


# Supports desired by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males in fatherhood: Focussing on the social and cultural determinates of health and well-being

Jacob Prehn<sup>1</sup>  | Michael Andre Guerzoni<sup>1</sup> | Huw Peacock<sup>1</sup> |  
Mick Adams<sup>2</sup> | Bhiamie Williamson<sup>3</sup> | Len Collard<sup>4</sup> | Kootsy Canuto<sup>5,6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>School of Social Sciences, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Tasmania, Australia

<sup>2</sup>Edith Cowan University, Perth, Western Australia, Australia

<sup>3</sup>Monash University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia

<sup>4</sup>University of Western Australia, Perth, Western Australia, Australia

<sup>5</sup>College of Medicine and Public Health, Flinders Health and Medical Research Institute, Flinders University, Darwin, Northern Territory, Australia

<sup>6</sup>Aboriginal Health Equity, South Australian Health and Medical Research Institute (SAHMRI), Adelaide, South Australia, Australia

## Correspondence

Jacob Prehn, School of Social Sciences, University of Tasmania, PB 22, Hobart, TAS, 7001, Australia.  
Email: [jacob.prehn@utas.edu.au](mailto:jacob.prehn@utas.edu.au)

## Abstract

In Australia, there is insufficient exploration and understanding of how we can strengthen the critical role played by Indigenous fathers. This paper argues that for Indigenous fathers to feel supported in childrearing, greater attention must be given to their social and cultural determinants of health and well-being. To gain insights into the challenges experienced by Indigenous fathers and the support they require in fatherhood, we primarily apply thematic analysis to data from the Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC). The findings reveal that most fathers identify a social or cultural health and well-being determinant challenging their fatherhood journey. We examine these results and suggest *why* and *how* appropriately focusing on the social and cultural determinants of health and well-being will enhance and support Indigenous men in fatherhood.

## KEYWORDS

dad, family support, First Nations, Indigenous, men

In this paper, unless otherwise stated, we primarily use the term “Indigenous” to refer to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

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## 1 | INTRODUCTION

In Australia, the ongoing structure of colonisation continues to have a devastating impact on the lives of Indigenous people, particularly Indigenous men (Dudgeon et al., 2014; Paradies, 2016; Wolfe, 1999). Colonisation has contributed to the Australian Department of Health and Ageing (2013, p. 36) identifying Indigenous men as having “the worst health outcomes of any group in Australia.” Other troubling statistics include the following: 24 per cent of Indigenous Australian males having experienced high or very high levels of psychological distress in the previous 4 weeks (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013); an average Indigenous male life expectancy of 8.6 years less than non-Indigenous males (Australian Government, 2020); and Indigenous men having an average annual income 45 per cent less than non-Indigenous men (Howlett et al., 2018).

Statements about Indigenous men having the worst health and well-being outcomes in Australia are usually followed by unsubstantiated and hostile generalisations about their fathering capabilities (Prehn et al., 2022). Examples of such deficit narratives remain in government policy and actions; for instance, the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) was based on the supposed excessively deviant behaviour of Indigenous men (Wild & Anderson, 2007). The NTER resulted in the Australian federal government using military force against Indigenous men, women and children to impose race-based sanctions, remove people from their lands and make changes in the delivery of support services (Stringer, 2007; Watson, 2009). This same deficit narrative and process of generalising individual Indigenous fathers' shortcomings to all Indigenous dads creates a challenging environment, particularly when considering other inequities across the social and cultural determinants of health and well-being (Australian Department of Health and Ageing, 2010; Finlay et al., 2021; Marmot, 2011; Prehn & Ezzy, 2020).

The social determinants of health and well-being are the economic and social conditions that influence differences in individual and group health outcomes (Marmot, 2005). For Indigenous people, the cultural determinants of health and well-being consist of cultural factors that promote strengths, encourage a sense of identity and support health and well-being for individuals, families and communities (Commonwealth of Australia, 2017; Finlay et al., 2021; Kingsley et al., 2018; Lovett et al., 2020; Williamson et al., 2020). For Indigenous men, the social and cultural determinants of health and well-being provide a framework to understand much of the inequality experienced when compared to non-Indigenous men (Commonwealth of Australia, 2017). This includes social factors such as the construct of masculinity and gender roles, social attitudes toward Indigenous men and fathers and the devaluing of Indigenous culture in Australian society.

In this paper, we argue that appropriate support, based on empirical evidence as detailed in this manuscript, is needed until Australian society values Indigenous men and becomes more decolonised. Holistic representations that acknowledge the ongoing harmful impact of colonisation, particularly concerning Indigenous fathers' challenges, and how Indigenous men can feel supported in fatherhood, are needed (Canuto et al., 2019). In this paper, we investigate quantitative and qualitative data using thematic analysis from the Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC), which asks Indigenous fathers what they most require to support them in performing the role of father. First, we contextualise this topic by exploring the literature on settler colonialism, the strength-based approach adopted within Indigenous fatherhood research and masculinity, a key element for Indigenous fathers regarding the aforementioned social and cultural determinants of health and well-being.

## 2 | COLONISATION, FATHERHOOD, STRENGTH-BASED APPROACHES AND MASCULINITY

In Australia, the structure of colonisation continues to extend into the everyday lives of Indigenous people (Dudgeon et al., 2014). One area where the Australian state has aimed to interfere, rather than support Indigenous people, is in the domestic sphere and childrearing

practices, epitomised in the multi-decade government intervention now called the “Stolen Generations” (Dudgeon et al., 2014; Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997). Through this formal intervention, which operated from 1910 to 1970, it facilitated the removal of an estimated 1 in 3 to 1 in 10 Aboriginal children from their kin. Although the policy has since ceased, child removals continue today in other forms; in 2021, Indigenous children are over 10 times more likely to be on a care or protection order than non-Indigenous children (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2023). The notion that Indigenous people (viz. fathers and mothers)<sup>1</sup> are unable to provide or care for appropriately<sup>2</sup> and are neglectful of their children remains an accepted belief in sections of Australian society (Krakouer, 2019).

The claimed inadequacies of Indigenous fathers are often the focus of Australian conversations regarding Indigenous men and their parenting capabilities (ABC News, 2016a; Bringing Them Home, 1997; Wild & Anderson, 2007). An alarming example of this enduring deficit narrative is the infamous Bill Leak cartoon depicting an Indigenous father being too intoxicated to remember the name of his son being brought to him by a police officer (ABC News, 2016a). This painful example, like others, reinforces the Indigenous father deficit narrative from a colonial standpoint and does not adequately account for the ongoing structure of colonisation in this (Wolfe, 1999), let alone make attempts to understand Indigenous fathering epistemes or ascertain the additional supports that are needed to overcome the ongoing impact of colonisation (Canuto et al., 2020).

Despite this, a hopeful counter-narrative is emerging through research, journalism and social media regarding the many strengths possessed by Indigenous fathers, notwithstanding the inequalities endured across the social and cultural determinants of health and well-being (Australian Department of Health and Ageing, 2010; Finlay et al., 2021; Marmot, 2011; Williamson, 2023). One example is the social media movement “#IndigenousDads” in response to the aforementioned Leak cartoon (ABC News, 2016b). This narrative inspired Indigenous fathers to share photographs expressing love and pride in their Indigenous culture and within a family unit. Such strength-based and more holistic narratives are critical to counter the excessive and persistent focus on the dysfunctional and incompetence of Indigenous men and Indigenous fathers (Canuto et al., 2019; Fogarty et al., 2018; Saleebey, 1996).

The strength-based approach or perspective was developed to counter deficit-based approaches in research and practice (such as in social work) focusing on the illness or shortcomings of an individual, family, or community (Rapp, 1998; Saleebey, 1996, 2013). The strength-based approach concentrates on self-determination and strengths, highlighting the resources and resilience an individual, family, or community possesses, despite adversity. The central premise is to identify factors working efficiently and efficaciously, making efforts to advance these and, thereafter, build upon these foundations, rather than focusing on perceived shortcomings (Rapp, 1998). It recognises the agency and capacities of the person or community amidst individual or broader societal issues, as opposed to helplessness requiring intervention (Saleebey, 1996).

The application of the strength-based approach to Indigenous fathering has emerged over the past decade, although levels of inclusion vary, and scholarship remains minimal (Prehn et al., 2021; Williamson, 2023). Of the literature available, Canuto et al. (2020) in their scoping review found eight publications that described Indigenous men and parenting. These publications include the following: programme reports (Collard et al., 2016; Jia, 2000; Kurti et al., 2013; Males in Black Inc. & Wesley, 2006; Newell et al., 2006); fathering programme descriptions (Hammond, 2011; Parker, 2009); and one qualitative study (Rossiter et al., 2017). This lack of published scholarship on Indigenous fathering presents a vital opportunity to continue research and appropriate support provision for Indigenous fathers in childrearing, particularly concerning identified social and cultural determinants of health and well-being.

Indigenous masculinity is a key social and cultural determinant of health and well-being that has received little critical exploration in Australia, although there have been some localised

and region-specific studies (Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia, 2019; McCoy, 2008; Mukandi et al., 2019; Smith et al., 2020). This is surprising because masculinity is a powerful social force that can shape the lives of men (and others around them) and fathering in positive and negative directions (Connell, 2005; Ford, 2018; Prehn, 2022). Further, components of Indigenous fatherhood, such as the sharing of Indigenous culture with their children, are not readily understood or appreciated by non-Indigenous society (Prehn et al., 2021). Instead, depictions and understandings of Indigenous masculinities, and the practising of fatherhood from an Indigenous worldview, for the aforementioned reasons, often results in deficit-based thinking (Fogarty et al., 2018; Prehn et al., 2021, 2022).

The notion of masculinity and how this may be contributing to Indigenous fathers feeling they need greater support to make child raising easier should be acknowledged and explored (Connell, 2005; Flood et al., 2007). In traditional (and arguably in contemporary) Western societies, one of the gendered roles for fathers (and societal variables for evaluating men) was/is the ability to be the provider for the family. This was to complement the equally important, yet distinct, role of the mother, which was/is to be the “carer” and “nurturer” of children and supporter of her husband/partner (Flood et al., 2007; Fredericks et al., 2017; Perrone et al., 2009). As a result of socialisation within Anglo-colonised societies, Indigenous people are encouraged to conform and adhere to colonial and capitalist norms, attitudes and behaviours throughout the world (Prehn, 2022).

We suggest that the impact of colonisation on re-shaping and re-framing the lives of Indigenous peoples has also affected gender roles and expectations (Fredericks et al., 2017; Prehn, 2022). The influence of colonisation has excessively shifted the role of “provider” and “role model” for Indigenous fathers to align with colonial norms, specifically to economic understandings of these roles. This argument aligns with findings by the Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia (2019) in their *Aboriginal Gender Study*, wherein being a provider in an economic manner was found to be a critical component of Aboriginal masculinity, whilst recognising that “providing” is a broader concept. This also aligns with research that highlights Western patriarchal concepts of gender and their impact on shaping Indigenous gender constructs due to being subject to socialisation within Anglo-colonised states (Fredericks et al., 2017).

Further, the belief that strong men should not seek social and emotional support in being the primary provider of a family, we argue, is a part of hegemonic and toxic masculinity (Connell, 2005; Ford, 2018). For Indigenous fathers, acknowledging that they need assistance in childrearing can call into question a man's “ability” to successfully fulfil the role of father, and be socially accepted as a capable provider from a traditional Western (and some Indigenous) fathering perspectives (Canuto et al., 2019). Morman and Floyd (2006), in their study of father and son beliefs about what encompasses being a good father in the United States, found that “provider” was considered a key component of this status. Bryan (2013), in his American study of fathers of lower socioeconomic status and of varying racial backgrounds, suggests that not only are fathers expected to be a provider in a traditional sense (i.e., financially), but are increasingly in non-economic areas, such as emotional and social support. In Australia, further research is needed to investigate Indigenous fatherhood experiences and masculinity's role, particularly concerning these so-called “newer” emotional domains.

Therefore, this paper aims to answer the question: “How can Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men be supported in fatherhood?”

### 3 | METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

This paper uses Foley's (2003) four-part Indigenous Standpoint Theory to frame our approach to Indigenous fatherhood. (i) The authors are all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men, approximately half are biological fathers,<sup>3</sup> and (ii) all are or have been employed by

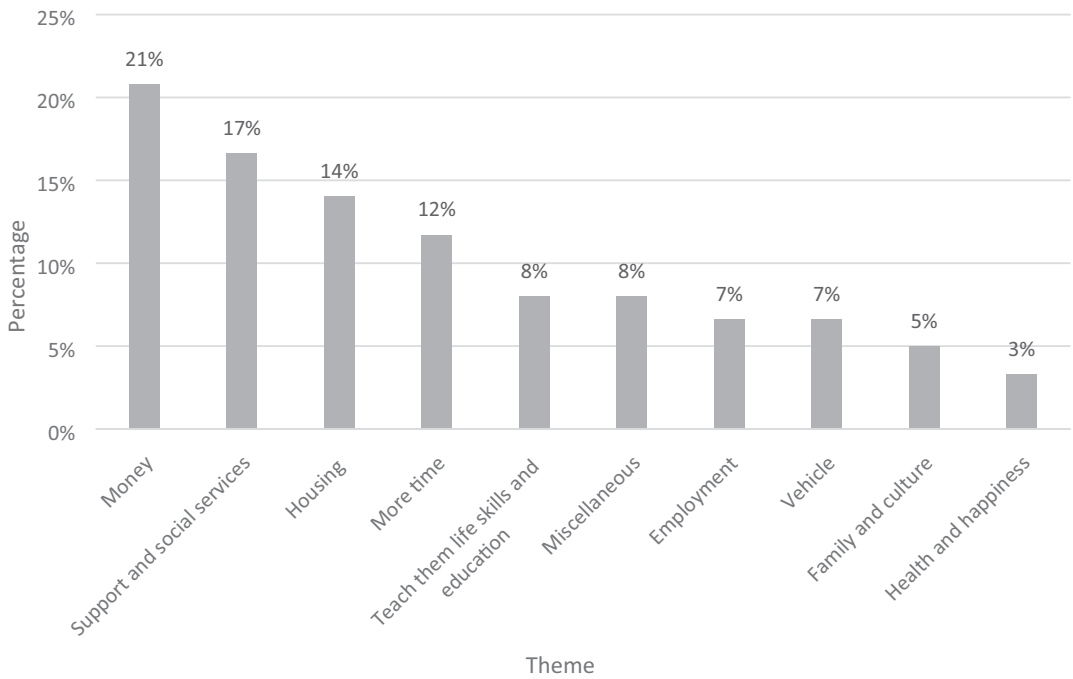
Australian research organisations or universities. This social positioning influences the authors' worldviews, including epistemology, ontology and axiology (Walter, 2013). We prioritise an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander worldview in our research, including conceptualisation, analysis, interpretation and dissemination. (iii) The primary purpose of this project is to expand the minimal literature about Indigenous fatherhood in Australia (Canuto et al., 2020) to inform the support of Indigenous fathers, their families and their communities. (iv) Minimal Indigenous language is used because these data are from a national survey covering many languages.

The data analysed in this paper are from Wave 8 (B & K Cohort) of the LSIC. Ethics approval to use the LSIC (Release 10) was obtained on 28 July 2020 by the primary author and other authors who analysed the data. The LSIC is an Australian mainland (including the Torres Strait) dataset (primarily quantitative) collected annually by the Federal Department of Social Services (2021); Wave 1 of data collection was launched in 2008, when 1677 children were involved. These participants were categorised into the Baby Cohort (B Cohort; aged 6–18 months) and Kid Cohort (K Cohort; aged 3.5–5 years). The LSIC dataset includes questions of primary caregivers (mostly mothers), secondary caregivers (predominantly fathers) and teachers to provide a firm foundation for comparative analyses of predispositions, attitudes and experiences. Of the data analysed in this paper, in Wave 8 (B & K Cohorts), there were 1265 children retained to participate, 744 from the B Cohort and 496 from the K Cohort (25 did not respond). Specifically, for data analysed in this paper (Wave 8, B & K Cohorts), there are a total of 214 children whose fathers (P2s) participated, and their children were then aged 8.5–9.5 years (B Cohort) and 11.5–13 years (K Cohort).

We use two methods to analyse three variables about Indigenous fathers from the aforementioned dataset. First, data were organised to select only Indigenous fathers in the sample from the variable Dad's Indigenous status (hbhh5p2). Only 149 answers from Indigenous fathers were chosen for analysis. Additional details of the Indigenous fathers in the sample are provided in the results in Table 1 including the following: (i) the Indigenous father's relationship to the child (hbid1); (ii) age in years (hbhh4p2); and (iii) living arrangements (hbp1p2sh). Thereafter, bivariate analysis using the SPSS “crosstabs” function was run with the variable “Dad's Indigenous Status” and the variable “What Dad needs to make raising Study Child”

TABLE 1 Wave 8 (B & K Cohorts)—If you could have something to make it easier to raise <Study child>, what would it be? (hbpw4).

Question	Variable	Overall sample ( <i>n</i> = 149)	Need support 61% ( <i>n</i> = 91)	Did not need support 28% ( <i>n</i> = 42)	Did not know 10% ( <i>n</i> = 16)
Relationship to child (hbhh6p1)	Biological father	132	82	37	13
	Stepfather	6	4	1	1
	Adoptive or foster parent	3	2	1	1
	Grandparent	5	1	3	1
	Uncle	1	1	0	0
	Other	2	1	0	0
Age in years (hbhh4p2)	Age range	22–73	22–73	27–63	22–55
	Age means	40.4	40.5	39	41.4
Living arrangements (hbp1p2sh)	Same household	138	85	39	14
	Different household	10	5	3	2
	Did not know	1	1	0	0



**FIGURE 1** Wave 8 (B & K Cohorts)—If you could have something to make it easier to raise <Study child>, what would it be—text? (Item hbpw4\_t) ( $n=91$ ).

easier” (hbpw4), which had the response options: [1] answer specified, [2] nothing needed and [3] did not know.

Thematic analysis (Ezzy, 2002) was used to examine the qualitative responses from Indigenous fathers to the question: “If you could have something to make it easier to raise <Study child>, what would it be - text?” (Item hbpw4\_t). Thematic analysis involves qualitative data being examined for reoccurring patterns and themes. The process of thematic analysis followed a three-step approach: (i) The primary author assigned codes to the data (e.g., better-paying job); (ii) the codes were developed into themes (e.g., money); and (iii) then revisited the data, reviewed codes and themes, before these were then reviewed by other authors with LSIC raw data use approval. The development and reviewing of themes were grounded in the published literature on Indigenous men and fatherhood, alongside the authors' lived experience of being Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men and fathers. The themes were also quantified to identify the frequency of responses meeting the criteria of themes (Figure 1). The varied length of responses meant some answers were coded into more than one theme and, in some cases, up to three themes, with an average of 1.3 codes per response. For example, some participant responses were single words, such as “money” or “time,” through to answers of multiple sentences in length.

## 4 | RESULTS

The results represented in Table 1 show whether Indigenous fathers perceive something could make childrearing easier (item hbpw4). The results indicate that 61 per cent ( $n=91$ ) of Indigenous fathers provided an answer, 28 per cent ( $n=42$ ) said they required nothing and 10 per cent ( $n=16$ ) said they did not know. The results to this question are also considered

regarding fathers' relationship to their child, age in years and living arrangements. There are no notable differences across these additional considerations. For the 61 per cent ( $n=91$ ) of Indigenous fathers who answered yes, they were asked, "If you could have something to make it easier to raise <Study child>, what would it be?" (item hbpw4\_t). The results of this question are illustrated in Figure 1.

The results of the question asked of Indigenous fathers "If you could have something to make it easier to raise <Study child> what would it be - text?" (Item hbpw4\_t) were spread across 10 themes, displayed in Figure 1. These themes were also quantified to determine response frequency. The most commonly occurring themes were "money" (21%), "support and social services" (17%), "housing" (14%), "more time" (12%) and "teaching life skills and education" (9%), which are outlined in turn below.

#### 4.1 | Money (21%, $n=25$ )

The theme of money consisted of Indigenous fathers requiring "more money" to "support their child and family," acquiring "employment" that provided greater financial resources, and more money in general. One of the fathers said, "I would like to have a decent-paying job, I had to stop working to help and care for my partner and children."

#### 4.2 | Support and social services (17%, $n=20$ )

The theme of support and social services generally consisted of fathers requiring "more significant support" and "services" to assist them in their fathering duties, and "greater support and services for their children." This included one of the fathers saying "I need support in general and more support from services."

#### 4.3 | Housing (14%, $n=17$ )

The theme of housing typically included responses about needing a "larger house" to appropriately accommodate their family, "owning their home rather than renting" and not "living in a place that required excessive maintenance." For example, one father shared "we need to transfer into a four-bedroom house, at the moment, we are five people in a three-bedroom house."

#### 4.4 | More time (12%, $n=14$ )

The theme of more time consisted of Indigenous fathers wanting to spend "more time" with their children to "undertake activities" and having more time to be "present to provide support," and assist their children in growing strong. One of the fathers said, "being able to see my daughter more in the morning before I got to work, she is still asleep when I leave."

#### 4.5 | Teach them life skills and education (8%, $n=9$ )

The theme of teaching life skills and education consisted of fathers wanting to give their children "greater life skills" and "quality education" for "success in life." For example, one father shared "gaining help for my daughter's education would make life easier."

## 5 | DISCUSSION

Drawing on national survey data from LSIC, this paper found that over 60 per cent of sampled Indigenous men need greater support in their role as fathers. Further, of the 10 themes illustrated in [Figure 1](#), eight are related to the social and cultural determinants of Indigenous men's health and well-being (Carson et al., 2007; Commonwealth of Australia, 2017; Marmot, 2005). This finding is unsurprising because, as discussed above by the Australian Department of Health and Ageing (2013), Indigenous men experience health outcomes far poorer than their non-Indigenous counterparts. Appropriately addressing Indigenous men's social and cultural determinants of health and well-being is essential to overcoming their status as one of Australia's unhealthiest population cohorts and enhancing their childrearing capabilities so they feel supported in fatherhood.

Policies and initiatives about and for Indigenous men and Indigenous fatherhood need to consider and align with the social and cultural determinants of health and well-being ([Figure 1](#)), to assist Indigenous fathers and their families with fundamental needs. The Closing the Gap (2022) framework, the primary Australian federal and state and territory government strategy aimed at reducing Indigenous disparity on health and socioeconomic targets, curiously makes almost no specific reference to Indigenous men or Indigenous fathers. An earlier strategy called the *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Male Health Framework—Revised Guiding Principles* (Australian Department of Health and Ageing, 2010) provides a robust foundation for conceptualising, developing and implementing such policies and initiatives regarding Indigenous men and their role as fathers. The main government strategy to reduce Indigenous disadvantage must make explicit mention to Indigenous men and fathers with clear initiatives that consider their social and cultural determinants of health and well-being.

The lack of resources to address the social and cultural determinants of health and well-being for Indigenous men has been outlined previously (Canuto et al., 2018, 2023; Prehn & Ezzy, 2020). Canuto et al. (2018) found that primary healthcare service provision was often not gender-appropriate for Indigenous men to access (i.e., lacking male staff and clinical environments being primarily female spaces). Similarly, Prehn and Ezzy (2020) suggest that holistic and decolonised preventative health and well-being services are needed to address the social and cultural determinants of Indigenous men's health and well-being. Further, Canuto et al. (2023) detail the minimal funding for Indigenous men's health research by the main government schemes in Australia.

Our finding that enhancing Indigenous fatherhood success necessitates a greater focus on the social and cultural determinants of health and well-being aligns with previous research (Reilly & Rees, 2018). The Strong Fathers, Strong Families Program found that appropriately addressing these determinants of health and well-being contributes to Indigenous fathers feeling empowered, as discussed by Reilly and Rees (2018, p. 429):

[Indigenous men in yarns said] that the parenting role strengthens the father's identity; if you have strong fathers, you will have strong families, and if you have strong families, you will have strong communities.

Appropriately supporting Indigenous men and fathers therefore is a key component to reducing overall Indigenous disadvantage, though presently is not receiving the warranted consideration.

### 5.1 | Limitations

The main limitation of this study relates to the data from the LSIC. Of the data analysed in this paper, from the 1265 Indigenous children, only 149 Indigenous fathers responded to the

variables investigated, in short responses. A larger sample of Indigenous fathers would have enhanced the findings. Having a larger national dataset (i.e., including Tasmania), controlled and driven by Indigenous males and built upon the principles of Indigenous Data Sovereignty (Lovett et al., 2019; Walter & Suina, 2019), is necessary to assist in the amelioration of the troubling health status of Indigenous males. Such research would also aid in the removal of the lingering colonial deficit narrative about Indigenous fathers. Despite this limitation, we stand by our findings and reiterate that minimal previous research exists on the supports required by Indigenous men in fatherhood.

## 6 | CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the support Indigenous men expressed would aid them in fulfilling their roles and obligations as fathers. Over 60 per cent of Indigenous fathers in the sample required further support. Of the supports required, the highest-ranking areas included money, support and social services, housing and more time with their children. The evidence presented in this study suggests that addressing the social and cultural determinants of health and well-being through systemic measures such as policies and initiatives, rather than focussing on individual cases, may benefit these men, their families and their communities. At the very least, the findings should assist those working with Indigenous fathers to reorient their thinking to focus on the fathers' *needs* during childrearing in shaping service provision, rather than adopting the typical deficit approach.

### AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

**Jacob Prehn:** Conceptualization; investigation; writing – original draft; methodology; writing – review and editing. **Michael Andre Guerzoni:** Investigation; writing – original draft; methodology; writing – review and editing. **Huw Peacock:** Investigation; writing – original draft; methodology; writing – review and editing. **Mick Adams:** Writing – original draft; writing – review and editing; investigation. **Bhiamie Williamson:** Writing – original draft; writing – review and editing. **Len Collard:** Writing – original draft; writing – review and editing. **Kootsy Canuto:** Conceptualization; writing – original draft; writing – review and editing.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants in the Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC). Open access publishing facilitated by University of Tasmania, as part of the Wiley - University of Tasmania agreement via the Council of Australian University Librarians.

This paper uses unit record data from the LSIC. The Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children is conducted by the Australian Government Department of Social Services (DSS). The findings and views reported in this paper, however, are those of the authors and should not be attributed to the Australian Government, DSS or any of DSS' contractors or partners. <https://doi.org/10.26193/SSWEX1>.

### CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

There are no financial interests or benefits that have arisen from the direct applications of this research. This manuscript is original work and has not been submitted for publication elsewhere.

### DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available to the Australian Federal Department of Social Services. Restrictions apply to the availability of these data, which were

used under licence for this study. Data are available from the Department of Social Services at <https://www.dss.gov.au/about-the-department/publications-articles/research-publications/longitudinal-data-initiatives/footprints-in-time-the-longitudinal-study-of-indigenous-child-ren-lsic> with the permission of the Department of Social Services.

## ORCID

Jacob Prehn  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0237-1513>

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> And other family members, such as uncles, aunts, grandparents and cousins, recognising the importance of the extended family and the Indigenous community in childrearing (Dudgeon et al., 2014).
- <sup>2</sup> By “Western colonial measures,” we mean not recognising worldview differences (inclusive of epistemology, ontology and axiology), but also the assimilation policy, which aimed to eradicate Indigenous people and create a “White” Australian state (Dudgeon et al., 2014).
- <sup>3</sup> However, after reflection, to some extent, we all perform fathering duties in an Indigenous communal sense to others within our families and our wider Indigenous communities. The notion of a father for Indigenous people can include biological and non-biological uncles, grandfathers and other male family members in the Indigenous community. See, for example, Dudgeon et al. (2014) and their discussion on kinship and community, or the report by SBS (2020) on Torres Strait Islander adoption practices being legislated in the state of Queensland.
- <sup>4</sup> In the LSIC dataset, the term “SC” (“Study Child”) is used to maintain participant confidentiality (Department of Social Services, 2021).

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## AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

**Jacob Prehn** (Worimi) is a Sociologist and social work academic born and raised in Palawa Country. He is employed as the Associate Dean Indigenous for the College of Arts, Law and Education and as a Senior Lecturer in social work at the University of Tasmania. His research is focused on Indigenous men and fathering, Indigenous families growing strong and Indigenous data sovereignty.

**Michael Andre Guerzoni** (Palawa) is a Criminologist at the School of Social Sciences, University of Tasmania, where he lectures in Indigenous justice issues, child protection and juvenile justice. His research is focussed on the safeguarding of children within religious institutions, organisational culture and deviance, and the education of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children.

**Huw Peacock** (Palawa) currently works for the Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor of Aboriginal Leadership at the University of Tasmania. He is undertaking a PhD on factors that contribute to Indigenous student success.

**Uncle Mick Adams'** (Yadhiagana/Wuthathi) research portfolio encompasses male sexual and reproductive health, suicide, mental health, diabetes, family violence, cardiovascular disease, public health and building Indigenous research capacity. Uncle Mick's ongoing leadership has been acknowledged with the IAHI Crag Dukes Memorial Lifetime Achievement Award. He is also a cultural leader for the SMS4deadlydads project.

**Bhiamie Williamson** (Euahlayi) is from north-west NSW and south-west Qld with family ties to north-west Qld. Bhiamie's fields of professional and academic experience include Indigenous land and water management, Indigenous youth, Indigenous governance and Indigenous data sovereignty. His PhD investigates Indigenous men and masculinities.

**Uncle Len Collard** (Noongar) is a Professor and Australian Research Council Chief Investigator at the School of Indigenous Studies University of Western Australia. He has a literature and communications background and has researched areas including Noongar Fathering, Noongar interpretive histories and Noongar theoretical and practical research models.

**Kootsy Canuto** (Wagadagam) was born and bred on Yidinji land and is from the Torres Strait. He is an Associate Professor of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Male Health and Wellbeing at Rural and Remote Health—NT, Flinders University. His research areas include the utilisation of primary healthcare services, social and emotional well-being and fatherhood.

**How to cite this article:** Prehn, J., Guerzoni, M.A., Peacock, H., Adams, M., Williamson, B., Collard, L. et al. (2024) Supports desired by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males in fatherhood: Focussing on the social and cultural determinates of health and well-being. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 59, 268–280. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajs4.313>