

REPORT

ON

THE CONTRIBUTION OF CARIBBEAN MEN TO THE FAMILY

A JAMAICAN PILOT STUDY

by

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**The Caribbean Child Development Centre
School of Continuing Studies, U.W.I.**

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Project Director

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A. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

By the 1980's Caribbean governments and other regional institutions had grown in their understanding of the critical life-shaping forces at work in early childhood. The long-term effects on citizenship-building and thus nation-building of healthy child development practices were increasingly recognized, even if ready resources were not always available to support this recognition.

There was positive growth in numbers and quality of group care programmes for young children throughout the Caribbean from the mid 1970's to mid-80's, organized by government departments and private organizations. But a survey in 1987 (Brown, CCDC) suggested that on average, 85% of Caribbean children age four and under remained in home settings, cared for by parents, siblings and other relatives or guardians.

How best then to support "healthy child development" among home-based caregivers? Surveyed parenting education efforts in the region seem primarily to be directed at women and teenage girls. Sometimes this is defended as appropriate and just, because raising children is traditionally "women's work", and because upwards of 40% of Caribbean households are headed by women; female de facto headship may be even higher. Other defenders simply state that "men are not interested"; "we can't get men to come to parent meetings"; "fathers are just irresponsible".

The stereotypes of the "irresponsible male", the "marginalized man", the "absent father" are commonly touted from platforms and pulpits around the Caribbean; family planning and other parenting public education thrusts often begin with these assumptions--man is guilty as charged, and must be encouraged, cajoled, prodded, threatened or coerced into more responsible behaviour in relation to his children and family(ies). As a Montserratian woman summarized it:

Women do run the households. West Indian men don't like to do any work at all either. A lot of West Indian men like to drink. Those that do work to support their families usually do not make enough to support their drinking habits and their families. So women have to go to work too....Women are used to supporting themselves, so they do it when the men are here and when the men are gone as well. They tell their daughters not to depend on men, but on themselves. They should tell the sons to have responsibilities, but they don't. It is the women who become responsible. (Moses, 1975)

The Caribbean Child Development Centre of the U.W.I.'s School of Continuing Studies was established in 1975 to promote healthy child development in the region through training programmes, research, curriculum and materials development, and policy development. In many regional fora, calls to CCDC and other institutions were increasing for information and materials to assist parent education efforts by regional colleagues.

CCDC was not comfortable, however, addressing this task with only stereotypes about 50% of Caribbean parents. A search for materials on the Caribbean family produced a wealth of literature on the Caribbean woman and mother, fueled not in small part by energies and funds available during the International Decade for Women. But Caribbean studies on men and the family were almost non-existent. CCDC did not feel equipped to responsibly help men and women be and feel more effective as parents if all that was known was how women behaved and felt as parents.

Thus this study. Several CCDC activities preceded and aided the framing and eventual funding of the project. A pilot study among male ghetto dwellers and a discussion group among male police training officers, for example, confirmed the readiness of men to talk about their domestic roles and the meanings children had for them, as well as their willingness to examine possible causes of their own and their partner's behaviours in relation to each other and to children.

A literature search turned up several North American studies of men's attitudes and behaviours in their families, but very few surfaced for the Caribbean with an explicit focus on male

parenting. At the Women and Development Unit (WAND) of the UWI in Barbados in 1985 the reference catalogue had no headings for "men", "father", "fathering", "manhood". The literature which was found (mostly newspaper articles) pointed to the need for further research; some challenged the too-facile stereotypes that have emerged in both developed and developing countries about men's changing roles, seeming to emerge in varying degrees of defensiveness or passivity from the impact of the changing roles of women. UWI Demographer Professor Roberts defines the problem:

One unexplored area, relating to both fertility and family unions in general, centres around the position of the male in the context of household and family. This involves the degree to which men father children and the family unions in which this takes place. Here we face issues such as whether and to what extent they maintain simultaneously sexual associations with more than one woman, the pattern of change of partners as they move through the span of reproduction. Again the questions can be raised whether the assessment made about the status of various types of males is in accord with those that have been revealed by surveys of women. A rich, but different field of enquiry in fact centres around the males in the Caribbean as a whole. (Sinclair 1978)

The CCDC therefore established as its research objective to undertake an in-depth analysis of the attitudes and behaviour of Jamaican men in relation to their mating and family life patterns.

The project was enabled to begin in early 1990 by a grant from the International Development Research Centre of Canada (IDRC). An Advisory Committee to the project was enlisted in January 1990 to help refine the design of the study in line with agreed objectives as well as budgetary constraints.

The overall field work objectives of the project were achieved between start-up of staff activity in May 1990 and December 1991 (20 months); all other tasks, including reporting on the project findings, took an additional year. Appendix 2 provides a Timetable of tasks.

OBJECTIVES

The overall objectives of the research were the following:

- . To provide a socio-historical perspective of the roles men in the Caribbean have played within and on behalf of the family.
- . To survey and describe the current attitudes and behaviours of a cross-section of men in Jamaica.
- . To use a participatory research design which will generate useful and conclusive data to advance our understanding of the genesis and cultural forms of men's attitudes and behaviours in their families, and also generate local analysis and problem-solving at the level of community.
- . To make research findings available in format(s) which will serve not only professional research/teaching interests but also the concerns of public educators, family life workers, gender studies groups, etc.
- . To design, on the basis of the Jamaican experience, investigative format(s) and materials which could be used in other Caribbean countries to survey and describe similarities and differences with the Jamaican study.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

In the sections which follow, this report first examines the limited literature extant on male parenting in the Caribbean, most of which is derived from more general examinations of the Caribbean family from the colonial period to the present. It next describes the dual methodologies of the research--guided participatory discussion groups of men and women, and a questionnaire survey designed to examine the same issues as the discussion groups with a cross-section of rural and urban men. This section will elaborate the issues for investigation around which the two approaches were developed.

After the methodology section, demographic profiles of the four target communities are presented, derived from current data from the most recent census, labour force and electoral district data.

The substantive findings from the research are presented in two sections. Section E. profiles the group discussion participants and presents summaries of the content of their activities and discussions on the major themes of the study. Section F. begins with descriptive profiles of the men interviewed in the four target communities, then presents in narrative and tables the primary findings under the study's major themes. A brief concluding section examines the implications of the findings from both methods of investigation and directs attention to several areas calling for future research.

B. THE LITERATURE ON MALE PARENTING IN THE CARIBBEAN

It would be surprising were there not a paucity of data on male parenting in the Caribbean. Anthropologists, sociologists and demographers over the past fifty years have focused on Caribbean women, both in an attempt to understand the family structure and to wrestle with the problem of rapid population growth. This has not merely been a matter of convenience arising from the natural mother-child unit, but is also due to the peculiar nature of the African family in the Caribbean. For one of its most striking features is the overall dominant position of women, both in relation to the children and in relation to its very structure, and conversely the apparently marginal presence or sometimes complete absence of men. Few other places in the world claim over 30% female-headed households, as exist throughout the Caribbean. Taken together with a similar high frequency of female-headed families among Africans in the United States, it was easy to hypothesise a similarity of causes. What these were became the main burden of the research first of Herskovits and then of Franklin Frazier.

Herskovits' approach to the African-American family was informed by his more general approach to the culture of Africans dispersed throughout the western hemisphere that ran against the prevailing social attitudes towards them. The generally-held views were that Africans were stripped of their culture by European slavery, and therefore the patterns of behaviour, values and beliefs they now manifested were the results either of imitation or habits developed under slavery. In counter to this, Herskovits found in his research among Africans throughout the hemisphere evidence of cultural forms of expression brought from the African continent, which are still part of the existing cultural and social life of these peoples. Thus, many patterns of behaviour among African-Americans were to be explained by various forms of adherence to original patterns: retention,

syncretism with other (particularly European) cultures and reinterpretation of values.

This being his general approach, Herkovits explained the female-centredness of the family by reinterpretation of the African traditions of matrilineality, in which the mother is the pivot around whom social identity is forged, and institutions of polygamy in which the residential unit is that of mother and children with the father visiting; the dominance of the mother is a function of the "absent" father circulating among his wives.

The only English-speaking Caribbean country studied by Herskovits was Trinidad, where he collected ethnographic data in the village of Toco. There, Herskovits wrote, what is important to recognize, is not so much that many fathers do not assume responsibility for their children, but that in this system each child is socialized and prepared for its future place in society. This is done "whether with grandmother, with grandfather, or with mother" (1976:110).

Addressing himself to the African-American family, Frazier disagreed with the Africanist explanation of Herskovits, arguing instead that it was slavery which shaped the traditions of matriarchal dominance in the African-American family, first stripping the Africans of their culture and then exposing them to the naked economic interests of their masters. Under the conditions of slavery the only enduring bond was that which existed between mother and children. Emancipation increased this pattern by introducing unemployment, which forced men to cut themselves loose from family ties in search of work. As in slavery, so in freedom it was the women who became the mainstay of the African-American family. Since marriage was never a norm, men were thus afforded an institutional loop-hole through which to escape their responsibility.

The first to pick up the Frazerian argument in the Caribbean was T.S. Simey (1946), who was swayed by what he considered its forcefulness. "The contemporary looseness of family structure in

the British West Indies requires no further explanation than this", he wrote (Simey 1946:51).

Simey thus drew five conclusions about the role of the male in the family structure. First, as in the case of his African-American cousins, West Indian men in their roles as husbands and fathers were the sociological causes of the looseness of the family structure in the islands. But Simey recognised that women too shared the same attitudes. Thus slavery and economic conditions at Emancipation had in fact shaped the cultural practices of the present.

Secondly, Simey also recognised that where the economic prospects of a peasant are on the brighter side, the situation may be different.

Although it is the woman who keeps the family together, it is the man who rules; if a man establishes himself as a householder, he becomes as a matter of course the possessor of arbitrary authority. ...From the point of view of the children, the mother is dependable; the father is not. The father is feared; the mother is loved (1946:81).

In this case, the man assumes the headship of the household but his primary relationship to his children lies not in affectivity but in authoritarian control.

Third, this authoritarianism is more pronounced the more closely connected such a stable family is with the Church, for it is through Church-sanctioned marriage that social respectability is achieved. Thus, "that close association between father and child" that is the norm in Great Britain and North America is an exception in the West Indies.

Fourth, owing to the social norm of illegitimacy, children grow up without fathers or effective father-substitutes, a circumstance that "cannot but have a most important bearing on the development of personality" (1946:88).

Finally, Simey was constrained to point out, a natural feature of the society is the "deep love for children" shared by both men and women. Men will, as a matter of course "care for

all the children of a woman with whom they may be living, to the best of their ability" (1946:86); settle down in a stable relationship, if his circumstances allow; or send home remittances for the upkeep of his children if he is forced to find work away from them.

In short, persuaded that slavery and its aftermath were critical in giving the African-Caribbean family structure its loose structure, Simey argued that the role played by the husband-father was the greatest evidence of this, but went on to note that where monogamy existed there the structure was patriarchal and the father's relationship to his children an authoritarian one. One positive feature he never bothered to develop was the love for children which was such a deeply entrenched value that men will become father-substitutes to their spouses' children by other men.

Students of the family coming after Simey generally followed this approach. The type of family pattern will determine the type of relationship between father and child. For Fernando Henriques (1953:131), generally speaking

the father ... plays a minor role in the life of the children. In many cases he is entirely absent from the household. When he is present he is not very much concerned with them, though one does occasionally meet a proud father. The children are the concern of the mother, and she in turn relies on her mother for information and instruction. In one case cited by a social worker the father did not even know the names of his twelve children.

Distinguishing four types - the Monogamous, the Faithful Concubinage, the Grandmother or Maternal, and the Keeper families - Henriques observed that the father in a typical monogamous family is the "final authority in all disputes in the home", although as far as day to day household management is concerned the mother is the authority" (1953:111). In the Grandmother or Maternal Family, which is so called "because the grandmother or some female relative, perhaps a sister, usurps the function of the father and at times that of the mother" (1953:113), and which originates when a daughter becomes pregnant while still living at

home, the daughter's father, if he is also living in the house, "will act towards his grandchild as if it were his own child". As for the father of the baby, the girl's family may bring pressure on him for support, but this, observes Henriques, is usually ineffective. In this type of family, as also in the Keeper type, the father is often not known at all.

Of all the early works on the Jamaican family Edith Clarke's My mother who fathered me is the most famous, not least because of its title. Yet in none of the three communities studied by her did the number of households headed by the children's mother alone exceed those in which children lived with both their parents. Indeed, in none did the proportion of households with both parents fall below 50%, and altogether the average percentage of households with a father figure (father or step-father) was over 80%. Yet the idea has persisted, even up to the present time, that the norm is the absent father.

Clarke's main thrust was to link the different types of mating and family composition to economic circumstances. In this respect it is not slavery which is the main determinant but the economic condition surrounding the formation and maintenance of households.

The most well-to-do of the three communities was characterised by a high rate of marriage and pronounced patriarchal relations, while the least well-off was characterised by a low incidence of marriage, higher rate of mother-centredness and low intensity of male involvement in the home.

But at the same time there were regularities that cut across class: children's most intimate relationships were with their mothers, "even in those cases where the father is present and associates himself with the upbringing of the child" (1966:158); conversely, the father is "always more strict, more exacting and infinitely less well-known" (p.159); fathers entertain great hopes for their children, but only among the most well-to-do were these realizable.

With the work of Raymond Smith, the anthropology of the Caribbean family reached an entirely new stage. Adopting the diachronic perspective of Meyer Fortes, Smith established that the various types of family were a function of the family's own cycle of development. The same family or household that is now nuclear will become an extended three-generational, female-headed family, from which a nuclear unit will fission to start a new cycle. Understood from this perspective the family yields the various types of mating. Visiting relationships are the norm in the early years, when couples, particularly the female, are resident in their natal home, common-law in later years when they take up common residence, and married late in life if the economic status of the husband is secure. A man's role within the family therefore changes over time, diminishing in intensity of association as it matures. His authority will derive from his status as husband and father, his main function being that of provider. Naturally, where he is unable to fulfill his role as provider, he is unable to assert himself over his wife and children. If he does not live with his children, he in effect relinquishes his right over them.

From the point of view of its function, Smith's approach yielded an important conclusion also reached by Herskovits about the family, namely that it accomplishes its socialising function. First, he notes that "there is the general social acceptance that every individual has both a mother and a father" (1971:134). As an ideal this means that even if he is not present the father is identified and recognised. The child's contact with him is maintained by visits if he lives in the same village, or by presents from him. It is therefore not normal for a child to be without a father. But, second, children are never without father-substitutes, for every woman will have some semi-permanent liaisons with one or several men. Third, fathers are mainly providers, seldom acting as enforcers of discipline, and, though heads of their households, are "on the fringe of the effective ties which bind the group together" (1971:223). It is the woman

as mother around whom activities in the household are centred. In this respect the family is "matrifocal".

To summarize, from the early research on the African-Caribbean family the following conclusions may be accepted as constants about the parenting role of males. First, mothers-not fathers-are the main socializing agents for both male and female children, regardless of the structure of the family, regardless also of the type of marital union. Fathers or father-figures tend to be marginal in the day-to-day relationships of the household but are not entirely absent. Indeed, most families have a father figure, for many men will play substitute fathers to their spouses' children who are not their own. Third, the main content of the fathering role comprises two functions: final enforcers of discipline and economic providers. Men will play with the children they live with, but this is not an expected role. Fourth, the economic factor being so central to the concept of fatherhood, the status of males as husbands and fathers is ultimately determined by it. The poorer and more materially deprived men are, the greater their marginality and the greater also the role of women. Conversely, where men are better off, they are more active as sources of patriarchal authority over spouse and children.

For the sake of argument, it could be said that while some of these studies emanated from or were consumed by theoretical issues, others were more oriented to social policy. Or, more appropriately, the studies were in large part driven by both concerns. Later research and writing on the Caribbean family have continued in the same vein.

Beginning in the 1950s, even at the time Edith Clarke was still putting together the results of her study, concern with population growth and control was already bringing demographers and other sociologists to study family and mating dynamics in the Caribbean. The first to appear was the work of Judith Blake (1961). Eliciting the views of women through the use of a questionnaire, for the first time in the history of the study of

the family in Jamaica, and drawing on the earlier studies, Blake focused on the "disorganization" and "instability" of the family in Jamaica, which she blamed for early pregnancy and illegitimate childbirth, and, implicitly, for added population pressure. If she did not rush to condemn the male outright, it was because her quantitative data revealed that,

far from being an expendable figure whose frequent absence causes little concern, the father is considered to play a unique and highly important role in child-rearing, a role for which women do not feel suited (1961:73).

This role was to provide the discipline needed to bring up boys, which the women thought themselves incapable of. Thus Blake's statement derives not from observed practice as from what her respondents said should be the ideal.

Where Blake's total sample was based on a mere ninety-four women, that of Stycos and Back (1964) was a sample of over thirteen hundred Jamaican lower class women, randomly selected using the sample frame developed by the Central Bureau of Statistics. Among their findings was the fact that,

even the visiting relationship entails serious responsibilities for the male, and in eight out of ten such relationships, the female reports receiving economic support from her boyfriend. Moreover, fathers evidently feel a responsibility for their children by other women. About half the males aged 40 and over are reported (by their current spouses) to be helping to support outside children (Stycos and Back 1964:85-86).

Clearly, the picture of the Jamaican or for that matter African-Caribbean father as absent and therefore delinquent is a gross over-simplification. One half of them were supporting their children, although, it should be noted, this half was taken from among the older men, suggesting perhaps that among younger men the proportion might be lower.

While this finding by Stycos and Back is based on valid sampling procedures and therefore of general validity, the same cannot be said of Brody (1981), whose fieldwork was carried out on 150 women and 283 men, both drawn from family planning clinics

in 1972. Therefore, we cannot generalize from his findings that "in keeping with their low ambitions" women from "broken homes" "tended to have had more visiting mates according to age and impregnators per pregnancy than women benefitting from direct parental guidance", that they lacked poise, affectivity and interpersonal competence, and were more tolerant of male irresponsibility (Brody 1981:132). This is so, notwithstanding the author's statistical sophistication. Indeed, one may object to many of his assumptions. Thus, when he reports that more than a third of the first children of his male respondents did not live with them and that "this proportion diminishes sharply with successive children" (1981:176) --the obvious converse being that a near two-thirds majority of first children live with their fathers or their fathers' mates--we have no way of knowing how characteristic this is of the general population.

Roberts and Sinclair (1978) also used a small sample, but this was to provide "information of an attitudinal and qualitative nature" in order to "explore further many issues relating to reproduction and mating in the society" (Roberts and Sinclair 1978:xv). This type of qualitative data would help better to interpret quantitatively derived material which is already "sufficient to give a satisfactory picture of mating habits in the island" of Jamaica (1978:21).

The better to appreciate his enormous contribution to studies of mating behaviour in the Caribbean, it should be pointed out that while other scholars had concluded that the Caribbean family structure was essentially pathological, Professor George Roberts, calmly poring over Jamaica's 1943 census returns, was the first to advance the thesis that an illegitimacy rate reaching up to 70 percent could only be pointing to the existence of family forms "sui generis" (Roberts 1955:199). Dispensing with the value-loaded descriptions of family and mating types, he substituted the designation "visiting" to describe the initial type of union between spouses,

and gave statistical validity to the conclusions reached by R. T. Smith.

Examining statistical data available since 1878, Roberts contended that the family forms, defined on the basis of the mating type, had not changed since slavery, even though economic conditions have changed and demographic movements have taken place. He therefore gives credence to the position of those who argue that the family forms are culturally determined, as people first enter visiting arrangements and thereafter tend to move through common-law unions to marriage late in their reproductive life.

Since co-residential unions by definition involve the male, Roberts and Sinclair in their 1978 study of 626 women took the opportunity to examine the content of visiting relationships. Estimating the total amount of time the members of a visiting family spend together (43 percent of their sample were in visiting unions), the authors found that "the average time that the father spends with the children under all forms of contact is 14.5 hours per week" (1978:58), out of a weekly average total of 22.8 hours. Most of these contacts take the form of visits to the home of the mother, but in a substantial proportion of cases (26 percent) contact with the children takes place when they visit him in his own home. That the "absent" father is not entirely absent is further supported.

Two other studies inspired by fertility and family planning concerns were those by Chevannes (1986) and the one by Dann (1987). The Chevannes study, conducted for the Jamaica National Family Planning Board, was based on a national random sample of men, but with a smaller number than that of Stycos and Back. There were two pertinent findings. The first was the domestic marginality in the definition of what men ought and ought not to do within the household. Given five recurrent activities in domestic life, namely cooking, washing, tidying the house, tidying children and shopping, only 30 percent reported that they cooked regularly, "regularly" being defined as no less than two

to three times per week. This represented the highest frequency of responses to any activity. The least popular was tidying children. The second finding had to do with the men's definition of a good father. There was total unanimity that being a good father meant providing economic support for one's children and seeing to their moral upbringing.

Dann's study, conducted in Barbados for the International Planned Parenthood Federation (Western Hemisphere), and based on a random sample of 185 men drawn from the electoral list, found that "men viewed themselves in the roles of breadwinner and instructor of male children" (Dann 1987:57).

To summarize, two conclusions may be drawn from studies on the family with a policy orientation. One is the more positive picture they paint of the position of the male as father, focusing on the worst case, that of the man who does not live with his children. The other is the reaffirmation of the father's responsibility for the economic well-being and moral upbringing of his children, the two terms of reference of fatherhood, so to speak.

Turning to those approaches which were more theoretical means reverting to anthropological studies carried out at community level but over extended periods of time. From his study of Enterprise Hall in Barbados, Greenfield (1966:102) found that apart from "providing a dwelling and financial support for his wife and children", a man's other responsibilities towards his children entail maintaining discipline and providing for their education.

The paternal duty generally is restricted to seeing that money is available for clothing, books, lunches, bus fare and school fees if the child has the opportunity to attend secondary school (1966:104-5).

On his son's graduation, a father's obligation continues to arranging for him to learn a trade. He extends support to his daughter, however, for as long as she remains a member of his household.

The role of the African-Caribbean father is captured by Hyman Rodman (1971) in his study of "Coconut Village" in Trinidad, and that is "to mind the child". To mind is to "provide the money needed to bring up the child-money for food, clothing, school, etc." (Rodman 1971:76).

This duty of *mind*ing the children falls upon the father regardless of where he is living or what marital relationship he is in. An *outside child* counts as much as a child born within a *living* or married relationship and is ideally expected to receive the same amount of support. In actual fact, however, where the father is living away from the mother and child, he usually provides financial assistance in a very irregular fashion, and contributes only a portion of what is needed to support the child (1971:76).

Here, as Rodman shows, separation from his children is linked to the father's diminished support. But it is clear that he is referring to permanent separation and not the kind associated with visiting unions.

While the role of father is to mind his children, the role of mother is to care for, that is to nurture and extend affection to them. "The core of the father's role is to support the child financially and not to be close to him emotionally" (Rodman 1971:88).

Our final selection is from Peter Wilson's study of the island of Providencia, where the author parallels the findings of Rodman and others. A father is expected not only to contribute to the economic well-being of his children but also to ensure that his sons receive a house spot. As for his relationship to them, he retains a certain detachment, seeing them mainly as assets in his claim for reputation.

Though children always take the father's title, fathers have comparatively less intimate relations with their children, but rather relate to them as objects contributing to their pride. The father frequently shows off his children, and he indulges them rather more than he disciplines them. True, a mother may threaten a child that 'when you pappy come back he gwan' flog you'; but this 'bogeyman' role indicates the detachment of the father (Wilson 1973:126-27).

Wilson, too, finds that the intensity of this father-child relationship fades with separation, but adverts to:

a number of instances in which a man, upon learning of the unhappiness of his child in his mother's household (usually with a stepfather), made arrangements to look after the child. Fathers try to contribute to the upbringing and education of their children, particularly sons, even if they have severed all relationship with the mother (1973:197).

If we may summarize, the best description of the role of the African-Caribbean father is, in Rodman's words, "to mind" his children. Dorian Powell (1985) in the UWI's Women in the Caribbean Project carried out in Antigua, St Vincent and Barbados also corroborated this. This sex-role differentiation takes on meaning when it is further understood that by cultural definition the man's is the public sphere of life, the woman's the domestic. Hence, his detachment from the home, or as earlier anthropologists put it, his marginality.

In truth, much may be grasped about the nature of father by appreciating the nature of God, who among all the African-Caribbean peoples is acknowledged as the creator and sustainer of life but who is distant and removed from the day to day operations of the world, which are entrusted to the lesser but still powerful spirits. Though omnipresent, God is invisible. This analogue may be extended only so far, for man, unlike God, is subject to externally derived forces, of which the economic is by far the most important, since more than any other it is primarily through the economic that his acquisition of status is measured. The lower his achievement in this arena, the less his authority in the public eye, the less also his ability to exercise authority over the domestic sphere.

By way of final conclusion of this brief survey, we thought to present the various portrayals of fatherhood in the autobiographical sketches of fifteen Jamaican women, all but two of them from the lower class. Of significance is the fact that these life histories of women from the SISTREN Theatre Collective were compiled in order to "illustrate ways in which women can

move from the apparent powerlessness of exploitation to the creative power of rebel consciousness" (Ford-Smith 1986:xiii), since the picture that emerges is not entirely negative.

The sketches support several of the themes reiterated throughout this section. First is the role of fathers in rescuing their outside children from desperate situations. We find two instances of this. In the first excerpt, the father took his daughter to live with him because of her mother's inability to maintain her. Cammy spoke favourably of her father, accepting his own version of why he had stopped his support.

One day, me faada bring two lickle dresses fi me. His girlfriend sew it fi me wid her hand. Me grand-aunt tek dem and fling dem down. 'Yu fi bring money!' she say. ...Me faada get vex and him stop look after me.

When ah was four Papa come to di yard and talk to Mama and Icilda. Mama decide to give me up. Me member di day me stepmadda and me faada come fi me. ...All me can remember is dat me mada say, 'Is not yuh ah giving Cammy to. Is yu girlfriend. Yuh cyaan tek care a galpickney' (Ford-Smith 1986:62).

According to Cammy, her mother wanted to be free to dispose of the money as she saw fit, to use it to buy and sell, rather than spend it directly on Cammy. Here we see one reason why a father stopped supporting his child. The principle here is that child-support must be used solely and specifically for the upkeep of the particular child and not of any other of his or her half-siblings, or for any other purpose. In accepting her father's explanation, Cammy implicitly agreed with it.

Also evident in the excerpt is the notion that males cannot adequately parent female children. This is why her mother made it clear that she was giving up her daughter not to her father but to her father's spouse.

In the second excerpt, Doreen tells of being rescued not from straitened circumstances but from poor mothering:

Me faada tell me seh me madda was a bad woman. When me lickle she used to go a bar and drink, and lef me deh a bawl. A disadvantage mek him tek me from her and give me to

me stepmadda. She send me to her madda in Benbow at St. Catherine. Her name was Ruth but me call her Granny (Ford`Smith 1986:97).

In a reversal of roles, Granny was the one who was very strict but protective, while it was Doreen's grandfather who,

sing wid me, dance wid me and treat me like me and him is friend. If him a tink bout anyting, him always ask, 'Gal, what yuh haffi say bout dat?' him tell Ananse story and whole heap a odder story. Him even mek a lickie swing under di house bottom fi me (Ford Smith 1986:98).

Grandfather was the one who in this case played the caring role, though he did mind her by cultivating the land, while Granny pursued her occupation as a higgler. In yet another sketch, it was Papa T who balanced the sternness of a godmother with his own gentleness and quiet (Ford Smith 1986:113).

A second theme is the concept that every child has a father, as Raymond Smith pointed out:

My father was Luke Kennedy, so I was really Prudence Kennedy, but my mother didn't live with my father. So when she died I took Goddy's name. He never used to take care of me. Around three times dem show me, 'See yuh father passing deh!' Him never come to look for me but as he passed dem say, 'See yuh father deh!' We never talk. Nothing like, 'Come here, gal. I am your father.' Nothing like that. No relationship (Ford-Smith 1986:111).

Prudence's actual father was Papa T, whose name she actually had. Still, it was important that she should know who her real, that is her natural father was, even though there was no relationship between them. The biological relationship is a permanent and immutable one. Didi's mother, frustrated and humiliated by her husband's philandering, fled with her children to her parental home in Montego Bay. There she went to work, for "Papa no sen no money (not even a one cent) fi mind we" (Ford-Smith 1986:202). Nonetheless, after Didi became big and ran away to Kingston it was to her father, of whom she had this to say:

When me did just go deh, Papa gimme money mek me get fi buy weh me want. Him never turn him back pon me. Him give me all weh him can give me. And we reason good (Ford-Smith 1986:206, emphasis added).

Despite not being a good father, even by folk standards, it was the immutable biological relationship which made him assume responsibility for introducing his daughter to Kingston and actually providing for her for a while. "Him never turn him back pon me", said Didi, implying that had he, she would have seen it as in character.

The third theme is the role definition of fatherhood as providing. Ava understood why it was she could not continue her education beyond primary school:

I never knew what I wanted to do, but I wanted to see some progress in my life. My father said he couldn't afford to support me anymore. 'Di five pound a week me a get from Motor Sales cyaan stretch fi feed all a oonoo. Fi yuh fi go back a school yuh will haffi pay yuh own way.' That means I have to go and find work (Ford-Smith 1986:263).

This duty of fathers is acknowledged even in those other sketches where they fail to provide.

So far these sketches of the lives of members of the Sistren Theatre Collective highlight the role of fathers in their families of orientation. This literature review may be concluded by recounting the interpersonal dynamics between Ava and her common-law husband, and father of her two children.

In 1968 right after graduation from primary school, Ava became intimate with Bertie, a postman. By 1969 they already had a visiting relationship when she became pregnant and gave birth to Julie. By 1970 she was already forced to work, for "Me have di responsibility fi Julie. Bertie only help me lickle bit" (Ford-Smith 1986:264). That same year Bertie began to assert himself by beating her. She became pregnant again in 1971 and in January of 1972 gave birth to her second daughter, Suzette.

From a visiting relationship of some seven years old, their union grew into a common-law one when Bertie moved out of his mother's house and invited her to live with him. That was in 1975. But it was at that stage that things began to change. Bertie was an incorrigible gambler, so in order to be sure to get

money to run the house Ava used to intercept him at his gambling den.

Me go up deh go stand up and long out me mouth. If me no long out me mouth, me tell him friend dem me deh bout and him fi come to me. Lickle later hear him, 'Weh yuh a come up yah fah? Yuh cyaan wait till me come home?' All dem something deh. Him no like embarrassment, yet him never act like him a father (Ford-Smith 1986:269, emphasis added).

On top of this he began sleeping out with a domestic worker in a middle-class residential part of the city, so that between his gambling and this outside woman, she was unable to care for the children.

The following year they moved residence, but unable to pay his rent due to the gambling, which got worse instead of better, she decided to leave him and go live in quarters leased by her mother. Yet again she tried holding him to his responsibility to mind his children, but without success. In desperation she took him to the Family Court in 1977, but he talked her into dropping the case, by leading her into believing that if the children's names were to appear in court they would be denied the chance of going to America.

They resumed a visiting relationship. In 1978 Ava joined up with a group of women and formed Sistren, of which Bertie began to show jealousy. In 1979, once Bertie told her about a new woman, "me start walk fi me dividends again" (1986:273), knowing that between this woman and his gambling the children would be deprived of support. By 1980 support was "now and then".

A turning point came in 1981. The fame of Sistren now well established at home and abroad, Bertie's attitude changed from one of providing financial support for the children to that of preying on Ava. For refusing to lend him money that was really Sistren's, he beat her up cruelly. Their consciousness and sense of organizational strength heightened, Sistren supported Ava in having him arrested. Bertie's family was outraged. She had to lock herself in from his father and later from Bertie's nephew. Although a complaint was lodged against him, the police failed to

make out a case against him. A lawyer dissuaded her from pursuing the matter, "since Bertie is my children's father and I would still need maintenance from him" (1986:281).

The story concludes in November 1984 with the comment:

Bertie is living in America now. He sends things for the children more regularly and we hear from him often (1986:281, textual emphasis added).

In November 1984 Julie was about 13 years old approaching 14. What would they remember about Bertie, that he was a good father or a bad one? Would his new sense of responsibility cancel out his earlier delinquency? And from Bertie's perspective, would he attempt to balance the scale through more effective fathering with subsequent children? These are some of the issues which this study sought to explore.

C. METHODOLOGY

1. Quantitative and Qualitative Measures

From the outset it was envisaged that this study would combine quantitative measures of men's attitudes and behaviours as assessed by a questionnaire, with qualitative measures derived in participatory investigative discussions. Participatory research methods derive primarily from the experiences of sociologists, ethnographers and anthropologists who as participant-observers obtain in-depth materials over time. Participatory researchers are also committed to the personal involvement of studied communities in data collection and analysis, producing a data base that is then felt to be owned by those being studied.

This two-pronged investigative approach was selected for several reasons:

- a) The Project Director, with previous experience with participatory research and its promotion in the Caribbean, proposed to test whether this methodology of data collection would produce comparable information that was as valid and reliable as that obtained by the more traditional survey method.
- b) The participatory group discussions offered opportunities not available from the survey experience, and served to:
 - (1) assess the interest of men and women from several community settings in the general topic of men and family life;
 - (2) assess their potential responsiveness to such approaches used as parenting education efforts;
 - (3) test the perceptions of women about men's family roles, and to measure the impact of women's participation in discussions on men's participation, reliability of information, comfort, defensiveness, etc., and
 - (4) provide the known benefits of interactivity and mutual support, and of group reflection and analysis, to both male and female participants.
- c) The questionnaires offered opportunities to probe for more detailed, sensitive and confidential information from participants than afforded by the group discussions; this

approach also provided a check against the possibility that peer pressure in the groups could influence contributions of participants.

- d) The combination of the two approaches provided the opportunity to broaden the public access to the findings by compiling both a summary report and a group discussion manual for communities to use in order to replicate some or all of the research experience in their own settings.

The manual as well as a videotaped report will be the primary means of returning the collected data and reflections back to the participant and other communities, a commitment undertaken at the outset of the study. The Project Advisory team shared a commitment to the belief that researchers bear a special responsibility when extracting data (and their livelihood) from target communities. This entails giving back data to those communities in some understandable format that can broaden community members' analysis of their local and/or personal situations.

The Advisors were immeasurably helpful in honing the original design into a manageable--and affordable--project that would satisfy basic research design criteria for both methodological approaches as well as provide directions for possible replicability elsewhere in the Caribbean and for further research. They also assisted in making modifications to the original design necessitated by personnel changes and skill-availability, and improved reliability and manageability.

2. Selection of Communities

Four communities were originally selected to represent four different "slices" of lower-to lower-middle class communities:

- a) WOODSIDE, ST. MARY: A small deep`rural, declining agricultural area, a 2 hour drive from Kingson, with a population of approximately 900 persons.
- b) MAVIS BANK, ST. ANDREW: A rural, relatively stable agricultural community closer to and interacting more with urban Kingston than Woodside; it's population is approximately 2800.

- c) PORTMORE, ST. CATHERINE: A large, dense, fast-growing "dormitory" area adjacent to urban Kingston with a high percentage of blue collar workers.
- d) BARBICAN, ST. ANDREW: An urban ghetto-to-upper-middle-class mixed community; chosen initially for an urban ghetto sample as well as its potential for a proposed middle-class sample.

After completion of the questionnaires in Woodside and Mavis Bank, the Advisory Committee expressed concern about possible contamination of data by the sharing of experiences between interviewees and discussion group participants in the more congested urban and suburban areas. The persons selected for each of the two different methods of investigation should be allowed the opportunity to overlap or influence in any way the experience of the other method.

It was therefore agreed that two communities within Portmore would be used in order to separate the questionnaire sample (BRAETON) from the discussion group catchment (WATERFORD). These two areas were deemed to contain comparable blue-collar, lower-middle-class populations.

The Barbican area of Kingston was rejected because the area was not large enough to sufficiently separate the catchments for the two investigative approaches. The adjoining communities of SEIVWRIGHT GARDENS and WATERHOUSE in Western Kingston were therefore substituted for the questionnaires and discussions respectively. These communities are considered low-income urban ghetto areas, densely populated with high levels of unemployment and under-employment.

Braeton and Seivwright communities were chosen for the survey because they were large enough areas to ensure a relatively homogeneous interview sampling of lower-middle (BRAETON) and lower-income (SEIVWRIGHT) populations. It was felt that too wide a slice across socio-economic groups in any one sample might provide some difficulties in interpreting results by potentially masking some SES differences within averages.

Unfortunately neither time nor budget allowed for a separate middle-class sample of interviews for purposes of comparison.

It was decided that the target group for interviews would be men between the ages of 19 and 59 who had at least one child. Men older than 59 were excluded on the assumption that time may have faded or coloured memories of their children's earliest years. The discussion groups would seek to incorporate equal numbers of men and women who were parents, or who regularly cared for children, and who represented a range of ages.

Sample selection in each community was accomplished by a quota sampling system. The four areas were at first mapped. In Woodside, the smallest community it was necessary to interview almost all men in the selected catchment area. For the other three communities, interviewers were assigned selected mapped streets distributed evenly within the target community, and they interviewed an assigned number of men in that area who met sample qualifications.

3. Development of the Questionnaire

At its initial meeting the Project Advisory Committee confirmed the following working outline of topics which they agreed should be covered in an investigation of this type:

- A. What men believe and what they do in relation to:
 - 1. Their families of origin (father, mother, sibs, etc.)
 - . financially
 - . socially
 - . emotionally
 - 2. Their families of procreation, with wives, baby mothers
 - . if more than one, why?
 - . quality of relationships with partners, children, others
 - . time spent doing what within the family:
 - . domestic chores
 - . nurturing duties
 - . recreation

- . aspirations for self, partner, children
 - . gender differentiations if any, for what purposes
 - . financial contribution, roles
3. Their peers, regarding their family relationships, e.g. is macho image maintained while actual behaviours differ? Do peers influence relationships with family?
 4. Fathering children, the meaning of getting, having children, maintaining children, etc.
 5. Perceptions of changing family roles
- B. What do men think are factors which shaped them into what they are today, positively and negatively?
 - C. How is each man seen by others in their family roles
 - . by partners, by children
 - . by peers, others in community
 - D. What existing literature on men and women can inform this study?
 - E. How can this study inform/msh with women's studies, e.g. issues of domestic violence, changing family roles, etc.

It was decided that the questionnaire should not be developed from this outline alone but should incorporate initial findings from the first discussion series in Woodside. The survey consultant met with the two group facilitators several times mid-way through the eight weeks in Woodside to ensure that the issues being raised and discussed in the group were covered in the questionnaire, and that language used was consistent and appropriate. Although this process could not guarantee that other issues would not be raised in subsequent series in different communities, it at least ensured more general congruence than might have been the case if the questionnaire was designed only from afar.

4. Pre-Test Interviews

The questionnaire was pretested with a sample of 42 men in LAWRENCE TAVERN, a rural community in St. Andrew, similar in many respects to Mavis Bank. Project staff recruited an initial set of eight interviewers who were trained in the administration of the pretest by a project consultant. This group of five men and three women found no appreciable differences during the pretest between responsiveness to male or female interviewers. Several small adjustments were made in the questionnaire as a result of the pretest before beginning interviews in Woodside. Although the questionnaire took an average 35-45 minutes to administer, the interviewers rarely found compliance a problem. (The final questionnaire is Appendix 1.)

5. Developing the Discussion Series

As with the questionnaire design, the Woodside discussions became the tested pilot series for subsequent modifications and elaborations. Outlines for a series of eight weekly discussions with mixed groups of men and women were developed in consultation with Groundwork Theatre Company (GTC), a professional drama-in-education team who have for years entered communities and facilitated issue discussions using a range of participatory techniques. The general session topics designed for the Woodside series were:

1. Families of origin
2. Families of procreation
3. Influence of peer relationships on men's family roles
4. Meanings children have for men and for women
5. Factors which shape men into who they are
6. Perceptions of changing family roles
7. Sexual relations in and outside the family
8. Balance of power between the sexes

Some of these topics were discussed with men and women together; for other topics the group was divided into gender groups for most of the discussion and activity time, then reunited for sharing and summations. Although the Woodside

discussants generally followed the above outline of topics, lively wide-ranging discussion often meant that these and related themes appeared and reappeared throughout the series.

This pattern was similar in subsequent communities where the order of topics was sometimes varied, but the same themes were explored and reiterated as in the original outline. Although one community's group might weigh one aspect of a topic differently than another group, there were no new topics raised by any community that did not fall under one of the eight session headings.

A number of participatory techniques were used to evoke discussions - songs, warm-up and ring games, role plays, evocative video drama, drawings, etc. Although meetings subsequent to the Woodside series did not always use the exact same activities to initiate the same discussion content, each activity was designed to ensure wide-ranging and genuine contributions on the same topics in each community.

6. Community Entry and Recruitment of Discussion Groups

The entry activities into each community were designed to first attract general community interest and stimulate discussion around the topic of "man and the family", and then enlist a group of no more than 15 men and 15 women willing to participate in a weekly series of eight discussions. With minor variations (See Findings Section E.1) this design obtained in Woodside, Mavis Bank and Waterhouse communities, and discussions were held on the full range of suggested topics. In Waterford, nearly eight weeks were spent attempting entry; a full series was not completed in this community owing to lack of response to several recruitment approaches and considerable staff effort.

7. The Facilitation Team

It was decided at the outset that the two implementing field staff should be male and female, and should together embody group

facilitation/animation skills and experience, some familiarity with research methods, and writing/documentation skills. These criteria were met and maintained throughout the project, despite several changes in personnel. These changes caused some readjustments in the timetable but did not jeopardize the project's intent or design. The timetable of all field tasks is outlined in Appendix 2.

Continuity in leadership was maintained for each community, and flexibility in roles on the part of some team members greatly aided this continuity. For example, one original team member was at different times a group facilitator, the primary documenter, a group recruiter, and the supervisor of interviewing teams. The team was aided from July 1990 to completion by the part-time assistance of a volunteer worker who assumed some organizational and documentation tasks in support of the field team. When the team lost the second male facilitator, the head of GTC (a Project Advisor) demonstrated his commitment to meeting project objectives and timetable by taking on the tasks of male facilitator for the last two community series, despite a very heavy work load.

8. Data Retrieval

1. Questionnaires:

The 110 items on the questionnaire contained a mix of quantifiable responses and open-ended responses. The data processing services of a UWI-based consultant were contracted to code and process both types of data and provide tables based on the primary target themes.

2. Discussion Groups:

Four types of documentation were used for all discussion series:

- a) All sessions were audiotaped, requiring two tape-recorders for all sessions which split into gender groups.

- b) Significant discussion points of the tapes of sessions were summarized and typed.
- c) Observer notes were taken during each session and content analysis and evaluation by the team were undertaken after each session from the second series onward. Evaluation of the Woodside series happened more informally.
- d) Newsprint recording by one facilitator during discussion of key points was used as a summarizing/reinforcing tool and as a recording aid.

D. PROFILES OF THE TARGET COMMUNITIES

The six communities which were included in this project were Mavis Bank in east rural St Andrew, Waterhouse and Seivright Gardens in western and west central St. Andrew respectively, Braeton and Waterford in south eastern St. Catherine, and Woodside in east central St Mary.

Background data on the social, economic and demographic characteristics of these communities were collected by a number of methods. Demographic data were obtained from the latest published census (1982) and occupational structure of the communities was gleaned from the 1991 electoral register. Qualitative information was collected through visits to the communities and informal conversations with their residents. The communities were all part of political constituencies, the broadest spatial category on the basis of which the Electoral Division collects information on voters. Within these constituencies it was possible to identify the communities of interest. In the analysis of the census data, the enumeration districts which comprised the communities were identified through the use of maps.

Although the census data may appear to be dated, more recent estimates of the age structure of the population based on the national Labour Force Survey of 1991 suggest that the age structure of the country has not changed in any fundamental way between 1982 and the present.

1. Seivright Gardens - Waterhouse

These two urban working class communities are located in southern and west central St. Andrew. They are prime examples of impoverished urban inner city areas, displaying most of the qualities associated with such districts. For example, discussions with members of the communities and perusal of the occupational data, indicate that high levels of crime and unemployment are notable features of both of these communities. On the other hand, experience with community groups from the area

his demonstrated the positive factors of strong cohesiveness and social support. These are characteristic of those informal relations which are built around common residence in an area, informed by the experiences of material and social deprivation.

Seivright Gardens is the smaller of the two communities. It has pockets of extreme poverty, with several houses being in a state of advanced disrepair. In contrast, most of the houses in Waterhouse are concrete structures and are in fairly good condition. This latter community displays a vibrancy and level of activity which is not evident in Seivright Gardens, adding to the impression that it is the 'better off', economically, of the two. The condition of the roads is poor in both areas, but again Seivright Gardens suffers by comparison to Waterhouse. The demographic and occupational structures of both communities are shown below.

There are a number of features worthy of note about the occupational and demographic structures of these two communities. First is the high proportion of the employed labour force which is either blue collar or artisan, 75 percent and 77 percent respectively. Secondly, large proportions of the working-age population described themselves as unemployed in the information which they gave to the Electoral Commission. These accounted for 18.0 percent of the adult population in Seivright Gardens and 24.0 percent in Waterhouse.

The large numbers of unemployed persons represent a serious problem for these communities, since National data from the merged LFS/SLC* data sets indicate that some 86 percent of the labour force unemployed have received no training to fit them for the job market. Furthermore, 57 percent of the unemployed are young persons between the ages of 14-24, with just over 50 percent having received less than 7 years of primary schooling.

Demographically, the outstanding features are the high child/woman ratios in both communities, the excess of females in the populations and the youthfulness of the populations. The child/woman ratio is a crude measure of fertility based on the ratio of children aged 0-4 and women in the reproductive age

* Labour Force Statistics/Survey of Living Conditions

Table D1:

**AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF SEIVRIGHT GARDENS
AND WATERHOUSE IN 1982**

Age Group	SEIVRIGHT GARDENS		WATERHOUSE	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	274	241	784	801
5-9	239	210	761	783
10-14	184	191	756	819
15-19	202	194	760	827
20-24	174	177	640	744
25-29	143	162	421	468
30-34	97	85	243	317
35-39	74	78	209	273
40-44	56	55	176	218
45-49	44	53	153	218
50-54	56	66	184	218
55-59	59	51	152	161
60-64	27	37	119	162
65-69	32	70	99	117
70-74	19	23	77	105
75-79	13	21	49	55
80-84	5	6	22	51
85+	1	9	10	17
Total	1699	1729	5615	6354

Fig. 1 Age and Sex Distribution of Seivright Gardens and Waterhouse

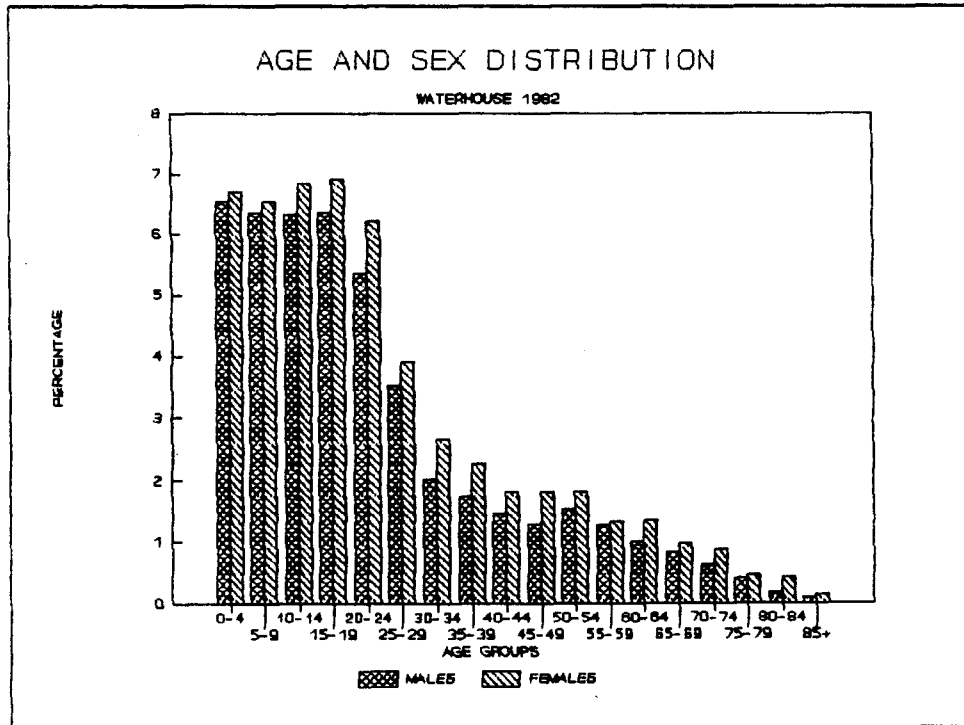
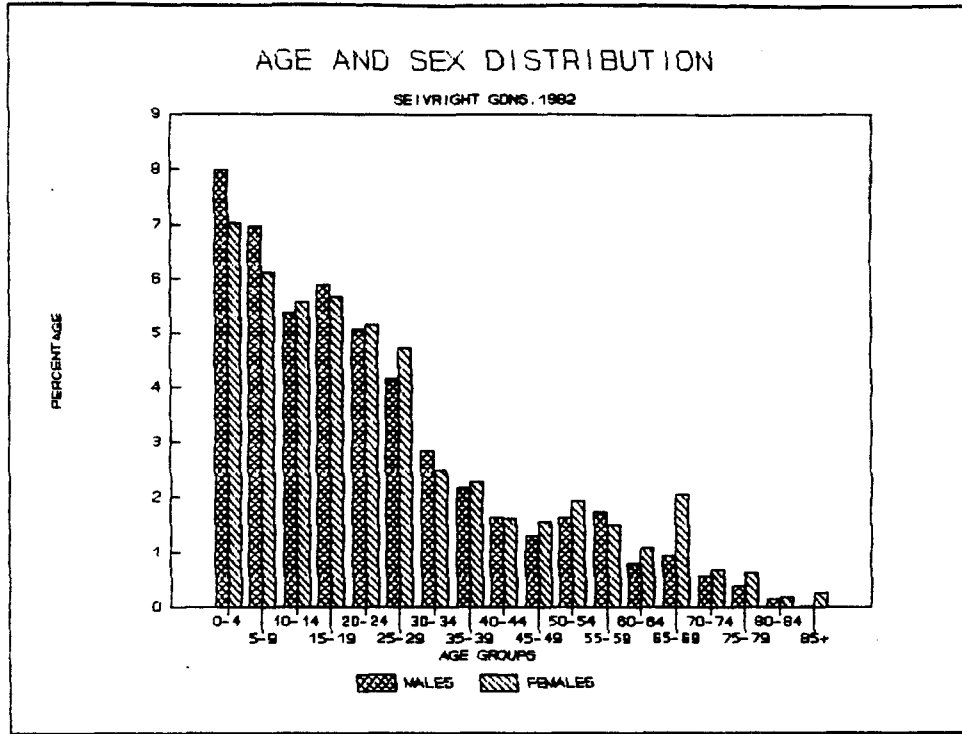


Table D2

**Occupational Distribution of the Employed Population in Seivright Garden
and Waterhouse**

Main Occupational Group	Seivright Garden	Waterhouse
White-Collar	12.8%	11.1%
Self Employed	11.2	8.5
Artisans	40.1	46.2
Blue Collar Workers	35.3	30.8
Farmer/Agricultural Worker	0.6	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Estimates based on Records of the Electoral Commission of Jamaica, 1989.

Table D3

**DEMOGRAPHIC MEASURES OF SEIVRIGHT GARDENS
AND WATERHOUSE:**

Seivright Gardens

Sex Ratio (Ratio of males to females) = 98.30
 Child/Woman Ratio = 0.69
 Proportion of pop. of working age = 40.00

Waterhouse

Sex Ratio (Ratio of males to females) = 88.30
 Child/Woman Ratio = 0.52
 Proportion of pop. of working age = 54.70

groups 15-44. While it is affected by under reporting of young children in the census and infant mortality records, the measure is generally regarded by demographers to be reflective of fertility levels. The excess of females perhaps indicates their preponderance in the rural to urban migration stream. The youthfulness of the populations (61 and 64 percent respectively below the age of 25 years) in these communities is in keeping with the national pattern.

2. Braeton-Waterford

Braeton and Waterford are a part of the larger network of housing developments in the parish of southern St Catherine. These are satellite communities of the Kingston Metropolitan Region which were built during the 1970s and 1980s to cater to the housing needs of an expanding population. This population represented a combination of inflows of persons from rural Jamaica in search of improvements in their life chances and long-time Metropolitan Kingston dwellers. The two communities, while sharing this commonality of origins, exhibit marked variations in a number of their characteristics. Waterford is one huge housing estate, whereas Braeton is divided into a number of estates, phases 1, 2, and 3. Phase 1 is separated physically from phases 2 and 3. Both communities are traversed by driving roads and footpaths, yet the building styles and the land space on which each individual housing unit is constructed give rise to different forms of association amongst the residents.

The houses in Waterford are smaller and have less land space than those of Braeton. Whereas the Waterford houses are semi-detached with almost no outside space, those of Braeton are detached with some amount of 'yard' space.

The result of this is that in Waterford the inhabitants spend a great deal more of their time in the streets and pathways than is the case in Braeton. Perhaps for this reason one gets the impression of Waterford being a much more populous community than Braeton.

Braeton and Waterford are dormitory type communities, which means that the inhabitants conduct most of their economic activities outside of their respective communities. The bulk of this activity is captured by the occupational categories of artisan and blue collar. The individual occupations which fall under these headings are defined by levels of technical skill which vary quite widely. Both communities have significant proportions of white collar workers, in occupations requiring relatively high degrees of literacy and numeracy and with little in strenuous physical activity. Traditionally these occupations have held a higher place on the prestige scale, but with the changes in macroeconomic structure associated with structural adjustment policies there have been fundamental alterations in the reward system of the society which has affected this hierarchy. In sociological terms, therefore, the two communities give expression to the state of transition of the traditional value system associated with the order of the classes which emerged in the post-World War II era in Jamaica.

Both housing estates are comprised of two bedroom units; however, a sizeable proportion of the Braeton residents have made additions to their dwellings. Although Waterford residents have also modified their dwellings, they suffer greater constraints in this regard due to the fact of less available landspace. The people of Waterford have, however, capitalized on the dormitory character of their community to a much greater extent than those of Braeton in the establishment of shops and grocery stores. In this regard Waterford can be described as being fairly well commercialized.

In both of these communities, smaller proportions of adults reported themselves as unemployed when compared with the first two. The working class character of the communities is revealed by the very high proportions of the employed labour forces (74 and 68 percent respectively) involved in blue collar or artisan occupations. Demographically, both communities are characterized by an excess of females and a youthful population (60 and 62 percent respectively below the age of 25 years). Braeton has a

Table D4

**AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF BRAETON AND
WATERFORD IN 1982**

Age Group	BRAETON		WATERFORD	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	671	716	1025	994
5-9	628	766	1163	1196
10-14	761	744	1338	1460
15-19	543	672	1138	1366
20-24	330	546	726	884
25-29	405	554	475	791
30-34	516	561	666	900
35-39	383	378	642	675
40-44	222	194	516	505
45-49	138	141	289	300
50-54	105	98	192	222
55-59	88	82	78	140
60-64	42	76	67	122
65-69	35	50	30	65
70-74	19	37	25	57
75-79	7	23	10	31
80-84	6	17	9	22
85+	27	49	3	17
TOTAL	4926	5704	8392	9747

Table D5

Occupational Distribution of the Employed Population in Braeton and Waterford

Main Occupational Group	Braeton	Waterford
White-Collar	16.7%	26.0%
Self Employed	7.5	5.8
Artisans	36.4	42.0
Blue Collar Workers	37.9	26.0
Farmer/Agricultural Worker	1.5	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0

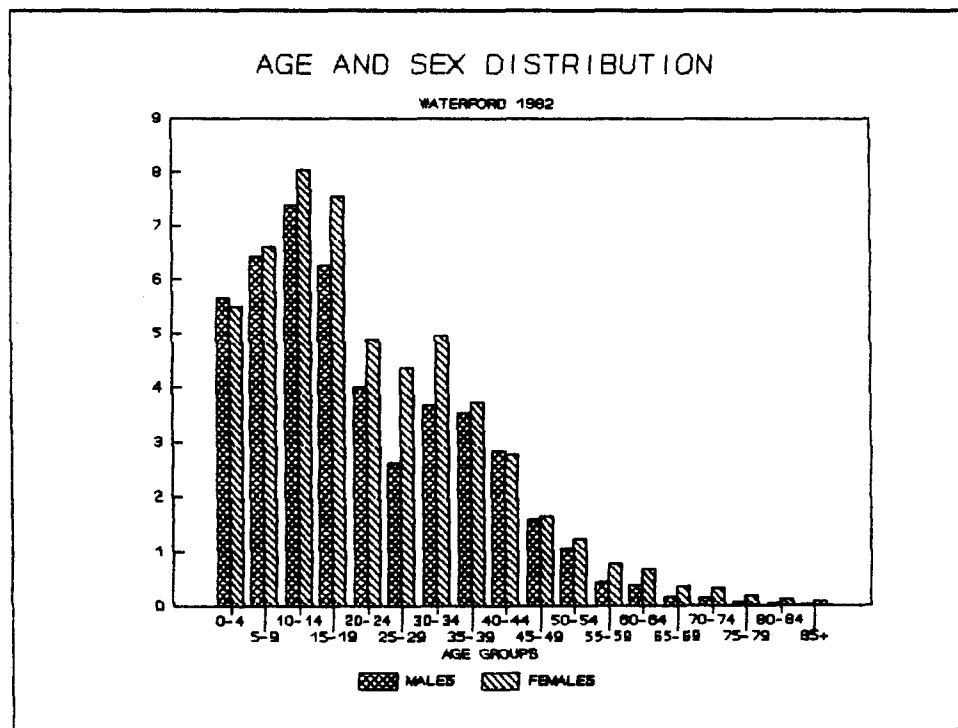
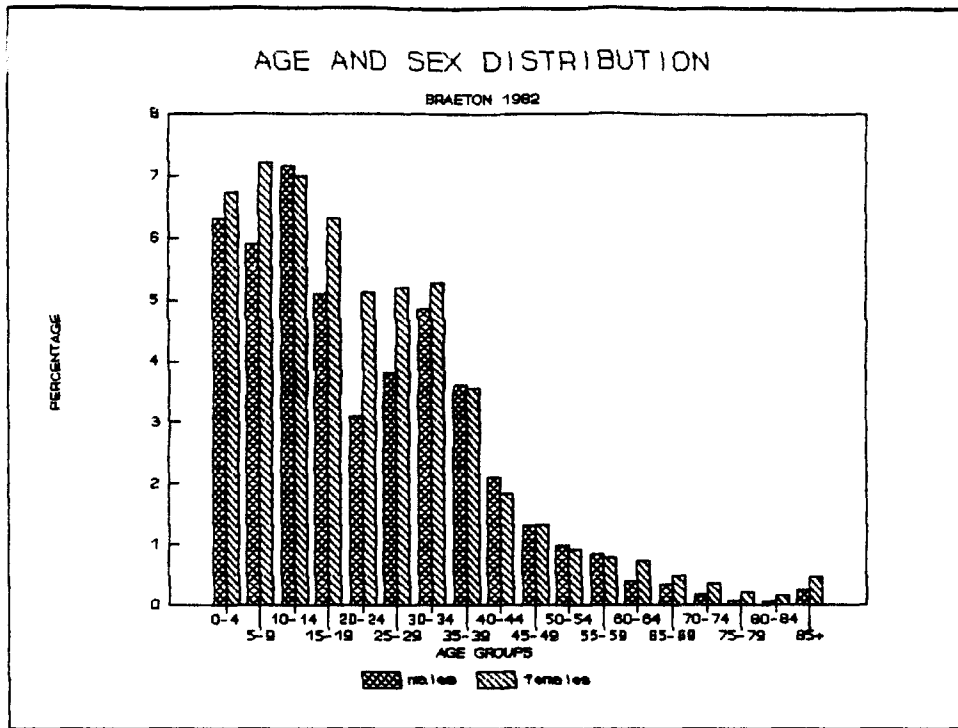
Source: Records of the Electoral Commission of Jamaica, 1989

Table D6

DEMOGRAPHIC MEASURES OF BRAETON AND WATERFORD:

<u>Braeton</u>	
Sex Ratio (Ratio of males to females)	= 86.30
Child/Woman Ratio	= 0.48
Proportion of pop. of working age	= 57.00
<u>Waterford</u>	
Sex Ratio (Ratio of males to females)	= 86.10
Child/Woman Ratio	= 0.39
Proportion of pop. of working age	= 57.00

Fig. 2 Age and Sex Distribution of Braeton and Waterford



higher child-woman ratio than Waterford, but because of the limitations of this ratio as a fertility measure it would be unsafe to conclude that this is reflective of a real fertility difference between the two communities.

3. Mavis Bank

Mavis Bank and Woodside are the most rural of the six communities studied. It should be noted, however, that there are significant social, economic and demographic differences between these two rural communities.

Mavis Bank is a hillside community of east rural St. Andrew on its border with St. Thomas, the most developed of the four adjoining communities of Guava Ridge, Roberts Field, Mount Charles and Westphallia. The Yallahs River separates the district with Guava Ridge and Mavis Bank lying to the West and the other three sub-communities to the east.

Agriculture forms the basis of the economic life of these communities. The intensiveness of agricultural activity increases as one moves eastward from Guava Ridge to Westphallia. Land preparation takes the form of well terraced hillside slopes. Coffee, legumes, vegetables and ground provisions are the major crops produced. Agro-industry in the form of a large coffee factory and a major egg producing enterprise also makes an important input into the economic life of the community. Other important economic activities include commerce, artisanship and transportation.

Altogether, these activities make Mavis Bank a relatively prosperous community. There is no sign of groups of young men idling on the road in the middle of the working day as is evident in some rural and urban communities characterized by high levels of unemployment. Snack shops, groceries and superettes dot the numerous "corners" of the community suggesting a fair amount of cash in circulation.

There are other indicators of the community's prosperity. Most of the homes are sturdy-looking concrete and steel structures akin to homes in lower-middle class communities in the Kingston. Furthermore, most of these seem to be very clean or freshly painted. A couple of large trucks are parked outside some gates and a number of Land Rovers provide transport into and out of the district. There are artisan activities to support these endeavours as is evidenced by the existence of a school of fashion designing, a busy iron grillshop and an auto mechanic's shop. The children returning from school all appear properly dressed. A senior teacher at the All Age School reports approximately 500 children on roll. There are no signs of malnourishment such as droopiness amongst the student body, and according to her, most children come to school with food in their stomachs and \$10 or \$20 bills in their pockets. This she attributes to their parent's industriousness as farmers, and to the work provided on a number of large coffee farms to the young men of the community. Finally, the close proximity of this community to Kingston allows a number of its residents to obtain employment there. This no doubt accounts for the relatively high proportion of this essentially rural community's labour force belonging to the artisan and blue collar occupational categories.

4. Woodside

Woodside is a small agricultural community situated in the gently sloping hillside region of east central St. Mary. In more specific terms it lies to the west of the main road between the towns of Highgate and Guy's Hill. It is a community which is mainly comprised of small holdings (agricultural census). It is difficult to estimate the extent of landlessness but there does appear to be some amount of leasing of land by small cultivators from larger unused holdings. As in most of the rest of the parish, bananas and cocoa are the two crops which have traditionally received the most organizational support from the state. In recent times, the high cost of producing bananas has

resulted in a relative decline in its production, although the sale of ripe fruit on the domestic market is still of great importance to the local economy. Cocoa, while enjoying high prices, bears only once per year. There are signs that this crop has suffered some amount of neglect in favour of short term 'cash' crops and animal rearing. It is the production of these 'cash' crops which constitutes the main activity of small farmers.

Woodside, like many of the small agricultural communities in this parish, suffers from the relative neglect of rural development which has become a feature of Jamaican life. Despite advances of electricity and irrigation facilities, the roads are in a state of disrepair and young people speak of the high cost of agricultural implements, the high cost of agricultural loans and the unavailability of land titles as major disincentives to their involvement in agriculture. Woodside does not convey an impression of economic vibrancy. Two indicators of this are high levels of unemployment and the fact that most of the homes give the appearance of being very modest structures. Not surprisingly, this is a community with high outward migration.

The difference in the economic profiles of the two rural communities is perhaps best brought out by the varying incidence of unemployment. In the case of the economically vibrant Mavis Bank, unemployment was quite low, while in the more materially depressed Woodside community it was high. In the Electoral Register 13.0 percent of Woodside adults reported being unemployed. Demographically, Mavis Bank is the only community in which there was a surfeit of males. Woodside, like the urban communities, registered an excess of females. The child/woman ratio in Woodside was the highest. Both rural districts had young populations with 59 and 57 percent respectively below the age of 25 years.

Table D7

**AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF MAVIS BANK
AND WOODSIDE IN 1982**

Age Group	MAVIS BANK		WOODSIDE	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	174	148	57	65
5-9	181	177	53	66
10-14	195	202	73	46
15-19	180	157	29	52
20-24	124	153	27	35
25-29	101	103	28	23
30-34	82	73	20	18
35-39	54	71	14	14
40-44	81	56	11	16
45-49	47	51	14	12
50-54	67	56	15	18
55-59	61	41	13	14
60-64	25	31	12	18
65-69	23	22	20	15
70-74	19	34	18	21
75-79	17	13	7	12
80-84	6	13	4	12
85+	2	6	1	6
TOTAL	1439	1407	416	463

Fig. 3 Age and Sex Distribution of Mavis Bank and Woodside

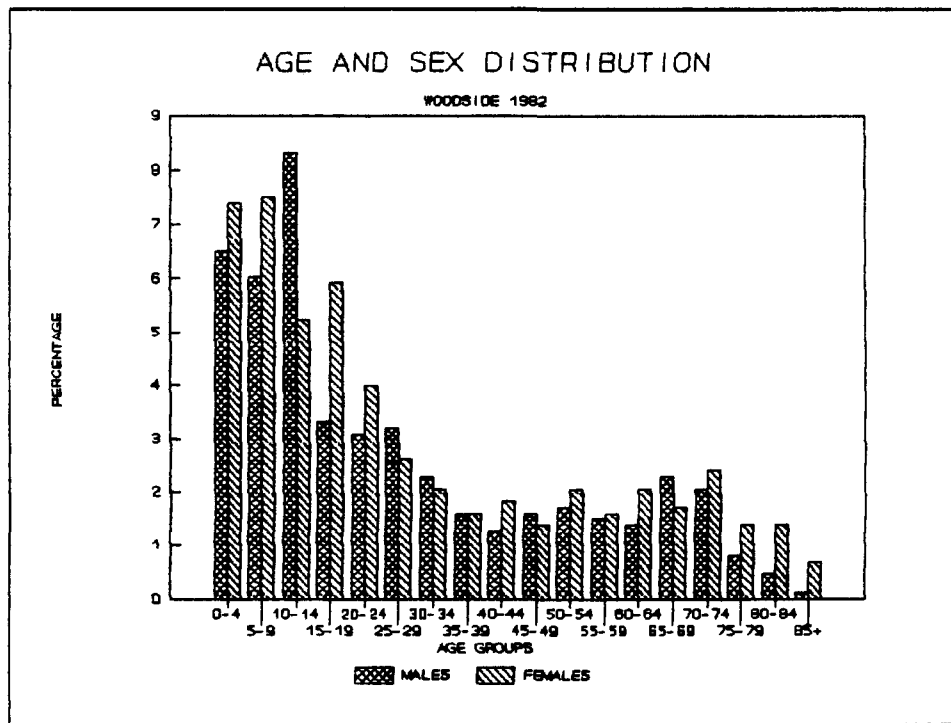
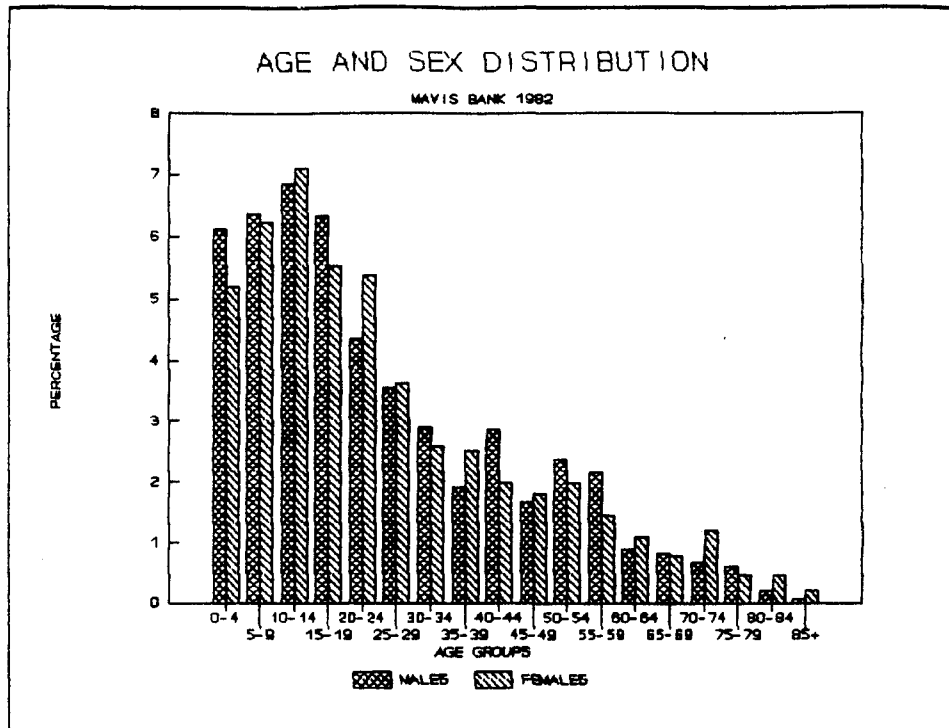


Table D8

Occupational Distribution of the Employed Population in Mavis Bank and Woodside

	(Percent)	
Main Occupational Group	Mavis Bank	Woodside
White-Collar	4.0%	14.5%
Self Employed	-	3.2
Artisans	25.0	6.5
Blue Collar Workers	18.4	3.2
Farmer/Agricultural Worker	52.6	72.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Table D9

DEMOGRAPHIC MEASURES OF MAVIS BANK AND WOODSIDE

<u>Mavis Bank</u>	
Sex Ratio (Ratio of males to females)	= 102.20
Child/Woman Ratio	= 0.48
Proportion of pop. in working ages	= 53.90
<u>Woodside</u>	
Sex Ratio (Ratio of males to females)	= 89.80
Child/Woman Ratio	= 0.76
Proportion of pop. in working ages	= 44.50

E. FINDINGS FROM THE GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The task of summarizing the substantive content of hours of lively and often heated discussion has been formidable. Audiotapes, summarized observations, facilitators' evaluations have all been useful in helping participants, as much as possible, tell their own stories. This written condensation cannot do full justice to the rich contributions of the over 100 men and women who participated in discussion exercises in the four target communities, but it is hoped that it captures and conveys sufficiently the unfolding pictures of Caribbean family life which emerged.

The participatory discussion group method requires small numbers of group participants in order to secure the intimacy of the group process. Therefore, the findings which follow are to be read simply as samples of collective thought on each of the themes presented and the sub-themes which emerged. Where there appears to be strong convergence of views among the discussion group communities and the survey communities, greater confidence may be claimed in what then appear to be some present "truths" about a cross-section of Jamaican men and their families.

Beyond these claims, the findings from the group discussions should most fairly be seen as stimuli to other discussions for testing, disputing, defending the range of views expressed on many of the important topics raised. In this way the third study objective will be continued and advanced:

To...generate useful and conclusive data to advance our understanding of the genesis and cultural forms of men's attitudes and behaviours in their families, and also generate local analysis and problem solving at the level of community.

After a brief profile of participants in the community groups, the discussion findings will be summarized under the eight primary themes investigated, identifying the participant responses by community. We should again note that only in three communities were all themes discussed as planned. Where relevant

or differing material emerged in the small Waterford meetings these comments will be noted. The specific methods and activities used to evoke these findings are detailed in the Manual for Community Discussions on "The Contribution of Caribbean Men to the Family" (CCDC 1993).

1. Profile of Group Participants

The entry activities in all communities initially sought to enlist 15 men and 15 women who would commit to regular attendance for an eight-week series. In both Woodside and Waterhouse, a selection process for these 30 participants was completed, but not all those recruited attended or attended every session, and some new "drop-ins" were added during the series.

After a series of initial recruitment activities and 2 discussion sessions, further sessions in Mavis Bank had to be postponed for several months due to venue, personnel and scheduling problems. Eventually original and new recruits chose to hold a full-day (8-hour) workshop and cover all remaining topics. The full complement of men but few women attended this workshop; it was later felt that the selection of Sunday for a full-day meeting militated against women's participation because of church and home chores.

The inability to recruit a firm group in Waterford resulted in the limited participation of ten women and two men in three meetings, and a discussion of the general topic with a youth group of 30. This latter discussion was not recorded for this study. The staff team with a GTC Advisor used several recruitment approaches in Waterford over several weeks. Analysis of proffered and potential reasons for the very limited recruitment success suggested that remoteness of venue, political "vibes" in the area, and the reluctance of tired commuters to further lengthen the day, were at least in part responsible.

Participants were not routinely required to provide personal data. Some information was gathered in the course of

discussions; more was obtained after the group sessions were completed. There was a concern by facilitators that too much querying for personal data at the outset of sessions would discourage attendance. In one community there was still resistance to giving this information on the part of some, even at the end. Participants knew that the research was to be published and may have feared some form of exposure, despite reassurances that no names or information to identify individuals would be included in any final study report.

The information that was obtained about group participants follows:

GROUP DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS

	# of Men	# of Women	Age Range	Occupations	Children?	Marital Status
WOODSIDE	9	15	17-47 Maj: 26-47	Farmer, factory worker, security guard, teacher, shoemaker, unemployed	19 - Yes 4 - No 1 - Not sure	S - 50% M - 25% CL - 25%
WATERHOUSE	21	25	23-33	Civil servant, accounting clerk, security guard, housewife, secretary, machine mechanic, teacher, businessman, construction worker, data entry clerk, unemployed	Most yes	Most CI
		50% attended 6 or more meetings				
WATERFORD	2	10	28-42	Teacher, office workers, sales (buy & sell), housewife, Tradesman/artisan. 11 were members of Waterford Secondary School PTA, 1 a guest of PTA member	All yes	Not obtained
MAVIS BANK	15	3	W: 40-48 M: 17-51 Majority (men) 40-49	Teacher/farmer, apprentice mechanic, apprentice woodworker, labourer, hair-dressers, factory worker, mason, shop-keeper 50% had more than one occupation	Most-Yes	Most (
Totals	-- 47 --	-- 53 --				

2. Families of Origin

It was felt important to first discover in all groups the ways in which family is defined by participants and how men and women relate similarly or differently to these constructs. The first two sessions, therefore, examined the family structures in which participants were born and grew up (families of origin) and those family units they created through sexual unions (families of procreation).

a. Structure

Drawings of "family trees" led to examinations of family structures, emotional ties to family of origin, mutual obligations between generations, tugs and pressures between family of origin and family of procreation, and bonding issues.

The majority of participants from all communities were products of some form of the extended family - most commonly growing with grandmother and/or mother, aunts and cousins, and less frequently with father. Father was often depicted as peripheral or absent in the family of origin. Transience in family patterns was common. Migration, separation or economic hardship often meant that families changed shape, size and sometimes location, and often involved patterns of step-parenting, informal fostering or adoption of other people's children. The difficulty some participants had in drawing clear pictures of inter-relationships of a "family tree" may reflect these patterns of change and transience.

b. Financial Links

The strength of bonds to both families of origin and procreation was tested in discussions of financial obligations. There was general consensus that if your parents needed assistance, it should be given when possible. However, there was less agreement as to whether your children should be obligated to help you. Generally it seemed a point of pride that you should not need your children's help, an issue somewhat different from obligation.

When parents were perceived to have abandoned their children or to have given them very little support, these parents, it was felt, should not expect help from their children. It is then up to the discretion of the children.

WATERFORD: There were strong male and female responses (though no consensus) that one's own mother should receive more financial support than one's children if resources were scarce. ("You only have one mother.")

WATERHOUSE: There was resistance to the idea of having to choose beneficiaries if resources were scarce: "The dollar have to stretch". Giving support was not as "cut and dried as who should get the money; there must be a way that they can be helped." However, "a man should support his woman and his parents."

MAVIS BANK: Parents must support a child to the point of the child's independence, and then have enough saved so that the child's later support is not needed. As one man said:

"Let me put it this way. If my wife was going to a wedding and she need a shoes; my mother need a shoes-- too, and I only have money for one shoes I will give my wife. My mother is another man's wife."

WOODSIDE: General consensus by men and women: Financial assistance to parents was not an obligation; other types of assistance could be given, like visiting regularly and helping to wash clothes. It was also suggested that assistance could be given to younger siblings in need.

As to which parent most often receives financial support when available, all four communities expressed that usually it was a mother, aunt, or "woman who raised you." Qualifications were noted in MAVIS BANK:

"Depends on who grew you better."

"Women make the money go further, so I would give it to my mother."

"Woman should get it plus man's share as she bear the pain."

c. Emotional Links to Parents

Even after men and women leave their parents' homes to live elsewhere, there are strong feelings attached to the idea of "returning home":

WOODSIDE: Quite a few men said they would return to their parental home if their present family broke up. Others would not, they said, because they felt that men should solve their own problems and should not return for help. Most but not all women also said they would return home if their partnership broke up. There was general consensus that if their parents needed help, though, it was O.K. to return to live with them for that purpose.

WATERHOUSE: One man, supported by others, stated that "Mothers have not inculcated values of independence and struggle for a son to build his own family; therefore, when faced with problems, the son either returns home or finds another woman." When participants were asked by the facilitator to describe their families (having families of procreation in mind), they in fact began describing their families of origin. As a MAVIS BANK participant said, "Some people live with a man or woman and pickney, and yet define family as just their mother, father, brothers and sisters."

MAVIS BANK: There was considerable debate on whether it was O.K. to return to the parental home if subsequent relationships broke down, though most men seemed to feel that it wasn't really right for men to return.

d. Special Bonds to Mother

WATERFORD: Men and women felt that connecting bonds were usually maintained more firmly with their mother's side of the family (rather than father's). Several agreed with a woman who said that many a woman "would like to have her son remain her son as long as possible, and not [become] another woman's husband". Reasons speculated for this included economic need as well as mutual emotional dependence, often related to the father's

absence from the family. When faced with the hypothetical choice, in an ocean spill/liferaft situation, of saving spouse/partner or mother, most in the small WATERFORD group said they would choose their mothers. If the choice had to be between your child or your mother, the women present said they would still save the mother; one man hesitantly said his child.

WATERHOUSE: A similar hypothetical question posed here (between family of origin or family of procreation) generated considerable debate, but an eventual consensus emerged from men that the responsible thing to do would be to take care of the immediate family. "If you take away a woman from her family you should at least look after her as well as how her family look after her; is your responsibility."

e. In-Laws

MAVIS BANK: The male participants felt that generally men had more positive connections with their wives' relatives than women had with their husbands' families. One suggested that women work more at maintaining these links than men do. However, others felt that while a woman would "go out of her way" to take care of her man's parents and siblings, occasionally even better than her own, she wouldn't accommodate the in-laws in her house as it would "mash up things". As one stated: "Overbonding between mothers and sons creates a problem for wives, not so with husbands" [vis-a-vis mothers-in-law].

WATERFORD: In agreement with the above, the women present felt that sisters and mothers of husbands tended to threaten wives more than their sisters and mothers bothered the husbands.

WOODSIDE: An example of such a threat was given when discussing the meanings of a "jacket" (the attribution of paternity to a man other than the biological father). If a man has doubts about the paternity of his woman's child, a common custom is for the man to check at birth to see if the child looks like him, then to take the newborn to his mother and sisters to seek affirmation and

acceptance of the child as his. Serious implications for a child's life rest on the judgment of its paternal grandmother.

WOODSIDE: Some men expressed a preference for a father-in-law in the home rather than a mother-in-law, suggesting that the father-in-law would likely be more "fair-minded" should marital disputes arise.

In overview, the strength of the bonds and obligation felt by men and women to their families of origin, and particularly to the maternal side of these families, suggest several possible implications:

- (1) these bonds for some represent a form of threat to the sexual union and resulting family rather than source of support. This threat seemed to be felt more by women, about mothers-in-law particularly, than by men.
- (2) Men more often than women see their roots and source of emotional support in their "blood" family; they are often seen and may also see themselves as more peripheral to families of their subsequent unions; for this reason men can less often look for support in their old age from their children.
- (3) Since virtually all men articulate the belief that men should support their spouse and children, it may be that the bonds to the family(ies) of procreation become firmer and hold more promise of emotional support for a man only when he is fulfilling this condition. Factors related to the man's age and length and type of union need to be further examined here, as it may be surmised that older men who have married, or who live in a long term common-law union, probably have stronger ties to their present families than to their families of origin.

3. Families of Procreation

Many sub-themes emerged in the discussions about families resulting from the sexual unions of participants: the concept of family, the choice of a partner, the common-law vs. married relationship, the desire for children of the union, and the issue of family headship.

a. The Concept of "Family"

This subtheme was addressed in all groups and was evoked initially (in Woodside and Waterhouse) by the ring game "The Farmer in the Dell" (or "Den" in some communities). Participants stood in a circle with one "farmer" in the middle and followed the actions as directed by the verses of the song:

*The farmer in the Dell (x2), Hi-Ho the Derry O, the farmer
in the Dell
The farmer takes a wife... (he selects someone to join him
in the ring)
The wife takes a child...
The child takes a nurse...
The nurse takes the dog...
The dog takes the cat...
The cat takes the rat...
The rat takes the cheese...
Then the farmer runs away...
The wife runs away... etc.
And the cheese stands alone.*

The following remarks from the WATERHOUSE group generally typified the discussions. Initial difficulty in defining "family" seemed to relate to various understandings of the weight of the common-law bond, as well as of ties to one's original family (as discussed above). The common-law relationship does not, it seems, automatically define a couple as "family":

Woman: "Some people look at it that way, but..."

Man: "A man settle with a girl deh so, but he's still moving around a bit." [Living with one does not constrain a man to one sexual partner.]

Man: "Society creates the concept of a family like a legalized family, that is marriage, but our experience in Jamaica is the man and woman common-law situation."

Other: "The law has started to recognize it [common-law], maybe not to the extent it should, though. One will find even those involved in common-law situations do not seriously view themselves as being seriously involved with each other because they were just not [legally] married."

Other: "So [it's time] we realize that when you live with man or woman, you are really part of a family; that is, if

you married and don't have children you are family; if you married and have children you are family."

Man: "I don't like the labelling..."

Man: "If you are NOT married, you are NOT family! You are a common-law wife, which means not much worth." (This view was supported by other men, one of whom added:

"Society forces this concept and terminology on you".

Most women present expressed a preference (emerging from the ring game) for the concept of being a "wedding bell wife". One woman though, supported by some men, said: "Once a man have him natural woman, you know say is must be his wife". (Once a man is really serious about a woman, he treats her like a wife). Many men and women expressed the fear that marriage can change a good relationship for the worse: "A man may live with a woman for several years and have no problems with her; then the minute he marries her, things turns sour". The societal pressures and expectations of legal marriage were discussed as sometimes "changing circumstances" for both women and men.

b. Importance of Family to Individual, and Society

When asked why "the farmer picks a wife" , or why a person starts his/her own family, the following responses from WATERHOUSE were typical across groups:

Man: " No man is an island."

Woman: "He now has a strong base economically and desires to pass on his estate to someone; needs offspring to inherit what he has."

Man: "Human instinct for survival is strong; to survive you must procreate; it is natural to reach for the opposite sex."

Man: "Nature having its course..."

Man: "Family is an organization to help society have a smooth operation, no chaos."

c. Choosing a Partner

While giving lip service to the traditional role for the man in "choosing a wife", it was widely recognized that traditions are changing.

WOODSIDE: Men and women both stated that they thought it was alright for a woman to choose her partner, particularly if the man is shy. One man commented, though, that when a woman did this she was usually after money!

WATERHOUSE: Men and women generally agreed here, too, that either is free to choose a partner, noting that in the "modern day situation", the farmer (read breadwinner) can be the woman. This role strengthens her hand as selector.

d. Who Decides to Have Children?

WOODSIDE: Several expressed the belief that a child made a family relationship complete. Men and women generally agreed that it was not right for a married woman to NOT want a child, especially if the family economics suggested they could afford one. If a man believed that he should have a child and his woman wouldn't have one, the relationship should be terminated. If she couldn't have a child, then he could stay with her and have "outside" children.

However, some men expressed the belief that if a man was not "playing his role" [as economic provider], he had no right to have a child. A man who didn't want a child was almost inconceivable to both men and women. It was suggested that anyone who said this was pretending, perhaps because he was unable to have one of his own.

e. Who is Head of the Family?

WATERHOUSE: A chorus of women: Man is not necessarily the head of the house.

Woman: "If a man is living in the house he must be head."

Man: "If man is in the house and he is not head of the house then he is not a man; he just has aspirations to be one. This was met by strong agreement from men and some women in the group. This view was also strongly expressed by men in WOODSIDE.

ALL GROUPS: The role of breadwinner was seen as crucial to the position of the head of the house. The following exchange from WATERHOUSE illustrates this common theme:

Woman: "The man cannot be seen as head of the house all the time. In ancient time, men used to be the sole breadwinners, but not again. Men nowadays have a different view of things; they either leave the house when responsibility is too great, or even when they stay they just refuse to perform the breadwinning role. So the woman has to do it for the sake of the children."

Man: "Not all men are like that."

Man: "That is not a man, only a gender man, a MALE. MAN is different from MALE. Five and ten-year-olds are males. But when he turns man, he is supposed to ACT as man. When things get rough he does not give up his responsibility."

Woman: "Jamaica then is lacking in MEN!" (Supported by rest of women.)

The sub-themes presented in this section further illustrate the often tenuous bonds many men have to the family(ies) they create. They suggest that a man's firm and respected place in the family as rightful head is attached to the condition of economic support, of "not giving up his responsibility." Men and women agreed that even his manhood is linked to the fulfillment of this role. If this condition is not fulfilled, only "maleness" is proved through begetting children.

The following section which discusses the meanings children hold for men further elucidates this central dilemma for men and their relationships with their children.

4. The Meanings Children Have For Men

The themes and sub-themes explored in this session proved central ones to the entire study as they appeared again and again

throughout discussions. They generated strong feelings among men and women, as well as many expressions of divergent opinions. In sum they suggest that begetting children carries many significant meanings for men's perceptions of themselves and their relationships with women, and that these meanings are significantly different for men and for women.

a. Feelings on Becoming a Parent

MAVIS BANK: The meaning that a child has to the parent will depend largely on the parent's stage of development: As one man said, "You can glad or you can frighten": "frightened" if you are a teenager for whom the child was not planned, "glad" when you are older and settled and can be proud of parenthood.

WATERHOUSE: A mixed group listed generally positive feelings when asked for one-word meanings for becoming a parent:

Love	Offspring	Joy	Family of love
Happiness	Caring	Humourous	Responsibility
Comfort	Everything!	Goodness	Self-Motivation
Sharing			

Two other words listed were Money and Problems. In discussion other less positive factors emerged, and the women particularly highlighted the absence of many fathers from the home and the competition from men's peers for father's attention to the children. They suggested that the men may say these positive things about becoming a parent, but "when it comes down to it" it is mothers who do most of the parenting.

b. "Getting" or "Having" a Child

In all communities there was agreement that there was a clear distinction between the attitudes of a father towards "the child you have" as opposed to "the child you get". Both types of children can be unplanned "accidents". However, accepting responsibility for the child means you "have" it. A man may accept paternity when he is "named" for a child he "gets", but maintenance and care of the child distinguish his claim to "have"

a child. The most extensive discussion of this topic occurred in Woodside in separate gender groups, although these disparate sentiments were echoed in similar terms in other communities.

Examples from Woodside Men:

"Getting a child means that one has become a man, because child cyaan [can't] have child; one should leave boyish days behind."

Q: Is getting a child a purposeful thing? "It could not be a purposeful thing because conception is an act of God."

"Sometimes a man only want to have sex with a woman, and she gets pregnant; usually he does not want to own that child."

"As long as a man has sex with a woman and pregnancy results he should own the child."

"Getting a child and not owning it is usually because the man is ashamed of the woman and does not want his friends to know that he had a relationship with that particular woman."

"Getting youth" was often described as a status symbol. MAVIS BANK men talked of the not-unusual phenomenon of the young man claiming as many children as attributed to him, yet supporting none of them. One man suggested that "in some of these cases a woman would be less hurt at the fact that he is not supporting the child than if he had disclaimed paternity altogether."

"Having a child is like having something in your possession and you know that it is yours."

"If the child is outside the home you would consider it a 'get', but if the child live with you, you 'have' the child."

"The woman bear the baby so it would be incorrect to say the man have a child. [Why?] The man gives the woman a child and the woman brings the child".

"If a woman leaves the man and he remains with the child, then he have the child."

Examples from Woodside Women:

"When a man says 'him get pickney', some say it's old age pension. He feels proud and he boasts; it props up his ego."

A man "would lay claim to one set and boast about how much more him will get".

"He would claim that he's 'bad' [a term of boasting] because he sometimes has even two born in the same month, yet he would not even look on them or maintain them."

Older men will [get a child] to show "mi old but mi hot". Their friends will think they are "hard", and they will feel proud.

The women felt that often a man will go elsewhere and boast how 'him get pickney', but will then tell the mother it is not his, even when he knows that the child is his. [Why?] Because he doesn't want the responsibility. [General agreement] "Our men are irresponsible; they'll have sex with the woman, but will "deny down to the ground that the child [is] theirs." However, the women generally placed the responsibility for the unwanted child squarely on the woman. They emphasized that women have to "get more cautious and have sense." "Having the child" and "getting it" are two different things to the women as well:

"When him 'get it', someone else gives him, so he takes it because there is some liability on his part.

"He doesn't own it, wasn't a part of it..."

"Is not a case where he really wants it; just that it happens and since it could be his own, he'll just hold on to it."

"Having it" means:

"The man really feels for the child."

"He really wants the child and cares for it."

"He helped the mother to feel the pain for that child."

"He carries the pregnancy for nine months along with the mother."

"It's not a 'hit and run' like the others."

"He'll help out as a good man, in every way he can."

"He'll make every sacrifice to support the child."

In Summary, "having a child" does not necessarily mean that the man has to be living with the woman, and it can happen by

accident - it just means that the man stands up to his responsibility.

c. Establishing Paternity

One of the significant keys to a man assuming responsibility for a child is the establishment of the child's paternity. Most men fear being given a "jacket" (being named as father when actual paternity rests elsewhere or cannot be determined). While some men may knowingly accept a jacket if it remains a "family secret", others said they would feel "suicidal", or would beat up the woman and break up the relationship. How is paternity established? For responses to this question and for the subsequent sub-headings, the discussion from Woodside participants was the most extensive.

Two men in Woodside spoke of preventing any confusion about paternity by either breaking off with a woman known to have other men, or always using a condom with her. But another man spoke about his understanding of the more usual situation:

"The reality of the situation is that when more than one man is relating to a woman sexually, he will not own the child until it is born. If the child resembles him, he might come forward and own the child, but it is usually his mother or sister who will look at the child and say whether it is his or not."

Men described other rituals for identifying their own child:

"Anytime a woman is pregnant for me I can know."

"I would wait until the child is born to see if the child resembles me, then have a blood test done."

"A man has to wait...and see if the child has a mark, because he doesn't want to be laughed at by his friends, saying he is minding jacket".

"I will mind one that I plan for." [Other: What if one planned for looks like your friend and one not planned for looks like you?] "I'll still mind it if it a bit plan for."

Women separately discussed the same issue in Woodside and saw the establishment of paternity in cases of doubt more

"mystically" than the man's search for more concrete visual evidence. Although acknowledging that genes of both parents contribute and that the mother's genes can be "stronger" than the father's, one woman was supported by the other women in the following statement:

"A man knows when a child is theirs. They don't only know that they go to the woman but they 'feel' it. They have a 'feeling' which tells them is their child."

Another woman explains:

" From the baby is born and the navel string is cut, the man asks for it, because he feels that warmness, that tenderness; he knows it's his child whether or not the child looks like him."

"Sometimes a child will be born and the father never sees the child. Yet on the first visit, the youth stretches forth to the father because he feels the blood."

"Old-time people say '"baby smell the blood'".

"Even when a child is in the womb, you can feel when the right father come beside you."

Women discussed the "mark" men look for to establish proof of paternity, i.e. finger, toe or ear likeness, scar on forehead, black mark, birth mark. Those women generally felt the "mark" was "foolishness/nonsense"; "his genes may not be strong enough to produce the mark".

d. Acceptance of a "Jacket"

There was considerable discussion among men and women about why a man is given a jacket by a woman (referred to commonly as "naming" the man) and about why and when he will accept a "jacket" as his own child. Both men and women offered explanations, often with differing connotations, as to why "jackets" happen to some men.

Women: "Because they [men] run around."

"Women take them for fools, as it happens right under their eyes and nose."

"Some men really deserve it".

"Some men are foolish. They will send out their women every night and they stay home looking after baby."

"Some men will kill for it..to be given one."

Men: "Some women are greedy and want more money so they talk to other men."

"Some men can't perform satisfactorily sexually for the woman."

"Some women cannot be satisfied with one man."

Shame and ridicule from friends were factors in rejecting attribution of paternity, as when the child clearly resembled someone else or suggested different racial origins. Humiliation and anger were much greater (for Woodside men) when a man "gets a jacket at home" as opposed to one from an outside woman. He will then feel guilty "because he feels inadequate as a lover" and sorry because "love is finished between himself and the woman".

Sometimes, says one man, "you have to accept a child whether or not you are sure it is yours because the woman register the child in your name and she could take you to court." For others accepting many jackets was seen as a point of pride with friends, a way of bragging about the number of women they had. Both men and women stated that some men are just glad to get a child, for the child to bear his name; these men did not really care whether it was theirs or not.

One woman said: [Men] "prefer to own it and don't mind it than to disown it, because they say they may not have it [money] now to mind the child. Later when they are in a better position, when the child is growing up, they can still give to the child, since they have claimed ownership".

Sometimes, men and women suggested, a man will accept a jacket in order to "keep the woman". One man offered that "sometimes the woman want a man who can take care of her financially or who she loves, rather than the real father [of her child]."

e. Maintenance of Children

"Maintaining a child" was used primarily to describe financial and material support for children that men both "get" and "have." Most male participants spoke of maintaining all their children as a "should", a "compulsory" obligation. It is an effort they must commit for both inside and outside children. Some added, however, that the mother should play a part in maintaining a child, "because both of them made it." They do not deny, however, that many men fall short of these obligations, sometimes because they "do not care about children, a child is nothing to them"; or because they are "unable to meet all the financial obligations all of the time."

Sometimes maintenance is seen by men as an important "investment":

"If the child amounts to something you can feel justifiably proud."

"Maintaining the child is good for both the father and the child because sometime in the future the child might have to maintain the father." The Woodside women had much to say about issues of maintenance, generally agreeing that a man should be obliged to maintain a child whether he "gets" it or "has" it:

"Once his name is called, if he wasn't going there [having sex with the woman] he wouldn't get in problems, so he must mind it."

Several agreed with one woman who said:

"Even when it is not his own, because he's wrong...if he wasn't going there [having sex with her], his name could not be called."

But others agreed strongly with "He must mind the child. The judge will tell him to mind the child as long as his name is called!" One even proposed:

"Even when you know the right daddy come, this other man name must call too!"

The level of support was often problematic for the women:

"Some want to give you \$20, and it is to last you for the whole year."

"Only some men understand what it means to maintain pickney."

But (said another) "is only one work [some men] have, and some not working at all" so they are unable to give much.

"Some men would like to [help] but do not have it."

Resentment was expressed by the women at men waiting till the child was born to give support. They figured pregnancy was the hardest time to manage alone. Others resented premature termination of support:

Some men try to maintain their children till they reach 20 years. Others say only up to age 10, especially boys, who are "turned out before time to fend for themselves."

Some women suggested there were fathers who turned out daughters after a certain age "to seek men to look after them." They agreed, too, that some mothers also turned out their daughters to help bring money into the house.

"Some men will accept a child only when the child gets big either because the father now has status and can give something, or because he thinks that the child can now give something to him."

While strongly agreeing with men that many men do not fulfill their maintenance responsibilities, the women spoke of knowing men who do:

"Good men maintain their children whether boy or girl, even until they become big men and women, because they do not wish to see the children go astray or see [a] daughter go out and live together with a man... such a man will set a foundation for the daughter first."

f. "Fathering" Children

Fathering children was not usually equated with just begetting them, or even with maintaining them. "Fathering" was generally defined as men's behaviour beyond financial support; i.e. "how a man relates to his child as a father." For men and women, this is the highest level of "should" for a man in relation to his children, as Woodside participants express below:

- Men: "You should have the child, see the child regularly, and teach the child certain things."
- "You must let the child grow to know both parents and impart positive thinking to the child."
- "Show the child respect and talk with the child often."
- "Having and fathering a child go together. A child in the home would be better fathered than one outside."
- Women: "Most men see maintaining the child as fathering."
- "But it's not the same thing. A father is a man who takes responsibility for a child, sees that the child goes clean, the child eats, stays home with the child, gives fatherly love."

g. Outside Children and Step-children

Both men and women described wide variations in how men relate to their "outside" children - children they acquire in relationships other than their marriage or common-law union. "Some men love them, some don't." Although men and women generally agreed that the man should be responsible to care for all his children, in or out, the fate of the man's outside child often seems to rest on the quality of the relationship with both the wife/partner and the outside woman. As one Woodside woman put it:

"If they have it before they marry, there's a greater chance of the child being loved and cared for by the man. When they get the child after they marry, the child suffers out there, due mainly to the influence of the wife."

A Waterhouse woman, though, talked of a man known to reject his own children, being a "perfect father" to children in a new relationship. She attributed this to the fact that he was "dealing with the woman, not the child, and he loved the woman enough to reject his own children."

The women of Woodside had a lengthy discussion about accepting the man's outside child into their present family. Some stated they would not accept an outside child, preferring

the husband to "mind it outside". One didn't want to "take man's trouble into her yard." If the wife was unable to have a child, they would consider accepting an outside child in the home, although one woman stated: "those men are idiots, since they should know if the woman can have a child before he marries her." (Others disagreed.) One woman cited a case where a wife felt forced to take in outside children because the outside woman felt she "should have been the one to get the ring; out of jealousy and revenge" she sends the children to the man.

The women discussed the perceived danger and potential hurt in the man maintaining a relationship with the other "baby mother" - "the fire stick may catch back quick." Some felt it may catch anyway whether you welcome the outside child or not. Others countenanced fighting fire with their own "fire stick" [outside affair] to bring him back "if he really loves you." The concluding consensus of this lively debate seemed to be that regardless of how the matter was handled, outside children/women made these women feel humiliated and degraded.

These same women discussed how they thought men felt about accepting their (the wives') outside children. Although granting that "if they really loved their wives" a few men could accept her outside child as their own, most did not want to relate to the child. This was especially true when contact with the real father continues, because it "threatens the present relationship" (firestick fear again). Some men deal with this fear, though, by taking in and supporting the child fully, forbidding any contact or support from the child's father.

The women also raised the fear of potential incest with outside girl children brought into the home. When the girl matures, the man may "feel he has looked after [her] for such a long time, so she has to return the favour."

Step-children were generally seen a little more positively by both women and men than were outside children:

WATERFORD woman: "After a man and a woman settle down together, they should reject the "step" [concept] and treat all children the same. "

Men in MAVIS BANK and in WOODSIDE agreed that a man may have no problems bringing up the children of a woman with whom he enters a relationship, but when his own children come on the scene,

"You would show preference to your own child by taking care of his needs first; that is human nature."

One man in WOODSIDE asked another:

"What if your step child comes out better than your own child. Would it be possible to love the step-child more than your own child?" Response:

"Yes...because you can put out more effort on your child; then the step-child responds more favourable to you as a parent than your own child. The step-child can be more obedient and do more things to please you, so you could love your step-child more."

In summary, the above discussions suggest that for many men children have three powerful meanings:

- a) They signal the man's sexual prowess with women and prove his manhood; and
- b) They lay the man's claim to a woman he wants, even if only temporarily.
- c) They serve to affirm the man's maturity through acceptance of responsibility for another person's welfare and development.

Whether a man assumes long-term responsibility for a child, "having" it and "fathering" it (rather than just "getting" it) depends heavily on the stability of the relationship with the child's mother, whether in or outside marriage. Children obtained outside the relationship are present or threatening symbols of instability in that relationship.

In all of these discussions, these three primary meanings were far more predominant than reflections from men on the meanings children had in relation to them as fathers, apart from the relationship with the children's mothers. Some possible

reasons for this observation will become more apparent in the summary discussions under the next three headings which examine the ways in which men are socialized into their perceptions of themselves as men - men in relation to their peers, men in their domestic roles and expectations, men as they believe society's institutions have shaped them.

5. The Influence of Peer Relationships on Men's Family Roles

In all communities, aspects of this theme emerged and re-emerged in several sessions. In addition, a session was specifically organized to deal with this theme through a film and role plays. The film (produced by CCDC & GTC) dramatised how a man, (whose partner wish him to mind children) dealt with his friends who'd come to play dominoes and socialize. The role plays gave women and men (separately) the opportunity to portray their perceptions of how men deal with their family commitments while with friends in the rum bar. For the purpose of summarizing responses on key subthemes, this section will be denoted not so much by community, but by common responses of men and of women. This is for two reasons: a) the primary discussion on this theme was designed to produce separate male and female analyses that each subsequently presented to the other; and b) the theme was confrontational and not infrequently demonstrated gaps in perceptions and understanding along gender lines.

a. What Women Think

There was wide consensus that men's peers influence them considerably in matters of infidelity, family finances and responsibilities, and in competing with family members for their attention. Shared and repeated perceptions include:

- Men often waste large amounts of money on their friends in bars at the expense of their families.
- Friends often encourage a man's infidelity to his wife/partner, sometimes resulting in the break-up of the family or relationship. A man is made to feel weak and ashamed if faithful to one woman.

- Men will compete for the same woman and remain friends; it is "part of the game". Women, when after the same man, will become enemies.
- While men spend long hours at rum bars with friends, they give little thought to their families and are discouraged from home responsibilities by peers.

b. What Men Think

Some of the shared perceptions of men reinforced those of women; others contradicted them:

Men generally agreed that "most men live to please dem friend". This applies even to the way they dress.

Most men say you are a grown man when you have girls out there along with your "wife":

"You can't just eat one meat all the while - you'll grow tired of it!"

"Many women is what makes [a man] a "Don Gorgon". A faithful husband is not glorified. Men agreed with women that friends may "lead a man to show disrespect for his wife."

While agreeing with the women on the power of peer pressure, it was suggested by several men that this was more true for younger men. For a more mature man, "what friends say is of little importance because the man knows that 'he rules' [the woman].

It was agreed generally that a man needs to "show off" to his friends, to show that he is in control [usually of his woman]. They feel that often women respected this, wanting "a man in control" rather than one who appears "soft." Even when the wife will stand up to him with impunity while at home, this does not happen in front of his friends, for fear of their derision. [This pre-occupation with perceived "control" over the women was more strongly expressed in Waterhouse and Woodside than in Mavis Bank or Waterford.]

Men did not deny the importance of time spent with friends or the competition for their time between friends and home responsibilities. For some this posed a difficult dilemma.

Others asserted that when the peer pressures threatened the well being of the children, the man who gave in was irresponsible. There was strong condemnation expressed of men who actually put their children at risk. All agreed, however, that a man had to be very strong to resist peer pressure.

Some men defended their time with friends as necessary "escape" time from troubles, pressures at home.

Some men offered explanations for some friends' behaviour:

"Often they did not come from a good home themselves, they had poor backgrounds; they 'don't know better'."

In all communities there was discussion of what Woodside expressed as "two-faced" behaviour--one for home and one for friends. This was particularly associated with denials in public of the extent to which men assisted with home and child-related responsibilities, for fear of ridicule from other men, and even from some other women.

6. Domestic Roles Within the Family

Under this general heading, participants explored several common sub-themes: changes in traditional gender roles for adults and children, the division of labour for domestic and child-rearing tasks, and management of family finances.

a. Gender Roles

In all communities, the vast majority of men and women supported the traditional value of the father as the rightful head of the household. This was a should - for as in the earlier discussion of child maintenance, his actual headship seemed to depend on his performance in the two major roles consistently attributed to men: that of provider/breadwinner, and that of disciplinarian. The Bible was often quoted as a defense for men's roles as head of household and provider, e.g. "God made Adam to take care of Eve..." (WATERHOUSE)

Men and women were equally firm that the father should be the chief disciplinarian:

WATERHOUSE man: "Disciplining is our territory; we cannot fall down on this".

All communities confirmed that women often use "Wait till your father comes" with children as the ultimate consequence of misbehaviour.

All communities also agreed that the woman/mother carried the role of primary caregiver in the family. This WATERHOUSE exchange among male participants was typical of sentiments generally expressed:

Q: Who should nurture the children ?

"The person who is more responsible."

"Both parties; but women are generally responsible."

"Women are more loving and caring and are therefore better at nurturing."

"There are men who are more tender than women." (An argument developed in the group). Same person explains that he still means that "generally women are more tender". All answer: "Yes, yes"

Changes in perceptions and practices were reflected in discussions around men's unwillingness or inability to perform the provider function. If the father did not provide support to his own or his wife's satisfaction because of unemployment, low income or absence from the family, his status as family head and disciplinarian was seen as compromised or undermined. Women in these cases often assumed part or full-time employment, or sought other means to help provide for the family. As one WATERHOUSE woman puts it,

"I can't just sit by and wait on him to do something and hear my children say, 'Lawd, Mummy, mi hungry'...the children have to come first."

In MAVIS BANK the men expressed the belief that a man's duty was to see that a woman fulfills her nurturing role. If she was unable to do so (through illness or due to the fact that she was working), then the man should do it himself where possible, find another female relative to help out, or pay someone to do so.

b. Domestic Division of Labour

It was often suggested by men and women that when women also help to provide financially for the family, men should help to carry out other duties such as household chores. In WATERHOUSE domestic chores were discussed like this:

Man: "Is woman's work but it can be shared. If she's not working, basically she'll need to understand that her duties range from the kitchen, to bedroom, and to the bathroom. If she's working it's different."

Q: What if she's working and you are not?

Man: "I will do the housework."

Man: "Some men will help out. Some men still wouldn't help because whatever the circumstances that is woman work."

Man: "It does not matter if the woman is working; she still have to do the housework. Women's work is woman's work, and I still don't see it any other way."

Atypically, a MAVIS BANK man stated that "If a man feels that a woman's role is in the home and a man's role is out working, then the woman should be paid for her housework."

The women in all of the four communities expressed resentment about the minimal role men played in carrying out domestic chores----cleaning, ironing, washing, cooking. Generally men would only concede to do these duties if the woman was sick or otherwise unable to do them. However, it was noted by men and women that children's chores in the home were usually gender-specific: boys sweep the yard while girls do the dishes and tidy the house (WATERHOUSE); girls empty and clean the chimney [chamber pot] while the boys help in the field (WOODSIDE). Some women said on principle they taught their sons and daughters to do all chores to promote their independence; this was also noted to happen in families with children of only one gender.

Men and women in all communities acknowledged that the extent to which a man participated, or revealed the extent of his participation in domestic duties, was largely determined by the reactions of his friends. Peer pressure generally mitigated against men doing "woman work" (or admitting that they did). In one other sphere of family life men were assigned a strong role i.e., "taking out the wife and children" for recreational activities, usually on weekends. Although seen as a duty, many described this as making them feel "good and boastful". One man in WATERHOUSE said that if nine out of ten men were asked about their feelings when they were with their kids, they'd say they had "high chest" [feelings of well-being, self-satisfaction]. Another man said this was especially true when the child is really his "seed".

Most men in MAVIS BANK, WATERHOUSE AND WOODSIDE expressed a willingness to take care of their children in the home as well. Women generally expressed a positive attitude to men who accepted

and carried out the nurturing role. They were unhappy with men who saw their role only as providing financially for the family. Particularly in the urban community female participants suggested that men's actual behaviour indicated that they did much less nurturing than they said they were willing to do. In WATERHOUSE one woman asked hotly: "When was the law passed that men get so much time out of the family?"

c. Family Finances

As more women work and earn outside the family, the sharing of household expenses sometimes becomes an issue of debate. Generally men agreed that "times are changing" and some women need to earn. Some were even comfortable if the women earned more than they did, as long as it was not from activities of which their men disapproved, such as being a bartender or a live-in-helper. In these positions the men feared the women might be exposed to the advances of other men.

Most women felt that whatever they earned was theirs to spend, and that their men did not need to "have anything to do with it". Most men agreed that a woman should have the right to spend her own money, but if both parents were earning, they should share the household expenses equally. In an unusual stance, a man in MAVIS BANK complained about the unequal application of the child maintenance law. He was unemployed and took care of the children of two baby mothers who were working. He has taken both mothers to court to secure maintenance payments for the children; so far he has been unsuccessful.

As was indicated in earlier sections, the father's inability to provide sufficient financial support can seriously threaten the man's status in the family. WATERHOUSE men and women asserted that for many fathers "there is no romance without finance". And "even in the case of children, if a parent can't afford to 'back-up' their love with finance, the child may stray (e.g. steal shoes when they can't be provided)."

WOODSIDE man: "Men feel badly when they are not providing and this affects their performance."

WATERHOUSE man: "If you have no money, you know a woman won't stay with you." This issue reappeared in several forms in the discussion on Sexuality and the Family, as seen below.

If as these last two discussion sections suggest, men's domestic contributions are generally weakened by pressure from male peers, and both men and women confine men's primary domestic roles to financial support and disciplinary authority, the reasons for many men's tenuous relationships with their children become more understandable. The next section summarizes the discussions in which men and women explore the strongest socializing influences which initially and progressively shaped their personalities and behaviour. In these influences we will see other factors which support or work against men's fathering functions.

7. Factors Which Shaped Men's and Women's Development

As part of filling in the picture of how men and women understand children's development of traits, personalities and skills, the facilitators used activities to promote discussion on factors which participants felt most influenced the development of their character. The factors most discussed were the love and influence of parents, education, poverty/money, discipline, the church, and street culture.

The behaviour of both parents was seen for most participants as the greatest influence (both positively and negatively) on the person they became. The majority in all communities expressed a preference for the participation of both parents in the upbringing of children, feeling that "stronger human beings are created out of this type of cooperation". Most, however, did not grow with both parents, and many recalled unhappiness as a child at the absence of one or both parents, or at the emotional distance between them and one or both parents.

a. Mother

A WOODSIDE group who felt that "mother was the strongest influence on their personal development" made this group report:

"Mother is the first person we come in contact with; everything around the home reflects on the mother. She

disciplines you so you can respect education. It is usually because of the mother that a child avoids poverty because she works as hard as possible to prevent this. Most of us feel that because of the discipline instilled by our mothers we are where we are today. Most of us did not have a father around all the time and our mother was around all the time. She is usually there encouraging you in the right way to choose a career, etc."

In WATERFORD mothers were also strongly credited for their influence on their sons, with strong male and female opinions expressed that women bring up their sons to remain sons; that they are not prepared for responsible relationships as lovers and husbands with other women. It was felt that this factor has contributed to the weakness of many husband/wife relationships. [These views are consonant with opinions expressed above in discussions of bonding].

WOODSIDE man: "I come from a poor home with a loving, caring mother who brought me up with manners and discipline, and gave me an education. My father fulfilled only a biological function, even though I have inherited some of his traits."

b. Father

The exercise in WOODSIDE asked participants to stand under pictures representing factors in their upbringing: MOTHER, FATHER, DISCIPLINE, POVERTY/MONEY, EDUCATION, ETC. When no one chose FATHER there was considerable discussion about why this was so:

"Because some fathers do not treat [their] children and family right".

"I do not think that why no one chose the picture of the father is because the father is absent from the home. The mother spends more time with the children and motivates her

children. The father provides financial support for schooling without which I could not have had an education."

"I do not think it is possible to replace the mother in the child's emotions. The mother is always at home and this create a deeper bond."

"[Mothers do] most of the disciplining and beating, therefore a child develop a psychological hate for mothers much more than fathers. Fathers should make sure the time spent with them is well spent, speaking to and playing with their children."

"No matter what the father does he can never be as important as the mother."

Although they did not put "Father" as the most important socializing influence, three participants defended the importance of fathers:

"It is natural for a woman to bear a child, but that does not indicate that she should play the most important role."

"My father did everything my mother would do for me as a child and I respect and love him."

"My mother walked out on my father without a cause and took me with her. I blamed my mother for the break up and I left my mother to live with my father. I loved my father more than my mother."

c. Single Parenting

The Woodside group was asked how they felt about men being sole parents:

"I feel sorry for a man in that position because it is very difficult to be a breadwinner and take care of a child at the same time, and it is as if that man's life has come to a standstill. Sometimes because of the child he cannot go out to work, making things worse for both himself and the child."

"If the man leaves the woman she can get another man who can take care of her and her child, but in the case of a man he will not be able to find a woman who is willing to do that for him."

d. Education

A good education was seen in all communities as an important part of the formation of a child.

WOODSIDE: "The lack of education causes us to regret many things. "The most valuable thing you can give to your child is education; it will equip them for the future."

"It comes first after life."

In WATERFORD, a different activity asked participants to list the key influences which shaped them. Their list was similar to the issues chosen in WOODSIDE except no one listed school/education. When queried about it, from several angles education was seen as secondary to other "more influential" factors:

MAN: "My parents didn't give me the support to attend regularly, so there wasn't much opportunity for it to strongly affect me."

MAN: "The school was poor and over crowded, so 'poverty' was a more important factor."

WOMAN: "A certain teacher really cared for me and made me want to achieve in school; my parents didn't love or care for me." In this case lack of parental caring was seen as the most influential factor in her life.

Their conclusion was that education could not have a major impact on children if it worked in isolation from the family's influences.

e. Poverty

Most participants had experienced degrees of poverty in their lives. All discussions recognized the importance of money in a child's upbringing as seen above in Section 4 on "Maintenance". Nonetheless, all felt that the presence or absence of money could not be seen as influencing a person's development in isolation from love, sex, caring.

WOODSIDE:

"A person can be poor but have manners and respect."

"Poverty is something we did not ask for; sometimes because our foreparents were poor we have inherited poverty."

"Even when someone is poor he can still hold his head high and be proud."

f. Discipline

The term "discipline" was used by participants primarily in two ways. It was often used broadly to refer to a wide range of child-rearing practices that are seen as instrumental in developing children with "manners and respect", who "know how to speak and conduct [themselves] when they meet others." The Bible is quoted in support of this usage:

"Train up a child in the way he should grow and when he is old he will not depart from it".

Discipline in this sense was valued in their own upbringing and often credited with their present achievements and with their own child-rearing practices. This factor was not always attributed to a parent, but to whichever adult(s) bore the largest responsibility for raising them. Examples of this kind of "training" were offered as part of fathers' as well as mothers' roles: teaching children right from wrong; playing with them; allowing children to make some of their own decisions; training them not to want what parents can't afford (so they won't steal), preparing them for adult sexual roles.

WOODSIDE man: The way parents discipline their children determines how they see their parents--- whether they love them or not.

WOODSIDE woman: If you have discipline, you have everything-- -discipline is a device for self-control in humans.

The other use of the word "discipline" also calls on the Bible for its defense:

"Spare the rod and spoil the child". The majority of participants use "discipline" in this sense to equate with physical punishment - flogging, beating, spanking, and most condone its use.

WOODSIDE: "Before the child is able to be spoken to and understand he will have to be spanked, but at age twelve onwards you can talk to him or her. Flogging is necessary sometimes because the child will not hear when spoken to. Children are less disciplined now because most parents have stopped spanking them so they feel free to do whatever they want to."

However, there were cautions against over-use of physical means of punishment:

WOODSIDE: "Some fathers physically abuse their children and spouse when they are drunk" [in the name of discipline].

MAVIS BANK participants cautioned that a child should not be beaten out of frustration, as this was abuse, and that a beating should be accompanied by an explanation or reasoning.

g. The Church

Although both WOODSIDE and WATERHOUSE spoke of the church as an important influence in a child's upbringing, there was little discussion as to how this happens, except as it influenced the parents' own values and behaviours.

h. Street Life

WATERHOUSE men spoke of street culture as strongly influencing their character and/or the character of others. This was seen as particularly true when the caring and discipline (in the broad sense) of parents was weak or absent. Role models as substitutes were numerous: Rastafarians and their religion, the Disc Jockey, the drug don, the gunman, the gamblers in the betting shops, etc.

WOODSIDE: "My mother and father never got on, but my father was the problem. There was no love in the home. We did not get any proper upbringing at home. We had to experience things outside."

One man in WOODSIDE succinctly summarized the interaction of several influencing factors in describing how he hoped to raise his child:

"I would like both of us as parents to be important in our child's life equally. I'm hoping that I will be able to finance its education, so that when I am old the child will be able to take care of me. I would want my child to experience some aspects of poverty to give him humility and understanding of responsibility."

The more time men and women spent together in these sessions, the more frequently issues concerning male-female relations surfaced. This seemed to be so for at least three reasons:

- a) Most child-related issues were inextricably related to the parents' relationship.
- b) A level of comfort with facilitators, process and each other had developed.
- c) After several gender-separate group discussions and subsequent shared reports, many participants expressed growing awareness of their limited understanding of how the other sex felt and thought about many things; there was recognition of the need to improve male-female communication.

The session on sexuality in the family was designed to deal with some of these concerns and provided direct opportunity for men and women to say to each other, and to hear from each other, some of the things they felt were confusing, hurtful or misunderstood.

8. Sexuality and the Family

Many issues previously summarized have had male-female sexuality interwoven, e.g. the status and meanings given to actual procreation; the implications of children imputed to be "jackets"; the domestic division of labour by gender. This section attempts to capture in summary those conversations which more directly examined issues of sexuality and how men and women characterized their relationships with each other as partners.

Three communities dealt specifically with the topic of man-woman relations; the sessions were conducted mostly in gender groups and content subsequently shared. Sub-themes which recurred included the preparation (or lack thereof) of children in the family for their sexual roles; the use of contraceptive methods; love vs. sex; issues of fidelity, separation and divorce; and domestic violence. Almost like a drumbeat underscoring these themes was the repeated recognition in all communities of the

double standards which exist between genders and among social classes about sex.

a. Double Standards

Mavis Bank women put the gender perspective on double standards simply: "The man is expected to have several women who, in turn, are each expected to be faithful to him." Whether accepted or rejected as a norm, this pattern of expectations was echoed over and over in all communities.

Double standards between social classes was expressed clearly in Waterford: society's role models (from middle and upper classes) "promoted fidelity in their words, but by [actions] portrayed infidelity." An example of this type of double standard within the lower class came from Woodside: A man suggested that paternity of children was sometimes rejected by a man because the woman "wasn't good enough to associate with [beyond sex], so he cannot accept his child by her". Another man felt that "three-quarters of the men who disrespected a woman in public displayed a different behaviour towards her after dark."

b. Preparation for Sexuality

The double standard begins for children with the differentiation by gender for separate home chores and often different discipline methods. Several fathers in Woodside spoke of "treating the boys rougher than the girls", of giving more "kindness" to the girls but "taking out" the son more often.

A Waterhouse woman blamed fathers for modelling this double standard:

"Father a play domino, son a fly kite." A man's retort to her: "Mothers also encourage this by sending boys out to play while keeping the girls indoors to do work."

Although there were individual men and women who said they did not treat their boys and girls differently, there was agreement that in the wider society, generally boys as they got older were given much more freedom than girls. Girls' freedom

usually became more curtailed as they reached puberty. "Boys won't carry home babies, hence can be allowed more freedom."

Discussions in both WATERHOUSE and WOODSIDE revealed that most men and women felt very poorly prepared for their sexual roles and still, after several relationships and children, often could not separate myths from fact. They learned what they know largely from experimentation and experience:

MAN, WATERHOUSE: "You start from dolly house and hide and seek; you usually follow what you see the parents doing."

MAN, WOODSIDE: "Television and adult conversation and example are a big influence on the sexuality of children. They love to experiment."

Participants could often enunciate principles which they thought should be obtained (as the group of Woodside fathers did):

"I want my son to be educated and conscious so he can be better off than me."

"Ol' time philosophy was for a boy to have a place for himself before he starts relating to girls."

"I tell them to look a career before they get serious about a relationship."

But when pressed, these maxims didn't seem to extend to much practical or factual advice for sons or daughters about sexuality.

There was the general belief that children are "much better informed" these days about sexual matters - attributing this largely to sex education now routinely given in schools and to the explicit messages on television and the radio airwaves. There was, however, little consensus about either the appropriateness or adequacy of reliance on these media for preparing their children. Although women conveyed that they talked more about sexual matters to their daughters than sons, and more to their sons than the fathers did, the content shared in meetings suggested this "talk" had less to do with facts and guidance than warnings and proscriptions of behaviour.

A discussion in WATERHOUSE reflected a clear division between men and women's opinions on when sex for a girl should begin. Men generally thought by age sixteen a girl was ready for sex and even for child-rearing. One said he believed that "some girls have severe problems due to them not having sex." It was suggested that these problems could be physical ("nature" denied) or psychological (from pressures to give in).

The women disagreed, suggesting that while the body might seem ready there are "considerations which they know about as women".

"A child of 16 who have her school work can't cope with school and sexual relationships. To me she is a child of 16, and at that age a child should not have anything else to consider about, because you going put more pressure 'pon them, you know."

c. Contraception

Contraceptive methods were not a major point of discussion, emerging as secondary to discussion of other topics, e.g. when men suggested they used condoms more with "outside" women than at home, and that they rely generally on spouses and other women to provide protection if felt necessary. Women generally agreed that they were ultimately responsible for contraception, as they saw they would have to live with the consequences more than the men. Some men in Woodside and in Mavis Bank expressed the belief that if a woman chose to use contraception it was because she wanted to be free "to run up and down." As about sexual matters generally, discussions revealed myths and misinformation about preventing conception.

d. Sex in Relationships

In gender groups in Woodside, the men's session was spent largely discussing questions of sexual prowess and preferences - frequency of sexual intercourse, choice of positions and locations for sex, preferences in types of women, and hypothetical situations involving group sex, inter-racial sex,

oral sex, bisexuality, go-go-dancers, etc. These discussions were not generally related to their effect on family life, but seemed to be aimed primarily at impressing the facilitator or each other. One man said "after good sex, a man feels big and powerful and has a discussion with his friend". One man protested that sex was private, and discussing it with male friends might prevent the woman from consenting again. But others agreed that they share their sexual encounters with their male friends, especially if they catch "a venereal disease and she lives in the area."

All men recognized that an unsatisfied woman may seek satisfaction elsewhere. Talk about satisfying women (in both WOODSIDE and WATERHOUSE) suggested that many men believe women prefer "passionate aggressive sex", in "positions that will give the man dominance sexually". "You have to be able to give her the "agony" because women don't like soft men." When this opinion was stated in a mixed group in WATERHOUSE, such a commotion erupted that recording was impossible. It was clear that some women protested this perception while other men (and women) defended women's preference for a man who was not "soft".

Some Woodside women revealed considerable dissatisfaction in sexual relations, suggesting that "the majority of men think love making is only pure sex." They collectively felt that most men are happy with sex alone "as they get their kicks so fast and want it finished so fast." The women felt the men "have so much anxiety in them, as they even look at 'it', they're gone." One woman suggested that men were not knowledgeable about women's sexual anatomy: "Many do not know what is the clitoris. All they understand is just to push in the penis."

They said that often the men didn't like being told this; the men "believe they know everything and women shouldn't tell them how to do it." Most felt that men were "more sensitive about these matters" than were women, and were generally uncomfortable about women taking the sexual initiative.

In WOODSIDE, some men said they thought "women were fussy" and thus were dissatisfied. One man suggested nature was "cruel to women in the way she is designed"; thus it is easier for a man to get satisfaction than a woman. Women who took the initiative were generally described as "easy" ("I'd have sex with her, but would not want to put her in my house"), although one man believed a woman's initiative spoke to how much she loved him.

While some women in WOODSIDE expressed a belief that men had a stronger sexual urge than women, thereby necessitating outside relationships in order not to "wear out the woman", men and women in WATERFORD and MAVIS BANK felt that both have the same urges, but women are able to exercise greater self-control.

Man: "Sex is as important to woman as it is to man, but woman have them pride...What a man will do a woman will not do because her pride tell her not fe do it....Woman is a great pretender; if you read from research, woman have the same feelings but they will not do as men [because of] pride and shame."

Homosexuality was seen negatively in all communities, though not discussed at any length; it was a "condition" feared for sons with little understanding of its causation; "prevention" seemed to lie in the gender separation of tasks, in treating a son "rough" so he won't be a "soft man", and in the "stoning" of offenders.

e. Expressing Love for a Partner

Waterhouse and Woodside explored more fully than the other two communities the aspects of intimacy that go beyond sex. While acts of sex were seen as the direct expression of a person's "nature", the use of the term "love" more often than not brought to the surface the basic fears and mistrusts between men and women that were detected as another accompanying drumbeat under most discussions (not unrelated to that of double standards).

Two men in WOODSIDE spoke of love sustaining sex in the relationship:

"If you love your woman you will not get [sexually] tired of her".

"I could not be tired of my wife because the love between us is there".

But others saw it the other way around:

"You can love the woman but she can't respond for some reason, so you have to deal with somebody else." (WOODSIDE)

Unanimous WATERHOUSE sentiment:

"You could not have a loving relationship with a woman without sex; it is a part of expressing love."

Love, for men, implies fidelity from his woman:

Q: If you love her a lot and she is seeing someone else, what would you do?

"I only love a woman as much as she loves me. There is always someone else to take her place." (WOODSIDE)

The fear for men implied by infidelity seems to be seen as sexually inadequate:

WOODSIDE:

"You have to perform so that she cannot tell her friends that you are not a good lover."

WATERHOUSE:

"You have some women who say, 'Boy, that boy deh can't jump', and him lose the work after that." [She will "fire" him for his poor performance.]

Quarrels (according to men and women) are produced most often in relationships by perceived neglect of their partner's "duties" (the woman "not looking after food at the right time" or "not keeping the home clean", or the man "not bringing in enough money"), and about issues of sexual dissatisfaction or infidelity on either side of the relationship. Quarrels are dealt with variously:

Several Men: "I walk away from the problem".

Woman: "Some women nag a lot so he has to walk away"; she added that men sometimes similarly nag women to the point of leaving them.

Man: "Sometimes the man will get ignorant [usually means rough, abusive] depending on how the woman talks to him, what she says and the tone she uses."

Man: "Sometimes the man - or the woman - will fight the other."

In expressing love to a partner, actions were seen by men and women as speaking louder than words. Presents, hugs and kisses, showing respect, helping each other with work were seen as important ways to convey love. Expressing love, though, may reveal vulnerability:

Man: "I do not think it is right to tell a woman you love her; you should show it. She will do things to hurt your feelings. It is easy to tell a woman you love her." [She won't take words as seriously as deeds].

Woman: "When a woman shows too much love for her man he will do [hurtful] things because he thinks that because of the love she feels she will have to cope with it."

One ultimate test of love (expressed by women and men) was the response to a woman's withholding sex:

Woman: "You can test a man to find out if he loves you by the way he reacts when you do not give in to him sexually."
(WOODSIDE)

Man: "You have some man will know a woman and like her and give her things and yet still him don't trouble her [pressure her for sex]; him genuinely like her. But you have to search hard to find a man like that".
(WATERHOUSE)

Woman (in response to above): "Him might still want to deal with her, you know, but him a go wait pon she."

Persons in Waterford and Mavis Bank expressed the belief that it was possible for a woman and man to maintain a good friendship without sex. However, the Bible was quoted as supporting the idea that a woman doesn't have the right to refuse her husband sex. Only illness was suggested as a valid excuse. A Mavis Bank man also suggested that for a man to wait very long for sexual favours indicates that he must have something wrong with him.

f. Fidelity, Separation, and Divorce

Although the double standard of fidelity was seen to prevail, not all subscribed to it: One man in Mavis Bank said he would not be able to deal with his wife's infidelity so he did not "subject his wife to it." A Woodside man felt if a man has a right to an outside relationship then so did the woman. Women in Mavis Bank tended to agree that "what was good for the goose is good for the gander". A man in Mavis Bank replied, though, that if the man was supporting the woman, she shouldn't go outside to another man. If he goes outside, he'd support both women.

Separation and divorce were discussed by men in Mavis Bank who all agreed that in most cases divorce or separation is the fault of the woman: If he found another woman this was generally because "she drove him to it." If she left him because she found another, the breakup was her fault. There was general agreement that often women left men because they wanted more [sexually, materially] than the men could give; these women were therefore seen as "greedy". The men believe the wife should stay in the marriage because "God said there is no such thing as divorce, it is till death do us part."

g. Domestic Violence

Only the men in Woodside specifically discussed beating their women. They agreed in principle that "no man is supposed to beat a woman"; one said there was something wrong with a man who beat women. However, a chorus of agreement was raised when someone added, "but some women deserve it." Reasons given for deserving beating included infidelity and "feistiness" [talking back]: "Sometimes the woman uses her mouth to bully men."

Some men and women expressed the belief that some women liked to be beaten (though no woman said this of herself). Some women said they would not tolerate "even one lick". One said a woman must fight back or he'll continue [the beating]; another said, "You must make sure you can run!" In describing their

upbringing, one man in Waterhouse said that "75% of the men who grew with a father; the father didn't set a good example of how to treat women. Therefore men grew up with the example of abuse around them."

These discussions of forces in partner relationships which pull men and women closer together or further apart led inevitably to discussions of power relationships between men and women.

9. Balance of Power

In Woodside, the first discussion series closed with an imaginary "tug of war" game designed to promote discussion on men's and women's perceptions of power relations between them. The discussion evoked by the game was so inflammatory that the facilitators were nearly overwhelmed by the amount of material emerging in the "heat of battle." In subsequent communities this game was not used for this reason and alternate activities were chosen to help control the flow of emotional content, reduce confrontation, and to create situations in which men and women could listen more effectively to each other.

Issues related to perceptions of power balance emerged in all discussion groups. The primary ones which recurred follow.

a. Family Headship

The issue of male headship, discussed previously in Section 3 above, was one such issue involving attributions of power. While agreement obtained in principle that the man should head the family, and particularly should "run things" in financial matters, the exceptions admitted were many, either because of the man's absence altogether or because his performance denied him this right. Women therefore ended up "running things" because men were "not assertive enough", or because of "gambling or other such problems" with the man. As one Woodside woman put it,

"Women hold the reins in Jamaican society because women are born survivors."

The idea of a man giving over the reins was deeply threatening to many men. As a Waterhouse man put it, "If he doesn't maintain his position (as breadwinner, provider, protector of the family), he will lose his manhood." Woodside and Waterhouse groups often used the concept of a man being in control (of the woman) to express their belief in the perceived innate power to which a man has a right. Their defense of beating women was related to this "right".

b. Responsibility

The Mavis Bank group of men equated a man's power with his ability to act responsibly in relation to his family, not unlike the WATERHOUSE man's concept of "maintaining his position" by his actions. It was this issue of who carries the most responsibilities for the family which inflamed much of the WOODSIDE group's fiery last session. The women agreed with the general perception that in the society as a whole, men wield more power than women. But they expressed views that they were harder workers than men, and were unrecognized and denied power by men who were for the most part irresponsible.

Similar views were expressed in WATERHOUSE where most men reiterated their right to a position superior to women, and referred to some women as lazy, while women felt their contribution was generally unrecognized.

c. Children as Pawns

In several contexts children were spoken of as pawns in games of power and sex between men and women. The power to accept or reject paternity was one such context. The use of financial support for the child to gain sexual favours from the outside baby mother was another, countered sometimes by the denial of sexual favours by wife or lover when financial support was absent.

The differential favours sometimes doled out to "inside", "outside", and "step" children was another use of power seen to be wielded primarily but not exclusively by men. In the case of step-daughters, there was even fear by some women that the step-father's financial investment in the step-daughter might make him feel entitled to sexual and other favours, resulting in incest and other forms of abuse.

d. In-Laws

In-laws, especially mothers and sisters, are often seen as allies drawn into domestic "battles of the sexes." One WOODSIDE man said that if a man was having a problem with his spouse, the first persons to hear about it would be the wife's parents, and this can cause more friction.

Some women felt, though, that they were at a greater disadvantage than men with in-laws because of the strong mother-son bond and because of the (sometimes exercised) enlistment of the man's mother and sisters to validate a child's paternity.

The fact that many men felt some obligation to help out their mother's family financially implied for some of their wives/partners a competition for scarce resources. As one WATERHOUSE man said, "The dollars must stretch..."

e. Peers

Many women also felt threatened by the strong pull on their men by their male friends who were often blamed for the breakup of male-female relationships. Men were also distressed when they saw their women as trying to disturb the balance of power by such behaviours as talking back to them, or putting them down in front of friends.

f. Money

In all the communities, the perceived balance of power between men and women seemed most often disturbed by issues with

money at the centre. "No romance without finance" was a thread running through discussions of child support; of threat outside of relationships for men and women; of justification for control of a woman's services in the home and in bed; or of justification to deny these services to a man.

10. Summary

Of all the major themes described in this study, this last one on balance of power--by its demonstrated volatility and reiteration in many forms throughout all discussions - pointed to the degrees of hurt, anger, mistrust, and misunderstanding that exist in many man-woman relationships in Jamaica, and which deeply affect the children of these relationships - materially and emotionally. The price tags on real love and trust are often seen as beyond reach by men and women. Settling for sex is the next best thing, particularly if it can clothe the children and put food on the table (for a woman) or validate one's sense of manhood, embattled by more demands than resources can meet.

The encouraging bottom line after all discussions concluded was the positive feedback from participants that they - and others - needed more of this kind of discussion in order to understand and strengthen their family relationships. Indications of positive impact on relationships with partners and children were given, particularly in the two groups which sustained their discussions over a two-month period.

Without a controlled impact study, of course, no definitive claims can be made about the long-term effects of these discussions on the attitudes or behaviours of participants. But the amount of data generated, plus the positive participation of men and women in a sustained and largely unrewarded commitment of their time, thoughts and energies, suggest the usefulness of this approach. Replication efforts could be equally if not more productive, since these will be able to benefit from lessons learned the first time around.

F. FINDINGS FROM THE SURVEY OF MEN IN RURAL AND URBAN COMMUNITIES

Unlike the community discussion groups which allowed men to express and to develop their ideas about fathering and family within a context of active and often heated interaction, the survey format provided a more neutral setting for the response to structured questions about men's perceptions of their family roles. Once the initial rapport was established between the interviewer and survey participants, the men in each of these four Jamaican communities showed considerable interest in discussing their concerns and difficulties in relation to their role as fathers.

In overview, these difficulties stemmed in part from the contradictions and tensions surrounding the measures used to define manhood in different spheres of men's interactions, and at different stages of their life-cycles. While sexual prowess, fertility and male dominance seemed to constitute essential elements in the early definitions of masculinity for young men, fathering assumed greater emphasis in defining maturity, in making the critical distinctions between being a boy and a man. The inherent contradictions between these two sets of role expectations seemed not to be fully realized or accepted by Jamaican males, so that our sample reported considerable dissatisfaction with their fathering achievements, without being able to identify the root causes.

The survey therefore may have allowed men a chance to adopt a more reflective stance, and in the relative freedom of interaction with a stranger, to articulate their individual concepts of fatherhood. While lacking the benefit of a statistically random sample design, the survey nonetheless was able to put together a body of data on groups of men whose characteristics concurred quite closely with the independent sources of social data available on

their communities. Although not capable of generalization beyond the particular groups surveyed, our findings point to an impressive regularity in behavior and attitudes that is strongly suggestive of the existence of underlying cultural prescriptions in regard to mating and parenting.

The issues on which men of all ages were agreed were the value of children as an end in themselves, the definition of the good father and the good mother, and the objectives of child-rearing. On the other hand, they varied in the relative emphases which they placed on different methods of achieving these ends, and in the extent to which they recognised that the conflicts in their relations with their partners were a block to their own aspirations as fathers.

In this section of the report, we first describe the characteristics of our four community samples, and allow our sample males a backward glance at their own childhood experiences. We then proceed to explore men's statements of the meanings that they attached to children, as well as the obligations of fathering, and their sometimes rueful assessments of their own performance. The extent to which men involved themselves in specific domestic and child-care activities in the execution of their fathering role is also examined, and in particular, the ways in which fathering activities are distributed between children who live with or away from their fathers. Closely linked to this question of "inside" and "outside" children is the degree to which men are supportive of the system of multiple sexual partners, and their perceptions of the causes and consequences of domestic conflict. These issues are discussed below.

1. Community Profiles

1.a Social and Demographic Characteristics

The survey samples comprised approximately 100 men from each of the two rural communities, Woodside and Mavis Bank,

and approximately 250 each from the two urban communities, Seivright Gardens and Braeton in Portmore. The age-distributions for both the Mavis Bank and Seivright Gardens sample bear a close similarity to the age-structure recorded in the 1982 Population Census, although we will not be in a position to state firmly that this structure has remained the same until the findings from the 1991 Census become available. On the other hand, the Woodside sample included a smaller proportion of young males under 35 years than may have been expected on the basis of the Census. However, given the fact that almost all of the available males in Woodside were interviewed, and that there has been considerable out-migration from the area over the last decade, we may accept that the sample is a faithful representation of the male population in that small rural district. In the case of Braeton, there may be a slight under-representation of younger males in the sample, but we are not yet able to verify this.

The age-structure of the four community samples, and their other social and demographic characteristics, are presented in Table 1.1. It is evident from these figures that Woodside had the oldest population of the four, while Seivright Gardens had the youngest. The mean age of the Woodside sample was 38.9 years in comparison with 33.4 years for Seivright Gardens. The average age for Mavis Bank was 35.5 years and 37.1 years for Braeton. A more revealing picture may be obtained by comparing the proportions of each sample who were under 35 years, since this was as high as 62.6 percent for Seivright Gardens but only 39.0 percent for Woodside. In Mavis Bank, the corresponding proportion under 35 years was 51.5 percent, indicating quite a youthful age profile, while in Braeton, it was 42.0 percent. Given the fact that mating and child-bearing patterns are strongly linked to age, it is important that these differentials should be noted at the outset.

The data in Table 1.1 also reveal marked differences in educational attainment between the four communities. As may

Table 1.1 **Social and Demographic Characteristics**
of Community Samples

	Woodside [N = 100]	Mavis Bank [N = 99]	Seivright Gardens [N = 254]	Braeton [N = 250]
AGE				
< 30 years	19.0 %	34.3 %	43.3 %	29.2 %
30 - 34 "	20.0	17.2	19.3	12.8
35 - 39 "	14.0	19.2	12.2	16.0
40 - 49 "	31.0	20.2	16.9	29.6
50 - 59 "	16.0	9.1	8.3	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean Age of Sample	38.9 yrs.	35.5 yrs.	33.4 yrs.	37.1 yrs.
EDUCATION				
Primary or less	76.8	81.8	59.3	44.3
Post-Primary	23.2	18.2	40.7	55.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PARISH OF BIRTH				
Kingston & St. Andrew	5.0	77.7	47.8	34.0
Rural Parishes	94.0	22.3	52.2	66.0
Overseas	1.0			
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
LABOUR FORCE STATUS				
Working	93.9	92.9	84.1	89.8
Unemployed	4.1	5.1	12.7	5.7
Not in Labour Force	2.0	2.0	3.2	4.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percent Unemployed	4.2	5.2	13.2	6.0
RELIGION				
Established Churches	19.0	22.7	19.1	29.7
Pentecostal	30.0	34.0	23.6	24.1
Adventist	14.0	13.4	4.1	7.7
Other	15.0	6.2	12.6	6.0
None	22.0	23.7	40.6	32.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

be expected from our earlier description of these areas in Section D, Braeton, being the wealthiest of the four communities, also has the highest educational attainment. Among the Braeton sample, 55.7 percent reported having gone further than the primary level in school, in contrast to only 18.2 percent in Mavis Bank, and 23.2 percent in Woodside. As noted above, however, Mavis Bank is a thriving agricultural community which supplements its income through commuter employment in the urban area. The relatively low educational level of the sample does not therefore seem to be related to the kind of extreme deprivation that was observed in the low-income urban community of Seivright Gardens. In this latter community, the young age-structure is related to higher levels of educational attainment (40.7 percent of the sample having post-primary education), but residents are nonetheless subject to higher unemployment. In this respect, they share in the general predicament of urban youth in Jamaica.

These economic differentials are graphically summarized in Table 1.1 through the unemployment rate which stood at 13.2 percent in Seivright Gardens, while it was estimated at 6.0 percent in Braeton. In summary, more than twice as many respondents in the Seivright Gardens sample were subject to open unemployment as in the other urban community of Braeton. The corresponding unemployment rates were 4.2 percent for Woodside and 5.2 percent for Mavis Bank. Being rural areas these two communities are more likely to experience underemployment than open unemployment.

Finally, the data in Table 1.1 on parish of birth of our sample males is useful primarily in order to ascertain the extent to which our urban sample males are themselves products of rural backgrounds. In this regard, it may be noted that roughly a half (47.8 percent) of the Seivright sample was born in the two main urban parishes of Kingston and St. Andrew, in comparison with 34.0 percent in Braeton.

In the case of Mavis Bank, which is a rural community in the hills of St. Andrew, the same inference cannot be made on the basis of parish of birth.

In view of the study's objective to examine the factors that impact on men's fathering roles, it was judged important to trace systematically any differentials among our sample related to age and education. This is necessary in light of the body of previous research on the Caribbean family by sociologists and demographers, in which it has been documented that family patterns both exhibit a life-cycle pattern as well as vary with social class.

In pursuing this analysis, it must also be recognised that as a result of the expansion of education in the sixties, levels of educational attainment in Jamaica are closely related to age. Younger age-cohorts therefore generally report higher levels of education. It is thus useful to examine levels of educational attainment by age, in order to assess the relative strength of these two factors in our different samples. Table 1.2 provides this information, and establishes the fact that the higher educational level of Braeton is not limited to the younger age-groups, but is also a feature of the older cohorts. In the Braeton sample, men who were 35 years or older were more than four times as likely as their Mavis Bank counterparts to have proceeded beyond the primary school level. In the age-group 35 years and older, 46.7 percent of men from the Braeton sample had post-primary education, in comparison with 9.8 percent of the Mavis Bank cohort. Braeton men also had significantly higher levels of education than men of similar ages in Seivright Gardens, as only 26.4 percent of the older Seivright men reported having post-primary schooling.

The different sources of livelihood which distinguished our rural and urban samples may be appreciated from the data on employment status and occupation in Table 1.3. High levels of self-employment were reported in both Woodside and Mavis Bank, and were related to the dependence on small-

Table 1.2

Proportion of Sample with Post-Primary
Education by Age

	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Under 35 years	31.6 % [N = 38]	25.5 % [N = 47]	49.3 % [N = 150]	68.0 % [N = 100]
35 years and older	18.0 % [N = 61]	9.8 % [N = 41]	26.4 % [N = 91]	46.7 % [N = 135]
Total	23.2 % [N = 99]	18.2 % [N = 88]	40.7 % [N = 241]	55.7 % [N = 235]

Table 1.3 **Employment Status and Main Occupation**
by Community

(percent)

	Woodside [N = 100]	Mavis Bank [N = 99]	Seivright Gardens [N = 243]	Braeton [N = 243]
EMPLOYMENT STATUS				
Pvt. Sector Employee	10.0 %	40.4 %	43.6 %	42.4 %
Government Employee	7.0	4.0	2.9	26.7
Self-Employed	78.0	51.5	46.9	28.0
Employer	4.0	4.0	5.8	2.9
Unpaid Family Worker	1.0	-	0.8	-
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
OCCUPATION				
White-collar	7.1 %	9.2 %	19.1 %	45.7 %
Blue-collar	17.3	33.7	58.5	46.9
Service workers	1.0	2.0	3.3	3.7
Unskilled & Vendors	3.1	5.1	17.0	3.7
Farmers/Fishermen	71.4	49.5	2.1	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

scale farming in both communities. While Woodside men had very limited alternatives to agricultural employment, the Mavis Bank sample, in addition to farming, reported a significant reliance on blue-collar occupations (33.7 percent). In this respect, they were closer to the urban samples, in which blue-collar occupations were reported for 58.5 percent of Seivright males, and 46.9 percent of Braeton males.

The higher educational level of the Braeton sample is reflected in their greater access to white-collar employment, as nearly a half (42.4 percent) of this group reported having white-collar or higher-level service occupations. This was in contrast to roughly a fifth (19.1 percent) of the Seivright sample, and less than a tenth of both Woodside and Mavis Bank respondents.

1.b Conjugal and Family Characteristics

The information which survey respondents provided on their conjugal relationships and their children revealed a familiar pattern of multiple relationships which had left their children scattered across several households. Age appeared to be the most important factor that determined both the current union status of males, as well as the number of children and the number of baby-mothers that they were likely to have accumulated over their life-time. While there was clear evidence that social class factors such as education and occupation were also likely to exert an effect on this pattern, it was apparent that the early involvement of men in multiple relationships had inevitable consequences for their later fathering obligations.

Conjugal Unions

The conjugal status of males in the four community samples is shown in Table 1.4, while Tables 1.5 and 1.6 trace the differentials in union status by age and education level. It is apparent from Table 1.4 that Braeton fathers

Table 1.4 **Conjugal and Domestic Characteristics**
of Community Samples

	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
<u>Union Status</u>				
Married	21.6 %	34.7 %	15.9 %	44.5 %
Common-Law Union	47.5	35.7	36.3	25.9
Visiting Union	20.6	26.5	34.3	18.6
Other	6.2	-	0.4	5.5
None	4.1	3.1	13.1	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Number of Baby-Mothers</u>				
1	51.5	58.6	54.4	53.2
2 - 3	34.3	37.4	37.7	40.4
4 or more	14.1	4.0	7.9	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Number of Children</u>				
1 - 2 children	36.0	54.1	54.0	47.4
3 - 4	32.0	26.5	29.4	31.7
5 or more	32.0	19.4	16.6	20.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Family Situation</u>				
Lives with at least 1 child under 19 yrs	61.0	55.6	48.0	63.2
Does not live with children under 19	27.0	36.4	45.3	28.4
Has no children under 19	12.0	8.1	6.7	8.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 1.5

Union Status of Males by Age and Community

Union Status	WOODSIDE					MAVIS BANK				
	<30 yrs	30-39	40-49	50-59	Total	<30 yrs	30-39	40-49	50-59	Total
Married	5.3	17.6	27.6	40.0	21.6	18.2	36.1	47.4	66.7	35.1
Common-Law	57.9	50.0	44.8	33.3	47.4	36.4	38.9	31.6	22.2	35.1
Visiting Union	36.8	23.5	10.3	13.3	20.6	45.4	22.2	10.5	11.1	26.8
Other	-	8.8	6.9	6.7	6.2	-	-	-	-	-
None	-	-	10.3	6.7	4.1	-	2.8	10.5	-	3.1
Total										
percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	19	34	29	15	97	33	36	19	9	97
	SEIVRIGHT GARDENS					BRAETON				
	<30 yrs	30-39	40-49	50-59	Total	<30 yrs	30-39	40-49	50-59	Total
Married	2.8	16.5	30.2	42.9	15.1	11.1	46.5	63.5	67.7	44.0
Common-Law	30.6	45.6	37.2	28.6	36.3	40.3	25.3	21.6	12.9	27.0
Visiting Union	54.6	20.3	16.3	4.8	33.1	43.1	14.1	4.1	6.4	18.6
Other	.9	1.2	2.3	14.3	2.4	-	8.5	6.8	6.5	5.2
None	11.1	16.4	14.0	9.5	13.1	5.5	5.6	4.1	6.5	5.2
Total										
percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	108	79	43	21	251	72	71	74	31	248

Table 1.6 Union Status of Males by Education Level

Union Status	Woodside		Mavis Bank		Seivright Gardens		Braeton	
	Primary	Post-Primary	Primary	Post-Primary	Primary	Post-Primary	Primary	Post-Primary
Married	21.6	18.2	38.9	20.0	16.9	14.4	49.5	39.2
Common-Law	50.0	40.9	34.7	33.3	37.3	33.0	24.3	27.7
Visiting Union	17.6	31.8	22.2	46.7	26.8	40.2	19.4	18.5
Other	6.7	4.5	-	-	3.5	1.0	6.8	4.6
None	4.1	4.5	4.2	-	15.5	11.3	-	10.0
Total Percent Number	100.0 74	100.0 22	100.0 72	100.0 15	100.0 142	100.0 97	100.0 103	100.0 130

are about three times as likely to be married as are Seivright fathers, and about twice as likely as those from Woodside. The proportions of the sample who were currently married were 44.5 percent in Braeton and 34.7 percent in Mavis Bank, in contrast to the relatively low levels of 21.6 percent in Woodside and 15.9 percent in Seivright Gardens. The predominant type of union status among Woodside males was the common-law union, with nearly a half (47.5 percent) of the sample living in this kind of union. In both Mavis Bank and Seivright Gardens, roughly a third of each sample reported being in common-law unions, with a quarter of Braeton males falling into this category.

The data on types of conjugal union by age are sufficient to demonstrate that in each of the four survey communities there is a movement from visiting unions to common-law unions, and subsequently to legal marriage with increasing age (Table 1.5). This is a familiar pattern, whereby visiting unions form the first point of entry into the mating cycle with the subsequent establishment of a co-residential union with the same or a different partner. Table 1.5 shows that there are also variations in this general pattern, with Mavis Bank and Braeton males moving into legal marriages at earlier ages than in the other two communities.

Given the younger age-profile of the Seivright Gardens sample, it may not seem surprising that visiting unions are reported by about a third (34.3 percent) of this group, in contrast to roughly a fifth of males in both Woodside and Braeton. However the data in Tables 1.5 and 1.6 make it clear that there are other factors besides age and education which have an impact on mating behavior in these different communities, and which contribute to the overall profile shown in Table 1.4 for each group. These factors appear to be related to decisions regarding the timing of entry into different types of conjugal union, including the decision to

remain outside of any union. Seivright Gardens is distinguished by the much higher proportions of each age-group who stated that they were not currently in any union, suggesting that male-female relationships in this low-income community are more fragile. The weaker economic position of Seivright males, evident from their unemployment rates, may also act as a brake on the establishment of conjugal unions.

Mavis Bank, on the other hand, is marked by a pattern of much earlier entry into legal unions than in the other three communities, as shown by the distribution of union types among young men under 30. By their thirties, however, Braeton men move with greater speed into legal unions, so that their overall profile begins to show the greatest emphasis on legal, and more "respectable" unions. This pattern is no doubt related to the greater occupational mobility experienced by this sample, evident from the higher proportions of white-collar jobs which they reported.

The age-differentials in the distribution of education which were outlined in Table 1.2 serve to explain why education level does not seem to be associated with marked differences in mating patterns within each community (Table 1.6). In Braeton, 49.5 percent of those with primary education or less were married, in contrast to 39.2 percent of those with post-primary education. The same kind of differential may be observed for the other three samples. While this may seem to run counter to the observed wisdom that higher social status is associated with greater observance of legal unions, in all of these cases the preponderance of younger males in the higher education group serves to reduce the proportion of married males. It is only in the case of the Braeton sample that there is a fair representation of older males in the post-primary group, and this is reflected in the higher proportion who are married, as compared with the other communities. In addition, it should again be pointed out that young urban males, of the

type who dominate the Seivright Gardens sample, face persistent problems in translating their educational attainment into labour market success. Their mating patterns, and their fathering behaviour, are likely to bear the stamp of these handicaps.

Men and Baby-Mothers

While the sexual relationship between a man and his partner may dissolve, the legacy of a child serves to create the status of "baby-father" and "baby-mother" that unites both in a network of obligation. As noted by Raymond Smith, within the Caribbean family system the child serves to mediate the relationship between the man and the woman, particularly where the male-female bond has become attenuated. Severe tensions are likely to develop around these previous relationships, when either partner enters a new union, as observed in the analysis of the community group discussions in Section E of this report. However, the fact is that a significant proportion of Jamaican men have fathered children with more than one woman, and the men in these four samples were no exception.

The numbers of baby-mothers whom our sample fathers acknowledged are shown in Table 1.4, while the distributions by age and education are elaborated in Table 1.7. In summary, at least 40 percent of each community sample reported having more than one baby-mother, with higher proportions being reported by older age-groups. This cannot be surprising in a situation where early unions tend to be unstable, and where there is a strong drive towards procreation on the part of both men and women. While men with higher education (at least those with post-primary schooling) may appear more likely to have only one baby-mother (Table 1.7), this cannot be taken to be indicative of any real difference in family patterns. The majority of these are younger men who have just embarked on their child-

Table 1.7 Numbers of Babymothers Reported by Males by Age and Education

	Woodside		Mavis Bank		Seivright Gardens		Braeton	
	AGE							
	Under 35 Yrs	35+ yrs	Under 35 Yrs	35+ yrs	Under 35 Yrs	35+ yrs	Under 35 Yrs	35+ yrs
1 Baby-mother	66.7	41.7	66.7	50.0	62.3	40.9	61.9 %	46.9 %
2-3 Baby-mothers	25.6	40.0	31.4	43.8	30.8	49.5	34.3	44.8
4+ Baby-mothers	7.7	18.3	2.0	6.2	6.9	9.7	3.8	8.3
Total percent number	100.0 39	100.0 60	100.0 51	100.0 48	100.0 159	100.0 93	100.0 105	100.0 145
	EDUCATION							
	Primary	Post-Primary	Primary	Post-Primary	Primary	Post-Primary	Primary	Post-Primary
1 Baby-mother	55.3	36.4	59.7	56.3	51.4	59.2	48.1	59.5
2-3 Baby-mothers	31.6	45.5	37.5	31.3	39.4	33.7	44.2	35.9
4+ Baby-mothers	13.2	18.2	2.8	12.5	9.2	7.1	7.7	4.6
Total percent number	100.0 76	100.0 22	100.0 72	100.0 16	100.0 142	100.0 98	100.0 104	100.0 131

bearing careers, and have some time left in which to "catch up" with their older counterparts.

If we take a fairly pragmatic approach, and allow that the majority of our sample males are likely to have at least two baby-mothers, the group that is of more comparative interest would be those at the upper end of the distribution, namely those with four or more baby-mothers. Table 1.4 indicates that Woodside males are most likely to fall into this group, as 14.1 percent of the sample said that they had four or more baby-mothers. Among older Woodside males (35 years or more), the proportion reached 18.3 percent (Table 1.7). It is also worth noting that in both of the rural samples, there was a surprisingly high proportion of males with post-primary education who reported having four or more baby-mothers. This was 18.2 percent in Woodside and 12.5 percent in Mavis Bank. Although the actual numbers may not provide a reliable estimate, it raises the possibility that in these areas the higher status associated with education may be conducive to the establishment of sexual relationships.

Inside and Outside Children

While Jamaican males may start their child-bearing within visiting unions, as they mature they are likely to establish co-residential unions in which children are an important part. A co-residential union may represent the formalisation of a pre-existing visiting union, but this is not always the case. Children from early unions may therefore remain "outside" the new family circle, and may even be actively kept at a distance by the new partner. In this section we review the information given by sample males on their inside and outside children in order to establish whether there are any dominant patterns by age, education and union status.

The summary data presented in Table 1.4 on the family situation of male respondents showed that in each of the survey communities, at least a half of all men lived with offspring who were under 19 years. This may be taken as some indication of the extent to which these men were exposed to the every-day demands of fathering. At the higher end, the proportions who lived with at least one child under 19 years stood at 61.0 percent for Woodside and 63.2 percent for Braeton. In both of these areas, the men who had under-19 children but did not live with any of them were also similar: 27.0 percent in Woodside and 28.4 percent in Braeton. In Seivright Gardens almost equal proportions of fathers fell into the categories of living with under-19 children (48.0 percent), and living away from all of them (45.3 percent). In the case of Mavis Bank, there was only a slight bias towards living with children: 48.0 percent living with at least one child, while 45.3 percent lived away from all of their under-19 children.

Since there is the possibility that these comparisons may be distorted by the fact that some of the sample had only older children, it is useful to limit the analysis to only those fathers with children under 19 years. Children older than 18 years can be excluded, since they may live away from home for different reasons. This is presented in Table 1.8, which also shows differentials by age and education. The transition to what is popularly labelled "responsible fatherhood" is thrown into relief in this table, as fathers who are 35 years or older are significantly more likely to live with at least one child, when compared with younger fathers. Even among the younger age-group, however, between two-fifths and three-fifths of fathers lived with at least one child. In this table, as in others, the differentials by education are strongly reflective of age differences, and are therefore overshadowed by the life-cycle pattern exhibited by males in

Table 1.8 **Proportion of Fathers Living with at least one child under 19 years by Age and Education**

	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
AGE				
Fathers under 35 yrs	64.1 % [N = 39]	55.1 % [N = 49]	43.6 % [N = 156]	55.3 % [N = 103]
Fathers 35+ yrs	73.5 [N = 49]	66.7 [N = 42]	66.7 [N = 81]	80.2 [N = 126]
EDUCATION				
Primary or less	71.6 [N = 67]	63.6 [N = 66]	52.3 [N = 132]	73.4 [N = 94]
Post-Primary	60.0 [N = 20]	46.7 [N = 15]	51.1 [N = 94]	63.4 [N = 123]
All Men with children under 19 yrs	69.3 [N = 88]	60.4 [N = 91]	51.5 [N = 237]	69.0 [N = 229]

their fathering behaviour.

If it is true that as men grow older, they seek to express their commitment to fathering by establishing a common home with a child, the question still remains as to the fate of the "other children". In analysing this question among our samples, we sought to find out who were the men with outside children. How many men had both inside and outside children? The information assembled in Tables 1.9 to 1.13 sheds some light on these patterns in our survey communities.

The proportion of men who had at least one outside child under 19 years ranged from 55.9 percent in Braeton to 70.9 percent in Seivright Gardens. Woodside and Mavis Bank had quite similar levels, being 58.0 percent and 60.4 percent respectively. The age differentials which are set out in Table 1.9 show that in the youngest age-group (men under 30 years), both of the urban samples reported the highest proportions of fathers with at least one outside child. This stood at 77.8 percent in Seivright Gardens and 76.1 percent in Braeton. By the time that Braeton men reached their thirties, however, they recorded much lower levels of outside children, so that the proportion stood at 56.9 percent as compared with 69.2 percent in Seivright. This "movement into the mainstream" parallels the shifts in union status observed earlier among Braeton fathers. In Braeton, as age increased, there was a steady decline in the proportions of fathers with outside children. In Seivright Gardens, on the other hand, the proportion remained high up into the 50-59 age-group, where three-fifths said they had at least one outside child.

While it is true that cohort effects are combined here with life-cycle patterns, it is evident that there must be significant differences either in the normative patterns or the structural conditions which underlie the behaviour of these two urban samples. This impression is reinforced by

Table 1.9 Proportion of Fathers with at least one outside child under 19 year by Age of Father*

Age of Father	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Under 30 years	52.6% [N=19]	68.8% [N=32]	77.8% [N=108]	76.1% [N=71]
30 - 39 years	65.6% [N=32]	52.8% [N=36]	69.2% [N=78]	56.9% [N=72]
40 - 49 years	59.3% [N=27]	55.6% [N=18]	58.3% [N=36]	38.2% [N=68]
50 - 59 years	40.0% [N=10]	80.0% [N=5]	60.0% [N=15]	38.9% [N=18]
All Ages	58.0% [N=88]	60.4% [N=91]	70.9% [N=237]	55.9% [N=229]

* Excludes Fathers with no children under 19 years

the data in Table 1.10 which shows that married men in Braeton were far less likely to have outside children than were similar married men in the other three communities.

In the case of the two rural samples, we seem to be witnessing the operation of different patterns. In Woodside, men were likely to have had more baby-mothers, marriage was likely to occur at a later age, and the matrimonial home was therefore less likely to incorporate all of the father's offspring. In Mavis Bank, on the other hand, although marriage occurred at an earlier age, the establishment of both legal marriages and common-law unions excluded some children who remained on the outside. While married men in Mavis Bank were somewhat less likely to have an outside child than their counterparts in common-law unions, the proportions with outside children were nonetheless high (Table 1.10).

The data on inside and outside children are best combined by examining the living arrangements of men in relation to their children. For this purpose, three categories are useful: (i) fathers who have only outside children (ii) fathers with both inside and outside children and (iii) fathers with only inside children. Table 1.11 shows that Seivright Gardens men had the highest proportion in the category of fathers with only outside children, as nearly a half (48.5 percent) fell into this category. This is in part related to the younger age-distribution of the Seivright sample, as discussed above, and their heavier involvement in visiting unions. The proportions of fathers with both inside and outside children ranged between 20 and 30 percent for all of the four communities, while the percentage who had all their children living under their roof was highest in Braeton, and lowest in Seivright Gardens.

As may be expected, there are marked differences in living arrangements when younger and older men are compared

Table 1.10 **Proportion of Fathers with at least one outside Child**
under 19 years by Current Union Status

Current Union Status	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Married	55.6% [N=18]	41.4% [N=29]	44.4% [N=36]	29.5% [N=28]
Common-Law Union	46.5 [N=43]	52.9 [N=34]	54.2 [N=83]	65.1 [N=63]
Visiting Union	94.4 [N=18]	88.5 [N=26]	95.1 [N=81]	93.3 [N=45]
No Current Union	*	*	80.6 [N=31]	83.3 [N=12]

* Cell size less than 5

Table 1.11

Living Arrangements of Fathers* in Relation to
their children Under 19 years

Living Arrangement	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright	Braeton
Has only outside children	30.7	39.5	48.5	31.0
Has both inside and outside children	27.3%	20.9%	22.4%	24.9%
Has only inside children	42.0	39.5	29.1	44.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
percent				
number	88	91	237	229

* Excludes Fathers with no children under 19 years

(Table 1.12). In all of the four communities, the likelihood of having only outside children decreased dramatically with age, but it was only in the urban communities of Braeton and Seivright that older age was associated with a greater likelihood of having all children under one roof. One possible interpretation of these figures is that these are cohort differences, with older males in these two communities having less dispersion in their child-bearing patterns. With increasing age, they were therefore more able to consolidate their families as their children were all products of one union. However, these questions must remain at the level of speculation, since the study was not designed as an in-depth analysis of fertility histories.

The main thing which seems to be beyond dispute is that within the matrifocal family system of Jamaica, the end-result of multiple mating arrangements is that the large majority of men will live separately from some of their children. As Table 1.13 indicates, this was true of men in both legal marriages and common-law unions in our sample communities. When these respondents are compared in terms of their union status, it may be seen that it was only in the case of married fathers in Braeton, that the proportion who had only inside children reached as high as 70 percent. Phrased differently, even among this group, three out of every 10 fathers had at least one outside child. With the exception of Braeton, for men in common-law unions, there did not appear to be very marked differences in their living arrangements when compared with married men. In general, married men had higher proportions who lived with all of their children than did men in common-law unions, but the differences were not as pronounced as in the case of Braeton.

Also of interest are the proportions of men who lived in common-law unions which did not include any of their own children. With the exception of Woodside, where marriage

**Table 1.12 Living Arrangements by Age of Fathers* in Relation to their children
Under 19 years**

Living Arrangement	Woodside		Mavis Bank		Seivright		Braeton	
	Under 35 yrs	35+	Under 35 yrs	35+	Under 35 yrs	35+	Under 35 yrs	35+
Has only outside children	35.9	26.5	44.9	33.3	56.4	33.3	44.6	19.8
Has both inside and outside children	23.1%	30.6%	14.3%	28.6%	18.6%	29.6%	24.3%	25.4%
Has only inside children	41.0	42.9	40.8	38.1	25.0	37.0	31.1	54.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
percent	39	49	49	42	156	81	103	126
number								

* Excludes Fathers with no children under 19 years

Table 1.13

Living Arrangements by Union Status of Father* in Relation to Their Children under 19 Years

Living Arrangement	Woodside		Mavis Bank		Seivright Gardens		Braeton	
	Married	Common Law	Married	Common Law	Married	Common Law	Married	Common Law
Has Only Outside children	22.2 %	11.6 %	13.8 %	26.5 %	13.9 %	21.7 %	4.2 %	20.6 %
Has Both Inside and Outside Children	22.2	34.9	27.6	26.5	30.6	32.5	25.3	44.4
Has Only Inside Children	55.6	53.5	58.6	47.1	55.6	45.8	70.5	34.9
Total								
percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
number	18	43	29	34	36	83	95	63

* Excludes Fathers with no Children under 19 years

occurred at later ages and seemed to have less linkages with the child-bearing career, it was evident that common-law unions were more likely to have no inside children (i.e. only outside children) than were legal marriages. This may be indicative of the fact that the common-law union is entered at a younger age, and may not yet have produced any offspring. However it is also possible to speculate that it is the woman's ability to satisfy the male by producing children that will "cement" the union, and encourage the orderly progression towards legal marriage. This interpretation may bear some weight, given the strong positive attitudes towards fertility, and the rejection of infertility, which were expressed by the men in this study.

The implications of these living arrangements for men's fathering activities become clearer when we explore their accounts of their interactions with outside children, and hear their own assessments of their child-rearing roles. Also related to this separation from children may be the retention of some notion of replacement fertility, as larger numbers of children may act as some insurance against losing all in the event of the breakdown of the union. These questions are explored in the following sections.

2. Childhood Experiences

The family arrangements in which our sample males spent their childhood years appeared to be as diverse as those in which their own children were now growing. Respondents were asked to state with whom they were living at the age of 12, and these answers indicated that roughly no more than two-fifths of each group lived with both of their parents (Table 2.1). The percentages living with both parents was 42 percent in both Braeton and Mavis Bank, and stood at 40 percent in Seivright Gardens. The lowest proportion living with both parents was reported among Woodside respondents, accounting for 28.6 percent of the sample. The proportions who lived with their mother only was fairly similar for all

Table 2.1

Persons with whom Males Lived at Age 12

	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Both Parents	28.6 %	42.4 %	39.9 %	42.0 %
Mother	23.5	29.3	26.2	27.6
Father	13.3	5.1	4.8	5.6
Maternal Grandparents	13.3	15.2	11.3	10.0
Paternal Grandparents	4.1	1.0	3.6	2.8
Mother's Relatives	3.1	4.0	5.6	3.2
Father's Relatives	4.1	1.0	0.8	2.8
Adopted Mother	1.0	1.0	1.6	0.4
On Own	2.0	1.0	1.6	0.4
Other	7.1	-	4.4	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
percent number	100	99	254	250

communities, ranging from 24 to 29 percent. In Woodside, there seemed to be a less typical bias towards the father's side of the family, as larger proportions of respondents reported either growing with their father alone, with their paternal grandmother or with their father's relatives, than was observed in the other areas.

When asked to look back and to assess whether they were generally happy or unhappy at that period of their lives, the majority of men said that they were quite happy. These proportions ranged from 63 percent in Seivright Gardens to 75 percent in Mavis Bank. This perhaps reflects the greater economic security of Mavis Bank youth (Table 2.2). The proportion who said that they were happy did not show any significant variations with either age or education, or with any differences in family type.

This kind of positive assessment is not an unusual finding in surveys, since the "happiness variable" often seems to elicit some kind of normative response. It is significant however, that among the 180 men in the study who said that they were unhappy at age 12, the reasons given centered around economic difficulties, separation from a parent or the death of a parent, separation from siblings, domestic conflict and problems with schooling.

More revealing answers were obtained when respondents were asked specifically whether there were any experiences they had as a child, which they would not wish their own children to undergo. In response, 70 percent of fathers in both Woodside and Seivright Gardens identified negative childhood experiences, as did 63 percent in Braeton (Table 2.2). Again, it was only in Mavis Bank that childhood seemed to have had less trauma, with slightly less than a half (47.4 percent) identifying negative experiences.

What was the nature of these bad experiences? In large part, they dealt with poverty, the separation from one or

Table 2.2 Men's Appraisal of their Childhood Experiences

	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Percent Reporting Being Happy at Age 12	72.2 %	75.5 %	63.2 %	70.4 %
Percent Reporting Negative Experiences as a Child	70.7 %	47.4 %	70.6 %	62.6 %

Table 2.3 Main Negative Childhood Experiences Reported by Fathers

	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
No negative experiences remembered	28.6 %	52.6 %	29.4 %	37.4 %
Family's Weak Economic Position	3.1	3.1	19.6	19.1
Being Forced to Work from Young	34.7	12.4	5.3	3.7
Little time with one or both Parents	6.1	6.2	10.2	12.2
Weak Schooling	5.1	9.3	12.7	12.6
Bad Habits/Violent Surroundings	10.2	7.2	11.4	7.3
Oppressed or Disrespected	3.1	4.1	3.3	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

both parents, the feeling of being treated harshly or unfairly by a parent, their current awareness of the inadequacies in their schooling, as well as the consequences of their own bad habits or the unhealthy social environment in which they had grown. In the rural communities, fathers identified their childhood poverty through repeated references to being forced to work from young. This was the major difficulty identified by roughly a third (34.7 percent) of Woodside men, and by 12.4 percent of those in Mavis Bank (Table 2.3). Fathers spoke with feeling of not wanting their child to "live as a slave and achieve nothing" or to have to endure "the struggles that I had as a child". The combined total for men who identified general economic problems and child labour was 37.8 percent in Woodside, but significantly lower in Mavis Bank at 15.5 percent.

In the urban samples, fathers made wide references to the weak economic position of their families when growing up. They cited such difficulties as not having enough food to eat, hardly anywhere to sleep, going to school bare-footed and generally, poor living conditions. Others explicitly rejected "the country life - carrying wood and water on head". In Seivright Gardens, the combined total of those who identified economic problems and child labour represented 24.9 percent, close to the Braeton proportion of 22.8 percent.

In looking back at their childhood, several of our sample males were explicit about the pain they felt at being separated from one or both parents. This was more common in the urban than in the rural samples, being 10.2 percent in Seivright Gardens and 12.2 percent in Braeton. It was nonetheless a significant problem for rural men, being in the region of 6 percent for both Mavis Bank and Woodside. Some of the sample expressed their unhappiness at having been sent to live with grandparents or godparents, while others explained that as children they felt the need to

spend time with both parents. In this regard, one respondent said that he used to steal away to visit his father.

The actual quality of the parent-child relationship was also of concern to some fathers who complained of not being treated with respect or kindness by a parent. This was summarized by one father who said simply that he did not want his child to dislike him the way he disliked his father and mother.

Urban residents seemed more likely than rural to recognise the disadvantages resulting from weak schooling in their youth. This was pointed out by equal proportions of Seivright and Braeton fathers (12.6 percent), and was identified by 9.3 percent in Mavis Bank and 5.1 percent in Woodside. This differential may be easily understood in terms of the economic basis of the four communities, and the ways in which the different samples made their livelihood. In looking back at his poor performance in school, a rural respondent commented "Not having a father and a big brother, I never loved school" - a statement that also revealed his own conception of the gender differentiations in child-rearing. As noted in the literature review (Section B), this is a familiar theme in regard to questions of male parenting.

In retrospect, many fathers were able to identify what they labelled as "bad habits" which impeded their own development. This included drinking, smoking, stealing, fighting or generally idling with "bad company". Others described the problems of violence in their communities; this ranged from being beaten or bullied by bigger boys to being involved in gun violence, knowing that a sister was raped, being robbed and kidnapped, and in one instance, to being involved in the death of another man. In general, this was termed "the rough life" from which fathers hoped to be able to shield their own children.

Not without reason, the low-income community of Seivright Gardens reported the highest proportion of fathers whose concern centered around the problems of bad habits, and violent surroundings. As shown in Table 2.3, the proportion in this category was 11.4 percent in Seivright Gardens, as compared with roughly 7 percent in Braeton and Mavis Bank. The proportion in Woodside was 10.2 percent, with the greater emphasis being on bad habits.

The assessments which fathers made of their own childhood, as discussed above, point to quite a high level of awareness among men of all ages about some of the requirements for effective fathering. While there was a strong emphasis on economic factors, this may reflect the harsh realities which face Jamaican families, and which were clearly articulated in all of the community discussion groups. Does this also imply that Jamaican fathers still define their roles primarily in terms of economic support? To what extent have parenting conceptions widened among our sample? These questions are examined in more detail below.

3. The Meaning Of Children

For Jamaican men, children are the fruit of love, a way to cement their relationships with women, part of the natural order of life, and a declaration both of their own manhood and their movement into maturity. The emphasis on love between man and woman as a motivating factor in each partner's desire for a child dominated all responses to these questions, and seemed to provide the scaffolding around which conceptions of parenting were developed.

Linked to the strong positive motivations which underlay child-bearing among our sample males, was also the expression of a deep attachment to fathering roles. The large majority stated that they would have negative self-assessments if they had not been able to have children, that they could not consider marrying a woman who was infertile,

and that the experience of fathering had changed them in basic ways. These were among the clearest patterns which emerged from the survey in all four communities, and remained unvarying across age and education groups, as well as among men in different types of families and unions. Regardless of the social and economic factors which combined to determine their individual positions, the men interviewed in this study felt that children were an essential good.

In the survey, the motivation for having children was probed through the following two questions:

- What makes a man want to give a woman a baby?
- As far as you understand it, what makes a woman want to have a baby for a man?

Men's own reactions to the actual experience of fathering a child were tapped by asking two other questions:

- If you had no children, how would you feel?
- Do you think that having children has changed you in any way?

In addition, an attempt was made to establish a bottom line by asking:

- Would you marry a woman whom you know could not have children?

While this question did serve to elicit very clear statements of men's conceptions regarding fertility, and the role that male-female relations should play in achieving this goal, the question by itself was weakened by the failure to anticipate that respondents might offer a conditional "yes" answer. Since marriage and child-bearing are quite separate events within the Jamaican family system, the response of "yes" to the above question was sometimes accompanied by a rider, "Yes, if I had children elsewhere" or "Yes, but I could not confine myself to her". In the case of this question, the category of men who gave a definite unconditional "no" is of more analytic interest.

Male perceptions of the reasons why men wanted children, and why women wanted children, are shown in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. In the case of men, the motivation for having children was explained in terms of the loving relationship between a couple by approximately a half of respondents in the four areas. This was summarized in the phrase - "to see what love can produce". The proportion of men who gave this reason was lowest in Woodside, where it was given by 41.8 percent of the sample, but this was partially balanced by the larger proportion of Woodside males who referred to the man's desire to hold the woman by giving her a child. This proportion ranged from 15.4 percent in Woodside to 10.2 percent in Braeton. Some men elaborated on this need to hold a woman by explaining that the man might want "to keep her quiet, to stop her running around", or that in some cases, the man did not want to support only the woman, as he might not be sure where his money was going.

The economic value of children was mentioned frequently by rural men, but was of negligible importance in the urban areas. This motivation was given by nearly a third (30.8 percent) of Woodside males, and by 19.1 percent of Mavis Bank fathers. In the case of Seivright Gardens and Braeton, the corresponding proportions were only 4.1 and 2.5 percent respectively.

Those who stressed the value of family life observed that children kept the home together, and that a family needed children. Others viewed the question of child-bearing in less volitional terms, seeing it as "a natural thing", something which was "ordained", necessary in order to "get the woman's womb blessed", or simply because "woman was created to multiply". While those who emphasized the natural order tended to relate this to the continuation of the race, others spoke about a man's need to have inheritors, both "so that his name could stand" and so as to make him work harder. In addition to establishing one's

Table 3.1

Male Perceptions of Reasons Why Men Want Children

Reasons for Wanting Children	Proportion of Men Citing Reason			
	Woodside [N = 91]	Mavis Bank [N = 94]	Seivright Gardens [N = 242]	Braeton [N = 244]
Children are the Fruit of Love	41.8 %	48.9 %	51.7 %	49.6 %
For Family Life	6.6	8.5	2.5	3.3
To Hold Woman	15.4	12.8	14.9	10.2
To Prove Manhood	7.7	13.8	13.6	9.8
To Become Mature	1.1	7.4	9.5	12.7
Child is Help and Company	30.8	19.1	4.1	2.5
For Inheritance	6.6	7.4	12.4	13.5
Carelessness	4.4	1.1	3.7	8.6
Sex Drive	1.1	3.2	-	1.2
Natural/God's Will	1.1	3.2	9.5	8.2
Mother Wants a Child	-	3.2	1.2	2.0

Table 3.2

Male Perceptions of Reasons Why Women Want Children

Reasons Why Women Want Children	Proportion of Men Citing Reason			
	Woodside [N = 97]	Mavis Bank [N = 95]	Seivright Gardens [N = 248]	Braeton [N = 247]
Love	51.5 %	60.0 %	49.6 %	53.0 %
To Share Something with the man	-	1.1	0.8	2.0
Want a Family	4.1	4.2	14.5	10.1
To Hold Man	46.4	30.5	37.5	39.7
To Show Fertility	5.2	10.5	6.5	4.0
To Gain Respect	-	3.2	6.0	7.3
Economic Reasons	13.4	6.3	16.1	15.8
Old-Age Pension	1.0	1.1	0.8	1.2
Accident	-	-	2.4	2.4
Man insists on a Child	-	-	2.0	1.2

virility, a child may also be wanted in order "to see what fatherhood is like", i.e. part of the process of maturing.

When men proceeded to advance their ideas of the reasons why women wanted children, there was a somewhat greater emphasis on love as a motivating factor in the two rural samples than in the urban areas. The proportion was high in all four communities, however, accounting for at least 50 percent of all males. Love was also put forward more frequently to explain women's motivations than in the case of male behaviour. In addition, the men in all areas saw women as trying to hold men through child-bearing, with this reason being cited by at least 30 percent of the sample in each community (Table 3.2).

The proportion of men who put forward economic reasons to explain women's behaviour ranged from 6 percent in Mavis Bank to 16 percent in Seivright Gardens, with this category focusing specifically on financial support from the father. It was also recognised that women were under social pressure to demonstrate fertility, so that they could not be labelled "mules". This reason ranged from 4.0 percent in Braeton to 10.5 percent in Mavis Bank. In addition, other men pointed out that women were able to demand more appreciation or respect in their interactions with men when they had children; this was expressed as "no children: no talk".

The identification which men expressed in regard to their fathering role is summarized in Table 3.3, which presents three measures of the strength of attachment to fathering roles. These include the proportion who would feel negatively about themselves if they had no children, the proportion who felt changed by their fathering role, and those who would not marry an infertile woman. As this summary makes clear, the majority of men in the four samples derived an important part of their self identification from being fathers. About three out of every four men said they would have negative self-assessments if they had been unable

Table 3.3

Strength of Attachment to Fathering
Roles Indicated by Sample Males

	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Percent who would have Negative Self-Assessments if not Fathers	77.1 %	79.8 %	75.3 %	73.0 %
Percent who Feel Changed by Fathering Role	72.0 %	64.3 %	86.9 %	77.8 %
Percent who would not marry an infertile woman	71.7 %	68.7 %	64.8 %	54.8 %

to father children, while the proportion who said that having children had changed their lives ranged from 64 percent to 87 percent. Furthermore, those who were clear that they would not marry an infertile woman ranged from 55 to 72 percent. The reasons which men gave for these opinions are elaborated in Tables 3.4 to 3.7.

The powerful and even primordial feelings which men held about fatherhood came tumbling out in response to the question on how they thought they would feel if they had no children. This intensity was evident from the language in which they phrased their replies:

- "I would feel like a bird without a wing"
- "I would feel like a tree in a forest without leaves"
- "I would feel no good as a man"
- "Like a eunuch"
- "I would feel haunted"
- "Like I am wasting my time"
- "Jealous of others who have"
- "I would run away from my wife"

Other adjectives included: useless, empty, lonely,
embarrassed, irresponsible,
unbalanced, strange

On the other hand, it should be noted that there were fathers who said that they would feel the same if they had no children, while some even said that they would be glad, since they would feel less burdened and would be carefree. From Table 3.5, it may be observed that those who said they would feel the same, or would be glad, were predominantly younger men. Among men under 35, the combined proportion for these two groups was 44.7 percent in Woodside, and 24.0 percent in Mavis Bank, but was lowest among older Braeton men, being in the order of 9.1 percent. But the greater financial security of this group, as well as their life-cycle stage, may contribute to their greater involvement with fatherhood.

Table 3.4

Men's Assessments of their Reactions
If they had not had Children

Assessment of Own Reaction If Had No Children	Proportion of Men with Specific Opinion			
	Woodside [N = 92]	Mavis Bank [N = 94]	Seivright Gardens [N = 235]	Braeton [N = 244]
Unhappy/Strange	54.3 %	51.1 %	31.9 %	38.9 %
Incomplete	22.8	18.1	24.7	22.5
Irresponsible or Violent	2.2	5.3	20.9	18.4
Less of a Man	6.5	16.0	2.6	-
Would Feel the Same	12.0	13.8	10.2	9.8
Would be Glad	14.1	6.4	2.1	2.5

Table 3.5

Men's Assessments of Reactions
To Having No Children by Age of Male

Assessment of Own Reaction If Had No Children	Proportion of Men with Specific Opinion							
	Woodside		Mavis Bank		Seivright Gardens		Braeton	
	<35 yrs [n=38]	35+ [N=54]	<35 [N=50]	35+ [N=44]	<35 [N=146]	+35 [N=89]	<35 [N=102]	35+ [N=142]
Unhappy/Strange	52.6%	55.6%	46.0%	56.8%	27.4%	39.3%	28.4%	46.5%
Incomplete	10.5	31.5	12.0	25.0	26.0	22.5	16.7	26.8
Irresponsible or Violent	2.6	1.9	4.0	6.8	25.3	13.5	28.4	11.3
Less of a Man	7.9	5.6	20.0	11.4	3.4	1.1	-	-
Would Feel the Same	18.4	7.4	20.0	6.8	13.0	5.6	13.7	7.0
Would be Glad	26.3	5.6	4.0	9.1	3.4	-	2.9	2.1

Table 3.6

Men's Assessments of the Ways in
which Fatherhood has Changed their Lives

Type of Change due to Fatherhood	Proportion of Men Reporting Type of Change			
	Woodside [N = 72]	Mavis Bank [N = 64]	Seivright Gardens [N = 217]	Braeton [N = 196]
Now more Responsible and Conscious	73.6 %	89.1 %	81.6 %	80.6 %
More Serious and Productive	26.4	12.5	23.5	30.1
Now Save and Manage Money	5.6	7.8	-	1.0
More Confident and Manly	2.8	-	1.8	1.0
Must now set example	-	1.6	10.6	3.6
Now share Family Life and Love	1.4	1.6	9.2	10.2
Less Women and Children	2.8	-	-	1.0
Plans and Resources now set back	12.5	6.2	0.5	1.0

Table 3.7

Attitude of Males towards Marrying
an Infertile Woman

Whether Willing	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Yes	14.1 %	17.2 %	14.8 %	21.2 %
No	71.7	68.7	64.8	54.8
Depends	14.1	4.0	16.4	17.2
Don't Know	-	10.1	4.0	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
percent				
number	100	99	250	250

The negative feelings which men expressed about being childless have been grouped into four main categories in Tables 3.4 and 3.5, as they tap somewhat different dimensions. Some men identified more than one type of feeling, but in general the main conclusion was that they would be subject to feeling unhappy and somewhat abnormal, if they were not fathers. It is of interest to note that Seivright men placed greatest emphasis on the civilizing effect of fatherhood, seeing in it a force towards more mature and responsible behaviour. In this case, younger men in the urban samples were most likely to point out that fatherhood had changed their way of life.

That fatherhood changes lives was the consensus of the majority of fathers in each community sample. This was noted above in Table 3.3, and the nature of these changes is shown in Table 3.6. If there is any one message which children convey to men, it is the need to be "responsible". This was the most common change which fathers identified in their lives as a result of having children, with the proportions standing at 73.6 percent in Woodside, 89.1 percent in Mavis Bank, 81.6 percent in Seivright Gardens and 80.6 percent in Braeton. This was expressed by fathers who spoke of the fact that they had become "more conscious", and was summarized by one respondent who said that fatherhood "made me more mature, and think positively about life".

Some fathers also spoke of the need to be more serious and productive, as well as the fact that they had to learn to save and to manage money. For some this meant that they had to stop gambling and drinking, "keeping a lot of girls", and generally, they could no longer afford to "spend a lot on sporting".

The father's role as moral guide for his children was articulated by those who spoke of the need to set an example for their children. This was expressed in different ways: some said that their values had changed, as they had to stop

cursing when children were around; others said that their behaviour was now more constructive; they "became a decent citizen", and that they had also become more tolerant.

Given these strong feelings about fatherhood, it is not surprising that the men in our sample expressed extreme discomfort about the idea of marrying a woman who could not bear children. Table 3.7 shows the proportions expressing outright rejection ("It would be a sin"), as well as those who said that it would depend on different factors. These factors included whether there was "a special love", whether the woman had money, or simply whether they already had children elsewhere.

While a few men argued that infecundity should not be a factor that isolated some women from others, most felt that a home without children was not a home. It was held that the lack of children would undermine the relationship between partners, as the man would seek to have children elsewhere, or that he would be generally promiscuous. An urban male speculated "I would be girly-girly" - a reference to a popular song about men with many sexual partners. The strong primordial attachment to children was expressed in the rejection of barren women by both urban and rural men. This was reflected in the statement of an urban father that he wanted to have children from his own seed, and in such responses from the rural samples as "My strength would go to waste", or more crudely, "Woman must produce to eat my labour".

4. Child-Rearing

What are fathers trying to achieve in their child-rearing efforts? What methods do they support? And how do they conceive of the Good Father and the Good Mother? In order to examine these issues, fathers were asked to list according to their importance, the three main principles which they were trying to develop in their children

regardless of whether these were boys or girls. Given these goals, they were next asked what were the most important things which fathers could do to train their children in the right and proper way. This series of questions was followed by a parallel set in regard to boys and girls, in order to trace any gender differentials in the attributes considered important for males and females, as well as in the methods of child-rearing.

These fairly specific questions were administered early in the questionnaire, following the respondent's listing of his children. They were also accompanied by an enquiry as to which parent, whether the mother or the father, should be most responsible for training the children. In addition, close to the end of the interview, each father was asked to summarize his understanding of the role of parents by means of the following two questions:

- To be a good father, what must a man do?
- And what do you think a woman should do, for people to consider her a good mother?

These wrap-up questions were separated from earlier questions in which fathers were asked to assess their own performance as fathers, and to indicate their degree of satisfaction with the way that their children were growing. These appraisals are discussed later (Section 6). In this section, we look at men's child-rearing objectives and methods, and their conceptions of parents' obligations.

Although the qualities which fathers listed as desirable in children included a wide range of attributes, for the purposes of this analysis they are grouped into six broad categories. These are:

1. Social values
2. Moral principles
3. Discipline and work
4. Self-confidence

5. Gender qualities
6. Sexual restraint

The qualities which are classified here as social values are, of course, related to those that are grouped under moral principles, but they are distinguished by their concern with the relations between individuals exercised primarily through social interaction. In the study, these included such principles as manners and good behaviour, obedience, respect, kindness, love, helpfulness, humility, compassion, communication and generally, "living good with people". Those in the category of moral principles were more directly related to man's relations with a Creator, or observance of a code of ethics which included honesty, truthfulness, integrity, a sense of justice, knowing right from wrong, self-respect, and overall, being "a decent citizen".

The qualities which are combined under the heading of discipline and work have several dimensions. At the most basic level, it included education and training, but it also referred more generally to being industrious and hard-working, displaying self-control and self-reliance, and being clean and tidy. In the case of boys, discipline extended to avoidance of drugs, smoking and gambling, while for girls, it included circumspect behaviour - what was generally referred to as "having pride in herself" or "holding up her head".

Self-confidence was stressed particularly for boys, with fathers pointing to the need for children to be able to help themselves and be able to go out on the street by themselves, to be independent, and to be leaders, not followers.

When asked particularly about the different principles desired in boys and in girls, more specific gender-related qualities emerged, which we have classified here as gender qualities and sexual restraint. For boys, the gender

injunctions were to be manly, to be rough, not to be a sissy, to play football, to show respect for women and not to become homosexuals. For girls, these gender-related qualities involved learning domestic work and being good homemakers. However, almost the entire content of the sexual restraint responses were directed at girls, and were expressed in the following terms:

- Don't run around with men/learn the facts of life/no sex before the time/get education before family/she must not play with bigger [people] than her size

The only concern expressed about boys' sexual restraint was that they should not have children too early.

In the eyes of our sample fathers, social values were the most important qualities to be inculcated in their children. These were mentioned most frequently as the first and second most important principles in each of the four communities, with the proportion ranging from 40 percent in Braeton to 72 percent in Mavis Bank (Table 4.1). Moral values were given priority as the third most important in Woodside only, while in Mavis Bank, fathers were equally divided between social values and moral principles for third place.

It is of interest to note that discipline and hard work were accorded somewhat greater importance in Braeton for all three choices, a pattern which may be related to the greater social mobility of residents in this community. In general however, there was little variation among respondents in the weights which they attached to different qualities, nor did age or education seem to exert any major effect.

When comparison is made between the qualities which fathers emphasized in sons and in daughters, it is observed that discipline and hard work were assigned considerable importance, and that sex-role attributes now came to the

Table 4.1

Main Principles which Fathers Try to
Develop in Their Children

		Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
		Most Important Principle			
Social Values		65.7 %	72.2 %	54.4 %	40.2 %
Moral Principles		15.2	8.2	21.9	30.3
Discipline and Work		19.2	19.6	19.3	27.0
Self Confidence		-	-	4.5	2.5
Total	percent number	100.0 99	100.0 97	100.0 228	100.0 244
		Second Most Important Principle			
Social Values		57.8	54.8	45.6	41.0
Moral Principles		14.4	25.0	16.4	23.3
Discipline and Work		26.7	19.0	30.8	32.4
Self Confidence		1.1	1.2	7.2	3.3
Total	percent number	100.0 90	100.0 84	100.0 195	100.0 210
		Third Most Important Principle			
Social Values		33.3	35.6	40.8	34.1
Moral Principles		40.5	35.6	25.0	26.0
Discipline and Work		23.8	26.7	31.7	30.9
Self Confidence		2.4	2.2	2.5	8.9
Total	percent number	100.0 42	100.0 45	100.0 120	100.0 123

fore. At least a third of all fathers stressed the need for discipline and hard work in their sons, while men with daughters also pointed to the need for this kind of self-control in girls (Table 4.2). Unfortunately, it is not possible at this stage to compare attitudes towards sexual behaviour in all of the communities, since this was coded differently for the four samples.

The methods which fathers endorsed in order to develop desired qualities are shown in Tables 4.3 and 4.4. These responses indicated a strong support for counseling and communicating, as well as recognition of the need to set an example and to spend time with the child. From these responses, it seemed that rural fathers were more likely to recommend counseling, while urban fathers stressed the importance of example. When the preferred method was cross-classified with the desired quality as in Table 4.4, there did not seem to be any difference in the methods which were recommended in order to develop particular qualities.

Since in general there was little direct reference to corporal punishment in the discussion of child-rearing methods, it is useful to examine the more extreme situation when children refused to accept a father's authority. This was probed by asking fathers whether they sometimes had problems getting children to accept their authority, and if so, how they dealt with this situation. The responses to this question are shown in Table 4.5, revealing that while counseling and explaining were still the preferred method for dealing with both rebellious sons and daughters, there was certainly more frequent resort to physical punishment, and to shouting and quarreling. There is no difference in the proportions who would use corporal punishment for boys and for girls, but since there was no attempt to specify the age of the offending child, this may be of no significance.

Table 4.2 Main Principles Which Fathers Try to Develop in Boys and in Girls

Desired Qualities	Main Qualities Desired in Boys				Main Qualities Desired in Girls			
	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Social Values	29.1 %	21.0 %	15.8 %	13.8 %	36.4 %	28.0 %	10.1 %	11.5 %
Moral Principles	25.5	18.4	19.2	10.1	11.4	4.0	30.3	17.7
Discipline and Work	32.7	44.7	35.8	39.4	34.1	44.0	26.6	33.3
Self-Confidence	5.4	2.6	3.3	9.2	-	-	2.8	8.3
Gender Qualities	5.5	13.2	25.8	27.5	9.1	8.0	30.3	29.2
Sexual Restraint	1.8	-	-	-	9.1	16.0	-	-
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
number	55	38	120	109	44	25	109	96

Table 4.3 **Main Child-Rearing Methods Emphasized by Fathers**

	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Counsel and Communicate	38.1 %	36.5 %	20.9 %	19.4 %
Set Example	19.6	17.7	30.7	35.9
Spend Time with Child	10.3	4.2	13.9	12.9
Be loving	6.2	3.1	3.7	8.1
Be strict	-	1.0	6.6	4.4
Teach Fear of God	4.1	5.2	4.5	3.6
Encourage Education	4.1	13.5	5.3	6.5
Give Practice in Specific Habit	9.3	7.3	4.5	4.0
Other	7.2	11.4	9.8	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
percent number	97	96	244	247

Table 4.4

Ranking of Child-Rearing Methods in
Relation to Qualities Desired in Child

Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Social Values			
1. Counsel [38.1 %]	1. Counsel [39.7 %]	1. Set an Example [29.9 %]	1. Set an Example [36.7 %]
2. Set an Example [19.0 %]	2. Set an Example [16.2 %]	2. Counsel [19.7 %]	2. Counsel [16.3 %]
3. Spend Time [9.5 %]	3. Educate [11.8 %]	3. Spend Time [14.2 %]	3. Spend Time [14.3 %]
3. Be Loving [9.5 %]			
Moral Principles			
1. Counsel [35.7 %]	1. Specific Training [25.0 %]	1. Set an Example [36.5 %]	1. Set an Example [39.2 %]
2. Specific Training [28.6 %]	2. Counsel [12.5 %]	2. Counsel [25.0 %]	2. Counsel [18.9 %]
3. Set an Example [21.4 %]	2. Set an Example [12.5 %]	3. Spend Time [15.4 %]	3. Spend Time [12.2 %]
	2. Teach Fear of God [12.5 %]		
Discipline and Work			
1. Counsel [36.8 %]	1. Counsel [38.9 %]	1. Set an Example [28.3 %]	1. Set an Example [28.8 %]
2. Set an Example [21.1 %]	2. Set an Example [27.8 %]	2. Counsel [19.6 %]	2. Counsel [25.8 %]
3. Spend Time [21.1 %]	2. Educate [16.7 %]	3. Spend Time [17.4 %]	3. Spend Time [12.1 %]

Table 4.5 Main Ways in Which Fathers Respond to Rebellious Sons and Daughters

Main Response	Response When Son Rebels				Response When Daughter Rebels			
	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Counsel & Explain	36.6 %	40.0 %	50.6 %	59.6 %	34.2 %	36.8 %	57.5 %	55.6 %
Shout / Threaten	12.2	4.0	8.4	9.7	7.9	5.3	5.5	7.3
Beat or Rough Up	34.1	36.0	21.7	10.6	26.3	36.8	20.5	11.1
Insist on Obedience	2.4	8.0	4.8	5.8	2.6	5.3	6.9	8.4
Punish / Discipline	4.9	4.0	7.2	2.9	5.3	5.3	2.7	2.4
Never Hit	--	--	--	--	7.9	--	--	--
Other	9.8	8.0	7.3	11.4	15.8	10.5	6.9	15.2
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
number	41	25	82	104	38	19	73	81

In each of the four communities, the responsibility for training the children was usually held to be the job of both parents. In response to the question regarding which parent should be most responsible, those who said both parents accounted for 51.5 percent of Woodside respondents, 54.5 percent in Mavis Bank, and 63.8 percent in Seivright Gardens. Braeton recorded the highest level of responses in this category, as nearly four-fifths (79.0 percent) of this group said both parents. In each area, the remainder of the sample was equally divided between those who said the father, and those who said the mother should be most responsible. About 5 percent of each sample also suggested that the father should have main responsibility for the sons, while the mother trained the daughters.

It should also be noted that in regard to sex education for children, the large majority of fathers viewed this as the joint responsibility of parents. In response to a specific question as to who should tell children about sex, at least three-fifths of each sample said both parents. This accounted for 64.0 percent of Woodside fathers, 72.4 percent of those in Mavis Bank, 71.3 percent of Seivright Gardens, and 73.1 percent in Braeton. In those cases where fathers did not give this response, they were more likely to say that the mother should tell the child about sex, or in some instances suggested a division of responsibility along gender lines. It was considered appropriate for the father to talk with the boy, and the mother to talk with the girl, but it was almost never suggested that the father should have such discussions with his daughter. This is not surprising in light of the general concern about incest, a concern that was also reflected in the statements made elsewhere by fathers that daughters should dress modestly within the home.

When fathers were asked to summarize their conceptions of what was required of a good father and a good mother, a

pattern of segregated role expectations was evident. In regard to fathers, there was a strong agreement that their responsibilities were to provide economic support for their families and to create a good family life. Mothers, on the other hand, were seen as primarily responsible for caring their children and the home, and through their own behaviour setting a proper example for children.

Despite this common conception, there were very marked differences between rural and urban fathers in regard to both men's and women's roles, as shown in Tables 4.6 to 4.9. These may be briefly summarized:

- (i) Rural men had much narrower conceptions of fathering roles, with economic maintenance being seen as the dominant responsibility. In the urban samples, fathers were more likely to also emphasize the creation of a good family life as the key to a good father.
- (ii) Urban men were far more likely than those in the rural samples to assign women with shared responsibility for economic support of children.
- (iii) The need to express love towards children was identified mainly in regard to mothers, but less often in relation to fathers. However, loving children was included in some descriptions of the father's role in creating a good family life.
- (iv) Although discipline and strictness were not high on the list of fathering responsibilities, it is worth noting that in the rural samples, this also extended to the father's right to scold the mother.

Since respondents' descriptions of the good father and the good mother may have involved more than one quality, it is useful to examine both the first response, as in Table 4.6, as well as the relative weight of individual

Table 4.6 **Main Parenting Responsibilities which Males assign to Fathers and to Mothers**

	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Responsibility	The Good Father			
Maintain Family	78.8%	75.8%	51.5%	46.1%
Create good family life	4.0	8.1	27.0	36.6
Set an Example	6.1	2.0	11.2	6.6
Guide and Educate	6.1	7.1	3.4	1.2
Spend time and effort	-	1.0	5.2	8.6
Respect and Positive interaction	4.0	5.1	-	-
Provide Discipline	1.0	1.0	1.7	0.8
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
number	99	100	233	243
	The Good Mother			
Care children and home	59.8%	61.2%	15.9%	22.6%
Set an Example	19.6	12.2	28.9	25.5
Show love	7.2	10.2	17.6	21.0
Show respect	6.2	3.1	7.1	3.3
Guide and counsel	1.0	8.2	5.4	4.1
Economic support	4.1	2.0	22.6	21.8
Educate children	1.0	-	-	-
Communicate with Father/marry father	1.0	1.0	0.8	1.2
Discipline children	-	2.0	1.7	0.4
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
number	97	98	239	243

Table 4.7 **Relative Importance Attached by Men to Different**
Fathering Responsibilities

[percent of all responses]

Woodside [N=136]	Mavis Bank [N=161]	Seivright Gardens [N=375]	Braeton [N=418]
1. Maintain Family [69.9%]	1. Maintain Family [69.6%]	1. Maintain Family [46.7%]	1. Maintain Family [49.3%]
2. Guide and Educate [8.8%]	2. Create good Family life [9.9%]	2. Create good Family life [25.3%]	2. Create good Family life [27.3%]
3. Create good Family life [7.4%]	3. Guide and Educate [8.7%]	3. Set an Example [11.2%]	3. Spend time and effort [12.0%]
4. Set an Example [5.9%]	4. Show respect [5.6%]	4. Spend time and effort [8.0%]	4. Set an Example [6.7%]
5. Show respect [5.1%]	5. Set an Example [3.7%]	5. Guide and Educate [6.1%]	5. Guide and Educate [6.7%]

Table 4.8

**Relative Importance Attached by Men to
Different Mothering Responsibilities**

[percent of all responses]

Woodside [N=128]	Mavis Bank [N=139]	Seivright Gardens [N=382]	Braeton [N=388]
1. Care children and home [50.8%]	1. Care children and home [54.0%]	1. Set an Example [23.6%]	1. Care children and home [30.4%]
2. Set an Example [20.3%]	2. Show love [14.4%]	2. Economic Support [23.0%]	2. Economic Support [20.1%]
3. Show love [10.9%]	3. Set an Example [11.5%]	3. Care children and home [19.4%]	3. Set an Example [19.8%]
4. Economic Support [5.5%]	4. Guide and Counsel [7.9%]	4. Show love [17.8%]	4. Show love [15.5%]
5. Guide and Counsel [1.6%]	5. Economic Support [5.8%]	5. Guide and Counsel [6.5%]	5. Guide and Counsel [6.2%]

Table 4.9 **Ranking for the Main Combinations* of Parenting Responsibilities Identified for Fathers and Mothers**

[percent of all responses]

Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
1. Dad to mind Mom to care [51.0%]	1. Dad to mind Mom to care [54.1%]	1. Dad to mind Mom to mind [14.8%]	1. Dad to mind Mom to mind [12.3%]
2. Dad to mind Mom as Example [12.2%]	2. Dad to mind Mom as Example [8.2%]	2. Dad to mind Mom as Example [13.9%]	2. Dad to mind Mom to Care [11.1%]
3. Dad to mind Mom to love [6.1%]	3. Dad to mind Mom to love [4.1%]	3. Dad to mind Mom to care [9.7%]	3. Dad to create good Family life Mom to love [10.7%]
4. Dad to guide Mom to mind [4.1%]	3. Dad to create good Family life Mom to love [4.1%]	4. Dad to mind Mom to love [8.0%]	4. Dad to mind Mom as example [9.5%]
4. Dad to guide Mom to care [4.1%]	3. Dad to guide Mom as example [4.1%]	5. Dad to create good Family life Mom as example [7.6%]	5. Dad to create good Family life Mom as example [8.6%]
Total 81.6% [N=98]	Total 74.6% [N=98]	Total 54.0% [N=237]	Total 52.2% [N=243]

* Based on First Responses only

attributes, when all responses are considered (Tables 4.7 and 4.8). While this kind of comparison serves to ensure a balanced assessment of men's views, it does not introduce any major change in the findings. When all responses are included, Woodside and Mavis Bank men show slightly more concern with the non-economic aspects of fathering, but the economic responsibilities nonetheless account for 70 percent of all responses.

In regard to men's definition of good mothers, Table 4.8 which is based on all responses, does not create any marked difference in the distribution, as the three main responsibilities are seen in the urban areas to be care of children and home, setting an example, and economic support. In the rural samples, the mother's responsibility to care the child and the home is assigned at least twice as much importance as any other responsibility.

It is also of interest to take a closer look at the requirements which are grouped under "setting a good example" for mothers. In the rural samples, this included such injunctions as modesty, dressing properly, "putting the best outside", and what was referred to as "carrying herself good". In the urban samples, men stressed that the mother should "carry herself like a lady", respect herself, and stay out of gossip. It is apparent that the "life of example" which was repeatedly said to be the responsibility of mothers, involved elements of decorum, sexual restraint, privacy and personal dignity, which was not quite the same as the example fathers were expected to set.

The higher level of asymmetry in rural men's conceptions of parenting responsibilities is graphically shown in Table 4.9, which is based on a cross-classification of father's and mother's responsibilities. From this it may be seen that it is only in the urban samples of Seivright Gardens and Braeton that men frequently identified economic support as the responsibility of both father and mother.

This combination represented 14.8 percent of all responses in Seivright Gardens, and 12.3 percent in Braeton. In the case of both Woodside and Mavis Bank, the three leading combinations all involved the role of father as breadwinner, while mother was assigned various tasks in caring for children; to set examples and to love children. Together these combinations accounted for 69.3 percent of Woodside responses and 66.4 percent of those in Mavis Bank. There was a much wider dispersion in the urban samples, as the three leading combinations accounted for only 38.4 percent of responses from Seivright fathers, and for 34.1 percent in Braeton.

The fact that there was no dispute over the father's essential obligation to provide economic support for his children was demonstrated by asking a direct question: "Do men have the responsibility to support their children?" This question may be expected to elicit a normative response, since in fact a negative answer would run counter to the laws of the country. However, the reasons which fathers put forward to justify their agreement with this code are of some interest, since they indicated a mixture of moral commitment, recognition of societal norms and pragmatism.

Survey respondents argued that a man should support his children because it was his moral duty, and that as head of the house, it was his responsibility. Further, because men generally earned more than women, the mother could not be expected to manage alone. This principle was described as a law of nature, since children were part of the man; they were described as "their young fruit". Some respondents said that in regard to children "men disturbed them where they were", that is, brought them into the world, and therefore were responsible. Some of these responses seemed to convey that in men's world view, they carried greater responsibility for the transmission of life than did women,

as is suggested in such statements as "Without the man, no child" and "He started it, so he must finish it".

The acknowledgment of societal norms was expressed in such statements as:

"Society frowns on a man who doesn't support his children"

"If a man doesn't support his child, he is a worthless man"

"Every man should be a breadwinner"

On the other hand, simple pragmatism sometimes seemed to lie behind the acceptance of maintenance responsibilities, since men pointed out that if the father did not support the child, another man would. Alternatively, the child would hate and resent him, or would go astray and turn to begging and stealing. While there was a general consensus on the issue of paternal economic responsibility, it should also be noted that some fathers seemed to have adopted a more relaxed approach to the question, as expressed in the reply "If he is working, he should help out".

5. Fathers and Childcare

Since many of the responsibilities which our sample males assigned to fathers could be executed with little "hands-on" involvement (except for the chastising of children), it was considered useful to ask fathers about the extent and regularity of their child-care activities.

These activities included tidying children, playing with them, helping with homework, reasoning with them and staying with them while the mother was otherwise engaged. These questions were asked separately in regard to inside and outside children, and were limited to children under 15 years. These findings are briefly summarized here.

Despite the fact that our sample fathers were unanimous in assigning childcare responsibilities to mothers, as

discussed above, nonetheless by their own reports, they were actively involved in the daily care of the children in their homes. From Table 5.1 it may be seen that the proportion who tidied children at least once a week ranged from 41 percent in Braeton to 55 percent in Woodside and Mavis Bank, with the majority of these reporting daily activity.

The large majority played with their children on a daily basis, while between a half and three-quarters of each sample said that they took time out to reason with them every day. For reasons that are not clear, the fathers in our urban samples reported less frequent reasonings with their children, when compared to Woodside and Mavis Bank. However, the proportion who reasoned with their children at least once a week, was still high. This stood at 73.3 percent in Seivright Gardens and at 71.5 percent in Braeton.

In this context, the term "reasoning" refers to the elaboration of principles and understandings within a context of mutual exchange and respect. The concept is used within Jamaica to convey a discourse that is free from intimidation and threat, and that should lead to higher levels of understanding and more mature behaviour. If one accepts the importance of this kind of discourse between parent and child, it is critical to examine whether outside children are cut off from this kind of exchange with their fathers. This is shown in Table 5.2, while Table 5.3 looks at the frequency of play with outside children.

The major, and perhaps most disturbing finding from this analysis, is not simply that fathers are neglectful of outside children, but that this neglect will most likely occur when the man also has inside children. It is possible to trace this differential in Table 5.2 which shows the patterns for all fathers with outside children, and parallels this with the behavior of the two sub-groups: those who also have inside children, and those with no inside children.

Table 5.1

Frequency With Which Fathers Engage in
Child-Care Activities with Children
Under 15 Years Living With Them

Child-Care Activities	Woodside [N=62]	Mavis Bank [N=55]	Seivright Gardens [N=123]	Braeton [N=137]
TIDY CHILDREN				
Daily	32.3 %	34.5 %	33.3 %	21.9 %
Once/Twice Weekly	22.6	20.0	13.8	19.0
Occasionally	27.4	23.6	33.3	35.0
Never	11.7	21.8	19.5	24.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PLAY				
Daily	74.2	72.2	58.4	62.3
Once/Twice Weekly	19.4	22.2	18.4	17.1
Occasionally	6.5	5.6	17.6	19.2
Never	--	--	5.6	1.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
HELP WITH HOMEWORK				
Daily	38.2	60.0	33.3	38.3
Once/Twice Weekly	18.2	26.7	18.5	14.2
Occasionally	25.4	11.1	27.8	27.0
Never	18.2	2.2	20.4	20.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
REASON WITH THEM				
Daily	67.2	68.0	54.3	51.4
Once/Twice Weekly	29.3	26.0	19.0	20.1
Occasionally	1.7	6.0	21.6	23.6
Never	1.7	--	5.2	4.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
STAY WITH CHILDREN				
Daily	45.2	40.0	47.5	44.8
Once/Twice Weekly	22.6	38.2	19.5	17.5
Occasionally	30.6	18.2	29.7	32.2
Never	1.6	3.6	3.4	5.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5.2 Frequency With Which Fathers Reason With Outside Children in Relation To Whether Father Also Has Inside Children

How Often Father Reasons With Outside Child*	Woodside			Mavis Bank			Seivright Gardens			Braetson		
	All Fathers With Outside Kids	Fathers Who Also Have Inside Kids	Fathers With Outside Kids	All Fathers With Outside Kids	Fathers Who Also Have Inside Kids	Fathers With Outside Kids	All Fathers With Outside Kids	Fathers Who Also Have Inside Kids	Fathers With Outside Kids	All Fathers With Outside Kids	Fathers Who Also Have Inside Kids	Fathers With Outside Kids
Daily	8.3 %	12.5 %	5.0 %	13.2 %	--	19.2 %	7.5 %	5.1 %	8.6 %	7.3 %	2.5 %	10.7 %
Once/Weekly	27.8	--	50.0	36.8	33.3	38.5	32.5	41.0	28.4	33.3	27.5	37.5
Occasionally	47.2	68.8	30.0	39.5	41.7	38.5	37.5	35.9	38.3	37.5	45.0	32.1
Never	16.7	18.8	15.0	10.5	25.0	3.8	22.5	17.9	24.7	21.9	25.0	19.6
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
number	36	16	20	38	12	26	120	39	81	96	40	56

* Limited to Children under 15 years

Table 5.3

Frequency With Which Fathers Play With Outside Children in Relation
To Whether Father Also Has Inside Children

How Often Father Plays With Outside Child*	Woodside			Mavis Bank			Seivright Gardens			Braetson		
	All Fathers With Out- side Kids	Fathers Who Also Have In- side Kids	Fathers With Only Outside Kids	All Fathers With Out- side Kids	Fathers Who Also Have In- side Kids	Fathers With Only Outside Kids	All Fathers With Out- side Kids	Fathers Who Also Have In- side Kids	Fathers With Only Outside Kids	All Fathers With Out- side Kids	Fathers Who Also Have In- side Kids	Fathers With Only Outside Kids
Daily	13.2 %	12.5 %	13.6 %	17.1 %	--	24.1 %	13.3 %	7.5 %	15.9 %	11.3 %	2.5 %	17.5 %
Once/Twice Weekly	31.6	18.8	40.9	29.3	25.0	31.0	26.6	25.0	27.3	30.9	25.0	35.1
Occasion- ally	47.4	56.3	40.9	36.6	41.7	34.5	46.9	47.5	46.6	43.3	50.0	38.6
Never	7.9	12.5	4.5	17.1	33.3	10.3	13.3	20.0	10.2	14.4	22.5	8.8
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
number	38	16	22	41	12	29	128	40	88	97	40	57

* Limited to Children
under 15 years

Whereas the data in Table 5.1 showed that fathers with children at home were likely to reason with these inside children on a frequent basis (at least once a week), from the reports of our sample fathers, this was quite an infrequent exchange with outside children. This comparison may be facilitated by comparing those fathers who said that they reasoned with children either daily, or at least once a week. In Woodside, this proportion was 96.5 percent for inside children, but 36.1 percent for outside children. If the father also had inside children, this proportion fell as low as 12.5 percent, but if he had only outside children, his level of contact was likely to be much higher, in the region of 55.0 percent.

The pattern was the same in both Mavis Bank and in Braeton, and it was only in Seivright Gardens that the presence of inside children did not work to the detriment of those on the outside, in those cases where fathers had both. However, the major disadvantage outside children experienced in comparison with inside children was still apparent in Seivright Gardens. Only 40 percent of fathers with outside children reasoned with them at least once weekly, in contrast to the 73 percent of those who interacted with their inside children with this frequency.

The same disadvantages can be discerned from Table 5.3 which looks at the frequency with which fathers played with outside children. While the contrast between this table and Table 5.1 is even more pronounced, as is the difference in the level of interaction reported with outside children (men already have inside children), there may be less significance to this measure based on play with a child. Since there is no attempt here to control for the age of the child, it is possible that outside children are on average older than their inside siblings, and there is consequently less indulgence in play.

It is possible to speculate about the reasons for this relative neglect of outside children, but our study is not designed to provide such answers. It may be the case that the fathering urge is satisfied, or exhausted by the demands of inside children, or perhaps, the inability to contribute financially to those on the outside leads to a deliberate curtailment of the father's level of interaction with these children. Alternatively, there may be pressures both from the man's new partner, or from the outside baby-mother's new partner, to break the father-child bond. While we cannot provide any information on the strength of these different forces, it is useful to examine how men assessed their own fathering performance, given the conflicts in which many found themselves. This is discussed in the following section.

6. Fathering: Success Or Failure?

In the survey, the discussion of child-rearing was introduced by first asking fathers whether they thought that bringing up children nowadays was more difficult than when they were children. This elicited a general agreement that the job was more difficult nowadays, in light of the economic difficulties, the fact that children were now more unruly, and the added social dangers of drugs and crime. The proportions of fathers who said that child-rearing was more difficult nowadays accounted for 92.0 percent of the Woodside sample, 81.8 percent in Mavis Bank, 89.2 percent in Seivright Gardens and 86.3 percent in Braeton.

This question was followed by two specific questions, asking fathers to appraise their own performance, and to indicate how satisfied they felt with their children's development. These were phrased as follows:

- Looking back at your own performance, have you been able to be the kind of father you wanted to be?

- Are you satisfied with the way that your children have grown/are growing?

When placed in this self-critical mode, approximately half of the fathers in each sample said they were satisfied with their efforts, while between 20 and 40 percent said that they were definitely not satisfied (Table 6.1). There was no significant variation by either age or education in these responses. In the case of fathers' assessments of children's development, it was found that fathers in both Mavis Bank and Braeton indicated the lowest levels of dissatisfaction, as only 14 percent of these fathers said that they were not satisfied, in contrast to a fifth of those in Seivright Gardens and a third in Woodside. When these assessments were examined by age and by education level, the differentials did not prove to be statistically significant, although somewhat higher levels of satisfaction were reported amongst fathers with post-primary education.

While the greater dissatisfaction that was expressed in Woodside and in Seivright Gardens may be related to the poorer economic situation of these communities, it is important to consider the reasons which fathers themselves gave for their negative assessments of their children's development. This is shown in Table 6.2.

Economic factors were important, but they were not the only explanations, which underlay men's dissatisfaction with their ability to play an effective fathering role, and in turn, to see their children develop properly. The family structure was itself a major source of blockages in the communication between fathers and children, as reported in this study by those fathers who were not satisfied with their present situation. Among those who said that they were not satisfied with their own performance as fathers, approximately a quarter of those in the Seivright Gardens sample (23.0 percent), and a third of those in Braeton said that they lived separately from their children, and that the

Table 6.1 Level of Satisfaction Reported by Males with Their Fathering Role

Level of Satisfaction	Whether Satisfied with Oneself as a Father				Whether Satisfied with Way Children are Growing			
	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Satisfied	46.0 %	50.0 %	45.0 %	47.7 %	57.0 %	73.5 %	54.7 %	67.2 %
Partly Satisfied	15.0	13.5	22.9	29.5	10.0	12.2	23.5	18.7
Not Satisfied	39.0	36.5	32.1	22.8	33.0	14.3	21.8	14.1
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
number	100	96	240	241	100	98	243	241

Table 6.2

**Main Reasons Why Men Express Dissatisfaction
With Their Own Performance as Fathers and
and With the Way Their Children Are Growing**

[percent of all responses]

	Why Dissatisfied with Own Fathering Role			
	Woodside [N=43]	Mavis Bank [N=42]	Seivright Gardens [N=87]	Braeton [N=59]
Unable to provide sufficient economic support	81.4 %	95.2 %	70.1 %	62.7 %
Separated from Child and Mother not cooperative	9.3	2.4	23.0	32.2
	Why Dissatisfied with Children's Development			
	Woodside [N=34]	Mavis Bank [N=15]	Seivright Gardens [N=54]	Braeton [N=37]
Unable to provide sufficient economic support	58.8 %	46.7 %	42.6 %	40.5 %
Separated from child and Mother not cooperative	14.7	52.7	22.2	18.9
Mother not discharging her responsibilities	8.8	--	7.4	5.4
Child needs guidance	--	--	13.0	8.1
Better environment needed	--	--	9.3	13.5

mothers were not cooperative. In this regard, a father explained that he wanted to be close to his child, but the child was living with the mother. Another said that the children's mothers were unreasonable, as they did not want him to visit the children more often.

These were the same factors which combined with economic pressures to cause distress among fathers in regard to their children's development. Fathers repeatedly traced the cause of the problem to the fact that the children were not with them, they were unable to spend enough time with these outside children, and the relationship was poor. Some were critical of the way in which the mother was growing the child, while others who were happier with their child's development explained "They are under my control, and I do my best".

The problem of father-child separation was identified by about a fifth of the urban fathers who were dissatisfied with their children's growth, as shown in Table 6.2. It received greater emphasis by Mavis Bank fathers, but the numbers in this case are considerably smaller.

Given these concerns, and the fact that roughly a half of our sample males had outside children, it is worth examining the question of whether levels of satisfaction among fathers varied with the presence of outside children. This is the focus of Tables 6.3 and 6.4, both of which show higher levels of dissatisfaction among fathers with outside children, when compared to those with no outside children. The comparison may be pursued by comparing either the proportions who are satisfied, or those who are definitely not satisfied, and the conclusion is generally the same.

In assessing their own performance, the proportion of fathers who said that they were not satisfied ranged from a high of 42.0 percent among Woodside fathers with outside children to a low of 12.2 percent among Braeton fathers with

Table 6.3
Extent of Satisfaction with Fathering Role Indicated
by Men with and without outside children

Level of Satisfaction	Whether Satisfied with Oneself as Father											
	Woodside			Mavis Bank			Seivright			Braeton		
	Has out-side child	No out-side		Has out-side child	No out-side		Has out-side child	No out-side		Has out-side child	No out-side	
Satisfied	42.0%	59.5%	50.0%	47.1%	43.4%	50.0%	39.8%	54.1%				
Partly satisfied	16.0	5.4	11.1	17.6	22.0	21.2	29.3	33.7				
Not satisfied	42.0	35.1	38.9	35.3	34.6	28.8	30.9	12.2				
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
number	50	37	54	34	159	66	123	98				

Table 6.4 Extent of Satisfaction with Children's Development Indicated by Men with and without outside children

Level of Satisfaction	Whether Satisfied with way children are Growing									
	Woodside		Mavis Bank		Seivright		Braeton			
	Has out-side child	No out-side	Has out-side child	No out-side	Has out-side child	No out-side	Has out-side child	No out-side	Has out-side child	No out-side
Satisfied	52.9%	59.5%	69.1%	80.0%	49.3%	63.8%	60.2%	78.4%		
Partly satisfied	9.8	13.5	14.5	5.7	25.0	18.8	21.9	13.4		
Not satisfied	37.3	27.0	16.4	14.3	25.6	17.4	17.9	8.2		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
number	51	37	55	35	160	69	123	97		

no outside children. It is only in the case of Mavis Bank, that in looking at the converse (the proportions of satisfied fathers) we do not find the same consistent pattern in comparing fathers with and without outside children. Here the proportions of those who are partially satisfied serves to balance out the dissatisfaction levels.

In Table 6.4, the pattern is beyond dispute as in all cases except Mavis Bank, there is a difference of 8-10 percentage points in the levels of dissatisfaction expressed by the two groups of fathers. In this case, the levels of dissatisfaction range from the high of 37.3 percent among Woodside fathers with outside children to 8.2 percent among Braeton fathers with none outside.

It is difficult to overstate the significance of these findings, particularly when we link them to men's accounts of their own childhood experiences, and the unhappiness which they felt at not having sufficient interaction with their own parents. It must be recognised that the breakdown in relations between parents does not necessarily mean that children continue to grow with their mothers, but instead it may initiate a cycle of shifting children between relatives and friends. The tradition under which many children grow with women other than their mothers has been documented by Caribbean researchers (Durant-Gonzalez, 1982; Brodber, 1986), but at this stage, we do not know enough to assess the effects of this pattern on the child's development. We also do not know the extent to which child-shifting is more likely to be an experience to which the mother's first children are subject. This is clearly an area to which research should be directed. Only in this way will we be able to identify the mechanisms which should be encouraged in order to maintain the parent-child bond under the multiple mating system which characterizes Jamaican society.

7. The Domestic Division of Labour

For the Jamaican male, the trade-off between living in a co-residential union and the single life is the ability to assign much of the responsibility for housework to a female partner, in return for accepting the provider role. This is part of the formal system of sex-role definitions which Jamaican men were as happy to salute as men elsewhere in the Caribbean (Rodman, 1971; Powell, 1986). However, the reality of working class life often means that men may either live without partners, or may have partners who work outside the household. In this case, the necessity for a man to be able to "help himself" over-rides most taboos about domestic chores. In this section, we take a brief look at both the attitudes and the behaviour of our sample males in relation to the domestic duties that are essential to the maintenance of the household. Given the likelihood that both partners may have access to separate sources of income, we also explore the level of independence that is expected in regard to knowledge of each partner's earnings.

When fathers were asked whether there were any duties in the home which they thought that as men they should not do, the proportions who said "yes" totalled 24.5 percent in Woodside, 29.3 percent in Seivright Gardens and 23.9 percent in Braeton. The proportion was much lower in Mavis Bank, where it stood at 8.8 percent, but there was no readily apparent reason why the men in this area indicated less sex stereotyping on this issue.

The tasks which men rejected as unsuitable for their gender are shown in Table 7.1, and the distribution shows that in all areas there was a common rejection of house cleaning and washing clothes. The job of taking out the chamber pot was also highly stigmatized, but was less of a problem in Braeton, where the majority of houses had indoor bathrooms and so there was less need for a chamber at nights. Cooking was rejected by much larger proportions of

**Table 7.1 Domestic Tasks which Males Rejected as
Unsuitable for a Man**

[Percentage based on number of responses]

Task	Woodside [N=44]	Mavis Bank [N=14]	Seivright Gardens [N=98]	Braeton [N=89]
Cooking	25.0%	7.1%	4.1%	5.6%
Washing Dishes	-	-	15.3	10.1
Clean and Tidy House	13.7	28.6	17.3	16.9
Tidy Bath- room	-	-	4.1	6.7
Take out chamber pot	27.3	14.3	17.3	5.6
Wash clothes	27.3	35.7	26.5	33.7
Iron cloth- ing	-	-	2.0	3.4
Wash Women's underwear	4.5	7.1	9.2	15.7
Other*	2.3	7.1	4.1	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Includes sweeping the yard, going to the market and childcare

men in Woodside than in the other communities, but in all areas there was reference to the fact that men should not wash women's underwear.

The reasons which men gave for their avoidance of these tasks tended to be simply that it was a woman's job. Some said that they would wash clothes if the need arose, if the woman was absent or sick, but others rationalized their objection on the grounds that their role was to earn the money. Contact with women's underwear involves one of the strongest taboos, as noted by Anderson (1992), and the men in this study who made reference to this task, were explicit that it was not right for men to do this, especially as the woman might be menstruating. Some said that it was embarrassing, that it was beneath their dignity and they "could not go down to that level". Emptying the chamber elicited similar explanations, as men said that "it did not look good" for them to do this, and that anyway, they did not use it.

Given this body of beliefs about sex-roles, it is interesting to ask what are the domestic duties in which men do engage, and to what extent their involvement depends on the availability of a female partner. As noted above, at least 70 percent of the males in each community sample did not express an objection to any household task, so it may be logically expected that the majority do make a domestic contribution. In Tables 7.2 and 7.3, we present the responses for the four samples regarding the frequency with which they carried out five tasks: cooking, tidying the house, washing clothes, marketing and going to the shop. These responses are shown for all males, as well as those who live with partners, and those who live separately from their partners.

In all communities, the domestic activities to which men were most likely to contribute their labour was cooking. The proportion who cooked at least twice weekly ranged from

Table 7.2 The Frequency With Which Domestic Tasks are Undertaken by Men Who Live Together or Separately From Their Partners - Woodside and Mavis Bank

	Woodside			Mavis Bank		
	All Males [N=95]	Living With Partner [N=67]	Living Separately [N=28]	All Males [N=95]	Living With Partner [N=68]	Living Separately [N=27]
<u>COOKING</u>						
At least twice weekly	49.4 %	41.8 %	67.8 %	75.8 %	75.0 %	77.7 %
Occasionally	46.3	52.2	32.2	22.1	22.1	22.3
Never	4.2	6.0	--	2.1	2.9	--
<u>TIDYING HOUSE</u>						
At least twice weekly	44.2	35.8	64.3	55.3	50.7	66.6
Occasionally	46.3	50.7	35.8	37.3	40.3	29.6
Never	9.5	13.4	--	7.4	9.0	3.7
<u>WASHING CLOTHES</u>						
At least twice weekly	34.7	23.9	60.7	44.7	32.8	74.0
Occasionally	47.4	53.7	32.1	46.8	55.2	25.9
Never	17.9	22.4	7.1	8.5	11.9	--
<u>MARKETING</u>						
At least twice weekly	32.3	29.9	38.5	41.5	40.3	44.4
Occasionally	36.5	37.3	34.6	44.7	46.2	40.7
Never	31.2	32.8	26.9	13.8	13.4	14.8
<u>GOING TO THE SHOP</u>						
At least twice weekly	55.8	49.3	71.4	68.8	65.7	77.0
Occasionally	33.7	35.8	28.6	23.7	23.9	23.0
Never	10.5	14.9	--	7.5	10.4	--

Table 7.3 The Frequency With Which Domestic Tasks are Undertaken by Men Who Live Together or Separately From Their Partners - Seivright Gardens and Braeton

	Seivright Gardens			Braeton		
	All Males [N=236]	Living With Partner [N=128]	Living Separately [N=106]	All Males [N=240]	Living With Partner [N=175]	Living Separately [N=65]
<u>COOKING</u>						
At least twice weekly	50.8 %	42.2 %	61.1 %	43.8 %	40.0 %	53.8
Occasionally	44.9	53.1	35.2	48.7	52.5	38.4
Never	4.2	4.7	3.7	7.5	7.4	7.7
<u>TIDYING HOUSE</u>						
At least twice weekly	47.4	38.3	58.3	41.5	36.4	55.4
Occasionally	45.8	57.1	32.4	52.7	57.4	40.0
Never	6.8	4.7	9.3	5.8	6.2	4.6
<u>WASHING CLOTHES</u>						
At least twice weekly	27.6	18.8	38.0	22.4	15.3	41.5
Occasionally	50.4	56.3	43.5	49.0	53.4	36.9
Never	22.0	25.0	18.5	28.6	31.3	21.5
<u>MARKETING</u>						
At least twice weekly	30.9	28.9	33.3	36.1	36.3	35.4
Occasionally	49.6	51.6	47.3	49.8	51.1	46.2
Never	19.5	19.5	19.4	14.1	12.5	18.5
<u>GOING TO THE SHOP</u>						
At least twice weekly	43.5	36.8	51.9	43.2	42.8	44.6
Occasionally	49.1	55.5	41.5	49.1	49.7	47.7
Never	7.3	7.8	6.6	7.6	7.5	7.7

43.8 percent in Braeton to 75.8 percent in Mavis Bank. In all cases, those who lived alone were more likely to cook on a regular basis. Where men lived with partners who worked some distance from the home, there was usually a practical necessity for meal preparation to be started by the person who returned home first. As long as a partner was present, the tasks of washing clothes and tidying the house were more often relegated to the woman. However, even in these areas, it should be noted that significant proportions of our sample males either washed clothes, or helped to tidy the house at least twice a week. In regard to house-cleaning, this accounted for about a third of the men in Woodside, Mavis Bank and Seivright Gardens who lived with partners. In Braeton, the proportion who helped to tidy the house at least twice weekly was even higher, as it involved a half of all males with partners.

Traditionally, going to the market has tended to be a sex-segregated activity in Jamaica, dominated by women. This is less the case in regard to going to the shop, since men are more likely to take a casual walk to the shop, where they may also stop to have a drink, or to exchange words with friends. Our sample males were no exception in this regard, with the proportions who went to the shop at least twice weekly ranging from 43 percent in the two urban samples to 69 percent in Mavis Bank. The fact that shopping is more of a domestic necessity for men who live without partners is also evident from the higher proportions in this category who reported having to shop at least twice weekly.

In summary, the data in Tables 7.2 and 7.3 convey the impression of a fair level of involvement by men in domestic duties, despite the persistence of sex-stereotyping in the allocation of responsibilities. This is similar to our earlier finding in regard to child care, both serving to show that Jamaican fathers are capable of considerable

flexibility in the extent to which their domestic behaviour is controlled by normative statements of gender roles.

Finally, in looking at the segregation of sex-roles in the domestic arena, it is of interest to examine male attitudes towards the sharing of information on earnings. Brodber has shown that in agricultural areas, there is a tradition of female independence in regard to earnings from women's own cultivation plots (Brodber, 1986), and this may continue to be the case in urban areas where there is a pattern of high female labour force participation. In Tables 7.4 and 7.5, we present survey findings on men's attitudes toward the sharing of information between partners, while Table 7.6 looks at the contribution of women toward household expenses.

The responses which are summarized in Table 7.4 seem to point to quite a high level of segregation on the question of earnings, as at least a third of each sample said that neither partner should know the other's earnings. It also seems to be of some significance that it is in Braeton, where male earnings are highest, that there is the greatest emphasis on the privacy of information.

When we examine male attitudes in relation to whether they live with their partners (Table 7.5), it may be seen that in the rural areas, those who live with their partners are considerably more willing to allow these women to share knowledge of their earnings. In Woodside, slightly more than two-thirds (68.2 percent), of those who lived with partners agreed that they should know, in contrast to 44.4 percent of men who lived separately. The corresponding proportions in Mavis Bank were 64.7 percent for men living with partners, but only 29.6 percent for those who lived on their own. For the urban samples there was no significant differential in relation to common residence with partners. In Seivright Gardens, 52 percent of all men were willing to share knowledge of their earnings with their partner, while

Table 7.4

Men's Opinions on The Rights of Partners
to Know Each Other's Earnings

The Right of Partners to Know Each Others Earnings	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Each should know Other's Earnings	52.1 %	40.4 %	41.2 %	32.0 %
Neither Should Know	30.2	32.3	36.8	49.4
Only Husband Should Know Both	7.3	11.1	10.8	5.3
Only Wife Should Know Both	10.4	16.2	11.2	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
percent				
number	96	99	250	247

Table 7.5

The Opinions of Men Who Live With Or Away From Partners
on Partner's Right To Know Male's Earnings

Whether Man Lives With Partner	Proportion Who Say Partner Should Know			
	Woodside*	Mavis Bank**	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
All Men	61.3 % [N=93]	54.2 % [N=95]	51.9 % [N=241]	46.4 % [N=239]
Men Living with Partner	68.2 % [N=66]	64.7 % [N=68]	53.1 % [N=128]	47.4 % [N=173]
Men Living Separately from Partner	44.4 % [N=27]	29.6 % [N=27]	50.4 [N=113]	43.9 % [N=66]

* Chi-Square significant at .06 level

** Chi-Square significant at .002 level

Table 7.6

Attitudes and Practice in Regard to Women's
Contribution to Household Expenses

Partner's Contribution	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Proportion of Men Who Say Partner Should Contribute to Expenses	45.7 %	54.3 %	65.5 %	68.2 %
Proportion of Men Who Say Partner Usually Contributes	94.6 %	91.5 %	88.7 %	97.9 %

in Braeton, slightly less than a half (46.4 percent) were willing.

When asked whether they thought that their female partners should feel obliged to contribute to household expenses, if they had separate earnings, it was apparent that urban males were more likely to feel that they should. The proportions of men holding this view are shown in Table 7.6, where it may be seen that the range is from a low of 45.7 percent in Woodside to a high of 68.2 percent in Braeton. In fact, as the table makes clear, it is the general pattern for women to contribute towards the household, so that this is not likely to be one of the areas of conflict between partners. Some of the real sources of conflict are discussed in the following section.

8. Outside Women and Domestic Conflict

The complex mating system which distinguishes black populations in the Caribbean does not always follow an orderly progression from visiting union to common-law union to legal marriage. In many cases, both men and women participate in several unions co-terminously, so that physical residence does not always coincide with the location of all of the male's domestic or sexual activities. This has been frequently pointed out by Caribbean demographers and social researchers, along with the attendant difficulty in some cases of determining to which household a male should be assigned for purposes of household analysis.

Where males reside in one union, but participate in other extra-residential unions, this is likely to lead to severe conflict, particularly if children are born into that outside union. Even the existence of children who were born prior to the current union may lead to tension, since there are competing demands for financial support, as well as the

possibility of the persistence or the renewal of sexual relations between baby-father and baby-mother. In order to probe male attitudes towards the maintenance of outside relationships, the following questions were asked:

- Is it all right for a man to deal with another woman beside his partner?
- Do you think that if a man has outside women, it will affect his family life?

In addition to these two questions, in the section of the questionnaire which dealt with conflict and violence, males were asked what were the things that on one hand, would usually cause their partners to become angry or vexed with them, and on the other, what things would usually cause them to be vexed. This was followed by a question as to what recourse they took when they were angry with their women. If there was no mention of resort to physical violence when respondents described their actions when angry, an explicit question was asked along the following lines:

- If you look back at your dealings with women, have there been situations when you hit the woman?

The responses to these questions are summarized here. The response to the question on outside relationships was coded yes/no/depends, and so it is possible to group both those who said "yes" or "it depends" into a common category with those who expressed full or conditional support. In turn, those who said either that such a relationship would not affect the man's family life, or that it depended on other factors, may be combined into one category, namely those who thought that the effect was not necessarily negative. When the responses to these two questions are cross-classified, we can derive four mutually exclusive categories as follows:

1. Those who disapprove and think it will affect family life.

2. Those who disapprove but think effect will not always be negative.
3. Those who express full or conditional support although they think the effect is negative.
4. Those who express full or conditional support and think effect will not always be negative.

These four categories are used to classify the attitudes of our respondents as shown in Tables 8.1 and 8.2.

The main finding from this analysis was that rural men were more likely to disapprove of outside relationships when compared with urban respondents. Only a quarter of the Mavis Bank sample expressed full or conditional support, and slightly less than a third (31.3 percent) of the Woodside sample gave their assent to male infidelity. In contrast, 43.5 percent of Braeton respondents, and more than a half (57.4 percent) of Seivright men were willing to endorse outside relationships.

Among those men in the sample who said it was all right for a man to deal with an outside woman, or who said that it depended on certain factors, the reasons given for this support fell into five main categories:

- (i) men's biological drives
- (ii) outside relations eased the sexual pressure on the wife
- (iii) it depended on the quality of the relationship between partners
- (iv) a man needed choice or insurance
- (v) it might provide economic benefit for the male

Those who supported outside relationships on the grounds of men's biological drive sometimes argued that "one woman cuts a man's nature", or that "it is in us from birth - we must have more than one woman". Others turned to the Bible for support, saying "Look how many women Solomon had",

Table 8.1

Attitudes Expressed by Males Towards
Outside Relationships

Attitude Towards Outside Relationship	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Disapproves and Thinks It Will Affect Family Life	61.6 %	67.4 %	31.1 %	41.9 %
Disapproves but Thinks Effect May Not Always be Negative	7.1	8.7	11.3	14.8
Expresses Full or Conditional Support Although Thinks Effect is Negative	13.1	8.7	18.1	17.4
Expresses Full or Conditional Support and Thinks Effect May Not Always be Negative	18.2	15.2	39.5	25.8
Total percent number	100.0 99	100.0 92	100.0 238	100.0 236

Table 8.2

Degree of Support for Outside Relationships
Expressed by Males according to Age,
Education, Union Status and Domestic Situation

Social Characteristics	Percent Expressing Full or Conditional Support			
	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
AGE				
Under 35 years	35.9 % [N=39]	25.0 % [N=48]	62.4 % [N=149]	54.0 % [N=100]
35+ Years	28.3 [N=60]	24.4 [N=45]	49.5 [N=93]	35.8 [N=137]
EDUCATION				
Primary or Less	22.7 [N=75]	23.9 [N=67]	59.0 [N=139]	36.4 [N=99]
Post-Primary	56.5 [N=23]	26.7 [N=15]	53.8 [N=93]	49.2 [N=124]
UNION STATUS				
Married	19.0 [N=21]	18.8 [N=32]	39.5 [N=38]	30.4 [N=102]
Common Law	37.8 [N=45]	25.0 [N=32]	59.6 [N=89]	52.3 [N=65]
Visiting Union	35.0 [N=20]	33.3 [N=24]	60.0 [N=75]	65.9 [N=44]
DOMESTIC SITUATION				
Lives with Partner	31.8 [N=66]	21.9 [N=64]	53.5 [N=127]	38.9 [N=167]
Lives separately from Partner	31.0 [N=29]	30.8 [N=26]	61.7 [N=107]	55.6 [N=63]
All Men	31.3 % [N=98]	24.4 % [N=82]	57.4 % [N=242]	43.5 % [N=223]

or alternatively pronounced "God made two of everything: man should not be stranded".

Some men stated (nobly) that they did not want to pressure the woman inside for too much sex, or said that it was necessary in order to deal with times when the woman was sick, menstruating, away from home or unable to go out.

Among those who gave conditional approval, saying that "it depended", this usually hinged on whether the man was not married, if he was not treated right by his main partner, or on whether he could afford to have another woman without financial neglect of his home. Another caveat also related to the man's ability to deal with an outside woman, without the knowledge of his partner. In some cases, the opposite reason was given, namely that it depended on whether everything was in the open.

In the case of Woodside, the men who expressed support for outside women tended to give reasons dealing with men's biological drives, as well as the need for choice, or for insurance in the event of breakdown of the main union. Mavis Bank men, although generally less supportive of infidelity, stressed reasons related to biological drives, while Seivright men, who were the most permissive, argued for biological drives, reducing sexual pressure on the wife, and providing insurance. They also allowed that it should be contingent on the quality of the main relationship. These four reasons were also the ones emphasized in Braeton, with somewhat greater emphasis on biological drives as the justification.

As noted above, however, there were large proportions of fathers in each community sample, who disapproved of outside relationships. The reasons given by these men centered around moral principles, the fact that such unions were likely to lead to friction and to undermine the home, and the real risk of disease. In regard to the latter

reason, it was pointed out that a man could be sure of the health of a woman at home, but not of an outside woman.

In the same vein, when men elaborated on the negative impact which they felt an outside relationship had on the home, they stressed the fact that it reduced both the time and the money which men could devote to their families, that it inevitably led to domestic friction, and that it would destroy the family.

In Table 8.2, information is provided on the characteristics of men who expressed full or conditional support for outside unions. Except in the case of Mavis Bank, it appeared that younger men were likely to be more permissive on this question. There was no consistent pattern in regard to education, but in all communities there was much lower support among married men for outside relationships. While living in a co-residential union should also serve to reduce the support for outside affairs, this appeared to be true in only three of the samples, as Woodside men seemed to make a distinction between "married" and "living with" in regard to this question.

The support expressed by some of our sample males for outside relationships may seem a bit surprising when we consider the reasons which they gave for domestic conflict. In all of the samples, men attributed much of their domestic arguments to jealousy on the part of their wives, and to their staying out late. Money problems were also a source of friction, as well as their partner's displeasure when they neglected their domestic duties, or treated the children harshly. On their side, they said that they tended to get angry when their partners stayed out late, neglected their domestic duties, or quarrelled and used bad language.

It is worth noting however, that in both of the urban samples, rather large proportions of men said that there was little conflict between themselves and their partners. In

Seivright Gardens, 42.6 percent of our male respondents said that their partners were never vexed, and 20.2 percent said that they themselves were never angry or vexed with their partners. In Braeton, these two questions elicited answers which indicated that 30.1 percent of the sample were in the fortunate position of having partners who never became angry with them, while 17.8 percent said that they themselves never became angry with their partners. In contrast, the proportions in Woodside who fell into this "never angry" category were only 5.2 percent who said that their partners were never angry, and 6.7 percent who said that they themselves did not get angry. The comparable proportions in Mavis Bank were 2.4 percent with even-tempered partners, and 8.8 percent who attributed similar forbearance to themselves. The differences between the urban and rural responses to this question are so large as to suggest that there may be some deliberate response error in the urban areas. In other words, in the urban surveys respondents may have wished to simply say "None of your business", when the interviewer pulled out these two questions, but out of politeness, simply said "no conflict". We have no reason to believe, however, that among those who did admit to conflict, the reasons would differ from among those who said they never had problems. A comparison of the sources of conflict across the four samples would therefore still be valid, although in fact, there was no variation that is worth reporting.

In describing their own reactions when angry with a partner, men said that they sometimes tried to talk with her, or they quarrelled, ignored her or left the house, among other responses. Only a few mentioned that they responded by hitting the woman. However, when this question was asked directly, but related to relationships in general, between a third to two-thirds of each sample said that they had hit women in these disputes. This proportion stood at

59.7 percent in Woodside but was much lower in Mavis Bank, where it was reported at 37.2 percent. Close to a half of the Braeton sample (48.6 percent) admitted that they had hit women, while the highest proportion was recorded for Seivright Gardens at 66.0 percent (Table 8.3).

The extent to which union status is related to the frequency of violent exchanges is also shown in Table 8.3. This table shows a somewhat unexpected pattern; namely, that men who are in visiting unions are far more likely to report having hit women than are those in co-residential unions. Married men report the lowest level of violent interactions with women, although the question was not limited to the woman with whom they were presently in a union. In the Woodside sample, 38.9 percent of married men reported hitting women, as compared with 66.7 percent of those in visiting unions. In Mavis Bank, the comparable proportions were 20.6 percent for married men and 50.0 percent for those in visiting unions. In the urban area, 37.8 percent of Seivright married men said they had hit women in contrast to 77.3 percent of those with girlfriends. Finally, in the Braeton sample, 36.1 percent of those who were married fell into this category as compared with 66.7 percent of those in visiting relations.

This pattern is puzzling, since it may have been expected that women who maintain a separate residence from their partners would be able to exercise more independence, and would therefore be able to keep the male partner "on Good Behavior" for a longer time. If our data are reliable, the very opposite explanation may be operative, namely that it is the man's lack of control over the woman in the early stages of the relationship which leads to physical violence, as he seeks to "get her into line". It should also be recognised that in the case of married partners, there may be some under-statement of violence since the norms of respectability may serve to dampen these reports. However,

Table 8.3 Proportion of Men who Report having Hit their Partners during Disputes by Union Status of Male

Percent who Report having hit Partner	Woodside	Mavis Bank	Seivright Gardens	Braeton
Married	38.9%	20.6%	37.8%	36.1%
Common Law	65.9	44.1	68.2	56.7
Visiting	66.7	50.0	77.3	66.7
All Men	59.7	37.2	66.0	48.6

since married partners are in general much older than those in visiting unions, the lower reports of violent exchanges in these unions may reflect the degree of understanding which has been built up over the years. Finally, it is also possible that we may be witnessing a cohort phenomenon, namely that younger men in Jamaica are representative of a generation which is more innured to violence, and are therefore likely to deal with domestic conflicts in the same manner in which their street exchanges take place. Whatever the explanation, the pattern is disturbing.

To conclude this exploration, fathers were asked how they thought children felt when parents were fighting. While a few fathers said that they had never thought about it, the majority said that children became very unhappy. Some said that its effect was negative because it made children take sides, some championing the mother. Others said that in their view, it made the son identify with his father, because he recognized who was the boss.

9. Summary

While there is much more that could be written on the basis of these four community surveys, in this report we have sought to present the main findings, and to assess the extent to which they speak with any common voice about the position of fathers in Jamaican society. Despite the absence of a random national design, we believe that the marked uniformity in the findings across age and education categories points to a body of deeply held beliefs among Jamaican Fathers.

Our first and most important finding is the strong commitment to fathering which unites men of all classes and ages. Fathering is both part of a man's self-definition and his route to maturity. While fathering was not seen as limited to children under a common roof, this was nonetheless considered the ideal, and the arrangement that

allowed a man to contribute most to his children's development. However, since the family arrangement in which many children grow cuts them off from active interaction with their fathers, the attitudes of many of our sample fathers seemed to be "win some, lose some". In avoiding contact with those outside children who lived under another man's roof, there seemed to be an implicit attitude on the part of men to respect each other's rights over women, even at the expense of the father-child bond. For those fathers who lived with children, there was a common acceptance of economic responsibility, but wide variations in their understanding of the social and psychological components of fathering.

The extent to which economic deprivation and poverty serve to retard the development of more progressive mating and child-rearing behaviour must also be underscored. It is clear that attitudinal change and structural changes have to be closely interrelated. Without this, Jamaican fathers are likely to be still "running away" like the Farmer in the Dell, or still waiting for things to be better the next time around with a new partner and family, so that they, like the cheese, won't be left "standing alone."

G. CONCLUSIONS

"...we ought to treat the question of paternal absence with some caution, for, as the body of literature on the West Indian family grows, there is increasing evidence that the 'absent father' might play a larger role in the welfare and socialization of the child than has been suggested."

Olive Senior, "Working Miracles" (1991)

A major contribution from this Jamaican study is to strongly challenge the notions of the "marginal" or "absent father", the terms which on the street and even in the classroom are most typically used to describe Caribbean men. Olive Senior's caution, shared by the wider literature on Caribbean family organization and the status of Caribbean women, points to a need that has, at least in part, been addressed by the dual approach of this study.

Our research does not negate the voluminous documentation on Caribbean women's role as primary caregiver of children, nor the fact that many carry this role without their children's father present in the home. Women do substantially head a high proportion of households and must often seek outside employment to fully or supplementally provide economic support for the family.

What the study does provide, however, is confirmation of the fact that men are far more involved in positively contributing to family life than popular stereotypes suggest. Jamaican men have clear ideas about what a good father should be, and feel responsible with the mother for inculcating moral values and social skills in their children. Although many admit they cannot or do not always fulfill their responsibilities to the extent they feel they should, they define their responsibilities to include not only the undisputed role of financial provider but also counselling and communicating with their children and generally being a role model. In addition, the majority of men

in both the survey and in the discussion groups described their active, often daily, participation in tidying, playing and reasoning with their children, and in helping regularly with homework. Forty to fifty percent of the urban samples cook, tidy the house and go to the shop at least twice a week, although the men living with partners report somewhat less involvement in these activities than when living separately. This finding of an active level of parenting beyond mere mind is new.

At the same time, men generally admit that these contributions in the domestic sphere are not yet areas for boasting among peers; these tasks are perceived still by most men and some women as primarily "women's work" and therefore men do not yet see them as self-enhancing, particularly if their economic circumstances do not permit contributions in keeping with the culturally prescribed role of breadwinner and thus family head, roles which imply authority and decision-making status.

What does enhance men's self-image is having children---not only in the limited sense of numbers of children to provide testimony of manhood and prowess with women, especially for younger men, but also in the much deeper meanings which in both the survey and discussions evoked the strongest sentiments from men. Most feel that having a child substantially changed them as persons, challenging them to become more responsible, more "conscious"; it linked them to the future and gave them reason for being. Having no children would make some men feel "like a bird without a wing", "like a tree in a forest without leaves", "empty", "lonely", "useless", "haunted". These feelings are so deep that the vast majority of men would not knowingly marry a woman who could not give them children.

Many of our research participants admitted to deficits as fathers; just over half were only partly satisfied or not satisfied with their fathering role. Though the majority of these were dissatisfied about their inability to provide better financially for their children, many were also unhappy because

they were not with their children, because the child's mother was not cooperative in supporting more contact, or because they were critical of the mother's care and guidance of the child. Despite these dissatisfactions, however, their interest during interviews, their willingness to attend multiple sessions to discuss fathering, and their statements during these discussions evidenced genuine concern to learn and improve performance.

Confirmed by this study are the already well-documented patterns of multiple mating, age-related progressions through visiting, common-law and married unions, and the resultant complex family configurations involving considerable child shifting within kinship and other networks. The total sample of men from the four surveyed communities clearly illustrated the patterns of begetting and caring for children in early visiting unions, in later common-law unions, and, for many, in still later marital unions. Few married before age 30; over half of the men in their 50's were married. Over half had two or more "baby mothers"; over half had at least one "outside" child; over half were living with at least one "inside" child.

This research has also provided data to strengthen our understanding of the powerful influence of economic conditions on mating and procreation patterns. Although the study does not survey the complete range of the socio-economic class structure of Jamaica, the Braeton sample with the highest levels of post-primary education and white-collar employment, were more likely than the men in the other three communities to be in a marriage or common-law union after age 30, and had somewhat fewer children outside the present family.

The discussion groups supported this finding as well, with women and men making clear that the demands for financial provision from men often undermined the stability of the union ("no romance without finance"). Unemployment and under-employment were seen as factors which rendered men incapable of claiming their attributed role as family head of the household, thus contributing to their remaining outside more permanent unions.

Several findings emerged which to date have received relatively less emphasis in the Caribbean family literature. One is the strength of the mother-son bond, perceived as diverting emotionally and sometimes financially a man's commitment to his family(ies) of procreation. In the mixed groups this was described as mothers raising daughters to be independent and resourceful helpmates to partners later on, while raising sons "to remain sons". Speculation only suggests this may be linked to the mother's own need for financial support, particularly as she gets older, and for emotional support not always supplied by a partner; more research is called for in this area.

A second finding strongly calling for further research is the condition of the outside child. What in young adulthood was a status symbol--proof of manhood--becomes later in life a symbol of instability--an emotional and financial threat to new relationships with partners and later offspring. It was clear in discussion groups that a father's relationship with his outside child is largely dependent on the nature of his relationships with that child's mother and with his new partner. The previous sexual relationships of men and women often threaten new partners; there is fear that the "fire stick may catch back quick". Neglecting the child of a previous relationship seems often to be the trade-off for maintaining the stability of a new family.

The survey data also report that men with no outside children were significantly more satisfied with their fathering role and with their child's development, than men who had outside children. Outside children appear to get considerably less of their father's time in reasoning and regular play activities when that father also has inside children.

The role that economic factors and social class play in the conditions of outside children is evidenced by noting that the higher socio-economic group sampled in Braeton had the highest percentage of all their children under one roof; the lowest percentage was in the community with the highest unemployment,

Seivwright, which also had the highest proportion of fathers who had only outside children. Much more examination of the situation of the outside child is called for. It is not known, for instance, to what extent those outside children who have little contact with their own fathers may grow in the care of stepfathers, as a result of their mother's new unions.

The conditions of children who are born early in a man's life should also be studied more closely. These should be compared to children born later in a man's progression towards more stable union status. This is called for not only because (as in this study) a first child is less likely to grow up with his father but because that child is also more likely to be raised primarily by a relative other than his/her mother. A limitation of the present study was the failure to examine how many fathers were caring for step-children. Just as Caribbean women often raise children not their own, men who live with and marry women with children end up fathering more than their own children.

Another significant finding emerged both from the survey data and from the discussion groups which included women. The survey data suggest that although over a third of the total male sample conditionally or fully support the practice of having more than one sexual partner, this acceptance decreases with age and, it is speculated, with the increasing layers of potentially conflicting relationships produced by multiple mating and in- and outside children.

In the survey data and in discussion groups, the impact that outside sexual relationships had on the family were almost always seen as conflict-producing and destructive of present family life. The discussion groups, because of the deliberate inclusion of women, produced more material on the nature of man-woman relationships than was obtained by the survey. Perceptions of double standards in men's behaviour regarding sexual fidelity, misconceptions about satisfying partners sexually and emotionally, anger and distrust over the exercise of attributed

responsibilities, and generally poor patterns of interpersonal communication were balanced by genuine concern to improve relationships and communication, by humour and self-honesty, and willingness by both men and women to learn more together about effective child-rearing practices.

Finally, it was seen as significant in both the survey and discussion group approaches, both men and women documented the critical impact on their own personal development made by the quality of parenting they received. A high percentage of men surveyed described their youth as happy but those who were not happy cited separation or death of a parent, separation from siblings and domestic conflict as reasons for this, along with economic deprivation and limited educational success. They wished to shield their children from experiencing similar unhappiness.

In discussion groups, men and women expressed the belief that the other socializing influences (street culture, church, school, conditions of poverty) were all mediated by the nature of the parenting, positive and negative, which they received, e.g. "Not having a father and a big brother, I never loved school". The training and guidance of "good parents" (with many examples which included fathers) were seen as equipping children to cope with external challenges, e.g. "You can be poor but proud.

The use of the two methods of data collection calls for a few final comments. In general the discussion groups covered a wider range of topics, and were able to deepen investigators' understanding of some themes through their reiteration in successive sessions, and by including the reflections of women. The survey method was able to quantify and reinforce our understanding of many of the same areas of investigation and thus validated some of the major findings produced by the group process. While the survey tool provided hard data that can be re-tested elsewhere and which call for specific areas of further research, the participatory groups provided community members with the opportunity to reflect and analyze together their own behaviours and attitudes, and to learn from this experience. The

manual which this project will also produce for replicating these group discussions will further extend this opportunity to other communities. In summary, the two approaches proved to serve separate purposes; each could stand alone as a data gathering tool. But together they were powerful complements, extending the understandings produced by the other.

CARIBBEAN CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTRE, UWI

RESEARCH PROJECT ON
CARIBBEAN MEN AND THE FAMILYIDENTIFICATION NO.

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I. SOCIAL BACKGROUND

1. RECORD AGE FROM INTRODUCTION:

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Before I ask you to tell me about your children, I would like you to tell me a little about yourself.

2. How long have you been living in this district?

Less than one year	[1]	5 to < ten years	[4]
One to < 3 years	[2]	10 years or more	[5]
3 to < five years	[3]		

3. In which parish were you born?

Kingston	[1]	St. Andrew	[2]
St. Thomas	[3]	Portland	[4]
St. Mary	[5]	St. Ann	[6]
Trelawny	[7]	St. James	[8]
Hanover	[9]	Westmoreland	[10]
St. Elizabeth	[11]	Manchester	[12]
Clarendon	[13]	St. Catherine	[14]
Born abroad	[15]		

4. What is the main thing you do to earn a living?

 Never worked/not applicable _____ Go to Question 7.

5. Do you do any other kind of work?

Yes	[1]	No	[2]	Go to Question 7.
-----	-----	----	-----	-------------------

6. If Yes, What other kinds of work do you do?
 List: _____

7. Over the last three months, what were you doing for most of the time?

Working	[1]	Did not want work	[6]
With job, not working	[2]	Student	[7]
Seeking first job	[3]	Retired/ill	[8]
Seeking other than 1st job	[4]	Other	[9]
Not seeking but available	[5]	No response	[10]

8. Do you work for yourself or for someone else?

Employee, private sector	[1]
Employee, government	[2]
Self-employed	[3]
Employer	[4]
Unpaid family worker	[5]
Never worked	[6]
Not applicable/retired	[7]
No response	[8]

9. Do you have:

A married wife you live with?	[1]	Note: R can give up to 3 responses
A married wife you don't live with?	[2]	
A common-law wife?	[3]	
A girlfriend whom you visit or who visits you regularly?	[4]	
Spouse deceased	[5]	
None at all	[6]	

10. Can you now tell me a little more about your children.
How many have you had in all?

Actual # OR Estimated #

11. How many baby-mothers have you had?

12. I am now going to ask you about the ages of your children
one by one, regardless of whether they are boys or girls,
alive or dead, and a few other things. Let us start with
your first child...

CHILDREN

Names Optional:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a) Year born						
b) Sex (M or F)						
c) Living/Dead (L or D)						
d) Union status at time of child's birth						
Use M, C, V, or S						
-----STOP HERE IF CHILD IS DECEASED-----						
e) Current residence of child:						
on his/her own with respondent and mother						
with respondent alone						
with mother alone						
with sibling						
with respondent's relatives						
with mother's relatives						
with friend						
boarding (fam/schl)						
institution (ward)						
overseas						
don't know						
f) If not living with, *how often child seen						

Often [1] Regularly [2] Occasionally [3]
 Rarely [4] [Never [5]

PROBE FOR SPECIFICITY

For over 6 children see reverse

CHILDREN

Names Optional:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a) Year born						
b) Sex (M or F)						
c) Living/Dead (L or D)						
d) Union status at time of child's birth Use M, C, V, or S						
-----STOP HERE IF CHILD IS DECEASED-----						
e) Current residence of child:						
on his/her own						
with respondent and mother						
with respondent alone						
with mother alone						
with sibling						
with respondent's relatives						
with mother's relatives						
with friend						
boarding (fam/schl)						
institution (ward)						
overseas						
don't know						
f) If not living with, *how often child seen						

Occasionally (3)

CHILDREN

Names Optional:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a) Year born						
b) Sex (M or F)						
c) Living/Dead (L or D)						
d) Union status at time of child's birth Use M, C, V, or S						
-----STOP HERE IF CHILD IS DECEASED-----						
e) Current residence of child:						
on his/her own						
with respondent and mother						
with respondent alone						
with mother alone						
with sibling						
with respondent's relatives						
with mother's relatives						
with friend						
boarding (fam/schl)						
institution (ward)						
overseas						
don't know						
f) If not living with, *how often child seen						

Occasionally (3)

II. CHILD-REARING

13. Do you think that bringing up children nowadays is more difficult than when you were a child?

Yes [1] No [2] Same [3] No opinion [4]

14. Why? _____

15. Looking back at your own experience, have you been able to be the kind of father you wanted to be?

Yes [1] Partly/somewhat [3]
No [2] Don't know [4]

16. Why do you feel that way? (PROBE)

17. Are you satisfied with the way that your children have grown/are growing?

Yes [1] No [2] Partly [3]
Some of the children [4] Don't know [5] N.R. [6]

18. Why do you feel that way? _____

19. I'm going to ask about the principles that fathers should try to develop in their children, no matter whether they are boys or girls. What is the first, most important principle? (Response) What is the next important principle? (Response) And the next ones?

Most Important Principle: _____

Next Most Important: _____

Others: _____

20. What is the most important thing fathers can do to train their children in the right and proper way? (Response)
What else can they do? (Responses)

MIT: _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

(Use reverse if more space needed)

21. For your BOY children, are there any special principles that you try to train them in?

Yes [1] No [2] No boy children [3]

└──────────────────┘
v Go to Question 24

22. If Yes, what principles do you try to encourage?

23. How do you try to develop these principles? _____

24. How about your GIRLS; are there any special principles that you try to train them in?

Yes [1] No [2] No girl children [3]

└──────────────────┘
v Go to Question 27

25. If Yes, what are these principles? _____

26. How do you try to develop these principles? _____

27. Which parent--the mother or the father--should be most responsible for training the children?

Mother [1] Both [3]

Father [2] Mother/Girls, Father/Boys [4]

28. Why do you think so?

29. When you want to let your child know that you are pleased with him or her, what do you do?

30. I am now going to ask you to look back and tell me about your own experiences, when you were growing up.

When you were 12 years old, who were you living with?

Mother	[1]	Father's Relatives	[6]
Father	[2]	Mother's Relatives	[7]
Both Parents	[3]	Adopted Mother	[8]
Maternal G' parents	[4]	On Own	[9]
Paternal G' parents	[5]	Other: (specify)	[10]

31. If you think about that period of life, when you were 12 years old, would you say that you were generally happy or unhappy?

Happy	[1]	Sometimes happy/unhappy	[4]
Not too happy	[2]	Can't remember	[5]
Unhappy	[3]	No response	[6]

Go to Q. 33

32. What were the things that made you feel that way?

33. Are there any experiences that you had as a child that you would not want your children to go through?

Yes	[1]	No	[2]	Don't remember	[3]
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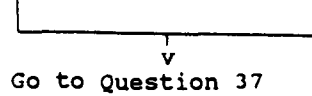
Go to Question 35

34. What experiences in particular?

III. PARENTING AND SEXUALITY

35. Do you think that having children changed you in any way?

Yes [1] No [2] Can't say [3]



36. If YES, how has this changed you?

37. If you had no children, how would you feel?

38. How many children should a man have? _____
(Exact Number)

Note: Probe if necessary

39. Why do you think so? _____

40. What is the best age for a man to start to have children?

┌──┬──┐

41. How about women? At what age should they have their first baby?

┌──┬──┐

42. Would you marry a woman who you know could not have children?

Yes [1] Depends [3]
No [2] Don't know [4]

43. PROBE Why? _____

44. What makes a man want to give a woman a baby?

45. As far as you understand it, what makes the woman want to have a baby for a man?

46. What is the youngest age at which a boy should start having sexual relations?

47. How about girls -- when should they start?

48. Can you remember how old you were when you first had sex?

49. Did this influence your life in any way?

Yes [1] No [2] Don't know [3] No response [4]

v

Go to Question 51

50. If yes, How did it affect you?

51. When you were coming up, how did you learn about sex?

Parents	[1]	Older Men	[7]
Relatives	[2]	Older Women	[8]
Peers	[3]	Watching	[9]
Experience/practice	[4]	Books/Movies	[10]
Teachers/school	[5]	Don't remember	[11]
No response	[6]	Other: _____	[12]

52. For young people today, what do you think is the earliest age for children to be told about sex and pregnancy?

53. Who should tell them?

Mother	[1]	Mother/girls,	
Father	[2]	Father/boys	[5]
Both parents	[3]	Friends	[6]
School	[4]	No response	[7]
		Other: _____	[8]

IV. FAMILY PLANNING

54. If you and your partner are not ready to have any more children, what do you do when you have sex?

- Depend on the woman to provide contraceptives [1]
- Provide own condom [2]
- Leave it to chance/nothing [3]
- Withdraw [4]
- Other (Specify) [5] _____
- No partner [6]
- No answer [7]

55. When you personally are dealing with a/another woman, and you do not want her to get pregnant, what do you do?

- Depend on the woman to provide contraceptives [1]
- Provide own condom [2]
- Leave it to chance/nothing [3]
- Withdraw [4]
- Other (Specify) [5] _____
- No outside woman [6]
- No answer [7]

56. Whose responsibility is it to see that a woman does not get pregnant?

- The man [1]
- The woman [2]
- Both [3]
- Nobody [4]
- God [5]
- No opinion [6]

57. What family planning methods do you know?
(NO PROMPTING ALLOWED)

- Pill [1]
- Condom [2] CIRCLE
- Diaphragm [3] ALL
- Vaginal (cream, foam, jelly) [4] KNOWN
- Injection [5]
- IUD (coil, loop) [6]
- Female sterilization (tie off) [7]
- Male sterilization (tie off) [8]
- Rhythm (calendar, thermal, Billings) [9]
- Withdrawal [10]
- Abortion (D and C) [11]

58. Just to be sure, have you heard of:

USE ABOVE TERMS TO CLARIFY IF NECESSARY

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------|----|
| Pill? | 1 | IUD? | 6 |
| Condom? | 2 | Female tie off? | 7 |
| Diaphragm? | 3 | Male sterilization? | 8 |
| Foam, jelly, tablets? | 4 | Rhythm? | 9 |
| Injection? | 5 | Withdrawal? | 10 |
| | | Abortion? | 11 |

59. Have you ever used a condom (rubber, boot, French letter)?

- Yes [1] No [2] No response [3]

60. When you have sex, how often do you use a condom?

At all times	[1]
Sometimes	[2]
Rarely	[3]
Never	[4]

61. I'm going to ask you about the methods a woman uses. Would you agree with your partner using:

	Yes	No
1. Pill?	[1]	[2]
2. Diaphragm?	[1]	[2]
3. Vaginal method?	[1]	[2]
4. Injection?	[1]	[2]
5. IUD? (coil, loop)	[1]	[2]
6. Female tie off?	[1]	[2]
7. Rhythm?	[1]	[2]
8. Abortion?	[1]	[2]

62. If your partner could not use a family planning method, would you agree to use some method yourself?

Yes	[1]	No	[3]] Go to Q. 64.
Depends	[2]	No opinion	[4]	

63. If yes, or depends, which method of family planning would you agree to use?

Condom	[1]	Getting sterilized	[4]
Withdrawal	[2]	Don't know which	[5]
Rhythm	[3]	No answer	[6]

64. Suppose for argument's sake you and your partner didn't want any more children, would you agree for her to tie off?

Yes	[1]	No	[3]
Depends	[2]	No opinion	[4] —> Q. 66.

65. Why? _____

66. What is the attitude of your religion to family planning?

For all	[1]	Neither for/against	[4]
Against all	[2]	Don't know	[5]
Against some: (specify)	[3]	Not applicable	[6]

V. DIVISION OF LABOUR

67. How do you feel about the male partner helping in the home with household activities?

- Strongly approve [1]
- Approve [2]
- Neutral [3]
- Disapprove [4]
- Strongly disapprove [5]
- No opinion [6]

68. How often do you help in the house with?

	Daily	Once/T weekly	Occas- ion'ly	Very rarely	Never
Cooking					
Tidying House					
Washing Clothes					
Going to Market					
Going to Shop					

69. If Respondent has children 14 or under, ask:

How often do you do the following with the children living with you?

	Children in household				
	Daily	1ce/2ce weekly	Occas- ion'ly	Very rarely	Never
<u>Tidy the children</u>					
<u>Play with children</u>					
<u>Help with homework</u>					
<u>Discipline them</u>					
<u>Sit and reason w/them</u>					
<u>Stay with the children</u>					

70. How often do you do the following with the children you have outside?

	Children outside household				
	Daily	1ce/2ce weekly	Occas- ion'ly	Very rarely	Never
<u>Tidy the children</u>					
<u>Play with children</u>					
<u>Help with homework</u>					
<u>Discipline them</u>					
<u>Sit and reason w/them</u>					
<u>Stay with the children</u>					

71. Are there duties in the home which you think you as a man should not do?

- Yes [1]
- No [2]
- Depends (specify) [3] _____
- No opinion [4]

72. If "yes" or "depends", what are they and why do you feel so?

Duties	Why

73. If your wife/partner is working outside of the household, is there any kind of work that you would object to her doing?

Yes [1] No [2] ———> Go to Q. 76

74. If yes, what kind(s) of work?

75. Why would you object?

76. If you are living with your partner and she is earning money, do you think you have a right to know how much money she is making?

Yes [1] No [2]

77. When your partner is earning her own money does she usually contribute to the household expenses?

Yes [1] No [2]

78. Do you think she should feel herself bound to contribute?

Yes [1] Sometimes [3]
No [2] No opinion [4]

79. Does she have a right to know how much you earn?

Yes [1] No [2]

VI. CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

80. What are the things that will usually cause your wife/partner to be angry or vexed with you?

81. How does she let you know that she is vexed?

82. What are the things that will usually cause you to be vexed with her?

83. What do you do when you are angry with her?

NOTE: Ask question 84 if respondent did not mention physical violence in response to question 83.

84. If you look back at your dealings with women, have there been situations where you hit the woman?

Yes	[1]	No	[2]	-> Go to Q. 86.
		Can't remember	[3]	
		No response	[4]	

85. On the occasions when you hit the woman, how did she react?

86. How do you think children feel when parents are fighting?

87. How do you react when your children get in a fight with other children?

VII. FAMILY LIFE AND RESPONSIBILITIES

88. Do you find that you sometimes have problems getting your children to accept your authority?

Yes [1] Not applicable [3]
No [2] No response [4] Go to Q. 91

89. Why does this happen?

90. How do you deal with this?
(Probe regarding boys and girls)

Boy: _____

Girl: _____

91. Do men have the responsibility to support their children?

Yes [1] No [2] Depends [3] No Response [4]

92. Why do you feel that way? _____

93. Do children have an obligation to help support their parents?

Yes [1] No [2] Depends [3] No Response [4]

94. Why do you think so? _____

95. We seem to be hearing a lot nowadays about girls being sexually molested by other family members. What do you think causes this in the home?

96. What should be done about it?

97. To be a good father, what must a man do?

98. And what do you think a woman should do, for people to consider her a good mother?

99. If a man and a woman separate but they have small children, like under 10 years, who should keep the children?

Man	[1]	Woman/girls	[3]
Woman	[2]	No Response	[4]
Man/boys	[3]	Other: (Specify)	[5]

100. Why do you think so?

101. If you were having home problems, who would you discuss them with?

102. Is it alright for a man to deal with another woman beside his partner?

Yes [1] No [2] It depends [3] No opinion [4]

↓
Go to Q. 104.

103. Why do you think so?

104. Do you think that if a man has outside women, it will affect his family life?

Yes [1] No [2] It depends [3] No opinion [4]

↓
Go to Q. 106.

105. PROBE Why?

VIII. EDUCATION AND INCOME

Well, before we finish this talk, let me ask you to tell me a little more about yourself.

106. What is your religion or denomination:

Roman Catholic	[1]	Church of God / Pentecostal	[6]
Anglican	[2]	Rastafarian	[7]
Baptist	[3]	None	[8]
Methodist	[4]	Other: (specify _____)	[9]
United	[5]	_____	

107. How often do you go to church?

Everyday	[1]	Occasionally	[5]
Couple times a week	[2]	Rarely	[6]
One day a week	[3]	Never	[7]
Less than once/week	[4]		

108. How far did you get to go in school?

109. Would you feel comfortable telling me about how much money you make a week?

(Note if pay seasonal/sporad) _____

IF RESPONDENT HAS CHILDREN UNDER

110. When your children grow up, what would you like them to be?

Boy _____

Girl _____

THANK YOU very much for sharing your views with me.

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