A Generative Perspective of Afro-Jamaican Fathers’ Socialization of Values for their Children in Middle Childhood

by

Amoy Marshall Green

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ABSTRACT

A GENERATIVE PERSPECTIVE OF AFRO-CARIBBEAN FATHERS’ VALUES
SOCIALIZATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN IN MIDDLE CHILDHOOD

Amoy Marshall Green
University of Guelph, 2017

Advisor:
Dr. Susan S. Chuang

The study explored Afro-Jamaican fathers’ perspectives on their fathering identity and the socialization of values with a focus on middle childhood. Specifically, I examined the roles and responsibilities that the fathers included in their fathering identity, the values that were instilled when the fathers were children and the values that the fathers wanted for their children, and how the fathers promoted values. The study utilized a thematic analysis methodology from a social constructivist perspective to analyse 10 semi-structured interviews with fathers between 28 and 37 years of age. I explored their perspectives in three areas: (a) construction of fathering identity, (b) perspectives on socialization of values, and (c) perceived factors that affect their socialization of values. The current study contributes to a deeper understanding of Afro-Jamaican fathering identity and socialization of values. There were three main empirical contributions. The study revealed that the fathering identity of Afro-Jamaican fathers was not limited to the behavioural dimension which is the primary areas of exploration in the fathering literature (Pleck, 2010). These fathers emphasized that the values that they experienced as children, and wanted for their children were multifaceted with specific explanations that expanded the prevailing conceptualizations of values (Chao, 1995; Chuang & Su, 2009). Lastly, the approaches that both caregivers and fathers encompassed to instill values in their children focused on strategies within several domains such as control, guided learning, group participation, support, and reciprocity.
Dedicated to:

My sons, Jonathan Green and John-Mark

My husband and the father of my sons, David Green

My Mother, Millicent Clarke-Reid

My father, the late Everton Marshall
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Table of Contents

Abstract ................................................................................................................... ii
Acknowledgments ................................................................................................. iv
Table of Content .................................................................................................... vi
List of Tables .......................................................................................................... ix
Introduction ........................................................................................................... 1
Overview of Scholarship on Fathering ................................................................. 2
Bronfenbrenner’s Bioecological Model ................................................................. 5
Afro-Caribbean Families: A Historical Perspective .............................................. 7
   A Historical Account of Afro-Caribbean Families ............................................ 7
      Experiences of Slavery ................................................................................... 11
      Apprenticeship and Post-Slavery ............................................................... 16
Contemporary Cultural Perspective of Afro-Caribbean Fathering ....................... 21
   Early Socialization and Identity Development of Afro-Caribbean Fathers ....... 21
   Contemporary Afro-Caribbean Family Structure ........................................... 22
   Gender Role and Identity ................................................................................ 26
   Child Socialization ......................................................................................... 29
      Parenting Values and Child Characteristics .............................................. 29
      Afro-Caribbean Fathers’ Parenting Goals and Behaviours ...................... 31
   Gender Socialization ..................................................................................... 33
   Economic Status ............................................................................................ 36
   Education ....................................................................................................... 38
Purpose of the Study ............................................................................................. 41
Research Questions ............................................................................................... 42
Methods .................................................................................................................. 42
Participants ............................................................................................................ 42
Procedures ............................................................................................................. 43
   Recruitment ................................................................................................... 43
   Demographic Questionnaire .......................................................................... 44
   Semi-Structured Interview ............................................................................. 44
Data Analysis .......................................................................................................... 45
Future Directions ................................................................. 91
Implications and Conclusions .............................................. 92
References ........................................................................ 94
Appendix A – Certificate of Ethics Approval ................................ 124
Appendix B – Consent Information .......................................... 125
Appendix C – Recruitment Letter ............................................ 129
Appendix D – Recruitment Flyer ............................................. 130
Appendix E – Background Questionnaire ................................. 131
Appendix F – Interview Protocol ............................................ 134
List of Tables

Table 1- Demographics and Background Information........................................... 116

Table 2 – List of Values Instilled When Fathers Were Children and Values that Fathers
Wanted for their Children.................................................................................. 117

Table 3 – Values Instilled When Fathers Were Children and Those They Wanted for
their Children.................................................................................................... 119

Table 4 – Promotion of Values by Fathers’ Caregivers and the Fathers.................. 121

Table 5 – Strategies Used by the Fathers’ Caregivers and Fathers Employed to Promote
Values ............................................................................................................... 122
Introduction

Fathering in diverse cultural contexts is under-researched, and fathers in ethnic and minority families have been misunderstood and stereotyped (Miller & Maiter, 2008). Researchers have employed a deficit perspective for decades that has not given attention to important contextual factors such as history, culture, and political systems (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). However, there is significant empirical support for the contributions that fathers make to children’s development in some regions of the world, especially among the dominant population (see Shwalb, Shwalb, & Lamb, 2013), but limited in other contexts such as the Caribbean. Moreover, scholars often utilized models that are restrictive in their attempts to understand family functioning in diverse family contexts (García Coll et al., 1996). Thus, research on ethnic fathers need to be undertaken with a framework that is unrestrictive to address the gap in the literature (Chuang, 2013).

The Caribbean has a history of slavery and an aftermath that needs attention for an informed understanding of fathering among Afro-Caribbean fathers who have been largely stereotyped (Anderson, 2009). Some researchers have challenged the label of Afro-Caribbean fathers and Afro-Jamaican fathers, in particular, as absent and uninvolved (Anderson & Daley, 2015; Brown, Anderson, & Chevannes, 1993). However, the construction of fathering identity and socialization of values require exploration to better understand fathers’ contributions to the socialization of their children. This will provide further insight into family functioning and transmission of parenting across generations as there is a dearth of research in these areas on Afro-Caribbean fathers. The purpose of the present study was to examine Afro-Jamaican fathering using a qualitative methodology to explore how fathers constructed their fathering
identity and their perspectives on the socialization of their children as it related to values and principles.

**Overview of Scholarship on Fathering**

The seminal work of Lamb (1975) focused attention on fathers’ contribution to child development. Scholars explored fathers’ contributions to the cognitive, emotional, and social development of children (Pleck, 2010). For example, Baker, Vernon-Feagans, and Family Life Project Investigators (2015) found that fathers made unique contributions to children early academic development. Over time, there has been increased scholarly attention to fathers including a wide range of topics such as fathers’ parenting, fathering behaviours and attitudes, and father care and involvement (Goldberg, Tan, & Thorsen, 2009), but research on ethnic and minority fathers continues to lag in comparison to White middle-class fathers (Chuang & Moreno, 2008; Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013).

Shwalb et al. (2013) used five themes to summarize the international scholarship on fathering. First, fathering is influenced by both cultural and historical backgrounds in significant ways (e.g., the roles and responsibilities of fathers are impacted by both history and contemporary changes). Second, the breadth and quality of research on fathering differs around the world (e.g., more research in Western in comparison to non-Western societies). Third, only some cultures have implemented social policies to affect fathering (e.g., Scandinavia in contrast to Brazil). Fourth, fathering is diverse across cultures. Fifth, the economic conditions of contemporary societies affect fathering. Taken together, the international literature on fathering suggests that fathering should be studied in their sociocultural context (for review, see Shwalb et al., 2013).
The international literature on fathering also indicated that there are diverse levels of understanding of how fathers contribute to child development across cultures (Cabrera, Shannon, & Tamis-LeMonda, 2007). For example, scholars have found that positive outcomes associated with father involvement included reduced behaviour problems (Chang, Halpern, & Kaufman, 2007), better academic outcomes (Flouri & Buchanan, 2004), and improved socioemotional functioning (Levy-Shiff, Einat, Mogilner, Lerman, & Krikler, 1994). Also, there are other positive outcomes that are linked to specific demographics such as protection against intergeneration transmission of economic disadvantage and reduction in the risk of psychological problems (Flouri & Buchanan, 2004). At the same time, these outcomes have not been significantly investigated in various cultures such as among the Afro-Caribbean fathers (Leo-Rynie & Brown, 2013).

Unfortunately, scholars have paid little attention to child socialization and the roles of fathers. Of particular interest is the socialization of values that fathers want for their children and how they promote these values. According to Schwartz (1992), values are criteria that individuals use to determine actions and evaluate themselves and others. Also, values are internalized in a hierarchical structure and affected by different types of primary and/or secondary motivations such as self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, benevolence, and universalism. The transmission of values is an important aspect of child socialization; however, when scholars explore values they are often restrictive in their approach. For example, researchers do not explore justification for values and approached to the socialization of values (e.g., see Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). Moreover, few studies have examined values in Afro-Caribbean families (Anderson & Daley, 2015).
More recently, scholars have acknowledged that it is difficult to examine father involvement in isolation of other familial factors such as the quality of the couple relationship, status, and family dynamics (Lamb, 2010). This represents a conceptual shift towards relational and holistic perspectives (focusing on the relationship instead of tasks or roles) in the exploration of fathering (Bjørnholt, 2010). Thus, family processes or the context of fathers’ relationships with their children is crucial in understanding their contribution to the socialization of their children (Parke, 2013). Specifically, far less is known about the values, principles, attitudes, and behaviours that fathers want their children to possess and how they promote such accomplishments, especially in the Caribbean.

Unfortunately, few scholars examined ethnic minority families with attention to family processes or cultural diversity (Chuang, 2013; McAdoo, 2002). Also, some scholars have been focusing on the socialization of values in ethnic cultures such as Chinese and Latinos (see Chuang & Su, 2009; Pearson & Rao, 2003; Taylor & Behnke, 2005). However, scholars have used a deficit perspective to study ethnic minority fathers such as Black fathers in North America and the Caribbean (McDougal & George, 2016). For example, their family forms and processes (common-law unions and extended family networks) were regarded as dysfunctional as they did not conform to the dominant White cultural group (McAdoo, 2002). Similarly, Chuang (2013) found that the model most frequently used to study father involvement (Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, & Levine, 1985, 1987) in the dominant White population may not be meaningfully applicable to Chinese fathers (e.g., how the construct of responsibility is conceptualized). Thus, a cultural deficit perspective has negatively affected a greater understanding of inter-group and intra-group variations among families and fathers (McKelley & Rochlen, 2016). Also, researchers have been examining fatherlessness or father absence but there is a need to explore how fathers raise
successful children. This gap in the literature is even more significant among Afro-Caribbean fathers with a history of slavery and limited research that acknowledges cultural diversity.

In the following sections, I situate the present study on Afro-Caribbean fathers, Afro-Jamaican fathers in particular, using the bioecological model as a framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1985; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) to investigate fathering based on cultural diversity and dynamics within the immediate family context. Then, the impact of the macrosystem on Afro-Caribbean fathers is explored from a historical perspective. Next, I present the dynamics of the microsystem based on the contemporary cultural perspective of Afro-Caribbean fathering.

**Bronfenbrenner’s Bioecological Model**

Bronfenbrenner’s (1977) theory of human development focuses on the interaction of an individual with his or her changing immediate environments. There are ongoing interactions within and between the various settings. These direct and indirect interactions among the developing individual and the immediate settings occur throughout the lifespan. The various interactions are also affected by the larger social contexts of the individual. Importantly, the individual is regarded as a living organism that affects his or her own development as emphasized in the later extension of the model to include person-process-context-time (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Therefore, the developing individual should be examined within the bioecological context that include five systems that affect him or her in distinct ways across the lifespan (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1995).

The microsystem is the first system and the most immediate setting of the developing individual in which direct interactions take place. These immediate environments (e.g., home, workplace, school, etc.) involves complex relationships between the individual and/or other persons such as his or her mother and/or father. Second, the mesosystem encompasses the major
settings of the individual and the interactions among those settings (e.g., home and school). Third, the exosystem extends the mesosystem but does not involve the individual. It includes both formal and informal structures that have an impact on the individual (e.g., neighbourhood, agencies of government). Fourth, the chronosystem describes the interactions between these systems as occurring through space and time throughout the lifespan of the individual.

Finally, the macrosystem does not include any specific setting that affects the individual, but rather, the general prototypes within one’s culture or subculture. The observable structures and activities are guided by the general models. Thus, macrosystems are the “blueprints” that are either explicit (e.g., laws, regulations, rules) or informal and implicit (e.g., unwitting ideology that affects customs and practices of everyday life) that serve as the overarching institutional framework of the culture or subcultures (e.g., economic, social, legal, educational, social, and political system) that are manifested in the micro-, meso-, and exosystems. The macrosystems are important structures as well as implicit and explicit channels of information and ideology that provide meaning and motivation to a particular entity such as agencies, social networks, and actions. Thus, macrosystems are endowed with cultural values, traditions, and norms that create the “blueprint” for how societies operate (Bronfenbrenner, 1997).

The bioecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1985; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) will allow a more in-depth understanding of fathering than theoretical frameworks that are not explicit in addressing the influences of contextual factors. Fathering is a multilateral process that incorporates many stakeholders such as fathers, mothers, children, grandparents, and members of the community who are influenced by their culture and institutions. Moreover, it is a social construction that is affected by meanings, attitudes, motivations, and behaviours of fathers and stakeholders (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998). Thus, fathering is affected by issues
that encompass the five structures of the bioecological model. Of particular interest is the macro- and microsystems of fathering of Afro-Caribbean families.

**Afro-Caribbean Families: A Historical Perspective**

The repercussions of slavery continue to severely impact contemporary black Jamaican families. However, many researchers have not taken the historical context into consideration which has led to overgeneralizations, stereotyping, and a simplistic understanding of Black families (Roopnarine & Hossain, 2013). To address these macro-level issues, we need to first understand the origins of the African families before slavery and then the detrimental and longstanding effects slavery had on their family structures and relationships. Although slaves may have originated from other parts of Africa, the primary focus will be on West Africa because evidence suggests that the slaves in Jamaica were largely from this region. More specifically, most slaves were from tribes on the West Coast of Africa such as the Benin Ibo tribe, the Gold Coast Ashanti tribe, the Sierra Leone Kru tribe, and the Senegambia Fula tribe (Simms et al., 2012).

**A Historical Account of Afro-Caribbean Families**

The West African societies placed a high value on family relationships, leading to close-knit communities. Family life was believed to be more important than one’s occupation or profession (Azevedo, 2011). Family life was fostered primarily through the marital union which was viewed as critical for succession planning and also believed to be a natural progression in one’s lifecourse. Thus, marriage and childbearing were societal obligations and cultural expectations for all members of the West African societies. These values were also emphasized as social obligations in initiation and rites-of-passage ceremonies (Aborampah & Sudarkasa, 2011). Specifically, the longevity of marital unions was also promoted and the termination of
marriages was primarily on the grounds of spousal death. Thus, divorce was a rare occurrence, even though it was practiced in the society (Jemmott, 2015).

The relatively low rate of divorce may also be due to the polygamous nature of the society. In precolonial West Africa, polygynous marital unions, in which males had several wives simultaneously, were prominent. The fathers lived in a collective and communal setting with their wives and children. Polygyny was embraced and valued in the culture because it was a sign of socio-economic status and productivity. Also, the men took pride in the number of children produced by the marriage as it contributed to the advancement of the tribe (Jemmott, 2015). Importantly, the economic welfare of the family was the main responsibility of the father.

Marriage did not create the nuclear family that existed among European societies, but rather, marriage led to an extended family network characterized by the principles of collectivity and commitment. Collectivity referred to the composition of a family network, which included two or three generations such as grandparents, parents, and grandchildren from both sides of the parents’ families. Commitment referred to the obligations of the relationships, defined by the relationships among extended family members (blood relatives) as well as with fictive kin, those who were related by hospitality or social group such as close friendships and cooperation (Aborampah, 2011; Jemmott, 2015). Therefore, the family structure in West African tribes was communal, interdependent, and intergenerational.

The connectedness and continuity of the families were evident in their social practices of marriage, procreation, and child-shifting where children were cared for by other family members. These structures supported the transmission of traditional and generational legacy. More broadly, the society was structured around family and fictive kin relationships that supported childrearing as well as provision of resources, and accomplishing necessary tasks for
survival (Aborampah, 2011; Jemmott, 2015).

However, the family structures varied between patrilin

ty and matrilin
ty. In patrilin
eal families, ancestry is traced through the father’s line thereby making males critical in the family

succession. Unfortunately, there has been no research on the parenting roles of mothers and

fathers in patrilin
eal families, which may be due to a greater emphasis on matrilin
ty. The tribes in Sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 85% of the families. However, most of the tribes in West

Africa were located in the matrilineal belt, which included parts of West Africa, Central Africa, and East Africa. Although these societies were matrilineal, the roles of men or fathers included

being disciplinarians for children as well as the avenue for determining family inheritance

(Azevedo, 2011). In the matrilineal families, however, women, especially those from wealthy

families, made the decisions in collaboration with the kinsmen in the family, even though fathers

were considered the heads of the household. Furthermore, the West Africans embraced and

practiced other values such as sharing, caring for close and distant kin, observing hospitality,

placing greater emphasis on the needs of the community before the needs of oneself, respecting

the elders and ancestors, and observing cultural norms and traditional values (Aborampah &

Sudarkasa, 2011).

The occupations of the African people were primarily in agriculture or farming of the

land, animal husbandry, hunting, mining, manufacturing, and trading. It was the role of the men

to protect their families and thus, they were warriors in their tribes and fought to prevent

invasion and infiltration from other tribes. Men’s roles as fathers were also highly valued and

respected as they played a critical role in nurturing boys across the generations to secure the

identity and future of their kinship and tribes (Aborampah & Sudarkasa, 2011).
Nevertheless, parental roles were somewhat flexible and impartial or gender neutral, even though fathers were acknowledged as the heads of the families whether patrilineal or matrilineal in structure (Hill, 1999). Mothers had a closer attachment to their children than did fathers, as mother insisted on breastfeeding their children for an average of two years (Klein, 1986). In addition to their domestic and child-care roles, women were also co-economic providers because they worked on the agricultural grounds and marketed the produce. Thus, the relationship between husband and wife was usually one of common understanding and complementarity (Hill, 1999).

Women were lauded for having many children to secure the longevity and future of the tribes (Aborampah, 2011; Jemmott, 2015). The kinship that children were born into was a complex network of collective human relationships that ensured their well-being. Furthermore, children, especially sons, were considered a vital part of their heritage, and they worked for their fathers by learning the skill or career that the fathers pursued. Thus, the family was important socially and economically as well as for the socialization and education of children (Aborampah & Sudarkasa, 2011). The importance of the family was further entrenched in West African tradition of naming because it provided family members an identity and connection to past generations. This tradition was so valued that the West Africans had naming ceremonies when ascribing names to their children (Burnard, 2001).

Raising a child in West African culture did not occur in the context of only the extended family. This was evident in their aphorism that “it is not my child but our child” (Kyomugisha & Rutayuga, 2011, p. 188) or as translated into subsequent Afro-Caribbean family life “it takes a village to raise a child” (Brodie Walker & Morgan, 2011, p. 338). Nevertheless, West Africans valued consanguinity (blood-line relatives) above conjugality (non-blood relatives, those married
into the family) as reiterated in the Ghanaian Akan tribe phrase “mogya bi ye dom,” “blood is thicker than water.” For example, this was reinforced in the tradition of ensuring that blood relatives inherited family land. They believed that the land should be preserved for all the succeeding generations of the kinship. For instance, in patrilineal tribes when the fathers died, their sons inherited their property such as cattle and land because the sons were expected to continue the lineage. Thus, family land was available to successive generations to cultivate and maintain. Another practice that reinforced blood ties was communal residence where all the members of the family lived on the same compound or adjacent dwellings. This also provided a structured support system for the family and reduced the pressure that would be associated with exclusively direct child-care by parents. (Aborampah & Sudarkasa, 2011).

Finally, West Africans reverenced their elders or seniors in the family for several reasons. First, they were seen as possessing impending entry into the “honoured world of their ancestral spirits” (Jemmott, 2015, p. 21). Therefore, high value was placed on ushering them into the world of ancestral spirits by way of a mourning period and funeral rites. Second, they were a valued part of the family as they passed on their traditional values and practices that secured the future of the family. For instance, they taught the children so that the children would have knowledge of their culture and generational identity.

**Experiences of Slavery**

The annals of history, between the 1500s and the mid-1800s, represented the unprecedented enslavement of West Africans by the Europeans including British, Spanish, and Portuguese. The widespread inhumane treatment of Africans as slaves was characteristic of colonies such as North America, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Cooper, 2006; Trudel, 2013). Although slavery was not a new phenomenon to the Africans, the extent that European
slave owners practiced slavery significantly minimized West African’s social, cultural lineage, and religious heritage (Frazier, 1948).

The West Africans who were forcibly transported to the Caribbean came from diverse circumstances, including prisoners of tribal war sold by African tribes, slaves who did important jobs (e.g., blacksmiths, and millwrights), and those sold as punishment for crimes committed. However, the majority was captured by slave traders to meet the demands of the European’s Atlantic slave trade. This Trans-Atlantic slave trade was an international trade of West African men, women, and children to work mainly on sugar plantations thereby supplying the Europeans’ appetite for sugar. In tandem with their hard labour on the plantations, the Africans were subject to discrimination, stereotype, and inhumane treatment from the moment they were separated from their families and the motherland (Jemmott, 2015).

West Africans were forcibly shipped to the Caribbean by Britain because they were regarded as strong and suitable to work under the direct heat of the sun and would acclimatize easily due to their familiarity with the tropical climate similar to the Caribbean. Prior to the British, Africans were shipped to Jamaica to work tobacco plantations under Spanish rule from 1494 to 1655 (Klein, 1986). However, British enslavement of Africans was more brutal and inhumane as the slave trade became a lucrative business.

Nevertheless, there were many consequences of African enslavement in Jamaica. One of the far-reaching consequences was the separation or disruption of families. The main focus of slave traders and British planters was profit, thus there was little or no regard for family life (Higman, 1976). Therefore, slaves were bought and sold as they were seen as property like livestock and machinery. Consequently, fathers were displaced from their wives and children and formed new relationships. Further, men’s sexuality was likely reduced to that of animals. This
was evident where the governor of the Leeward Islands, Charles Codrington, bred slaves in Barbuda by using strong young men as “breeders” to supply slaves for the plantations (Bennett, 1951). The sexual behaviour of males was further complicated by the imbalance of the ratio between males and female slaves as well as insufficient white women to meet the sexual needs of white men. Thus, female slaves were in demand by both white and black males (Patterson, 1967). This inevitably led to the rise of female single-headed units and a sense of disconnection and disjointedness in Black families. Thus, single parent female-headed household may have had its genesis in the plantation system (Brodie Walker & Morgan, 2011).

A second consequence of slavery is the dehumanization of the Africans. The Jamaican planters’ wealth and profitability was dependent on their slaves, livestock, and machines. In a routine inventory check, planters would categorize and rank each individual slave based on various categories, including gender, name, age, colour, country of birth, and state of health. The meticulous planter would also include the demeanor or disposition of the slaves (whether docile or rebellious) toward the planter. Then, the slaves and livestock were further categorized from the most productive and strongest to least productive and the weakest. In addition, when the slaves grew old, they were either assigned light tasks or removed from service. An old slave could not be resold as he or she would be of little value. There was evidence that planters threw them down sink holes and gullies (Higman, 1976).

As slavery progressed, slaves were also assigned to occupations according to the colour of their skin; better positions were assigned to those of lighter skin (mullatoes) because it was likely that the planters were superstitious about skin colour. Thus, they had a feeling of kinship with the lighter skin slaves which influenced where slaves were placed to work on the plantations. The black slaves, on the other hand, were assigned to the fields to work as they were
said to be stronger than the mulattoes (the product of a white male and a Black female or mullatoes) worked in the house or in positions closer to the Great House. Some planters also raped or had relations with the Black women. As a result of these violations and relations, the mulattoes were given favour above the blacks, and miscegenation or inter-racial sex perpetuated the hierarchical separation of slaves, with assumptions linked to skin colour. Thus, white bookkeepers were said to have black or mulatto female sex partners on each plantation when they travelled to work, which contributed to the increase of the mixed colour population in the island (Higman, 1976).

A third consequence was the deterioration of their African heritage and identities. For example, the Africans were accustomed to being named as a part of their identity, but they were renamed by the planters to keep track of them. The African slaves were given a first name and a modifier like ethnicity, age, or occupation (Burnard, 2001). For instance, the planters baptized their slaves and gave them ‘Christian’ names and sometimes surnames. To illustrate, in 1816, almost all the slaves on the Old and New Montpelier, and Shettlewood plantations were baptized and renamed (Higman, 1976).

A fourth consequence was the negative effect on family structure. The available data on slave families from the Returns of Registration of Slaves are limited and unclear. They contained no information about paternity or kinship. The maternal connection was also missing in the records and were available only if the mother was living on the same property as her child or if the child was born between 1817 and 1832, the period between the abolition of the slave trade and slavery (Higman, 1976). Therefore, the general view of the slave family that emerged was that slave families were mainly female led, whether by mothers or grandmothers, and the fathers’
or husbands’ role was obscure. Thus, this inevitably affected fathers’ identities and further contributed to the breakdown of the family.

Notwithstanding, slaves valued marriage even though they were separated mainly on the basis that they were assigned or sold to different plantations. Detailed records from the Moravian church provided some data that best estimates the extent of the residential separation of mates or families. From 1827 to 1834, the Moravians at Carmel and Fairfield performed 189 marriages of slaves, and of these, 59 (28%) involved partners living on separate properties (Higman, 1976).

Another issue that affected the family structure of Africans in Jamaica was the shortage of white females, along with the moral depravity of the White men. White males sexually exploited black female slaves; planters and overseers had them on call to satisfy their desires as well as the sexual needs of their guests on a regular basis whether the female was an adult or child. Thus, the Black slave men were rendered powerless and incapable of asserting their authority as husband and father because they risked being punished or flogged under the disguise of another misdemeanor. This kind of sexual behaviour became commonplace on plantations and female slaves began to concede to the pressures and demands of the White males as they were raped. Thus, they eventually attempted to make the best of the fringe benefits of preferential treatment (Patterson, 1967).

Family structure was further affected by the heavy work schedule of the slaves on the plantation as well as cultivating their own provision grounds. During the period between 1807 and 1834, slaves were allotted plots of land on the plantation called provision grounds to raise their own poultry as well as to cultivate fruit, vegetable, and staple crops. The transition period to freedom after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 viewed the passing of Jamaican Slave Law
of 1816, which explicitly stated that slaves should be granted sufficient time to cultivate their provision ground (Mullin, 1992; Higman, 1995).

Finally, the West African practice of polygyny, where a man was allowed more than one wife, contributed to the residential separation of mates or families. Polygyny was evident in the data from the Returns of Registration of Slaves that revealed five men from the Old Montpelier plantation who were listed for two households. The names of those men who were listed in a second household were placed in parentheses to account for the repetition. In each case, the households consisted of only women and their children, which indicated the high possibility that these men were polygynists (Higman, 1976). Moreover, there were multiple intimate partners due to the scattering of people on different plantations, who were not treated as families and the maintenance of family bonds and relationships were not important to slave owners. However, the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 by the British and the subsequent abolition of slavery in the British West Indies in 1834 forced planters to lessen their control on the Afro-Caribbean slaves (Patterson, 1967).

**Apprenticeship and Post-Slavery**

The abolition of slavery and the emancipation of slaves in 1834 severed the enforced ties between the ex-slave masters and the ex-slaves. This contributed to the decline of the profitability of the plantation system in the island. The former slaves welcomed the Apprenticeship period (transition period between slavery and freedom) which lasted between the years of 1834 and 1838. They now had some form of control over their own family lives and could make their own decisions. This was evident on the New Montpelier, Old Montpelier, and Shettlewood plantations where 70% of the slaves who had family linkages chose to live in simple family households, mostly nuclear units (Higman, 1976).
Moreover, after getting their freedom, the West African ex-slaves went in search of their family on other plantations as an attempt to re-establish their family integration, identity, unity, and connectedness (Demerson, 2011; Jemmott, 2015). This process was called reconstitution, where the slaves sought to reunify their families, especially during the apprenticeship period. Reconstitution was advanced with the support of some missionaries, itinerant abolitionist, and a few stipendiary magistrates. The planters, however, ensured that the law was put in place to prohibit family visits to other plantations during the work week, and the punishment was 14 days in prison with hard labour. Nevertheless, in order to reunite with their families, the ex-slaves utilized all possible avenues available such as applying for leave, paying night visits with permission, using free time, requesting transfer to work-gangs that gave more access to family, and lobbying the stipendiary magistrate to be transferred to plantations where their families worked (Jemmott, 2015).

Another area in which the freed slaves attempted to regain their lives was in the re-establishment of their personhood and dignity. For example, they attempted to make full use of the justice system that was available to them. The females were especially grateful for this right as they suffered severe degradation under slavery. Specifically, females endured injustices like rape, sexual harassment, and physical assault. Cases like these were brought before the court of special magistrate for redress, sometimes with the help of the male spouse who was the spokesperson, and many were justly awarded due to the work of white anti-slavery advocates. This advocacy of the male spouse on behalf of the female provided a sense of self-worth, agency, family unity, and connectedness. Another example was the pursuing of discriminatory housing rental charges through the court. The planters employed labour maximization strategies to extort
as much labour from the ex-slaves by charging housing rental per person in the household rather than by room, regardless of their age or ability to work (Jemmott, 2015).

Unsurprisingly, the economic livelihood of ex-slaves was not limited to the plantation because they were now able to choose to invest more time in cultivating their lands and sell in the markets to take care of their families. Thus, contact with the plantation masters was dependent on the size of the plantation as well as the level of diversification of the crops grown. The smaller a plantation and the more diversified it was, the more slaves were involved in semi-independent, isolated tasks. However, by 1842, the freed men chose to work on plantations near their homes and the married women stayed home with the children and tended their provision grounds and gardens (Higman, 1976).

However, community development was the responsibility of the church with a mandate to aid in the forming of free villages and the building of communities for the ex-slaves. Baptist missionaries sought to provide housing for their members. Thus, the first free village was established in Spanish Town in 1838 and many such free villages were established across the island which provided the freed slaves the opportunity to purchase their own lands. The acquisition of land was a major accomplishment given the high value that was placed on owning their own land (Wilmot, 1997) as well as its significance as a means of livelihood, self-sufficiency, and generativity.

Another significant issue during this time was the education of the ex-slaves. Education was regarded as a mode of civilizing the ex-slaves into European lifestyle and standard. The church was given the responsibility for the education of the ex-slaves. For example, the Baptist missionaries used their church buildings as schools for the children. This was a major change in society because the slaves and their children were not accommodated in the education system
During slavery, in 1835, the British government established the Negro Education Grant to provide elementary education to the ex-slaves, and by 1861, one-third of the freed between the ages of 5 and 15 were attending school. However, the cost of maintaining the education of the ex-slaves was high due to the population size and because of lack of governmental subsidies. Therefore, this led many schools to be closed (Wilmot, 1997).

Although education was supposed to be a means of upward social mobility and a social equalizer, many factors deterred the ex-slaves from accessing education. First, the economic survival of families took priority over education. Many parents did not allow their children to attend school but rather, children helped with the agricultural tasks as well as selling goods at the markets. There was also minimal opportunity for upward social mobility because of the lack of education which complicated the efforts of educating the ex-slaves. The content of the curriculum was also labelled as biased toward the British system, and the quality of teaching was poor, so the freed were not motivated to send their children to school. Unfortunately, the teachers were also not trained and some pastors were also used in the capacity of teachers. The situation was further complicated by the language barriers between the ex-slaves and the British teachers. Consequently, the quality of the education for the Black and White differed significantly, although adults were taught to read, their learning was undermined as they were being groomed to maintain the agricultural jobs on the plantations, and domestic or household jobs. Thus, although there were good intentioned White individuals who tried to help, the social status of the ex-slaves remained very low, and families had to give priority to their economic survival (Wilmot, 1997).

Therefore, the fathers of ex-slave families were consumed with the economic survival of their families. They faced many challenges as the planters dominated the House of Assembly and
decisions were made to ensure that there were always individuals to do the agricultural work on the plantations. However, this did not provide an adequate income, and planters did not want to pay higher salaries. So, the competition for jobs on the plantations increased as Indian and Chinese immigrant workers, who emigrated between the years of 1806 and 1917, were willing to work for lower wages. This deprived the ex-slaves of the little bargaining power that they may have had as they lacked representation in parliament. Due to their social standing and limited ability or education, the ex-slaves were primarily engaging in agricultural work on the plantations (Jemmott, 2015; Wilmot, 1997).

Finally, ex-slave families in Jamaica were placed under further duress and pressure as they had to tend to their provision grounds after they finished working on the plantations, which deprived them of family time, rest, and recreation. However, this was not a demotivation for them as the ex-slaves highly valued owning their own family land hence they arduously worked towards acquiring their own, which led to communal parenting (Jemmott, 2015).

Operating on the aphorism that “it takes a village to raise a child” (Brodie Walker & Morgan, 2011, p. 338), the value of communal family relationships was evident in the practice of “child-shifting” (Rodman, 1971, p. 183). Specifically, children lived with other households within the kinship network that possessed the resources needed by the child (Aborampah, 2011; Barrow, 2011).

In sum, slavery and its aftermath decimated the West African family system and negatively impacted cultural mating practices in the Caribbean, specifically in Jamaica. The effects on masculinity and sexuality, which are connected to family structure and values, had created a developmental sequence of mating which included casual sex, unstable unions, stable unions, multiple associations, and stable monogamous and legal marriages. During slavery, the
demoralization of males was perpetuated as they had no power or authority as citizens, husbands, and fathers. They witnessed their wives and daughters being beaten and raped which further undermined their masculine pride (Patterson, 1967). This history of exploitation and oppression became interwoven in the psyche of the Afro-Caribbean people who passed on their cultural values and mode of life to subsequent generations, contributing to the adapted Afro-Caribbean culture currently pervading the Caribbean society, especially as it relates to the socialization of children in Jamaica.

**Contemporary Cultural Perspective of Afro-Caribbean Fathering**

The sociocultural context has the potential to significantly influence and shape the conceptualizations of fathering (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth & Lamb, 2000). Thus, fathering needs to be examined in specific contexts with explicit attention to the diversity of fathering experiences and the influence of various cultural factors (Chuang, 2013). More specifically, fathering is influenced by how fathers were socialized and other factors such as individual (e.g., attitude and motivation), familial (e.g., family of origin), and societal (e.g., economic, culture, and social policy) (Parke, 2002).

In this section, the contemporary Afro-Caribbean socialization context will be explored with a focus on factors such as family structure, gender role, economic status, and education. Also, the current socialization of males will be examined in its relevant contexts as well as linkages to current practices and slavery (Anderson & Daley, 2015).

**Early Socialization and Identity Development of Afro-Caribbean Fathers**

The social development of children, especially boys, in the Afro-Caribbean context continues to be complex, especially with the influence of slavery and the dehumanization of men. According to Killen and Coplan (2011), social development is the way that children think,
behave, and feel about those that surround them and how they cognitively process social interactions, relationships, and the cultural contexts. Researchers have also concurred that parenting, parent-child-relationships, and the home environment influence child development (Russell, 2011). The socialization of children in the Caribbean is based on their social context and influence of the family. The role of the father in the social development of the child, particularly boys, is challenging as there are various factors that need to be taken into consideration, including family structure, gender role, and identity dilemma (i.e., roles and responsibilities), gender socialization, economic challenges, and the lack of priority placed on education.

**Contemporary Afro-Caribbean Family Structure**

There has been considerable debate surrounding the origins of the current Afro-Caribbean family patterns with arguments supporting the view that it could be traced to West African family systems and/or plantation slavery. Regardless, the current family structures reflect the various family compositions that developed during slavery, which are also influenced by American ideals (Brodie Walker & Morgan, 2011). In the 1950s, Clarke (1957, 1999) identified five types of families in Jamaica: (a) the simple family consisting of parents and offspring; (b) the extended family which is an extension of the simple family through the incorporation of a kin from another generation; (c) the denuded family which is the simple or extended family with only one parent; (d) the sibling family; and (e) the stepfamily which includes the children of the mother, father or children of both parents from previous union(s). These family patterns persist in contemporary Afro-Caribbean families (Roopnarine, 2013), and the complexities of the family has gained considerable discussion, especially due to its impact on the role of fathers and child outcomes (Chevannes, 2001). For example, data from the 2010
Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions revealed that 45% of children lived with only their biological mother for female-headed families (The Planning Institute of Jamaica & The Statistical Institute of Jamaica, 2012). In contrast, Statistics Canada (2006, 2011) reported lone parent families at 11% in 1981, and 16% in 2006 and 2011. Of the 16% in 2011, 13% were mother headed and 3.5% father headed. Also, married couples remain the dominant family structure in Canada in 2011.

To better understand father involvement in the transmission of values, the definition of father involvement is crucial yet complex (McKelley & Rochlen, 2016). First, the father involvement model of Lamb et al. (1985, 1987) has been the most frequently utilized conceptualization of fathering (Fagan, 2014). This model focuses on the behaviours of fathers that are observable and quantifiable in their care and socialization of their children based on three dimensions: (a) engagement (direct interaction with the child); (b) accessibility (potential availability for interaction); and (c) responsibility (time spent ensuring that the child is cared for and resources are available) (Lamb et al., 1985, 1987). Although the model has been used to guide fathering in the United States in areas such as responsible fathering and bidirectional interaction between father and child (Lamb, 2000), scholars have operationalized the involvement construct in many ways (Pleck, 2010). Thus, it is difficult to compare father involvement across studies.

Second, treating positive engagement activities as the sum of involvement (Pleck, 2010) has resulted in the neglect of other domains of father involvement (Palkovitz, 1997). According to Palkovitz (1997), father involvement should be defined more broadly to include three domains: (a) behavioural (observable and quantifiable behaviours); (b) affective (emotions, feelings, affection); and (c) cognitive (the presence of the child in the cognition of the father).
Despite this recognition, few researchers have directly explored the affective and cognitive domains (Fagan, 2014).

Moreover, father involvement is affected by issues related to family context. For example, Anderson (2009) explored father involvement in Jamaica and found that in some situations, fathers with non-residential children were prevented from visiting their children due to issues such as lack of financial child support. This form of gate keeping was managed by the children’s mother, the mother’s relatives, or the mother’s new partner. Other reasons for father non-involvement were due to multiple male–female serial relationships, early fatherhood, a lack of resources, and some men just not accepting paternity. For example, children who expressed negative emotions of bitterness towards their fathers indicated that their father could have done more for them, especially by providing for them economically (Anderson & Daley, 2015).

For multiple male–female serial relationships, fatherhood is often enacted in a context of mate-shifting, moving from one sexual partner to the next (Roopnarine, 2013). Mate-shifting is a part of the general sexual behaviour that begins early, especially for males at an average age of 14 years of age (Chevannes, 2001). According to Chevannes (1993), although individuals do not adhere to the mating pattern, the majority tend to follow the trajectory pathways of visiting union, common-law union, and then legal marriage. Anderson (2009) found that as black Jamaican males engaged in sexual relationships with multiple partners, they tended to have an increased desire to be fathers. Moreover, as fathers became older and more mature, they move towards getting married as then they may have greater economic resources to care for their family (Anderson & Daley, 2015; Roopnarine, 2013).

The mate-shifting practice of Caribbean men, to some extent, also contributed to the endurance of the extended family because the extended family mitigated against fatherless
families. The extended family, especially headed by the mother or grandmother, usually welcomed the children of multiple relationships as a form of support system (Jemmott, 2015).

The emphasis on having children is an important part of the identity of Caribbean men (Anderson, 2009). However, engagement in serial relationships has contributed to the high rate of single parent female-headed households in Jamaica. Approximately 50% of children below the age of 15 years do not live with their fathers (The Planning Institute of Jamaica & The Statistical Institute of Jamaica, 2012). This is directly associated with the cultural practices and beliefs that propagated the absence of Afro-Caribbean fathers through non-marital births and non-residential fathering (Roopnarine, 2004). For example, when a man begins a relationship with a woman, he has primary responsibility to the current relationship. As a result, his non-resident children are often not considered priority as he is expected to care for the children in the current union, both biological and/or stepchildren (Brown & Chevannes, 2001).

However, fathers are more likely to neglect non-residential children from early mate-shifting relationships when there are economic challenges. Therefore, multiple relationships created by mate-shifting contribute to single parent female-headed households as well as paternal neglect that may be associated with the mating pattern. For example, the labour-maximization approach of plantation management did not place emphasis on parent-child relationship (Jemmott, 2015). According to Patterson (1967), there is the belief that plantation management strategies created a society in which the affinity was primarily between mother and child and not father and child. Thus, the continuation of mate-shifting may have an impact on gender roles.

Although family structure affects father involvement, some researchers have found that many fathers are actively participating in the lives of their children. In a study with 714 Jamaican men aged 15 to 40 years, Bailey, Wynter, Lee, Hamilton, and Jackson (2001) found that 44% of
the fathers had children who were not living with them, but 87% of these fathers indicated that they were involved in their children’s lives. Their main areas of involvement included provision of food (52%), clothes (51%), and health care (51%). These responsibilities played a significant role in the development of the father’s identity.

**Gender Role and Identity**

Fatherhood researchers have applied identity, salience, and commitment as three key concepts of identity theory to the study of fathering (Pasley, Petren, & Fish, 2014). According to Fox and Bruce (2001), symbolic interactional perspectives predominantly informed the use of identity theory in the literature. From this perspective, the self is conceptualized as comprising several identities which are based on role relationships that constitute a salience hierarchy (Burke & Reitzes, 1987). Thus, the meaning of roles, learning of roles, the taking on of roles, and the commitment to an identity are situated in the context of the relationships. For example, men’s commitment to the fathering role is affected by the salience of the role to their sense of self, the satisfaction received from performing the role, and the perception of how significant others evaluate their enactment of the role (Fox & Bruce, 2001). More specifically, in her study of Chinese fathers, Chuang (2013) found that the roles and responsibilities that both fathers and mothers assigned to fathers included economic provider, caregiver, playmate, educator/trainer for their children, and doing household chores. However, the economic provider role was regarded as more important in comparison to educating and active caregiving (e.g., changing diaper) more important than educating or playing with the child.

Therefore, there appears to be a relationship between gender role and identity as gender role is based on cultural practices that affect role salience. From the perspective of gender-ideology theory, gender norms impact beliefs about appropriate tasks for males and females,
regardless of functionality (Aldous, Mulligan, & Bjarnason, 1998). Historically, Caribbean males sought to model the societal gender identity at the expense of their personal identity. Anderson and Daley (2015) pointed out that by the age of 10 years, boys recognized that they were expected to be tough, physically strong, and sexually dominant. This was also expressed by one young boy in a rural school in Jamaican who said, “society treats you tough-like we don’t have emotions” (Van der Gaag, 2011).

This macho gendered identity that males construct and are expected to demonstrate is reflected in Pollack’s (1998) “Boy Code.” He identified four typologies that constituted this type of hegemonic masculinity where men were considered real men if they demonstrated these characteristics. The first is “the big wheel,” where men are expected to strive for power and behave as though all is well. Second is the “the sturdy oak,” where men never ask for help and should not show pain or weakness. Third, “no sissy stuff,” here men are expected to suppress emotions, warmth and dependence that may appear effeminate. Last, “give em hell,” where men strive to demonstrate risky and violent behaviours and are attracted to these behaviours as they are opposite to being feminine (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This framework that men develop about themselves shapes their identity and how they relate to their children and families.

Men also define their manhood and masculinity through their sexual prowess, the number of female partners they have, and the number of children they have or ‘got’ as proof, which seem to be at the intersection of father involvement or lack thereof (Anderson & Daley 2015; Roopnarine, 1996). These beliefs and practices about masculinity and manhood are deeply embedded in the social culture that they are celebrated in popular songs and are even echoed by prominent and influential artistes who continue to be lauded by the masses, especially youth. For example, the music of locally and internationally acclaimed dancehall artistes like Shabba Ranks
(1991) “Trailer Load a Girls down a wharf fi come up,” indicating that he has many female partners being shipped into the country. Beenie Man’s lyrics, (1996) “Man fi have nuff gal and gal in a bundle,” also reflect and may instruct that if one is a man, he should have many female partners. Evidently, these beliefs of hegemonic masculinity influence the kind of fathers that Afro-Caribbean men become as multiple relationships, mate-shifting, early sexual involvement, and having children with multiple women may tend to most likely lead to limited or lack of father involvement, and children being neglected by their fathers (Anderson & Daley, 2015; Hope, 2010; Roopnarine, 1996). However, given the connection between gender role, identity, and masculinity, issues of identity and masculinity will be explored in the context of fathers’ roles and responsibilities.

The role of Black fathers in the family has also been reported by many as marginal, nonexistent, distant, irresponsible, and having limited interest in nurturing children because the role of men and fathers has been limited to the provider and protector roles (Clarke, 1975; Roopnarine et al., 1995). However, fathering in Afro-Caribbean family is not monolithic. Some fathers engage in complementary caregiving roles because they participate in caring for and nurturing young children, even in cases of visiting unions and nonresident fathers (Cabrera, Fitzgerald, Bradley, & Roggman, 2014; Cabrera, Ryan, Mitchell, Shannon, & Tamis-Lemonda, 2008; Roopnarine, 1996). Cabrera et al. (2008) also reported that low-income minority non-resident fathers were more involved in the lives of their children than White low-income non-resident fathers, even though the latter had more resources in the form of education and employment (Cabrera et al., 2008). Also, there was a positive difference in the attitude towards masculinity and father involvement across the lifespan as men became older and incorporated
their fathering in their personal identity (Bailey et al., 2001; The Statistical Institute of Jamaica, 2012). These issues are related to how fathers socialize their children.

**Child Socialization**

Fathers are important socialization agents in the lives of children (Lamb, 2010). Similar to mothers, the fathers’ role in the socialization process may influence the development and the life course of their children (Hermansen, Croninger, & Croninger, 2015). According to Grusec and Davidov (2007), “socialization involves the acceptance of values, standards, and customs of society as well as the ability to function in an adaptive way in the larger social context” (p. 284). The socialization practices of parents seek to engender values and behaviours that allow for proper functioning in their society (Super & Harkness, 1986). Thus, the goals of fathering encompass outcomes that are related to societal expectations and personal goals that fathers have for their children.

**Parenting values and child characteristics.** The values of parents are regarded as social cognitions that are reflective of the community’s values, standards, and customs that are to be internalized in their children (Grusec, 1997). However, there is a nonlinear transmission of values, standards, and customs across generations (Grusec & Davidov, 2007). For example, Phalet and Schönplfig (2001) found that value transmission was selective (e.g., parental aspirations are not always transmitted). Moreover, children have the capacity to influence and change parenting (see Maccoby, 2000, for review). Thus, the attitudes, representations, and behaviours that parents activate in socializing their children is not always transmitted across generations (Juffer, Van IJzendoorn, & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2008).

LeVine (1977) outlined three overarching goals of parenting that he regarded as applicable across cultures: (a) physical wellbeing of the child; (b) development of behaviours
relevant to self-maintenance; and (c) development of behavioural repertoire to maximize cultural and other values. Chao’s study (1995) on middle to high SES immigrant Chinese mothers who migrated to the United States and European American mothers found that the hierarchy of goals is applicable across cultural groups. On the one hand, child-rearing goals for European mothers included loving the child, building self-esteem, creating an environment for learning, instilling values, processing feelings with child, stressing independence and individualism, providing a child-centered environment, stressing importance of family, and having fun with child. On the other hand, child-rearing goals for immigrant Chinese mothers included loving the child, valuing education, stressing obedience and respect, teaching respect for others, fostering good personality, instilling moral character, teaching child to be independent, and maintaining Chinese culture. Although American mothers provided more explanations and one additional value, all mothers focused on values related to self-maintenance and maximizing cultural and other values. However, regardless of ethnicity, these mothers did not mention goals related to their children’s physical wellbeing. With the high SES statuses, mothers may not face any challenges or barriers to provide for their children’s physical needs. Thus, this goal for their children is assumed.

Tamis-LeMonda et al. (2008) suggested that parenting goals are related to the development of the child and may be categorized as psychological and behavioural (e.g., self-worth and respect). However, this dichotomy is restrictive in how it operationalizes the macrosystem through the lens of the individualism and collectivism orientations (Triandis, 1995). The individualistic orientation views the individual as placing priority on self above others as the focus is on attaining personal accomplishments such as independence and self-actualization. In contrast, a collectivistic orientation regards the individual as interdependent in relationship with others where there is cooperation with focus on others rather than personal
accomplishments. For example, in a study on child-rearing values among Taiwan and United States mothers, Wang and Tamis-LeMonda (2003) found that the values emphasized could be placed in five broad groups namely, individuality, achievement, decency, proper demeanor, and connectedness. These values were characteristic of both cultures traditionally categorized as collectivistic and individualistic, respectively. In contrast, Chuang and Su (2009) found that Chinese mothers’ and fathers’ parenting beliefs were both individualistic and collectivistic. Specifically, parents endorsed child traits in which self-confidence was rated the highest and neatness and obedience were rated the lowest. In descending order, other values and traits clustered into three groups. The first contained creativity, persistence, independence, and concentration. The second cluster included respect, assertiveness, and politeness, and the third encompassed curiosity and precision. Furthermore, both fathers and mothers were found to converge in their agreement of the top five traits, self-confidence, creativity, persistence, independence, and concentration.

However, there is currently a gap in studies that have focused on other ethnic families. With the complexities of fathering in Afro-Caribbean families, attention is needed on the values that fathers have for their children which will provide greater insights into fathering. Moreover, these endorsements for child characteristics were often based on a predetermined set of traits. Therefore, there is the need to allow parents to present and discuss meaningful and relevant traits.

**Afro-Caribbean fathers’ parenting goals and behaviours.** The socialization of children in the Caribbean occurs in diverse family arrangements, which is affected by a history of slavery, migration, cultural practices, and socioeconomic status (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). Therefore, parenting goals and practices of Afro-Caribbean fathers may be affected by
factors that need further explanation in comparison to families of African descent in North America.

**Parenting goals.** Anderson and Daley (2015) explored fathers’ goals of childrearing. They found that fathers believed that the most important principles that children should develop were “manners, respect, honesty, and integrity, being loving, self-discipline, and fear of God” (p. 23). The values that they endorsed included knowing right from wrong, being ambitious, hardworking, self-confidence, academic competence, obedience and respect for parents, and contentment with what they have (not being jealous of others). In reflecting on differences on roles between boys and girls, it was found that boys were expected to be macho, demonstrated in being rough and tough as they take part in sports as well as become the breadwinner of the family. Also, they were expected to take care of their sisters and not abuse women as well as respect their wives. In contrast, girls were to be taught how to be ladylike and modest in sexual behaviour, dressing appropriately, be neat and tidy, love their families, be obedient and faithful, earn the respect of men, being independent, having their own thoughts, and pursue their ambitions. However, these goals were based on the fathers’ perspective regarding raising the “ideal” child, so there is a gap in understanding the actual goals that fathers facilitate in their lived experiences with their children.

**Parenting practices.** For Black fathers, Roopnarine (2006) found that parents desired their children to be academically competent, respectful, cooperative, and compliant. For over 50 years, research has shown that parents often utilized harsh discipline to achieve their intended outcomes (Samms-Vaughan, Williams, & Brown, 2005). Also, residential fathers were regarded as the primary disciplinarians but reserved harsh discipline for serious offenses and boys received harsher punishment than girls (Brown & Chevannes, 1998).
Historically, the focus was placed on dealing with undesirable behaviours (e.g., using corporal punishment and sanctions) rather than reinforcing positive behaviours through compliments and praises (e.g., Brown & Johnson, 2008). Generally, there were few instances in which parents (mothers) showed public affection (Evans, 1989). More recently, other studies have found that parents who were younger and more affluent preferred alternatives to corporal punishment (e.g., Brown & Johnson, 2008), and there was evidence that younger fathers were more involved and affectionate (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013). For example, children reported that parents showed affection and approval through smiles, hugs, and praises, but the children focused more on negative rather than positive interactions (Brown & Johnson, 2008). In contrast, parents in a national survey in Jamaica reported having many positive interactions with their children (Ricketts & Anderson, 2008).

More recently, Anderson and Daley (2015) found that to achieve the goals that they have for their children, fathers emphasized approaches such as setting a good example, providing guidance, and spending time and reasoning with children as approaches suitable for achieving the desired outcomes. In addition, other important strategies fathers included were always being available (present), inculcating godly principles, facilitating educational development, and being their children’s friends. However, there are limited studies on the link between fathers parenting practices and their own childhood socialization. Also, how fathers promote specific principles, values, attitudes, and behaviours need further exploration.

**Gender socialization.** Researchers have found that girls progress faster and develop more socially adapted behaviours than boys (LaFreniere et al., 2002). More specifically, Lytton and Rommey (1991) conducted a meta-analysis and found that in parenting their boys and girls, parents used similar strategies except for issues related to stereotyped activities. Despite
differences on how girls and boys progress in developing adapted social behaviours, there is a lack of studies on the socialization processes that may contribute to the differences. For example, parents may have different values and principles that they want their sons and daughters to develop and deliberately use different strategies to achieve those outcomes.

In his study on gender socialization in the Caribbean, Chevannes (2001) conducted a series of ethnographic studies in five Caribbean communities to explore gender role socialization. He found that the meaning of manhood and sexuality is associated with four main issues. These issues were focused on the Afro-Caribbean perspective of manhood and included gender preferences and roles, space and identity, sexuality, and the provider role.

Gender preferences and roles. In the Afro-Caribbean culture, there is a distinct preference for male children. The preference for boys is based on the notion that a male child will continue the father’s lineage and name. Boys are also considered to be a sign of the father’s strength and masculinity, while having girls implied that the father was weak sexually. In this context, there is a gendered distribution of labour whereby boys were mainly assigned outdoor manual chores and girls were primarily assigned indoor or domestic chores (Chevannes, 2001). This is perpetuated in the education system, and society at large. For example, boys are encouraged to do technical subjects in high school like Technical Drawing (TD) and girls, Home Economics. Boys who choose to pursue the home care subjects are jeered, called names like “sissy” and most times ostracized (Parry, 2000).

Physical space and identity. Space plays an integral role in shaping the kind of fathers that boys may become. For example, girls are mainly confined to the home and the ‘yard’ (within the perimeter fencing of the house), but boys are allowed to be outside the yard (on the street corner or the broader community) without permission. Thus, the streets are almost entirely a
male domain and it signifies a boy’s manhood to visit the streets without permission. Furthermore, this is where the boys acquire most of their training on sexuality and their cultural understanding of manhood, as well as a means of bonding with other males or peers to develop their reputation. Boys would be initiated by older girls who were given more freedom outside the yard, while younger girls would be kept under close supervision. Boys who defied the norm and stayed within the yard run the risk of being labelled a ‘sissy’ or ‘maama man,’ unless they are studying or focused on activity that is deemed more masculine like work in the yard. Thus, community life for the Afro-Caribbean male involves gathering on the street corner with peers to socialize, play music, play games (like dominoes), drink, share job opportunities, and perform commensal rituals (Chevannes, 2001).

**Sexuality.** There are three important features of Afro-Caribbean sexuality: early start, heterosexuality, and the license or rights and privileges that are acquired. Boys are initiated into sexual activity on average between 14 and 16 years old and females two years later, without the observation of any formal sanction or marriage (Chevannes, 2001). This social sanction is approved by the community, and allows a young man the right to have sexual access to a particular female(s), which often results in pregnancy and first children being born early and in visiting unions. Importantly, the young man’s sexuality as a heterosexual male is validated. Thus, a young male’s claim to adulthood is demonstrated by his ability to impregnate, and his masculinity lies in the number of female partners with whom he has a relationship as well as the number of children that he produced. Also, the general culture is that a man is not a real man unless he is heterosexually active in a relationship (Chevannes, 2001; Parry, 2000).

**The provider role.** The provider role is directly linked to how males understand their role in the family and society. This role is critical in shaping the fathers’ masculinity because
controlling economic resources is a building block of their masculine identity (Chevannes, 2002). In Chevannes’ (2001) research, fathers were asked to reflect on their experiences and indicate whether they were able to be the kind of father they wanted to be. Over half indicated that they were satisfied, 21% indicated that they were partially satisfied, and 24% indicated they were unsatisfied. Importantly, for fathers in low-income communities, their dissatisfaction was attributed to economic factors (Anderson, 2009; Chevannes, 2001).

**Economic Status**

The economic factor influenced Afro-Caribbean family life and the roles expected of males because both males and females believed that the main role of the males is to provide economic support (Anderson & Daley, 2015; Roopnarine, 1996). A notable feature of the cultural belief held was that a man is “no man” if he cannot provide for his family financially (Roopnarine, 1996). Moreover, the male provider is clearly stated in aphorisms such as “a man minds but a woman cares.” Here, “minds” refers to taking financial responsibility for his spouse and children, regardless of the type of union. Generally, he is expected to provide education, food, clothing, shelter, and healthcare for his children. Even if the union should end, he is still expected to provide for the children with the exception of shelter. “Cares” refers to the woman being the caregiver and nurturer of the children as well as taking care of the household activities. Thus, for the father, his greatest responsibility is to provide for his children even excluding his own education because it helps him to maintain his pride and manhood in the eyes of his spouse or ‘baby mother’ (mother of his child). This may increase the complexities of the fathers’ financial responsibilities when he has multiple children with different women. Nevertheless, most fathers of low socio-economic background are unable to meet this expectation which may
negatively affect their relationship with the mother, relatives, and the children (Chevannes, 2001).

Due to the father’s lack of economic resources, the mother may become a gate-keeper which may negatively affect the father’s involvement and relationship with the children. However, the practice of mate-shifting often results in added responsibility and pressure to fathers because they often have several children with several women (Brown, Newland, Anderson, & Chevannes, 1995). The ‘baby mother’ or spouse plays a critical role in the extent to which an Afro-Caribbean father may access his children because she often operates as a ‘gate-keeper’ and prevents the children from communicating with their father, especially if the romantic relationship ended. Moreover, the mother’s family may get involved in preventing access to the children. For example, based on whether the relationship is amicable, the father’s social status, and whether he is involved in criminal activities (Chevannes, 2001).

Importantly, under-employment and unemployment affect men’s relationship and involvement with their children. For example, in Chevannes’ (2001) research, the middle-class community dominated in the highest paying groups of professionals totalling 70%, although the inner-city community dominated the lowest paying category of elementary/skilled occupations at 32%. Fathers faced significant economic challenges that may prevent them from providing for their families financially, especially fathers in inner-city communities. Moreover, Anderson (2009) found that there was a relationship between educational attainment and subjective social class. At the higher end of the classifications, those with tertiary education self-identified mainly with the middle class (70%), and those fathers with only a primary education or lower self-identified mainly as working class (62%) or poor (12%). This implied that fathers viewed themselves as not attaining the economic level they aspire to achieve. Fathers’ inability to
support their children financially may contribute to the lack of direct involvement in the lives of their children (Bailey et al., 2001; The Planning Institute of Jamaica, 2009).

Boys learn the importance of acquiring money at an early age because earning money translated into gaining respect from family, friends, and the community (Chevannes, 2002). Parry’s (2000) study of boys in Jamaica, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Barbados, pointed out that boys were also pressured to bypass the educational system to gain employment in order to have social recognition. This would allow boys to freely express their masculinity by attracting girls who have been dating older men for financial support. However, this bypassing of the educational system for alternative routes to financial gains disadvantaged them more in the long-term, as higher levels of education would more likely lead to higher paying jobs and putting them in a better position to care for their families.

**Education**

The under-achievement of boys has been a topical issue of concern since the 1990s. Formal education for most Afro-Caribbean men has not been a priority, even though the learning of a skill or trade is critical for them to earn a living (Chevannes, 2001). This lack of priority on acquiring an education, especially at the tertiary level, is a result of the gendered approach to education that a majority of boys or young men have adopted, especially those of low socio-economic status (Clarke, 2005).

A contributing factor to the under-achievement of males is the homophobic beliefs of the society where males have been socialized to believe that academic achievement and excellence is a feminine pursuit, especially if their father figures did not value education (Chevannes, 2001). Thus, the traditional heterosexual hegemonic masculinity of being a man in the Afro-Caribbean view of masculinity corresponds with the homophobic nature of the society (Pollack, 1998).
Therefore, from an early stage in life the successful educational achievement of boys, men, and fathers have been negatively influenced by the homophobic socialization that society had passed on to them.

The low academic achievement of boys continues to be directly related to the values of hegemonic masculinity. First, boys under-perform because they want to fit in with the other boys. Therefore, even if they are gifted in certain areas, they would deny it to maintain their macho image in the perception of their peers (Clarke, 2005). Second, under-achievement is worsened by the misconception that only girls spend time to study and practice good behaviour in class. Therefore, boys have a tendency to misbehave. This negative behaviour sometimes leads to suspensions and even expulsion which further pushes Afro-Caribbean boys out of the school system (Clarke, 2005; Parry, 2000; Townsend, 2000). Third, the gendered curriculum and the relatively low number of male teachers in the school system lead boys to view some subjects as feminine. Therefore, resistance to anything feminine is often demonstrated in their refusal to do well in subjects such as Reading, English, and Foreign Languages which are seen as the girls' domains. This places boys at a disadvantage as the English language is critical to success in any subject or course. Finally, the gendered educational limitations that boys place on themselves stifle their educational opportunities and scope of achievements. This traditional hegemonic perspective on educational achievement perpetuates unemployment and under-employment, low socio-economic status, and the father’s inability to financially provide for their children and families (Chevannes, 2001; Clarke, 2005; Parry, 2000).

Females have been achieving higher than males in all aspects of the education system from as far back as 1908 for tertiary education and 1938 in high schools (grades 7-13). After slavery, boys were in the privileged position of being sent to school while girls stayed home to
help with housework or assisted in selling agricultural produce at the market or in the town. Statistics revealed that during early childhood, there were more boys enrolled in the educational system than girls. However, as the level of education increases, the number of males became significantly lower than that of the females, especially at the tertiary level. For example, enrollment in the top university in the Caribbean, University of the West Indies, depicted male enrollment in Jamaica decreasing from 70% in 1948/1949, 67% in 1960/1961, and to 32% in 2013/2014 (University of the West Indies, 2015). The enrollment of females out number that of the males at a ratio of 2:1, except in the areas of agriculture and engineering (Chevannes, 2001; Clarke, 2005; Miller, 1991; Parry, 2000). Consequently, fathers have been lagging behind in acquiring training and certification necessary to obtain good employment to secure their economic success and to support their families.

The contemporary cultural perspective of Afro-Caribbean fathering in Jamaica, whether a product of slavery or West African culture, is embedded in the masculinity and perspectives of manhood within the context. Children are raised to adopt gender-biased roles that progress into adulthood, and males are socialized to think they meet the standards set by society. These standards force young men to start having children at an early age and most times unable to economically care for them. Some men have to put their education on hold, sometimes permanently, to seek gainful employment to gain social acceptance. With a low level of educational attainment, minimum or no income, and sets of family to care for economically this puts a strain on the father who is, in turn, labelled as nonexistent or dead beat (Brown & Chevannes, 2001). Nevertheless, there are those fathers who have taken up their responsibility as not just economic provider but also nurturer, against the general cultural beliefs of hegemonic masculinity (Anderson, 2009).
In sum, there is limited research on fathering in diverse cultures and a history of restrictive and culturally deficit approaches. The bioecological perspective is a useful framework for exploring Afro-Jamaican fathering in the context of their history of slaver and its aftermath. This will facilitate a better understanding their fathering identity and socialization of values.

**Purpose of the Study**

According to García Coll et al. (1996), for several decades, a deficit perspective based on a genetically culturally deficit model has been used to study minority and ethnic families. Consequently, research on minority and ethnic families continues to lag (Chuang, 2013), and it is also limited in other cultural contexts such as the Caribbean (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013).

The deficit perspective has created a negative perception of the family forms and processes of families of African descent in North America and the Caribbean. Additionally, fathers’ roles in the family is often misunderstood, overgeneralized, and oversimplified. This has resulted in the stereotype of black fathers, especially in the Caribbean, as absent and uninvolved (see Anderson & Daley, 2015; Brown, Anderson, & Chevannes, 1993). However, research has shown that Afro-Caribbean fathers are involved in the lives of their children. Also, they have articulated principles and values that they want their ideal child to have as well as how they deal with inappropriate behaviours (Anderson & Daley, 2015). However, less is known about how fathers acquire their fathering approaches and how they promote specific values and principles in their children during middle childhood. These issues are particularly salient given the history of slavery and its aftermath.

The purpose of the study was to address this gap by using a qualitative methodology to explore how fathers’ construct their fathering identity and their perspectives on socialization of values. Also, the intergenerational transmission of socialization of values was explored to
ascertain how fathers’ own socialization affected their fathering and the outcome that they wanted for their children.

**Research Questions**

The current study was guided by three primary questions: (a) how do fathers construct their fathering identity?; (b) what are fathers’ perspectives on the socialization of their children in middle childhood?; and (c) what are the perceived factors that influence how fathers socialize their children?

**Methods**

**Participants**

Purposive sampling was employed as the method of collecting data. The inclusion criteria for the current study included: (a) Afro-Jamaican fathers between 25 and 40 years old; (b) living in the Kingston and St. Andrew metropolitan area of Jamaica; (c) the biological father of at least one child in middle childhood (between the ages of 6 and 12 years); and (d) fathers born in Jamaica.

Ten fathers participated in the study, ranging in age from 28 to 37 years ($M = 34.20$ years, $SD = 2.62$) (see Table 1 for demographics). Seven of the participants had daughters and the identified child in middle childhood age ranged from 7 to 12 years ($M = 9.70$ years, $SD = 1.70$). Also, the number of biological children that the fathers had ranged from one to four ($M = 2.30$, $SD = .95$).

More than half of the fathers (6) lived in inner city or low-income communities and four fathers lived in middle-class communities, and eight of them were residential (lived with their children). Six of the fathers reported that they were married, one common-law, and three single.
All participants were born in Jamaica: six were born in Kingston, one in St. Andrew, and three in rural parishes.

For their current living arrangements, three fathers reported living in their own house, three in rented apartment/house, one lived with family/friends and do not pay rent, and three had other living arrangements (spouse’s family house, housing provided by place of employment, and family land but separate house).

Fathers’ highest level of education ranged from grades seven to nine (first three grades in high school in Jamaica) to graduate professional degree: four fathers had up to high school education, two had some/partial college education, two had college diploma/associate degree, and two had college or university degree. For income, two fathers had no income, one earned below the minimum wage of $2,976 (CAD) per annum, two earned between $5,000 and $6,999 (CAD), and five above $13,000 (CAD). Apart from the two fathers who were unemployed, the occupation of fathers ranged from labourer to university lecturer. Specifically, one father was a teacher, one a guidance counsellor, one an artisan, one an accounting clerk, one a dorm manager, two patient care assistants, and one a senior technician. Of the fathers who were employed, six worked full time and two worked both full-time and part-time. Overall, the socioeconomic status (SES) indicated that five were in lower-class and five in middle-class standings.

Procedures

Recruitment. Participants were engaged in a previous study on fathering approved by the Office of Research, University of Guelph (see Appendix A). The participants had given consent to be contacted for future studies and to participate in the current study (see Appendix B). In the first study, fathers were recruited from the urban area of Kingston and St. Andrew, Jamaica. Letters and promotional flyers (see Appendices C & D) were emailed to stakeholders
such as community leaders, business operators, school principals, and religious leaders which explained the purposes of the study, benefits of the study, inclusion criteria, and ethical considerations. Stakeholders announced the study in meetings and sent the information to persons in their network. Flyers were also placed on notice boards for interested persons to contact the researcher. Potential participants either initiated contact with the researcher by e-mail, text message, or telephone call or the researcher contacted participants who indicated their interest through the stakeholders and gave permission to be contacted. The stakeholders informed the researcher about potential participants through either email, telephone, or text message. Also, fathers who participated in the study recruited other fathers (snowballing). When initial contact was made with participants, they were screened to ensure that they met the inclusion criteria.

**Demographic questionnaire.** Participants completed a demographic questionnaire (see Appendix E) either independently or with the assistance of the researcher that took about 20 minutes. The questionnaire included their name, age, number of biological children, religion, residential status with children, family structure, marital status, educational attainment, occupation, employment status, part-time or full-time employment, income, and ages of children. An identification number (ID) was assigned to each participant.

**Semi-structured interview.** Using an interview protocol (see Appendix F), individual interviews were conducted either at the participants’ home (3 fathers), work (6 fathers), or at a location arranged by the researcher (private space at kindergarten facility, 1 father). The interviews were digitally recorded (\( M = 46.70 \) minutes, \( SD = 9.68 \), range of 32 – 65 minutes), and the researcher or a professional transcription company subsequently transcribed the interviews verbatim. Also, the data were collected by a trained graduate student using semi-
structured interview. One disadvantage to semi-structured interview is that the participants’ life experiences may guide the interview in different ways as they are given more control over the interview. Nevertheless, the inclusion of many participants’ voices to showcase the phenomenon offset the disadvantage (Hays & Singh, 2011).

The present study focused on three primary research questions: (a) fathers’ construction of their fathering identity; (b) fathers’ perspectives on the socialization of their children in middle childhood; and (c) perceived factors that influence how fathers socialize their children. Specifically, focusing on their targeted children in middle childhood, fathers were asked to discuss their roles and responsibilities (as a proxy for fathering identity) in the family. Next, fathers’ perspectives on the socialization of their children were queried (i.e., What values and principles do you want your child (target child) to hold/have? Why?; How do you instill/promote these values and principles in your child?), followed by questions on the factors that influenced how fathers socialize their children (i.e., When you were growing up, what values and principles did you grow up with, up to 12 years of age?; Who were the significant individuals who promoted (each value, principle)?; How did she or he accomplish/do this?). The interview questions were discussed in the same order for all fathers, with additional probing when necessary for clarification and/or elaboration (e.g., Anything else? What do you mean by saying X?). Fathers were given $10 (CAD) at the end of the interview.

**Data Analysis**

In qualitative inquiry, some of the research traditions such as thematic analysis is not associated with any specific epistemological position which allows for theoretical flexibility (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thus, the methodological considerations will be discussed with Braun and Clarke’s (2006) systematic approach to thematic analysis as it allows for the exploration of
theoretical or conceptual issues relevant to qualitative inquiry with a sample size of ten that is regarded as substantial for thematic analysis (Joffe, 2012).

This research study is guided by the primary research questions which are based on assumptions that are consistent with a constructivist methodology. First, this methodology purports that the participants can construct their experiences of a phenomenon and the construction of experiences are affected by context. Second, there are multiple realities that can be generated based on the individuals’ contexts and experiences. Moreover, these assumptions are also suitable for exploration using the social constructionist theory that acknowledges the role of the researcher and participants in constructing the perspective generated (Falkheimer & Heide, 2006).

The study employed thematic analysis to identify, organize, analyse and report themes and subthemes and how these themes are connected (Boyatzis, 1998; Hays & Singh, 2011). Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six-phase approach to thematic analysis was used to facilitate a systematic process of understanding the data, coding the data, recognizing themes and refining and connecting themes, and presenting a report that represented the data corpus.

**Phase 1.** The researcher immersed herself in the dataset by listening to the interviews, reading, and rereading the transcripts. This review of the dataset by reading and rereading for initial ideas and any related themes ensured that the researcher became familiar with the data prior to developing codes. Thus, at this stage, the researcher engaged in thinking about the meaning of the data through active, analytical, and critical reading or listening as well as asking questions relevant to the research questions.

**Phase 2.** This phase commenced the systematic analysis as the researcher generated initial codes from the observation of potential patterns and interesting features in the dataset.
Codes were used as labels assigned to certain features of the data that provided potential answers to the research questions. These codes were based on both theory and data. All transcripts were coded using the codes that were generated and new codes were added or codes were expanded in the process. Also, each data item was coded in its entirety before moving on to the next. This was done using MAXQDA to facilitate inclusive, thorough, and systematic coding.

**Phase 3.** In this phase, the researcher researched for themes. A theme is different from a code as it “captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Themes were generated or constructed through an active process of identifying similarities (internal homogeneity) and/or overlap between codes (external heterogeneity). Themes and subthemes represented the unity of the data as well as how themes were connected based on the overall story that they told about the data with attention to the research questions.

**Phase 4.** In this phase, the developing themes were reviewed though a recursive process of examining the coded segments across all transcripts or data set. First, the researcher checked the themes against the data that represented them to see if they were applicable. Second, adjustments were made to themes either by discarding, expanding, or removing codes that did not fit with the theme. Third, the themes were re-examined across the data set to ascertain whether they captured the data set or an aspect of it. This was accomplished by reading through the entire data set.

**Phase 5.** At this stage, the researcher defined and name the themes. First, what was unique and specific about each theme was stated in a few sentences. Second, subthemes were included as necessary with deeper analysis at this stage through the selection of vivid extracts to support analysis.
Phase 6. This is the final phase which encompassed preparing the final report based on information generated in the previous phases. The report was used to present evidence to substantiate arguments that answered the research questions. This was done in a logical and systematic manner guided by the presentation of themes and subthemes (Braun & Clark, 2013).

Rigour and Trustworthiness

The rigour and trustworthiness of this study is based on several strategies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 1989). First, credibility was based on the utilization of a trained graduate researcher. Also, an audit trail has been kept of the research process and procedures such as demographic data, coding frames, and inter-coder agreement. For inter-coder agreement, I coded three of the transcriptions and highlighted each coding segment. Next, I removed my codes and the graduate researcher who also collected the data coded the segments. Then, we discussed the codes and after negotiated agreement we achieved 90% to 100% agreement. Second, the dependability is based on the documentation of the research process and procedures. Also, the graduate researcher checked all the transcripts after they were coded using MAXQDA software. Third, case-by-case transfer (transferability) was accomplished through detailed description of the research process and selection of participants based on inclusion criteria. Finally, the objective representation of participants’ perspectives (confirmability) was based on strategies such as thick description of participants, data extracts to support the analysis of participants’ views, and reflexivity statement. In the reflexivity statement, I declared my motives, biases, and struggles that can help the reader to ascertain my attempts to represent the participants’ views objectively. All themes were reviewed in context by the same graduate researcher and continuous dialogue with my advisor challenged my interpretation which allowed for critical reflection and final decisions. Interviews were also recorded digitally and then transcribed verbatim and reviewed.
Reflexivity

In using a social constructivist framework, as the primary researcher, I am conscious of my responsibility to ensure that I present the fathers’ perspective. Therefore, I engaged in a continuous process of self-reflection that generated awareness about my actions, feelings, and perceptions (Anderson, 2008; Hughes, 2014). First, as a researcher, my curiosity about the influence in identity and socialization of values was sparked when I worked with emerging Afro-Jamaican males in a post-secondary educational institution in Jamaica. In my work with the students, I thought that most of their challenges were associated with not having actively involved fathers in their lives. This fuelled my interest to investigate the qualities passed on by fathers to children. Second, the death of my father when I was six years old has motivated me to reflect on what my experiences would have been if my father was there to continue his involvement in my life.

Moreover, my experiences of raising two boys in the context of marriage with an Afro-Jamaican father have led me to engage in continuous reflection on socialization of values. Finally, throughout the research process, I was forced to reconsider some of my assumptions about morals and social conventions.

Results

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 fathers: six married (M) (five middle-class (MC), one lower-class (LC), all residential (R)); three single (S) (all LC, two R, one non-residential (NR)); and one common-law (CL) (LC, R). Specifically, two areas were explored: (a) fathering identity; and (b) fathers’ perspectives on the socialization or teaching of values. To protect their identities, a pseudonym was used.
Fathering Identity

When fathers were asked about their roles and responsibilities to their children in middle childhood, they focused on specific ways in which they were engaged in their children’s lives. These areas of focus encompassed two broad domains of fathering: (a) behavioural, and (b) affective. The salience of these domains reflected the fathers’ identification with various roles and responsibilities and served as a proxy for the type of masculinity that they embraced. In the behavioural domain, fathering identity mapped onto six themes: (a) being an economic provider; (b) teaching/training; (c) being available; (d) protecting; (e) being a leader; and (f) performing childcare duties. Fathers focused exclusively on emotional support in the affective domain. In this section, I will discuss these two broad domains and the themes in order of salience of the fathers’ responses to their construction of their fathering identity.

**Behavioural domain.** The behavioural domain focused on the specific activities that fathers embraced as their roles or responsibilities in caring for their children. All fathers identified with specific observable and quantifiable behaviours. The various behaviours that they mentioned reinforced the important contributions that they were making to their children’s development to enable them to have both present and future successes.

**Being an economic provider.** The fathers’ role as economic provider focused on the responsibility that fathers accepted to ensure the physical survival of family members and/or their children. Eight fathers mentioned this role (6 M: 5 MC; 1 LC; 2 S and LC: 1 R, 1 NR). As economic providers, fathers believed that it was their responsibility to ensure that their children had the resources that they needed such as food, shelter, and clothing. Breadwinning was regarded as a major part of taking care of their families. The fathers emphasized the importance of providing for the family. Dave said, “I am the breadwinner for the family, so I take care of the
family, the fatherly figure, the father, financially…” (S, LC, R). Similarly, Redwood remarked: “I am the sole provider now” (M, LC).

**Teaching/training.** The teaching/training refers to the fathers’ actions that focused on their children’s development in areas such as abilities, knowledge, and skills. Similar to the economic provider theme, eight fathers mentioned teaching/training (4 M: MC; 3 S: LC, 1 R, 2 NR; 1 CL). Fathers were concerned about preparing their children to progress successfully as they grow up. Teaching/training focused on three subthemes: (a) personal; (b) decision-making; and (c) academic achievement.

**Personal.** For personal development, self-control was highlighted (2 fathers: S, LC, both NR), children needed to know how to postpone gratification and work for what they wanted. West narrated:

> Teach them what is pressure. That is the first thing you teach them. What is pressure? Severe pressure I am talking, too. I am not talking about any pressure. Teach them things to have and when they don’t have these things to do without them. That is a mental thing. As we would call it, you must learn how to hold out. So, when you have it you have, and when you don’t have it you do without it and work to get it back, simple. (S, LC, NR)

Personal development also included learning about responsibility and taking care of their personal hygiene. As West emphasized, he taught his child “proper hygiene and those things” (S, LC, NR).

Another area of personal development that one father mentioned was preparation for parental responsibility. West highlighted this when he said, “Teach them about responsibility, if it is even an animal or something for them to take care of, so whenever they grow up and get children they would already know about that, how to take care of things” (S, LC, NR).
One father also thought that it was important to deliberately engage in developing his child’s self-confidence or self-esteem. He believed that an important part of his responsibility was to ensure that his child had a positive understanding of her capabilities. Tim said, “my responsibilities are all the roles and responsibilities that I assume, self-confidence, building her self-confidence” (M, MC).

**Decision-making.** In teaching/training their children, fathers assisted them to develop decision-making skills. Two fathers (both S and LC; 1 R, 1 NR) mentioned that they assisted by providing appropriate guidance and an understanding of what society regarded as right and wrong. Dave said, “[I] try to guide Kelly in the right direction…” (S, LC, R). West explained further, “So, you teach them, show them the right from the wrong that if they do this, this is going to happen and if you don’t do it that will happen” (S, LC, NR).

Also, fathers corrected or disciplined their children to reinforce the importance of making good choices or wise decisions. Whereas Troy emphasized that one of his roles was “to correct” (M, MC), Ryan indicated that one of his roles was to be a “disciplinarian” (M, MC).

**Academic achievement.** Two fathers (S, LC, NR) valued the importance of their children’s academic achievement, they were intentional in their involvement with their children’s educational progress. To accomplish this, they assisted their children with their schoolwork. Paul explained that he wanted his daughter to do well in her schoolwork and used it as a means of strengthening their relationship. He remarked:

Schoolwork, [I] help her with her homework. [If she has] Any question, I am tired to tell her, any question or anything, once she is thinking it or she reads it and she doesn’t understand it she should call me and ask me or come to me and ask me. The two of us
will figure it out. I want to be so involved so there will not be anything that she won’t tell me although there isn’t anything that she doesn’t tell me now anyway. (S, LC, NR)

Fathers also facilitated the academic progress of their children by supporting their progress through academic monitoring. One father emphasized the importance of ensuring that his child paid attention to his academic pursuit. This involved adding the necessary pressure to promote progress. West remarked:

Pressure them with the book work just the same. So, you are just giving them a touch of everything. Yeah, make sure that they do the book [work]; make sure that they are doing the book work. Sit down with them and read with them. (S, LC, NR)

**Being available.** The focus of this theme was on the physical presence of fathers in the home. Physical presence is also associated with the potential to be actively involved in their children’s lives, not just their physical presence in the home. Five fathers purported being available to their children because they were accessible (3 M: 2 MC, 1 LC; 2 S: LC, 1 R, 1 NR). Whiteman articulated, “I make sure that I am there as a support person not just the one paying the bills and so forth but make sure I am there to support” (M, MC). Accessibility was not limited to residential fathering as the non-residential fathers also voiced that they were available to their children. Paul explained his availability when he said, “call me and ask me or come to me and ask me.” (S, LC, NR)

Fathers believed that being available to their children would provide positive experiences for their children as they grow up, creating a positive image of fathers. In addition, the experience of not having a father around when they were growing up was a motivating factor for some fathers. Redwood explained:
Trying to be that father I never had to my children, who I never had for myself. So, hence the move for me to get married and to keep one partner so they can all grow up knowing their father and not be the type of child to say, hey my father lived over there. So, I live here. He only comes around once a week. I’m there all the time; they grow and see me. The only persons they see is their mother and me. (M, LC)

**Protecting.** Fathers’ role as protector refers to the safety and security that they provided for their families. There was the need to protect children from the negative influences of society. Three fathers (two of who had female children) mentioned being a protector as one of their roles (3 M, MC). This was important as one father perceived society as more open than before (e.g., access to things on the internet such as explicit sexual content), which made the role of protecting their children even more critical. Tim reflected, “[I] ensure that I protect her from all, everything, that is there especially in this time because it’s so open now. They have to deal with so many things in these times in comparison to back in the days” (M, MC). As protectors, fathers also regarded themselves as a secure base of protection, defence, and support. Their children could count on them to be there to rescue them from negative experiences or situations. Ryan explained:

Daddy is somebody who is a protector. Somebody she can come and count on. If she is having a bad day she knows that she can come [to her daddy], and she would say that she is going to tell her daddy about her friend who troubled her. So, I was just there for her. She saw daddy as a super hero and she still does. Super hero daddy… (M, MC)

**Being a Leader.** This theme refers to the fathers’ conceptualization of their responsibility for the direction of the family. One father (M, MC) viewed himself as leader of his household.
As leader, he was responsible for the focus or direction of the family. In this regard, it was important to demonstrate strength. Mark recounted:

Well my roles and responsibilities are to continue to make the family stay focused…keep the whole family movements together… And you know because my wife said to me the other day that when I [am] weak she is weak. So, I realize that when I am weak all the household is weak. So, I realize that I always have to stay on top. (M, MC)

**Performing childcare duties.** This theme refers to the fathers’ participation in activities to ensure that their children were cared for physically (1 father: S, LC, R). Dave mentioned his role in performing tasks that are traditionally associated with females. As a single father, he had to do everything in caring for his child. Also, he provided special care for her due to her medical condition. He said:

I also play the motherly role as well because I am a single [father]. When she is sick, I am off to doctor with her. She is a sickler; I have to be up and down with her to ensure that she gets her medication in a timely manner, and also that she is taking those medications as prescribed. (S, LC, R)

**Affective domain.** The affective domain encompasses the various ways in which fathers were responsive and connected with their children emotionally (4 fathers, 3 M: MC; 1 S: LC, R). Fathers showed positive emotions to their children through their words and/or actions. For example, fathers expressed physical affection such as hugging and kissing their children, would tell them that they loved them as well as support them in times of distress or challenges. Moreover, they also offered encouragement, served as cheerleaders, and praised them to build their self-esteem and self-confidence.
Emotional support. Fathers who perceived their identity role as offering emotional support meant that they attempted to build their children’s positive emotions in various ways. There was openness and trust in the relationship. One father mentioned that one of his roles was to be a friend and he offered the support that is needed in difficult times. He remarked:

I don’t want to say confidant but friend; leave it at a friend, just daddy…if she is having a bad day she knows that she can come and say she is going to tell her daddy about her friend who troubled her. (Ryan, M, MC)

Another father mentioned that one of the roles that he performed was caring for his family emotionally. He explained that in order to do so he had to be prepared to connect with his child to understand what she is going through to offer appropriate support. Dave emphasized, “If there is a situation that she is having, I have to try and relate to it and help her where that is concerned” (S, LC, R).

Fathers’ Perspectives on Socialization of Values

In the exploration of socialization of values, attention was given to the process of how fathers’ caregivers instilled values in them as children and the process in which they socialized their children to promote particular values. More specifically, fathers were first asked to list the values and principles that were instilled when they were children and how their caregivers promoted those values (value strategies). Next, fathers were asked about the values that they wanted in their children by listing them. They provided justifications and explained how they promoted the values and principles. This approach facilitated insights into values socialization and intergenerational transmission of values and principles. Although the fathers were asked about values and principles, for ease of presentation, values will be used to refer to values and
principles as principles are regarded as more general and serve as the operationalization of
values.

**Listing of Values**

When fathers were asked to list the values that their primary caregivers wanted to instill in them, they mentioned 19 values that generated four categories (see Table 2). In order of salience, the categories were: (a) collectivism (7 fathers, 5 M: 4 MC, 1 LC; 2 S: LC, 1 R, 1 NR), (b) academic achievement (5, 4 M: MC; 1 CL), (c) individualistic characteristics (5, 2 M: 1 MC, 1 LC; 1 S: LC, NR; 1 CL), and (d) spirituality (3, M, 2 MC, 1 LC). The caregivers that fathers identified included mothers (7), biological fathers (6), grandmother (1), grandfather (1), uncle (1), stepfather (1), and community members (1). However, one father did not mention any specific caregiver.

When fathers listed the values that they wanted for their children, they articulated not only 13 of the same values that were instilled when they were children, but also included additional values within the categories (see Table 2). Specifically, they discussed 15 additional values that expanded the categories, including an additional eight values for collectivism, one for academic achievement, five for individualistic characteristics, and one for spirituality. The frequency of the categories generated for the values that fathers wanted for their children were: (a) collectivism (8 fathers, 5 M: MC; 2 S: LC, 1 R, 1 NR; 1 CL), (b) academic achievement (5 fathers, 4 M, 3 MC, 1 LC; 1 CL), (c) individual characteristics (5 fathers, 4 M: 3 MC, 1 LC; 1 S: LC, NR), and (d) spirituality (5 fathers, M, 4 MC, 1 LC).

**Collectivism.** Collectivism refers to the focus on interpersonal relationships. Specific to the present study, these fathers focused on the ways in which children were expected to live that would benefit others which included conformity (restraining their actions, inclinations, and
impulses), benevolence (concern for others in daily social interactions), and upholding cultural tradition (adherence to tradition and customs that are valued by group members). Of the values mentioned for this category, the fathers indicated that some values were promoted by them as well as their caregivers. These values were respect (4 fathers, 2 M: MC; 2 S: LC, 1 R, 1 NR), honesty (3 fathers, 2 M: MC), and integrity (1, S, LC, R) (see Table 3).

**Academic achievement.** For academic achievement, the focus was on personal success based on the demonstration of academic competence in areas such as schoolwork and completion of tasks. There was convergence between fathers and their caregivers in instilling high standards (1 CL: LC, R) and education (1 M: MC) (see Table 3).

**Individualistic characteristics.** In this category, the focus was on children’s ability to think and act independently including choosing, creating, and exploring in all domains of life. Fathers and their caregivers both emphasized self-value (1 S: LC, R) and commitment (1 M: MC) (see Table 3).

**Spirituality.** This category refers to that which gives meaning and order to life, so it served as a source of guidance for children. The inculcation of Biblical principles or Christianity (1 M: MC) and Godliness (1 M: MC) were similar for fathers and their caregivers (see Table 3).

**Strategies Used to Promote Values**

Fathers were asked how their primary caregivers promoted the values when they were children. They discussed 10 strategies that generated five themes: (a) control, (b) guided learning, (c) group participation, (d) support, and (e) reciprocity (see Table 4). When fathers were also asked about their current strategies for promoting values in their children, they mentioned 14 strategies which encompassed the same themes that were used to promote values when they were children. Even though the themes were similar, some of the strategies were
different. Overall, fathers did not include reprimand and power from the theme of control that was used when they were children, but for the theme of support they added emotional support comprising the strategies of showing love and affection, offering encouragement, and giving compliments. Also, they added consultation strategy to the theme of reciprocity, and rules and regulation as a strategy to the theme of control (see Table 4).

As it relates to specific similarities between fathers and their caregivers, there were no similarities for five fathers and their caregivers. For the other fathers (5 fathers, 4 M: MC; 1 S: LC, NR), they converged with their caregivers to a certain extent in the use of strategies in the theme of guided learning, group participation, and control. Specifically, two (M, MC) used modeling or demonstration (guided learning); one (M, MC) employed punishment or discipline (control) and involvement in activities (group participation); one utilised teaching or information (guided learning); and one (S, LC, NR) used involvement in activities (group participation) and communication (reciprocity). None of the fathers and their caregivers converged on the utilization of strategies from the theme of support (see Table 5).

One of the fathers did not use any strategy that was similar to his caregivers. He reasoned that he got away with things because he was the last child. He remarked:

Well she never did a good job…I am the last one and she has me as her pet… So, she gave me more time to go outside and romp regardless of what my father said. Even when my father would say, “you allowed him to go outside of the yard [space around the house]”… So, she spoiled me to a certain extent, too… (Sam, CL)

The themes on how values were instilled in fathers as children and how they promoted values as fathers will be presented together. In order of salience, I discuss the fathers’ perspectives on how values were instilled when they were children, followed by the strategies
that they used as fathers. I then discuss the themes along with the specific values that were promoted.

**Control.** This theme refers to the demands that were placed on children to demonstrate certain values and the supervision, discipline, and correction that were utilized as a means of enforcement. Fathers discussed control as a theme that was utilized by their own caregivers (7 fathers, 5 M: 4 MC, 1 LC; 2 S: LC, 1 R, 1 NR) to instill values such as honesty, manners, respect, neatness, Godliness, and education. The most salient strategy that fathers mentioned about their primary caregivers was punishment or discipline, especially with the use of physical punishment (6 fathers, 4 M: 3 MC, 1 LC; 2 S: LC, 1 R, 1 NR). Redwood explained:

> When she saw something in the house that she knew that she did not buy, you are going to get lick [spanking] for it. She sees something that she knew that she didn’t buy and it is in your possession, no questions asked, you are going to get a beating [spanking] for it because she told you that you should not take other persons’ stuff and carry them home. (M, LC)

Fathers mentioned that their caregivers also used other control techniques such as monitoring (1 M: MC) power (1 M: MC), and reprimand (1 S: LC, NR). Monitoring was done by checking personal property to ensure that there was nothing in his possession that belonged to others. Whiteman recalled:

> My mother used to search my bags when I come home in the evening. And, they told me that I must not take things that belong to others. I should feel satisfied with what I have. Don’t take anything that don’t belong to you… searching my bag, if there is anything there that they didn’t buy… then I would have to take it back or explain how I come by it. (M, MC)
Compliance with the wishes of caregivers and respect for their authority was expected. This was accomplished through the demands that were made. For example, power was asserted through parental demands which resulted in punishment if there was no compliance. Reflecting on the use of parental demand and punishment, Troy said: “By demanding it from us. We had to be respectful or else there were consequences which were largely punitive. It could either be punishment, spanking, or loss of privileges. (M, MC)

The use of reprimand was also used to accomplish compliance. This was done through scolding that created significant noise so that the neighbours could hear. When this happened, it embarrassed the child, forcing the child to comply.

On a whole, a lot of noise. Now, you hear her come into the room and ask which one of us go into the room [father’s room] and so on. She wants to find it out because at the end of the day the noise is going to be made on her. So, she has to make noise on us to get the information from us to calm him down. (Paul, S, LC, NR)

Four fathers (3 M: MC; CL) also discussed control as their strategy to promote values such as honesty, obedience, trustworthiness, and completion of task. In the order of salience, the techniques used were monitoring (3 M: MC), punishment or discipline (2 M: MC), and rules and regulations (1 M: MC). Fathers employed these strategies to enforce their expectations and achieve compliance. To monitor their children, fathers utilized similar strategies such as supervision, being aware of what is happening, and conducting spot checks. Similar to what his parents did when he was growing up, Whiteman mentioned that he conducted spot checks by searching his children’s schoolbags to ensure that they did not have things that belonged to others in their possession. He said:
Because I go through their bags from time to time, and if there is something I know I did not buy or whatever, I ask them how they come by it… But I always ensure that I tell them to come home with what belong to them. They should not take what doesn’t belong to them, and they should always tell the truth. (M, MC)

One father explained that the expectations that they established as a family was important to promote honesty. These expectations were based on rules and regulations. Troy explained:

“The guidelines and regulations that we set as a family. Don’t tell lies. That is pretty much straightforward. Don’t take anything that doesn’t belong to you. That is pretty much straightforward. Ask for anything that you want.” (M, MC)

To punish or discipline, fathers withdrew privileges. Also, fathers utilized a combination of strategies to punish their children, including corporal punishment as a last resort. Tim explained:

I instill it in many ways. There are many disciplinary strategies such as grounding. For example, no television and stop them from doing certain things. It has been awhile since I had to spank them…but even if it gets to the point where I have to use that measure [I would]. (M, MC)

**Guided learning.** Guided learning refers to children’s acquisition of new knowledge, skills, or attitudes as they participate in activities or interactions that were regarded as opportunities for learning. During their childhood years, six fathers (4 M: MC; 2 S: LC, NR) remembered that their caregivers provided guided learning by techniques such as modeling and teaching to instill values such as caring, respect, neatness, and the importance of education. Parental modeling or demonstrating was utilized as their caregivers practiced what they were expecting their children to do. Mark said:
Well it is just by showing me they care and love. So, whatsoever principle they tried to instill I would have to grasp it because of the way that they treated me. Therefore, whatsoever principle they tried to bring across I would really have to accept it because it was coming from persons whom I love and know that they love me. (M, MC)

Focusing on education, Ryan pointed out that the importance of education was instilled through the provision of information on why it was necessary to be educated. This was spoken about on many occasions. He remarked: “[They] always explained the importance of education” (M, MC).

With attention to their own fathering, this theme was salient for all fathers. Guided learning included techniques such as correcting, modelling or demonstrating, and teaching or providing information. These techniques were used to promote values such as honesty, respect, integrity, assertiveness, and love. In using these techniques, fathers emphasized that they either wanted their children to gain knowledge or understanding which would enable their children to behave based on a deeper understanding. To accomplish this, they either provided information, correction, or served as an example. Fathers deliberately educated their children about the meaning of things and the implications. They also facilitated greater understanding by modelling. Two fathers explained:

So, you instill respect in them by telling them. It is to teach them the principle of respect for themselves and others… So, just to show them respect from my side, that in and of itself can instill some levels of respect in them. (Mark, M, MC)

Well for one I always try to lead by example. So, if I said that I will do something today, I don’t make promises to them that I know I can’t fulfill because they are expecting me to fulfil them. That is the kind of example that I have been trying to set. So, if I say okay
today we are going to so and so or next week and I give them a date, then I have to live up to that. (Troy, M, MC)

In facilitating learning, one father explained that he engaged in conversation with his child and offer correction where necessary. At the same time, respect was shown for the perspective of the child. Tim reasoned:

As young as she is… if she said something I would still listen to her instead of just telling her that she is wrong… But, if it is something that I can correct I correct her and show her why I am correcting her…” (M, MC)

Group participation. This theme refers to children’s group activities that promoted the development of values through instruction, exposure, and experience. Two fathers (M, MC) discussed the use of group participation as a strategy that was used by their caregivers. Their caregivers used this strategy to promote values such as Godliness and love for God. Involvement in Church was the group participation that caregivers emphasized and supported as an approach to foster spiritual development. Whiteman remarked, “She ensured that I go to Sunday school and church” (M, MC).

Similarly, five fathers (M, 4 MC, 1 LC) mentioned that they promoted the values of love for Christ, Godliness, Godly principles, creativity, upstanding citizen, and spiritual involvement through group participation, in their own children. Fathers discussed both areas of participating in group activities within and outside of the home. Group activities inside of the home focused on having family devotions to nurture spiritual growth. For example, Mark mentioned that his approach to promoting love for Christ was to have time together as a family in which they would “keep devotion and pray” (M, MC).
For group activities outside of the home, fathers focused on Church attendance or joining clubs at school. Whereas attending Church and Church related activities were important for the development of spiritual values, engaging in clubs or extracurricular activities at school promoted values including being an upstanding citizen and spiritual involvement. Troy explained:

But Church is a big thing…In terms of getting involved, let him see these things at work outside of us too, outside of the family, so that he knows it doesn’t exist in a vacuum…So, at school he is involved. He does sports and he is involved in cub scouts and they do things such as pray, which enhances his spirituality. They do charitable stuff. (M, MC)

Support. This theme refers to the ways in which genuine interest was demonstrated in children’s well-being. Support included emotional support (empathy, compassion, and sincere concern) and instrumental support (provision of tangible help such as resources). Fathers mentioned that their caregivers provided instrumental support to promote hard work and academic achievement (2 M: MC). The fathers focused on how their caregivers provided for their needs or ensured that they had adequate resources. Ryan remarked, “She goes the extra mile to get our books, all the things we needed” (M, MC).

In order to emphasize values such as love, honesty, strong will, creativity, understanding, intelligence, self-confidence, and high self-esteem, five fathers (4 M: MC; 1 S: LC, NR) mentioned that they provided support for their children. Fathers pointed out that they provided emotional support by offering compliments and encouragement. Also, fathers used their words and physical touch such as hugging to provide emotional support and affection. For example,
Troy stated, “Verbal encouragement again, telling him I believe in him, hugging him, showing him love, and showing him my affection” (M, MC). Tim further explained:

Get them into extra-curricular activities, swimming. Encourage them to do stuff, too. They might be afraid to swim…to ride their bicycle…encourage…Hey that is very good…when you applaud their work, when you praise their work and so you kind of encourage them to want to do more…So, you just encourage that and be like a fan. (M, MC).

Fathers also mentioned that they provided instrumental support to reflect the values of caring, respect, and Godliness in their children (2 fathers, 1 M: MC; 1 S: LC, NR). For example, fathers provided resources or attended to the physical needs of their children. Paul remarked: “Care for her in the sense that if she needs something…just surprise her at times with something…” (S, LC, NR).

Reciprocity. The focus of reciprocity is on the mutual benefit that children and their caregivers received from their social interactions. Focusing on fathers’ childhood years, one father (M, MC) mentioned that his mother used this strategy to promote Godliness. The focus was on communication that facilitated the sharing of knowledge. Whiteman said, “When I went home sometimes, she would ask me what the Sunday school topic was about and what was the golden text and so forth” (M, MC).

Three fathers (2 M: MC; 1 S: LC, NR) emphasized that reciprocity was a strategy that they personally used on their children to promote caring, respect, obedience, goal-orientation, and strong will. There was openness to the views of children through communication and consultation. Thus, fathers were willing to be influenced by their children. Tim commented:
I treasure her opinion. I do not just tell her to do a certain thing, but ask her. There are certain things that I just tell her to do, but there are other things that I ask if it is okay or ask her what she thinks about something. I get her opinion on certain things, get her views. Even when I am telling her to do something, I listen to her… (M, MC)

**Justifications for Promoting Values**

To further explore the fathers’ process of children’s values socialization, they provided justifications for each of the values they listed. The responses generated eight themes, including: (a) training (subtheme life skills and understanding of life), (b) enhancing interpersonal relationships (subthemes social interaction and building trust), (c) developing personal characteristics, (d) facilitating accomplishments, (e) being trained spiritually (f), engaging in prosocial behaviours, (g) meeting societal expectations, and (h) ensuring personal safety. In this section, the themes are presented with attention to specific values that fathers wanted their children to possess, and in order of the level of frequency of responses.

**Training.** This theme refers to the fathers’ perspectives that the values that they wanted for their children would ensure their children’s development of competencies to be successful. It encompassed the perspective that their children needed to live wisely to ensure successful endeavours. Generally, seven fathers (4 M: MC; 2 S: LC, 1 R 1 NR; CL) valued assertiveness, love, self-conduct, obedience, differentiating between right and wrong, intelligence, understanding, purpose-driven, and complete tasks. Thus, training involved building children’s capacity to deal with all facets of life. For example, Dave discussed the importance of assertiveness with attention to its impact in training his child for the issues that would be encountered in life. He explained:
It also gears them up towards life in general. Because what you do you don’t allow yourself to drop to a certain standard. When for instance you are doing a formal interview, you will know when to speak. You will know when to say certain things and how to be assertive. When you are doing a program like my daughter who is at school, so she needs to know all these things. (S, LC, R)

This training theme included two subthemes: (a) life skills, and (b) understanding of life.

**Life skills.** For life skills, the emphasis was on the principles and strategies that children developed that served as a catalyst for success. For five fathers (3 M: MC; 2 S: LC, 1 R, 1 NR), the life skills focused on decision-making and critical thinking. These skills would allow their children to progress meaningfully in life as these skills would help them to act with understanding and good judgment. One father explained:

> Understanding is like a deep knowledge. A deeper thinking into whatever you hear, see happening, and whatever you do. Not to just be doing something and you don’t know why you are doing it, but I want her to understand why is it that daddy would tell her this and why is it that she is doing this. (Tim, M, MC)

**Understanding of life.** This subtheme focused on the perspective that fathers wanted their children to have on the world and people. From the perspective of one father, it should positively influence the way that they live as they would have insights that would empower them in their endeavours and interactions with others. Mark explained the reason for wanting his child to love others: “It [love] will give him a broader understanding on how he looks at life and how he looks at people in general” (M, MC).

**Enhancing interpersonal relationships.** This theme refers to the development of social skills that enabled children to have positive relationships with others (7 fathers, 3 M: MC; 3 S:
LC, 2 NR 1 R, 1 CL). It also included operating according to social conventions that led to mutual benefit. Fathers believed that it was important for their children to get along with others by being honest, trustworthy, an upstanding citizen, and having integrity. In addressing the reason for wanting his child to be an upstanding citizen, Troy stated:

Because I want him to contribute to society, and I believe that everyone has a purpose and that purpose is to make every one of us better. So, once he lives up to that purpose he would be an upstanding citizen, and then he would be helping to make persons around him, persons whom he interacts with better. (M, MC)

Also, when children live by certain values such as humility, persons would like them which would positively impact their relationship with others. Sam commented, “When you are humble, people will like you. Also, when you are humble and you do not talk too much…” (CL). This theme also generated two subthemes: (a) social interaction, and (b) building trust.

Social interaction. The focus of this subtheme was on the ways that children related to others. This included interactions with persons that they were familiar with as well as persons whom they met in the society. Six fathers (3 M: MC; 2 S: LC, NR; 1 CL) reasoned that the values such as respect, self-respect, humility, and upstanding citizen would enable their children to have positive encounters with others. For example, respect for elders and persons in authority was important but that it should be extended to everyone as well as to oneself. Whiteman explained, “You have to show some form of…respect…some form of discipline…know the line of demarcation between yourself and persons in authority, persons who are older.” (M, MC).

Paul pointed out that this respect should be shown to all persons, regardless of their social status. He said, “She needs to be respectful now at the same time. Having respect for all levels of life whether up or down” (S, LC, NR). Thus, knowing how to relate to persons was important, but it
started with respect for one’s self. West commented, “So, if you don’t respect yourself, who is going to respect you? Respect goes a far way. If you don’t respect yourself, anybody can just tell you anything or do you anything” (S, LC NR).

**Building trust.** This subtheme refers to the actions and words of children that enabled persons inside and outside of their family to have trust and confidence in them. For four fathers (2 M: MC; 1 S: LC, R; 1 CL), building trust and confidence was based on the values of honesty and integrity. These values coalesced to make children trustworthy which was necessary in all settings. Whiteman reflected:

“As the saying goes, honesty is the best policy. Honesty, is something that is specific in every society. In every stratum of society that you go, whether school, church, or work, honesty is something. Persons should be able to trust you. Trust your words, trust you with other persons’ things, and trust you to do the right things. So, honesty is a major thing. (M, MC)

**Developing personal characteristics.** The development of personal characteristics refers to the personal qualities that children possessed which contributed to their positive outcomes. These attributes created the crucial foundation for them to believe in themselves. Developing personal characteristics was salient for seven fathers (5 M: MC; 2 S: LC, 1 R, 1 NR). In their explanations, the fathers focused on values such as respect, self-value, internal motivation, strong-will, high self-esteem, and self-respect. Overall, there was an emphasis on self-worth to facilitate other important characteristics such as internal motivation and determination. One father remarked, “Because again he needs to believe in himself. He needs to believe that he is of worth” (Troy, M, MC). Another father emphasized the importance of being strong-willed or
determined which required a willingness to stand even if friends withdrew their support because of a decision to remain true to one’s principles. Tim concluded:

So, I would love for her to be strong in her resolve and to say no, when no means no and yes, when yes means yes. If she doesn’t want to do it, don’t be pressured to doing something that she will regret. I want her to have strong-will, so that she will be able to say no and no means no regardless of probably losing friends and losing popularity. (M, MC)

**Facilitating accomplishments.** Facilitating accomplishments refers to the actions and attitudes of children that led to personal achievement because they were guided by good values. For six fathers (5 M: MC; 1 CL), it was important for them to promote values such as self-confidence, hardworking, creativity, and completion of tasks. With these values, personal success and meaningful contribution to society would become a reality. For example, one father emphasized that if tasks were not completed then one had failed. Thus, it was important to complete tasks as learning to complete tasks was important for success. Sam remarked: “If you don’t complete it [the exam] that is a failure. If you don’t complete your exam, you can’t pass. So, if you start something and you don’t complete it, that is a failure” (CL). Another father noted that personal success was based on hard work for those who were not privileged from birth. The path to success is hard work and his child should learn from his example and work hard to be successful. Redwood explained:

Because nothing comes easily. I mean that there are some persons who born with what we refer to as gold spoons in their mouth, but I was not born like that. So, I have to be working for what I want. And, because I am working I can provide for you [my child].
So, I want you to do the same; knowing that hard work is the key. Working hard is what
gets you what you want. (M, LC)

**Being trained spiritually.** Being trained spiritually was conceptualized as providing a
personal source of guidance as well as positively impacting relationships with others. As a
personal source of guidance, spirituality could provide the strength to stand against negative
influences (6 fathers, M: MC). These values included the love for Christ, Godliness, Christian
values, Biblical principles, and spiritually involved. One father used his own spiritual
commitment to explain how spirituality assisted him to break habits that he was powerless to
break on his own. Tim explained:

So, it is important for her to be able to resist negative influence, and I found that to be
highly possible or only possible from a biblical sense, once they have that rooting. From
my experience …I couldn’t resist those things. I wasn’t strong enough to resist certain
things like how I can resist now…I really had control, and I could decide that this is no
more, once I got the biblical background root. (M, MC)

In terms of the impact of spirituality on interpersonal relationships, two fathers (M, MC)
mentioned that it would influence their love for people or morals. From the fathers’ perspective,
being trained spiritually would empower children to treat others appropriately. One of the fathers
said, “Loving Christ will show you how to live because if you love Christ, you will automatically
love the people around you” (Mark, M, MC). The other father stated, “Godliness because I think
we are in a society now where morals are on a decline, and I want to ensure that they have good
morals” (Whiteman, M, MC).

**Meeting societal expectations.** In this theme, the emphasis was on the children’s
attitudes and behaviours that were supposed to be aligned with societal expectations. It also
referred to the expectation that children would behave in a civilized manner in social settings (5 fathers, 2 M: MC; 2 S: LC, 1 R, 1 NR; CL). Fathers pointed out that they wanted their children to possess respect and behave properly. For example, one father believed that instilling respect in his child was a part of helping his child to fulfill social expectations and to be in harmony with the community. Dave emphasized, “But respect is a part of our society, and how we communicate with each other. Being respectful is just a part of the society of being able to fit in as well” (S, LC, R). For the other father, civilized behaviour was expected from adults, so training the child to have self-conduct would lead to his child behaving appropriately in social settings. West articulated:

What are you going to be when you become a man or woman if you don’t know how to conduct yourself? You will talk anything around people and wear anything. You will operate anyway around people, so it is like you can’t adjust yourself. It is like you are around civilized people, and you are acting like a hooligan. And, you are with hooligans but you are trying to act civilized. However, it seems like it can’t work. So, you need self-conduct to know how to conduct yourself in every way. (West, S, LC, NR)

Engaging in prosocial behaviours. This theme included the actions and attitudes of children in relation to their care and concern for others. According to three fathers (2 M: MC; 1 S: LC, NR), the care and concern that children need to have for others should lead to prosocial behaviours. The fathers believed that values such as kindness, love for Christ, and caring would engender prosocial behaviours. Generally, fathers reasoned that they wanted their children to positively respond to others’ needs. One father said, “So, to be kind really helps us. It enhances our ability to respond to other persons and their needs…” (Tim, M, MC). Paul expanded, “I want her to be caring because I want her to have the sense of a humanitarian… Like she cares about
life and people. She is caring overall about life and people and the wellbeing of people and society” (S, LC, NR).

**Ensuring personal safety.** The focus of this theme was on children’s actions that promoted their safety. One father (M, MC) referred to ensuring personal safety in his justification for the value of obedience. From his perspective, when a child is obedient, it serves as a safety measure for the child. As he provided guidelines for his child, he expected that the child would obey and be protected from danger. Tim explained, “So, if you are not obedient and you put your hand in the fire, you are going to get burn. She wouldn’t get burn if she was obedient” (M, MC).

**Discussion**

The current study extends our understanding of fathering identity and socialization of values in Afro-Jamaican families. It has shown that fathering identity is multidimensional as fathers are engaged in various observable and quantifiable behaviours with their children in the behavioural domain (Pleck, 2010) such as being economic provider, teaching/training, being accessible, protecting, being leader, and performing child maintenance tasks and giving emotional support in the affective domain. The study also revealed that the socialization or teaching of values is multidimensional with similarities and differences across generations. For example, these fathers indicated that they were instilling values in their children to empower them to maximize their potential, progress positively in their community, use spiritual principles to guide their lives, and ensure their personal survival. These justifications for the promotion of values expand the prevailing conceptualizations of values (Chao, 1995; Chuang & Su, 2009). With respect to the strategies that were used to instill values across generations, there were similarities and differences. Both fathers and their caregivers when they were children used strategies that encompassed several domains such as control, guided learning, group
participation, reciprocity, and support to instill values (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). However, in contrast to their caregivers, these fathers were seeking to enhance relationships with their children. In this section, I discuss the multidimensionality of fathering identity, followed by a discussion on fathering values. Specifically, I discuss the fathers’ role in socialization of values for their children as well as their personal experiences as children, as well as the reasons for these values and the operationalization of the values. Lastly, the limitations of the study are discussed as well as future directions, and implications and conclusions.

**Multidimensionality of Fathering Identity**

Fathers in the present study revealed a multidimensionality of fathering identity. These findings further supported Marsiglio’s (1993) perspective on the application of identity theory to fathering. The roles that these fathers engaged in were based on salience and commitment to roles which represented their fathering identity (Marsiglio, 1993, 1995).

Similar to Marsiglio (1995), the present study explored fathering identity with attention to father involvement based on roles and responsibilities (Lamb et al., 1987). The roles and responsibilities in the construction of their fathering identity were expressed through their views on the various aspects of their involvement with their children, including the behavioural and affective domains of involvement. These results align with Palkovitz’s (1997) conceptualization of father involvement that includes the behavioural and affective domains.

**Multidimensional roles and responsibilities.** The current study found that fathers embraced multiple roles and responsibilities that encompassed two domains of fathering, behavioural and affective. In the behavioural domain, the multidimensionality of roles and responsibilities in the construction of fathering identity is similar to past research (Chuang, 2013; Morman, & Floyd, 2006; Pleck, 2010). These roles and responsibilities represented the
observable and quantifiable aspects of father involvement which, for these fathers, included providing economically, teaching/training, being accessible, being a protector, being a leader, and performing child related tasks. These multiple roles and responsibilities represented the various fathering identities to which fathers were committed (Marsiglio, 1993).

One area of involvement that was included in their fathering identity was economic support which most of the fathers embraced as one of their main responsibilities. In assessing the history of white middle-class residential fathering in the United States, Pleck and Pleck (1997) identified breadwinning as a traditional role that was expected of fathers. Similarly, scholars found that breadwinning was an important role that was expected of African-American, Afro-Jamaican, Mainland Chinese and Chinese-Canadian fathers (Chevannes, 2001; Chuang, 2013; Smeeding, Garfinkel, & Mincy, 2011). In the present study, regardless of residential status, marital status, family structure, and socioeconomic status, these fathers included breadwinning as an important aspect of their fathering identity.

In the construction of Afro-Jamaican fathering identity, economic provisioning is important. Chevannes (2001) found that the provider role was linked to how fathers understood masculinity. To be regarded as a man, the control of economic resources was expected. For example, boys were encouraged to enter the workforce without proper educational preparation to receive manhood status and social recognition (Parry, 2000).

A lack of economic provisioning may affect the involvement of non-residential fathers with their children as mothers often serve as gatekeepers to prevent interactions. In a study involving mostly African Americans, Lin and McLanahan (2007) found that mothers used the equity principle (level of material contribution) to determine the visitation rights of fathers. Thus, the emphasis on breadwinning may be a result of the challenging economic context (Smeeding et
al., 2011) that fathers may encounter. For example, in a research involving Afro-Jamaican fathers, Anderson (2009) found that 72% of fathers tried to be better fathers in caring financially for the needs of their children as some fathers were bitter toward their own fathers who did not provide for them (Anderson & Daley, 2015).

Although fathers’ role as economic provider was found among other populations (e.g., Chuang, 2013; Morman, & Floyd, 2006), the salience of the role appears to be of greater significance for the Afro-Jamaican fathers. For example, in Chuang and Su (2009), they found that Chinese and Chinese-Canadian fathers with toddlers accounted for about a third of the responses (similar to being a caregiver). For the present study, most of the fathers not only mentioned this role but also elaborated on its importance for them as fathers. Thus, the emphasis on economic provisioning may be a result of the fathers’ attempt to be “better” fathers or compensating for the inadequacy in their own fathering experiences (Guzzo, 2011).

These fathers also mentioned involvement in teaching or training which most of them also regarded as an important part of their fathering identity. This is a unique contribution to the literature on Black families as this is one of the first studies to report that Black fathers viewed themselves as teachers and/or trainers for their children. In a study on Chinese fathers, Chuang (2013) also found that being an educator/trainer was an important role of fathers, which is consistent with the Asian culture and the importance of teaching children for future success (e.g., see Chao, 1994; Stewart, Bond, Kennard, Ho, & Zaman, 2002).

**Creating a new legacy.** Past research has shown that when fathers were not involved in their children’s lives, their children were at a disadvantage (e.g., they were more likely to live in poverty) (Roy, 2008). The current study revealed that some of the fathers who experienced a lack of father involvement from their fathers as children were actively involved in the lives of their
children. More specifically, the fathers revealed that they were deliberate in supporting their children’s development in areas such as personal decision-making and academic achievement to help them to secure a better future so as to engender positive outcomes. For personal decision-making, fathers often did not want their children to make decisions that they would regret later in life. Therefore, fathers viewed training as empowering their children to make good decisions. Similar to the research on Chinese families (Wang, 2004), academic achievement was emphasized as personal success.

A third aspect of their fathering identity that these fathers revealed was their accessibility to their children. This is consistent with the conceptualization of father involvement that includes accessibility (Lamb et al., 1985, 1987). Both residential and non-residential fathers revealed that they were accessible to their children. Anderson (2015) also found that Afro-Jamaican fathers used their availability (or presence) as one of the strategies to accomplish the goals that they wanted for their children such as respect, obedience, and honesty.

Focusing on non-residential fathers, researchers found that the frequency of contact that non-resident fathers had with their children influenced the approach of mothers in parenting (Jackson & Scheines (2005). Similarly, Jackson et al. (2009) found that non-residential fathers’ physical accessibility to their children was linked to children’s behavioural outcomes. Thus, the accessibility of non-resident fathers is an important aspect of their involvement in their children’s lives.

The fourth aspect of fathering identity that these fathers discussed was the responsibility that they embraced for the protection of their children. These fathers emphasized their role as a protector which is consistent with the traditional role of Afro-Caribbean fathers (Anderson, 2009). Males tend to embrace the traditional role as protector of the family (Roopnarine, 2004).
For example, these fathers revealed that they were responsible to protect their children from everything including the negative influences of society. Similarly, Anderson (2009) found that protection may not be limited to physical but also includes the psychological and emotional aspects.

The fifth, aspect of their fathering identity that these fathers discussed was the responsibility that they assumed for the direction of their families. This may be directly linked to the religious belief that men should be the head of the household. The fathers in this study embraced the leadership role in the family which aligns with the literature on religious influence on families. Being religious refers to the adherence to practices, beliefs, and authority structures that are associated with a particular religious tradition (Zinnbauer & Pargament, 2005). Also, religion has a positive impact on the well-being of individuals (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). More recently, religion has been investigated as a separate domain of development (Day, 2010) encompassing areas such as the perspectives that an individual has of the world (e.g., religious beliefs) which is one of the pillars of identity (Arnett, 2004).

Finally, the performance of child maintenance tasks was another way in which fathers discussed their fathering identity. The engagement in childcare duties supports previous findings regarding a move towards nurturing fatherhood (see Lamb & Lewis, 2013). However, it was surprising that this role was only mentioned by one father who was a single parent caring for a child who was sick. A possible explanation is that the children that the study focused on were in middle childhood and they were more independent, so fathers may not be consciously reflecting on their role in this area. In contrast, the single-parent father was caring for a child who required special attention due to her medical condition which may have caused the role to be salient.
Focusing on the affective domain, these fathers were significantly advancing their relationships with their children in this area of involvement. Scholars have acknowledged the importance of the affective domain of fathering (Fagan et al., 2014). However, there is a dearth of information in this area. Hofferth and Goldscheider (2010) found that fathers praised and showed affection to their children. Importantly, fathers’ demonstration of affection to their children is associated with the departure from traditional gender roles. The current study has also revealed that fathers were affectionate towards their children. This finding supported past research that found that White fathers who did not experience affection from their own fathers were compensating by being affectionate towards their own children (Bar-On & Scharf, 2014). Similarly, Dolan (2014) also found that White fathers wanted to be affectionate towards their children.

In some ethnic cultures, such as Chinese and Afro-Caribbean, fathers have been assumed to be regarded as distant and aloof (Clarke, 1957, 1999; Shek, 2001). However, Feng (2007) found that Chinese fathers were understanding, warm, and loving. Similarly, Anderson (2009) found that Afro-Jamaican fathers regarded being affectionate as important in their conceptualization of the characteristics of a good father. There has been limited research on Afro-Jamaican fathers showing affection to their children. The present study reveals that Afro-Jamaican fathers are showing affection and offering emotional support to their children. They demonstrated these by hugging, praising, encouraging, and telling their children that they love them. Thus, the present study contributes to the limited research on the emotional involvement of Afro-Jamaican fathers in their children’s lives, and suggests that fathers may be demonstrating affection to their children in ethnic cultures.
Multidimensionality of Fathering Values

Similar to past research, the findings of the current study indicated that values are multidimensional and multifaceted (Rokeach, 2008; Vauclair, Hanke, Fischer, & Fontaine, 2011). Specifically, researchers found that parents across cultures embraced values for their children that included both dependence and interdependence (Chao, 1995; Chuang & Su, 2009; Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). The current study provided some support for the 10 primary motivations for values that Schwartz (1992) identified. The categories of tradition, achievement, self-direction, conformity, and benevolence were similar although the categories of tradition, achievement, and self-direction were given labelled cultural tradition, academic achievement, and self-direction, respectively.

The current study did not support the categories of universalism, stimulation, hedonism, power, and security. One possible explanation is that the focus of the present study was narrow in comparison to Schwartz’s (1992) study that focused on identifying universal values across twenty countries. Also, the scope of the present study was limited to fathering.

Spirituality was a recurring theme in socialization of values. Schwartz (1992) found spirituality as a motivation for values only in some cultures, so he did not include it as a separate motivation. Instead, he only included spiritual life as a specific value in the category of benevolence. In the current study, the fathers revealed that spirituality is a distinct motivation for values that should be separated and not combined with other values. These Afro-Jamaican fathers stressed issues around religion which was not found previously. However, the emphasis on spirituality supports the literature on African-American men’s sense of manhood that includes spirituality or religiosity (Hunter & Davis, 1993). Researchers have found that religion is important to African Americans as it provided as a source of psychological and spiritual
advantage during slavery (Martin & Martin, 1978). With a similar history of slavery, spirituality is also important to Afro-Jamaicans. For example, Anderson (2009) found that some fathers were members of a church and attended church services at least once per month. This religiosity of Afro-Jamaican fathers is a part of the identity and contributes to the value that fathers have for wanting their children to be religious. Moreover, the church has also played a significant role in Afro-Caribbean families from the time of slavery (Wilmot, 1997). Thus, fathers in the present study envisioning their children possessing spiritual values may reflect the transfer of religiosity to the next generation.

In comparing to past research, Wang and Tamis-LeMonda (2003) focused exclusively on parenting values of mothers. The current study paralleled only three of the five categories that were generated in the previous study, although some of the labels were different. Specifically, in comparing the past study with the previous study, the fathers revealed that they embraced the values of individuality (i.e., individual characteristics), achievement (i.e., academic achievement) and connectedness (i.e., collectivism including benevolence, conformity, and cultural tradition). However, the other two categories, proper demeanor and decency which Wang and Tamis-LeMonda (2003) found, were not evident in the current study. More specifically, decency and demeanor overlapped with individualistic characteristics, academic achievement, collectivism based on Schwartz’s (1992) findings which was based on theory and empirical support. Also, Schwartz’s (1992) categorization of values was not restrictive in the exploration of values socialization. Thus, Schwartz’s (1992) framework was utilized in the present study.

A unique contribution of the present study is that the fathers were asked explicitly about the values that they wanted for their children who were in middle childhood. The study supports Anderson and Daley’s (2015) findings on the values that Afro-Jamaican fathers wanted their
child to possess (i.e., manners, respect, honesty, integrity, being loving, self-discipline, fear of God, knowing right from wrong, being ambitious, hardworking, self-confidence, academic competence, obedience, respect for parents, and contentment with what they have) except for manners. It is possible that fathers did not mention manners as there is a movement towards respect for the views of children, which is a departure from the traditional understanding of manners in which it was believed that children should be seen and not heard (Evans & Davies, 1997).

Importantly, the study extends previous findings on the fathering values of Afro-Jamaican fathers (e.g., self-conduct, humility, and creativity). The inclusion of creativity (Chuang & Su, 2009; Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003), compassion, and humility (Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003) by these fathers is similar to findings in other cultures. However, restrictive methodology (Chuang & Su, 2009) or exclusive focus on mothers (Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003) may have affected the generation of other values. Also, there may be variation in parenting values across cultures (Chao, 1995).

**Multifaceted Reasons for Socialization of Values**

This is one of the first studies that explored fathers’ justifications for the values that they wanted for their children. These justifications revealed the motivations for the values that fathers wanted to instill in their children (Gritten, Saastamoninen, & Sajama, 2009).

The present study supported LeVine’s (1977) three overarching goals of parenting. Specifically, these fathers indicated that they were instilling values in their children to ensure their personal survival or safety, empower them to maximize their potential, equip them to progress positively in their community, and use spiritual principles to guide their lives. With attention to the fathers’ focus on protection in the present study, it is consistent with previous
studies in which Black mothers from low SES were found to be controlling because of safety concerns due to dangerous neighbourhoods (e.g., see Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

The fathers in the current study explicitly focused on spiritual guidance. Researchers have found that there is an association between religion and parenting (Gurrentz, 2017; Horwath, Lees, & Sidebotham, 2012; Landor, Simons, Simons, Brody, & Gibbons, 2011). Christianity is the dominant religion in Jamaica, and all the fathers indicated that their religion was Christianity. Therefore, they embraced Biblical values and principles whether or not they were committed to a church. However, only married fathers focused on religious values. One possibility may be that perhaps single fathers do not want to mention spiritual training because they were not modeling and following Biblical teachings on marriage and sexual conduct. For example, sexual intercourse outside of marriage is regarded as sinful for single persons and viewed as living in sin for individuals in common-law relationships.

The justifications provided by the fathers in the current study for the values that they were promoting challenge the stereotype that Black fathers do not care for their children (McCready et al., 2013). Fathers were striving to create a better future for their children based on the emphasis that they placed on areas such as academic achievement. A possible explanation is that these fathers regard educational attainment as the approach to prevent intergenerational transmission of disadvantage or to consolidate the gains that they have made in breaking the intergenerational transmission of a lack of resources.

**Multiple Approaches to the Socialization of Values**

The current study is one of the first studies to describe how fathers promote specific values in their children. These fathers revealed multiple approaches to the socialization of values including control, guided learning, group participation, support, and reciprocity that both support
and challenge the existing literature. First, it supports Darling and Steinberg’s (1993) proposition that parents use various strategies to achieve the goals that they want for their children as these Afro-Jamaican fathers mentioned various strategies to promote transmission of values.

Second, the current study also supports the theoretical perspective on domain-specific approach to socialization. Grusec and Davidov (2010) proposed that parenting strategies are based on five domains of socialization. They suggested that the domains of socialization, protection, reciprocity, control, guided learning, and group participation, emerge in specific aspects of the parent-child relationship. Specifically, each domain is based on a particular view of the parent-child relationship (e.g., provider-recipient of protection), specific parental behaviour (e.g., alleviate child’s distress), and mechanism of socialization (e.g., confidence in protection). The present fathers mentioned strategies in all the domains except for the domain of protection. However, the fathers discussed protection as a part of their fathering identity (Anderson, 2009; Roopnarine, 2004). The fathers may not have discussed protection as a strategy used to instill values due to less salience placed on protection for children in middle childhood in comparison to younger children. For example, protection is associated with the development of attachment (Bowlby, 1969) which is important in infancy and early childhood. Third, the present study also challenges Grusec and Davidov’s (2010) suggested domains as these fathers revealed a support domain. The inclusion of this domain may be due to the focus on middle childhood where support is important for the development of independence and confidence. Thus, Grusec and Davidov’s (2010) domains are restrictive in accounting for strategies that fathers utilize during middle childhood to socialize their children.

With attention to the domains that were similar to past research (Grusec & Davidov, 2010), there were differences and similarities among the subgroups of fathers who discussed
strategies within various domains. First, in the present study, the domain of group participation was discussed by only married fathers. Due to the middle-class statuses of these fathers, it is possible that they were comfortable in exposing their children to influences from their communities. Also, these fathers had more disposable income and would be able to afford the cost associated with participation in various group activities.

Second, all fathers in this study discussed guided learning as a strategy that they utilized. This contrasted with their caregivers who mostly used control. One explanation is that the fathers were more opened to be influenced by their children. In previous generations, it was believed that children should be seen and not heard (Evans & Davies, 1997). Thus, although cultural customs and values guide child-rearing beliefs and practices (Super & Harkness, 1986), they tend to change over time. For example, researchers have found that fathers are becoming more nurturing and responsible (Anderson, 2009; Machin, 2015).

The strategy of control (e.g., punishment and discipline) was only discussed by two middle-class married fathers. This was done by taking away privileges or lessening entertainment time or spanking as a last resort. In contrast to their caregivers, the fathers who used corporal punishment did not regard it as a primary technique. One explanation is that within father-child relationships, fathers are attempting to use strategies to build their relationship and change the image of fathers as primarily disciplinarians or strict and aloof (Bailey et al., 2001; Bar-On & Scharf, 2016). Another explanation is that the interactions between the home and the school system or community could be influencing the approach to discipline. For example, under the Child Care and Protection Act, guidance counsellors as well as other adults are required to report any situation in which they believe that a child is being abused (Child Care and Protection Act, 2004). A third explanation is that influence from North America may be a factor as well as
globalization and social media. Finally, governmental policies that are being influenced by the convention on the rights of the child with specific strategies to ensure the care and protection of children may be impacting fathers’ choice of discipline (UN General Assembly, 2014).

Finally, governmental policies that are being influenced by the convention on the rights of the child with specific strategies to ensure the care and protection of children may be impacting fathers’ choice of discipline (UN General Assembly, 2014).

Finally, the use of monitoring as a control strategy was mentioned by only residential fathers, both middle- and lower-class statuses. Scholars have found that parental monitoring is an important approach that parents utilized (Dittus et al., 2016; Ethier, Harper, Hoo, & Dittus, 2016; Kerr, Stattin, Kerr, & Stattin, 2000; Stattin, & Kerr, 2000). A possible explanation for why the fathers in the present study mentioned monitoring is that they were living with their children with more access to oversee their day to day activities. It is also possible that the fathers mentioned monitoring because of the personal characteristics of their children that caused the role to be more salient in their experiences. Also, the fathers may have been influenced by how their own caregivers used monitoring when they were children.

**Intergenerational Transmission of Values**

The present study contributes to our understanding of the intergenerational socialization of values. This is a unique contribution to the literature as previous studies utilized quantitative methodology in which fathers were asked directly about how they were influenced by their caregivers in the values that they promoted (Juffer et al., 2008; Phalet & Schönpfleg, 2001). In contrast, the current study ascertained how fathers were influenced based on the values that were instilled when they were children and the values that they wanted for their children.

Scholars have found that the intergenerational transmission of values is non-linear (Grusec & Davidov, 2007; Phalet & Schönpfleg, 2001). The current study supports the non-linear transmission of values. At the micro level, there are three possible explanations for the intergenerational similarity or change in the socialization of values (Barni, Ranieri, Scabini, &
Rosnati, 2011). Focusing on similarities, the values of respect, honesty, commitment, education, Biblical principles, high standards, integrity, self-value, and Godliness were transmitted across generations. It is possible that these values were transmitted because they are positive values that would facilitate the growth and development of children. In regard to differences, the values of responsibility, cleanliness, self-discipline, manners, appreciation, and importance of family were not transmitted. One possible explanation is that the values were often oriented towards parents’ imposition of their views and preferences on their children. Thus, these fathers may have rejected these values because they were open to the views of their children (Barni et al., 2011). Finally, two fathers did not indicate the transmission of any of the values that were instilled when they were children. This may be based on the quality of relationship between the fathers and their caregivers (Grusec & Davidov, 1994). Also, the number of values that were emphasized when these fathers were children may be a factor as their caregivers may have emphasized only a few values.

Focusing on the mesosystem, the nonlinear transmission of values may be due to the fathers’ level of education which may have affected how they interacted with their children. For example, these fathers may have been exposed to the literature on the positive contributions that fathers make to the development of children (Lamb, 2010). As a result, they may have become more intentional about their approach to fathering.

At the level of the exosystem, the transformation of values in this study could be a result of the influence of governmental agencies. In 2004, Jamaica instituted the Child Care and Protection Act with explicit provisions against violence and abuse (Child Care and Protection Act, 2004). A study in 2004 found that in resolving conflicts at home with children adults mainly used physical methods such as pushing, slapping, grabbing, or beating (Samms-Vaughan, 2004).
This contrasts with the fathers’ own preference of other strategies. Thus, it is possible that the consequences for child abuse may have had an impact on the fathers’ approach to discipline.

Finally, the macrosystem may be affecting approaches that these fathers utilized as there is international pressure that is influencing the political system to implement policies to ensure the care and protection of children (UN General Assembly, 2014). Also, there may be a cultural shift towards more involved and warm fathering (Anderson, 2009). In sum, for these fathers, fathering identity and socialization of values were multidimensional, and the transmission of values across generations was nonlinear with the utilization of diverse strategies.

**Limitations of the Study**

The major limitations to the current study were: (a) sample size; (b) sampling procedures, (c) social desirability; (d) use of single informant; (e) fathers’ retrospective experiences; and (f) some omissions in the aspects of the fathers’ experiences that were discussed.

Focusing on sample size, the small sample size reduces the generalizability of the findings. In addition to the small sample, fathers were recruited from only the Kingston and St. Andrew metropolitan areas, so the findings should be interpreted with caution and are not transferable to all Afro-Jamaican fathers.

The sampling procedures facilitated selection bias as the fathers were recruited through institutions and/or organizations to which they were associated or through snowballing by the researcher. As a result, the fathers who participated in the study may have had contact with some institutions and/or organization due to their involvement in their children’s lives. Also, fathers may have referred other fathers who were also involved in their children’s lives. Thus, the findings may not reflect the diverse experiences of Afro-Jamaican fathers.
Relatedly, the internal validity of the study may have been affected by social desirability bias. The fathers may have presented themselves as good fathers to impress the researcher. As a result, they may have deliberately focused on the positive aspects of their experiences or provided inaccurate information.

Regarding the use of single informant, the current student sought to explore the fathers’ perspectives on their fathering identity and socialization of values. However, it would be interesting to also examine the mothers’ and children’s perspectives as this would strengthen the internal validity of the study. For example, fathers’ perspectives on values could be compared with the values that their children believed that they were instilling. Thus, triangulation of the data using a multi-method approach would strengthen the perspectives that were generated.

The current study was also retrospective in nature, particularly in the recall of childhood primary caregivers and the values that they promoted and how they stilled specific values when the fathers were children. This approach may have affected the accuracy or adequacy of what the fathers presented. It is possible that the fathers did not remember what was done and who was responsible or they may have added their own interpretation in attempting to make sense of their own experiences.

There were some aspects the fathers’ perspectives that were not discussed. First, fathers were not asked to provide specific definitions and examples of the values that they listed. This limited a deeper understanding of values. Also, it prevented the possible combination of some values. Second, fathers were not asked about specific factors that influenced their socialization of values. As a result, little is known about the factors that influenced the transmission of values.
Future Directions

The present study has shown that a contextualist perspective should be applied to explore fathering across ethnic groups. Thus, the bioecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) would be useful to further explore fathering identity and socialization of values in Afro-Jamaican families as it will alert the researchers to important contextual factors such as familial and sociocultural (Flouri, 2005) and to compare and contrast among ethnic groups. For example, researchers will be able to explore how various systems affect fathering identity and socialization of values.

At the micro level, future research should explore fathering identity with attention to making salient the domains of fathering (Palkovitz, 1997). This would provide possible empirical support for the conceptualization of fathering to be expanded to include a spiritual domain which was salient for the fathers in the present study. Also, fathers need to be primed to solicit their perspectives on some aspects of fathering, for example the cognitive domain. Therefore, an atheoretical approach may not advance our understanding of fathering at the micro level.

In addition, future studies should explore children’s perspectives on the values that their fathers want them to have. Also, the reasons for the values that they accepted or rejected should be explored. This would add to our understanding of why children accept or reject the values of their fathers and how they influence their own socialization of values.

At the macro level, religious and other beliefs should be explored with attention to their influence on the microsystems. This would be meaningful as spirituality or religion has been recognized as a separate domain of development that influences various aspects of the lives of individuals (Day, 2010). Thus, future studies should explore how fathers use spirituality in
fathering to enhance relationships, promote the success of children, and encourage goodness in children.

Generally, further research should focus on fathering identity and the socialization of values across ethnic groups. This should include comparison of fathers within the Caribbean region as well as fathers of African descent in North America with a similar history of slavery. This will also facilitate meaningful comparison with fathering in other contexts which will deepen our understanding of fathering across cultures.

The findings of this thesis may prove helpful to clinicians, social workers, and mental health professionals as it has shown ways in which fathers are contributing to the socialization of their children. Also, it revealed positive aspects of the relationship between Afro-Jamaican fathers and their children that they may consider emphasizing when planning future intervention and prevention programmes to promote father involvement. Finally, the results may be used as a framework to challenge the deficit perspective of ethnic and minority fathers and highlight a generative perspective by focusing on the various ways in which fathers are involved with their children (Allen & Connor, 1997).

**Implications and Conclusions**

This study reinforces the recognition that fathering or the lack thereof should be examined within a sociocultural context. Also, what fathers discuss about fathering may be based on how they were primed. Thus, theory about fathering should guide data collection and analysis in a recursive process in order to gain a better understanding of fathering (Valsiner, 2000).

The family is a primary agent for the socialization of children (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). The socialization of values is an important role of the family as across cultures parents are expected to ensure that their children become functional individuals and citizens based on the
traditions and customs of the society. However, it has been a challenge for researchers to ascertain the transmission of values empirically (Rudy & Grusec, 2001) as it has been difficult to generate a comprehensive list of values that are applicable across cultures (Graham, 2011). Moreover, studies on fathering identity and the role of fathers in the transmission of values are very limited due to the utilization of a deficit perspective for decades, especially among ethnic minorities such as Afro-Jamaicans (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Shwalb, Shwalb, & Lamb, 2013). Fathers’ perspective on the socialization of values focused on collectivism, individualism, academic achievement, and spirituality. These categories reinforced the perspectives that values are not dichotomous; rather, values are based on the goals that parents have for their children as the fathers also included academic and spiritual values in addition to both collectivistic and individualistic values.

The operationalization of these values was transmitted in five ways: control, guided learning, support, group participation, and reciprocity. Fathers’ emphasis on guided learning suggests a more open relationship between fathers and children in comparison to previous generations. This is supported by both the intergenerational transmission and transformation of values that the study revealed. Finally, the results of the study highlight the importance of exploring fathering within contexts to better understand the contributions of fathers to the development of their children and the need to focus on the various ways in which fathers are involved in the lives of their children.
References


Table 1

*Demographics and Background Information*

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>House/Apartment</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Friend/Family Property</td>
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Table 2

*List of Values Instilled When Fathers Were Children and Values Fathers Wanted for their Children*

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<th>Values</th>
<th>Instilled when fathers were children</th>
<th>Fathers wanted for children</th>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Respect*</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Manners</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appreciation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of family</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obedience</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-conduct</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstanding citizen</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevolence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrity*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compassionate</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Tradition</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humble</td>
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<tr>
<td>Academic Achievement</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligence</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete tasks*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed/Hardworking*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High standards*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal-oriented/education*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Individualistic Characteristics</td>
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Table 2 (continued)

<table>
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<th>Values</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Fathers wanted for children</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-value*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong-will/avoid bad company*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleanliness</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-discipline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High self-esteem</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-confidence</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-respect</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal motivation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Creativity</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Spirituality</td>
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<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biblical principles/Christianity*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love for Christ</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godliness*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritually involved*</td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>

Note. Boldface represents frequency of categories. * Similar values that fathers were instilled when fathers were children and wanted for their children.
Table 3

Values that Were Instilled when Fathers Were Children and Those that They Wanted for Their Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Values Instilled when Fathers Were Children</th>
<th>Values that Father Want for Their Children</th>
<th>Percentage Similarity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dave</td>
<td>Honesty*</td>
<td>Honesty*</td>
<td>67%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Respect*</td>
<td>Respect*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manners</td>
<td>Integrity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>Respect*</td>
<td>Respect*</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>Kind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Love</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Humility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>Respect*</td>
<td>Respect*</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>Caring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redwood</td>
<td>Spiritually involved</td>
<td>Hardworking</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strong will/stay away from bad company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biblical principles/Christianity*</td>
<td>Biblical principles/Christianity*</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryan</td>
<td>Commitment*</td>
<td>Commitment*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education*</td>
<td>Education*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Importance of family*</td>
<td>Goal-oriented/purpose-driven</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Self-respect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hardworking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High standards*</td>
<td>High standards*</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>Cleanliness</td>
<td>Humility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Honesty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Complete tasks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Self-confidence</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>High Self-esteem</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caring</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Biblical principles/Christianity</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Obedience</td>
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<td>Compassion</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Values Instilled when Fathers Were Children</td>
<td>Values that Father Want for Their Children</td>
<td>Percentage Similarity</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troy</td>
<td>Integrity*</td>
<td>Integrity*</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Honesty*</td>
<td>Honesty*</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>Biblical principles/Christianity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>Upstanding citizen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appreciation</td>
<td>Spiritually involved</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>Self-confidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
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<td>Self-value*</td>
<td>33%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>Self-respect</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Self-conduct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteman</td>
<td>Godliness*</td>
<td>Godliness*</td>
<td>50%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Honesty*</td>
<td>Honesty*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Respect*</td>
<td>Respect*</td>
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<td>Manners</td>
<td>Obedience</td>
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<td>Hardworking</td>
<td>Goal-oriented</td>
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<td>Spiritually involved</td>
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* Represents convergence in the values that father wanted for their children and the values were instilled when the fathers were children.
Table 4

*Promotion of Values by Fathers’ Caregivers and the Fathers*

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<tr>
<td>Teaching/Information</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modeling/demonstration</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Group Participation</strong></td>
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<td>Involvement in activities or events</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Support</strong></td>
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<td>Reinforcement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Providing resources</td>
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<td><strong>Emotional Support</strong></td>
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<td>Tell them that you love them</td>
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<td>Showing love and affection</td>
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<tr>
<td>Encouragement</td>
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<td>Compliment</td>
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<td><strong>Reciprocity</strong></td>
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<td>Reprimand</td>
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<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Punishment/discipline</td>
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<td>Rules and regulations</td>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Strategies Employed by Fathers’ Parents</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dave</td>
<td>Punishment or discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>Modeling or demonstration&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>Punishment or discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reprimand&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redwood</td>
<td>Punishment or discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryan</td>
<td>Modeling or demonstration&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Teaching or information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Providing Resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involvement in activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>Punishment or discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Monitoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tim</td>
<td>Punishment or discipline&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involvement in activities&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modeling or demonstration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teaching or Information</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Communication</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Monitoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correcting</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Consultation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Encouragement&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compliment&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troy</td>
<td>Power&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Punishment or discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Providing Resources</td>
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</table>

*Table 5*

*Strategies Used by the Fathers’ Caregivers and Fathers Employed to Promote Values*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Strategies Employed by Fathers’ Parents</th>
<th>Strategies Employed by Fathers’</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Similarity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Teaching/Information&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Modeling or demonstration</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Providing resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteman</td>
<td>Monitoring</td>
<td>Teaching or Information</td>
<td></td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modeling or demonstration</td>
<td>Encouragement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correcting</td>
<td>Monitoring</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reinforcement&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Involvement in activities&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involvement in activities&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Communication&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Communication&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Punishment or discipline</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Consultation&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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*Note.* <sup>a</sup> Represents convergence in strategies employed by fathers’ caregivers and the fathers.  
<sup>b</sup> Strategies that were different on a whole between parents and fathers.
UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

RESEARCH ETHICS BOARDS
Certification of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Human Participants

APPROVAL PERIOD: February 10, 2016
EXPIRY DATE: February 10, 2017
REB: G
REB NUMBER: 16JA016
TYPE OF REVIEW: Delegated Type 1
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Chuang, Sue (schuang@uoguelph.ca)
DEPARTMENT: Family Relations & Applied Nutrition
SPONSOR(S): SSHRC Institutional Grants (SIG)
TITLE OF PROJECT: Ethnic Minority Parenting Study

The members of the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board have examined the protocol which describes the participation of the human participants in the above-named research project and considers the procedures, as described by the applicant, to conform to the University's ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2nd Edition.

The REB requires that researchers:
- Adhere to the protocol as last reviewed and approved by the REB.
- Receive approval from the REB for any modifications before they can be implemented.
- Report any change in the source of funding.
- Report unexpected events or incidental findings to the REB as soon as possible with an indication of how these events affect, in the view of the Principal Investigator, the safety of the participants, and the continuation of the protocol.
- Are responsible for ascertaining and complying with all applicable legal and regulatory requirements with respect to consent and the protection of privacy of participants in the jurisdiction of the research project.

The Principal Investigator must:
- Ensure that the ethical guidelines and approvals of facilities or institutions involved in the research are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of any research protocols.
- Submit a Status Report to the REB upon completion of the project. If the research is a multi-year project, a status report must be submitted annually prior to the expiry date. Failure to submit an annual status report will lead to your study being suspended and potentially terminated.

The approval for this protocol terminates on the EXPIRY DATE, or the term of your appointment or employment at the University of Guelph whichever comes first.

Signature: Date: February 10, 2016

L. Kuczynski
Chair, Research Ethics Board-General
Appendix B

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

PROJECT TITLE: Ethnic Parenting

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Dr. Susan Chuang (Associate Professor) and David Green (doctoral student) from the Department of Family Relations and Applied Nutrition at the University of Guelph.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Dr. Susan Chuang: Email: Schuang@uoguelph.ca or 519-824-4120, ext. 58389 or write to: Department of Family Relations and Applied Nutrition, Macdonald Institute, University of Guelph, Guelph, ON N1G 2W1.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Mothers and Fathers: We are conducting a research project on ethnic families in Canada (i.e., Chinese Canadians, and Black Jamaican Canadians), China, and Jamaica. We are examining how parents (or guardians) view their roles and responsibilities in the family, the parenting practices, parent-child relationships (or the lack thereof), and parents’ behaviours with young children (up to 12 years of age). We are also interested in your life course as a parent (whether biological or non-biological) and the influencing factors that have shaped your values and beliefs about parenting. We are also interested in examining parents who have children but are not involved in their children’s lives. We are looking for one or both parents. Your participation will provide greater understanding into the everyday lives of families, with a particular focus on childhood.

All Participants: Involvement in this study is voluntary, so you may choose to participate or not. Also, if there are questions that you do not want to answer, you can decline without any consequences. Please feel free to ask questions about the research and I will be happy to explain anything in greater detail if you wish.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

Part 1: The involvement will include both parents (mothers, fathers or guardians). We will first mail out a packet of questionnaires which will be filled out before the scheduled interview. On the interview day, the trained research assistants will come to your home to conduct individual interviews with both parents. The interviews will be voice recorded to ensure accuracy of your
responses. It is expected that the interview will take about one to two hours. The questions will include your views on parenting roles and practices, and your relationships with your children. For publications, we may use your quotes verbatim with no identifying markers. For example, a Chinese Canadian mother stated, “…”.

*Questionnaires.* The parents will receive a packet of questionnaires where each parent will individually fill out some questionnaires which will take about 20 minutes. The questions will focus on some background information (such as level of education, income, financial issues), parenting practices, and children’s personality traits. For first-generation immigrants, there is an additional questionnaire that will ask about your cultural values, beliefs, and practices.

*Face-to-Face Interview.* The interview will be audiotaped and then transcribed verbatim to ensure accuracy of your responses. This will take approximately one hour to one and a half hours of your time. The questions will include your views on parenting roles and practices, and early schooling. For publications, we may use your quotes verbatim with no identifying markers. For example, a Chinese Canadian mother stated, “…”.

To assist with the information from the interview, we will also ask you to fill out a timeline (at the beginning of the interview with the research assistant) to focus on key aspects of your life (e.g., number of caregivers during your childhood, the birth of your child(ren), major life events (e.g., moving to a country, new employment opportunities). This will be placed on a piece of paper which will then help guide the interview questions.

This study is expected to take up to two hours.

This project is partly funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

**POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**

The risks to you of participating in this study are minimal such as the time spent participating in the study. The questions that you will be asked are minimally intrusive. Also, some questions may cause discomfort (for example we are asking about potential conflicts with your partner/other biological parent). If you no longer wish to continue, you have the right to withdraw from the study, without penalty, at any time.

**POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY**

The benefit of this research is to develop a better understanding of the parenting strategies and styles that parents use today. Little is known about how Canadian parents and parents in China and Jamaica view their parenting roles and their involvement in their children’s lives at a young age.
PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

For the interview and questionnaires, each participant will receive cash of $10 CAD ($1,000 JAM).

CONFIDENTIALITY

All information will be kept confidential and only the research assistants and myself will know your identity. You will be assigned a number which will increase the likelihood of your confidentiality. Confidentiality will be broken if there is a suspicion of unlawful acts such as child abuse. We have the legal obligation to report any information to authorities to protect the health, life, or safety of you or a third party (e.g., your child). All the questionnaires, voice recordings, and interview transcripts will be placed in a locked filing cabinet in a secured locked room. Once the voice recording are transcribed, they will be deleted from the voice recorder and deleted on the encrypted computer (deleting the file and deleting the trash). So, your name will not appear in any publications and no one will know about your specific answers except my research staff and myself. All findings will be reported as a group, and not individually. Data will be kept for five years and then shredded.

There may be a chance that the interviewers and/or the research assistants who will transcribe the interviews may be known to you (acquaintances or friends).

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may exercise the option of removing your data from the study until one month after your participation. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise that warrant doing so.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

This project has been reviewed by the Research Ethics Board for compliance with federal guidelines for research involving human participants.

If you have any questions regarding your rights and welfare as a research participant in this study (REB #16JA016), please contact: Director, Research Ethics; University of Guelph; reb@uoguelph.ca; 519-824-4120 ext. 56606.

You do not waive any legal rights by agreeing to take part in this study.
SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

I have read the information provided for the study *Ethnic Parenting Study* described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s name (please print)</th>
<th>Mother’s name (please print)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am willing to be re-contacted for follow-up participation in 1 – 2 years. ○ Yes ○ No</td>
<td>I am willing to be re-contacted for follow-up participation in 1 – 2 years. ○ Yes ○ No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signature</td>
<td>Signature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I HAVE RECEIVED $10 (CAD) CASH FOR MY PARTICIPATION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s name (please print)</th>
<th>Mother’s name (please print)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signature</td>
<td>Signature</td>
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</table>
Appendix C

Letter to Stakeholders

I'm emailing you to see if it's possible if you could help my doctoral student, David Green, recruit some fathers for his dissertation. I'm hoping that you can also help me (and Michael Coombs) with our study as well.

David is looking for Black fathers between the ages of 25 - 49 with biological children from 6 - 12 years of age. They don't necessarily have to be involved with their children. He will do an interview with them, they would fill out some questionnaires (total time, up to 2 hours). For their time, he will pay $1,000 JMD cash.

For my study, I'm looking for Black fathers and mothers with 2 - 4 year old children (both biological parents living together with child). They will do interviews and fill out some forms. Each person would be paid $1,000 JMD each.
Appendix D

Ethnic Parenting Study

David Green
Susan Chuang
University of Guelph, Canada

In Canada:
We are looking for Chinese-Canadian and Black Jamaican-Canadian mothers AND fathers of young and middle childhood children (up to 12 years of age) to talk about various aspects of parenting and parent-child relationships. You do not have to be living with your child or be involved in his or her life. We are looking for one or both parents. We want to know what YOU think about parenting!!!

In China: We are looking for Chinese mothers AND fathers….
In Jamaica: We are looking for Black Jamaican mothers AND fathers….

Your participation would include an interview and filling out some questionnaires. The time involved would be about one to two hours. Interviews will be conducted in your home. For your participation, there is a cash gift of $1000 (JMD).

We hope that you will join us in this exciting project.

If you are interested, please contact David Green at 876-401-4928 dgreen05@uoguelph.ca or Susan Chuang at: 519-824-4120, ext. 58389/email: schuang@uoguelph.ca

REB #: 16JA016
Appendix E

Background Questionnaire

Below is a series of questions that will assist us in identifying and describing the fathers who are participating in this study. Your responses to the questions are CONFIDENTIAL and will ONLY be used for the purposes of this study. The researcher will assign an identification number to each father and all data will be used according to the identification number. Results will be reported in group form only.

ID: __________ (To be completed by researcher)

Name: ____________________________ Date of Birth: _____Month _____ Year

Child (6-12 years old): Date of Birth: _____Month _____ Year

Full address: __________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

Telephone number: _________________________ Email: __________________________

1. Sex of the child: ☐ Girl  ☐ Boy

2. Marital Status:  ☐ Married  ☐ Common-law  ☐ Single  ☐ Divorced  ☐ Separated

3. How many biological children do you have?  ☐ 1  ☐ 2  ☐ 3  ☐ 4  ☐ 5  ☐ 6  ☐ 7

4. How many children currently live with you?  ☐ 1  ☐ 2  ☐ 3  ☐ 4  ☐ 5  ☐ 6  ☐ 7

5. Are you currently a father/father figure to any non-biological children?  ☐ Yes  ☐ No

5. If yes, to how many children?  ☐ 1  ☐ 2  ☐ 3  ☐ 4  ☐ 5  ☐ 6  ☐ 7

6. How many of these children currently live with you?  ☐ 1  ☐ 2  ☐ 3  ☐ 4  ☐ 5  ☐ 6  ☐ 7

7. Are you religious?  ☐ Yes  ☐ No  Denomination/religion: ________________________

8. If yes, how often do you attend meetings?  ☐ Weekly  ☐ Two times/month  ☐ Monthly
☐ On special occasions
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>City/Parish</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 You</td>
<td></td>
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<td>10 Your mother</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 Your mother’s mother</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 Your mother’s father</td>
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<td>13 Your father</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 Your father’s mother</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15 Your father’s father</td>
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</table>

**Residential Information**

10. What is your current living arrangement? (please check one):

- [ ] 1) Rent apartment/house
- [ ] 2) Own house
- [ ] 3) Lease house
- [ ] 4) Live with family or friends and do not pay rent
- [ ] 5) Live with family or friends and pay some rent
- [ ] 6) Other housing arrangements (Specify): _______________________________

11. Who is the head of your household? ______________________

12. For your current living arrangement, please provide the following information for each person who lives there on a **regular** basis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>Relationship to the child</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Education <em>(Use scale below)</em></th>
<th>If employed, job title</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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</table>

* Educational Scale: 1) Less than 7th grade
2) Secondary 7th, 8th, or 9th grade
3) Secondary 10th, 11th, 12th, or 13th grade
4) Some college (at least 1 year completed); or completed a specialized training
5) College diploma
6) Associate degree
7) College or university degree (BA, BSc, etc.)
8) Graduate professions degree (MA, MSc, Ph.D, MD, JD etc.)

**Educational, Income, and Occupational Information**

13. Please indicate the *HIGHEST* level of education that you completed, using the following Scale (please check one):
   - □ 1) Less than 7th grade
   - □ 2) Secondary 7th, 8th, or 9th grade
   - □ 3) Secondary 10th, 11th, 12th, or 13th grade
   - □ 4) Some college (at least 1 year completed); or completed a specialized training
   - □ 5) College diploma/Associate degree
   - □ 6) College or university degree (BA, BSc, etc.)
   - □ 7) Graduate professions degree (MA, MSc, PhD, MD, JD etc.)

14. Please indicate the average income that you earned each year, using the following scale. This information will **ONLY** be used to describe the fathers as a group (please check one):
   - □ 1 = None
   - □ 2 = Under $268,000
   - □ 3 = $268,000 to $299,999
   - □ 4 = $300,000 to $499,999
   - □ 5 = $500,000 to $699,999
   - □ 6 = $700,000 to $899,999
   - □ 7 = $900,000 to $1,099,999
   - □ 8 = $1,100,000 to $1,299,999
   - □ 9 = Over $1,300,000

15. Please give your employment title and a brief description of the job:
   Title: _________________________________ □ Full time □ Part time
   Number of jobs: □ 1 □ 2 □ 3 □ 4 Number of hours/week: ______
   Description: ______________________________________________________
Appendix F

Interview Protocol

What are fathers’ perspectives on the socialization of their children in middle childhood?

1. What values and principles do you want your (target child) child to hold/have?
2. Why (ask of each the values or principles)?
3. How do you instill/promote X (ask of each value, principle) in your child?
4. How do you promote or encourage X (ask of each attitude or behavior) in your child?

What are the factors that influence how fathers socialize their children?

5. Who were the primary caregivers who raised you when you were growing up?
6. When you were growing up, what values and principles did you grow up with, up to 12 years of age?

Additional Question

7. What are your roles and responsibilities in the family?