being absent from participating in their children's lives (Carlson & McLanahan, 2010).

The construction of a father as an important figure or role model has familial implications. This is because the role of a father as a prominent role model is viewed as essentialising the role of a father within the household (Ngobeni, 2006). This implies that while there may be other external factors involved, the stability and ways in which children turn out may be viewed to be as a result of the presence or absence of a father in families. Even though some participants in this study viewed themselves as important role models to their children and studies have shared the same findings (Diamond, 1998; Pleck & Pleck, 1997; Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999) it should be noted that some fathers may not always display behaviours that should be aspired by their children. Therefore, this implication provides a warning against assuming that all fathers have a positive impact on children.

The men who participated in this study also made reference to parenting activities that men have historically been excused by society from fulfilling (e.g., being physically present and involved in their children's lives) when defining their responsibilities as fathers. Therefore, although being physically present was important to the fathers in this study, some of the men mentioned that, due to their residence in South Africa, they were not able to be physically present for their children. However, this did not hinder the kind of relationship they had with their children as for example, one of the participants mentioned that he spoke frequently with his wife and children. Another father mentioned that he Skype calls his children and always made sure to take care of their material needs. These results reflect the global changes regarding the way fatherhood has been reported in literature (Inhorn et al., 2014), showing that the understanding of fatherhood and parenting among the participants has changed from previously absent fathers to present fathers that want to have relationships with their children.

It was also important for all of the participants to be involved and have a relationship with their children. This means that regardless of the importance the participants placed on their 'traditional roles' as fathers, they also showed that men are increasingly integrating their roles to involve caring activities beyond their role as the provider. Their perceptions of their

roles also demonstrated the three key components of the Father Involvement Model described by Lamb et al. (1985) which includes, engagement, accessibility and responsibility. For example in sharing his experiences, Mikhulu reflected on engagement, through mentioning the importance of his daughter and him speaking often and trying to have a good relationship with her. Tonderai, shared that when he gets back from work, his daughter gives him a hug and would tell him about what had happened at school. Additionally, Mark mentioned that he spends a lot of time with his children especially on camping getaways with the children all disconnected from their technological devices. While the men's engagement with their children was evident through them being physically present, engagement was not evident in the same way for all the men in the study. This is particularly because of the physical distance some of them are from their families. For example, in sharing their experiences, Peter and Takudzwa mentioned that they do not stay with their children and that they frequently engaged with their children, through Skype and video calls.

The other concept which is important for the Father Involvement Model is responsibility which most of the men made reference to their roles as economic providers for their families. For example, Abdul and Toderai reflected on their paternal responsibilities as providers for their households which they mentioned was shaped by their cultural beliefs. Given Peter believed that he is responsible for moulding the future of his children he felt that it was important for him to have the ability to economically provide for his family. Furthermore, Mark and Takudzwa shared their views which reflected on responsibility through the need to also be providers for their families with Takudzwa clearly making reference to how young his children are to be worried about anything related to money.

Lastly, in sharing their experiences that reflect on accessibility, the men in the study discussed the time they dedicated to being available to their children. Tonderai mentioned that the weekends are the time during which he compensates for the time lost with his child during the week. Simbarashe mentioned that he has a special bond with his children and the moment he arrives home, they always want to be with him. Mikhulu, expressed the importance of having an open relationship with children who view him as a father figure. It is therefore evident that most of the men in the study engaged with their children, took responsibility for their children and were accessible in different ways to their children as found in other studies with fathers (Mbekenga et al., 2011; Summers et al., 2006).

Therefore it would be eminent to highlight that findings from the study show that the roles of fathers have integrated various parenting aspects (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015). This is because while their roles as fathers involved them being providers, forming emotional and

intimate relationships with their children and being involved in routines that require their active presence was also important for the participants.

The increasing involvement of fathers in their children's lives has a number of implications. The increase in the number of fathers who want to be involved in their children's lives encourages more fathers to be involved in their children's lives. This is because the active involvement of fathers creates an awareness about the importance of being a present father and shows appreciation to the way mothers have always been involved in ever-day care for their children (Delphy & Leonard, 1992; Doucet, 2016; LaRossa, 1988). This is because often in families, women were historically positioned as possessing the innate nurturing capacities, making them responsible for their children's well-being whereas, men were exempted from these duties (Helman & Ratele, 2016). Therefore, as more men are actively involved and taking part in caring practices of their children, this contributes to important implications of gender equality as it has been reported by literature (Datta, 2007) that reshaping fatherhood is critical to achieving gender equality. These parenting aspects make the participants aware that their role is not only limited to their role as the head of the household but also having a close relationship with their children.

Literature shows that there is a complicated relationship between fatherhood and the labour market, as employment conditions may impact fathers' parenting practices (Hanson, Morrison, & Ginsburg, 1989; Hrženjak, 2017). This was evident among the participants as their precarious employment conditions did not allow for some of them to spend the time they desired to, with their children. For example some of the participants mentioned that, (1) they were overworked relative to the income they received, (2) they were tired by the time they arrived home from work, and (3) being on non-permanent contracts contributed to stress and worry because of the uncertainty of their employment from semester to semester.

Precarious working conditions have a number of implications particularly on the impact of the men's fathering practices. Firstly, even though the men may have been physically present at home to be with their children, they were not wholly present as a result of the negative emotions that come with the uncertainty of their employment conditions. This is supported by literature (Nomaguchi, & Johnson, 2016) which states that fathers who struggle with their employment conditions often express frustration and disappointment. Even when they spend time with their children, they are not able to enjoy the time because they do not make enough money to buy things like toys and special treats for them.

This was exacerbated by the fact that the institutions they were employed by exploited the fact that they were employed on non-permanent contracts. Most of the complaints regarding

dissatisfaction with their employment conditions were in line with the workload they were expected to do in relation to the income that was received, which the men expressed was insufficient. This consequently has an emotional impact on well-being especially for physically present fathers who want spend time with their families and children.

Findings from this research also revealed that non-permanent staff lack the necessary financial security which is detrimental to their family lives and overall well-being. Being employed on precarious employment contracts amidst the unfavourable conditions, means that the men in this study are able to fulfil their role as providers for their families which is something they view as prominent. Therefore, although some of the men would like to spend as much time as they desire with their children, their employment conditions make it difficult for them to do so. For the men that are able to spend the desired time with their children as a result of the flexibility that comes with being on precarious employment contracts, having a stable financial income is important for them.

The findings from this study has provided insight into the experiences of precariously employed fathers and the impact their employment has on their fathering practices. The insights are necessary particularly to contribute to policy amendments for universities to promote work-family life balance among male employees. Universities need to facilitate an honest conversation about precarious employment conditions, which will draw out the real extent of the staff's employment conditions and how improvement can be initiated for the staff. Universities need to also understand that this is a real problem that needs to be addressed and dealt with. Some institutions have been consistent in promoting staff from insecure contracts to secure contracts but overall, most universities continue to exploit staff that are on non-permanent contracts. Therefore, these findings suggest a need to create and promote the well-being of fathers and a need to adjust the workplace to the reality that precariously employed men also have care-giving responsibilities.

Limitations of the study

It is important to discuss the limitations of a research study and the ways in which these can be addressed in future studies. I will outline one important limitations of the current study which focuses on the small number of participants as a result of a low response rate.

As indicated earlier, this study had only 7 participants who responded to the call for participation. One of the probable reason for such low participation could have been that people do not want to discuss their working conditions because they might have been scared given that they are already on insecure contracts. Therefore, I anticipate that some may have not been keen to discuss their working conditions with me out of fear of putting themselves at risk for

losing their jobs. However, the depth of these findings should not be underestimated as they provide an understanding of these men's employment conditions and how their experiences impact on their fathering practices, and potentially those of other men in similar positions. Despite the abovementioned limitation, this study holds significant value in the academic field because it contributes to the body of literature regarding precarious employment in HEIs. With a lack of studies that focus on fatherhood and precarious employment in HEIs, particularly within a South African context, the importance of exploring experiences of these men has been highlighted in the study.

Recommendations for Future Research

In light of the limitations of the study, there is a need to investigate the ways in which other groups of men on non-permanent contracts (e.g., in other HEIs in South Africa) construct their understanding of fatherhood and the impact their employment has on their fathering practices. There is also a need to more fully investigate precarious working conditions by comparing it to the working conditions of staff on permanent contracts. This will allow for us to see if there are any differences between the experiences of men on permanent contracts and those on non-permanent contracts. In having a better understanding of the ways in which precarious work and academics on permanent contracts impact fathering, policy makers and universities can be able to better support men in their work environment as well as advocate for their parenting practices.

As this study was limited to two HEIs in the Western Cape, I suggest that future studies employ a wider variety of sampling strategies to increase participation. Additionally, I would also suggest that research be conducted across more universities in the country.

Conclusion

Working fathers that are able to balance their work and family life is a primary concern for the larger society in the 21st century (Beham, Präg, & Drobnič, 2012). The findings presented in this paper have provided a nuanced understanding of a group of well-educated men, their lives as fathers and the ways in which they are impacted by precarious work. This is an important contribution as it draws on a sample which has not been well studied in the country. While the role of the man as the breadwinner is still prevalent among societies in South Africa (Ranson, 2012), universities need to find ways to support fathers so that they are able to achieve a balance between work and family as was suggested in the study.

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Appendix A: Consent Form

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Consent Form

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study titled: '*Precarious employment and fathering of men in Higher Education Institutions in Cape Town, South Africa'*

Purpose of the study

The aim of this study is to understand the ways in which various forms of precarious employment shape fathering practices – the ways in which men 'do' fatherhood. Your participation in this study will involve an individual face-to-face interview that is expected to last between 60-90 minutes. Each interview will be recorded using an audio-recording device, and will be later transcribed, analysed and written up for publication.

Ethical considerations

Any information you share during this study will be kept confidential. All audio-recordings and transcripts will be kept in a password-locked folder and will only be accessible to the researchers involved in this study. Any hardcopies produced including the signed consent forms will be kept in a lockable compartment that only the principal investigator will have access to. For the purposes of reporting, all names and identifiable information will be removed, and pseudonyms will be used in order to ensure that the data remains anonymous. You have the right to withdraw your participation from this study at any point without any negative consequences. Should you choose to do so, any data you have already provided will be destroyed and will not be used for the study.

Benefits and risks

This study is expected to pose minimal emotional harm to you as the questions focus on the type of work that you do and whether and how it affects your involvement in your children's

lives. Should you feel distressed at any point as a result of the study, you can inform the researcher who will arrange for you to seek professional help at no cost to you. There will be no compensation for participating in this study. However, the researcher will provide lunch for the duration of the interview to make up for the time you have taken. The study has no direct benefits to you, but will contribute to what we know about precarious work and its impact on fathering. Most importantly, this study is expected to contribute to the drafting of a working document that informs interventions that are targeted at encouraging men to become more involved in their children's lives. We also hope that you will find useful this opportunity to voice any challenges and frustrations you might be experiencing as a father involved in precarious employment.

Contact details

Should you have any questions following this interview, please contact the principal investigator, Dr Mandisa Malinga (Psychology, UCT) at mandisa.malinga@uct.ac.za or on 021 650 4997. Alternatively, contact Rosalind Adams (Psychology, UCT) at Rosalind.adams@uct.ac.za or on 021 650 3417.

Consent

I [Name and Surname: _____] confirm that the above study has been explained to me and all questions have been answered by the researcher. I fully understand the implications of my participation, and am aware that I can withdraw from this study at any point should I no longer wish to participate. I hereby confirm that:

I agree to participate in this research study:
Yes O No O
Sign: ……..

I consent to be recorded using an audio-recording device during the interview
Yes O No O
Sign: ……..

I give consent for the information I share to be used in any publication for this project without the disclosure of any information that will make me identifiable by others:
Yes O No O

Signature…….. Date: ……..
(Participant)

Signature……. Date: ……
(Researcher)

Appendix B: Interview Guide

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DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Sample interview guide

Demographic Information:

Can you please tell me about yourself…

o Age

o Home Town

o First Language

o Relationship status and family

o Number of children you are fathering and their ages

Questions relating to precarious employment:

Please describe what your work involves

- What kind of contract do you have at…?
- What is the duration of the contract?
- How many times have you had your contract renewed?

o Do you enjoy what you do?

o Are you remunerated well for what you do?

- Do you have any concerns about your remuneration?

o Are there any challenges in your line of work? What are they?

o Are there any benefits in your line of work? What are they?

o Is this your first choice of work? If not, and if you could choose, what

kind of work would you be doing?

Questions relating to fathering:

• You indicated that you are a father, please tell me what that means to you?

• Please describe your relationship with your children.

o Are you involved in their lives? If so, how?

o Do you get to spend time with them?

§ What are the things that you do with them?

- Do you provide emotional support?
- Do you provide physical care (feed, bath etc.)?
- Do you provide for their financial needs?

• What, according to your experience are the challenges to parenting as a men?

• What according to your experience are the benefits to parenting as a men?

• Does your work (including your working conditions) affect your ability to be involved in your children's lives? If so, how?

Appendix C: Invitation to Participate

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Invitation to participate:

You are invited to participate in a research project titled '*Precarious employment and fathering practices of men in the formal and informal sectors*'.

Who can participate?

This project seeks to recruit academic staff members who are not permanently employed by the institution they are based at. These are **men who are employed on one time or recurring (short or longer-term) contracts who are fathers (self-defined).** This could also include post-doc candidates who are performing various academic roles (lecturing, research etc.) within institutions of HE.

The Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to understand the ways in which various forms of precarious employment shape fathering practices – the ways in which men 'do' fatherhood.

Procedure

Individual semi-structured face-to-face interviews will be conducted at a venue of your choosing, and will last between 60-90 minutes. Please note that these interviews will be recorded using an audio-recording device, and later transcribed and analysed, following which it will be written up for publication.

Ethical considerations

Any information you share during this study will be kept confidential. All audio-recordings and transcripts will be kept in a password-locked folder and will only be accessible to the researchers involved in this study. Any hardcopies produced including the signed consent

forms will be kept in a lockable compartment that only the principal investigator will have access to. For the purposes of reporting, all names and identifiable information will be removed, and pseudonyms will be used in order to ensure that the data remains anonymous. You have the right to withdraw your participation from this study at any point without any negative consequences. Should you choose to do so, any data you have already provided will be destroyed and will not be used for the study.

Contact details

Should you be interested in participating in this study or have any questions about this project, please contact the principal investigator, Dr Mandisa Malinga (Psychology, UCT) at mandisa.malinga@uct.ac.za or on 021 650 4997. Alternatively, contact Rosalind Adams (Psychology, UCT) at Rosalind.adams@uct.ac.za or on 021 650 3417.

YOUR PARTICIPATION WILL BE HIGHLY APPRECIATED!!!

Appendix D: Referral List

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Referral List

While the study is expected to pose minimal emotional harm to you, we do expect that experiences do differ. What may pose minimum or no emotional harm to some, might be more distressing for others. As such, we would like you to inform us immediately should you experience any emotional distress as a result of your participation in this study and we will arrange for you to seek assistance at a facility closest to you. Please also find below a list of free services that you may be able to contact should you wish to seek such services. While most of these facilities offer free and telephonic assistance, some may have a minimal charge (often a donation), in which case we would be of assistance.

- SADAG (24-hour helpline): **0800 12 13 14**
- Cape Mental Health: 021 447 9040
- Good Hope Psychological Service: **021 887 7913**
- Life Line: 021 461 1113
- Hope House: 021 715 0424
- FAMSA Western Cape: 021 447 7951

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

DEPUTY REGISTRAR: Academic Administration
Administration Building, 1st Floor
ashaikjee@uwc.ac.za, nschoeman@uwc.ac.za
021 959 2110

05 September 2018

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Name of Researcher	:	Mandisa Malinga
Research Topic	:	Precarious employment and fathering practices of men in the formal and informal sectors
Date of issue	:	05/09/2018
Reference number	:	UWCRP050918MM

This serves as acknowledgement that you have obtained and presented the necessary ethical clearance and your institutional permission required to proceed with the above referenced project.

Approval is granted for you to conduct research at the University of the Western Cape for the period 05 September 2018 to 05 September 2019. You are required to engage this office in advance if there is a need to continue with research outside of the stipulated period. The manner in which you conduct your research must be guided by the conditions set out in the annexed agreement: *Conditions to guide research conducted at the University of the Western Cape.*

The University of the Western Cape promotes the generation of new knowledge and supports new research. It also has a responsibility to be sensitive to the rights of the students and staff on campus. This office will require of you to respect the rights of students and staff who do not wish to participate in interviews and/or surveys.

It is also incumbent on you to first furnish this office with a copy of the proposed publication should you wish to reference the University's name, spaces, identity, etc. prior to public dissemination.

Please be at liberty to contact this office should you require any assistance to conduct your research or specifically require access to either staff or student contact information.

Yours sincerely

Signature Removed

DR AHMED SHAIKJEE
DEPUTY REGISTRAR: ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

DEPUTY REGISTRAR: Academic Administration
Administration Building, 1st Floor
ashaikjee@uwc.ac.za, nschoeman@uwc.ac.za
021 959 2110

ANNEXURE

CONDITIONS TO GUIDE RESEARCH CONDUCTED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

The onus rests on the researcher/investigator to observe and comply with the conditions set out below with the aim to conduct responsibly ethical research. Clarity must be sought from the authorising office should the interpretation of the conditions be unclear.

1. ACCOUNTABILITY

1.1. The University reserves the right to audit the research practices of the researcher/ investigator to assess compliance to the conditions of this agreement.
1.2. Data collection processes must not be adapted, changed or altered by the researcher/ investigator without written notification issued to the authorising office.
1.3. The University reserves to right to cease research if any proposed change to the data collection process is found to be unethical or in contravention of this agreement.
1.4. Failure to comply with any one condition in this agreement may result in:
  1.4.1. Disciplinary action instituted against a researcher/investigator employed or registered at the University;
  1.4.2. The contravention reported to the organisation employing or registering the external researcher/ investigator.

2. GOVERNANCE

2.1. Approval to conduct research is governed by the Protection of Personal Information Act, No 4 of 2013, which regulates the entire information life cycle from collection, through use and storage and even the destruction of personal information and it is incumbent on the researcher/investigator to understand the implications of the legislation.
2.2. The researcher/investigator must employ the necessary measures to conduct research that is ethically and legally sound.

3. ACQUIRING CONSENT & RIGHTS OF PARTICIPANTS

3.1. It is incumbent on the researcher / investigator to clarify any uncertainties to the participant about the research.
3.2. Written consent must be obtained from participants before their personal information is gathered and documented.
3.3. Participation in the research must be voluntary and participants must not be pressured or coerced.
3.4. Participants have the right to access their personal information, obtain confirmation of what information is in the possession of the researcher / investigator and who had access to the information.
3.5. Participants have the right to withdraw from the research and insist that their personal information not be used.

Administration Building, 1st Floor
ashaikjee@uwc.ac.za, nschoeman@uwc.ac.za
021 959 2110

4. DATA AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT
4.1. Due diligence must be afforded by the researcher/investigator to: 4.1.1. Mitigate any risks that could compromise the privacy of participants before 4.1.2. during and after the research is conducted; 4.1.3. Collect only information that is relevant to the aim of the research; 4.1.4. Verify all personal information collected about a participant if the information is supplied by a source other than the participant; 4.1.5. Refrain from sharing participant information with a third party; 4.1.6. Apply for an exemption if the identity of participants should be revealed in the interest of the research aims. 4.2. The researcher/investigator must employ appropriate, reasonable and technical measures to protect, prevent loss of and unlawful or unauthorised access of research information.

Should you have any questions relating to this agreement please contact:
ashaikjee@uwc.ac.za, or
researchperm@uwc.ac.za

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Department of Psychology

University of Cape Town Rondebosch 7701 South Africa
Telephone (021) 650 3417
Fax No. (021) 650 4104

27 July 2018

Dr Mandisa Malinga
Department of Psychology
University of Cape Town
Rondebosch 7701

Dear Dr Malinga

I am pleased to inform you that ethical clearance has been given by an Ethics Review Committee of the Faculty of Humanities for your study, *Precarious employment and fathering practices of men in the formal and informal sectors*. The reference number is PSY2018-055.

I wish you all the best for your study.

Yours sincerely

Signature Removed

Lauren Wild (PhD)
Associate Professor
Chair: Ethics Review Committee

HR194

ACCESS TO UCT STAFF FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

RECEIVED
31 AUG 2018
ED: HR OFFICE

NOTES

- Forms must be downloaded from the UCT website: http://forms.uct.ac.za/forms.htm
- This form must be completed by applicants who are requesting to access UCT staff for the purpose of research.
- A copy of the research proposal as well as the Ethics Committee approval must be attached.
- It is the **responsibility of the researcher/s to apply for ethical clearance** from the relevant **Faculty's** Research in Ethics Committee (RIEC).
- If you are requesting staff information, you are required to complete the HR Information Request Form (HR190) and submit it together with all the required documentation.
- The turnaround time for a reply is **approximately 10 working days unless specified as urgent.**
- Return the completed application form and all the above documentation to Joy Henry via email: joy.henry@uct.ac.za; or deliver to: For the Attention: Executive Director, Human Resources Department, Bremner Building, Room 214, Lower Campus, UCT.

SECTION A: APPLICANT DETAILS

Title	Dr	Name	Mandisa Malinga
Telephone number	021 650 4997	Email address	mandisa.malinga@uct.ac.za
Student number		Staff number	01455454
Visiting researcher ID / passport number			
Faculty Officer contact details			
University or institution at which employed or a registered student	University of Cape Town		
Faculty or department to which you are registered or work	Psychology Department, Humanities		
Address (if not UCT)	UCT		

SECTION B: SUPERVISOR DETAILS

	Title and name	Telephone number	Email address
Supervisor			
Co-Supervisor			

SECTION C: APPLICANT'S FIELD OF STUDY (if applicable) / TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT / STUDY

Degree	N/A	
Research project or title	Precarious employment and fathering practices of men in the formal and informal sectors	
Research proposal attached	☒ Yes	☐ No
Target population (number of UCT staff)	At least 20 men who are members of the academic staff, are fathers (self-defined), and are employed on one-time or recurring contracts of varying duration (not permanent).	
Amount of time required for an interview and/or questionnaire	60 minutes per interview.	
Lead Researcher details	Dr Mandisa Malinga	
Proof of ethical clearance status attached	☒ Yes	☐ No

SECTION D: FOR OFFICE USE (Approval status to be completed by the Executive Director, Human Resources or Nominee)

Support or approval			Role	Signature	Date
Supported?	☑ Yes	☐ No	Joy Henry (Office Co-Ordinator)		31/08/2018
Approved?	☑ Yes	☐ No	pp Miriam Hoosain (Executive Director: HR)		31/8/18

Signature Removed